ANTHONY SPALINGER

FIVE VIEWS ON EGYPT

LINGUA AEGYPTIA

Studia monographica 6

Herausgegeben von
Frank Kammerzell und Gerald Moers
unter Mitwirkung von Kai Widmaier

Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie
Göttingen

FIVE VIEWS ON EGYPT

Anthony Spalinger

Göttingen 2006

Titelaufnahme

Spalinger, Anthony
Five Views on Egypt/
Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 2006
(Lingua Aegyptia — Studia monographica; Bd. 6)
ISSN 0946-8641

© Frank Kammerzell & Gerald Moers, Göttingen 2006
Printed in Germany
Nachdruck, Wiedergabe, Vervielfältigung und Verbreitung (gleich welcher Art), auch von Teilen des Werkes oder von Abbildungen, Abschrift, Übersetzung, auch auf fotomechanischem oder ähnlichem Wege oder Magnettonverfahren, Vortrag, Funk, Fernsehsendung sowie Speicherung in Datenverarbeitungsanlagen bedürfen einer schriftlichen Genehmigung der Herausgeber.
Reproduktion, Druck und Verarbeitung: Hubert & Co., Göttingen
Gedruckt auf säurefreiem, archivierfähigem Papier

For Harold Spalinger
25 March 1913 – 26 August 1975

Contents

Introduction 1

The Paradise of Scribes and the Tartarus of Soldiers 5

Land Brightens, Day Begins 51

The Eulogy to Ahmose at Karnak and Connected Texts 87

The Re-Use of Propp for Egyptian Folktales. An Introduction 123

Datings of the Kadesh Reliefs 137

Bibliography 157

Introduction

The following group of studies was prepared over a lengthy period of time, five years to be exact. They represent different orientations of my on-going research and hence may be viewed as revealing some facets of a life-long pursuit of the vagaries and intricacies of ancient (Pharaonic) Egypt. To not a small extent this volume owes its inspiration to my first sabbatical leave in Basel in 2001. There, owing to the courtesy of the Seminar für Ägyptologie, led by Professor Antonio Loprieno, I was able to pursue a wide gamut of Egyptological themes whilst barely keeping my head above water owing to a lengthy project devoted to Ramesses II. Upon returning to Auckland in that year I found myself immersed in yet another task, the preparation for a volume centered on the warfare of the New Kingdom. The pleasurable burdens of these additional tasks meant that a series of smaller studies, most of which are presented here, never saw the light at the time that they were completed.

Fortunately, Prof. Loprieno assisted me in locating the *Lingua Aegyptia* as an excellent forum for such a mélange, and I must thank him as well as Dr. Gerald Moers for always being extremely helpful and positive with regard to this project. The remarkable work that the entire editorial staff at Göttingen performed cannot be gainsaid, least of all by myself. Hence, I render heartfelt thanks to Kai Widmaier and Frank Kammerzell. For example, the useful bibliography, included at the end of this volume, was not my idea, undoubtedly because I never have edited a book. Any reader, I am sure, will be thankful for its usefulness.

In order to direct the reader with regard to the organization if not the orientation of these five topics a few preliminary words will not be out of place. Pride must go, I feel, to the first study which is centered upon the anti-military tractates of the New Kingdom (Dynasty 19 in particular). It will not take many to realize that one of my "pet" themes, the New Kingdom war machine, once more turns up. In this case, however, goals are neither tactical nor strategic; nor are they prosopographical. Yet the *ficelle* running through this extended work, its socio-historical theme, was the product of a long thought-out concept engendered by the work of Norbert Elias. This should be readily evident but needs emphasizing here. Since this work was written I can now add the following two studies that appeared after I completed the analysis. Stephen Jäger's *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, also present in this Göttingen series (Studia monographica 4, Göttingen [2004]), is far more encompassing and demanding an account of the social and literary aspects of such "satires" as these well-known ones directed against soldiers. In many ways his work parallels mine but by no means is it identical to the aspects offered in chapter 1. His work thus supplements the historical

orientation attempted here while at the same time casting a net considerably wider than mine. Second is the useful translation plus commentary of P. Lansing offered to the reader by Gerald Moers in the additional volume to the series *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*: *Ergänzungslieferung*, Gütersloh (2001), pp. 109-142. Once more I find that his approach, as Jäger's, focuses upon these diatribes from a more sophisticated analysis than those taken earlier.

For those keenly interested in the military mind, a focus of part of the discussion, we now have a useful review of Ernst Jünger's life by Eberhard Rathgeb, "Die Seele deutscher Intellektueller", in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 11 July 2005, No. 158, p. 35. Jünger's famous book is now available in a new and excellent translation by Michael Hofmann: *Storm of Steel*, London (2004).

The second study is in direct contrast – virtually by one hundred per cent – to the first. Yet it, too, was built up over a lengthy period of time. My earlier orientation directed to calendrics is overt at this point. I am attempting to follow an approach that deals with the beginning of the Egyptian day; namely, was it determined at sunrise or at morning twilight? (How long the latter was conceived is not under consideration.) The issue is a hotly debated one and directly concerned with absolute chronology. Hence, it is not trivial. My feelings still remain in sympathy with the philosophical thought and technical know-how of the ancients. Thus I do not seek exactitude. In this case I have chosen to retrace our path by reminding the interested observer that texts outside of astronomical or mathematical one can often clarify such difficult concepts as timekeeping. As a complement to the chapter the reader might turn to Ulrich Luft's recent study, "Rund um den Beginn des ägyptischen Tages" in Ernst Czerny *et al*. (eds.), *Timelines. Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak* I, Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA (2006), pp. 207-215.

The Eulogy to Ahmose, chapter three, also follows upon previous work. In this case I am referring to an ongoing analysis of the *Sitz im Leben* of the spate of New Kingdom eulogies, virtually all of which are only extant on stone. The questions that surround the performance aspect of these encomia in conjunction with their linguistic register and overt encapsulated style still remain open ones. Notwithstanding these issues, one can observe how much of a purely literary nature relating to Egyptian civilization remains preserved on solid material of a hard and durable nature; i.e., not on papyri. Thus the further situation of seeking hieratic antecedents to these stone inscriptions is a very intriguing one.

In chapter four I turn, in perhaps too sharply a fashion, to the connections between folktales and language. Here, I single out Vladimir Propp's work on the roots of the *Märchen* rather than his *Morphology*. At the same time, however, my aim was to provide a basis to the earlier stages of thought that were contemporary with the presumed and reconstructed hunter-gatherer age which Propp argued lay at the core of folktales.

This short but in many ways dense offering may serve as the introduction to two separate analyses to be presented in *Revue d'Égyptologie* ("Transformations in Egyptian Folktales. The Royal Influence" – The Doomed Prince is the topic) and in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* ("Osiris, Re and Cheops" with P. Westcar as the topic).

The final work, not surprisingly, returns to a pet theme (or rather a favored personage) of mine, Ramesses II. I attempt to provide some type of linear model for the king's prenomen and nomen utilizing the closed set of the Kadesh material. Naturally, the venture is somewhat arid but the rewards, I believe, are well worth the undertaking. A second analysis following a similar train of thought will hopefully appear in the near future.

Most difficult of all was the title to this work. "Five Views on Egypt" may be assumed by some to reflect a visual aspect to Pharaonic Egypt, or even a pun based on a well-known 1943 movie starring Eric Von Stroheim and directed by Billy Wilder. In reality, I considered that the frame of the work – this medley of perspectives – was best served up to Egyptological gourmets with a generic heading.

December 21 2006

The Paradise of Scribes and the Tartarus of Soldiers*

The Late Egyptian Miscellanies present the main evidence of antipathy against the military in the New Kingdom.[1] Yet what, exactly, are the complaints? Where do the masters focus their attention? To whom are these disparaging remarks addressed?

---

* With apologies to Hermann Melville.

1 The standard editions are those of Alan H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, BAe 7, Brussels (1937) and Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, London (1954).
Subsequently, Gerhard Fecht, in his *Literarische Zeugnisse zur "Persönlichen Frömmigkeit" in Ägypten*, Heidelberg (1965), presented a detailed reevaluation of the material specifically concerned with personal piety based upon the data contained in these texts. As he stated on p. 10, the orientation of his work deals only with those prayers and hymns directly concerned with the (presumed) Ramesside development of a new approach to religious matters. As his interests lay elsewhere than the tractates examined in his study, the questions surrounding the soldier's life were not explored. But the portions of the Miscellanies examined by Fecht are not necessarily to be examined apart from these other themes. We can view the attacks on soldiers as part of the entire body of literature that was to be studied by the scribal apprentice. They, as well as the scribal self-adulations, belonged to the advanced level of the literate hierarchy.
In 1984 Oleg Berlev covered both the Satire of Trades and The Late Egyptian Miscellanies. His main aim was to reject the presupposed opinion of Egyptologists that Pharaonic Egypt was divided into "free" and "non-free". Instead, he saw the significant difference between literate and non-literate. I would certainly agree to this dichotomy for the Middle Kingdom onwards, but I am not sure that it is appropriate for the Old Kingdom, or at least before Dynasty V. See in particular, "The Oldest Description of the Social Organization of Egypt", in: *Problemy social'nych otnošenij I form zavisimosti na drevnem vostoke*, Moscow (1984), pp. 26-34. The analysis mainly concerns itself with the Middle Kingdom.
We have to thank Hans Werner Fischer-Elfert for providing us with new information in conjunction with a fresh perspective of the Satire of Trades. I refer to his *Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn. Eine Etappe auf dem "Gottesweg" des loyalen und solidarischen Beamten des Mittleren Reiches*, ÄA 60, Wiesbaden (1999), pp. 366-399, with his later study "Neue Fragmente zur Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn (P. BM EA 10775 und P. BM EA 10778)", *JEA* 84 (1998), pp. 85-92 and especially p. 91 where he reiterates his earlier position concerning the sequence: Satire of Trades (his *Lehre des Cheti*) to the *Lehre eines Mannes* to the Loyalist Instruction.
We can also add the helpful overview of Alessandro Roccati, "Réflexions sur la Satire des métiers", *BSFE* 148 (2000), pp. 5-17. He raises important issues concerning the presumed early Dynasty XII date for the composition, which, if taken to the letter, would refute some of Fischer-Elfert's conclusions in his *Die Lehre eines Mannes*. In particular, Roccati notes the absence of Middle Kingdom exemplars in contrast to the numerous New Kingdom ones beginning in Dynasty XVIII. In addition, he states that "the list of trades was not yet written in the Ramesseum Onomasticon, but it will be well enriched in the Onomasticon of Amenemope" (p. 6). The first (P. Ramesseum D = P. Berlin 10495) is dated to Dynasty XIII and the second to the end of Dynasty XX. I am not convinced that the Satire should be dated *after* the Loyalist Instruction, and I still adhere to the scholarly consensus.
Roccati also claims that the attacks on the professions in the Satire of Trades were directed against technicians, "techniciens". But he does remark upon the absence of high officials ("hauts dignitaries"), priests, magicians, or doctors, referring to the older study of Boudouin van de Walle, "Le thème de la satire des métiers dans la literature égyptienne", *CdE* 22 (1947), pp. 50-72.

These three questions do not exhaust all of the interactions between addressor and addressee, but they are a useful starting point for our inquiries.

Composed in the Ramesside Period (Dynasties XIX and XX) the Late Egyptian Miscellanies circulated throughout the Nile Valley. Numerous ostraca from Deir el Medineh (and at least one papyrus) are complemented by the series of Sallier and Anastasi papyri from the north, as well as Papyrus Lansing.[2] Their presence at the workmen's site on the west of Thebes indicates that these literary pieces were ubiquitous.[3] The papyri, probably from tombs at Saqqara, equally betoken an audience who would have to copy and read them.

In many ways, these attempts to belittle the soldier and elevate the profession of the scribe parallel the numerous bits of "personal piety" found juxtaposed to them. To exclude the other Miscellanies is not to ignore them or to consider the other tractates

---

2 For P. Anastasi I and its parallels, see the excellent edition of Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I*, KÄT, Wiesbaden (1983). The translation and commentary will be found in his later study under the same title [ÄA 44, Wiesbaden (1986)].
Pp. 261-267 cover the dating of the original composition, which is placed by Fischer-Elfert earlier than the reign of Merenptah. Specifically, he puts a terminus of regnal year five in the reign of Ramesses II (p. 264). I concur with the first interpretation, but find a terminus of year five of Ramesses II too early.
The following point can be added. The mention of the *snny* in one of the two key texts that I shall cover supports a date for the anti-military accounts in the same time frame: probably early to middle Ramesses II.
There is a useful discussion of the *maher* on pp. 243-5. The word *snny* does not occur in P. Anastasi I.
In the context of the *snny*, who are often connected to the "maryannu", Igor M. Diakonoff has laid to rest the error concerning the oft-cited marianne, (pl. marianna), who is frequently called a "nobleman": "On Some Supposed Indo-Iranian Glosses in Cuneiform Languages", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 7 (1993), pp. 47-49. In cuneiform texts the word came to mean "charioteer". I would like to quote his other conclusions (p. 47): "The Hurrian marianna-charioteers were not a feudal nobility. They did not own the horses or arms but requisitioned them from the royal stables and stores and returned them after use". The term itself is common Hurro-Urartian, not native (Indo-) Aryan. Or be more specific it is common Eastern Caucasian.
The literary characteristics of P. Anastasi I were covered by Fischer-Elfert on pp. 268-276. There, the reader will find a useful discussion of the role of the soldier (*wʿw*). Finally, concerning the function of the composition (in combination with Ostracon DEM 1221), he concludes that "Modern gesprochen, ist der Anastasi I eine echte Bildungskritik" (p. 289). But it is also one removed in approach from the Miscellany tractates that are covered here.
For the personal piety of the Ramesside Age, see in general Jan Assmann, *Re und Amun. Die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18-20. Dynastie*, OBO 51, Fribourg and Göttingen (1983), pp. 264-286; add his three useful studies "Fest des Augenblicks – Verheißung der Dauer: Die Kontroverse der ägyptischen Harfnerlieder", in: Jan Assmann, *et al*., eds., *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, Wiesbaden (1977), pp. 55-84; "Weisheit, Loyalismus und Frömmigkeit", in: Erik Hornung and Othmar Keel, eds., *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*, OBO 28, Göttingen (1979), pp. 11-72; and "Der schöne Tag: Sinnlichkeit und Vergänglichkeit im altägyptischen Fest", in: Walter Haug and Rainer Warning, eds., *Das Fest*, Munich (1989), pp. 5-28 (with specific reference to the Posener material of ca. Amunhotep II).

3 For the northern origins of the Anastasi and Sallier papyri, see now Steven Quirke, "Archive", in: Antonio Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms*, PdÄ 10, Leiden, New York, and Cologne (1996), pp. 379-401.

as intellectually separate and distinct. On the contrary, all of these small texts belong together, if only because they were constantly used for penmanship and memory practice. They must have been memorized, at least in part, just like the model letters with which they were associated. But it is from these brief compositions that we can discern the hostility directed against the military caste, even at the first level of analysis. Well recognized and often commented upon is the dearth in the Middle Kingdom of "satires" (a poor word) that contrasted the lot of the professional soldier and to the role of the scribe.[4] The usual explanation for this attitude is the relative lack of importance of the military at that early date. However, there was a standing army in the Middle Kingdom; and it was not an insignificant sector of society in Dynasties XII-XIII.[5] The Nubian and Asiatic campaigns demonstrate that under the Amenemhets and Sesostrises foreign countries were devastated, fortresses were garrisoned, and occupation was maintained abroad, at least in the south. New data in Berlev's studies

4 In order to alleviate the references, I shall refer exclusively to the papyri accounts cited in Gardiner and Caminos' editions of the Late Egyptian Miscellanies when they *first* appear. The parallels to them may be consulted in their standard editions (including the Chester Beatty group).
Since Caminos' translation edition the only major text that has been added to the repertoire – I purposely exclude the parallel ostraca published by, for example, Posener, Lopez, Goedicke-Wente, etc. – is that of Serge Sauneron, "Les désillusions de la guerre asiatique (Pap. Deir el-Médineh 35)", *Kemi* 18 (1968), pp. 18-27.

5 The work of the Russian scholar Oleg Berlev has to be mentioned in this matter; it is often overlooked in standard analyses of the Middle Kingdom military. See in particular, "Egipetskij Voennyj Flot v èpoxu Srednego carstva", *Palestinskij Sbornik* 17 (80) (1967), pp. 6-20. This is his most succinct and detailed study. By and large it concentrates upon soldier on ships. The term "navy", which is indicated in the brief summary of the *AEB* for 1967, does not do justice to the analysis. In particular, Berlev showed that a rapid development in the military arm of the XIIth Dynasty could be seen in the numerous prosopographical data of the period. He also linked this expansion to the Nubian wars and the establishment of a permanent garrison army in the south.
I can also refer to his study of "Les prétendus 'citadins' au Moyen Empire", *RdE* 23 (1971), pp. 23-48 which is not by any means a translation for the 1967 article. In 1972 appeared his standard work, *Trudovoe Naselenie Egipta v Epochu Srednego Carstva*, Moscow (1972). Throughout that book the reader will find remarkable conclusions regarding the soldier (*ỉṯw* and *ꜥnḫ*) in Dynasties XII to XVII.
Additional works concerning the Egyptian military may be noted. There is the compendium of Vsevolod I. Avdiev, *Military History of Ancient Egypt* I-II, Moscow (1948-1959). The first volume ends with the close of Dynasty XVIII and provides detailed studies on the Nubian fortifications of Sesostris I-III. The second is not very helpful for our discussion below. In addition, a short work by Ian Shaw, *Egyptian Warfare and Weapons*, Shire Egyptology 16, London (1991) provides a general overview. See as well his chapter "Battle in Egypt. The Triumph of Horus or the Cutting Edge of the Temple Economy", in: Alan B. Lloyd, ed., *Battle in Antiquity*, London and Swansea (1996), pp. 239-269.
Nonetheless, Barry Kemp's *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilisation*, London and New York (1989), 172-178 is the best introduction to the Middle Kingdom fortresses. The reason for these garrisons had nothing to do with pure show, as W. Y. Adams proposed. Their provisioning was covered by Kemp in "Large Middle Kingdom Granary Buildings (and the Archaeology of Administration)", *ZÄS* 113 (1986), pp. 123-130.

indicate that this aspect of Middle Kingdom indicate that this aspect of Middle Kingdom influence has been underrated.[6]

Nevertheless, the technology of Dynasties XII-XIII was lower than that of later eras. In particular, the lack of horses precluded swift, effective military maneuvers. Then too, the slow increase in the use of bronze within the Nile Valley has to be taken into consideration.[7] As for the soldiers, the *ꜣṯw*, they were still considered to be dependents of the king, literally at the Pharaoh's table.[8] This archaic sounding description reflects the original concept of a military fraternity different from other professions and financially dependent upon the monarch. Various emergent grades in the Middle Kingdom military have been defined, mainly through the remarkable work of Berlev. Ultimately, nonetheless, the developing army seems not to have caused any psychic disturbances in the intellectual sphere of Egypt at that time.

The first classic documentation of appreciation – or better put: deprecation – of non-scribal professions actually dates from the Middle Kingdom. It is the Satire of Trades.[9] Herein, unlike the later Ramesside Miscellanies, there is not a single mention

---

6 See the sources cited in the last note.

7 The extensive use of bronze came into Egypt by the middle of Dynasty XII. A most recent discussion concerning "black copper" can be now read in the study of Alessandra Giumlía-Mair and Steven Quirke, "Black Copper in Bronze Age Egypt", *RdE* 48 (1997), pp. 95-108; see in particular pp. 96-97.

8 Berlev stressed this in his first work cited in note 5 above. The implication is that the Pharaoh paid for the army. Naturally, the old form of social dependence was that of individual to ruler, and the latter was *not* the state. At this time (Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period) the Kingdom of the Nile Valley was not merely viewed as belonging to Pharaoh but the bureaucratic relationships were also directly connected to him. There was no division, at least as it was perceived, between the king's own house and that of the nation. (Indeed, there was no such thing as a "nation" at this time.)
Berlev, in his *Palestinskij Sbornik* article, covers the switch from Dynasty XVII to XVIII in an exemplary fashion. There, the reader will find the new military system of Dynasty XVIII covered (both technologically but also socially). His remarks on the biography of Ahmose son of Ebana are worth rereading. He argues that it is incorrect to claim that before the New Kingdom (or at least before Dynasty XVII) Egypt had no standing army.
For more recent discussion of the bureaucracy and society in the Middle Kingdom: Steven Quirke, "State and Labour in the Middle Kingdom. A Reconsideration of the Term *ḫnrt*", *RdE* 39 (1988), pp. 83-106; and *The Administration of the Late Middle Kingdom. The Hieratic Documents*, New Malden (1990).

9 Most recently, see the study of Quirke, "'Art' and 'artist' in late Middle Kingdom Administration", in his edited volume, *Discovering Egypt from the Neva. The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D Berlev*, Berlin (2003), pp. 85-105, wherein he uses some of the conclusions of this study.
Standard edition: Wolfgang Helck, *Die Lehre des Dwꜣ-Ḫty*, I-II, KÄT, Wiesbaden (1970); for improvements, see Günther Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Weisheitslehren des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, ÄA 34, Wiesbaden (1977) under "Duacheti". The text is first known from the XVIIIth Dynasty and numerous Ramesside copies exist. Corruption among the latter is a major problem for the researcher. For a recent bibliography, see Bernard Mathieu, "La 'Satire des métiers'. Dossier bibliographique", *Grafma Newsletter* 2 (December 1998), pp. 37-40.
Richard B. Parkinson correctly notes that the composition is divided into two unequal parts: first there is the more lengthy description of the professions, then comes the shorter precepts regarding proper social behavior as a scribe. (See his *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, London [1991], 72). One

of a soldier. In itself the absence of a feature can be as telling as its presence, and therefore this early Dynasty XII tractate deserves some commentary as a preface to New Kingdom literature.

The composition is a product of the court, which Amenemhet had recently brought north from Thebes.[10] The Delta had been scoured for young men with potential and without family responsibilities.[11] Placed within a stereotypical format of a father-son teaching, this literary composition is oriented to boys.[12] Indeed, it is directed to a group of young men who are not married.[13] They have no estates; they are not possessors of a "house". At the school the inconsequential boy could rub shoulders with the influential officials of the land, as Tom Brown did at Rugby.[14]

---

can ask the pertinent question whether the Satire, as we have it, is a combination of two distinct literary traditions.

For the name of the father, see Posener, "L'auteur de la satire des métiers", in: Jean Vercoutter, ed., *Livre du centenaire 1880-1980*, Cairo (1980), pp. 55-59. Observe that the core presents a three-level family structure (paternal side naturally): grandfather (Duaf), father (Khety), and son (Pepy).

Following Posener, Parkinson further argued the strong possibility that the father of the son, Pepy, bore the name Khety. For this reason one can identify the elder man with the scribe "who is acclaimed as the author of the Teaching of Amenemhet I in P. Chester Beatty IV": "Teachings, discourses and tales from the Middle Kingdom", in: Stephen Quirke, ed., *Middle Egyptian Studies*, New Malden (1991), p. 108.

10 See in particular, Georges Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII^e Dynastie*, Paris (1956), pp. 4-13, 17-19.

11 The northern/northeastern orientation of this composition and that of Neferty was first noted in detail by Posener, *ibid*. But he adhered to the location of Sile (northeastern border post) in the composition. The latter interpretation is either open to question or no longer held: see notes 55 and 62 below.

12 Miriam Lichtheim presents a brief summary in her contribution "Didactic Literature", in: Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 253. But it is not a satire; instead it is a serious attack on professions. Whether or not the boy would have chosen them is another question. Personally, I feel that these other careers were listed more to stress the horrible life if he was not a scribe. See note 14 below for Fischer-Elfert's resolution of the problem of the "son".

13 The gender basis is always important to note; so too the age of the male. I understand the position of Fischer-Elfert at this point – pp. 377-379 in his *Die Lehre eines Mannes*, especially with respect to the term *sꜣ* – see our commentary in the following note.

14 This is keenly pointed out in section Ie of Helck. The commonly held English translation "children of the magnates", *msw wrw* is inaccurate. What is stated is "children of high-ranking (men)". This presents an entirely different picture as we are dealing with a self-enclosed scribal class, not boys of wealthy (land based) counts or squires. The entire body of scribes, from father to son, are literate. Therefore, they formed a closed society.

Nonetheless, the boy will "rub shoulders" with the sons of these men. He will become important.

In section XXIXb the following key phrase is written: "Then you will perform the character of the "children of men", *msw rmṯ*. The last word is especially important. A man (*s*), the plural being *rmṯ*, is at this date can be an official, as Quirke has stressed ("'Townsmen' in the Middle Kingdom. On the Term *s n nỉwt tn* in the Lahun Temple Accounts", *ZÄS* 118 [1991], p. 145), one who could hold either priestly or professional occupations. He further pointed out that these words referred, at least in the Middle Kingdom, to "titleless" men, not servants or workers by profession. In the lists of that time it is not surprising that we find such individuals *under* the high officials and the lower-ranking bureaucrats, but *above* workers (*bꜣkw*) and servants (*ḫm* and *ḫmt*). For the latter, see Oleg D. Berlev, *Trudovoe Naselenie Egipta v Epochu Srednego Carstva*, Chapters II, II, and VI.

The phraseology of the Satire of Trades is so blatantly anti-family that one must wonder what power it held for the dislodged newcomer. Note as well that no punishments are mentioned.[15] In fact, the literary format of a father's teaching to his son elevated it to a student's guide; and, as it persuaded, was it not more important to love books than one's mother?[16]

The tenor of the Satire is so overtly propagandistic, yet redeemed by dedication to the creation of a superior cadre: the scribal cast. Alone and independent as he had become, at least the boy need not worry that he was going to become a soldier. Carpenters, jewelers, barbers, potters, all and sundry come under the blasting attacks of Khety son of Duaf, but not a solitary word is expended upon the army. Yet despite the arguments that the military was not yet a presence in Middle Kingdom life, the archaeological evidence disproves this as much as do the results of Berlev's research.[17]

Other existing professions were not mentioned in the Satire either, most notably the unequivocally respectable priesthood.[18] It cannot be argued that the new scribal school at the Royal Residence was designed to produce priests. That would have been impossible: the composition explicitly states that the forced scribe was to work for his lord, the great king, not for a god. Moreover, he is most certainly not to become a

---

Whatever explicit conclusion can be drawn from the Satire at this point remains vague, but not so imprecise to prevent us from concluding that these "children of men" were, in fact, future official, but not yet titled.

For the terms *sꜣ* (*n*) *sꜣ*; *msw rmṯ*; and *msw wrw*, see Fischer-Elfert, *Die Lehre eines Mannes*, p. 370. The crucial point, as he stresses on p. 371, is that Khety is not the biological "father" of the "son", the *sꜣ* (section XXX), but rather, following Detlef Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*, HÄS 3, Hamburg (1983), p. 309, the "master". Hence, *msw* in these cases refers to the "student", the "hearer". This conclusion fits perfectly with the New Kingdom Miscellanies where the master (who was not the author of the didactic treatise) writes to his apprentice or student.

15 Punishments are avoided as a topic of conversation although they are well known from the New Kingdom texts; see, for example, P. Anastasi I. The reason for this is simple: The Satire of Trades was written to bolster new recruits and to strengthen their self-esteem as an elite.

16 Of course this is hyperbole, but it is a direct attack on the mother nonetheless. N.B.: one loves the mother; the father stands outside of the discussion in this constellation. He is just too powerful to oppose and, furthermore, he has already sent the boy to scribal school. Indeed, he has "written" the composition.

The positive role of the mother will be found in section 28a; see as well 30f.

In this context see Detlef Franke's more correct understanding of certain passages in the Satire that refer to the parents: *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, pp. 338-339.

17 See, e.g., Berlev's research in conjunction with those fortresses in Nubia. Note as well the evidence from the so-called "Annals of Amenemhet II": Hartwig Altenmüller and Ahmed M. Moussa, "Die Inschrift Amenemhets II. aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis. Ein Vorbericht", *SAK* 18 (1991), pp. 1-48.

The connection of this text with state loyalty is one of the themes brought out most recently by Fischer-Elfert: see pp. 376-378 in his *Die Lehre eines Mannes*.

18 They are covered in the Miscellanies although not on all levels as only the *wꜥb* and the *ḥm-nṯr* are mentioned; see our discussion below.

high-ranking official. Rather, he is to serve an official.[19] But this satire is far more than a riposte against professions that are pure laboring tasks; indeed it has a strong element of loyalty to the king.[20]

What are the professions rejected and what does the scribe have to do? In some cases the same rigid cast system will be expressed in the Miscellanies.

In order (left column before right) the following jobs were attacked:[21]

---

19 On the officials and key figures: see sections Ie (*msw wrw*), XXIIb (*ỉry*; the "wretched man", Berlev's important *ḥwrw*, in the plural, "jobless young people" [read "jobless young men" of Berlev, review of Vandersleyen, *L'Egypte et la vallee du Nil* tome 2, in: *Or* 66 (1997), p. 99]); XXIVa (*srw*), an important passage; XXVIIa (*sr*); XXVIIIa (*srw*); and XXIXa (*srw*).
For the position of the *sr*, see now Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, pp. 43-44 in particular. He translates the word as "functionary", which aptly leaves open the man's official duty but nonetheless indicates his reliance upon the "state" for his living. A general survey of the development of Middle Kingdom titles will be seen in his other analysis of "The Regular Titles of the Later Middle Kingdom", *RdE* 37 (1986), pp 107-130, for the *ḥwrw* (with *šwʒw*) see also Detlef Franke, "Kleiner Mann (*nḏs*) – Was bist Du?", *GM* 167 (1998), p. 44 note 34, referring back to Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia, *Études sur l'administration, le pouvoir et l'idéologie en Égypte de l'Ancien au Moyen Empire*, Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 4, Liege (1997), p. 34. Quirke has a significant point to make in his review of Loprieno: *DE* 16 (1990), p. 92. In the Middle Kingdom, Quirke maintains that the *srw* stood "barely at the threshold of literacy". His point confirms even more the significance of the Satire of Trades.
Berlev's chapter "Der Beamte" in Sergio Donadoni, ed., Erika Feucht, trs., *Der Mensch des Alten Ägypten*, Frankfort, New York, and Paris (1992), pp. 108-142, is an excellent overview of the officialdom. For the *srw* see as well Moreno Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, pp. 101-117. He mainly covers the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period.
The presence of the *ḥwrw* is important in the context of this text. According to Berlev in: *Or* 66 (1997), p. 99 they were those who directly cased the downfall of the Old Kingdom. He argues, following the data from the Admonitions, that the *ḥwrw* began disturbances halfway though the day, at noon to be exact. A detailed analysis of these people will be found in his *Obščestvennye otnošenija v Egipte Epochi Carstva*, Moscow (1978), pp. 66-68.
Unfortunately, Berlev died before his conclusions could see print. Nevertheless, the basis for his analysis is reasonable, as the conclusion is sharp and focused. He relies upon the Turin Canon's "one half" (of a day, a remarkable notation) in Verso, column IV 13. The reference to the middle of the day, however, does not refer to noon but rather to evening twilight. We are in ancient Egypt and not modern Russia; the daily epoch began in the morning.
Kim Ryholt, "The Late Old Kingdom in the Turin King-list and the Identity of Nitocris", *ZÄS* 127 (2000), p. 91 (with a remark "sic") does not explain the notation of "one half". I follow Berlev.
For *ḥwrw* see also Goedicke, *The Protocol of Neferyt*, Baltimore (1977), p. 123 (commenting upon Neferty). He (and Helck) preferred the more general term of "wretch" or "man of weak condition". Neither dealt with the actual socio-economic status of the man. In Neferty, the concept expressed is the expected one of the inversion of status: they become wealthy.
For the reference to *ḥwrw* in the Satire, note also Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, 277.

20 Fischer-Elfert, *Die Lehre eines Mannes*, p. 377 in particular (concerning the "Way of god"). As will be seen in the discussion that follows, I prefer to concentrate on the corporate solidarity stressed in the composition *independent* of the relationship to the Pharaoh. That they both were combined is self-evident, but the inculcation of a professional defining character (or character traits) is the thrust of my argument. Once more we can see Niklas Luhmann's study of social systems is applicable here: autopoesis and boundary: *Social Systems*, trs. John Bednarz, Jr., Stanford (1995).

21 Not all of the professions have been explained correctly; indeed, some of the words are hard to interpret. As I am concentrating upon the New Kingdom Miscellanies, I shall place most of these matters aside.

Stoneworker[22]	Vintner
Goldsmith	Field laborer
Coppersmith	Weaver
Woodworker (adze man)[23]	Arrow Maker/Fletcher[24]
Jeweler	Courier or Trader[25]

22 He is connected to the next two, but the arrangement of the professions deserves some attention. At this point, the goldsmith is included with the stoneworker, and the coppersmith is added as a further (very lowly) profession. The reason is because the first two are *never* sent anywhere. They remain at their workplace, poor souls, and so do not go on important tasks outside of their town. The scribe does.
In addition, the third, who likewise remains bound to his working place, has a terrible job.
I am surprised that the idea of smell, of stinking humans, is never discussed in the Egyptological literature. This "over-refined" (rafiné) attitude is not due to any medical reason. It is based on the development of what Norbert Elias described as "civilization". An elite – in this case of a middling level – has separated itself not only by means of literacy (that is the first step) but more importantly by self-awareness of differences in clothing, attitudes (restraint, quietude, "rationality" in disputes), smell, and small things as well such as gestures.
I am referring to the life work of Norbert Elias at this point, in particular his study *The Civilizing Process*, trs. Edmund Jephcott, Oxford (1978-1982). This is the best English translation although the title is misleading. Restricting himself to the 17th and 18th centuries during royal Bourbon France, Elias contributed his second major work in the well-known case study of *The Court Society*, trs. Edmund Jephcott, London (1983).
In this study I shall use Elias' studies as a point of departure for the theoretical analysis, but these earlier two works help to explain the Satire's emphasis on the privileged position of the scribe, or at least as a defense of this middle-ranking career.

23 A carpenter occurs later but with respect to planning roofs. This poses a problem, as Steven Quirke informs me. The term for the first is *ḥmww* (general term) with the adze (*ꜥnt*: William Kelly Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II*, Boston [1965], p. 36) and the second is *mḏḥw* (specific). They are differentiated in the Onomastica: Sir Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, Oxford (1947), p. 66*-67*, nos. 154 and 156. See as well Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Ägypten*, ÄA 31, Wiesbaden (1976) passim, especially pp. 83-84, 120-123.
Here, the profession of the carpenter (adze man) is described as even worse than the fieldhand, the *mnyty*. It may be that the comparison between the two is the aim of this part, whereas section XI presents a different outlook with regard to this profession.
I feel that this other profession of the *mnyt* is the same as the *mny*. Compulsion is required, as many have seen; cf. Rainer Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, Mainz (1995), p. 338, undoubtedly relying upon Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*, Boston (1963), p. 34.
See Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, pp. 174 and 312 for the reading of this man's profession: *ḥmww nb ṯ3y ꜥnt*.

24 Not an arrow-tip maker. This is the closest that we come to the military. From the text, however, it is evident that these professions are not state-organized ones. That is to say, they are private careers; the men have their own private jobs and they are their own masters. The state ran the military machine at this time (and later). Hence, arrow makers for the army were state paid employees and so do not belong with these professions.

25 It is difficult to determine the real significance of the word. Simpson, in his translation of the text in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*[2], New Haven and London (1972), p. 333 is hesitant. These men are their own masters as I have noted earlier. Helck claimed on p. 98 of his edition that the root of the word is from the verb "to go/travel fast", *sḫ3ḫ*. However, see the criticism of Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 273. But the text is probably somewhat corrupt here.

Barber	Furnace tender[26]
Reed cutter[27]	Sandalmaker
Potter	Washerman
Bricklayer	Fowler
Carpenter (roofer; planer)[28]	Fisherman

The last designation happens to coincide perfectly with Chinese society: fishermen, and their whole families were re the lowest of the lowest. This attitude is expressed in the Satire of Trades.[29] To follow Simpson's translation: "He is more miserable than (one of) any (other) profession". The poor man has no ability at all: he falls – this is highly unlikely – into the river and is gobbled up by ferocious crocodiles.[30] (How

---

"Courier" is undoubtedly an inaccurate translation as most assuredly one would expect *wpwty* instead; see Michel Valloggia, *Recherche sur les "messagers" (Wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes*, Geneva and Paris (1976).

26 Helck, section XVIIa: *Die Lehre des Dwꜣ-Ḫty*, p. 102. But as Burkard showed, the emendation of Helck (*stnwy* > *stꜣy*) is highly improbable (*Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 313). The word thus must remain a hapax legomenon.

27 The reed-cutter must go down to the northern swampland. Note again the geographical environment of the account.

28 Here, the carpenter returns. Note, however, that he is able to be away from his homestead, but to no advantage. The reference to his departure from his home indicates that one hidden leitmotif of the composition was the ability to travel. To put it more clearly, social importance is expressed through physical mobility. In this case the disadvantages of working away from home are made clear.

29 See the return to the odium of smell. For the New Kingdom's treatment of fisherman, see the comments in the next note, and especially the connection to crocodiles.

30 The writer is well aware of Egyptian *literary* texts reflecting crocodiles through the populated regions of Egypt. But to expect many to have survived in the Delta is, to me, remarkable. See, however, the interesting comments of Chris Eyre in "Fate, Crocodiles and the Judgement of the Dead. Some Mythological Allusions in Egyptian Literature", *SAK* 4 (1976), pp. 103-114 concerning crocodiles and the judgment of the dead. He indicates the persistence of the motif: crocodile as agent of punishment. I tend to follow Assmann and regard the image of this beast as a literary topos: "Ägypten und die Legitimierung des Tötens", in: Heinrich von Stietencron and Jörg Rüpke, eds., *Töten und Krieg*, Munich (1995), p. 79.
However, we met this ferocious beast earlier under the profession of the washerman. (Note in passing the continual disparagement of water-related professions.) In this case both the son and the *daughter* complain to their father about his job. Could a young woman go away to a "more satisfactory" position in life? How? No woman in Ancient Egypt, outside of some of the elite Ladies, possessed such independence.
See now Joris F. Borghouts' comments on the New Kingdom Miscellanies' treatment of the fisherman and the related difficulties of crocodiles, "Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation (*bꜣw*)", in: Robert J. Demarée and Jac. J. Janssen, eds., *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 1, Leiden (1982), pp. 40-41 note 5, and 70. A detailed philological study on this reptile during the Ptolemaic Period has been presented by Penelope Wilson, "Slaughtering the crocodile at Edfu and Dendera", in: Stephen Quirke, ed., *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, London (1997), pp. 179-203.
We can also add the interesting study of Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, "Crocodiles et saints du Nil: du talisman au miracle", *RHR* 217 (2000), pp. 733-760 on the crocodile motif in later Egyptian traditions.

many were alive in the lower reaches of the Nile at this late date, historically speaking?)

The preference is clear – writing and writing above all – but literary productions will not result. The boy has to work at school day in and day out, probably from dawn onwards.[31] The scribe, as noted earlier, is not told that he will become great. Riches were never promised him, just the avoidance of pain and suffering that those other twenty-two professions entailed, and the success of a career as a minor bureaucrat. A boy without means could hope for no more exalted station. Rather, he would serve an official, becoming a personal assistant if need be.

In return there were strictures of behavior that in many ways are more revealing than the overt disparagements of those other jobs.[32] First, avoid controversy, especially when it involves you personally. This is a most interesting social regulation, and one that is familiar from other pieces of sapiential wisdom.[33] But the text moves be-

31 This may follow from section of Helck, section XXIIf, but the reconstruction is seriously questioned by Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, pp. 277-278. *Dwꜣw* for *ḏww* seems pretty remote. We can add, however, section XXVI.
The *ḥsbw* of XXIIg in are state compulsory laborers, forced workers. Helck normally called them "Zwangsarbeiter", as his references in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* show; e.g. volume II, article "Frondienst", 333-334.

32 All of these caveats regarding proper behavior are of no surprise to someone used to the inner compulsions of social life that: (1) extend beyond the family; (2) consist of one link in many of a complex segmented society; and (3) require an evaluation of one's interlocutor; i.e., careful relations to superiors. They are to be found in all of the Middle Kingdom "Teachings" and, in fact, indicate that this middle-level (not Middle Class) group of Ancient Egypt had to (and in fact did) establish proper rules of behavior for its existence. This had not occurred in the early Old Kingdom when the court (including king) was the main center of all social and bureaucratic life. But by the early Middle Kingdom, and increasingly later (with the "reforms" of Sesostris III as a hallmark), the country of Egypt was no longer a simply "King-and-Extensions" state.
That this had already occurred by the end of the Old Kingdom is too well-known to repeat here (increase in bureaucracy; nomes become regulated by individuals, one per nome; growing separation of local administrators from capital or court; one group of elite men at the court, a second in the provinces; rise in provincial ateliers leading to the development of "provincial art"; growth in local industries, e.g., stone cutters).
But now that we can place the sapiental wisdom of the classical "Teachings" (Ptahhotep, etc.) to the Middle Kingdom, such behavior patterns can be located in a more secure historical setting.
The organization of the Satire is well expressed by Fischer-Elfert in his commentary, *Die Lehre eines Mannes*, pp. 366-367.

33 The reason is not as simple as it might appear. Even section XXV must be stressed in this context: the necessity of secrecy, a major factor of dissimulation. These scribes were no longer located in an environment where everyone was known, either by sight or by reputation; i.e., they were not working in a small town. They were separate from relatives and obedient to bureaucrats. They had to follow orders yet be careful not to go beyond what was commanded. Naturally, this was not a military society; neither dishonor nor death applied.
Rather, the social ethos of these men was similar to today's office-holding bureaucrat, typified in the United States as Foggy Bottom. (I am referring to the State Department.) Basically, individual initiative is not to be expressed. The paper pusher wants to deal with the known not the unknown. He or she is there to solve problems, but the situation is that this individual can only solve problems that are *known to have arisen in the past*. In other words, they work with precedents; they do not initiate.

yond such generalized social rules as quickly as its second requirement, when the scribe is already portrayed walking behind *officials*.[34] He has entered Amenemhet's society of national statesmen, leaving behind the First Intermediate Period's holding patters of counts or barons (nomarchs), or even priests.

The conditioned scribe will show deference and practice dissimulation. Control of one's innate character, the suppression of immediate desires, fit perfectly with Norbert Elias' concept of the constraints of civilization.[35] In the Egyptian Middle Kingdom we are witnessing an early phase of the civilizing process. The scribe will avoid debating, which produces rancor and conflict; likewise is the angry man to be shunned. The admonition of silence accompanied the growing concern for social behavior on an interactive plane.[36]

Silence is the major attitude and not conversation. However, we are not dealing with a court-oriented society in which dissimulation and silence play a key role. That type of human constellation is radically different from that of a hired writer or a dependent scribe. True, the motif of silence was widespread in ancient Egypt. The famous teachings of the Middle Kingdom (Ptahhotep, for example) all make use of it.[37] But with regard to the scribe of the Satire must also be careful to follow orders. Surely that is not a court-centered admonition. Report truthfully what was entrusted to you;

This important facet of the office worker in a bureaucracy is often overlooked. Any unusual problem is fobbed off, and often not to the superior. The reason for this is simple: the problem is new or unique, and there is no previous example of a solution to it. No approach has ever been made to resolve the quandary that has just appeared.

As a result, these scribal bureaucracies of today have created the art of delay, so well expressed by the British TV Series *Yes Minister*. Often we can turn to Henry Kissinger for his comments. The bureaucracies present a series of opinions to their superiors, but such choices always reduce to three, two of which may be described as outliers, the third of which is the so-called "common-sense" or "middle-of-the-road" position. See some of his selections in *American Foreign Policy*, New York (1969).

That behavior and social practice are very similar to the exhortations of the Middle Kingdom scribes in their Teaching.

34 This physical motion of the bureaucratic underling resembles to the *physical* actions of the Count de Saint-Simon, as reflected in Elias' effective *The Court Society*, pp. 104-107 (on observation), and 238-246 (on self-consciousness and self-control).

A weakness of Elias' presentation was the lack of personal contact with high officials. That is why I have chosen Kissinger when referring to officialdom. He was a successful "outsider" (son of a southeastern German Jew who fled to the United States), and a historian (*Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Problems of Peace 1812-22*, Boston [1957]).

For the record, both Elias and Kissinger were soldiers; both wrote important historical works; and both were "outsiders".

35 See *The Civilizing Process*, volume II in particular (the theoretical section).

36 On this point: Elias in *The Court Society*, pp. 238-246 (self-control and self-consciousness).

37 To lose one's head (metaphorically) exposes one to ridicule and rejection, but it also means that your own plans can be seen through. See the Duc de Saint-Simon's conversations with the grandson of Louis XIV (at this time the Dauphin) as presented in *The Court Society*, p. 108 (the italics are those of Elias): "to *impregnate him gently and thoroughly with my feelings and views on all these matters*".

do not alter the facts. Your opinions are not warranted. Be obedient. By no means attack your mother![38] This is most illuminating for it reveals in an instant what must have been a common verbal attitude of nonofficials, those who had not been sequestered from their families as were Amenemhet's trainees "This is an abomination to the officials" is the reason, not that it is morally bad or that it is a reflection of disgust with one's family. It follows that proper eating and drinking habits are enjoined: if one is still hungry, curb those reasonable desires because you are an assistant, not a master. "But if another is satiated, do not stand, take care not to approach the table". Wait until your master has officially ended his repast.

Meaningfully, a series of working precedents concludes the tractate. This satire is far more than a riposte against certain professions that are perceived to be mere laboring tasks; certainly there is a strong moralizing element favorable to officialdom. The scribe heeds the words of the officials who are above him in status and importance so as to follow, if only vicariously, "in the footsteps of the children of men".[39] Ultimately, the scribe secures his livelihood from the king. After all, if he is to be worthy, the scribe receives payment without any physical labor, and it is from Pharaoh that he benefits.

Yet observe at the same time the inconsistencies of officialdom. The Satire claims in section XXI that the scribe has no supervisors. "He is the supervisor". But this assertion is refuted in the second half of the composition where it is pointed out that the man must be respectful to superiors; he must follow their orders. Have we acquired two separate segments of didactic teaching texts after they were eventually combined? This could have been the case, especially as the catalogue of professions ends with section XXI.[40] But this conclusion is not inescapable. Total consistency is a chimera today and was not even a value in ancient Egypt. And perhaps the difference is more subtle: a superior is necessarily one's supervisor, and an official, though possibly one's superior, need not be a supervisor. The two Egyptian terms are as vague as they

38 Section XXVIIIa in Helck's edition; read "Do not say a lie against your mother, that is a wish of the officials" (cf. Burkard, *Literarische Untersuchungen*, p. 315).

39 See Fischer-Elfert, *Die Lehre eines Mannes*, p. 370. In this case the "children of men" refer to the officials. Indeed, to the apprentice a "son" makes perfect sense. He is in training and not yet a "grown up" fully developed functionary. The use of the familial relationship serves to elucidate the level of the society at this date. The use of "son" indicates an extension (metaphoric) of a key family relationship among males: the father-son constellation. Furthermore, it provides for solidarity among the scribal class, among the newcomers, and between them and their teachers/superiors. It also maintains the separation of this group of males, now severed from their own families (loving books more than mothers) and from others. They are, to quote from another context, "a happy band".

40 To be precise, section XXI concludes the list; the following section (XXII) is the coda. With XXIIIa a new theme is inaugurated through "I will say to you as another matter …..": *ḏd.i̯ n.k mi̯ kt mdt*.
We must keep in mind, as Fischer-Elfert stressed, the concept of loyalty to one's Pharaoh is also part of this "instruction": *Die Lehre eines Mannes*, pp. 377-379.

are different: the supervisor is *ḫrpw* and official is the usual *sr*.[41] The former implies direct coercion, especially of a physical nature: someone who works on building projects, for example, in charge of horses. The second is a status rank of society.

The Satire of Trades is no satire at all.[42] It would not have been appropriate to make class comparisons with the priesthood, the military, organizers of expeditions, or the royal hierarchy at court. But a question arises as to the audience: who were these young men and how were they able to enter the career of a scribe?

First and foremost the scribes-to-be were boys, not fully adult men.[43] In addition, they had no great landed estates of their own; nor were they likely to inherit any. If so, there would be no need to go away from home while single and spend hours, days, weeks, months, years in a school. The opposed problems of another career are blatantly announced at the beginning: forced labor and physical beatings. This occurs in the so-called second section, which is in itself problematical with regard to orientation. But if the boys went to work as scribes, their financial rewards would come from the state.[44] The phrase "As for any scribe in any office of the Residence, he will not

41 For the *sr*, see above note 19; for the *ḫrpw*: section XXIh-i. Both terms are purposely vague. The latter expresses the idea of "controlling" labor forces, building projects, and the like. The former is far more bureaucratic, as befits the scribe's future job.

42 Let us assume that the case is "real". I.e., that there was a father named Khety who wanted his son to get to the new school, notwithstanding the fact that Khety himself was at the capital, and presumably wrote the Kemyt, and that the "son" is no "true" son, biologically speaking.
Hence, the text is patently false. There was no father sending his son to school, unless the case be regarded as a paradigm (and so, in effect, "real") for future men and boys.
The form is a literary-propagandistic fiction. Note that I have avoided the discussion of loyalty, the opening passage with the word *ṯ3rt*, and the like. I only want to outline the presuppositions of interpretation and see how they cannot fit, independently of philological argumentation.
But this can only be the first level analysis; i.e., that of examining the *quality* of the work in its literary and historical sense. But what about its socio-economic importance? It is not enough to work with the composition from the viewpoint of Middle Kingdom society; one must also analyze this composition from the global corporate setting of one sector in society.

43 This is the audience to which the text addresses itself; not to the presumed "fathers". Indeed, there are really no fathers that come into the discussion.
See note 14 above for Fischer-Elfert's analysis of the term "son" and its meaning within this composition.
The references to "boys"/"sons" are: sections I b (*s3*); Ie (*msw*; boy to be placed with *children*, the apprentices); IIIe (*ḫrd*); XIXc (*s3.f* and *s3t.f*; cf. p. 110 in Helck's edition but note as well Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 274).
Additional though indirect evidence is given in sections XXVIa (school), XXVIIIa (? reference to mother), and XXXf (? honoring father and mother; unclear case).

44 Section XXXd. The older economic relationship is indicated: "food" (*wnmw*) from the house of the king (*pr nswt*). The latter must indicate that the salary came from the sector of the king: see my study "Foods in P. Bulaq 18", *SAK* 13 (1986), pp. 207-247 with Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*. It must be emphasized that a scribe in the state bureaucracy did *not* receive his payments from the palace at the capital; the term "king's house" refers to the royal administration. See the comments of Berlev in his chapter "Der Beamte", 139. The economy of an individual of the XIIth Dynasty was composed of two main sectors: the wealth from position ("Amtsvermögen") and that of one's private property ("Erbhof"). I leave open the situation of one

suffer want in it" indicates that, after his schooling, the scribe will work somewhere in a state bureau.[45] The school of writings was at the capital, but the professional scribe did not stay there forever.

Priests, also, would have to be trained. Following Quirke, we have learned that they, as well, were considered to be functionaries in Middle Kingdom society.[46] This is in contrast to the New Kingdom. The Miscellanies explicitly mention the *wꜥb* priests and the *ḫm-nṯr*'s (see below). By the New Kingdom not a few temples had achieved major economic importance and their bureaucracies had grown remarkably complex. Quirke cited that example of the priest Amenyseneb, who became a functionary of the vizier "without any proper ceremony".[47] Compare mid Dynasty XIII P. Bulaq 18, wherein priests were not present whereas military men were differentiated by their titles.[48] The latter were the officials employed by the king's house. The absence of priests from this detailed court papyrus in conjunction and from the Satire differentiates their profession from that of the scribe, even though literacy was a requirement for either career. That the priesthood usually did not include *burdensome* tasks is self-evident; workers in the temple fields had another fate.

Although we can negate the assumption that no state army existed in Dynasty XII, perhaps in the reign of Amenemhet I the army was not a very complex unit, in size or in organization. The data from P. Bulaq 18, on the other hand, definitely prove that "all officials in the lower sector of the lists belong to the military sector".[49] Of course, this remarkable conclusion may be a result of the limited nature of the document. Yet Quirke observed the significant number of security and military designations in the XIIIth Dynasty papyrus, which predates the Hyksos and the effective collapse of the central monarchy. Now it is true that military in Late Middle Kingdom Egypt was not as technologically developed as in the New Kingdom. Nor was it involved in as many major campaigns (both internal or external) as later. Middle Kingdom military careerists appear to have served as functionaries of the state; and some of them (the scribal sector of the army; the upper officer class) would have been literate. But even the foot soldier who performed physical labor did not appear in the Satire.

---

man having both sources of income. Such does not appear to be the case with respect to these scribes.

Hence, the final stress of loyalty in section XXXd: Fischer-Elfert, *Die Lehre eines Mannes*, p. 377. It *is* at the end.

45 Section IIe; the word "office" is simply *st*, not *ꜥt*.

46 "'Townsmen' in the Middle Kingdom", pp. 146-148.

47 *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, p. 182 note 38.

48 *Ibid*., pp. 81 and 118. He states on p. 81 "The total absence of priests presents one of the greatest puzzles in the papyrus, even allowing for the small influence of Middle Kingdom temples as compared with their New Kingdom successors". In contrast, see the large number of military men "in the lower sector" of P. Bulaq 18.

See our comments in the next paragraph with respect to the soldiery.

49 *Ibid*., p. 81.

Still, the assumed dichotomy between literacy and non-literacy does not extend to professional remuneration. All men belonging to the state apparatus were paid by the state; their dependence upon the king was the same. But by the New Kingdom (Miscellanies) a new prejudice had emerged, in which the lowly soldier was just another beast of burden and the chariot warrior a foolish man. The army was most certainly part of the Egyptian state during the unification phase of the Inyotefs and Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II as well as later in Dynasty XII. The Nubian evidence is too strong to ignore; the textual sources are too extensive. Presumably the army grew in importance from the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty through the reign of Sesostris I and later. Major wars in Nubia, not mere patrol duties, took place under his leadership onwards; and he commenced a program of fortress building south of Egypt. Those wars in Asia that are known to us seem to have occurred in the middle of this era.

The fact that this profession was centered at court, or at least had close connections to the Pharaoh, made the military something of an elite group. The nomarchs who aided the king in his southern wars added to the ranks their trusted warriors, whose ancestry could be traced back to the internecine warfare of the First Intermediate Period.[50] (This is a case, however, of the retention of social structures within a centrally reestablished unified monarchy.) Berlev's data on the soldiers of the Middle Kingdom indicate expansion during the XIIth Dynasty. While the nature of the extant material may affect our perception, it is true that the centralized military was in a position to grow once the nomarchal provincial aristocracy had been absorbed.[51] With their disappearance, so too would their military cadres go.[52] (Whether to the court or not is a different question.) But there was no opportunity for the military to seduce (if that is the correct word) a scribal apprentice. I feel that this military class of men, who

50 I am referring to the biography of Amenemhet of Beni Hasan. To the south he sailed with his king and also with the king's son. In his account Amenemhet indicates that he went as the generalissimo (*ỉmy-rꜣ mšꜥ wr*) of the Oryx nome, "as a man represents his old father". The second and third expeditions were not associated with campaigns but rather entailed the extraction of gold and an unnamed metal (gold as well?); the future Amenemhet II was with him at the time.

51 See the citations in notes 1 and 5 above.

52 I follow the brilliant analysis of Franke at this point: "The Career of Khnumhotep III. of Beni Hasan and the So-Called 'Decline of the Nomarchs'", in: Quirke, ed., *Middle Kingdom Studies*, pp. 51-67. I especially like his terminology of these nomarchs: "living fossils" (p. 55). With regard to the military of Dynasty XII, therefore, their biographies must not be taken as paradigms for that social institution. Berlev, of course, did not.

Yet a further significant point of Franke deserves repeating here. He stated that the children of such nomarchs would grow up "to become specialists in administration". That is to say, they would be adult high-ranking *srw*. One additional point: Franke further stressed the growing shift in the redistribution of wealth (and thus also of reputation, "Ruhm") at the time of Sesostris III and afterwards (p. 65). The higher social strata were declining while the people in the central administration and at the capital were ascending. The locomotive for such a long-range trend was the Pharaoh and court from Mentuhotep II onwards, but the new policy of Amenemhet I made it secure.

were also paid by the state, were not important, yet significant enough to be viewed as an alternative.[53]

The situation becomes clearer given the fictionality of the opening. No seduction by the other professions was conceived. This tractate is a piece of self-solidification linked with the historical exigencies of the new scribal school founded by Amenemhet I. The boy would be there with his comrades who were from the same social class. (See Section Ie.) The training was self-enclosed, autonomic, and to employ Niklas Luhmann's term, autopoetic.[54] I do not deny the possibility of Khety having a son by the name of Pepy whom he sent to the main training center at the royal Residence. I follow previous scholars and identify the "father" as the Khety of the book Kemyt and the author of the Teaching of Amenemhet I. But I question the historical veracity of anything else in the composition; it is tendacious, goal oriented, and hard on everything except its own desire.[55] In sum, it is propagandistic, not only for the state but for its own profession.[56] In any case, the other careers listed are straw dogs set up as a framework to be rejected.

---

53 That is to say, there was no need to discredit the *lowest* rank of the military as it was done later in the Miscellanies. And the reason for this must have been the need to develop a loyal group of functionaries. This entailed creating a common social group consensus, an enclosed self-consciousness. In this case the Satire implicitly places the emphasis on superiority over workers, but not the lowest sector of society; e.g., laborers forced to work for the state or the like.
With the subsequent development of another large and powerful group, the military, which also had its self-consciousness and its *own* history (campaigns, heroic deeds, financial and status rewards), it was necessary for the scribal officialdom to revise these older conceptions.

54 See his major work, *Social Systems*. For the *msw wrw*, see Fischer-Elfert, *Die Lehre eines Mannes*, p. 370.

55 I am aware of section I where Khety is described as taking his son southwards to the Residence. N.B.: the reading Sile is not probable: see, *inter alia*, Helck's comments on pp. 17-18 of his edition where *ṯ3rt*, "cabin", is posited. Thus the opening would indicate only that Khety took his son upstream to Lisht, the Residence.
See Gun Björkman, "Neby, the Mayor of Tjaru in the Reign of Thutmosis IV", *JARCE* 11 (1974), pp. 48-49 for a useful summary of the site of Sile. The location is first known with the city determinative (the P. Rhind examples and *Urk*. IV 647.12), but later we find the foreign land determinative: *KRI* I 8.11; cf. Jean Yoyotte, "Religion de l'Égypte anienne", *Annuaire. École Pratique des Hautes Études*, V^{e} Séction 91 (1982-1983), p. 218.
Most recently, however, see Fischer-Elfert, *Die Lehre eines Mannes*, p. 370 note 8. He argues that it is an institution *within* the royal Residence. But the son and father are *traveling south* to the capital.

56 The tenor of the text is not solely or even mainly oriented to loyalty to the king; see Fischer-Elfert, *Die Lehre eines Mannes*, p. 377. This concept of loyalty is not the one which is stressed. It *is* present, as Fischer-Elfert proved with respect to section XXX, but it is not the overriding theme. Corporate self-consciousness is dealt with in the first part, albeit through the negative pictures of other burdensome professions, and in the second we meet some of the expected social behavior patterns, so well described by Elias.
The development of the Satire to the Loyalist Teaching is covered by Fischer-Elfert on pp. 381-397 of his *Die Lehre eines Mannes*. He keenly describes the difference between the two on p. 391. We have moved to a different social setting, one in which the conception of a social group *as* itself is no longer in the fore. This interesting analysis of the author needs further economic and social analysis.

Equally, those professions that are mentioned are rather restricted. They appear to be locally based in that one could practice being – for example – a fisherman or a jeweler in one's hometown. Moreover, these are "traditional" occupations, indeed necessary ones for this stage of civilization. None has any prestige. No one would have achieved renown in Pharaonic Egypt by adhering to any of those positions. But since the Satire was drawn up for future scribes, this attitude was one of inoculation through scribal training, rather than demonstrating that one should not chose these other careers.[57] (Indeed, did one have the choice?)[58]

If the Satire of Trades is to be taken at face value, Khety's family was not well to do. The boy is not a son of a magnate. The son would have to get a job. Granted the artificiality of the setting, would the absence of a working son not be a loss to the family? No, in actuality they could manage without his services. But then, the "father" was also a functionary.

And in reality the "father" could afford to send his "son" in person to the Residence. It was an investment in the family and the future. At maturity, the son would be a state official, financially and socially dependent upon the king rather than financially and socially tied to the family estate. And he would have avoided the toil of being a worker. At best, he would have filled a middle level position within the Egyptian state, but one that did not allow for slaves, numerous servants, command

57 With regard to this composition and other Middle Kingdom literary texts, the best analysis remains that of Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*. I refer especially to pp. 192-245, which I have used on a previous occasion. Except for Ptahhotep, whose textual tradition is more complicated, the Satire and other well-known texts of this period were transmitted through the schools by a written tradition. Hence, as it has been often remarked, they were part of the curriculum.
Teaching Egyptian from the Satire of Trades was quite similar to teaching Latin from the military texts of Caesar (Gaullic War), Cicero (Catiline speeches), Ovid (end of the *Metamorphoses* with the triumphant figure of Rome and Augustus), and Virgil (Aeneid). All of those Golden Age Latin writers were employed by the schoolmasters to inculcate their *boys* with a specific concept of the Romans. The orientation of the teaching comprised the following social figurations: empire; male solidarity; war; peace through military triumph; superiority of the superior culture; and some trace of aristocratic Republicanism (Cicero). Never democracy, let me add.
Such training insured that a certain type of intellectual perspective on ancient Rome was preserved, one that reflected old teaching habits. Over time it ended up providing out-of-date perceptions of the Classical world. If one result was the preponderance of "schoolboy" ideas on Classical Rome in adulthood, a second was the creation of an enclosed self-replicating social unity – an elite which had studied these books.
It will be interesting to see how the future developments in the early study of Latin will affect the field. The old procedure has been dead for about two decades in the United States.
The Satire did the same thing. It perpetuated, not a class or even an estate, but rather a social unit, the *lower to middle* levels of the bureaucracy. N.B.: the highest always depended upon influence; e.g., social status through the family. A vizier was not chosen because of his ability to write.

58 Considering the agricultural economic system at the time, which was combined with a professional officialdom running the whole economy, the other professions of a non-agricultural nature were limited though necessary. I doubt if "choice" was "much of a choice". The idea of choosing one's professions, a very middle class orientation (with Protestant ideas connected as well) is too modern a concept to apply to this period of time.

positions, and influence at the court or in the regions. In addition, nothing judicial is associated with this scribe-to-be unless, of course, he will record matters spoken by a magistrate or perform some other legal matter that required an official document. In many ways the boy's career was a limited one, set within he boundaries of numerous superiors and written tasks. But he has avoided the toil of being a worker, and no compulsory activity for the state would be required (see section XIII).[59]

The time that a youth would begin his studies exactly parallels the later Miscellanies. His parents are alive, but he is not about to inherit his father's land. This assumes, of course, that the "father" had property, but the Satire purposely steers clear of this matter.[60] Neither does it specify the approximate age of the student; son (*s3*) is all that the opening calls him, and even here the word must not be interpreted in a literal fashion.[61] Instead, it follows the terminology adapted by the functionary class for its recruits. The later phrase "in the middle of the children of the great" (*m-q3b msw wrw*) provides little information except for the son's origins: Helck situated his physical beginnings in "the deepest province"; i.e., not merely in the haystacks but in the boondocks, but his interpretation can be questioned.[62]

In the society of Medieval to Early Modern Europe the degree of state bureaucracy was small. Can we draw a parallel between this phase of history and that of the early Middle Kingdom? Despite the presumed "son's" origin from the "tiefsten Provinz" to use Helck's phrase, I think not.[63] The "father" owned enough land to finance his son's way to school but not enough to endow more than one heir with a homestead. In societies following primogeniture, the patrimonial estate remained intact in order to continue one member of the family's basis of living. In Spain, the second son went into the clergy and the third became a warrior. In China the younger sons of landed families were expected to pursue careers in law, business, and the bureaucracy. The rule of primogeniture, rather than the exhaustion of land, explains some mass invasions such as those of the Norsemen. In principle, eldest sons were to

59 In real terms, the scribe is dependent upon the king, but he can "wear his fingernails long", to quote a provincial Chinese proverb, as he has no manual labor to perform. If we wanted to be ideological we could say that the subjugated relationship is compensated by the ethos of superiority.

60 It had to. The father-son constellation is not one of a real genetic connection; see note 14 above. But it is still the case that ownership of an estate never comes into the discussions. The functionaries-to-be were not sons of large landowners.

61 See note 14 above.

62 Section Ia; p. 18 of Helck's edition. Of course, this assumes that the border town of Sile is meant. However, this is open to criticism: see note 55 above.
One reason to prefer the accepted reading of "Sile" is that the voyage is from periphery to center (as in the Eloquent Peasant). See, for example, Parkinson's contribution, "Types of Literature in the Middle Kingdom", in Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 297-312. The outer to inner and inner to outer and back again is a common aspect of the day (Shipwrecked Sailor; Sinuhe). In particular, see now Antonio Loprieno, *La pensée et l'écriture*, Paris (2002), Chapter II.

63 *Ibid*. This is a further reason why one must reject the presumed origin of the "son" in Sile.

control economic resources; the others had to fight or enter a non-combative profession. (Note that I am restricting myself to groups who had some income, and one mainly based on land.[64]) But if the Satire was directed to relatively well-off landowners in a society where primogeniture was not the rule, would they have bothered to rid themselves of a son? Naturally not. From the lowest peasant to the well-off squire one thing was certain in agricultural life: the need for hands. The author of the Satire of Trades knows no such physical work.[65]

The professions listed in the Satire are *mainly* handworkers, the social group of *ḥmwt*.[66] They include stoneworkers and carpenters, jewelers, potters, barbers, reed-cutters (a craft, unlike that of a farmer), bricklayers, vintners, weavers, arrow makers, sandalmakers, fowlers, field hands and fishermen. But even the lowly field hand has a house; he has not been dragooned into state service for life. Most of these professions can be subsumed under the social class called *ḥmwt*. They most certainly were not officials. Their labor provided their livelihood; they were not directly dependent upon

64 The question of a fully developed monetary economy need not enter our sphere of interest for this brief summary.

65 But he does ignore this sector of society.

66. See the detailed study of Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Ägypten*. There is a useful survey of the economic implications of these professions at the close of the work.
Berlev consistently referred to an important passage in the XVIIIth Dynasty tomb biography of Tjennuy: *Urk*. IV 1006.17. In this section, which Franke considers to be highly significant, a list (*rḫt*: Berlev, *Obščestvennye otnošenija*, p. 54) of all the working population groups is "called" by profession (*snhy*; *Urk*. IV 1016.15). It runs as follows: army (*mšᶜ*) or troops in the first place (very significant); then the *wᶜbw*; the "king's servants/slaves" (*ḥmww nswt*; not "slaves" in our sense of the word but dependents upon the king; they are the laborers on land); and "all handworkers" (*ḥmwt nbt nt tȝ*). See the later edition of his tomb by Annelies and Artur Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni. Theben Nr. 74*, AV 19, Mainz am Rhein (1977), pp. 43-44.
But the scribes are not listed here (*pace* Franke) as they "belong" to – i.e., are paid by – the state. Observe that the priests are separate, and I assume, with Berlev (and Franke) that the term *wᶜb* in this case is the general term for those men. Noteworthy is the presence of the soldiers; this is a typical New Kingdom development.
Franke, again following Berlev (although this is not indicated in the presentation), maintains that the dichotomies free/unfree and royal/private economy are not valid. I agree with this conclusion, but I wish to add one important caveat: private ownership of land most certainly existed, even in the IInd Dynasty if not earlier. What Berlev wished to indicate is that if Pharaonic Egypt is viewed solely as an *economy*, it is impossible to set up a difference between private versus state (-corporate). Naturally, much of Berlev's work was directed against Western (read: bourgeois) assumptions concerning ancient Egypt; e.g., that the economy could, basically, generally, and *mutatis mutandis*, be fitted into a system wherein various sectors were divided in a sharp fashion and where the concept of "freedom" (in Classical Western economic historiography the first stage to economic "liberation") existed.
But surely in the New Kingdom we have a right to speak of corporate ownership of land independent from that controlled by the Pharaoh. I am referring to temple ownership of land. One must not forget private ownership.

the Pharaoh, unless we assign the field hands into the later Dynasty XVIII category of "slaves of the king"[67].

According to the Miscellanies, how did the younger sons during the Ramesside Period fit into society? What possibilities were open to these youths? Once more the fear seems to be that the son will turn to a career other than that of a scribe, but in this case it is a military one.

In the Satire of Trades there is the telling phrase, "When he began to become sturdy, but was still a child, he was greeted (respectively)". Here, at least, *ḫrdw* is the term, presumably meaning a pre-adolescent male.[68] "When he was sent to carry out a task, before he returned, he was dressed in a *dȝỉw*", continues the following, purposively antithetical, sentence.[69] Granted that the passage is troublesome, nonethe-

67 See the references in the last note. The basic study on the *ḥmww nswt* is that of Berlev, *Trudovoe Naselenie Egipta v Epochu Srednego Carstva*, Chapter I.

68 For recent discussions of the *ḫrdw* and other terms for young men (*ỉnpw*, *ḥwn*) see, *inter alia*: Edward F. Wente and Charles C. Van Siclen III, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom", in: *Studies in Honor of George Hughes*, SAOC 39, Chicago (1976), p. 230 (*ḥwn* post puberty, most likely akin to late adolescence); William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40, Chicago (1977), pp. 59-63; Edward F. Wente, "Age of Death of Pharaohs of the New Kingdom Determined from Historical Sources", in: James E. Harris and Edward F. Wente, eds., *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies*, Chicago and London (1980), p. 238 (*ỉnpw* pre puberty); Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, pp. 304-308 (economic dependence of your men who are not sons), and "Anchu, der Gefolgsmann des Prinzen (Grabrelief Boston MFA 1971.403)", in: Hartwig Altenmüller and Renate Germer, eds., *Miscellanea Aegyptologia. Wolfgang Helck zum 75. Geburtstag*, Hamburg (1989), pp. 81-85 (with a very detailed bibliography on the subject of *ḫrd*, *ỉnpw*, and the like in note 30 p. 81). Finally, see the edition of Erika Feucht, *Das Kind im alten Ägypten*, Frankfurt and New York (1995), Chapter 10.
Crucial as well for our analysis are the comments of Quirke in "'Townsmen' in the Middle Kingdom", pp. 144-145. The plural of "man", *s*, is *rmṯ*. See also Detlef Franke, "Kleiner Mann (*nḏs*) – Was bist Du?", pp. 33-48. A sizeable amount of the latter's argument derives from Berlev, *Obščestvennye otnošenij*; Chapter II covers the term *rmṯ* for the Middle Kingdom.
Gerald Moers, "'Bei mir wird es Dir gut ergehen'", in: Ulrike-Christine Sander and Fritz Paul, eds., *Muster und Funktionen kultureller Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung. Beiträge zur internationalen Geschichte der sprachlichen und literarischen Emanzipation*, Göttingen (2000), p. 65 divides the population into nobility, the priesthood, and the administration. I have no difficulty in following this presupposition. But the priesthood and the other functionaries all belonged together, and the nobility was in a rapid state of decline at this time. (Indeed, as Quirke noted on more than one occasion, if we examine the activities of the priests at Illahun, one surprising result is that they were *not* important.) I agree with a differentiation according to literacy and non-literacy, but this necessary point is not sufficient. For example, if single out the "Klerus", that is to say, then why should not the military be named as well?
One major problem with literary texts is that they are too deceptive. With regard to military events, although "War and Peace" *may* be read for an account of the Battle of Borodino, it is not as reliable as the accounts of General Kutusov, distorted though they may be.

69 Section IIIf; but see Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, p. 268 (reading *nn ỉy.f sḏ.f sw m dȝỉw*) and also p. 311.
However, women could also wear the "loincloth", the *dȝỉw*: see the helpful discussion of Jac. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, Leiden (1975), pp. 265-271. He concludes that it was probably the name of the common short skirt/kilt worn by workmen. Incidentally, it was not the cheapest garment to be worn. Janssen also points out that the *sḏw* is the triangular loincloth: *ibid*., p. 274.

less the import is clear. By now the youth has grown up a bit and been authorized on some commission by his superior, an official of the state, of course. He is now better off, wearing a *dȝỉw*.

But the New Kingdom Miscellanies presupposed a somewhat different society. The great wars of liberation in the Second Intermediate Period had taken place. "Victorious Thebes" was a commonly accepted state myth that bolstered the small Theban state, wedged between outsiders, Nubia and Hyksos.[70] The nationalistic Egyptian state had come to rely upon horses and chariots and other improved weapons of war. The complex new military was poised to expand the boundaries of Egypt north and south. By the middle of Dynasty XVIII military men were an important segment of the society. Some, like Ahmose son of the warrior Ebana, were wealthy enough to have expensive tombs.[71] Others belonged to the higher echelons of the society.

But all armies need their fodder. Soldiers are necessary. And it is the former, the simple *wꜥw*, that the Miscellanies attack. (There is an important exception to this, but I will cover that problem later in the discussion.)

Who wrote these Ramesside tractates against soldiers? Scribes obviously, and writers who were training other writers. The situation is not quite the same as it was with the early XIIth Dynasty. And now there was no need to establish a complex bureaucratic society; it had arrived ages ago.[72] The prospective scribes of the Miscellanies are pretty well along in their training, so much so that they are expected to transcribe these texts on their own. They have emersed themselves in the propaganda of their profession, which included a conscious sense of superiority. Their vituperation is not directed at the military elite but rather at the neophyte foot soldier, the *wꜥw*; i.e., a group of laboring men like those in the Satire of Trades.[73]

In the Ramesside Period at Deir el Medineh the price of a smooth piece of the *dȝỉw* varied from 11 to 20 deben of copper, and from 20 to 30 deben for one of thin cloth. This coincides pretty well with the price of a wooden bed, a not unsubstantial object.

I understand the passage as indicating the relatively elevated status of the scribe, economically speaking. He is now separate from the hoi polloi. Whether or not he is regarded as an "adult" (e.g., in Simpson's translation, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*[2], p. 333), remains unclear. Helck's interpretation, *Die Lehre des Dwȝ-Ḫty*, p. 34 is very questionable.

70 Detlef Franke, "Erste und Zweite Zwischenzeit – Ein Vergleich", *ZÄS* 117 (1990), pp. 124-126; the entire article is significant (pp. 119-129).

71 Here we can refer to the detailed study of Andrea Maria Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, SAGA 17, Heidelberg (1996).

72 Significantly, Barry Kemp called one major aspect of the Middle Kingdom "The bureaucratic mind": *Ancient Egypt*, Chapter 3.

73 Ancient Egypt had no need for a Bill Mauldin, whose American foot soldiers in Italy, Willie and Joe, were the anti-heroes. They aptly reflected the boring life in the army and the anti-military establishment tradition as well. One has to wait to a leveling democracy to see such attitudes in print, or in cartoon format at any rate. Note, however, that Mauldin was allowed to publish such serious lampoons by the permission of the authorities. This was not necessarily due to "enlightened" behavior on their part. The latter had become subtler in their propaganda as a result of World War I. The same may be said for the American war films in 1944 and 1945. To be

Let us now turn to one of the simplest complaints, that in part eight of P. Anastasi II; it was copied frequently. That papyrus commences under the rubric of *sḏd nḫtw*, the "recitations of the powers" of the king.[74] Contrary to Caminos' (following Gardiner and his 19th century predecessors) arrangement, these *nḫtw* include the Delta Residence, King Ramesses, Merenptah (twice), the villa of Sese, and a model letter featuring eulogistic passages.[75] Thereupon, the papyrus breaks into a different genre fitting for its owner, probably a man of the north, a scribe of the treasury, who died soon after the reign of Merenptah and was buried at Saqqara.[76] His text and a

---

accurate, not all of them were allowed to be shown: only the privately produced ones, even though they were quite sarcastic and satirical *at this late date*. One can pinpoint, on the other hand, the disappearance of the famous series of John Ford war documentaries. The latter covered shell shock, blindness, and other common physical injuries of a major sort.
I am still confidant that a future Egyptologist will find such cleverness in the ancient record.

74 This situation will be clarified at a later date. For the moment let me place on record my concept of these *nḫtw*: they are reflection of might, power, glory, determination, imposing beauty, and the like. In one phrase: stupendous acts. I do not interpret the term as including religious or philosophical "things" in the narrow, professionally defined way.
Most recently, Philippe Collombert and Laurent Collon, "Les dieux contre la mer. Le début du 'papyrus d'Astarté' (pBN 202)", *BIFAO* 100 (2000), pp. 193-242 have discussed the *sḏd bꜣw* and the *sḏd nḫtw* in a very important study. They note the use of the former term in the texts of personal piety, ones that go back to the middle of Dynasty XVIII (Amunhotep II). I do not, however, agree with them when they state that "Les expressions *sḏd bꜣw* et *sḏd nḫtw* sont largement interchangeables" (p. 225 note 180, with ample references). With Borghouts, I see the former as relating to gods and dead kings and the latter to living kings; see his "Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation (*bꜣw*)", pp. 2, 8-9.
In this context, we can refer to the very challenging interpretation by Serge Sauneron concerning the word *nḫtw* in "Deux pages d'un texte littéraire inédit. Papyrus Deir el-Médineh 39", in: Jean Vercoutter, ed., *Livre du centenaire 1880-1980*, Cairo (1980), pp. 137-138 note (c). His conclusions should be contrasted with Borghouts' concept of divine *bꜣw*.
For the eulogy as a literary form: Jan Assmann, article "Eulogie, Königs-" in Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, Wiesbaden (1977), 39-46; a selection of royal eulogies is presented in his *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*[2], OBO, Freiburg and Göttingen (1999), pp. 511-539.
Redford's comments in *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals, and Day Books*, p. 257 note 1 can be expanded. There is no involvement of "folklore" or even an "oral tradition". Instead, *sḏd* refers to a performance which was oral, but could quite possibly include gestures and other movements. The words, nonetheless, had to be memorized or read from a papyrus.
See as well, Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, *Lesefunde im literarischen Steinbruch von Deir el-Medineh*, KÄT 12, Wiesbaden (1997), pp. 78-89. The heading *tp rn n* ….. indicates that we have the instruction for an eulogy, except it is in the first person. This is why this editor has indicated that the work might be an "Autobiography of a Divine King" rather than a "Recitation from the Deir el Medineh Royal Cult". See his later study, "Ostrakon DeM 1610. 'Autobiographie d'un roi divin?'", in: Jan Assmann and Elke Blumenthal, eds., *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten*, BdE 127, Cairo (1998), pp. 197-208.
Note these additional factors: the king as a youth (*nḫn*); the use of rubrics; and the phrase "recitation of the august might", *sḏd pḥty špsy*.

75 The divisions in the Miscellanies were employed in order to separate the various section presentations. Hence, they have empirical validity, and the endings were specifically noted through the *grḥ* sign.

76 See Quirke's analysis in note 3 above.

whole torrent of scribal didactic literature including the Satire of Trades (P. Sallier II) and P. Anastasi I extol the superiority of the scribal profession.[77]

This version of exhortations – memorized and repeated to young men thereafter – includes the expected benefits of avoiding physical labor leading up to the telling phrase: "When man comes forth from his mother's womb and (immediately begins to) run to his superior (*ḥry*)".[78] Then arrives a useful catchy phrase: "When man comes forth from his mother's womb and (immediately begins to) run to his superior (*ḥry*)". The idea is a fitting concept in a hierarchically determined society. It is not a question of subservience but what choice in career the boy will make take:[79]

> The child is in the service of a soldier.[80]
> (*pꜣ šrỉ m šms n wᶜw*)
> The youth is a skirmisher.[81]

---

77 We are fortunate to have the seminal publication of Fischer-Elfert on this composition: *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I*, KÄT, Wiesbaden (1983) and his translation and commentary, ÄA 44, Wiesbaden (1986).

78 I follow P. Anastasi II section 8, 7.3 at this point and the following references will refer to this account unless indicated otherwise. Note that the scribe is "not under *many* lords" (my emphasis: 7.3). For "lords" read "masters" (*nbw*). The concept is that the scribe has superiors but they are few in number. Was this true? If we assume that in a hierarchy one person has a superior but a superior has many underlings, then this generalized description has validity. This I accept, albeit with many reservations. But was it the case that a tenant farmer or a stable master (cases in this section of P. Anastasi II) had many superiors? Much leaves to be desired in this polemic. Nonetheless, in a "pure" hierarchically organized bureaucracy it *should* be the case that a person is responsible to only one superior. Otherwise, the internal system is complicated and conflicting commands and loyalties occur; cf. Luhmann's standard work, *Social Systems*.
In the army, for example, there may be many captains over lieutenants and non-commissioned officers. But the rule of direct command applies: one over many. Surely, this system was in force in the New Kingdom. This account is deceptive.
As I shall often refer to this standard work on the military organization of the New Kingdom below, let me refer here to Alan R. Schulman's *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, MÄS 6, Munich (1964).

79 Lines 7.3-4.

80 Did not the Doomed Prince have his own *šmsw*? Note that the hero called himself a *snny*. N.B.: when the prince left Egypt he had grown up from his childhood; he was no longer a simple *ḫrd* but now one who could marry. I suspect that when the man reached Asia, the term *ḫrd* is applied to him more from a youthful perspective than from one indicating a boy, per se. E.g., the foreign king's remarks to the prince can be viewed as reflecting his superiority and his somewhat patronistic (or avuncular ?) attitude. The prince is no longer a boy but not yet a man. Marriage and his fates determine that. Of course, from the point of view of the narrator, he will always remain a *ḫrd*.
See also Jean Yoyotte and Jesús Lopez, "L'Organisation de l'armée et les titulatures de soldats du Nouvel Empire Égyptien", *BiOr* 26 (1969), p. 5 on the elite troops during campaigns. Their case concerns that of Thutmose IV in Nubia.

81 For *mnḥ* Caminos provides a brief list of the previous scholarship on pp. 52-53 of his edition. Schulman, *Military Rank Title and Organization*, pp. 25 and 99, prefers "youth" but leaves untranslated the term *mgꜣ*.
Jaroslav Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, BdE 50, Cairo (1973), pp. 113-115 has provided the best analysis. The *mnḥ* receives a lower wage than the

(*pꜣ mnḫ m mgꜣ*).
The old man is put to be a cultivator.[82]
(*pꜣ ỉꜣw dd<w> r ỉḫwty*)

Succinctly, the three stages of the life of a soldier are laid out. He is first described when still young, and I feel that the pre-pubescent stage of a boy ca. 10-12 years old is implied. Indeed, the youth is not even a *wᶜw*. Later some reach a combatant role without officer rank, but eventually all end by being retired. The term *mnḫ*, translated by Caminos as "stripling" may be retained; note that he could marry. At this stage he could fight and do combat duty, albeit of an irregular sort. Once more he is not called a "soldier", a *wᶜw*. Eventually, he would go back to toil in the fields owned, for the most part, by temples. (The *ỉḫwty* cultivators worked for corporate bodies – e.g., temples – or even individuals who leased land.)[83] Significantly, the references to the

---

"men", the *rmṯ*. Note that this young man or stripling can marry, but as the Maxims of Ani show, he is not yet married. A *mnḫ šrỉ* is a very young stripling. See as well, De Cenival, "Deux papyrus inédits de Lille avec révision du P. dém. Lille 31", *Enchoria* 7 (1977), p. 6 note 6. The term *mnḫ*, not surprisingly, can refer to young animals; I presume that they could procreate. Dimitri Meeks has noted the presence of the *mnḫ* in the Turin Tax Lists: *Année Lexicographique* III , Paris (1982), p. 121; see the interesting reference of *KRI* II 822.4.

Bernadette Menu prefers the term "colon" in her work *Recherches sur l'histoire juridique, économique et sociale de l'ancienne Égypte* II, BdE 122, Cairo (1998), pp. 54, 190-191. But no analysis is given of the development of this term. I.e., its later economic and legal use in contrast to the core meaning of "youth". Moreover, she appears not to have provided a clear-cut analysis of the *mnḫ* and the *nmḥw*; on the latter: Shafik Allam's general survey in his *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*, Tübingen (1973), pp. 265-267 and 270 note 5 may suffice. The *nmḥw* were "Vollfrei" according to Allam. Of course they were not. But if we understand their status as *without superior control* – i.e., not superiors, nor required or forced "Zwangsarbeit" –, then we come close to an *economic* understanding of their position.

Jan Assmann, "Die 'Loyalistische Lehre' Echnatons", *SAK* 8 (1980), p. 5 prefers the term "the poor" for *nmḥw*, referring back to Hellmut Brunner, "Die religiöse Wertung der Armut im Alten Ägypten", *Saeculum* 12 (1961), pp. 319-344; but Malte Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches*, ÄAT 21, Wiesbaden (1994), pp. 430-451 presents the best summary regarding the *nmḥw*; *mnḫ* is covered on p. 436. For the second word she refers to Anthony Leahy, "Two Donation Stelae of Necho II", *RdE* 34 (1982-1983), pp. 80-81 note c. There, the same meaning of "youth" for *mnḫ* is followed, although Leahy sees the possible connection (through metathesis) of *mnḫ* and *nmḥw*. I agree with him regarding the New Kingdom core idea of "apprenticeship", "novice", and "young man".

The best-known ancient examples with respect to the social expectations of marriage may be found in The Maxims of Ani (Joachim Friedrich Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani*, OBO 141, Freiburg and Göttingen [1994], pp. 88-89). This Egyptian work is a very male oriented presentation. Cf. Ahmose son of Ebana, *Urk*. IV 2.10-16.

For a new analysis of the New Kingdom military, see Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*.

82 On the *ỉḫwty*, see in general B. J. J. Haring, *Divine Households*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 12, Leiden (1997), pp. 287-288.

83 But as the man had seen service in an arm of the state administration, I would presume that he would end up having land under his control (but not owning it), which belonged in some way to the state. I do not exclude the possibility that he could be expected to till the fields on temple property, but even then we must remember that the *ḫꜣ-tꜣ* fields, said to be Pharaoh's, were run by temples.

military cease here and other professions are examined, some of which we remember from the Satire of Trades, while others are new. It was stylistically necessary to list the soldier's career first and describe the stages of that professions, the culmination of which, it is implied, is to be a mere skirmisher, rank or title unstated.[84]

In P. Bologna 1094 recto we read of a misappropriation of a solitary aged soldier (*ỉꜣw n wꜥw*).[85] The account is clear enough to warrant the conclusion that the event was not acceptable to the writer. How different is this "real" account – it is an official letter – from the anti-soldier tractate! The writer of this official letter was *Ḥwy*, the chief of the recordkeepers of the army, no combat soldier. The recipient of the letter was a charioteer (*kḏn*) named *Pꜣ-Nḥsy*, a member of the military elite – but not a high officer.[86] He was specifically told to rectify matters and to dismiss from the army those responsible, who seem to have included standardbearers. How different is the tone from that of the earlier Miscellany tractate.

The case of Ahmose son of Ebana should not be used as a paradigm. He was from a military family; and his father, albeit only a *wꜥw*, nevertheless prepared the way for his more successful son. When he was still a boy (*šrỉ*), not yet married, Ahmose took over his father's position.[87] Temporarily having returned home for a few years, the man was called up for active duty in the Eastern Delta. (The term "hammock" of the sixth line has caused so much debate.) Effortlessly the young man entered into the military arm of the state. Simply by being the son of a soldier he had become one.[88]

---

84 To be accurate: P. Anastasi II's diatribe is a general one and does not really stress the military too much. We note, however, that after the general statement on "we all have superiors", it turns immediately to the military. On the other hand, the first two levels (child, young man) are *related to* the army, but the male has yet to be a "soldier", a *wꜥw*. For the third level in these "ages of man", we end with the prospect of retirement. The adult's male's position, interestingly placed fourth, is that of the soldier, *wꜥw*. (Once more see a confirmation of Quirke's analysis concerning the word "man", *s*.) In 7.4 it is preceded by *pꜣ*, thereby indicating "man" in general; the male. It is in distinction to youth, the *šrỉ* position, and that man can be a soldier.

85 Section 16: 11.9-vs 1.6. This affair reminds one of P. Bologna 1086: Walther Wolf, "Papyrus Bologna 1086: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Neuen Reiches", *ZÄS* 65 (1930), pp. 89-97 with *KRI* IV 78.14-81.12. There are important comments on this text in Alan H. Gardiner, "Ramesside texts relating to the taxation and transport of corn", *JEA* 27 (1941), p. 21.

86 On the *kḏn*, let me refer only to Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, *passim*, but see p. 237 at this point. The important conclusions of Yoyotte and Lopez will be referred to later.
Since chariot warriors, charioteers, and chariots automatically imply horses, it is necessary to cite the remarkable study of Catherine Rommelaere, *Les chevaux du Nouvel Empire égyptien. Origines, races, harnachement*, Paris (1991). The opening chapters place the development of this equid *within the social, economic, and political* setting of Dynasties XVIII-XX. But they also cover the all too important *genetic* component.

87 Donald B. Redford's comments in his classic work, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty: Seven Studies*, Near and Middle East Series 3, Toronto (1967), pp. 46-47 are well-worth re-reading in this context.

88 Such simple facts in the advancement of a career are often overlooked. Because the military is a distinct component in any society, and removed from the sight of civilians (e.g., separate living quarters, garrisons, and the like), it is strongly self-centered. Naturally, the potential sacrifice of

Moreover, he took the same position as his father in one of the ships of the king's flotilla.[89] Evidently, parental pressure insured the success of Ahmose's early military career, so we should not compare his account with that of P. Anastasi II. (Yet note P. Anastasi V, section 8: such cases were bound to occur.)

Next the papyrus offers the luckless youth a position in which a superannuated soldier could expect to end his days: doorkeeper and cattle fattener. Doorkeepers are lame, and blind men tend cattle. Following these miserable folk are the bird-catcher and the fisherman, the latter of whom closes a thought in this composition. At this point there are obvious parallels with The Satire of Trades.

Then two religious types appear, who almost never occur in such discussions:[90] the prophet (*ḥm-nṯr*) and the priest (*wꜥb*).[91] With the first, it appears that the master attempts to overlook the status of this possibility: "The prophet stands as a tenet-farmer".[92] He is clearly dependent upon the temple's land and so not "free".[93] That profession was a relatively good one in that there was steady pay from a temple inde-

---

life places this subsystem in a very different position than the others; e.g., an officialdom of scribes.

But the officer class is the elite section of the military. Not surprisingly, often these man come from families who have seen a long tradition in sending their sons into the army.

In particular, when there is a relatively complex society, and a separate organization whose purpose is that of external violence, then the warrior class becomes extremely self-conscious of its position, role, and the like. Furthermore, this group develops a strong enclosed ethos. Ahmose son Ebana was not a lowly independent farmer, and he benefited economically from his career. But he entered the flotilla of the state through the influence of his father. Did he not take over the exact position his father held (*Urk*. IV 2.12-13)?

89 All know that he was not married. Then he "founded a house" and afterwards was called away to military duty in the north (*Urk*. IV 3.2-4).

90 But see our comments above and the following note.

91 Once more, note that only the lowest levels of the priesthood are covered.

In general, see Franke, "Kleiner Mann (*nḏs*) – Was bist Du?", pp. 33-37. (I will not discuss the controversy surrounding *nḏs*, which is the main thrust of Franke's discussion. The reader will find a fully documented treatment of that matter in this article.) As Franke points out, in the Old Kingdom *wꜥb* as a verb indicates "to be free and to perform priest service" (p. 35). Significant for our analysis is the following point (p. 34). In the Merikare text (XX 3-8; Petersburg papyrus, lines 85-7) the officials (*srw*) are "yoked with work products (*bꜣkw*); the "Freigestellte" (*wꜥb*) are equally yoked with fields (*ꜥḥt*). An addition and extremely useful further passage will be found in XXIII 4-12; Petersburg papyrus 100-103). Both have obligations to the Pharaoh. But the officials are not *bꜣkw*, they are not "workers" per se.

For recent detailed studies on *bꜣkw*: Jac. J. Janssen, "*Bꜣkw*: from Work to Product", *SAK* 20 (1993), pp. 81-94; Anthony Spalinger, "From Local to Global: The Extension of an Egyptian Bureaucratic Term to the Empire", *SAK* 23 (1996), pp. 353-376; and Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, pp. 167 and 184.

92 Thus he, as well, is "reduced" to becoming a mere *ỉḫwty*. See note 82 above. But the *ḥm nṯr* does have the use of land for his income. And we must remember that both of these members of the sacerdotal hierarchy received additional income from their positions. This is ignored as the focus is upon: (1) physical labor and superiors for the *ḥm nṯr*; and (2) the simple *wꜥb* who must "do his service" (*ỉrt ḥnt*) and perform his ritual act of cleansing/purification.

93 We can therefore return to the citation of Tjennuy and the discussion in note 66 above. As Franke observed, the military was a "Berufsklasse": "Kleiner Mann (*nḏs*) – Was bist Du?", p. 42 note 25.

pendent of revenues derived from renting property. The poorer priest, on the other hand, has too many petty sacerdotal duties to perform, although the workplace calamities were not so very severe.

Next there is the stable-master, whose line of work was unknown in the Middle Kingdom, and must work all the time or trouble will occur. Finally, the existence of the baker is as wretched as it ever was. The scribe, predictably, is "ahead of all manner of work in this world".

The list is not as long as that in the Satire. But the presence of the soldier as well as the lowest ranks of the priesthood are the most significant. The master must explain their problems in more detail than those of the others. Therefore, he splits the clerical field into two logical components, prophet and simple purification priest. Although it is soon evident that all other similar careers are worthless, there is little doubt that the soldier is placed first for reasons of importance.[94]

Omitted in the Miscellanies are the heroic deeds on the battlefield, the feeling of man-to-man solidarity in war, the rush of adrenalin (viewed by the ancients differently than us), the uniting of many men into one unit, the canalization of masculine hormones into fighting and violence, the thirst for blood, and the trophies of war, both human (hands, phalli, bodies, live enemy) and not (booty such as chariots, horses, and war equipment).[95] The entire ethos of fighting is ignored.[96]

---

94 I only see the baker present, although the introduction overtly hints as field laborers and oarsmen. This diatribe was a short one in comparison to the Satire of Trades. The more detailed attacks concerned other professions, including the soldier.
The soldier's role remains in the forefront despite the generalized introduction.

95 I can cite three major and easily accessible works on this matter: John Keegan's *A History of Warfare*, London (1994) and two remarkable books of Turney-High.
The introduction by Keegen to his volume is most instructive. Denied a military career owing to a disability, he nevertheless ended up teaching military history at the elite school of Sandhurst in Great Britain. There, on the first day, he was suddenly introduced to the crucial hallmarks of clothes, rank, weapons for show (carried on the body but not used), and the traditions associated with platoons, brigades, corps, etc. (denotation on clothing, historical memories). In other words, what he had learned of fighting (both historically [e.g., battles, wars, weapons] and philosophically [from Clausewitz, Jomini, the beautifully written memoirs of Sherman and Grant]) was the bare minimum.
Keegan quickly assimilated the *ethos* of the military, its enclosed self-conception. In other words, he came to realize that it formed a separate social unit, a self-replicating subsystem of his society. One can immediately perceive his astonishment when he discovered that the system of the military was more than a mere arm of the state employed for external violence. Empirically, what Keegan indicated in his general work is what Luhmann wrote in his *Social Systems*.
Harry Holbert Turney-High, on the other hand (whom Keegan considers to be a "unrepentant Clausewitzian"), broke through one of the taboos of modern Anthropology. Having researched extensively on American Indian societies, he ended up being in the US cavalry (!) in 1941. From that all-too-brief experience, Turney-High learned much concerning horses, chariots, cavalry, and the like. Subsequently, his work, *Primitive War, its Practices and Concepts*, Columbia (1949) was published, only to receive no response from his professional colleagues. It took about two decades for this work to be reintroduced into American Anthropology. The professional field clearly had no sophisticated conception of war, social solidarity of young men and experienced officers, the use

We must keep in mind that war and the military are not simple intellectual parlor games, suited for theologians or armchair academics.[97] The object of war requires animation, even though a code of behavior may exist in which one elite recognizes its opponent as possessing an equivalent "humanity". "In the heat of war one may loose one's head", it is often said. As a corollary to this oft quote phrase we can state: "the heat of battle produces men". But the crucial bonding element of all armies, from the top echelon to the lowly foot soldier, is the feeling of solidarity, even though as scribes point out, hard work and punishment is involved.

Under the division's flag or the battalion banner lies a lengthy tradition that all recruits quickly come to learn, respect, and love. This is a replacement for the absence from home or the lack of wife. In his early career John Keegan was surprised to come across such presences in the mess halls at Sandhurst while he was teaching there.[98] He also found out that one of the main attractions of a soldier's calling involved no family responsibilities. Food, housing, clothes, and heat are all taken care of by the state. In addition, a rigid chain of command exists which allows one to avoid pangs of conscience.

---

of tools of war, and other aspects of primitive society. Significantly, his earlier work was entitled: *The Practice of Primitive War: vol. 1, A Study in Comparative Sociology*, Missoula (1942).
But Turney-High did not remain engrossed solely in the archaeological evidence of humankind; he went far beyond studying the social aspects of war in so-called "primitive" societies. This is most evident in his later work, *The Military: The Theory of Land Warfare as Behavioral Science*, West Hanover (1981).
I prefer to cite these three studies in contrast to those who think that one can begin with Clausewitz, or who avoid the "real" topic of war and the military. It was for this reason that my review of Thomas von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung zur Qadeš-Schlacht*, HÄB 22, Hildesheim (1984) was overly severe: see *JARCE* 24 (1987), pp. 153-156. I suspect that Murnane was of the same opinion: *CdE* 66 (1991), pp. 163-164.
Before contemplating reading Clausewitz let me recommend Raymond Aron, *Clausewitz: Philosopher of War*, trs., Christine Booker and Norman Stone, Englewood Cliffs (1985).
With respect to the literary aspects of war, equally necessary is Edmund Wilson's *Patriotic Gore: Studies on the Literature of the American Civil War*, New York (1962). Among others, one can meet Sherman and Grant, as well as Whitman and Harriet Beecher Stowe.

96 This is why in my review, *JAOS* 122 (2002), pp. 125-127, I strongly endorsed the work of Susanna Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches. Eine Bildanalyse*, DÖAW 17, Vienna (2001). Perhaps unwittingly, she reopened the issue of what war was and is. Her edition allows us armchair enthusiasts to see in action the physical action of campaigns. "War is hell".
But these Ramesside scribes avoided that issue. They were locked into a strictly run functionally oriented hierarchy, yet at the same time some of them worked hand-in-hand with the actual combatants. As was his wont, Berlev remained keenly interested in the economic aspects of the ancient Egyptian society and so ignored the last points. According to him the mores of the military are predominantly derived from the economic set-up. But much more can be added. For example, the interdependence of subsystems within a total system, in this case the military within the society of Pharaonic Egypt. Again, a Luhmannian approach is needed to elucidate further our Miscellanies' complaints, although I do not differ with Berlev on the main points of these scribal productions.

97 The following discussion assumes knowledge of the works cited in the previous two notes. Nonetheless, "experience is the best teacher".

98 See the comments in note 95.

But the morale of the army is the crucial factor, one that Napoleon and Clausewitz, recognized. It binds the legion together and creates masculine solidarity.[99] How much such a tradition effected the recruitment of Egyptian soldiers is open to question. The Miscellanies purposely ignore this factor.

Wolfgang Helck, who spent a great portion of his life dealing with the military also fought in a major war,[100] but as with all infantrymen he refused to discuss battles although he remained faithful to the soldier's life.[101] By and large this is true for all foot soldiers. Only the elite or upper echelon of the army end up writing memoirs. In Egypt, as Helck proved, many a high-ranking soldier ended up in a non-military position late in his life. At least for the officer class, rewards were certain, provided one lived. But that is the soldier's *règle du jeu*.

The heroic and manly deeds of a soldier had become part of the New Kingdom *mythos* of war, one that was divinely sanctioned through Amun-Re.[102] Thutmose III was glorified as a warrior. Ramesses II became the most publicized war hero Egypt had ever known. In the public areas of his temples visitors would read and see some of these accounts or hear them interpreted by priests. An enterprising treasury official found a copy of the Kadesh campaign and copied it for personal use.[103] The Ramesside story of the Taking of Joppa and another fragmentary account provide further evidence of an interest in such reports.[104] Hence, in addition to a full sequence of pictorials that could be followed by viewers, there were written accounts on papyri, and a recently edited example of Ramesses III further confirms that contention.[105]

In addition to Pharaohs, there were private individuals who achieved success. The detailed study of Gnirs illustrates how pervasive if not persuasive these men were.[106] The careers of Ahmose son of Ebana and the general Djheuty cover the first half of Dynasty XVIII. Mehy in the reign of Seti I as well as Menna and a second soldier of

---

99 This is evident throughout Clausewitz's classic study. In particular, see his emphasis on "morale".

100 Helck's early life coincided with the steady decline of Germany's semi-Ritterish society; see Elias' comments in *Studien über die Deutschen. Machtkämpfe und Habitusentwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Michael Schröter, ed., Frankfurt am Main (1989).
His first work was on the military: *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie*, UGAÄ 14, Leipzig (1939). The review of Alexander Scharff in *Or* 9 (1940), pp. 144-148 is worthwhile to read in this context as he laments the stress on war at this time.
The up-to-date study on the military in the New Kingdom is now that of Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*.

101 This point is based on personal conversations with the man. He was not the only foot soldier Egyptologist who avoided discussing the horrors of war; Alan Schulman was another.

102 The following discussion is based upon the final chapter in my work *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative*, GOF IV/40, Wiesbaden (2002).

103 Of course, I am referring to the well-known Pentaweret.

104 On these stories, see pp. 347-350 of the work cited in note 102.

105 P. Louvre N 3136 (not in Devéria); pp. 359-365 in the study of note 102.

106 *Militär und Gesellschaft*.

Ramesses II at Kadesh were key military figures in Dynasty XIX.[107] Non-royal men, among them this Ahmose and Amenemheb, were enriched with plots of land in addition to booty was their rewards. But if we remember their names, surely they resonated more loudly in contemporary times. Even an unfortunate man stranded in a tree in Syria was considered worthy of remembrance in a war relief of Ramesses II.[108] Who he was we do not know, but the carving is original enough to conclude that the event was regarded as singular. (Fortunately, there is a written record of this event as well.)

King's sons preened themselves as having learned the art of war "in the thick of it" and survived, proud to have been subjected to the hazards of the military life.[109] Young men do not have to be dragooned into the military service out of poor pecuniary circumstances; and given the successful campaigns of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, a boy of ten or so might fantasize about becoming a soldier. That his aspirations must be discouraged at all costs is one subtext of these Miscellanies.

Neither could the scribe master dispute the morale of the army, achieved through a rigid chain of command. The writer of P. Anastasi II (and the duplicates) warned that harsh discipline was a fact of life, but he avoided the issue in his diatribe. For common soldiers, a rigid orthodoxy of group behavior is required, one that demands solidarity and obedience. An entering member of this fraternity is usually young and is always assumed to be a civilian inexperienced in combat.[110] In order to inculcate the required responses to command and loyalty to the superior, positive as well as negative inducements are put into force; and the latter include corporal punishment, especially for raw recruits who are not expected to become officers.[111]

The master is quick to note that if the scribe is lazy, he will be curbed (e.g., P. Anastasi III 3.10 and so forth). Note that his position is qualified as being that of an important individual. (The term "magistrate" is used in the translation of Caminos; – *ỉ3w*, but I think the general term "office", which he also uses, is more appropriate.)

---

107 In general, see William J. Murnane, "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution", in: David O'Connor and David Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, PdÄ 9, Leiden, New York, and Cologne (1995), pp. 199-203. I believe that his conclusion has to be modified. Ramesses' attack on Mehy was more of a personal attack than a political one. Do we really believe that Mehy threatened the royal bloodline of this period? Incidentally, we do *not* know when the suppression took place, a point that Murnane stresses on p. 207, but a date after the death of Seti I appears to be the most reasonable.

108 See my study cited in note 102. On the sons of Ramesses II see the new work of Marjorie M. Fischer, *The Sons of Ramesses II*, ÄAT 53, Wiesbaden (2001). She tends to downplay the role of king's sons in the army.

109 Murnane was quick to note this aspect of Ramesside life in his "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty", *passim*, especially pp. 203-207. Most royal males were in the army and participated in major wars.

110 And this is one of the obvious traits of the scribal accounts.

111 This point is clear from the two lengthy diatribes. They are directed against the lowly *wꜥw* and the higher-level *snny*. See below for a full discussion of the latter.

But beating is indicated later on in this Miscellany (3.13); and the youth is called by another term for "boy", *ʿḏd*.

P. Anastasi III is of equal importance for our analysis.[112] Caminos found a parallel to that of the previous account in Section 6, but this time a more specific analysis by the master scribe of what happened to a recruit, "that much tormented one", a boy (*nḫn*) of two cubits height.[113] Now if a cubit is approximately 20.6 inches or 523 millimeters, then the youth was only 3.43 feet or about 1 meter high.[114] He would be so small that, notwithstanding the era, he could not yet have reached puberty.

The account details a specific series of trials and tribulations that will come to the boy. This text is concerned only with the apprentice soldier whereas the previous one dealt with a series of professions against which the scribe's career was contrasted. Here, on the other hand, the scribe begins with a brief note regarding his own position – the life is pleasant – and then the calamities start to befall the soldier. The adversities are listed in order. First, he is taken away (from his parents) and put into the barracks. Naturally, a strong verb is employed here: "imprisoned", *ḏdḥ*; but surely that is hyperbole. Then he is repeatedly beaten. Any mitigating circumstances are ignored. For example, whether this youth might have had a chance for an easy life outside of the army is not addressed.

It is time for him to go on maneuvers. Note that he is not a charioteer.

(1) Going to Asia is very tiring.[115] He has to take care of his own equipment and he becomes exhausted. His body creaks forward; water is rancid; he is just an ass.
(2) Then in battle all that he experiences is his own feebleness.
(3) He returns ill and emaciated. Sickness overcomes him.
(4) Back at home he is so weak that he falls prey to the local sharpies. Even his trusted follower, *šmsw* deserts him.[116]

---

112 On the difference between the longer account of P. Anastasi III and P. Chester Beatty V, see Yoyotte and Lopez, "L'Organisation de l'armée et les titulatures de soldats", p. 6.

113 5.5-6.2; the account ends with a "finis", *grḥ*; so does the next section dealing with the chariot warrior.

114 I depend upon Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*[3], Oxford (1957), p. 199.

115 The setting is always in Asia. See Serge Sauneron, *Kemi* 18 (1968), pp. 17-27. There, he deals with the topos of hills in these northern countries. But the attitude expressed reveals more than a simple literary perspective. It indicates as well that the more dangerous areas were Asiatic. The more settled regions were north of Egypt and the countries were more significant. In addition, the peripheral regions of Egypt's northern territories lay open to predation. Nubia was not as dangerous or as important. But an important question can be proposed: why was Asia a zone where a more heroic tradition persisted?

Notwithstanding the bias of these accounts, they reveal contemporary attitudes regarding the world outside of Egypt. In this case the danger lies in out of the way places in Asia. The fear is not from foreign empires, large states, or even cities; they, at least are civilized. Instead, dangers come to the ever-marching platoon; exhaustion is the final result, not death in a battle.

Note that this soldier has been sent to Asia, where the wars continued into Dynasty XIX. Nubia, never of the same military power as the Canaanites and Syrians, not to mention the Mitannians and the Hittites, had already been pacified and annexed by the middle of Dynasty XVIII. In this scenario there is no place for a battle scene, no depiction of casualties; for it must be assumed that our soldier is on the winning side. The young man arrived on the battlefield in vulnerable physical condition, literally naked as a bird.[117] Then he had to march home, crushed by fatigue, only to be robbed and abandoned.

The demustering procedure has been left out of the story, not to mention the positive emotional effects of arriving safely at one's hometown. But all through the campaign the soldier has had an inferior next to him, a *šmsw*, a sort of aide-de-camp for the common soldier, whose presence is well known from the Ramesside Story of the Doomed Prince. He might be considered equivalent to a modern officers' assistant, indeed a stereotypical figure who is never described fully. (In particular, let me refer to Ernst Jünger's *In Stahlgewittern*. *Ein Kriegstagebuch.*)[118] So after all, the *wˁw* has an assistant, an underling; he is not the lowest in the totem pole after all.

The scribes of these Miscellanies copied them down for instruction and group solidarity. The address and addressor did not create these texts. The master of P. Anastasi III was a certain *ʾImn-m-ỉpt*, a scribe to be sure, but also a very high-ranking military man.[119] He held the honorary position of "fan bearer on the right side of the king", but also that of "first charioteer of the king", a significant elite rank.[120] In addition, his positions included that of being the "deputy", *ỉdnw*, of the chariotry, and an envoy, *wpwty* to the kinglets of Asia. He is known to have another title that involved the Asiatics. His addressee, the luckless *Pʾy-Bs* who had to receive these reports, is identified only as a scribe; and although he was probably buried at Saqqara at the end

116 It is interesting to read these additional remarks. In this case we learn that a *wˁw* had an assistant, a *šmsw*. So the latter is a superior after all.

117 See Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 94 on 5.12. Add also Sauneron, *Kemi* 18 (1968), pp. 23-27 (in another context, but the connection can be made).

118 Berlin (1937). Elias on p. 278 of his *Studien über die Deutschen* presents a good analysis of Ernst Jünger's assistant, the "gute Knigge". He is depicted in a completely two-dimensional way; see the commentary on pp. 274-281.
Jünger belonged to the old military elite in Germany but was not in the highest echelon. His aesthetic orientation, which some may see as a parallel to our elitist scribes, was well-expressed by Bruce Chatwin in his "An Aesthete Goes to War", in Robert B. Silvers, Barbara Epstein, and Rea S. Hederman, eds., *The First Anthology: 30 Years of the New York Review of Books*, New York (1993), pp. 189-203.
Besides representing the old middle-ranking military elite of Prussia-Germany, Jünger was an excellent writer and a remarkable art and literary enthusiast. He was also known for his scientific work on time, *Das Sanduhrbuch*, Frankfurt am Main (1954).

119 For the various addresses and addressors, see Gardiner's introduction to the texts in his *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, xiii-xxi.

120 On this title, see below, note 130, referring to Yoyotte-Lopez.

of a reasonably successful career, outside of probable association with the military, nothing more can be inferred. Thus both men would have rubbed shoulders, so to speak, with "real" combat officers. There was no reason for the either to dislike military officers. But when it came to lowly foot soldiers and chariot warriors, that was a different matter. Of course, *Pꜣy-Bs* and his master were king's functionaries (scribes), and so *separate* from the regular combat troops.[121]

ꜣImn-m-ỉpt was an important personage, one who saw active service abroad. The mention of "first charioteer of the king" ought to imply previous – rather than current – active military service. In addition, *ꜣImn-m-ỉpt* was not destined to be a mere foot soldier. His career ranks and titles indicate that he was influential and belonged to the elite fast-moving chariot arm of the military. As noted earlier, we do not know the level of his underling *Pꜣy-Bs* except that he was a scribe. The exhortation, however, was directed to beginning scribes, and if they were to be members of the army, they would most certainly not become mere soldiers, *wᶜw*, but rather recorders of booty, accountant supply masters, official army scribes. Their careers were separate from those of the non-literate infantry, the Lumpensoldaten.[122]

The scribe or addressee of P. Anastasi IV, *ꜣIn-nꜣ*, and his superior were connected to the treasury. They exemplify one group in a block of similar professions of which Quirke gave an excellent analysis when covering the problem of archives in Pharaonic Egypt.[123] *ꜣIn-nꜣ* also turns up in P. Anastasi VI, where he is described as the "assistant" of the treasury scribe *Qꜣ-gꜣb*. The copyist of P. Sallier I was the same treasury scribe who spent a long time copying the Battle of Kadesh, *Pn-tꜣ-wrt*. Evidently, his earlier training did not lead him to reject the armchair approach to war. (The writer of P. Lansing will be discussed below.)

When describing these military ranks and titles, Schulman observed that "first charioteer", *kḏn tpy*, was a man who saw combat; he was not a recorder scribe.[124] The rank was a very significant one and higher than the *snny*. Standard bearers, as well, though honored abroad and within Egypt, were not administrative officers; for they fought in the army. Those "deputies", *ỉdnw*, translated as "adjutants" by Schulman, were assistants to be sure; but they were soldiers. It is correct that some of *ꜣImn-m-*

121 One useful conclusion of Schulman in his *Military Rank, Title and Organization* was his clear-cut differentiation between the scribal sector of the army and the combat one. This is covered in the first six chapters of his work, but see pp. 62-66 in particular.

122 This conclusion needs stressing. It is essentially the one advanced in Helck's *Militärführer* and repeated in Schulman's work. P. 79 of the latter summarizes the position: "there were two distinct backgrounds from which the members of the military came, that of the civil official, and that of the actual fighting soldier".
Here, in the Miscellanies we are dealing with the former; i.e., the writer and the receiver. But there was some overlap, as Schulman was quick to note. See the roles of the "deputy" and even the *kḏn*.

123 See note 3.

124 *Military Rank, Title, and Organization*, 67-68.

ỉpt's qualifications can be considered to belong under the rubric of "service titles or posts", to quote Schulman.[125] A detailed analysis of his sources indicates that this man did belonged mainly to the administrative sector of the army. Among those service or post title of *ʾImn-m-ỉpt* we may list his role as adjutant of the chariotry, but a deeper consideration of the matter leads to the conclusion that these men fought; the term *ỉdnw* followed by a qualification (here: "of the chariotry") meant for Schulman a rank and not a mere title. But it was a position that also involved being a scribe, and more often than not his duties "were mainly of administrative nature". Hence, to quote Schulman, "it is not surprising to see scribal ranks attested in the protocols of the 'adjutant' even though, in the main, he appears to have come from the combat soldier background".[126]

The master *ʾImn-m-ỉpt* was mainly associated with a non-combat role. His eventual career proves this because he wound up being an envoy; a diplomat, not a general. His talent was for verbal persuasion, it appears, rather than for physical force. The title that he held, "fanbearer on the right of the king", was purely honorific, given to men who served their Pharaoh wisely, carefully, and successfully. These *ṯ3y ḫw ḥr wnm n nswt* did not belong to the center ranks of the superior officer class of combat troops.

Pomorska connected *ʾImn-m-ỉpt* with the well-known viceroy of Kush.[127] That seems impossible. This *ʾImn-m-ỉpt* son of *P3-sr* would have had to survive through the reigns of Ramesses II (67 years), and earlier he would have lived under Seti I (eleven years) and Ramesses I. Only the titles "first charioteer of his majesty" and "Fanbearer at the right of the king" can be found with our man and the viceroy. Moreover, the position of "King's son of Kush" must have been the ultimate grade that this earlier *ʾImn-m-ỉpt* attained and it is not listed in the Miscellany tractate. We therefore cannot connect the two.

But the difficulty in interpreting "first charioteer of his majesty remains". Was it also employed for combat soldiers? Most certainly, the career of *ʾImn-m-ỉpt* would seem to indicate a negative response. In Schulman's work similar ambiguities occur when he covers the role of this man. For example, Schulman points out that the charioteer normally held the reins.[128] Hence, he did not "fight" except as a last resort. In the lists, claims Schulman, we find the charioteer above the chariot-warrior, the *snny*, and the stablemaster, but below the adjutant of the chariotry.[129] It would thus

125 *Ibid*., 34-35 (*ỉdnw*: mainly administrative), 59-62 (on the *snny*), 69-71 (standard bearer).
126 *Ibid*., 35.
127 Irena Pomoroska, *Les flabellifères à la driote du roi en Égypte ancienne*, Warsaw (1987), pp. 137-138.
128 *Military Rank. Title and Organization*, 67-68.
129 *Ibid*., 59-62.

appear that in the Anastasi papyrus, *ʾImn-m-ỉpt*'s titles begin with the least important, or the earliest gained, and move up to the most important.

The data assembled by Schulman is too disparate to use effectively, and some of the analyses are prone to error. Fortunately, the review of his work by Yoyotte-Lopez has corrected to some degree the confusion evident in his analysis.[130] We first find the term *kḏn* (the word was originally Asiatic; cf. Akkadian) in the reign of Thutmose III, and it originally did not designate a man of war. The term "first charioteer of his majesty" appears at Amarna. Such "simple" charioteers were common by the reign of Seti I just as the ordinary *kḏn*'s and those of the "nobles", the *kḏn tpy n ḥm.f*, are found frequently in the texts of Ramesses II. Moreover, as the two scholars proved, not all charioteers were combat men.

Our quandary is resolved. *ʾImn-m-ỉpt* was not first and foremost a combat soldier. Instead, his role was one of preparation, consideration, and administration. We can now better appreciate his preference in sending this standard Miscellanies account back to a lowly subaltern. In addition, he had this literary composition available because it was part and parcel of the scribal bureaucracy. Let us further keep in mind that the attacks did not impinge on the elite officers of the army; the military, as a social group, was never satirized.

After the foot soldier there remains the lesser officer, the chariot-warrior or *snny*.[131] Part two of the Miscellany tractate refers to this other "wretched" profession. Whereas in the Satire of Trades the "father" counsels his (metaphorical) "son", and both mother and father are respected, the would-be fighter gets thrown the youth is thrown into the stall (*ỉḫw*) "on account of his father and mother".[132] Here, they parents chose their son's career in the army. The Miscellany account is a bit more realistic than when dealing with more mundane occupations. The author could not ignore the fact that as a *snny* one received slaves, *ḥmww*, however lackluster they proved to be. When the chariot warrior tried to get horses from the royal stables, he succeeded. The account must present these obvious career successes, but the scribal author tries to turn them to his advantage, for example, accusing the warrior of remaining ignorant of how to deal with horses. Caminos has interpreted the passage in a similar fashion.[133] But the account makes it clear that the man will have to buy his chariot. Therefore, his ignorance of equines ought not to extend to the chariot. A careful consideration of the

130 "L'Organisation de l'armée et les titulatures de soldats", pp. 3-19. In this context of this discussion see pp. 10-12 in particular.

131 The remarks of Yoyotte and Lopez cited in the previous note should be read with the text of P. Anastati III 6.2-10.

132 See Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen*, 338-339 for an important correction.

133 See his commentary on p. 97 of his *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. First, he points out that a "team of horses is meant" (p. 97), and second, he notes the problem of trotting, etc. (pp. 97-98). See now Fischer-Elfert, *GM* 63 (1983), pp. 43-45.

matter seems to be that the youth can deal with them (the pair) "freely", i.e., unharnessed. This appears to be the correct interpretation even though the man has yet to get a chariot.

The scribe has tacitly conceded that the chariot warrior was better off than the foot soldier. While his age is never indicated, I feel that he was at least thirteen years of age, if not possibly older.[134] He sells his goods to his father and mother in order to acquire the requisite chariot; it is not free. The exchange is direct to his parents, both of them. The total cost was eight deben, undoubtedly in copper.[135] Although the papyrus dates to Merenptah, this Miscellany was surely composed earlier, possibly in the reign of Seti I, but more probably under Ramesses II when the silver-copper ration was 1: 100. (As Janssen indicated, by the close of Dynasty XIX the ratio had diminished to 1: 60.) But since the silver is not counter in "pieces" (*sniw*), the equivalence would have been one khar to two deben of copper. Hence, the cost of the chariot pole plus the chariot came to four khar.

The son would have bought his equipment from the estate of his father and mother for roughly the monthly Deir el Medineh wage rate of four khar of emmer wheat.[136] They also received half a khar of barley, and so the total percentage of a month's work at Deir Medineh in comparison to the cost of the two items comes to not quite seventy-five per cent of a Deir el Medineh monthly wage, which, according to Janssen, fed a family of ten. Janssen observed, however, that the workmen's wages also took care of family and the imponderable number of family members. He assumes the total wages could feed ten members, and the historian of ancient economy must take this into consideration.

The son who wanted to be a chariot warrior must have had the wherewithal. It appears that he has remained in his village (*niwt*).[137] He probably had a house of his own if not a wife, although this is not explicitly stated. The Miscellany reveals that he gets

134 It is understood that one can ride a horse at a very early age. However, Pharaonic Egypt was not a semi-nomadic society in which young boys were literally brought up on a horse. Our case under examination further reveals the dichotomy between the horse and the team of horses plus chariot. Hence, it demonstrates that to use a chariot required much time (and expense). But from the account the man has to buy a chariot; he has slaves. Evidently, the age of the individual is considerably older than that of the potential *wʿw*.
In Egypt, owing to the alluvial irrigation, there was no need to use the horse as a draft animal. In any case the harness had not yet been invented, much less the horseshoe (not needed in Egypt). In addition, by today's standards the horses were also small and less robust.
It ought to be clear from this account of the Miscellany that training was necessary in order to prepare one for a chariot-oriented life. So the young man is ignorant and so suffers.

135 For the following calculations, I follow Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, Part II, Chapter I.

136 *Ibid*., 455-493. I realize, following Janssen, that the workmen had additional sources of food.

137 He is "assigned to the stable" but deals with his parents. He "reaches his village with them", the horses (6.6).

to be assigned to the stable according to his parents. They have influence, importance, and economic independence; perhaps they financed his appointment as well.

Whatever occurs after that, the poor fool of the text loses. "He makes them/it into sandals of a leather worker" go the words.[138] The horses are mere animals, perhaps akin to our machines; and the chariot warrior pushes them, as if they were mere soles under his feet and not live and wondrous beasts, worthy of proper treatment. "He seizes them/it and then he puts it/them in/onto the *ꜥby*". The last word remains obscure.[139] It is not a location, as the determinative is the fox's pelt. And then he recklessly throws them into the "thicket", if I am allowed to follow Caminos here.[140] His legs are cut by the *ꜥby* and his flank by the sharp and thin leaves of the thicket. He looks ridiculous. People arrive for their tasks. He has apparently ruined the cultivation by means of his horses. No wonder he is beaten. And he did not receive this treatment from army life or from combat. Once more the author belittles a character. That he is somewhat better off that the foot soldier is truly remarkable. At least when attacking the *wꜥw* the Miscellany did so on the battlefield; not here. (The two concepts are nonetheless similar: one's whole body is attacked.) But surely the main theme of the argument is the chariot warrior's crass stupidity. Intelligence and training are needed.

See how both accounts parallel each other, and neither refers to the Middle Kingdom concept of (presumed) emancipation from control. The contrast between the Satire and these Ramesside attacks lies in different social compulsions. At the beginning of Dynasty XII the state could force agrarian workers to labor, as expressed by *ḫrp*, "to control", and *ḫrpw*, "controllers". Indeed, in the Satire the professions are all non-agricultural ones; one is not a slave (*ḥmw*). In section XIII, for example, the Satire explicitly indicates that field laborers, owning no land, could be taken away for work in the Delta by the state. (Of course, the account was produced in the north; the reed cutter also goes north in the Delta.)

But while the Satire moves from the bad professions to the only good one, it also mandates a series of requirements for the scribe. Their lack in the Miscellanies is another important difference between the audience of the compositions. In the Ramesside Period the orientation was not to develop a scribal hierarchy and to maintain it through self-awareness and mutual solidarity. In the Satire the man wants his son to secure a good position. In the Ramesside attack against the chariot warrior a new perspective is just as evident as the change in society. Nonetheless, the old concepts of

138 This is one of the troublesome portions of the account: see most recently, Fischer-Elfert, *GM* 63 (1983), pp. 43-44. His translation is (p. 44): "er macht es [= the span of horses] in/mit Sandalen vom Lederarbeiter".

139 See Fischer-Elfert, *GM* 63 (1983), p. 44, following Westendorf, *ꜥby* = "Zügel(leine)".

140 Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 98. The word is in James E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton (1994), pp. 255-256; see as well Fischer-Elfert, *GM* 63 (1983), p. 44. He translates *sꜥr* as "Dornengestrüpp".

scribal "independence", lack of coercion, position of daily superiority, and ease of life are maintained, albeit amplified and altered somewhat.

The *snny* is unknown as a title after the reign of Ramesses II.[141] Hence, we can place the Miscellany to that king's reign at the earliest. (This is one reason why the Doomed Prince, reflects an earlier age, that during the existence of the Kingdom of Naharain.)[142] Yoyotte-Lopez discerned that the *snny* performed the same functions as the *qrᶜw*. Both words were practically synonyms and both designated the lowest sector of the chariotry. While traveling, the two men on an Egyptian chariot had separate duties. The *kḏn* took care of the transport of the chariot and his partner took charge of the shield ("porte-bouclier", in French). Most of the XVIIIth Dynasty knew only the *snny* with supervisors stationed above them. The term *kḏn* appears during the Amarna Period, and in Dynasty XIX the latter term gradually became the official title for ordinary charioteers and thus supplanted the older word *snny*. Thus our *snny* was, as may be expected from a reading of the Miscellany, in the very low ranks of his profession. It is the terminology that can help to date the composition earlier than the reign of Merenptah.

There is small insert in P. Anastasi V that Caminos, once more following Gardiner, labeled as a "sorry plight of the soldier in summer time.[143] The army has been dismissed to the fields because it is too hot to fight and, more importantly, the soldiers' crops are ready for harvest. The soldier, who is the "hot one", is "in the power (*bꜣw*) of Amun", and he is truly a "doomed man for whom there is no escape".[144]

Nevertheless, the passage from 10,3 to 11,1 provides a useful parallel to the lengthier diatribe of P. Anastasi III and parallels. Here the divisions of military ages are reliably stated, but in reverse order from previously:

(1) The adult male (*s*) is a soldier (*wᶜw*)
(2) The stripling (*mnḥ*) is the skirmisher (*mgꜣ*).
(3) The child (*šrỉ*) is brought up to be taken away from his mother's bosom.

141 See Yoyotte and Lopez, "L'Organisation de l'armée et les titulatures de soldats", pp. 10-12 for the following discussion.

142 It is mere chance that this tale received little attention by the contributors to Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*? The last major study is that of Wolfgang Helck, "Die Erzählung vom Verwunschenen Prinzen", in: Jürgen Osing and Günther Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass – Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten*, ÄAT 12, Wiesbaden (1987), pp. 218-225. Loprieno has covered the image of the Asiatic in this literary composition in his *Topos und Mimesis. Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur*, ÄA 48, Wiesbaden (1988), pp. 61-64.

143 *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 229.

144 We have to thank Borghouts for a new and improved interpretation of this section of the Miscellanies: "Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation", in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, 27.

In the training of foot soldiers, the separation of the child (*nḫn* of the earlier account is parallel to *šrỉ* here) from the mother was the first discipline. Beatings, the typical threat to children, followed.

Now it is the case that other professions are denigrated in the Miscellanies. Farmers, merchants and the like formed other humorous outlets to these men.[145] The scribal functionaries could laugh them all at. Surely, lampoons existed centuries before Khety and the Satire of Trades; they need not have been written down. However, soldiers as a corporate group in society had gained much in status and in wealth since the late Second Intermediate Period. As part of the state apparatus, and receiving salaries from the government, the scribe and soldier stood on equal footing. Moreover, both could operate in warfare. Yet civilian life in comparison to the heroic ideal of the day was easier.[146]

To make the point more clear, a third type of diatribe was utilized: P. Lansing and its type.[147] Scribes, it is said, "open up" all granaries and treasuries (of the king). Scribes receive fine linen and can issue divine offerings, the implication being that they have wealth of some sort. You have, P. Lansing assures, a villa (*bḫn*), a "powerful office" supplied by the king, a bark for pleasure, even slaves who dutifully render homage.

In contrast, the soldier has too many superiors, among them the scribe. The soldier, though a state servant, remains poor, receiving only corn rations, and working like a slave. In this tirade there is no specificity except the pertinent and cutting appeal

145 For example, see P. Lansing section 6 (5.7-7.6). Among other similar ones, these attacks fit the standard pattern of literate (scribal) superiority. But the diatribes against the *wᶜw* and *snny* need a separate analysis, if only because neither formed an important sector in earlier Egyptian society.
In other words, I connect *all* of the Miscellany vituperations against the designated professions to the same self-conscious enunciations of a literate corporate body present earlier in time, but I place the military in a separate category owing to is importance in the nation.
Such functionaries or officials, on the other hand, could not use the argument of separation by salary because they and the soldiers were state officials. Nor could they employ disparaging remarks against the military elite, indeed, against any officer. Instead, they fix their attention on the lowest level in the army: mere *wᶜw* and *snny*.
Many of the scribes worked in the army, and so saw duty side-by-side with the combat soldiers and officers. But from these tractates one can wonder whether the "real" troops ever considered the scribal sector to be "comrades". Presence in combat is the true proof of the warrior.

146 In P. Lansing section 7 (7.6-8.7) we meet once more the concept of superiority through "giving orders" and not being a servant of others.

147 P. Lansing section 8 (8.7-10.10). Note Caminos' rubric in his volume, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 400: "The scribe is free and rich, not miserable like the soldier". We may disagree with the expressed concepts of "free and rich", but the core meaning is clear. The functionary is a member of the king's officialdom; he is "a trusty one of the king", to quote Caminos once more. He holds a palette; the life is easy; there are no physical burdens of agriculture; no whip to hold over the oxen; no fields to plow.
Even more significant are the following positive attributes: the scribe has a villa (*bḫn*); he owns land and has slaves (*ḥmww*) working on them; and people respect him. Status, we see, is extremely important.

to jealousy: the soldier's superior has easy access to the broad halls of the palace; the ordinary military man does not.[148] It is obvious that the importance of a soldier is being attacked as well as the physical labor that he must perform. Hunger is a hyperbole. It makes one wonder what were the wage differences between the common soldier and the common scribe.

The soldier of P. Lansing must go to Asia. The theme has its geographical impulse to throw the focus of attention upon the daily attrition in the north. Everything immediately goes wrong at Sile, the disembarkation point. (Incidentally, this portion of the text throws light on the logistics of massive armies from Egypt to Asia. The campaigns of importance were all organized within the homeland, not abroad where only a comparatively few soldiers were garrisoned.) The problem of inadequate requisitioning is compounded by the brackish and insalubrious water.[149] Debilitation and disease ensue. Then the army, except for the chariotry, which is inexplicably absent, is attacked and surrounded. The soldier is pressured to move fast but he is extremely week. Now that victory has occurred – never is it claimed that the Egyptians lose – the return trek is no pleasure trip. Pharaoh gets the best, of course: the captured troops (*ḥ3qw*) and the tribespeople (*mhwt*).[150] (This campaign appears not be directed against a major power such as Hatti.) Some foreign woman is placed upon the soldier's back; he caves in and is unable to reach home.[151]

The soldier's family is ruined because he cannot return. The soldier either dies, and his wife and children never see him any more, or if he manages to survive, then he is too infirm. He has the chance to desert, but then his entire extended family and connections (*rmṯ.f* in this case) suffer for him; they are incarcerated.[152] Eventually he dies as an outcast on the periphery of settlement. The copyist of this tractate, in-

148 Hence, we meet the hierarchy of the officer class (9.5-6): the general (*ỉmy-r3 mšꜥ*); the commander of a host (*ḫry-pḏt*); the so-called assault officer (*skt*; cf. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization*, 57-8, but see the important remarks of Yoyotte and Lopez, "L'Organisation de l'armée et les titulatures de soldats", p. 6); the standard bearer (*t3y sryt*); the adjutant (*ỉdnw*; for the man and the preceding, see Yoyotte-Lopez's comments, *ibid*., 7); the scribe; the commander of fifty men (*p3 ꜥ3 50*); and the garrison commander (*p3 ḫry ỉwꜥyt*).
I do interpret this list as Schulman does. For me it is enough to distinguish the *wꜥw* solely from the point of view of commands: he receives them but does not order any one else. This is unlike the presumed situation of the scribe.

149 One more I can cite the incisive study of Sauneron, *Kemi* 18 (1968), pp. 17-27; the important sociological comments will be found on pp. 20-7.

150 For the classical discussion of the *mhwt*, see Franke. *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen*, 179-203. The references to foreigners and *mhwt* first occur in Dynasty XIX, and we find the term employed with Libyans as well as the Shosu. Since the account of P. Lansing is in Asia, we can link these semi-nomads with the geographical and political orientation of the diatribe: extreme periphery (east borders) of the Egyptian empire.

151 She must have been a prisoner; see the previous reference in the composition to captives and *mhwt*.

152 Therefore, this example reveals one reason for desertion and flight. In Egyptian texts we normally read of flight from forced labor (in the fields or on state projects). That situation is known as early as the Middle Kingdom.

cidentally, a certain apprentice *Wn-m-dỉ-ʾImn*, worked under the royal scribe and chief overseer of the cattle of Amun-Re.[153] He had no apparent ties with the earlier XIXth Dynasty cases of treasury scribes, addressors in the scribal arm of the military, or the like. (A different locale is set in Gardiner's P. Turin C, Thebes; and the master was a lector priest at Medinet Habu.)

P. DEM 35, first published by Sauneron supplements the account of Lansing.[154] He titled this work "The Disillusions of the Asiatic War", but it is nothing of the sort. Rather, as Sauneron himself understood, it is another of these anti-soldier attacks. The subject this time is the *wᶜw*. Although parallel to Lansing, there are key differences to be noted. The terrible tasting and infectious water is found in the mountains (or hills). The continuous imprecations to move forward also may be found in Lansing. Sauneron noted the frequent references to mountains. Evidently, this series of the tractates acknowledges the inevitability of guerrilla warfare, in inhospitable terrain in which ambush was a constant threat. The march to battle and back again receives more attention than the fighting, of which the scribe was probably ignorant. Nevertheless, the resonance in these texts is so strong that truth is to be inferred in their contents.

These tractates appears to have circulated outside of the actual combat arm of the army, although I suspect that some of them must have been known to the high ranking members of the military.[155] But the latter belonged a different class and status from the ordinary soldier (and apparently chariot warrior). They were the officers.

Perhaps there was a need to provide a specific rebuttal to this career owing to different career possibilities open to young man. For reasons stated throughout this discussion, however, the origins of these scribal attacks have to be looked for elsewhere. Corporate solidarity seems to be the best reason. Yet the position of soldier or chariot warrior enabled one to leave the dusty back streets. The earlier Satire's professions held in disrepute all appear to be connected to the local towns and cities. The capital is mentioned only in the context of the new school of scribes. But bricklayers, carpenters, and fishermen lived and worked close to their homesteads.

In the New Kingdom soldiers were on the march or in garrisons. The foot soldier has always been attacked, from past to present, but he was necessary for the Egyptian empire. His deeds were heroic, and they had resonance within and without the Nile

153 Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, xviii and xx (for the following example).

154 Sauneron, "Les désillusions de la guerre asiatique (Pap. Deir el-Médineh 35)", pp. 17-27.

155 P. Anastasi III locates the master's role in the scribal sector of foreign affairs as well as in the high-ranking non-combat role of the army.

Negative comments on the common soldier by military commissioned officers are nothing new. Those elite military men, as well as the scribal functionaries of the Miscellanies, form a social system quite separate from the ordinary soldiers. Hence, they provide for themselves varying forms of social distance. Such distinctions do not necessary have all of their origins in a materialistic interpretation of reality, as Berlev tends to argue.

Valley.[156] The role of the chariot warrior, a new branch of the army since the Second Intermediate Period, was considerably more elitist, for it possessed the advantage of fast locomotion. Hence, the vituperation directed against the *snny* is more careful in its avoidance of corporal punishment and the tribulations of war. It is striking that the ignorance of the *snny* is pointed out with respect to with chariots and horses rather than any hardships abroad.

Neither scribal attack comes to grips with the attractions of warfare or the career of professional soldiers. Heroism in battle was avoided. Quiet campfires or other pleasantries of tenting were eschewed, which we may see in the scenes of the Battle of Kadesh.[157] In fact, the drunkenness in camp, which is also recorded in the Kadesh reliefs, receives no attention.

The normal backbreaking tasks of a foot soldier, the tribulations of daily marching, training, and the like, are recounted in the Miscellanies when the soldier's life (that of the *wꜥw*) is described. We must assume that these tractates were directed to the apprentices of important officials. These texts surely circulated in scribal offices and bureaus, and were read and copied. In essence, we are dealing with a self-propagating convention, one presented through writing, and one that reflected a specific social order within a society. A group of New Kingdom literate functionaries had set themselves off from others. This may have begun far earlier than the XIIth Dynasty, but by the XIXth Dynasty there was need to support even more strongly their self-conception.[158]

Two further points need elucidating before this presentation is complete. First, it must not be forgotten that the Miscellanies attack other professions as well. Nevertheless, the Lansing account and that in P. Anastasi III (parallels included) are detailed enough to be considered separate from those other, more traditional, vituperations. They also concentrate upon one profession and do not list a whole group, among

156 Note that there is nothing "romantic" or heroic in the military engagement as recounted in P. Lansing and its parallels. The enemy is minor, composed of "tribespeople", *mhwt*. The region is not urban; indeed, it is located away from the centers of Egyptian control in Asia.
In a nutshell, Lansing indicates what regular or commonly expected military conflicts are: attacks and from or ripostes against small "partisans", insignificant yet troublesome foes. Although occurring sporadically, they are frequent enough to warrant mention. Major wars are few and they usually result in propagandistic accounts having a nationalistic flavor. Raids and bush wars usually do not.
For the Middle Kingdom's feeling of such groups, we can turn to the analysis of Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis* and the important review of the volume by Stephen Quirke, *DE* 16 (1990), pp. 89-95.

157 No scenes of the night before the battle (e.g., Thutmose III before Megiddo or Henry V before Agincourt in Shakespeare's play) would have been allowed to enter the tradition of the Miscellanies.

158 Once more let me refer to Quirke's analysis in *DE* 16 (1990), p. 92. At the beginning of Dynasty XII the functionaries, the *srw*, were just beginning to be an important literate part of ancient Egyptian society. The Satire of Trades bears witness to this start; the Miscellanies reveal a different societal make-up of a later date.

which the soldier appears, as in P. Anastasi II. By themselves, these two tractates of Lansing and Anastasi III plus the Deir el Medineh example edited by Sauneron stand alone in comparison to most of the Miscellanies' negative remarks against professions. The setting of the other complaints is located in a series of scribal exhortations, ones that deal with the necessity in improving one's knowledge of the scribal craft. (The Miscellanies also contain hymns, eulogies, thus indicating that these compositions belonged to the advanced scribal profession.)

Scribes certainly participated in the major campaigns of the king. They kept the tallies of casualties and the booty.[159] Master scribes also composed the lengthy war records that were transferred to temple walls. But did the army scribes always accompany the scouting parties sent to repel enemies at the peripheries? Moreover, there always remained the clear-cut distinction in the army between combat troops and scribes. Thus it might be argued that the Miscellanies hide the dichotomy between these two sectors of the Egyptian army: the "real" soldiers and those men whose careers, although military, did not entail hand-to-hand fighting.

In the Miscellanies the split between simple foot soldier and chariot warrior reveals the necessity of these texts to attack the both sides of the army. But the grades are low, not one member of the officer class is attacked.[160] In fact, with respect to the charioteer, the march to battle and the return were avoided in contrast to the experiences of the foot soldier.[161]

Were the scribes attempting to recruit boys and young men for the literate profession, as they had done in the Middle Kingdom? This could appear to be the case, but only if we assume that there always was a pool of candidates. But would they have been the same group that would have been inducted into the *wꜥw*? There, physical ability, obedience, lack of literacy, and a non-questioning attitude were the rule. To be a scribe at least two of these attributes were not necessary, but the ability to solve problems was. (For an example of the fourth quality, see P. Anastasi I.) But corporate group solidarity was the real intention, the overtly expressed self-conception of the scribal elite.

The scribes' inclination for setting themselves apart from others is first seen to any extent in the Satire of Trades. This text documents the great expansion of their literate

159 It is sufficient to refer to the cited works of Helck, Schulman, and Gnirs at this point.

160 Did the corporate loyalty of the literate scribal functionaries who were not involved in the military insure that they avoided this issue? Either their loyalties extended far beyond the purview of their non combatant civilian careers or they were too wise to attack the officer class. Perhaps some of the scribes would later work in the military, but not necessarily in the armed wing. I leave it up to the reader to decide which of these alternatives reflects the actual social setting. Any combination of them could have, of course.

161 Similarly, note Fischer-Elfert's comments on Ostracon DEM 1221 in *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I*, pp. 280-282. Line 3 has the very interesting passage "You are not a scribe; you are not a soldier". But he shows that the fragment belongs to P. Anastasi I.

social group, that of the functionaries (*srw*). The professions held in disrepute by the Middle Kingdom satire are invariably practiced in the local towns and cities. Bricklayers, carpenters, and fisherman lived and worked close to their homesteads. To go to scribal school, the country boy would journey to the capital.

In the Miscellanies, written centuries after the success of this scribal elite,[162] the military career was similar to a scribal one because it allowed a man to leave his town and to travel wide. But can we maintain that the young boy-scribes would have been lured by a soldier's life? I suspect not. Unfortunately, the question of social advancement opportunities in the New Kingdom is a topic that has only been partly explored.[163] However, what were the openings to scribes? How high in rank and status would they have expected to go? What did they expect after thirty years' service as a scribe? All of these questions are ignored in the Miscellanies. Instead, the written propaganda concentrated on the ease of the scribal life in contrast to the harsh one of a common soldier. But the difference between the work of the officialdom and that of a laboring activity remained the core theme from the Middle to the New Kingdom.

The morale of soldiers involves heroics and fraternal solidarity, if not an honorable death on the battlefield. This is an accepted fact of the warrior profession. It does not belong to the scribal officialdom. Thus, the latter social grouping had to turn to the unglamorous aspects of the life of a soldier.[164] Today, this would include the latrine

---

162 Remember that they were composed long after the end of the old land-based "nobility": see Franke "The Career of Khnumhotpe III of Beni Hasan" for a useful analysis; add Pascal Vernus, "Quelques exemples du type de 'parvenu' dans l'Égypte ancienne", *BSFE* 59 (1970), pp. 31-47; and Harco Willems, *Chests of Life*, MVEOL 25, Leiden (1988), pp. 61-62.

163 This situation is worthy of analysis because the preliminary prosopographical studies have been completed on the military (Helck, Schulman, Yoyotte-Lopez, Gnirs) and on other sectors as well (e.g., Helck's studies on the administration and economy of the New Kingdom). The *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* will provide the interested reader with the specific references under the relevant entry.

164 It is a major assumption to assume that a civilian understands military life. At the minimum, he or she has never seen war in the flesh. Normally, civilians do not refute the existence of war when attacking the profession of a common soldier, but rather they stress meaninglessness of daily military life. When shooting metaphorical cannonballs against this profession, writers often turn to the severe and demanding rules of the army and its bloated bureaucracy. In short, a satirical approach (different from that of the Miscellanies) results. The "Catch 22" (Joseph Heller) or the "Slaughterhouse-Five" (Kurt Vonnegut) aspects take over.

Only in total collapse and destruction do other attitudes flourish – see in particular the recent work of Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Die Kultur der Niederlage*, Berlin (2001). Here, however, we are not dealing with the defeat of nations but rather with the scribal perceptions concerned with the normal aspects of daily military life of the lowest rung.

Can we assume that the authors of these anti-soldier tractates knew nothing of war? Or can we assume that they purposely avoided it, preferring instead to point, as a specific example, to a minor razzia in the hill lands of Asia? For the group solidarity of these functionaries it did not matter. For example, when they focused on the chariot warrior they ridiculed his idiocy with a chariot and the cost of that item. With respect to the *wꜥw* it was sufficient to describe his backbreaking mundane life

The Miscellanies were not detailed accounts of the life of the ordinary soldier. Since the Middle Kingdom the crucial defining factors were burden versus ease and command versus subservience.

work (at that time probably done by the *ḥmww*), peeling the potatoes, and the constant commands given by equally young but more influential men, the recently commissioned officers. Add as well the mundane patrol duties, the difficult terrain, the treacherous yet insignificant enemy, and the backbreaking task of march, countermarch, and return. Such repetitive tribulations are today's negative themes; they also are present in the Miscellanies.[165] In sum, these New Kingdom satirical attacks can be best understood as reflections of the social distance desired by the scribal class. The Miscellanies' anti-soldier attacks provided a corporate identity in order to support scribal officialdom.

In this study I have expanded the work Berlev. Lacking in his analysis, however, were the related situations of glamour, the factor of morale, and the problems inherent with the Ramesside attacks upon the *snny*.

As a final point let me quote from Elias' *The Court Society* (p. 283) because the situation bears upon the scribes versus the military: "The competition of *elite groups* for *power* without a developed institutional framework and therefore with a strong personal colouring, is a phenomenon always found in monarchic monopoly regimes in pre-industrial dynastic states".

165 We must remember that Jaroslav Hasek's *The Good Soldier Schweik* is a *product* of World War I, just as the anti-war novels and films of the 20s and 30s reacted against the abomination of the Western front in France. My discussion avoids all connection with *anti-war* attitudes. So did the Miscellanies.

But the true horror of it all had to wait for a time considerably later than New Kingdom Egypt. The art of external violence had to improve.

Land Brightens, Day Begins

Writing in 1969, Assmann discussed a key grammatical quandary in a group of liturgical hymns to the sun god. This scholar has placed great emphasis upon the dawn as a specific phase of the numerous chants and songs associated with the daily passage of Re in the sky.[1] In the morning, or to be more precise at dawn, one hymn presents what appears to be a rather standard and uncontentious verse: "You ascend, you have brightened the two lands". The Egyptian of this short passage at first appears to pose no problem: *wbn.k sḫḏ.n.k t3wy*. Research predating Assmann's massive study indicated that the second verbal construction presupposes no pluperfect translation. Specifically, the sun rises and the two lands are lit. Nothing could be simpler. In his detailed commentary to this line Assmann pointed out that the sun does not ascend *after* the earth has become bright. Quite to the contrary, one would expect the passage *sḫḏ t3w m-ḫt wbn.f*, which in fact can be found in another composition. In the case under consideration the apparent synchronism between an initial *sḏm.f* and a following *sḏm.n.f* was difficult for the author to explain. However, from an analysis of the verbs themselves as well as their lexical meanings, Assmann was able to come to the reasonable conclusion that the first verb is always an intransitive one whereas the second is transitive.[2] According to him, the opening phrase or sentence refers to a pre-existent process ("Vorgang") and the second to a completed activity. Hence, he argued that the concepts of "introversion" and "extroversion" could be seen to apply here.

In a true sense, there is synchronism here, but the real difference between the two simple verbal constructions appears to lie more in the exact *Aktionsart* of the verbs themselves rather than in their lexical meanings. To be more precise: the first, *wbn*, refers to a state, the act of rising. A process through time (and space) is indicated; no point within the sky or within a time interval is indicated. In opposition to this is the verb *sḫḏ*. There we encountered a specific (transitive) meaning: the earth is now bright because "you have lightened" it. In other words, a definite event is stated to have occurred. Both halves of the verse can be rendered in the present, the first with a simple Present tense of English (present "inaccompli", to use Vernus' felicitous

1 Jan Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Hymnik I*, MÄS 19, Berlin (1969), pp. 292-295. Subsequently, Assmann reacted against Friedrich Junge's reevaluation (see note 13 below) of the "stylistic co-ordination" of the key sentence *wbn.k sḫḏ.n.k t3wy* in: *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom*, Anthony Alcock, trs., London and New York (1995), p. 46 note 44.

2 See *ibid*., p. 284, for the translation.

term)[3] and the second in the Present Perfect; i.e., "you rise and you have brightened the two lands".

The verb *sḥḏ* is, of course, derived from the base of an intransitive verb having adjectival significance, *ḥḏ*, "to be bright". The *Aktionsart* of the second is most definitely one of process, duration over time; most certainly it is not inchoative. That is to say, no entrance into a situation is implied by "to be bright". In identical manner, the operation of *wbn* performs its parallel duty. But transforming the base into a derived causative renders the employ of *sḥḏ* into something different; namely, the verb becomes transitive and refers to a specific occurrence that in this case can be localized in time (with the sun's rise) and place (the sky).

An identical situation with a New Kingdom royal narrative was approached but not resolved by Redford.[4] In this case the difficulty was between the simplex and the causative once more, with the question arising whether the latter had the same meaning, (and I presume, following his brief argument, *Aktionsart*) as the causative. The verb is *ḫꜥi*. The key passages are:[5]

(a) *ỉst grt ḫꜥ.n ḥm.f m nswt m ḥwn nfr*
ỉp.n.f ḏt.f
km.n.f rnpt 18 ḥr mny pḥty.f m qnt

I think there is no difficulty in translating or understanding this passage. Amunhotep refers to his past just at the time he became king. "Now his majesty appeared as king as a goodly youth after he ... and after he .....". The latter two *sḏm.n.f*'s indicate the past anterior. Before Amunhotep became king he was already physically and intellectually capable, and he was eighteen years of age.

(b) *m-ḫt nn sḫꜥw ḥm.f m nswt*
wrt ḥtp.s st.s m wpt.f

"After these things, his majesty was caused to appear (Passive *sḏm.f*) as king; the uraeus – it occupied its place on his brow". (Redford's and Der Manuelian's translations are somewhat free here.)[6]

Both passages are different. The first introduces the reader to the situation of King

3 First employed in his study "Études de philology et de linguistique", *RdE* 32 (1980), 117-121. It goes back to Hans J. Polotsky, "Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique" *IOS* 6 (1976), pp. 1-50.

4 Donald B. Redford, "The Coregency of Thutmosis III and Amenophis II", *JEA* 51 (1965), pp. 117 note 5.

5 Peter Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26, Hildesheim (1987), pp. 20-21 likewise discusses these two citations: *Urk*. IV 1279.8-10 and 1283.5-6. His translation of one key passage in the Biography of Amunemhab (*Urk*. IV 896.4-8) is, however, inaccurate.

6 See the references in notes 3 and 5 above.

Amunhotep relating his situation at the time he became Pharaoh. In the inscription the king then describes his situation *before* he was Pharaoh (line 11). By line 19 the reader is further introduced to the image of him as a "puppy", a *ỉnpw*, and a horseman.[7] Subsequent to this Amunhotep, called a "king's son", joined the royal stables of Thutmose III where he was in charge (line 23). Three lines further we return to the king at the moment of his accession, and the (literary) transition of "after these things" ably performs the transition. Note that Amunhotep II is "inducted" to the kingship and coronation (see the reference to the uraeus serpent).

I see no evidence in these key sections of proof for a coregency. Indeed, the key biography of Amunemhab specifically notes the official coronation rites wherein the young Amunhotep II, at Luxor, received the throne of his father, Thutmose III. I do not, however, disbelieve the hypothesis of a coregency between Amunhotep II and his father.[8] However, the two crucial passages listed above, both derived from the king's famous Sphinx Stela, are explicit as to role because they are short. The inscription in no way implies two separate coronations. Quite to the contrary, Amunemhab is clear on this matter:[9]

ḥḏ.n rf tȝ
dwȝw ḫpr
ỉṯn wbn
pt bȝq.tỉ
nswt-bỉty ᶜȝ-ḫprw-Rᶜ sȝ Rᶜ ỉmn-ḥtp nṯry ḥqȝ Wȝst smnw
ḥr nst nṯ ỉt.f

On the day immediately following the death of Thutmose III, which must have occurred in morning, the following took place. Note that we reach one of the key terms in our study of daytime. If we follow the adherents of the Standard Theory then an opening nominalized form is followed by a series of circumstantial clauses, all three utilizing an Old Perfective, and all three of which involve process over time:

7 The secondary literature on this image will be found in Anthony Spalinger, "Drama in History: Exemplars from Mid Dynasty XVIII", *SAK* 24 (1997), p. 272 note 8.
8 Der Manuelian summarizes the scholarly literature on pp. 19-48 of his volume cited in note 5.
9 *Urk*. IV 876.4-8.

"When the land brightened,
then morning occurred,
the aten rose
the land grew bright, and
the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, NN, given life,
was established upon the throne of his father."

What could be simpler? The order appears standard and regular; indeed, accurate to a tee if I am permitted that word. When the land was brightening (*ḥḏ* not *sḥḏ*), the following were occurring. First, morning came to pass as might be expected. I assume that the first phrase poses no problems to students of calendrics. But, as well, the sun disk rises. This is the crucial point at this stage in the discussion. Following Polotsky and his supporters there is a simple "When ... then ....." construction.[10] Speaking now from the phenomenon of the sun's rise, the following can be maintained. The earth gets bright. Clearly, darkness is dissipating. But such occurs before the tip of the sun disk first appears on the eastern horizon. The inscription makes this clear with its Old Perfective use of *wbn*. Morning take places, the sun disk rises (note the lack of an inchoative verb throughout this section), heaven (logically) then brightens (not inchoative), and the king is seated (passive use of Old Perfective: inchoative) on the throne of his father. The passage does not state that simultaneous with the event of *ḥḏ t3* a new day, calendrically speaking, occurred. Quite to the contrary, either we must accept the ambiguous nature, scientifically speaking, of the brief account – a position which I find reasonable – or maintain that the king was seated for his coronation rite after the phase of morning twilight, before the sun actually rose over the eastern horizon, and after that second event itself.[11] Most certainly, this biographical selection indicates that the land got bright before the disk of Re appeared in the east for the first time, and that, I feel, is all that we can conclude without over-extending the analysis and entering into the morass of hyper-scientific complexities. In fact, a useful passage from the story of the Two Brothers provides helpful support (with the younger brother

10 Classically, see Hans Jakob Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Arts and Sciences 2.5, Jerusalem (1965), pp. 8-9. The inherent weakness of this position was noted in detail by Antonio Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction*, Cambridge UK (1995), pp. 186-198. In particular, problems arise with respect to non-initial clauses which are, by themselves, independent from what proceeds and not subordinate (i.e., circumstantial) to the initial syntagm. This situation leads to the questioning of whether there is an independent morphological *sḏm.f*. In addition, the existence of a "circumstantial *sḏm.n.f*" is dubious: see Eric Doret, "La forme *sḏm.n=f* narrative", *BSEG* 2 (1979), pp. 13-22; Janet Johnson, "NIMS in Middle Egyptian", *Serapis* 6 (1980), pp. 69-73; Antonio Loprieno, *The Sequential Forms in Late Egyptian and Biblical Hebrew: A Parallel Development of Verbal Systems*, Malibu (1980); and note 34 below.

11 This was already pointed out by Ronald Allen Wells in his review of Christian Leitz, *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie*, *BiOr* 49 (1992), pp. 723-728.

speaking):[12]

> "Stay here until the land brightens. When the Aten rises then
> I will be judged with you in his presence" (6,9).

The commencement of a final resolution will take place after the land has brightened in the morning. First, early twilight is indicated (*ḥḏ t3*) and then the sun itself is specified as rising. Only after the second occurrence will Re be present to judge who is in the right: elder or younger son. Evidently – is it thus not obvious ? – *ḥḏ t3* refers to a timeframe preceding Re's visibility in the sky.

Independent of these problems, Pascal Vernus turned to a series of parallel events in an epoch-making study that was, to be fair and impartial to subsequent research, the first attack upon the then accepted formulation of nominalization as propounded by Polotsky's 1965 study, "Egyptian Tenses", and followed up eleven years later in his "Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique".[13] The study of Vernus provided the Egyptological philologist or linguist with an array of seeming counter-examples to the expected syntagm of *sḏm.n.f* (presumed nominalized) + circumstantial clause. To wit (and I select the more striking patterns): *sḏm.n.f* + *sḏm.n.f*. Following upon the orientation of this study let me refer to three of his examples which refer to the morning and supply English translations of his own. The second we have previously encountered.[14]

(1) *ḥḏ.n rf t3 dw3w sp 2 ỉw ỉw ỉ3š n.ỉ*
"At the point of dawn (when the earth brightened very early) one came to call me".

(2) *ḥḏ.n rf t3 dw3w ḫpr ỉṯn wbn pt b3q.tỉ nswt bỉty NN dỉ ᶜnḫ smn ḥr nst nṯ ỉt.f*
"At dawn (when the earth brightened), when the morning came, when the disk rose, when the sky illuminated, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt NN, given life, was established on the throne of his father".

(3) *wnn Šw ḥḏ t3 ỉr.ỉ n.ỉ mḥ*
"When the sun lit the earth, I made for myself shade".

---

12 See case (30) in the detailed list to this analysis.

13 "Formes 'emphatiques' en function non 'emphatique' dans la protase d'un système correlatif", *GM* 43 (1981), pp. 73-88. This was critiqued by Friedrich Junge in his important contribution, "A Study on Sentential Meaning and the Notion of 'Emphasis' in Middle Egyptian", in: Gertie Englund and Paul Frandsen, eds., *Crossroad. Chaos or the Beginning of a New Paradigm*, CNI Publications 1, Copenhagen (1986), pp. 189-254, especially pp. 194-195 and 215ff.

14 Vernus, "Formes 'emphatiques' en function non 'emphatique' dans la protase d'un système correlatif", pp. 80-81.

Following his analysis, in (1) the second phrase is not circumstantial. According to Vernus, (2) reveals his so-called "Second Scheme" wherein the syntagm commenced with a circumstantial (hence adverbial) phrase located at the very beginning. Vernus maintained that the third, though different in quality from the previous two, nonetheless revealed the presence of a Second tense in the protasis; the apodosis can in no way be regarded as possessing circumstantial use.

Vernus' Coffin Texts examples were even more important. Independent of a useful compendium by Alviero Niccacci in 1980,[15] Vernus threw welcome light upon such syntagms as:

(1) *prr.sn r pt m bꜣkw prr.ỉ r ḏḥnw.sn*
(2) *pr.n.sn r pt m bꜣkw pr.n.ỉ ḥr ḏḥnw.sn*
(3) *prr.sn r pt m bꜣkw ỉw.ỉ ḥr dḥnw.sn*.

The third example was brought in to demonstrate that the archaic structure of the first two spells could be transformed by a substantive verbal form.

Vernus concluded by maintaining that such nominalized verbal forms could not be considered to take the role of a subject within certain patterns. Rather, he argued, the primordial role assumed by these nominalized forms (*prr.sn* or *pr.n.sn* in those examples listed above) had a definite circumstantial function. Simply put, contrary to what we should have expected, an Egyptian sentence could commence with an adverbial phrase containing a verb which *ought* to be considered as possessing circumstantial use. This, in fact, was the key advance of Vernus: he exposed a major anomaly in the Standard Theory. Henceforth, like the trilobites in the late phases of the Palaeozoic, the supporters of Polotsky were forced to defend themselves for the first time in many years and felt it necessary to tinker with the original system. At this point in time (ca. 1981 and immediately thereafter), the Standard Theory commenced to erect its moats and bastions; new terrain was less important than protection of one's citadel. Of course, one could have regarded such problematic examples such as *prr.ṯn r pt m nrwt prr.ỉ ḥr-tpt ḏḥnw.sn* (CT III 61.f-g) as a balanced sentence in which the first and second half are nominalized; i.e., "That you go forth ... is that I go forth ....."). This is what Junge later maintained; however, his arguments are best presented later in this analysis.[16]

A second and equally important use of the initial and subsequent *sḏm.n.f*

15 "Su una formula dei 'Testi dei Sarcofagi'", *Liber Annuus* 30 (1980), pp. 197-224; cf. Junge, "A Study on Sentential Meaning and the Notion of 'Emphasis' in Middle Egyptian", pp. 202-203.

16 See Junge's remarks in his 1986 contribution to the *Crossroad* volume, cited in note 13 above ("A Study on Sentential Meaning and the Notion of 'Emphasis' in Middle Egyptian"). Add, however, his subsequent reevaluation in his "*Emphasis" and Sentential Meaning in Middle Egyptian*, GOF IV/20, Wiesbaden (1989), pp. 25-26 and 88-94.

occurring in passages where the opposition nominal-circumstantial did not appear to hold was presented by Vernus when he covered the verbal construction of P. Ramesseum VI.[17] The "Suchos Case" of ***ḫ*ᶜ** *Sbk* ***ḥqꜣ.n.f*** *pt* ***mḥ.n.f*** *tꜣwy m wsrw.f* is particularly informative. Assmann would have recognized immediately the opposition of intransitive versus transitive (two cases). Vernus, though, saw the "accompli"/ "inaccompli" nature of the passage, and pointed out the circumstantial nature of the opening verb: "When Suchos appears, he rules the sky and fills the two lands with his strength". In this case and others marshaled by Vernus the crux is that the opposition *sḏm.f*/*sḏm.n.f* does not indicate an aspectual difference but one of diathesis. The point that I wish to stress, however, is that both *sḏm.n.f* formations cannot be rendered as Pluperfect (circumstantial past).

Owing to these apparent adverbial constructions standing at the beginning of a sentence, some solution within Egyptian grammar had to be found. In 1986 Junge swung his rope in a far and extensive fashion by concentrating on these presumed difficulties.[18] P Turin 5406, which presents two interpretations (or two ways) in a typically common Ancient Egyptian way of expressing reality, is useful in this context:[19]

> *ḫpr.n*(*.ỉ*) *ḫpr.n ḫprt*
> "That I came into being is that being came into being."
>
> *pr.n ḫprt* [*nb m*]-*ḫt ḫpr.ỉ*
> "All being came into being after I came into being."

The second (see above, page 1 for an excellent parallel with *sḥḏ* and *wbn*) elucidates the first somewhat. At the beginning we are informed that I occurred and so did Being; the subsequent phrase, acting somewhat as a gloss, merely explains the same event from a slightly different vantage point: I preceded being. (The opening line is ambiguous as to the order of creation, if, in fact, there was one.)

Junge studied two of the Coffin Text examples that formed such an important basis for Vernus' "Second Scheme". The first was CT III 24a-25b S_1C:[20]

> *hꜣꜣ.sn m ḫfꜣw hꜣy.ỉ m qꜣbw.sn*
> *prr.sn r pt m bỉkw prr.ỉ r ḏnḥw.sn*
> "They go down to earth as snakes, I shall go down on their coils;

17 "Études de philology et de linguistique", pp. 117-121; cf. the later comments of Junge, "A Study on Sentential Meaning and the Notion of 'Emphasis' in Middle Egyptian", p. 215, and *"Emphasis" and Sentential Meaning in Middle Egyptian*, pp. 53-54.

18 The study is cited above in note 13.

19 Most recently, see Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, p. 19.

20 "A Study on Sentential Meaning and the Notion of 'Emphasis' in Middle Egyptian", pp. 202-3 and pp. 25 and 92 in his *"Emphasis" and Sentential Meaning in Middle Egyptian*.

They ascend to heaven as falcons, I ascend onto their wings."

The passage, later treated as a *Wechselsatz*, is relatively straightforward: they are proceeding to heaven and I am proceeding (to the same place) on their coils. No "when ... then ....." is needed; indeed such an interpretation is not allowed by the syntax. Two independent nominalized forms stand in parallel to the opposite event which is discussed in the first line: they are descending and I am in their coils; they are ascending and I am on their wings. I do not agree with the (then) enunciated position of Junge and regard all four independent sentences as having adverbial complements emphasized by a nominalized form; however, his explanation merited more serious attention owing to the detailed analysis that he was able to present.

The variant B_1B_e presents:

hꜣꜣ.sn r tꜣ m ḥfꜣw hꜣy.i̯ m qꜣbw.sn
(i̯)r prt.sn r pt m bi̯kw pry.i̯ r ḏnḫw.sn
"(If) they go down to earth as snakes, I shall go down in their coils;
If they ascend to heaven as falcons, I ascend on their wings."

Following the analysis of Loprieno, we can regard the pattern as a balanced one in which "both correlated VPs are integral constituents in the sentence".[21] Adverbial phrases, which may occur "in identical "topical extraposition", also appear in patterns similar to S_1C, as B_1B_e reveals.

CT III 100h-i is only somewhat different:

prr.sn r pt m bi̯kw i̯w.i̯ ḥr ḏnḫw.sn
"They ascend to heaven as falcons and I am on their wings."

Again, in the Standard Theory the adverbial extension of the first half of the passage is easily fitted into the argument. Both this case and the one preceding appear to indicate that: if the beings are snakes, then I am in their coils; if they are falcons, then I am on their wings. Therefore, the presence of the prepositional phrases in (1) and (2) above ought to be emphasized, and this, surely, is what the initial verbal forms do (*prr*/*hꜣꜣ*).

With Vernus' Suchos example (P. Ramesseum VI 105-6 is covered by Junge), a slightly different explanation is given. The phrase *ḫ^c Sbk ḥqꜣ.n.f pt mḥ.n.f tꜣwy m wsrw.f* opens with a *sḏm.f* and is followed by two parallel *sḏm.n.f* formations. I cannot see the first as a nominalized form; surely *ḥ^cc* would have been written. One could translate the passage as subsequent investigators have done, "As soon as Suchos ap-

21 *Ancient Egyptian*, p. 197.

pears, he rules the heaven and fills the two lands with his power". But I feel that the temporal nuance in this interpretation is not presented in Egyptian. On the contrary, the core idea is that Suchos' appearance (equated with the sun in this composition) is coincidental with his rule and satisfaction of Egypt. The verb has no specific point in time; its temporal frame is akin to a line. Hence, Suchos' appearing automatically means that heaven is ruled by him. After all, he is there in the sky. Equally, his appearance automatically predicates that Egypt will be filled with his "power"; i.e., his rays. Neither the first half nor the second half occur temporally after or before each other. Both are simultaneous.

Linguistically speaking, the development of these balanced sentences was presented in a clear and coherent fashion by Junge in 1989.[22] Subsequent to his earlier research, he preferred the "extended" Polotskyian interpretation of "when ... then ...." translations for such passages as P. Turin 54065 and even Sinuhe B 127. Both cases present one *sḏm.n.f* following upon a previous one such as *sḏr.n.ỉ q3s.n.ỉ pḏt.ỉ*: "At night I strung my bow". In this example the second verbal construction was understood as a circumstantial subsequent to a nominalized formation. But in Sinuhe B 129 – *ḥḏ.n t3 ‹R›tnw ỉỉ.tỉ* – the arrival of the tribespeople of Syria is assumed to be present in a "balanced" sentence. For Junge, however, it is the overt focusing of the theme which matters. Both events are simultaneous (arrival of Retenu and dawn) at any rate even though the grammatical structure utilizes once more a noun in the opening (*ḥḏ.n*) and then a clause acting as the predicate (adverbial in this case). The later nuances pointed out by Depuydt for this example as well as others discussed here do not appear to have advanced our understanding of the deep structure of the grammar a great deal. What was stressed by him is the same pattern advocated by Junge; namely, that we are faced with two events taking place at the same time: the land grew bright and Retenu came. The whole passage is a typical paratactic one, – "It became morning and Retenu came" – and thus it fits perfectly with the style of the Story of Sinuhe. (See Sinuhe B 10 = R 34; case [4] below.)

Depuydt laid great emphasis on the concept of contiguity in order to avoid the re-evaluations presented earlier by Vernus, and his later study has been partly integrated into a more detailed one by Schenkel.[23] Both philologists indicate that when, for example, we meet a simple passage such as Sinuhe B 20 (*ḥḏ.n t3 pḥ.n.ỉ Ptn*), no anteriority on the part of the second verbal construction is intended. Schenkel, essentially agreeing with Depuydt, prefers a translation as "**Kaum** was es hell geworden,

22 "A Study on Sentential Meaning and the Notion of 'Emphasis' in Middle Egyptian", pp. 17, 54, and 90.

23 Leo Depuydt, *Conjunction. Contiguity. Contingency*. New York and Oxford (1993), *passim*, especially Chapter 6; Schenkel's recent contribution is in "Standardtheorie und invertierte Standardtheorie", *ZÄS* 125 (1998), pp. 157-160.

erreichte ich *Ptn* ....."[24] Nonetheless, Schenkel then proceeds to argue that a "literal" translation of the short passage is impossible. (That is, if we follow the paradigm of Polotsky.) Hence, the following rendition is temporally false: "Daß es hell geworden war, nachdem ich *Ptn* erreichte". Clearly, the latter cannot be the case.

Owing to this, I cannot see how we can save the Standard Theory at this point. Either it encompasses all cases or it does not. If one can find exceptions to a theory then either the latter must be expanded to include all sorts of unexpected or newly-discovered facts – as I presume Depuydt and Schenkel must conclude – or else there are, in fact, anomalies that cannot be explained. Indeed, Schenkel's alternative, which I presume he would prefer, is to take both clauses as a pair, neatly balanced and read independently of each other: "Es wurde hell: (Da) erreichte ich *Ptn* ....." I cannot see any other alternative. The author of Sinuhe appears, in fact, to prefer such clipped narrative passages which relate, actually rather personally, the key events of his life. The first of Schenkel's translations does not fit into this artistic pattern: Sinuhe reached Peten at the same time that the land brightened and vice-versa. There is no nominal-circumstantial pattern in which the second clause *must* be emphasized somehow.

Hence, the Coffin text example previous discussed by Niccacci, Vernus, and Junge (CT III 24c-25b) is interpreted by Schenkel within the Standard Theory (as a *Wechelsatz*) but, I feel, actually independent of Polotsky: "Steigen sie zum Himmel auf als Falken – steige ich zu ihren Flügeln auf" (*prr.sn r pt m bꜣkw – prr.ỉ r ḏnḥw.sn*).[25] However, I part company from him at one point; namely, he wished to insert a "so", between parentheses to be sure, before the second half of this balanced sentence. It would appear that both halves operate without causality as they exist within a temporal distinction.

At this point it is best to turn to those key examples of *ḥḏ tꜣ* (with or without a *sḏm.n.f*) that can help us to elucidate further what, exactly, was meant by the words. Evidently, a core meaning, and truly a simple one, was intended: earth brightened. No specific indication is made as to whether the sun is actually rising above the eastern horizon or not at the time that the land grew bright. The author realizes fully well that this interpretation cannot be solved by either philology or linguistics. Observances of nature remain empirically based and in their core rather self-evident. Furthermore, there is no scientific precision in mind. This latter point must be highlighted here since scholars of calendrics have repeatedly demanded exactitude far beyond what the archaic mentalities of many ancient societies accomplished.

To take a case in point. In a valuable survey of the material concerned with the beginning of the day, Ulrich Luft turned to the later evidence of the Greek astronomer

24 Schenkel, *ibid*.
25 "Standardtheorie und invertierte Standardtheorie", pp. 158-159.

Claudius Ptolemy in an effort to clarify once and for all the perplexing issue of how, exactly, the native Egyptians defined a day.[26] Unfortunately, his focus was not solely upon the native sources, and moreover, Ptolemy was not an ordinary man. One cannot utilize scientific data and interpretations – even those based on Hipparchus – in order to analyze an event that was originally a non-scientific one. Such an approach confuses at least two separate levels of intellectual curiosity. First, we modern scholars have access to no more than rudimentary traces of a presumed natural observance, one that was not subject to any precision regarding length of time or any other technical aspect; e.g., the problem between civil twilight and astronomical twilight. When day broke may be our issue; nonetheless to depend upon a late source who was a scientist and a non-Egyptian, is throwing one's net a bit too far, I feel. Second, the scientific mind presupposes a thought pattern that is not at all "natural"; it is at least on a second level of intellectual awareness, one in which exactitude is demanded, new and sharp definitions are employed, and some type of machinery is at hand. I include a well-worked out mathematical schema under the definition of machinery as well as a handy list of mathematical calculations. Among the latter Ptolemy had at his disposal a table of cords which he himself had calculated. This chart, equivalent to our trigonometric tables of sines and cosines, was extremely exacting and precise in comparison to the level of Pharaonic mathematics; indeed, no comparison can be made between the two cultures on this point.

I feel that these differences are sufficient by themselves to cast doubt upon using Ptolemy as a representational guide to the vagaries of native Egyptian practice. More open to question, I feel, but nonetheless of prime importance is Ptolemy's cutting of the day at sunrise. Actually, Ptolemy applied a different schema in which an epoch was fixed at noon; and for him noon was something calculable, far more exact than what the ancients in the Nile Valley had ever determined.[27] This artificial system most probably was invented to deal with stellar phenomena. His "double-date" forms were instituted to avoid the ambiguity of evening (e.g., Babylonian) versus morning (Egyptian) epochs. Even his hours are different from the native Egyptian, and are relatively accurate. We can see their purpose through Neugebauer's application of Ptolemy's "rising times" for Lower Egypt.[28] In this case, from *Almagest* II 8, we can derive the time between sunset and sunrise (or vice-versa), two points which Ptolemy strenuously employed. However, whether the Egyptians of the second or third millennium B.C. followed such an epoch – i.e., day commencing at morning sunrise – is another

26 Ulrich Luft, "Der Tagesbeginn in Ägypten", *AoF* 14 (1987), pp. 3-11 with corrections in "A Further Remark on the Beginning of the Day", *DE* 18 (1990), pp. 35-36.

27 Gerald J. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, London (1984), p. 12; cf. my comments in *BiOr* 51 (1994), pp. 6-20.

28 Otto Neugebauer, in: Otto Neugebauer and Richard A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* I, Brown Egyptological Studies 3, Oxford (1960), pp. 101-103.

matter. Therefore, such a presupposition of Ptolemy's set points = the native Egyptian ones cannot be maintained from the evidence in the *Almagest*. Whether we like it or not, only the Egyptian sources provide an impartial but non-scientific determination of the commencement of the day.

Perhaps a perusal of the key passages containing the two words, *ḥḏ* and *t3* can advance the discussion. For the most part I shall follow the conclusions of Gilula and Depuydt although specifying further how useful they are for a calendrical argument.[29] However, the latter's over-reliance upon Polotskyian grammar often confounds the issue, especially where he realizes that an adverbial syntagm can begin a sentence.[30] The following list does not pretend to be complete.[31] I have included as many passages from the solar hymns of the New Kingdom as possible even if they tend to be uninformative from a strict chronological viewpoint.

(1) PT 1334a:
ỉḥ Stš ỉ-nḏ Wsr NN pn m-ᶜ.f ḏr ḥḏt t3
"O Seth! Protect this Osiris NN from him before the land brightens."

Clearly, as Gilula indicated, "before the land brightens" is the best rendering for the passage: a *ḏr sḏmt.f* construction.[32] No exact time frame is indicated.

(2) PT 1807c:
Wsỉr NN [*sḥḏ ḥr.k*] *m ḥḏ t3*
"O Osiris NN, may your face illuminate when the land brightens."

With overt homophony present, the idea is that the deceased king will illuminate just as the earth brightens; clearly, the day is intended. The verbal formation at the end is probably to be understood as *m* + *sḏm.f* (nominalized).

29 Mordechai Gilula, "Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184-85", in: *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, Chicago (1975), pp. 75-82 and Depuydt's analysis cited in note 23 (Chapter 6).

30 *Conjunction. Contiguity. Contingency*, p. 155 note 49. There, he states that when *ḥḏ t3* is not followed by the Old Perfective but by a verb of motion in the *sḏm.n.f*, the initial *ḥḏ t3* was perhaps already used as an adverb. Indeed, this is essentially Loprieno's viewpoint as enunciated in his *Ancient Egyptian*, *passim* and pp. 190-197 in particular, incorporating the earlier research of Vernus and Junge. After all, is not the banal literary passage (*ḫr ỉr m-ḫt/ḫr m-ḫt*) adverbial, and does it not stand in initial position? See note 36 below.

31 In order to limit myself to the aim of this study I have covered those passages which tend to throw some light upon the difficult question of the beginning of the ancient Egyptian day. At a later date the entire situation will be presented separately. For the moment, see the additional references in *Wb*. III 207.27 and 208.9.

32 "Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184-85", p. 77 note 21.

(3) Shipwrecked Sailor 184-5:
ḥḏ tȝ n sft.f dwȝw
"The day will brighten for slaughtering it in the morning."

Gilula's convoluted analysis depends too much upon a presumed prospective emphatic form here.[33] The proverb is both curt and clear: "Why give water to a goose?" After all, "the day will brighten for slaughtering it in the morning!"

(4) Sinuhe B 10 = R 34:
ḥḏ.n.ỉ wn hrw
"I set forth at dawn when it was day."

In this case the author of the Story of Sinuhe has provided us with his elegant use of the word *ḥḏ*, "bright", transformed into a verb. (Literally, following Loprieno, we can read – "I dawned". Here, the adjective has been transformed into a verb.)[34] The effective proof of the meaning is given by the second half in which "day" had already begun. Whether or not we should regard *wn* as a circumstantial *sḏm.n.f* (*wn*[*n*]) is not significant; however, I opt for Loprieno's analysis and maintain that once more the Story of Sinuhe prefers paratactic constructions with the *sḏm.n.f*. All that we can effectively determine from the Egyptian is that day occurred when Sinuhe departed "in brightness".

(5) Sinuhe B 20-21 = R 45-6:
ḥḏ.n tȝ pḥ.n.ỉ Ptn
"The land brightened and I reached Peten".

I do not understand Depuydt's claim that "the literal translation of the events presents the sequence of events in reverse order".[35] (Note that he conjoins a following independent sentence to this passage: *ḫn.kwỉ r ỉw n Km-wr* = "And I alit at the isle of Kemwer".) When the land was becoming bright from to the rays of the sun Sinuhe

33 *Ibid*. pp. 75-82 and Chapter 6 of Depuydt, *Conjunction. Contiguity. Contingency*.

34 *Ancient Egyptian*, p. 190, *contra*, for example, Eric Doret, "A Note on the Egyptian Construction Noun + *sḏm.f*", *JNES* 39 (1980), p. 41 note 38. Add Friedrich Junge, *Syntax der mittelägyptischen Literatursprache*, SDAIK 4, Mainz (1978), 111 for some useful comments on this passage.
The presumed difference between a Middle Egyptian "circumstantial *sḏm.f*" and an "indicative *sḏm.f*" has been seriously questioned. See most recently, Pascal Vernus, *Les Parties du Discours en Moyen Égyptien*, Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie 5, Geneva (1997), p. 19. A key study on this question is by Mark Collier, "Circumstantially adverbial? the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/ sḏm.n(.f)* reconsidered", in: Steven Quirke, ed., *Middle Kingdom Studies*, New Malden (1991), pp. 21-50.

35 *Conjunction. Contiguity. Contingency*, p. 154. Other (later) versions, such as that of the Ashmolean Ostracon, write *ḥḏ tȝ*; cf. Roland Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, BAe 17, Brussels (1990), p. 19.

was at Peten. The first did not precede the second; nor did the second the first. In fact, if we add the third portion of this passage, following Depuydt, all that we can safely maintain is that Sinuhe stopped at the island of Kemwer, but it is the metaphoric image which interrupts the somewhat staid, indeed highly clipped, asyndetic passages that precede and are full of overt alliteration (*ḥ*/the dentals/*p*). In this example the opening is with a verb having duration as part of its "quality", itself followed by a simple transitive.

Note that the later versions alter the opening to *ḥḏ t3* as is to be expected.

(6) Sinuhe B 129:
ḥḏ.n t3 Tnw ỉỉ.t(ỉ)
"The land brightened, (Re)tenu came."

This case has been covered earlier. Following Junge we can regard it as one complete sentence with a caesura in the middle; both halves are contiguous in time.[36] No specific hour or solar phenomenon can be derived from this case. The second half utilized an Old Perfective of a verb of motion to express the opposite quality of *ḥḏ* – namely, completed or preterite activity.

(7) Sinuhe B 248:[37]
ḥḏ.n rf t3 dw3w[38] *sp 2 ỉw*(*.w*) *ỉw* <*r*> *ỉ3š n.ỉ*
"The land brightened early in the morning, and one came to summon me."

Granted that this passage is somewhat difficult. Nonetheless, the key word *dw3w* provides some type of temporal precision even though it cannot be determined for sure whether morning twilight is indicated or not; the lexical term *dw3w* is too vague.

---

36 *"Emphasis" and Sentential Meaning in Middle Egyptian*, p. 90; Depuydt, *Conjunction. Contiguity. Contingency*, p. 155 note 49 finds significance in the Old Perfective in the second half; see note 30 above and cases (14), (23), (41), and (45) below. He also discusses the possibility whether the initial *ḥḏ t3* was an adverb when the second half of the sentence contained an Old Perfective.

37 Vernus, "Formes 'emphatiques' en function non 'emphatique' dans la protase d'un système corrélatif", p. 80 with note 31 provides an important analysis. Two other variants (one of which is the Ashmolean ostracon) present *ḥḏ t3*; see note 35 above with Koch's edition, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, p. 71.

38 On this word, see especially, Wolfhart Westendorf, "Zu zwei Tagesformeln der ägyptischen Literatursprache", *ZÄS* 79 (1954), p. 67; Pascal Vernus, "Inscriptions de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (I). Les inscriptions de la cour péristyle nord du VIe pylône dans le temple de Karnak", *BIFAO* 75 (1975), p. 34 note n; Gilula, "Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184-85", p. 78; and Nicolas Grimal, *La stèle triumphale de Pi('ankh)y au Musée du Cairo*, MIFAO 105, Cairo (1981), p. 40 note 91.

(8) Admonitions X 1:
ỉn nḏs rs.f tȝ ḥḏ ḥr.f ḥryt.f
"It is the common man who will be vigilant when the land brightens upon him without his trepidation/preparedness."

This is a useful literary example but it does not at all advance our investigation into the timing of *ḥḏ* + *tȝ*.

(9) CT I 247b:
mk tȝ ḥḏ(*w*)
"Behold, the land is brightened."

The use of the Old Perfective renders the translation different from what Faulkner argued; i.e., "is bright" would have been *ḥḏ tȝ* The activity is completed.

(10) CT I 250b:
Bȝstt sȝt ỉtm typt nt Nb-r-ḏr ỉw.s m sȝw.k r ḥḏt tȝ
"Bastet, the daughter of Atum, the first (born) one of the All Lord – she is your protection until the day brightens."

A simple *r sḏmt.f* construction.[39] Bastet clearly is of no protection, or rather she is superfluous during the period when Re, the sun god, shines.

(11) CT I 252e $B_{10}C^{c}$:
psḏ hrw r wȝ nṯr m wryt
"The day shines in order to make the god be far from the hall."

In this case there is no reference to daylight actually arriving, as Depuydt feels.[40] On the contrary, the idea is that the day is shining (not brightening) "for the removal of the god". In other words, no sense of an incipient arrival of the sun is indicated. but instead the god is required to be away from his sanctuary when the day is in full progress, so to speak.

(12) CT VII 3r T9C: *ḥḏ.n rf tȝ dwȝ sp 2 ḏȝ.n.f*
"The land brightened early in the morning and he crossed over."

Temporally, this case is the same as (5).

(13) *Hirtengeschichte* 22-23: *ḥḏ.n rf tȝ dwȝ sp sn ỉw ỉr mỉ ḏd.f*
"The land brightened early in the morning and it was done

39 Gilula, "Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184-85", p. 77 note 21.
40 *Conjunction. Contiguity. Contingency*, pp. 140-141.

as he said."

The second portion of this passage contains a clear-cut passive and, I feel, is completely separate from the preceding half.[41] That is to say, I see no need to "emphasize" *ỉw ỉr mỉ ḏd.f*.

(14) Hammamat 199:
ḥḏ.n rf tȝ dwȝ sp sn ... pr.t(*ỉ*) *r ḏw pf*
"When the land brightened ... went out to that mountain."

The passage is ambiguous regarding any exact timeframe.[42]

(15) Stela of Nesumontu, line 13:[43]
ḥḏ tȝ ḥtp n(*.ỉ*) *dmỉ*
"The land brightened and the city rendered itself to me."

In this passage the absence of an initial *sḏm.n.f* should be noted. (Immediately thereafter, one finds two of them.) Both verbs (*ḥḏ* and *ḥtp*) are intransitive and refer to a period of time; neither is inchoative. Hence, there is a neat balance here, with the backdrop of the general's victories presented before his strict narrative: "After I had taken the head of the troop and after I had led the combat of the Two Lands". The temporal significance must be that a new day had occurred and Nesumontu received his acclamation of victory if not submission.

(16) P. Westcar, line 2, 15:
[*ḫr m-ḫt*] *tȝ ḥḏ 2 n h*[*rw ḫpr*]
"Now afterwards, the earth brightened and the second day occurred."

This is the earlier literary example of a well-known temporal passage in Late Egyptian Stories; see cases (30) and (31) below.[44] Here, it is followed by a Classical literary narrative construction for a verb of motion: *sḏm pw ỉr.n.f*. Two other useful Middle Kingdom examples were signaled by Vernus:[45]

41 *Ibid*., p. 158; cf. Vernus, *Les parties du Discours en Moyen Égyptien*, p. 76.
42 Depuydt, *Conjunction. Contiguity. Contingency*, p. 155 note 49 regarding the Old Perfective *pr.t(ỉ)*; see cases (6), (23), (41), and (45) as well as note 36.
43 Claude Obsomer, "La date de Nésou-Montou (Louvre C1)", *RdE* 44 (1993), pp. 103-140 and p. 126 in particular.
44 Fritz Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*, Berlin (1950), 15 and 18-21. For examples of the more colloquial formation in the Ramesside Period see P. BM 10052 recto lines 6, 1 (*KRI* VI 781.14) and 6, 7 (*KRI* VI 782.8).
45 "Formes 'emphatiques' en function non 'emphatique' dans la protase d'un système correlatif", 88 note 46.

(a) P. Lythgoe Recto 7-8:[46]
ḫr m-ḫt m[*š*]*rw ḫpr ꜥḥꜥ.n rdỉ n*[*.f*] (?)
"And after evening occurred, then (one ?) gave to him ....."

(b) P. Ramesseum I line 11:[47]
ḫr m-ḫt kt pḫrt sw[*ȝ.tỉ ḥr nn* .....]
"And after another revolving had passed by these things ....."

The first case involves the time in which the sun sets.[48] In fact, it is the period when it is not yet fully dark. In the words of Hornung, *mšrw* refers to the early evening in which "die Sonne selbst oder zumindest das Abendrot noch 'strahlt'". This implies, but does not prove of course, that its opposite ought to be morning twilight.[49] If we accept this reasoning, then the Egyptians must have employed as literary transitions a timeframe that included morning and evening twilight but not a period commencing with the rising or setting of the sun.

The second case provides some interest in that it refers to the movement of the sun, a motion which I indicate by "revolving". Of course, the Egyptians did not regard the sun's diurnal motion in the same way as we do, but this interpretation is accurate. In fact, the *locus classicus* of *pḫrt* in relation to the sun can be found within the well-known account of the Battle of Megiddo, and in that citation the connection is explicitly to the hours of the day determined by a shadow clock.[50]

These common passages have been discussed in the Egyptological literature on many occasions, and we can point here to the useful analyses of Hintze and Westendorf.[51] For our purposes, I merely wish to indicate that there are two sentences contained in the literary formula of temporal transition, both of which employ Noun + Old Perfective. The first tells us that the land had brightened; that event was completed. The second adds a further detail that the following day, the "second", came to pass. Actually, this case can mean either of two things:

46 William K. Simpson, "Papyrus Lythgoe: A Fragment of a Literary Text of the Middle Kingdom from el-Lisht", *JEA* 46 (1960), pp. 65-70.
47 John W. B. Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, Oxford (1956), p. 3 note 11, and Pl. I A 1, line 11.
48 Erik Hornung, "Lexikalische Studien I", *ZÄS* 86 (1961), pp. 109-111.
49 *Ibid*., p. 110.
50 Richard A. Parker, "Some reflections on the lunar dates of Thutmose III and Ramesses II", in: William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis, eds., *Studies on Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston (1981), pp. 146-148 with *Urk*. IV 655.14.
Note that the commencement of a day can be referred to as the "beginning of morning" (*tp dwȝt*): *Urk*. IV 657.3 (Annals of Thutmose III; the same text as the previous citation). The context is calendric; in fact, the passage is derived from the official war diary of the Egyptian army.
51 Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*, p. 15 and Westendorf, "Zu zwei Tagesformeln der ägyptischen Literatursprache", pp. 65-68.

(a) The second day is solely coincidental with *t3 ḥḏ*. Note that we do not have a simple adjective-verb preceding its subject, thereby indicating a durative state. Here, the land is brightened; the deed is done.

(b) First the earth brightened and that event was completed. Then, the following day, calendrically speaking, occurred. I believe that this is the more unlikely situation. After all, one could raise the pertinent, albeit hyper-scientific, question: when was it bright enough for day to begin and *not* when did the sun actually appear in the east?

In order to preserve the relative simplicity of the cultural norms of Pharaonic Egypt, I prefer to read little into this standard formula, *ḫr ỉr m-ḫt t3 ḥḏ*. I can, however, note its overt *adverbial* nature and its presence at the *head* of a sentence. Is this not so anti-Polotskyian?

(17) P. BM EA 10475 recto:[52]
ḥḏ.n t3 ỉw th .....
"When the land brightened ….."

The narrative literary nature of this opening is not unexpected, and we have seen ample Middle Kingdom parallels in Sinuhe and elsewhere.

(18) Carnarvon Tablet l. 14:
ḥḏ.n ṯ3 ỉw.ỉ ḥr.f mỉ bỉk
"When the land brightened I was upon him like a falcon."

Temporally speaking, the able Kamose is described as attacking his foe when the land lit up. Hence, the two halves of the passage are once more synchronous.

(19) Biography of Amunemhab:[53]
ḥḏ.n rf t3 dw3w ḫpr ỉṯn wbn pt b3q.tỉ nswt-bỉty ᶜ3-ḫprw-Rᶜ s3 Rᶜ ỉmn-ḥtp nṯry ḥq3 W3st smnw ḥr nst nṯ ỉt.f
"When the land brightened, then morning occurred, the Aten rose, heaven grew bright, and the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, NN, given life, was established upon the throne of his father."

52 Richard B. Parkinson, "Two New 'Literary' Texts on a Second Intermediate Period Papyrus? A Preliminary Account of P. BM EA 1045", in: Jan Assmann and Elke Blumenthal, eds., *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten*, BdE 127, Cairo (1999), pp. 185-186.

53 *Urk*. IV 896.4-8.

This lengthy example has been discussed earlier, with explicit mention of the indication of the rise of the sun. Note that in strictly Polotskyian syntax, the rise of the sun disk occurs when the land is brightening but *incipient* light must be the first to occur. Of course, the king is then crowned (at Luxor), the new day having begun. *A fortiori*, if we strictly obey the paradigm of Polotsky, then the sky (*pt*) likewise lightens up (owing to the sun), but only after the earth brightens.

(20) Amunhotep III Jubilee:[54]
sʿḥʿ ḏd ỉn nswt ḏs.f ḥḏ tȝ n ḥb sd
"Erecting the djed-pillar by the king himself; the brightening of the day for the heb sed."

Gilula's analysis at this point is fair and honest with the material; however, he is somewhat confused. With him, I regard the second half as indicating that the day was simply lightening for the heb sed of Amunhotep III. Most certainly, the major ceremonies commenced just as the official day began. It is interesting that Gilula considered both halves of this passage as self-standing: "I believe that there are two independent sentences here", a point that I have stressed above with respect to other similar cases. I have some qualms about an "emphatic" (in fact, prospective emphatic) use for the verb *ḥḏ*, and most definitely prefer not to render the phrase adverbially. In fact, his introduction of the word "eve" confuses things even more, insofar as that word refers to the commencement of darkness and the subsequent time in the night rather than the last gasp, so to speak, of the night.

Thus, although allowing the existence of two sentences, I nonetheless see them as presenting contemporary events. The king erects the djed-pillar preceding the day of his heb sed;[55] namely, on IV *ȝḫt* 30 the *sʿḥʿ ḏd* occurs and one day later (I *prt* 1) is the feast of Nehebkau, a second New Year's day and the "coronation" of the king. This clipped passage appears to contain two Infinitives as befits its use as a caption to the accompanying scene. In other words, we actually have in the second part "the brightening of the day for the heb sed", a translation that although pithy, improves upon the more complex rendition of Gilula, and avoids the "eve" connection.

(21) Soleb Text, Amunhotep III:
... r ḥḏ tȝ n ḥbw-sd
"... until the land brightened for the heb sed festival."

I explored this example on an earlier occasion, and all that I wish to add here is my contention that, following Van Siclen and Luft, Amunhotep III's jubilee took place at

54 *Urk*. IV 1860.13.
55 This is most clearly seen in the Medinet Habu Calendar: List 51 (*KRI* V 171.8).

dawn.[56]

(22) Tomb of *Ḥrw.f* (TT 192):[57]
sḫnt ḥḏ tȝ nb ỉmyw.f
"Who supports the brightening of the earth, lord of those who are in him."

The phrase is virtually a real substantive in this case.

(23) Great Hymn to the Aten:[58]
ḥḏ tȝ wbn.tỉ m ȝḫt
"When the land brightens you appear in the horizon."

In this passage the second half utilizes an Old Perfective of the key word "to rise". Following the Standard Theory, one should expect that the syntagm consists of nominal + circumstantial.[59]

(24) Destruction of Mankind 77-78:[60]
ỉst ḥḏ tȝ n smȝ rmṯ ỉn nṯryt m sww.sn nw ḥntyt
"Now the land lightened for killing men by the goddess, on their days of traveling south."

Here once more to render the beginning of "on the eve of" is not accurate; the killing was to take place in daytime and the earth brightened for such an event. This terse phrase parallels case (20) insofar as there is a Narrative Infinitive with the agent explicitly mentioned. The opening particle, *ỉst*, serves to present a common temporal clause, which denotes the end of a major narrative theme of this composition. This is evident by the sudden alteration in the persona of Re, whose name for the first time is now contained in a cartouche. He states, "How beautiful they are!", thereby overtly indicating the humanization of this key deity by the author. For our purposes, however, the temporal setting rather than the literary-mythological, is of primary importance. This passage presents the anticipated destruction of mankind by Sekhmet-Hathor in the morning. Indeed, verse 87 locates the time at *dwȝwy*, "very early",

56 "Night into Day", *ZÄS* 119 (1992), pp. 145-147.
57 Latest edition: Jan Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, Theben 1, Mainz (1983), p. 252.
58 Since there are many editions of this text I will only cite the basic edition of Norman de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* VI, London (1908), Pl. XXVII column 4. For the Old Perfective, see cases (6), (14), (41), and (45).
59 See notes 30 and 36 above regarding Depuydt's comments on the Old Perfective in the second half of the passage.
60 Erik Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, OBO 46, Göttingen (1982), p. 39 and p. 57 note 53.

thereby supplying some support to Gilula's commentary on this word.[61]

(25) Destruction of Mankind 133:[62]
ḥḏ rf dwꜣwy ỉw nn n rmṯ pr(*w*) *ḫr pḏwt*
"When the land brightened very early these people went out carrying bows".

This example poses no problem and is in fact similar to the Sinuhe B 248 as well as that of the *Hirtengeschichte*. The presence of the particle in this case tends to indicate a more colloquial rendition.

(26) Coronation Inscription of Horemheb (Memphis version)[63]:
ḥḏ.n tꜣ 2-nw [*n h*]*rw* [*ḥp*]*r*
"When the land brightened, the second day occurred."

I have followed the Standard Theory in translating this passage: nominalized + circumstantial clause. The text places great emphasis upon the religious events which transpired on the second day of Horemheb's Luxor festivities; however, it does not state when the day actually began.

(27) Book of the Dead, Spell 18:[64]
ḥḏ tꜣ pw qrs Wsỉr
"It is the brightening of the earth of the burial of Osiris."

Caminos' rendering of *ḥḏ tꜣ* as "early morning" has much to commend it. As noted earlier, this simple phrase tended to become a mere designation for the next day.

(28) P. Leiden 346 II 5:[65]
ḏd mdw ỉn s šꜣᶜ-m ᶜrqy wp rnpt ḥnᶜ ḥb Wꜣgy ỉw (= *r*) *ḥḏ tꜣ ḥb n Rnnwtt*
"To be recited by a man beginning on the last day, <together with> New Year's Day, together with the Wagy feast until

61 "Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184-85", p. 79 note 28.
62 Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, pp. 12 and 60 note 90.
63 *Urk*. IV 2121.8 = Sir Alan Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Haremhab", *JEA* 39 (1953), p. 29.
64 *Urk*. V 119.10 with Erik Hornung, *Nacht und Finsternis im Weltbild der alten Ägypter*, Dissertation Tübingen (1956), p. 110; cf. Ricardo A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, Rome (1958), p. 53 for useful comments. Add Thomas George Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, SAOC 37, Chicago (1974), pp. 32-33.
This passage is a gloss upon the phrase "In that night (*grḥ*) of the *ḫt-ḥꜣwy* feast". At first, this would imply that *ḥḏ tꜣ* refers to the end of the day (in the early morning). It is interesting to note, however, that those who place the day's *astronomical* commencement at sunrise, *ḥḏ tꜣ* for them nevertheless inaugurates the new day.
65 B. H. Stricker, "Spreuken tot beveiliging gedurende de schrikkeldagen naar Pap. I 346", *OMRO* 29 (1948), p. 63.

the morning of the feast of Renenutet."

This example from an XVIIIth Dynasty magical text refers to a series of recitations commencing at the last day of the year and then running through New Year's Day (*wp rnpt*), the Wagy feast, and ending at the morning of the celebration for Renenutet. Unfortunately no explicit timeframe is given.

(29) Berlin Palette P. 10747:[66]
ḥḏ t3wy ḥms.kwỉ ḥr wsrw m33.n.ỉ šnw n [...] *ṯ3w*
"The two lands land brightened and I sat at the oar and I saw the complaint/questioning (?) of [...] the sailor."

This example has been covered above. All that I wish to add here is that the case is identical to those *Wechelsätze* discussed by Junge, *et al*. The occurrence of the land brightening took place at the same time that the protagonist sat at his oar.

(30) Doomed Prince 8, 14:
ḥr ỉr m-ḫt t3 ḥḏ 2 n hrw ḫprw
"Now afterwards, the land brightened and the second day occurred."

This temporal passage, hallmarking the move to a second day, has already been discussed under the P. Westcar example (16) above; it can also be found in the Ptolemaic Period.[67]

(31) Two Brothers 1, 8; 2, 5-6; 7, 2; 12, 7; 13, 6; 14, 9-15, 1; 16, 6:
ḫr ỉr m-ḫt t3 ḥḏ 2 n hrw ḫprw
"Now afterwards, the land brightened and the second day occurred."

This is the same formula as in the chronologically earlier Late Egyptian Story. None-

66 Adolf Erman, "Die Erwerbungen der ägyptischen Abtheilung der Königl. Museen im Jahre 1889", *ZÄS* 28 (1890), 60-61. For a similar use of perhaps see *KRI* I 204.10: *ḥḏ t3wy mỉ* [*3ḫty*]. However, Kitchen in his translation regards the verb as a transitive one, "illuminating", an interpretation which can only imply *sḥḏ*: *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations* I, Oxford (1993), 176. I assume the hieroglyphic text to be partly at fault here, perhaps as Kitchen's edition depends upon Champollion's early copy.
In TT 41 (*3Imn-m-ỉpt*: Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, pp. 74-75) there is the phrase "The two lands brighten with the color of silver": *ḥḏ t3wy m ỉnw n ḥḏ*. One can ignore its significance as the passage provides nothing useful to this discussion.
One can read *t3* for *t3wy*; cf. the later rendition of *Urk*. V 120.6 versus 119.10.

67 This is the New Kingdom transitional passage: see Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*, pp. 15, 18-21 with Vernus, "Formes 'emphatiques' en function non 'emphatique' dans la protase d'un système correlatif", 83.
For the very late examples, see the selection listed in *Wb*. III 208.9. These cases and others from Edfu, Dendera, and the like, will be discussed at a subsequent date.

theless, there are two passages that are worth singling. In 13, 9 we read the opposite: *ḥr ỉr m-ḫt grḥ ḫpr*. All that this brief rubricized passage states is that "night" is the opposite of *t3 ḥḏ* + day two. Granted that this is not surprising; nonetheless observe that the contrast is not a simple one between *hrw* and *grḥ*; truly it means "the complete day", a time interval encompassing night and day. For this reason we can now see why this literary formula had to make mention of the "second" or "next" day and could not let it suffice to present **ḫr ỉr m-ḫt hrw ḫpr*. The latter – which never existed – could not mean "And afterwards day occurred." For the Egyptians, the key event was the lightening up of the land (caused by Re) and the presence of the following day.

With these comments in mind let us now turn to one of the above cases of this standard formula (7, 2-3). The Egyptian reads: "Now afterwards, the land brightened and the second day occurred. Then Pre-Harachty arose". The latter sentence is written with the common construction, the Non-Initial Main Sentence: *ỉw P3-Rᶜ-Ḥr-3ḫty ḥr wbn*. Hence, it is clear that the sun rose after the land first brightened, and this case parallels that of Amunemhab in revealing that the earth's brightening (*t3 ḥḏ*) precedes the *wbn*-ing of Re. Moreover, the latter event must follow the existence of the new day, as our formula expressly indicates that a new calendrical day had occurred.

(32) O. Leipzig 12:[68]
wnn šw ḥḏ t3 ỉry.ỉ n.ỉ mḥ
"When the sun is, the earth brightens, and I will make
for myself a shelter."

From the writing of the second verb it is clear that the passage does not contain two nominalized forms. Vernus translates this small passage as follows, maintaining that a second tense is to be found in the protasis": "Quand le soleil éclairera la terre, je me ferai un abri". Following him, I merely wish to add the necessary prospective significance of the entire passage. However, if the verb is a transitive one, as Vernus' translation implies, then we should expect *sḥḏ*. It is for this reason that I consider the "protasis" to be composed of two extremely short verbal passages (*wnn šw* and *ḥḏ t3*) with the "apodosis" rendered in a fashion equivalent to what Vernus wishes.

68 Jaroslav Černý and Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* I, Oxford (1957), Pl. XXVIII with a commentary by Vernus, "Formes 'emphatiques' en function non 'emphatique' dans la protase d'un système correlatif", pp. 80-81.

(33) Luxor Architrave:[69]
sḏr rs ḥr ḥḥ ꜣḫw ḥḏ tꜣ gm.f m nfr
"who spends the night awake seeking beneficial things;
when the land brightens it is found good."

This example is taken from a rhetorical portion of Seti I's inscriptions at Luxor. As is to be expected, there is nothing clear concerning the *exact* time of day.

(34) Love Poem (P. Harris 500 recto 2, 8-9):[70]
Nfr-tm p[ꜣy.f ššn p]rš ḥḏ tꜣ m nfrw.s
"Nefertem, his lotus in flour; the land brightens through/in her beauty."

No concise chronological setting is presented in this verse.

(35) Tomb of *Pꜣ-sr* (TT 106) and parallels:[71]
ḥḏ tꜣ [*r*] *mst.f rᶜ nb*
"The land brightens for his birth every day."

The lacuna in this hymn is very small and does not affect the translation to any degree. The reference is clearly to the new day and the sun god's continual rebirth.

(36) Tomb of *Pꜣ-sr*:[72]
sḏm.k ḫrw sbḥyt ḥḏ tꜣ r (sic.) *pḫr ꜣbḏw*
"You hear the noise of cattle-lowing, and the land brightens in order to (?) circulate through Abydos."

Notwithstanding a minor problem in this passage, the example provides no solution to

---

69 *Wb*. Zettel Luksor <492> = Sethe 2, 55. I must thank Dr. Stefan Grunert for allowing me to obtain a copy of the reference (*Wb*. III, p. 207.27). Sethe translated the key passage as follows: ".. am Morgen wurde es für gut befunden; (der den Tempel seines Erzeugers reinigt)".
As Prof. Kitchen kindly informs me, this text, which is to be found on the architraves that span the enormous columns of the so-called "Tutankhamun Collonade" in Luxor, will most probably appear in volume 2 of the University of Chicago's edition, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor*.

70 P. BM 10060: Bernard Mathieu, *La poésie amoureuse de l'Égypte ancienne*, BdE 115, Cairo (1996), pp. 58, 70 notes 177-178, and Pl. 9. There remains the problem of the antecedent of *.s* in *nfrw.s*.

71 *KRI* I 287.9. The following verse in this invocation reads: "And he caused the sun disk (*ꜣtn*) to be seen (*mꜣꜣ*) and the moon to be seen (*dgꜥ*)".
Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, p. 249 provides another parallel in TT 192 (*Ḫrw.f*).
It is also contained in the Amun Ritual 19, 7-8 (*ḥḏ tꜣ r mst.f*): Alexandre Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, Paris (1902), p. 136; same passage in the Book of the Dead (P. Ani), I 13 (conveniently, E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Papyrus of Ani* I, London [1913], Pl. 1) with *Wb*. III 208.1.

72 *Wb*. III, p. 201.27. The translation is somewhat questionable owing to the presence of the *r*.

the actual meaning of *ḥḏ tȝ* save the indication of the next day.

(37) Kubban Stela, line 13:[73]
ỉr ȝb.k sḫr m grḥ ḥḏ tȝ ỉw.f ḫpr ȝs
"If you wish a matter in the night, when the land brightens
it immediately occurs."

The antithesis is a simple one: "night" (*grḥ*: see commentary in case [31]) versus the time when the land is bright.[74]

(38) Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II (Poem):[75]
ḥḏ tȝ ṯs.n.ỉ skw m ꜥḥȝ
"When the land brightened I marshaled/arranged the troops in battle."

It is useful to note that the main text (hieroglyphic copy) does not present an initial *ḥḏ.n tȝ*.[76] If we follow von der Way here, then the subsequent *ṯs.n.ỉ* is predicative; I concur with his analysis.[77] This case ought to reveal the banal nature of the introductory adverbial phrase *ḥḏ tȝ* during the Ramesside Period. I consider it to be irrelevant from the point of view of the Standard Theory, operating merely as a banal formulaic introduction to the occurrence of the first event on the following day.

(39) Beth Shan Stela of Ramesses II:[78]
ỉrw m ꜥwy.f(y) ḥḏ tȝ šȝ.n.f ḫpr
"Who acts with his arms; when the land brightens, what he has
ordained has come to pass."

The passage is in a lengthy series of rhetorical attributive phrases directly associated with the Pharaoh. Once more, it is impossible to fix upon any exact time; only the transference to a new day is indicated. I have included part of the previous sentence in order to show more clearly the caesura indicated through *ḥḏ tȝ*. Note that *ḥḏ.n tȝ* is not written.

---

73 *KRI* III 355.13-14; cf. Depuydt, *Conjunction. Contiguity. Contingency*, p. 160; cf. Jaroslav Černý, "Stela of Ramesses II from Beisan", *Eretz Israel* 5 (1958), p. 80* (note j).

74 See Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*, pp. 18-21. Other cases assembled by him refer to *rwhȝ* (Hornung, *Nacht und Finsternis*, pp. 18-20: time after "Sonnnenuntergang") or *mšrw* (see note 48 above).

75 *KRI* II 85.1-4 (P 277).

76 Hence, the later copy of P. Sallier III (written down by *Pn-tȝ-wrt* in hieratic) effects no alteration. Of course, the copyist has changed the first person suffix to the third.

77 Thomas von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II. zur Qadeš-Schlacht*, HÄB 22, Hildesheim (1984), pp. 51 and 280; cf. Thomas Charles Hartmann, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, Brandeis Dissertation (1967), p. 97.

78 *KRI* II 151.1; cf. Černý, "Stela of Ramesses II from Beisan", p. 77* and p. 80* (note j).

(40) Tomb of *Nb-wnn.f* (TT 157):[79]
ḥḏ tȝ wbg stwt
"and when the earth brightens, (he is) illuminating of rays."

The example is contained in one of the typical motifs of the sun hymns of the Ramesside Period. Note that the verse provides no substance to an argument for an initial nominalized verbal formation.[80]

A second case in the same tomb is: *ḥwn nṯry tp ḥḏ tȝ* .....
"godly youth at the beginning at the brightening of earth ....."

In this broken passage the common word *pḥrr*, "the runner", then appears.[81] The stilted translation, "at the brightening of earth", can be rendered more simply as "at the break of day".

(41) Tomb of *Ḏḥwty-m-ḥb* (TT 194):[82]
ỉw tȝ m sgr m nfrw grḥ ḥḏ tȝ ỉb.ỉ ḥᶜw
"and the earth is in silence in the "heart" of the night;
When the land brightens my heart rejoices."

The antithesis is between the blackest moment of the cloak of night and the subsequent lightening of earth. The second verse can be interpreted with no difficulty according to the Standard Theory: nominalized verb plus following Old Perfective predicate of "my heart" (the clause thereby emphasized). Since the passage is taken from a hymn, it is not interested in providing an explicit – virtually scientific – calendrical timeframe.

---

79 Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, pp. 186-187 and 192-193; *KRI* VII 131.3 and 132.4. The key *Wb*. Zettel are 1131 and 1181 respectively; cf. Jan Zandee, "Hymnical Sayings addressed to the Sun-god by the High-priest of Amun Nebwenenef, from his tomb in Thebes", *JEOL* 18 (1964), pp. 256 and 264 and Jan Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, Zurich and Munich (1975), p. 244 (no. 105) for one of these cases (*KRI* VII 131.3).

80 As Assmann implicitly observed, the entire verse lacks a verb in the second half. Instead, there is a Participle; cf. his translation of 1975 (*Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 244) and 1983 (*Sonnnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, p. 187): "wenn die Erde hell wird, (ist er) strahlenden Lichts".

81 Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 239 note 12 and *Sonnnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, p. 192.

82 Jan Assmann, "Eine Traumoffenbarung der Göttin Hathor. Zeugnisse 'Persönlicher Frömmigkeit' in thebanischen Privatgräbern der Ramessidenzeit", *RdE* 30 (1978), p. 26 column 13 and p. 28 for the translation (lines 33-35). The "heart" of the night is the darkest period; I have employed an English idiom. Assmann presented this text in an earlier edition in his *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 372-374.
For the use of the Old Perfective in the second half, see note 36 above.

(42) Statue of *Bꜣk-n-Ḫnsw*:[83]
ḥḏ tꜣ dỉ.f ḥꜣw ḥr nfrw.ỉ
"When the land brightened, he exceeded my goodness."

As might be expected, this pithy phrase, located on the base of the statue, is of little chronological use.

(43) O. Turin N. 57003 verso:[84]
sḥḏ.tw hrw n grḥ ḥḏ tꜣ n.k m snb (?)
"The day is illuminated from (?: *n* for *m*) the night,
and the land brightens for you in health."

In a hymn the common day's beginning is noted.

(44) Great Hymn to Amun:[85]
ḥḏ tꜣ r r-ᶜ.k n sf
"The land brightens at your place of yesterday."

This is a common theme in solar texts of the New Kingdom.[86]

(45) P. Lansing 6, 5:[87]
ḥḏ tꜣ sw pry r sdwꜣ
"The land brightened; he went to tend (the team)."

In this case it is certain that the initial *ḥḏ tꜣ* is adverbial and merely serves to specify the time.[88] There is no Second Tense present.

---

83 Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst Gl. WAF. 38: *KRI* III 299.3-4; Maria Plantikow-Münster, "Die Inschrift des *Bꜣk-n-ḫnsw* in München", *ZÄS* 95 (1969), pp. 120 and 130 note jj.

84 Jesús López, *Ostraca Ieratici N. 57001-57092*, Milan (1978), Pls. 6 and 6a, lines 7-8.

85 Jan Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350*, Leyden (1947), p. 4 and related data; earlier, Alan H. Gardiner, "Hymns to Amun from a Leiden Papyrus", *ZÄS* 42 (1905), p. 14. Zandee also gives two close parallels to this passage (nos. 10-11) in his accompanying plate volume (VII); the second is P. Neschons II, 16.

86 In addition to the references of Zandee given in the last note, see case (48) below with the accompanying references.

87 Alan H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, BAe 7, Oxford (1937), 105.2-3; Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Oxford (1954), p. 390.

88 Vernus, "Formes 'emphatiques' en function non 'emphatique' dans la protase d'un système corrélatif", 87 note 31: "*ḥḏ tꜣ* + accompli non-circonstanciel d'un verbe de mouvement est à noter". The second half is a simple First Present with Old Perfective predicate. See the comments in note 36 above.

(46) Merentaph Karnak War Inscription:[89]
ỉst pꜣ wr ḫsy n [*Rbw ỉw ... wḫꜣ*]*w n 3 šmw sw 1 ḥḏ tꜣ n ṯḥn ḥnᶜ.w*
ỉw pw ỉr.n pꜣ wr ḫsy n Rbw ḥr tr n 3 šmw sw 3
"Now the vile chief of Libya [came (?) .....
... the night] of the third month of summer, day 1.
It was for encountering them that the land brightened.
Then the vile chief of Libya came at the time of the
third month of summer, day 3."

This was originally misunderstood by Luft. It is clear that in the night of day 1, third month of summer, the Libyan foe arrived for battle. The following day must have been laid out for tentative maneuvers, so typical of the norms of ancient warfare. Then when it was bright – I hesitate to say "bright enough" – the two armies of Egyptians and Libyans were ready to meet each other in combat. (I assume that this phrase contains a nominal form.) Only on day three of the third summer month did the Libyan leader actually arrive.

(47) Tomb of *Ḫnsw-ms* (TT 30) and parallels:[90]
ḥḏ tꜣ dỉ.f sw r-ᶜ.f
"When the land brightens he places himself at his position."

In this sun hymn the next day is, of course, indicated; however once more a scientific definition for an exact timeframe is not specified. In any case, this verse is standard and will be found in two other sources.[91]

A close parallel to this passage can be found in another sun hymn (tomb of *Nb-wnn.f*, TT 157: *ḥḏ tꜣ pḫr.f r-ᶜ.f*, "When the land brightens he returns to his position".[92]

89 *KRI* IV 5.15-16.

90 Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, p. 40 (col. 15) with p. 41 note h. An earlier reference is *Wb*. III, p. 207.27; see notes 85-86 above with case (45). See also Adolf Erman, "Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräbern", *ZÄS* 38 (1900), p. 27.

91 Assmann, *Sonnnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* , pp. 328-329 and p. 332 note u (to TT 296, *Nfr-sḫrw*), wherein he refers to O. CGC 25208, line 11, with Assmann's *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 394.

92 Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, pp. 200-201.

(48) P. Berlin 3038 16, 9:[93]
sḏr.ḫr.f tp ḥḏ tȝ
"And he should sleep until the beginning of the brightening of the earth."

Surely, the very beginning of the following day (commencement of dawn) is indicated.

(49) P. Leyden I 347 4,13:[94]
ḥḏ tȝ r psḏ Rᶜ
"The land brightens in order that Re shines."

Although this magical text needs a good redition, I feel that this passage is correctly transcribed. I do not wish to overinterpret this case and imply that Re's appearance in shining occurs *after* the land is brightening. Indeed, some may wish to translate this selection as follows: "The land brightens according as Re shines".

(50) Tomb of *ỉỉ-m-sbȝ* (TT 65) and parallels:[95]
ḥḏ tȝ ḥr nb ḥr nḥt.f
"When the land brightens every person implores him."

I cite this case as a further example wherein the sun hymns of the Ramesside period logically contain the early morning's events.

(51) Piye Stela, lines 20, 89, 100, 106, 147:[96]
ḥḏ rf tȝ dwȝ sp sn
"The land brightened at early morning."

There is little importance that can be attached to these citations. They reveal the common "langage de tradition" set within a *Middle* Egyptian formula wherein *ḥḏ.n tȝ* > *ḥḏ tȝ*.

93 Hermann Grapow, *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert*, Berlin (1958), p. 18; and Hildegard von Deines, Hermann Grapow, and Wolfhart Westendorf, *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte*, Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter 4, Berlin (1958), p. 10. The date of the Berlin papyrus is Dynasty XIX: see the useful comments of Ulrich Luft, "Das Verhältnis zur Tradition in der frühen Ramessidenzeit", *Forschungen und Berichte* 14 (1972), pp. 59-71.

94 Adam Massy, *Le papyrus de Leyde I, 347*, Ghent (1885), p. 6.

95 Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, pp. 118-119 and note 1 with TT 194 (*Ḏḥwty-m-ḥb*): pp. 264-265 and note g p. 266.

96 Useful recent comments will be found in Grimal's work cited in note 38 above.

(52) Copenhagen Stela, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek :[97]
... ntš pr ỉm.f m wḫꜣ r ḥḏ tꜣ
"... to sprinkle the house with it in the evening until the land brightens."

This very late example is a magical text connected with the house of a certain Wennenofer. The key selection concerns the official ritual which is to be recited. In this case I have followed Hornung's interpretation of the term *wḫꜣ*.[98]

(53) Pithom Stela:[99]
ḥḏ tꜣ sw 4 rs.f m ḥb.f nt ꜥnḫ wḏꜣ snb
"The land brightened; day four; he woke in his festival of life, prosperity, health."

This is a very useful calendrical reference that follows immediately upon the events of day 3 in the third month of inundation, regnal year six of Ptolemy II. Clearly, the opening serves to advance the timeframe one day later as, indeed, it regularly does within literary texts of the New Kingdom (examples [29-30] above).

The Pithom Stela is a straightforward royal narrative and, as such, can be compared to Thutmose III's Annals, which also provide some ancillary data regarding the question of the next day. In the latter inscription the well-known day of combat outside the walls of Megiddo took place on the twenty-first day of the first month of *šmw*. However, instead of utilizing the more literary *ḥḏ tꜣ*, the composer merely copied the official war diary and wrote:

"Regnal year 21, first month of *šmw*;
the exact day of the festival of the new moon;
the king appeared at the beginning of morning."

In this excerpt the timeframe is at an extremely early phase of brightness: *tp dwꜣt*. I follow the traditional approach and interpret the latter in a literal fashion. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that there is no exactitude here as well. From a strict scientific point of view the term "beginning of morning" makes little sense. Does it mean "sunrise" or instead "the commencement of morning determined by brightness".

---

97 AEIN 974: Joris F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, Leiden (1978), 82-83 (no. 121); references presented on p. 124 to which add Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiens*, Copenhagen (1948), 52-53 and Pl. 65 with Karl Piehl, "Petites notes de critique et de philologie", *RecTrav* 1 (1870), p. 135 (still useful).

98 "Lexikalische Studien I", pp. 106-108: evening with darkness; not identical to *mšrw* and later than that period of time. However, as he noted, in the Graeco-Roman Period *wḫꜣ* became a synonym of *mšrw* with regard to the actual sun's setting. I suspect that this is the case here.

99 *Urk.* II 88.11.

Once more we are at the mercy of the ancients although I believe it fair to interpret Thutmose III's *tp dwꜣt* as *roughly* synonymous with Ptolemy II's *ḥḏ tꜣ*.[100]

(54) Aswan Inscription:[101]
sḥḏ tꜣ ḥr.f m ḥḏ tꜣ rdỉ.n.f ỉrt.f m Rᶜ
"And the land gladdens him (= illuminates his face) when the earth brightens and after he has placed his eye as Re."[102]

No exact chronological timeframe is offered in this ritualistic text.

(55) Bucheum Stela:[103]
m wnwt 11 nt grḥ ỉw ḥḏ tꜣ m sw 28
"... in the eleventh hour of the night until/while the land brightened in/on day 28."

Although I had quite a number of reservations concerning Grzybek's use of this source, I nonetheless feel that his point concerning the beginning of the day was valid.[104] Here, it appears that day twenty-eight of the month of Mesore is linked with the phrase *ḥḏ tꜣ*.[105]

100 The extremely sober and matter-of-fact source (royal ephemerides) which lies behind much of the Megiddo report of Thutmose III (the so-called "Annals") has to be taken into consideration. Both compositions, and we can add as well the Kadesh Poem, cannot be compared with the various hymns to the sun or even the Late Egyptian Stories. Instead, they attempt to present a regularized chronological setting. Hence, they are more precise that these other genres.

101 Edda Bresciani and Sergio Pernigotti, *Assuan*, Pisa (1978), pp. 62-63 (Text B 13; temp. Ptolemy IV).

102 The translation of Bresciani ("e il suo volto illumina la terra all'alba quando ha messo il suo occhio come il sole") implies that *ḥr.f* is the subject of *sḥḏ* and that *tꜣ* is the object; this I find impossible.

103 Sir Robert Mond and Oliver H. Myers, *The Bucheum*, London (1934), p. 7 and Pl XLI (no. 9). A commentary on this passage will be found in Hornung, *Nacht und Finsternis*, p. 103; and Erhard Grzybek, *Du calendrier macédonien au calendrier ptolémaïque,* Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 20, Basel (1990), pp. 150-151; other references will be found in my commentary in *BiOr* 51 (1994), p. 18 with note 56 above.

104 *BiOr* 51 (1994), pp. 18-19. My present translation differs somewhat from that presented in this earlier discussion.

105 The text on the Mond-Meyers edition was translated and commented upon by Herbert W. Fairman. He provides the following translation of the passage: "the eleventh hour of the night, as the morning of the 28th day dawned". Hence, Fairman understood *ỉw* to be a circumstantial converter and not a writing for the preposition *r*.

(56) P. Leiden T 32:[106]
There are two cases —

(a) *wḏȝ.k ... r Wȝst ḥḏ tȝ ḥb mnbỉt*
"You cross … towards Thebes when the land brightens (?)
[at] the feast of Menbet (?)"

This passage does not help us to determine the exact calendrical event: dawn at sunrise or during morning twilight.

(b) *sḏm.k ... tp wḫȝ r ḥḏ tȝ*
"You hear … at the beginning of the "night" (*wḫȝ*) until the
land brightens/the brightening of the land".

Similary this second example is not useful for our analysis although it nicely supplies the antithesis of *wḫȝ* and *ḥḏ tȝ*.

(57) Tebtunis Fragment:[107]
[ʿḥʿ ỉr] ỉw ... ỉw ḥḏ tȝ
"[29th day] … until the land brightens."

In this case the addition of the gloss refers to the "arrival" of the light. The reference is to the "feasts of heaven", those that begin on lunar day 29. In this case the commencement of light marks the boundary between one day and another.

Two opposition positions can now be stated with regard to the *exact* temporal meaning of "the land's brightening". I believe it fair to state that *ḥḏ* + *tȝ* must indicate a new day. When this occurred cannot honestly be determined from most of the above examples. Nonetheless, Two Brothers 7, 2-3 definitely indicates that the sun rose after the next day occurred, and this conclusion is supported by a more formal text, that of the Biography of Amunemheb: *ḥḏ.n rf tȝ dwȝw ḫpr ỉṯn wbn*. The second case is especially useful as adherents of the Standard Theory have to regard the syntagm *dwȝw ḫpr ỉṯn wbn* as a circumstantial one, concomitant upon the earth's becoming bright. It is the case that all other examples and, in fact, the Amunemhab passage as well could be considered to be *sub judice*. The reason that one might prefer such indecision is

106 François R. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, OLA 58, Leuven (1994): P. Leiden T 32 III 15 and IV 29. See pages 54, 157-158, and 191-192. Because the text uses, in a relatively clean and consistent fashion, the *sḏm.f* and the *sḏm.n.f* formations should we follow Jean-Marie Kruchten in considering my two cases to be predicative past formations? See his comments in "From Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian", *LingAeg* 6 (1999), pp. 1-97.

107 Fr. AC 1-2: Jürgen Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I, Text*, CNI Publications 17, Copenhagen (1998), 208-210 (with notes p and q); see also pages 111 (gloss of *ḥr ỉỉt*) and 113. I owe this reference to Dr. Rolf Krauss.

based purely upon the lack of exactitude within the Egyptian texts themselves.

In the Two Brothers there is a further sequence of events which introduces the same idea. Bata tells his elder brother "now after night occurred" (13, 9) that he will become a large bull of variegated hue and of unknown character. Upon this metamorphosed beast Anubis is to sit, and "when the sun rises" – *ỉ-ỉrt* [sic.] *pȝ šw ḥr wbn* (14, 6) – we will be where my wife is ....."[108] Here, we have a passage virtually identical to that in the Doomed Prince (6, 15). In the latter story the princess of Naharain swears that "If Pre endures – when the sun (*ḥtp pȝ šw*) sets I am dead" (*ỉw.ỉ mwt.k‹wỉ›*) – I will not spend an hour alive in excess of him!". Keeping the diurnally opposite schema in mind, the situation in the Two Brothers then develops. The second day occurs (14, 9-15, 1: see [27] above). Bata transforms himself into the bull and Anubis sits upon his back until "the earth brightened" (*r ḥḏ tȝ*).

At this point we can see most clearly that the literary passage of temporal transition – *ḥḏ tȝ 2 n hrw ḫpr* – precedes the key events in the narrative. First, the metamorphosis is accomplished; then, Anubis gets upon the bull's back until the land brightens. However, the banal temporal transition of 14, 9-15, 1 has already occurred. It is for this reason that once more the exact calendrical setting is unclear, if only from a vantage point of exactitude. Nevertheless, I believe it most reasonable to consider that the next day had come (14, 9-15, 1) and that the land grew bright (15, 2), although for how long is unclear. On the other hand, the repetition of the key lexical items *ḥḏ* and *tȝ* cannot be ignored. The safest interpretation would appear to be that the land lit up on the new day. Therefore, this passage appears to support our contention in two ways. First, it reveals that the combination of *ḥḏ* and *tȝ* is vague and indeterminate as to *exact* time. Second, and more importantly, it indicates that, according to the Egyptians, when the land lightens a new day occurs. Equally, it reveals that the land can brighten without a new day occurring.

I realize that the contention here is at odds with some calendrical scholars who maintain that the beginning of the day was set, in the Nile Valley, at the exact time when the sun rose in the eastern horizon and it could be seen. There are other sources, perhaps somewhat intractable, that imply the beginning of the day to be set before actual morning sunrise. Indeed, this is the position of Krauss and Wells (contra Leitz and Luft).[109] In fact, Wells make a very important non-mathematical point: "The

108 For this use of *šw*, see case (32) as well as the following example from the Doomed Prince.

109 Leitz in his *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie*, ÄA 49, Wiesbaden (1989), pp. 1-5 presents the major support for his contention; unfortunately, the data are not sufficient to prove his case. Luft's analyses are listed in note 26 above.
Rolf Krauss, "Was wäre, wenn der altägyptische Kalendertag mit Sonnenaufgang begonnen hätte", *BSEG* 17 (1993), pp. 63-71 (and for an earlier statement see his *Sothis- und Monddaten*, HÄB 20, Hildesheim [1985], p. 14) has presented strong arguments against the position of Leitz and Luft.
Ronald Wells' important commentary will be found in *BiOr* 49 (1992), pp. 723-725.

simplest argument rebutting any attempt to accredit the Egyptians with having such a precise marker for the beginning of the day is that since they based the beginning of their lunar month on an invisible event (much to the chagrin of modern chronologers), ..., why would they then demand a visible one for the beginning of the day?".[110]

Although on at least one previous occasion I was unwilling to determine, in a categorical and final fashion, what was the precise marker of the day's beginning,[111] I believe that the evidence of *ḥḏ* + *t3* can be used to support the following: at an indeterminate time in the morning, when it was bright enough but before the sun actually could be seen rising in the east, the Egyptian day occurred. Parker himself was somewhat ambiguous with regard to this situation although he never maintained that sunrise was the explicit marker of the next day.[112] Fortunately, there are some sources that indicate that twilight before sunrise and after sunset belonged to the actual day.[113] Insofar as this material encompasses astronomical data – it includes the shadow clocks and the decanal star coffins of the ancient Egyptians – I believe that the explicit operations of this material militate against the position of Luft and Leitz, *et al*.

Two most recent studies, both independent of each other, can be marshaled to support my position. The first is a short linguistic study by Loprieno in which he discusses the lexical items surrounding "illumination" and "shining".[114] He proves that the Egyptian verb *ḫ3ỉ* is equivalent to the Semitic (Arabic) word that means "to come in the morning (before the sun has risen)". Hence, this conclusion affirms our contention as well as indicating that light before sunrise was taken into consideration. On the other hand, the verb *wbn* appears to be connected to the Semitic lexeme *lbn*, whose primary meaning is associated with whiteness (like milk or the moon), and hence, as Loprieno states, "with the idea of 'shining' rather than an achievement or an accomplishment". Therefore, for our purposes the latter term is less specific temporarily, and should *not* be used as proof that the day has begun, whenever it commenced. *Wbn* has no telos but rather indicates activity. On the other hand, *ḫ3ỉ* is con-

110 *BiOr* 49 (1992), p. 723.

111 "Night into Day", pp. 144-156.

112 Richard A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 26, Chicago (1950), 10 § 32. From his comments – he refers to "dawn" – I believe it not to be an inference on my part that Parker regarded morning twilight as the boundary between the previous day and the new one.
Marshall Claggert, *Ancient Egyptian Science Volume II. Calendars, Clocks, and Astronomy*, Philadelphia (1995), pp. 22, 52-53, and 83 opts for morning twilight as the commencement of the Egyptian day; cf. my comments in *BiOr* 54 (1997), pp. 677-684.

113 In particular, see Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* I, pp. 116-120 for a summary; cf. my comments in "Night into Day", pp. 149.

114 "On the Contribution of phonology to Egyptian philology", in: Josep C. Autuori and Alberto J. Q. Álvarez, eds., *... Ir a buscar leña. Estudios dedicados al prof. Jesús López*, Aula Ægyptiaca – Studia 2, Barcelona (2001), pp. 107-115. On page 110 he also discusses the range of the verb *psḏ*, a word that stresses the "re-establishment of light over darkness".

nected to the semantic range of "morning"; indeed, it is used for the first occurrence of brightness. I believe that Loprieno's evaluations add linguistic balance to the previous marshaled data.

This welcome analysis from a linguistically oriented scholar can be complemented by Krauss's up-to-date astronomical study.[115] In this work the author follows the early work of Böckh and shows that the parameters of Claudius Ptolemy in his *Almagest* fit perfectly with the supposition that the commencement of the Egyptian day occurred before sunrise.

I leave it for further scholars to continue this discussion, with the hope that their argument will be fair to the ancient sources, will not rely upon chronological calculations, and above all will not be dependent upon modern mathematical sensibilities.

115 Rolf Krauss, "August Böckh (1785-1867) und andere Autoren über den Beginn des ägyptischen Kalendertages nach Ptolemäus im Almagest", *SAK* 32 (2004), 275-286.

The Eulogy to Ahmose at Karnak and Connected Texts

Royal encomia occupied a major place within the literary canon of the New Kingdom.[1] Often but not always lacking a title, they nevertheless performed a major function to the subsequent historically oriented accounts of the Pharaohs. Sometimes these eulogies acted as lengthy introductions to the narrative record. On other occasions they occupied the major segment of a royal hieroglyphic text and thus can help us to determine their performance aspect. Thanks to the numerous extant stelae and wall inscriptions, we can analyze these hymns of praise to a far greater degree than in earlier times. Owing to recent work in the area of literary analysis, we are fortunate that this corpus has been dealt with in a modern sophisticated fashion. Moreover, the presence of a sizeable (relatively speaking) number of hieratic papyri dating from the Ramesside Period, allows us to see the cursive complement of the hieroglyphic record. The following remarks have their basis in previous research associated with royal war inscriptions and the related question of martial eulogies. Here I shall deal with some of the better-known examples dating from Dynasties XVIII to XX, although I have allowed myself more than a brief look at earlier examples owing to the ongoing research into literature by many Egyptologists.

In Karnak and south of the VIIIth Pylon the famous undated Ahmose Stela was discovered.[2] Significantly, the object was placed with the carved hieroglyphic text

---

1 In my "New Kingdom Eulogies of Power: A Preliminary Analysis", presented in: Nicole Kloth, *et al*., eds., *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück. Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beihefte SAK 9, Hamburg (2003), pp. 415-428, I have presented summary of the secondary literature on the royal eulogies, their style, and their importance at this time. Hence, this follow-up discussion will not overly concentrate on the numerous secondary sources relating to the historical background of the specific kings or eras. Texts later than Dynasty XX have been purposely omitted for a later analysis.

The major studies remain those of Jan Assmann, "Eulogie, Königs-", in: Eberhard Otto and Wolfgang Helck, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, Wiesbaden (1977), 39-46, with his *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*[2], OBO, Göttingen (1999), pp. 58-69. In this volume he also provides the reader with some key eulogies dating to the Middle and New Kingdoms on pages 512-547 of the volume.

Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, Jonsered (1999), pp. xiii-xx ("Introduction"), and 471-481, covers the main structural "rules" of Egyptian poetry.

The recent work of Richard B. Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, London and New York (2002), provides additional and pertinent comments on the type of these hymns within a far more global presentation. There is also the earlier study of Ludwig D. Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit*, ÄAT 29, Wiesbaden (1996). Section I covers the questions of orality, textual transmission, and reading.

2 *Urk*. IV 14-42 with a new presentation by Andrea Klug, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 8, Turnhout (2002), pp. 25-34. A photograph of the object will be found in Pierre Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, Cairo (1926), Pl. 1. Unfortunately,

underneath, a situation that led the Egyptologist Lacau to surmise that it was originally employed as part of the floor in this area and, as he stressed, probably situated at the south side of the pylon. A later and by no means insignificant analysis by Andrea Klug revealed that Ahmose's monument resembled to no small extent the well-known victory stelae of Kamose, not only in dimension but also in arrangement.[3] That is to say, both inscriptions appear to have been carved in the same royal/religious atelier and even if the carving of the hieroglyphs differs on both stelae, there nonetheless is a strong resemblance between the palaeography that allows us to support this contention. Naturally, the historical and literary content of both are quite different.

The Ahmose stela presents us with the first known case of a royal eulogy from the XVIIIth Dynasty. Owing to its fully developed format and arrangement, Jan Assmann stressed the remarkable nature of this literary style and indicated that a lengthy period of time in which similar encomia were preceding the reign of Pharaoh Ahmose, orally and subsequently in written format, must be assumed.[4] Therefore, before turning to the historical setting of the words and their connection to royal decrees, it is necessary to study the actual format of the presentation.

This monument commences with the expected five-fold titulary of the king and then turns to a series of attributive phrases, all serving as epithets of the ruler. The opening series is rather long even if each phrase is moderate in length:[5]

> His heir to whom he gave his throne; the good god in truth;
> Powerful of arms; without falsehood in him.
> The powerful one; the likeness of Re;
> The pair of children of Geb; his heir who rejoices in happiness.
> The offspring of Re whom he created;
> The avenger whom he has placed on earth.

At this point we can stop as the structure of these introductory lines is relatively easy to evaluate. Unlike the very early Dynasty XII encomia there are no *pw* sentences

---

it is too small. Assmann's poetical rendition will be found in *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*[2], pp. 519-523. There are useful comments to be found in Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur*, pp. 182-183; see as well Gerald Moers, *Fingierte Welten in der ägyptischen Literatur des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr*., PdÄ 19, Leiden, Boston, and Köln (2001), p. 222 and note 284 (arguing for a citation in the Ahmose Stela derived from the Eloquent Peasant).

3 Klug provides a very useful analysis of its physical arrangement on pages 32-33 of her work.

4 This is summarized in his entry for the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, 41, and *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*[2], p. 523 (bottom).

5 Here I can refer to Assmann's latest study of these encomia in "Verkünden und Verklären. Grundformen hymnischer Rede im alten Ägypten", in: Antonio Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms*, PdÄ 10, Leiden, New York, and Köln (1996), pp. 313-319. Additional references will be found in my study referred to in note 1.

present.[6] Instead, the set-up operates within a simple series of bimembral phrases, cola if you will, by means of which the king's power and glory are revealed. The verbal formations are participial in nature with expected Relative Forms used to elaborate upon the king's relations with other deities and the like.[7] As to be expected, the verses, reflecting a formal – indeed, heavy-toned – series of cadences, appear to follow a couplet-orientated format: "King of kings in all the lands; Sovereign, l.p.h., who subdues the two river banks". Or to take another example, see "The king in Pe; the ruler in Egypt; the floor of heaven; the rudder of earth". The entire opening lines orient themselves to a rhythmic pattern that one can imagine being spoken to the king during his official visit to Karnak. (John Baines' concept of decorum is most appropriate here.)[8] In a few cases we may note the intrusion of a more narrative verbal pattern. For example, at the beginning of line seven there is: "When he ruled that which the Aten encircled, the white crown and the red crown remain on his head". Here the verse commences with a *sḏm.n.f* thereby diverging somewhat from the earlier series of orally stressed phrases.[9] Other uses of the *sḏm.n.f* may be noted soon after, thereby highlighting an important linguistic turn in the enunciation. They serve not merely to differentiate a more complex series of attributive passages relating to the monarch but also to move the listener (and reader) to lengthier verses in which Ahmose is praised, and at this point the Stative tends to be employed more frequently. At the end of line ten this newer mode of oral delivery concludes with a *ỉw sḏm.n.f* (*ỉw*

6 According to Assmann the use of sentences/clauses was the major hallmark of Middle Kingdom eulogies (e.g., the Hymns to Sesostris I in Sinuhe): see his brief comments in the study cited in the previous note. Parkinson takes a more nuanced position in his work *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, p. 46 (dissemination of literature), 56-57 (with the argument that Middle Kingdom Egypt was "predominantly" oral), 61 (probable derivation of eulogies from semi-cultic contexts), 63, 68 (the circulation of Dynasty XII-XII literary compositions and the possible evidence for palace libraries where encomia could have been kept).
See as well his "Two New 'Literary' Texts on a Second Intermediate Period papyrus? A Preliminary Account of P. BM EA 1045", in: Jan Assmann and Elke Blumenthal, eds., *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten*, BdE 127, Cairo (1998), pp. 187-190, and "Types of Literature in the Middle Kingdom", in: Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 306-307.

7 For eulogies and their Relative Forms, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Hymnik I*, MÄS 19, Berlin (1969), pp. 90-91, 130, and 310-311.

8 This aspect of Egyptian civilization was first brought forward in detail by John Baines, *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre*, Warminster (1985). R. Parkinson correctly places emphasis on his professor's theory in *Poetry and Cult in Middle Kingdom Literature*, pp. 91-98 in particular.

9 The most detailed study of the internal morphological arrangements of Egyptian hymns will be found in the lengthy commentaries of Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 361 presents a useful summary of eulogies of a non-royal nature. The author stresses the presence of such hymns in a cultic setting. According to him this setting was the origin of the encomia. On p. 4 will be found his analysis of the dichotomy between the verbal ("narrative") style and the nominal ("enumerative") style in hymns. This procedure applies to eulogies as well.

ḥfᶜ.n.f ḥnmmt), and not unexpected, right at the beginning of the following line short declarations by various peoples or groups (the "patricians,", the *ḥ3w-nbw*, and the "flat lands") may be found. Here also may be seen a few simple nominal phrases with *pw*. Soon thereafter the might of the Pharaoh is declaimed as the presentation switches to the Pharaoh's overwhelming might (lines 12-14). This preceding section is rather long, as befits what all the countries recognize in Ahmose. By and large the literary style remains the same as what was presented earlier even though one may find the presentation carefully reverting to the opening style of a simple A-B arrangement. In the middle of line 16 the "two river banks" then verbally declare their opinions of the ruler. Here too the verbal set-up is similar to the second part. We may signal the use of participial phrases, some *sḏm.f*'s, common non-verbal (adverbial) passages, one additional *pw* sentence, and the like.[10]

The structure of these opening 21 or so lines has been separately analyzed by Assmann and Klug in particular. Even though their conclusions differ to some degree, the basic parameters of both are similar. The crucial question regarding these verses nonetheless remains unanswered. Namely, by what means did this lengthy introduction fit within the royal presence? In order to answer this question I feel that we must direct our attention to a closer study of this portion of the stela and attempt some historical setting.

First and foremost, one can argue from the basis of what is not indicated. By this means we can readily dismiss any connection to coronation or accession. None of the eulogistic phrases concerns Ahmose's connection to his "real" (earthly) father. Some passages indicate Ahmose's relationship to his father Amun; heirship is not excluded. Nonetheless, the entire section covers a percentage of the inscription far more than what, to take a case in point, Amunhotep II recorded in his lengthy Sphinx Stela.[11] It is fair to state that even though Ahmose has received the attributes of royalty, a detailed recitation of his rise to power is avoided. Such portions of the inscription that deal with his kingship cover a broader field of action: might over Egypt, power in the foreign lands, submission of the foreigners, connection to Amun (as befits the lo-

10 Different interpretations of the structure to this eulogy are by Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*[2], p. 523, and Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, pp. 25-31.

11 *Urk*. IV 1276-1279 and Christiane M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, BdE 70, Cairo (1976), pp. 64-89. See as well Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, pp. 223-234. Donald B. Redford addresses the importance of the historical sections in "The Coregency of Thutmosis III and Amenophis II", *JEA* 51 (1965), pp. 117-118, as does Peter Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis* II, HÄB 26, Hildesheim (1987), pp. 189-190, and Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, p. 234.

cality), relationship to and the like. There is mention of Thoth and Seshat, two deities connected to kingship,[12] and other verses place emphasis upon Re and Geb.

It might be argued that this lengthy section reflects the king's visit to Thebes soon after he was crowned. On the other hand, the avoidance of the Hyksos is striking. When we face foreign peoples the terms employed are vague or age-old ones: "foreigners" (*ḫ3styw*), the *Fnḫw*, or *ḫnt-ḥn-nfr*. Anything remotely specific or contemporary is avoided. For example, the passage "The southerners, northerners, easterners, and westerners come to him" revels in non-specificity. The crowns of kingship occur juxtaposed to the portions of Horus and Seth. Similarly, his regalia is mentioned as befits a monarch new upon the throne. Perhaps this is why his fame or renown (*hmhmt*) plays such a general role.[13] Perhaps this is why the visual image of Ahmose is compared to the sun god (and even the sun) in lines 16ff. Instead of locating the Pharaoh in contemporary time and space, the eulogy prefers instead to fix its attention upon the effective physical/martial attributes of Ahmose as well as his background in connection with Amun and other gods.

Yet the virtual absence of the hated northerners and other enemies of Ahmose cannot be overlooked. Even the Nubians, against whom he campaigned for so many years, do not appear in the encomium. In their place we find verses centered upon rulership and power, both within and without the Nile Valley. Owing to this I feel that the date of the composition must precede at least the final war against the Hyksos, and indeed be set at a time when Ahmose had not decided to continue in an earnest fashion the deeds of his predecessor Kamose.[14] The repeated mention of attributes of kingship and his involvement as Amun's son who has come to the throne tend to allow us a reasonable leeway in determining the basic *Sitz im Leben* of the composition. Although this point will be elaborated upon subsequently, there is evidence enough to conclude that the time of the king's visit to Karnak ought to have occurred not too long after his accession.

A more important conclusion regarding the manner of the eulogy, however, needs to be explained. At this point we must enter into a carefully nuanced viewpoint, one

12 I can now refer to Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Notes and Comments* I, Oxford and Cambridge MA (1993), pp. 126-127, on the connection of Thoth and Sheshat to the king; cf. the comments, of Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur*, p. 184.

13 Classically, see Joachim Spiegel, "Der 'Ruf' des Königs", *WZKM* 54 (1957), pp. 191-203. Add Erik Hornung, "Zur geschichtlichen Rolle des Königs in der 18. Dynastie", *MDAIK* 15 (1957), pp. 120-133 with page 127 in particular. The terms brought forth by Hornung are all quite frequent in the eulogies. Add Nicholas-Christophe Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIX^e^ dynastie à l'époque d'Alexandre*, Paris (1986), for a compendium of the key lexical items.

14 Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, pp. 33-34, discusses the importance of the king's mother Ahhotep in this context. See as well the earlier analysis of Claude Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Ahmosis, fondateur de la XVIII^e^ Dynastie*, Monographies Reine Élisabeth 1, Brussels (1973), pp. 129-192 (with discussion of this inscription).

that has to consider the nature of these eulogies. Were, for example, these hymns of praise composed for specific occasions? By itself, could this one have been employed from a pre-existent (hieratic) exemplar lying at the court and ready for future use at any occasion?[15] Although I do not feel that this query can be answered with total assurance, from the words it appears that with the absence of any specific event or any contemporary lands/peoples a general setting can be hypothesized. Whether or not this section was recited to Ahmose at Karnak cannot, of course, be categorically answered. On the other hand, because the following two sections (as well as the narrative conclusion) present two separate praises spoken in honor of Ahmose and his mother, Ahhotep, allow us to conclude that all three portions can be combined into one harmonious historical event.[16]

The opening eulogy could have been recited for another king or else kept as part of a series of encomia available for use in composing a royal inscription, In fact, it can be argued that these 21 lines were merely tacked onto what follows in order to expand the presentation into a nicely presented memorial of the king's deeds at Karnak. This I do not deny, but the entire composition speaks against it. The clear-cut arrangement of the stela indicates a rather well designed and thought out report:

a. Opening eulogy. This is the lengthy one.
b. Praise of the king with loyalty to him stressed. Two main parts: The first ends with praise and the second opens with an imperative ("hear" [pl.]). The latter concludes with the name of the king (vocative, as befits the presentation) plus a short epithet.
c. Praise to Ahhotep with her role in protecting Egypt indicated.
d. Official report concerning Ahmose's benefaction to Karnak. This is the only: "narrative segment".

Thus even if the first part of the composition cannot be set to any specific event, the last portion indicates its aim. There, the specific works that the Pharaoh performed for Amun of Karnak are listed. Preceding it are two relatively small sections that follow a style that can best be described as eulogistic. Because all four sections of the stela belong together we can argue that the last must be quite singular attributes, we can see that some type of event had to have taken place, one in which the royal pair presented themselves at Karnak amidst eulogistic acclamation. The first of the two stresses the

15 Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, pp. 61, 63, 68-69 (on the texts of commemorative inscriptions" circulating throughout the Nile Valley and the so-called palace libraries during the New Kingdom). Jan Assmann, "Cultural and Literary texts", in: Gerald Moers, ed., *Definitely Egyptian Literature*, Göttingen (1999), pp. 1-15, deals with the theory of cultural texts.

16 This is my basic conclusion in "New Kingdom Eulogies of Power" (note 1 above).

people's loyalty to their Pharaoh.[17] Here, the "patricians, commoners, and sun-folk" are exhorted to follow the king wherever he goes. One must as well respect Ahmose "in his name". In similar fashion this declaration, acting as a fitting conclusion to the preceding encomium, places emphasis upon the oath that one takes in the name of Ahmose. Praise must be given to him as one does for the sun god Re, and equally he must be adored as the moon. (The latter two verses clearly form a couplet, as indeed do the preceding four lines.) It is fitting in this context to cite a recent evaluation of the final response of an audience to a royal eulogy: loyalism is indicated.[18]

In the second we are dealing with praise to Ahhotep. Here, the key theme is her role as savior and protector of Egypt during unnamed trials. The removal of rebels and her association with the infantry form but two of the six major verses. Owing to these unique passages it is probable that queen Ahhotep had played a major role within Egypt at the time that the land had undergone major political difficulties, a point that was not lost upon Claude Vandersleyen in his able study of this inscription. At least at this point the perspicacious reader may observe a distinct move to something vaguely historical although, once more, the account remains historically dim.

Subsequent to these two addresses is the king's command to supply Karnak with additional offering implements and yet another divine bark and additional supplies. Here, at last, we apparently reach the focus of the inscription. Most scholars usually focus their attention upon this final section and purposely ignore the three earlier literary portions of the inscription. Yet it must be stated that all four portions belong together. It is only the final one that, narrowly speaking, provides the aim of the composition. Yet the work that Ahmose declared that he would accomplish must follow upon the former passages. Hand in hand the opening eulogy and the following two brief hymns of praise to king and queen have to be read in context with the final historical presentation.

We are thus faced with the necessity of interpreting the entire account as a unit, one in which the final narrative presentation is intimately linked with the preceding hymns. It is only for this reason that I prefer to view the account as a unit wherein the king (with mother) arrived at Karnak soon after his accession to the throne of Egypt. At that cult center he was greeted by a lengthy encomium of praise, and then the whole gamut of Egyptians, clearly not those present, were exhorted to follow in his footsteps and adhere to him. The orientation was loyalistic, as was the following address concerning Ahhotep, although in the latter we find specific references to her political/social/military role. (One may argue that she held some type of power at the

17 Note already, Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*[2], p. 523, with Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, p. 32.

18 Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, p. 82.

death of Kamose.) Most certainly, the absence of Ahmose's wife is telling, especially with regard to the dating of the royal benefactions. The presence of the queen mother is equally significant insofar as it reveals a time during the reign of her son when he had not yet secured firm control over the land, or at least proved himself (in deed) to be an able Pharaoh.

The above comments have carefully eschewed the question whether the first three eulogies were actually presented in the temple of Karnak. This I believe to be the case although it may be argued that such encomia are mere window-dressing to the ensuring fourth historical account of temple benefaction.[19] Unfortunately, no final resolution of this matter can be made even though this reconstruction has the benefit of providing an explanation of the textual redaction.

The fourth portion of Ahmose's stela effects the aim or goal of the account. With the king's commands – there are two separate ones – we at least reach a point where the king has entered into history, where he appears in the royal of an actor and not a mere receiver of grandiloquent rhetoric. In other words, the role of Pharaoh is paramount. How does this fit in with other narrative monumental inscriptions that have been labeled as *Königsnovelle* records? For the moment I wish to outline the recent study of Loprieno and attempt to connect this *non-dated* monument with the plethora of other royal narratives in which various encomia are presented to the reigning Pharaoh.

Loprieno stressed the movement of the king into history.[20] "At the crossroads of History" the monarch appears to inaugurate some activity, be it of a military or a peaceful nature such as a building project. By and large such *Königsnovelle* accounts were dated. In addition, a specific locality was given in order not to leave any questions open with regard to the action. But it can be stated that Ahmose's stela provides the same background, albeit within an interplay between ruler and populace. In this case a date is missing; the same can be said with regard to the location. The account of the stela may not need the latter since its location and the account of part four clearly enunciate Karnak as the locus. On the other hand, the even is a "concrete episode from the king's life", and as such would seem to belong to the series of definitions that Loprieno has given us in order to explain what, exactly, was the *Königsnovelle*. Hence, I feel that a more specific analysis of Egyptian hieroglyphic narrative

19 I have made this point in "New Kingdom Eulogies of Power"; see as well Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, pp. 61 and 63. It is one of Kitchen's recurring comments in his commentary to the editions of *Ramesside Inscriptions.*

20 "The 'King's Novel'", in: Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 279-295. Note as well Parkinson, "Teachings, Discourses and Tales from the Middle Kingdom", in: Steven Quirke, ed., *Middle Kingdom Studies*, New Malden (1991), pp. 101, 118-119 (on eulogies within an overarching narrative: this point will be discussed later).

texts is necessary lest with subsume a large number of historically oriented inscription underneath this rubric.

Ahmose's stela does not need to explicitly delineate the locality. Reasons for this were given above. Likewise, there was no necessity in providing a two-and-fro presentation of king (plan) followed by courtier eulogy, the latter leading to a second declaration by the monarch and possibly a final series of rhetorical praises on the part of the high officials, general populace, or the like. It can also be stated that the actual "workings-out" of the royal commands is left unsaid. Enough was presented by the literary artist to enable the reader to determine the royal wishes. But the last were preceded by various eulogies, among which the lengthy first one forms the bulk of the presentation. Therefore, this inscription separates itself from those *Königsnovelle* accounts in preferring to emphasize the eulogies and to downplay the sovereign's personality traits. In fact, from the latter vantage point, all is frozen and impersonal: Ahmose merely lists his commands.

The lack of any date may imply to some that the account was eternal with respect to intent.[21] That is to say, though explicit in detail, the Pharaoh's deeds reflect the continual necessity of cultic performance on the part of any Egyptian ruler. Equally, it may be argued that the lack of any "developed" *Königsnovelle* narrative indicates an approach at variance to that common presentation. In our case it is the opening eulogy that provides the backdrop, just as various literary (indeed often fairy-tale) backdrops provide a location and temporal setting for the ensuing action of the *Königsnovelle*. Yet at this point I do not wish to over-interpret from a modern viewpoint the necessity of including or excluding various portions of narrative. As with the pictorial development of a campaign, certain portions could be included or omitted, and the reasons for such may not simply have been caused by reasons of space.

Clearly, the Ahmose stela does not present a literary form that is akin to the *Königsnovelle* accounts although it ends up with the king's deeds to his father Amun. The interpose of eulogies explicitly located in the mouths of courtiers or warriors (e.g., the account of the battle of Megiddo) is replaced here by the opening enco-

21 Loprieno indicates that "When literary discourse is applied to the royal sphere, the result is always a *Königsnovelle*" (page 295). Therefore, these eulogies, set independent of such compositions, must be viewed separately, and their avoidance of such historical (and literary) settings/framework in such "King's Novels" is not mere happenstance.
Yet in this case the eulogies are embedded in the *Königsnovellen* (Assmann, "Eulogie, Königs-", in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, 40 and 45 (note 4). In addition, as Parkinson stressed (*Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, p. 63, "Types of Literature in the New Kingdom", in: Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 307, and "Two New 'Literary' Texts", in: Assmann and Blumenthal, eds., *Literatur und Politik*, pp. 187-189), they could be placed within other narrative literary compositions. Therefore, the frequent use of lengthy introductory hymns of praise to the Pharaoh in monumental New Kingdom hieroglyphic texts can be seen to a further extension of this use.

mium.[22] Moreover, the second and third exhortations, which might have been taken from more lengthy loyalistic compositions of the day, ably supplement the first but also work in providing the reader with an explicit direction to his ruler and mother. In other words, we now have reached the point wherein the royal participants arte assumed to have been present. Once more, then, it can be argued that the second and third sections reflect an actual event at Karnak.

Despite the lack of similarity between this inscription and those of the *Königsnovelle* format, the conclusion of the former does bear a closer reading because it reveals the final aim of the text. In this case there is no specific command. No individuals, either by name or title or in general (e.g., courtiers) are mentioned. Instead, the concluding narrative presentation merely offers the reader a straightforward list, commencing in the third person but suddenly turning to the first in line 32, of the additions to the temple of Amun.[23] This approach further differentiates the means of enunciation. Here, the account is barely historical. It avoids a specific *Sitz im Leben* as it eschews any interaction between Pharaoh and mortal(s). Quite to the contrary, the account is nothing more than coda – detailed though it may be – to the stela's preceding three hymns of praise. We can therefore agree with Loprieno's analysis of the *Königsnovelle* wherein he pointed out the historicity of the various narratives and in particular placed emphasis on the personal "here and now" role of the king. The Ahmose stela shows none of the "re-entry" into history so well described by this scholar.[24]

---

22 I am no longer convinced that the discussions of the Pharaoh with his high-ranking military warriors properly belong to the *Königsnovelle*. Although such a scenario (which goes back to Dynasty XI: see the Ballas Inscription of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II) parallels the discussions between king and high officials, it does not follow the overt use of employing eulogies. The military men reply to their Pharaoh by advocating a plan different than that of their ruler (e.g., The First Kamose Stela; Battle of Megiddo) or provide a very different non-hymnic presentation (Battle of Kadesh). To put it another way, royal eulogies were not used with such military accounts as in the *Königsnovellen* where hymns addressed to the Pharaoh in response to a particular historical event were *de rigueur*.

23 For the second and third person accounts in hymns, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 3: At this point he discusses the "enumerative" (pure nominal predication in appositional format) as well as the "narrative" nature of the presentation (use of finite verbal forms or pseudoparticipial constructions).

24 "The 'King's Novel'", pp. 286-290. We can add that our eulogies, which are set within a more lengthy monumental composition, do not indicate any literary discourse that the *Königsnovelle* employs (as argued by Loprieno). Hence, they are not "historical" per se.

Other Material

As a contrast we can turn to the well-known Gebel Barkal Stela of Thutmose III.[25] There, the account is dated and the setting is self-evident: the Nubian temple of Amun at the Fourth cataract. Various speeches of the king are interwoven with parallel eulogistic addresses of officials (*smrw*) and "people" in general. Little doubt remains that Redford's pertinent evaluation of the entire inscription is valid.[26] Namely, that most of the stela is devoted to recording an official presentation of the king at this site wherein he spoke to various nobles and assorted Egyptians. If there were any question regarding this interpretation they are easily dismissed by reference to the participants and the uncommon first person addresses of Thutmose. Through his words we feel the monarch's personal vanity, or at least his desire to impress his listeners with a lengthy account of his victorious deeds, most of which have to do with wars and personal acts of valor. One can almost feel the auspicious nature of the Pharaohs's words as they are oriented to a rather detailed account of his effective deeds in Asia as well as Nubia.

Yet the beginning of the inscription parallels Ahmose's insofar as there is a lengthy series of eulogistic passages. Once the opening is completed (date, titulary, reference to the monument itself), then in the second line follow common bimembral phrases with Participles and Relative Forms predominating. The style in this rather large section is virtually the same as our other text even though narrative forms (*sḏm.f* and *sḏm.n.f*) occur more frequently and various existential negations occur. The reason for this must be placed upon the author's intent to provide a background to the ensuing address of the king, for in the latter sections Thutmose does, in fact, describe

25 *Urk*. IV 1227-1243; Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, pp. 193-208; Anthony Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, New Haven and London (1982), pp. 204-206; and Donald B. Redford, in: A. Kirk Grayson and Donald B. Redford, eds., *Papyrus and Tablet*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall (1973), pp. 25-28. The inscription was found by Reisner in the great temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal, but not in its original location. Klug discusses it provenience on pages 193-194 of her study: perhaps in temple B 300-first.
I am ignoring the same king's Armant Stela (*Urk*. IV 1243-1247 and Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, pp. 151-158) owing to its fragmentary condition. Yet this is an account narrated in the third person to us, the reader (unless this simple phrase is mere rhetoric).
The first person account of the Pharaoh should remind us of the common Ramesside proclamations by their kings of their military deeds. The lengthy inscriptions at Medinet Habu (temp. Ramesses III; see especially the Year 8 Inscription: *KRI* V 39.6ff) as well as the famous "historical section" in the Great P. Harris indicate this other use of literary presentations. Whether the ruler actually spoke these words and where would it have taken place (not to mention the actual listeners) are separate matters, ones deserving an independent analysis. For the moment, let me indicate this narrative presentations, one uttered through the mouth of the Pharaoh, as yet a further rhetorical presentation, but one that was not eulogistic in style.

26 See his introduction to a translation in the edition referred to in the last note. Christopher J. Eyre, "Is Historical Literature 'Political' or 'Literary'?", in: Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 415-433, attempted an overview of this matter.

his earlier glorious deeds, all of which needed to reflect past finite verbal formations. Furthermore, key separations can be found in which one portion of the encomium comes to and end, only to be resumed with a variant them highlighted. For example, see the use of Noun + *pw* as well as the use of the royal name in a cartouche) as a break or ending to a subsection.

It is hard to determine where, exactly, the opening encomium ceases and Thutmose's speech begins. I feel, nevertheless, that we have to turn to the actual historical narrative in line nine because it is at this point that a first person account commences with *ḫb.n.i*. The arrangement at this point is odd. Previously in the stela four separate eulogies were given, all beginning with a simple nominal sentence: *nswt pw*, *Ḥr pw*, *kꜣ pw*, and *nswt pw*.[27] In contrast, at this point the direction of the inscription carefully moves to the king's address[28]:

> He is a king, powerful as Montu;
> Who seizes and one dies not seize from him.
> Who tramples all the rebellious foreign lands,
> And there is no one who protects them in this land of Naharain
> that its lord has/had abandoned through fear.

Suddenly the king speaks: "I have hacked up his cities and his inhabitants ….."[29] The reason for such a sudden alteration in the approach must be understood as a reaction, probably carefully prepared, at the temple of Gebel Barkal. To put it another way, the "eruption" of the first person address of Thutmose III is not surprising. The eulogies direction to him have come to and end. In fact, the four-fold series of X-*pw* sentences, all descending in order of length, winds up with a reaction on the part of Pharaoh.[30] With the series of martial enunciation complete, king then reacts. At this point we enter the actual historical setting of the event at Gebel Barkal.

Even if there is no title or heading to the stela the purport of the king's words fit neatly into the structure of the composition. The core series of royal address and

27 The line of transition is in *Urk*. IV 1231.5-6, preceding the king's first person address. Note, however, that the conclusion to Thutmose's speech includes final eulogistic passages (*Urk*. IV 1233.4-11). In other words, his words are embedded within royal hymns. Can we assume that they actually were spoken? I believe that this possibility ought not to be automatically excluded.

28 *Urk*. IV 1231.2-6.

29 Brief comments on the king's address are by Christopher J. Eyre, "Why was Egyptian Literature?", in: *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia*, Atti II, Turin (1993), p. 117.

30 For the *pw* sentences at the beginning of this text, see *Urk*. IV 1229.14 (*nswt pw*), 1230.11 (*Ḥr pw*; after the lengthy introduction and the king's cartouche), 1230.16 (*kꜣ pw*), 1231.2 (*nswt pw*); note the return to the physical and blatant image of the king. In *Urk*. IV 1233.5 the *nswt pw* serves to commence a final eulogy immediately after the king's first person narrative (Megiddo campaign) is completed. The latter is especially well designed.

mortal reactions to the Pharaoh's addresses is now presented. In many ways the ensuing account can be read as a narrative of various military successes of Thutmose. More importantly, I feel, is the presence of passages recited by the Pharaoh that could have been converted into an eulogy to the ruler. That is to say, parts of Thutmose's address at Gebel Barkal have a "quasi-eulogistic" orientation, one in which certain phrases or sentences could have been converted into non-narrative units if one desired. This approach, so well evident in lines 26 and following, indicate the actual formal speech of Thutmose. Even when the monarch covers the falling star in lines 33ff. We can see that the presentation remains a formal and serious one, carefully attuned to his listeners. Indeed, he carefully moves over into a generalized series of rhetorical phrases that sound as if they were previously constructed by a master *literato* who was interested in royal encomia.

The reasons of the courtiers are rather short, and owing to this Thutmose resumes his address. Observe that although the final portions of the inscription are missing, it is relativity clear that a specific and historically fixed event had taken place. First speak the *smrw*; then comes the king's response, itself followed by a further address, this time spoken by the "people". Finally, the account ceases with a historical setting of very few words, thereby indicating the conclusion to the narrative.

The reason why I have chosen the Gebel Barkal Inscription of Thutmose III is that it does not present a title to the monument. We moderns have to determine its import: location, time, and setting.[31] On the other hand internal evidence allows us the ability to place our attention upon the structure of the composition and to isolate the subsections of the document. Virtually at the outset we can determine when the text was drawn up and where it was placed. In fact, its purpose is also explicitly indicated: to exalt the power(s) of Thutmose in comparison to any Pharaoh that has ever existed. That being so, there only remains the actual importance of the lengthy if not long-winded series of royal encomia. Once more I cannot but conclude that they, although forming a common literary basis in the New Kingdom, nonetheless ought to be seen as having been performed at this ceremony in year forty-seven of the Pharaoh. The carefully if not also cleverly interwoven alteration in line nine cannot but indicate that a major switch had taken place. If we regard Thutmose's personal remarks that follow as reflecting his own works in the temple so far south in Nubia, then it ought to be clear that the preceding lengthy encomia must have been recited to the Pharaoh upon his arrival or else spoken before he commenced his address.

31 The nature of the *sḏd nḫtw* (especially in comparison to the *sḏd bꜣw* that reflect personal piety) was discussed by me in "New Kingdom Eulogies of Power". The Gebel Barkal Stela is clear-cut on this matter. The king recites his occasion(s) of *nḫtw*: see especially *Urk.* IV 1233.13: *ky sp gr<t> n nḫt*.

Once more then I am led to the conclusion that such royal stela were not mere commemorations drawn up or composed at a time after the Pharaoh's presence in a locality and independent of that event. I feel that these two introductory encomia plus the interconnected passages that follow both indicate a basic unity, one in which adulation was followed by royal action. Just as the Ahmose stela indicates a lengthy preamble in which fulsome praise in a semi-poetical context was given to the reigning monarch, so too at Gebel Barkal was the king's address preceded by a lengthy hymn of praise. Nevertheless, the crux to this argument relies upon the interdependence of opening eulogy with the following historically set event. In the second case we can more easily ascertain that Thutmose III actually spoke in a serious and strictly structured format through which he recounted his past deeds.

The major difference that the Gebel Barkal Stela shows in comparison to that of Ahmose clearly lies in the more explicit indication of the speeches. The two subsections that present the addresses of the officials and the "Egyptians" serve as an answer to the Pharaoh's first person accounts. Not surprisingly, they are short unlike Thutmose's oral declarations. On the other hand, the introductory eulogies on both inscriptions are as long as they are fulsome in praise.[32] The affects of Thutmose, however, provide the reader (and listener) with a hefty backdrop of the king's martial arts. That aspect is evident from the start. In the first portion of the eulogy the Pharaoh's might and power over lands and peoples are stressed, albeit in generalized terms. This theme is resumed in the second portion of that hymn but the emphasis tends to be more centered upon Thutmose's war leadership in connection with his army. Following this we turn to a shorter portion wherein the aspect return is more overarching; the fourth – king as a mighty bull – re-presents the far away lands and the geographic extent of Thutmose's dominion, the known universe. At the conclusion, a final short eulogy serves as a coda to what precedes yet at the same time leads on to the king's own narration, and at this point various historical aspects are given.

Notwithstanding the differences between both inscriptions, the problem remains as to the historical setting of the opening encomia. Are both to be viewed as mere window-dressing to the ensuing narrative-based presentations that provide the reason for the texts' existence.[33] Or, can we argue that these eulogies were spoken at a specific time and place, thereby providing the commencement to each important occasion? Communality of vocabulary and linguistic structure do not provide an answer to this question, and we are forced back upon the horns of our dilemma. Either these

32 It is therefore incorrect to claim that this stylistic device first began in earnest during the Ramesside Period.

33 Once more I can return to Parkinson's remarks concerning the use of eulogies that are embedded within narratives: *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 61.

hymned presentations were part and parcel of a "bag of eulogies" that could be ransacked for use in order to introduce any monumental inscription, or else they may have been copied from the actual presentations.[34] The latter supposition does not exclude the possibility that such lengthy proems were reworked and improved before the stelae were carved, with the input of the reigning Pharaoh, of course.

From the carefully worked out arrangement in line nine of the Thutmose stela I believe that the second alternative ought to be chosen. The account is cleverly interwoven in order to provide a lead from the final brief eulogy to the immediate declaration of the Pharaoh. In the Ahmose inscription such boundaries are stark and rigid. In addition, the second and third portions of that text presents an address to the entire universe of human inhabitants, thereby indicating that the text is to be read by all who acquaint themselves with its contents. Here, our conclusions regarding the performance aspect of the events are more difficult to ascertain.

A third series of eulogies that is worthwhile to discuss occur in the famous Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II, a text that belongs to the *Königsnovelle* format.[35] The opening section, which covers lines 25 to 30, also provides a later example of an encomium. Its structure, however, fails to parallel the earlier two examples previously discussed. In order not to overburden this paper with a detailed analysis of the composition, let me highlight the key segments of the text's beginning. First, we commence with no regnal year; that occurs in line 30. Second, lines 25-30 place emphasis upon the king in his role as Horus, the son of Osiris. Because the narrative account that follows is concentrated upon the renewal of architectural decoration in Ramesses' father's temple at Abydos, it is not surprising that this preamble concentrates on the mythic relationship of god father and god son. Not surprisingly, the immediate em-

34 Of course, the final product would have been approved by the living monarch; improvements upon an original hymn of praise (if the text actually reflects a performance) must have taken place. I will anticipate my discussion by referring to the useful analysis of Elaine Fantham, "Two Levels of Orality in the Genesis of Pliny's *Panegyricus*", in: Anne Mackay, ed., *Signs of Orality. The Oral Tradition and its Influence in the Greek and Roman World*, Leiden, Boston, and Köln (1999), pp. 221-237. In this chapter a detailed perspective is given through which Pliny's encomium was changed over time owing to more than one cause.

35 A lengthy study on this composition is in preparation. For the moment I can refer to the editions of Kitchen: *KRI* II 323-336. Because there are no photographs of the inscription I can only refer to August Mariette, *Abydos. Descriptions des fouilles exercutées sur l'emplacement de la ville* I, Paris (1869), pls. 5-9. Through the kind offices of Prof. John Baines I have secured large professional photographs of the inscription.
Kitchen's translation is in his *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated. Translations* II, Oxford and Cambridge MA (1996), pp. 162-172. A detailed and useful commentary is located in the complementary work of *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated. Notes and Comments* II, Oxford and Malden (1999), pp. 191-197.
A recent study is that of Claudia Maderna-Sieben, "Die grosse Bauinschrift von Abydos", in: Sibylle Meyer, ed., *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World. Ägypten – Tempel der gesamten Welt. Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann*, Leiden and Boston (2003), pp. 237-282.

phasis upon Horus and Osiris was pointed out by Assmann in his acute analysis of the mythic constellation so prevalent in the Dedicatory Inscription.[36]

But it is to the eulogy later spoken at Abydos to the young Ramesses that we will focus our attention. When the various members of the king's court, army, building overseers, and archive masters who were summoned by the king at Abydos came to his presence, they declaimed to their monarch a series of implied metaphors through which Ramesses' beneficence to the world is evident. This type of eulogy is often nested within the various *Königsnovelle* inscriptions. In fact, it may be said to be an integral part of such hieroglyphic compositions. Such a policy was age-old, and can be seen as early as Sesostris I if not Nebhepetre Montuhotep (II). Once again, the latter inscriptions differ extensively with these other eulogistic inscriptions. The *Königsnovellen* make sure that the praises to the king are embedded within a historically oriented narrative, and the participants who shower their Pharaoh with fulsome verbiage are named. To be sure, they speak as a group, but this is perfectly fitting in the royal scenario. The king enunciates a plan and his officials reply with a eulogy. Hence, the setting is as defined as are the individuals mentioned. Action or reaction, in other words, enters into the account, and this is a further reason why Loprieno's stress upon the *historical* aspect of such compositions makes perfect sense.

But what can we do with such royal hieroglyphic texts such as Thutmose III's "Poetical Stela" or Amunhotep III's Third Pylon Inscription.[37] In the latter cases, an obvious poetical account (both in visible structure as well as in internal arrangement) can be seen. That inscription, which passed on in style and format to later times, offers a hymn by Amun-Re of Karnak to the living ruler, Thutmose. Because the latter is greeted by his father god, we can suppose that it was drawn up to commemorate some official presentation within that religious edifice. Yet note that on a stela of Amunhotep III erected in his mortuary temple, Amun thanks his son, the Pharaoh, for various deeds there, and similar passages in the eulogistic style may be found.[38] In

36 "Das Bild des Vaters im Alten Ägypten", in: Hubertus Tellenbach, ed., *Das Vaterbild in Mythos und Geschichte*, Stuttgart *et al*. (1976), pp. 12-49 with page 36 in particular.

37 The first text (*Urk*. IV 610-619 with Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, p. 227 and Bernard Mathieu, "Études de métrique égyptienne III: Une Innovation métrique dans uns 'litanie' thébaine du Nouvel Empire", *RdE* 45 [1994], pp. 139-154) is covered by Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, pp. 111-120 and Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 165-176 (with a brief note on its combination with Amunhotep III's triumphal hymn); the second will be found in *Urk*. IV 1722-1732.
Kitchen also discusses the "triumphal" traditions in New Kingdom Egypt and later on pages 433 and 440. He points out that "The scribes under Sethos I … then adapted the two great hymns for Amenophis III and Thutmosis III (in that order) to serve as the text of Amun's address to the king in such 'smiting' scenes" (page 433).

38 This is the main one that shows the eulogistic style: *Urk*. IV 1646-1657 and Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, pp. 393-403. Note as well two others: *Urk*. IV 1671-1677 with Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, pp. 376-383; the northern companion is discussed by Klug on pages 384-390.

contrast, the "Poetical Stela" allows the god-father to recount his divine aspects that have affected Thutmose III, for example, victories over various foreigners. We can imagine the king being proclaimed by Amun (i.e., the high priest or at least the clergy of that temple) in a ceremony of victory.

The Third Pylon Inscription of Amunhotep III, on the other hand, tells us what type of eulogistic performance took place. Offerings are presented to Amun and praise is then given to the Pharaoh (*nỉs* [*ḥknw*]?).[39] The stylistic arrangement is complex, not merely composed of a series of metaphors or similes drawn up with a plethora of Participles and Relative Forms. The move to N + *pw* is present, as are some *sḏm.n.f* and *sḏm.f* formations, thereby linking this arrangement with the one of Ahmose described earlier. In the middle of this lengthy composition the style alters slightly though significantly. Amunhotep himself speaks when the account turns to the first person in line 18. Once more we can observe the careful melding of the first portion of a eulogy to a subsequent narrative approach. At least two *sḏm.n.f* formations for a bridge to the new narrative presented in the mouth of the living ruler, and they switch over to identical constructions but now with the king specifically mentioned (either with the dependent pronoun *wỉ* or the suffix *.ỉ*) This progression allows up to interpret an original even that took place at Karnak: the king arrives at his new pylon, praise is offered to him in an eulogistic address, and then the king responds. The latter portion of the account allows the first person reaction to center upon the various building and cultic activities of Amunhotep. Hence, it parallels Ahmose's deeds on his stela even though the emphasis is far more concentrated upon the interactions between Amun and the Pharaoh.

By and large the eulogistic style of these five examples does not differ among themselves to any great degree. Many more from the New Kingdom could have been chosen, but my purpose has been concentrated upon the difficult question of provenance. Notwithstanding their more developed (or complex) nature from earlier ones such as can be found in the Loyalist Inscription, the Berlin Leather Roll,[40] the hymn of praise to Sesostris I embedded in the Story of Sinuhe, and others dated to the Second Intermediate Period,[41] it remains clear that the method of presentation within the later time period is relatively homogeneous. True, the "Poetical" Stela of Thutmose III can be placed aside for the moment, as it follows a logical presentation differing from the remaining New Kingdom ones. Nevertheless, the overriding theme

39 This is the restoration of Helck in *Urk*. IV 1722.8, but is it correct? For the word, *nỉs*, "to call out"/"to acclaim", see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 194-195.

40 The most recent edition of this literary composition is that of Jürgen Osing, "Zu zwei literarischen Werken des Mittleren Reiches", in: Jürgen Osing and Erland Kolding Nielsen, eds., *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt*, CNI Publications 13, Copenhagen (1992), pp. 109-119.

41 See our comments below on those inscriptions of the Second Intermediate Period.

of my approach has been to concentrate instead upon the possible *Sitz im Leben* of some of the royal encomia that are not explicitly defined, and to contrast those inscriptions with the historically based group of *Königsnovelle* texts. We can maintain that such hymns of praise were easily incorporated into *any* monumental hieroglyphic composition, and thereby claim that the author or authors' working method was to find an appropriate series of encomia that would suit the stela or wall inscription. This is the expected scholarly reaction. After all, when one considers the quite lengthy – indeed, often immense – liturgic preambles that introduce many Ramesside monuments, it seems a safe bet that at least they were written independent of the ensuing narrative.

The opening lines of Tutankhamun's Restoration Stela, to take a case in point, were listed by Assmann in his *Lexikon* entry for eulogies.[42] It is in the final verses that one might note their pertinence for the ensuing renovations undertaken by the ruler. There, we come face-to-face with such concepts as renovating what was in ruin, performing benefactions for the gods (note the plural), driving out evil that had pervaded the land with truth firm in the country, and ultimately confronting (and thereby removing) falsehood, an abomination.[43] Most assuredly, the conclusion to the opening eulogy can be read in the context of the Pharaoh's historical deeds which are given prominence in the following historical account. Other inscriptions listed by Assmann include the Great Sphinx Stela of Amunhotep II (in which the encomium is divided into two main sections) and that of Thutmose IV.[44] In both cases the commencing verses provide a useful backdrop to the purport of the monument; their words and phrases indirectly signal parameters of kingship and royalty. With the Amada Stela of Amunhotep we come across a eulogy that concentrates upon the warlike attributes of the monarch in addition to his building activities.[45] These two themes, not surprising, are resumed in the historical portion of the composition. Additional cases could be listed as they, too, indicate that such opening paeans of praise were expressly composed to fit into the aim of the account.

---

42 Conveniently, see *Urk*. IV 2025-2032; Assmann's comments are in his study referred to in note 1, page 41.

43 The background to such historical inscriptions was described by Redford as a common *topos*: of "Dissolution and Restoration": *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day Books*, SSEA Publications 4, Mississauga (1986), pp. 259-275. Such passages may be included is a *Königsnovelle* although, as one has come to expect, they were not required. Note that the theme of chaos may occur in hymns/eulogies as well: Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Literature*, p. 59, referring to Amunnakht's hymn on the coronation of Ramesses IV.
I suspect that many of the assumed "regular" components of historical inscriptions could be included, abbreviated, or omitted owing to exigencies that are often lost to us moderns. Clearly, space reasons were a constraint, but other, literary-oriented ones could have come into play.

44 *Ibid*.

45 *Urk*. IV 1287-1299; Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, pp. 286-292.

In the Second Intermediate Period a few considerably shorter royal inscriptions provide us with one earlier phase's employ of such eulogies.[46] Neferhotep III, for example, prefers to introduce this section with "hail to you", thereby highlighting the poetical aspect of the presentation. When we read the following line it becomes clear that the king is being saluted because of his military character and his close and loving relationship to Thebes, Amun, and his people. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that in the lunette the figure of Victorious Thebes appears on the left and the right, visually signaling the verbal orientation of the monument. According to Pascal Vernus, this royal eulogy was composed at a precise circumstance owing to the mention of particular (and striking) events.[47] In this case it is readily evident that the royal panegyric was composed and later made permanent in stone for a specific occasion; the verses do not merely serve as an atemporal or generalized account of the king's might.

A further badly preserved royal stela of the little-known Pharaoh Montuhotepi at Karnak similarly presents us with an encomium.[48] Here the tome and orientation of the composition differs somewhat from those XVIIIth examples that we have already covered. After a brief eulogistic introduction the king speaks to us in the first person and highlights his deeds, but all remains in the sphere of an official statement of the Pharaoh, in poetry, however. By line fourteen the praise of the king is emphasized, using the same formula that Ahmose had carved for his stela at Karnak. The orientation thus switches to one concentrated upon the people's loyalty to their sovereign, a theme common enough in the Middle Kingdom. One can add here two other eulogies from the same era: that of Rahotep and Neferhotep I.[49] Both place their praises within the more standard format of the *Königsnovelle*, and thus must be viewed differently that "bare" encomia that avoid mentioning any specific date and location.

---

46 Pascal Vernus, "La Stèle du roi Sekhensankhtaourê Neferhotep Iykhernofret et la domination Hyksôs (Stèle Caire JE 59635)", *ASAE* 68 (1982), pp. 129-135. Compare the remarks of Detlef Franke, "Erste und Zweite Zwischenzeit: Ein Vergleich", *ZÄS* 117 (1990), pp. 119-129.

47 *Ibid*., 134-135.

48 Pascal Vernus, "La Stèle du Pharaon *Mnṯw-ḥtpỉ* à Karnak", *RdE* 40 (1989), pp. 145-161. Useful comments on this inscription will be found in Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur*, pp. 181-182. Following Vernus, he refers to the possible origins of the royal propaganda in early Dynasty XVIII as having already occurred in the preceding era.

49 Rahotep: Elke Blumenthal, "Die Koptosstele des Königs Rahotep (London U. C. 14327)", in: Erika Endesfelder, *et al*., eds., *Ägypten und Kusch*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 13, Berlin (1977), pp. 63-80; and Neferhotep I: Max Pieper, *Die grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos*, Leipzig (1929). A new translation of the latter is by William Kelly Simpson, in his edited volume, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*[3], New Haven and London (2003), pp. 339-344.
Both texts will be found in the compendium of Wolfgang Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, KÄT, Wiesbaden (1975), pp. 21-29 and 59-60.

That such encomia can be traced top many centuries before the commencement of Dynasty XVIII should not surprise us. The style of these second Intermediate Period compositions does, in fact, parallel that of the later periods of Egyptian history, thereby helping us to see how such hymns persisted with a standard method of presentation despite the earlier ones of Dynasty XII.[50] Assmann maintained that the nominal style of the various prayers and praises to gods was prominent at that time, and he further developed the themes of propaganda and kingship so prevalent in other literary compositions of that age.[51] He further maintained that the laudative nature of the opening "May you be greeted", etc., indicated, with the ensuing participial orientated structure, a stress upon the royal cult as well as the royal figure himself. Assmann claimed that in the Middle Kingdom, such eulogies were predominantly in the literature whereas hymns to gods would be found only in private tombs. For royal hymns of praise three specific localities can be determined: the literature (papyrus or on stone), the cult (as may be expected), and in a few cases in the private sphere.

Thus the expansion of the eulogistic discourse, easily traced back to early Dynasty XX in perhaps a more primitive form (e.g., the dependence upon *pw* sentences), must be seen in the light of the growing use of monumental inscriptions throughout the Nile Valley. How much this is due to the preservation of such text creates a quandary for the scholar, and it is fair to state that our written royal hieroglyphic material of the New Kingdom greatly dwarfs the extant Pharaonic stelae and wall inscriptions of the earlier ages of Egyptian history. Richard Parkinson, following to some extent Assmann's studies, has recently contended that such Middle Kingdome eulogies arose from semi-cultic contexts.[52] Certainly a detailed list of royal text from the end of Dynasty XI through the XIIth indicates that this period was not devoid in erecting numerous stone hieroglyphic compositions but we can note that hieratic documents as well contain such encomia.[53]

---

50 In this context, see Parkinson's remarks dealing with the connection of the Sporting King and later New Kingdom literature (with eulogies) in Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 306-307. He argues that it is possible that "such eulogistic discourses could have been part of the literary canon by the end of the Middle Kingdom, although possibly no earlier than the second half of Dyn. XII". In his *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, pp. 62-63, commemorative inscriptions earlier than late Dynasty XII are covered.

51 "Verkünden und Verklären", in: Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 313-321, provides a summary.

52 *Literature and Poetry in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, pp. 61 and 82. Note that he considers such hymns of praise can be textually "differentiated from works of literature in the narrow sense by the contextually determined manner of reception, by their decorum, and by not being fully fictionalzed". But equally the royal eulogies have a broad context insofar as they could be placed within different settings, e.g., within tales or the *Königsnovelle*.

53 Of course, this is to be expected, considering the means of transmission. My study cited in note 1 provides some of the key Ramesside examples among which we may cite: *KRI* VI 17-25 (with Anthony J. Peden, *Egyptian Historical Texts of the Twentieth Dynasty*, Documenta Mundi

The Second Intermediate text P. BM EA 10475 apparently provided a narrative frame in which various eulogies to the king were enclosed.[54] Here, Parkinson's interpretation of the hieratic copy fits neatly into the presuppositions of this argument. His further remarks concerned the possible cultic use of such compositions, but Parkinson also cautioned against over-interpreting such encomia. In this literary text "the topic of the transition from past disorder to present order recalls the emplotment of royal commemorative inscriptions".[55] The Restoration Inscription of Tutankhamun comes immediately to mind; others can be added. Granted that the praise-song in his text is embedded within a commemorative narrative, the latter may have been fictionalized in order to allow the eulogy to stand out. Other possibilities were advanced by Parkinson in the context of this papyrus account; the compound of eulogy and narrative also present in the *Sporting King* and the *Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling* was specifically brought into discussion by him.[56]

But the origins of the royal eulogy still need clarification. Assmann's points concerning their early Dynasty XII context have been presented earlier although I suspect that Nebhepetre Montuhotep's Ballas Inscription as well as Inyotef II's funerary inscriptions can offer some challenges to that interpretation. Parkinson, in contrast, proposed a link of royal teachings to royal eulogistic self-descriptions that in turn were dependent upon or "ultimately modeled on non-royal biographies".[57] Our brief analysis of the Ahmose stela and other Dynasty XVIII examples of monumental texts preserving eulogies leads to a complementary though not identical conclusion. I believe that at least some of the royal eulogies preserved on royal hieroglyphic monuments (for the most part they are contained on stelae) reflect an actual performance.

Aegyptiaca 3, Jonsered [1994], pp. 151-174 and *The Reign of Ramesses IV*, Warminster [1994], p. 35; and Virginia Condon, *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period*, MÄS 37, Munich and Berlin [1978] with Kitchen's review in: *Or* 48 [1979], pp. 417-418); *KRI* VI 332-334, 390-396 for the royal encomia; see his translation in *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 227-240 (visit to Thebes for P. Turin Cat. 1886 = CG N. 54301 verso); *KRI* VI 68-69 (O. Turin N. 57011 recto: Susanne Bickel and Bernard Mathieu, "L'écrivain Amennakht et son enseignement", *BIFAO* 93 [1993], pp. 41-43; and Kitchen, *Poetry in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 215-220); *KRI* VI 70-76 (P. Turin Cat. 1882 recto; most recently, Peden, *The Reign of Ramesses IV*, pp. 53-54 and 103-109; and Sir Alan Gardiner, "A Pharaonic Encomium (II)", *JEA* 42 [1956], pp. 8-20); *KRI* VI 227-229 (P. Chester Beatty I, verso B^{I-III} 1-33); *KRI* VI 152-154, and 373.

Additional eulogies can be marshaled to supplement this brief list. For example, those in the Late Egyptian Miscellanies come to mind, and they are especially important insofar as the method of transmission was in hieratic on papyrus. For the latter situation, see Stephen Quirke, "Archive", in: Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 379-401.

54 See note 6 above.

55 Redford's comments cited above in note 43 are worthwhile in this context.

56 *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, pp. 111 and 311-312.

57 *Ibid.*, 240; compare Detlef Franke, "'Schöpfer, Schützer, Guter Hirte': Zum Königsbild des Mittleren Reiches", in: Rolf Gundlach and Christine Raedler, eds., *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, ÄAT 36/1, Wiesbaden (1997), pp. 175-209.

Others are, of course, located within a framework of an overarching format. The opening eulogy of Ramesses II in the Poem to the Battle of Kadesh is an excellent example of this. Eulogies can be found as well in the mouths of courtiers in various *Königsnovelle* texts, but whether they are "true to life" insofar as they reflect the actual words of the king's upper echelon can be doubted. Those inscriptions are well crafted and carefully structured in arrangement, format, and focus, with the king's specific deeds forming the purpose of the narrative.

Eulogies, then, could be employed in various settings: fictional (*Cheops and the Magicians*; *Sinuhe*), historical (*Königsnovelle*), cultic memorials (the stela of Ahmose, the Third Pylon Inscription of Amunhotep III), war records (*Kadesh Poem*), and the like. By themselves, the hieroglyphic exemplars of the New Kingdom do not regularly provide us with a definition of this presumed genre that could be used in many contexts. Ahmose stela is a very helpful case in point because it plunges the reader into a series of attributive hymns to the ruler. Only subsequently does one meet up with a propagandistic-loyalistic section in which the emphasis is upon the king's own powers that should be recognized. Yet that portion of the monument in conjunction with the following poetical hymn to the queen mother at least alerts us to the role of both royal participants. The final cultic activities of the Pharaoh, forming a moderately sized subsection to the whole composition, does duty as the main actor in a play; this is what the stela was, after all, presenting. In other words, the lack of any specific heading, a rubric, or a title to the opening hymn of praise is not altogether crucial.

The connection between royal panegyrics and Recitations that are meant to be listened to leads us to one of the useful distinguishing characteristics that Parkinson addressed. This "praise poetry", to use Christopher Eyre's term, also may be found in writing in non-royal tombs.[58] If an Egyptian official presented his deeds in the context of what his ruler desired, then the situation arises concerning these eulogies. That they different among them in orientation and structure has already been brought out in this discussion. Additional Ramesside examples will be presented below that further explore this aspect. For the moment, however, let me concentrate myself of this oral aspect of the formal encomia. In his analysis Eyre concentrated upon two inscriptions that to him exhibited this normal public aspect: the Gebal Barkal Stela of Thutmose III and the Loyalist Instruction. He pointed out the interaction between the king with his self-praise and the non-royal participants, and ended up by noting the common "rhetorical" texts of Dynasties XIX and XX that provide a large number of these composition. But even here he indicated that a final resolution concerning when royal

58 Eyre, "Is Egyptian Historical Literature 'Historical' or 'Literary'?", in: Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 418-423.

performances took place is unclear. Moreover, as Eyre remarked, we can never be sure whether they took place on a specific occasion in front of an audience.

The key issue of actual authorship "at the point of interaction between the oral performance and the written text" remains murky. To search for antecedents within the Middle Kingdom cultic hymns of praise or those provided on non-royal stelae – for example see Louvre C 30 – may allow us to find parallels to the later eulogies.[59] On the other hand, as Eyre has indicated, a strict definition according to genre may not be appropriate. It is thus useful to remember Assmann's "open" definition of the eulogy format where various type of oral acts could be subsumed: doxologies, aretologies, and to use his term "Gebet-Epikleses". To him, the crux of the matter lay with the general aspect of naming ("nennen").[60]

The Ramesside examples of a later date equally reveal mixtures of performance. A stela of Ramesses IV from Abydos, reinterpreted by Francesco Tiradritti, is claimed to "be related the typical method of propaganda of the end of the New Kingdom".[61] For our purposes it suffices to state that the account is no hymn by a monument of the king's personal relations to his god. P. Turin 1882 presents an encomium spoken by the Pharaoh in praise of Amun-Re. Perhaps it is not surprising that the praises can be set into one previously known portion in a well-known hieratic document of a historical nature. Private encomia are also extant from this period: see one Turin ostracon in honor of Ramesses IV written by a scribe at Deir el Medineh. "The long and interesting text" of P. Turin Cat. 1882 recto is probably the best-known exemplar of a Dynasty XX eulogy, and here the historical background can be argued to be associated with the king's accession.[62] Ramesses IV, speaking in the first person, extols (*swꜣš*) his father Amun-Re just as other hymns of the same time period, almost written in hieratic, allow us to see that the so-called genre of the eulogy did not forsake this fulsome praise of the reigning Pharaoh. The use of the word "extol" immediately calls to mind the prayer of Ramesses III to Amun at Karnak that was originally recorded on a table of gold or silver, and presumably kept in safekeeping at that temple; see the opening phrase *wšꜣ ḥknw swꜣš nb nṯrw*.[63]

59 For Louvre C 30: Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*[2], pp. 464-466.

60 *Ibid*., 58-60. For "nennen", see as well Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 90-91 with note 53 (in the oldest liturgies; names in a formula).

61 "'I Have not Diverted My Inundation'. Legitimacy and the Book of the Dead in a Stela of Ramesses IV from Abydos", in: *L'Impero Ramesside*, Vicino Oriente – Quaderno 1, Rome (1997), pp. 193-203. His later analysis, "Lecture et sens des scenes dans les stèles royals de la XXe Dynastie", *TdE* 1 (2002), pp. 103-111, presents a more general study in which the scenes (e.g., in the lunettes) relates to the ensuing narrative below.

62 See the references in note 53 and add Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day Books*, p. 192 note 203.

63 *KRI* V 221-226. The word *swꜣš*, "to adore" (*KRI* V 221.9/10), has been discussed by Assmann in his *Hymnen und Gebete*[2] as well as in *Liturgische Lieder*; add Eyre, "Is Historical Literature

But we have proceeded too far in considering the numerous other hymns and prayers of ancient Egypt and the detailed compendiums of Assmann more than suffice to resolve many of these important points. Yet before acquitting myself of the purpose of this paper let me return to the useful points concerning Ramesside eulogies on stone upon which Eyre briefly remarked.[64] As is well-known many of the monumental texts of this period include quite lengthy introductions in a eulogistic format that are connected by theme, but not obviously by style, to the ensuing historical narrative. The Battle of Kadesh Poem is the most prominent among them owing to its importance in the field. From section 7 until 24 a separate section was created, hallmarked by an introductory *ỉst* and ending with the king's cartouches, undoubtedly read in the vocative. Here, the style of presentation is quite different from the narrative per se, being oriented to the common eulogistic style of Participles Relative Forms commonly employed as developed praises to the king[65]. There is little doubt that this passage was simply embedded into the whole account and thus it does not reflect an actual performance. Even more blatant an approach can be found on the various exemplars of the same monarch's First Hittite Marriage.[66] Following upon the data and five-fold titulary some lines continue with a series of epithets. But that actual lengthy encomium soon takes over, purposely introduced by *ḥꜣty-ꜥ m mnw pn mnḫ n sꜥꜣ pḥty n nb ḫpš* ..... the structure of the praise is composed by small hymns of praise, each separate from the one following through the dividing "line" of cartouches. (See as well the so-called "Blessing of Ptah".)[67]

This Ramesside approach to expanding the introductions to historical accounts by employing opening eulogies is no more evidence that in the series of war records left to us by Ramesses III.[68] The major historical inscriptions, that of years five, eight, and eleven are identical in structure. After the date and some introductory laudatory epithets the narrative core presents the account of the campaign, itself then followed

---

'Political' or 'Literary'?", in: Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 425. Old remarks of Keith C. Seele on this monument will be found in his "A Hymn to Amon-Re on a Tablet from the temple of Karnak", in: Lewis Gaster Leary, ed., *From the Pyramids to Paul. Studies in Theology, Archaeology, and Related Subjects*, New York (1935), pp. 224-241, especially page 233. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 118 note 20, discusses the core verb, *wꜣš*.

64 "Is Historical Literature 'Political' or 'Literary'?", in: Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 427-428.

65 For the Relative Forms in eulogies, see Assmann's comments cited in note 7 above.

66 *KRI* II 233-257.

67 *KRI* II 262-281. An extremely important commentary on this text is that of Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated. Notes and Comments* II, pp. 159-165. Note that it is always "paired off", to use Kitchen's phrase, with the First Hittite Marriage. The structure of the composition is also covered by him. Earlier, William F. Edgerton and John Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, SAOC 12, Chicago (1936), pp. 119-120, presented a historical backdrop to the origin of the text.

68 Anthony Spalinger, "A Sequence System", *RdE* 38 (1988), pp. 107-129.

by additional rhetoric in a eulogistic style. Here once more the structure of the royal encomia are at odds with the ensuing narrative. Indeed, the grammatical set-up of the historical section differs considerably from that contained in the encomia. In many ways Ramesses III's eulogies present in these war inscriptions continues a style also known from the Late Egyptian Miscellanies and, to take a case in point, those eulogies present in the Kadesh Poem and other earlier Dynasty XIX monumental texts (e.g., those of Seti I).

By and large these Ramesside eulogies are written in a more formal and classical style. It is not surprising to meet various moribund verbal formations such as the Predicative *sḏm.n.f* or even a *sḏm.n.f* Relative Form. The choice of vocabulary as well is more reflective of earlier times, and these "inserted" eulogies parallel to no small extent those of the XVIIIth Dynasty, thereby indicating that they were expressly composed within a formal and non-colloquial setting. Perhaps one might argue that Late Egyptian or even a "modified" version of it suitable for monumental discourse – the "Language of Tradition" – was not suitable for such encomia as it lacked the terseness of the Classical Idiom or else did not have many centuries of practice behind it.

Those Ramesside eulogies preserved on papyrus fortunately enable us to see the actual dissemination of such literary works and sometimes to hypothesize a *Sitz im Leben* for them. As often stressed here, we are always at a loss to find such historical settings for eulogies contained on stelae or in wall inscriptions. With these monumental accounts, however, it seems best to maintain that many eulogies, especially those used as introductory portions of Ramesside inscriptions such as the First Hittite Marriage, were literary creations, and owing to their pertinence to the following narrative account some of them can be placed within the historical setting of the actual written response to an event. That is to say, a certain number of these encomia were drawn up for a specific occurrence. But whether they were presented with the following historical narrative is another matter. Here, as well, we cannot be sure of their actual use. Whereas it is relatively easy to set aside the eulogy in the Kadesh Poem or even that in the account of the First Marriage Stela, other cases are not as simple to resolve. Nevertheless, I feel that these Ramesside hymns to the Pharaoh are to be placed within one genre that remained alive throughout the New Kingdom (and later).

The question of actual performance, a thorn in the side of much research dealing with ancient Egyptian literature, has a frequent theme in this discussion. It goes without saying that this problem exists as well for those eulogies of the Middle Kingdom. Assmann highlighted certain stylistic peculiarities of Dynasty XII encomia, especially their preference for the nominal phrase N + *pw*. Such passages are rare in the New Kingdom, and seem to highlight a new subsection (or verse) of the poem. To some degree he indicated the actual recitation that could have been accomplished by a

speaker using this construction, but we could say the same for the more complex usages with attributive Participles and the like. Clearly, the original *Sitz im Leben* for many of these hymns remains elusive to us. But the presence of available or even "ready-to-order" eulogies is a conclusion that warrants more study. If the author of the Kadesh Poem had at his fingertips royal eulogies that he could sift through and chose in order to provide an introduction to his lengthy war composition, and if such eulogies circulated outside of a thing elite at the court – the Late Egyptian Miscellanies tend to prove this contention –, then we must attempt or determine where, exactly, were such hymns kept.

Assmann's preference was to assign literature to the framework of the school with the court then propagating the texts.[69] But this interpretation surely fails to take into consideration the efflorescence of culture in its multifaceted framework that is one of the hallmarks of the New Kingdom. For that reason I fail to see how his investigation holds true for the eulogies of the New Kingdom. When one was drawn up for a specific event how did the act of creation occur? The motive force was surely the pharaoh and not the school. Those two small eulogies of kings Neferhotep III and Montuhotepi dating from the Second Intermediate Period appear to be connected to some martial success of the specific ruler and not dependent upon mere "learning". The same may be said with regard to an interesting graffito found by John Darnell at the Wadi el-Hol.[70] In the latter case not only is there a military aspect to the literary presentation, but it is readily ascertainable that we are witness to an encomium to the living Pharaoh in which the Theban ruler is praised. And even if the transference or transmutation of such hymns to a rock inscription may be considered by some to be unusual, there is little doubt that such literary presentations enjoyed a broader basis with Egyptian society than at first we would expect.[71]

If we adhere to the relatively narrow working definition of literature as advocated by Ludwig Morenz and Stephen Quirke, among others, these encomia ought to be excluded because there remains the problem of their demarcation from the non-literary sphere.[72] Yet the Miscellanies contain many such hymns even though it may be argued that they had "lost" or else do not contain an original performance context. (It should be understood that I believe these Dynasty XIX texts not to be mere schoolboy compositions.)

---

69 Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, pp. 18, 35, and 69.

70 *Ibid*., 61; John Coleman Darnell, "A New Middle Egyptian Literary Text from the Wadi el-Hol", *JARCE* 34 (1997), pp. 85-100; and the translation by Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 159-162.

71 Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, pp. 61 and 73.

72 *Ibid*., pp. 29-36 and 60-61, for a useful analysis of genre, intertextuality, and literature per se.

By the New Kingdom it is probable that the texts of royal monumental inscriptions of a commemorative nature were circulated, by means of hieratic documents, through the land.[73] We must also keep in mind that there were temple libraries as well as palace ones, but these eulogies also belonged to the literary corpus of the Ramesside Period. But even in the Middle Kingdom literary texts could include eulogies, thereby indicating their "semi-cultic" context, although, as Parkinson has shown, the style of this period's writing reveals an oral-performative setting. But let us not forget that there are "apparent quotations of 'The Eloquent Peasant'" within this stela of Ahmose.[74] Indeed, as the personal library of the Deir el Medineh workman Qenherkhepeshef shows, a considerably broad-based collection of literary texts could be assembled in which Miscellany-texts (including eulogies) as well as the Kadesh Poem were found. Such cases indicate that *belles-lettres* of diverse epochs were known to the composers of these encomia.

At the risk of emphasizing too many connections between later encomia of Roman society and our Egyptian ones, it may not be out of place to review the question of orality with regard to such hymns. A recent study of Pliny's *Panegyricus* provides a useful corollary to our analysis.[75] This individual was able to compose private speeches, later reworked for publication, as well as ones geared to an actual performance. He was furthermore not only concerned with the occasion of the oral performance by was also occupied with later recitations, circulation of the texts, and the final draft of the written version. The example of Pliny's method of composition, the related question of the actual event of performance, and the final version may provide a useful analogy to our eulogies. We have seen that behind the final version, which usually but not always was either embedded within a framework often narrative or placed, usually at the beginning, in a context at variance to an oral presentation, must have been a prepared hieratic hymn of praise. But the extensive use to which Egyptian royal hymns of praise could be placed is at odds to the Roman method of composition, revision, and final edition. Unfortunately, we do not know the authors of these panegyrics even though their employ within the inscription can be related to the theme of that monument. See once more the Ahmose Stela. Yet the frequent lengthy encomia that are to be found in Ramesside monumental texts, plus the helpful evidence from the hieratic Late Egyptian Miscellanies, at least allows us to make the tentative

73 *Ibid*., p. 68; see as well pages 57, 61 and 63, and 69-70.

74 Richard B. Parkinson, "The History of a Poem: Middle Kingdom Literary Manuscripts and their Reception", in: Günter Burkard, *et al*., eds., *Kon-Texte. Akten des Symposiums "Spurensuche – Altägypten im Spiegel seiner Texte"*, ÄAT 60, Wiesbaden (2004), p. 60, referring to Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur*, Wiesbaden (1996), pp. 182-183.

75 The crucial study on this matter is referred to above in note 34.

conclusion that such eulogies were preferred if not rigorously demanded by the rulers of Egypt at that time.

To place these encomia into one genre may seem hazardous, especially in the context of Parkinson's most recent formulations. Eyre, when discussing historical literature, advanced the same argument. For him, it was all too common that "A mixture of genres and an episodic structure are characteristic features of Egyptian literature".[76] Have we not seen that the eulogies could be located within a global narrative framework. Sinuhe comes automatically to mind; other examples were stressed by Parkinson. The presence of eulogies in the *Königsnovelle* corpus has been remarked upon frequently, and Eyre has seen that even the newly edited Tod Inscription of Sesostris I fits perfectly into this recognized framework. But because a royal eulogy need not be so firmly placed in space and time, it could be used for an introduction to varying royal monumental texts. I have already noted this behavior with respect to many of the Ramesside hieroglyphic texts but nonetheless did point out that some of the hymns do provide a topical link with the ensuing narrative. Nonetheless, with the *Königsnovelle* the eulogies are located within the historical narrative and placed in the mouths of various non-royal personages. It still remains that case that here an overlap between such historical inscriptions and eulogies devoid of a specific temporal and special setting occurs, thereby providing additional support to Parkinson and Eyre's comments concerning the flexible or porous boundaries of so-called genres.

I do not think we can regard the incorporation of the eulogy in Ahmose's stela as an example of fictionality although I agree with one scholar that a historical monumental inscription need not automatically indicate that a performance took place. Is the context of the Gebel Barkal Stela fiction? Its literary structure notwithstanding, and its location taken into consideration, I still feel that it records events at that site with the Pharaoh in the forefront during some type of dedication. In similar fashion, the Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II, clearly written by an expert, records the king's visit at Abydos and his building plans for the future. We may disagree over the veracity of this *Königsnovelle* account and in fact consider the eulogies to the monarch as creations of a literary artist, but surely this deserved skepticism need not imply that *some* paean of praise to Ramesses occurred there. After all, we are dealing with an archaic ruler-state lead by a chief who was divine and untouchable. How else could the king be addressed after he propounded his plan? (Note that such *Königsnovelle* inscriptions *never* reveal any opposition; the latter occur only within a military context.)

76 "Is Historical Literature 'Political' or 'Literary'?", in: Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 429.

The somewhat fluid boundary that exists between the eulogies *per se* and their presence within the *Königsnovelle* texts exhibits the ever-present situation that literary genres are not independent units in and among themselves. That various monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions containing far different approaches could employed eulogies as part of their presentation indicates that such hymns were both available to a master composer and able to be embedded into a historical narrative. Whereas it is the case that the Ramesside kings frequently employed such literary compositions, or at least part of them, for their introduction sections of narrative accounts, the Late Egyptian Miscellanies at least show us that quite a number, even short ones, could be written down on papyri and circulated within some elite milieu. Yet many of those monumental texts lack specificity with regard to their official setting whereas the *Königsnovelle* inscriptions reveal a definite time and place, and automatically alert us to the royal aims. I suspect that additional historical and literary research is necessary to enable us to untangle the seemingly recondite nature of these royal encomia.

Titulary

Horus:	Great of manifestations (programmic statement of king)
Two Ladies:	Complete of birth (ready for action?)
Golden Horus:	Who ties together the Two Lands (kingship; arrival to throne)
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands:	Neb-pehety-Re (typical X-Y-Re name; stress on might)
Son of Re whom he loves:	Ahmose, who lives forever.

Eulogy

Beloved of Amun-Re, son of his body;
His heir whom he placed on his throne (additional details).

COUPLET: theological-political stress; probable setting at Karnak; additional details relating to accession.

The good (complete) god in truth, extensive of arm(s);
There is no falsehood in him.

COUPLET: truth and dominion; opens with "good god"; the second verse is short and completes the ideas.

The powerful one when he acts as Re,
Two offspring of Geb; his heir who exalts in joy.

COUPLET: conception of king; two parallel clauses (circumstantial and relative), both connected with deities but note Re; this is a theme which is then developed further on.

The (re-)incarnation of Re whom he created.
The avenger whom he placed on earth.

COUPLET: king to Re; two *sḏm.n.f* Relative Forms; the avenger theme, a strong one, is indicated in the second verse that indicates the purpose or role of the Pharaoh.

Who illuminates kingship, lord of joy;
Who places "breath" at the noses of women.

COUPLET: two Participles; concepts of joy and kingship resumed; implicit reference to king as Horus; positive attributes of ruler; the "breath of life" is indicated, a theme that is resumed two verses on; the balance is Participles + bimembral phrase/prepositional phrase; extremely unusual theme in the second verse, indicating a very high degree of beneficence.

Powerful of strength, who suppresses rebellion,
Who gives life, who establishes truth.

COUPLET: Participles again, four of them; physical power indicated, but then beneficence; negative to enemies but positive in behavior as well; alliteration in second verse.

King of kings in all foreign lands,
Sovereign, l.p.h., who subdues the two riverbanks.

COUPLET: royal living attributes stressed; traditional references to total kingship over all lands and peoples; prepositional phrase balanced by Participle; this section may belong to the next.

Great of majesty, powerful of appearances,
Among/with the …. bowing,
And/When their gods are under life and dominion.

TRIPLET (?): This is a difficult passage; enjambment may be present; the last verse refers to the weakness and submission of the enemies (?).

One in heaven, second on earth,
Whose splendor has engendered light.

COUPLET: Stress upon the qualities of the sun – the sun god Re; the king is his "second" in the earthly sphere; note the second verses with the Relative Form that is heavy enough to balance the Preceding two simple bimembral (adverbial) phrases.

The beloved one of Amun, who establishes offices like the Beautiful-of-Face",
The lord of years like the majesty of Re.

COUPLET: The major three gods of all of Egypt are indicated: Amun (the first), Ptah, and Re; Amun relationship with the king is personal, whereas Ptah (referred to through his epithet) is connected to the functional duties of humankind (or the elite), and Re is logically connected to time; the second half of both verses works with a participle plus prepositional phrase (long line) and

a simple prepositional phrase (short line in antithesis); two concluding similes; *Nfr-ḥr* is balanced by *ḥm n Rᶜ*; second word is each verse is plural; some indirect alliteration (*mn* and *nb*).

Who causes each god to "know" his shrine,
And the festival hall/court of every god.

POSSIBLE COUPLET: A sudden switch to the king's beneficent relations to the gods of Egypt; i.e., to their cultic importance; some alliteration.

King in Pe, the ruler in Egypt,
Baulk of heaven, oar of earth,
When he has ruled what the Aten encircles.

TRIPLET: Play on the initial consonants of "p" and "t"; first verse runs from specific (age-old concept) to general whereas the second moves from the other (= above)-wordly to the "here"; the orientation of the Pharaoh is upon his role in Egypt as well; see the age-old city Pe where Horus ruled; *nswt* is more significant than *ḥqꜣ*; the final verse "encircles" the first two; it may be fully predicative with no pluperfect tense.

The white crown and the red crown are firm on his head,
The two portions of Horus and Seth are under his command.

COUPLET: A clear indication of the power of the king's rule; the dualities are self-evident: the insignia precede the domains on earth.

Appearing/Shining of forms in his youth,
Wondrous/Marvelous in each hour of his.

COUPLET: the main concept is still connected to time and appearance and hence to the sun; the youthful lifetime of the king is indicated; the first half of verse one is long and thus balances the second half of verse two.

Lord of the white crown, high of feathers,
The power of Wadjyt is on his face as Horus
After he has ruled his two lands.

TRIPLET (?): the final passage must be pluperfect; it concludes the passage; one might interpret the second and third line as a lengthy verse; crucial insignia of kingship; possible indirect reference to Amun at the beginning.

Sovereign, l.p.h., who takes the crowns in Chemmis,

Lord of appearance(s), Horus enduring of love.

COUPLET: an effective balancing of verse one (one long passage) and two (two short phrases); some alliteration.

To whom the southerners, northerners, easterners and westerners come,
And he remains as/the lord who established/s his two lands,
After he had seized the inheritance of he who engendered him,

TRIPLET (?): new and different style play on *mn*.

Before whom all people retreat,
After his august father has given it to him,

COUPLET: same arrangement as the previous one; the "it" is the inheritance.

And he has grasped the sun folk and seized the people
And the patricians – they given to him praise.

COUPLET: fronting at end; the "elite" in the traditional sense render praise; note the initial *ỉw sḏm.n.f*, a fit ending to this lengthy section.

Every one says – "He is our lord!".
The Haunebu say – "We shall follow him!"
All the lands say – "We will belong to him!".

TRIPLET (?): an interjection forming a hiatus within the eulogy.

He is a king,
Whom Re caused to rule, whom Amun magnified,
They give to him the riverbanks and the flat lands together, upon which Re shines.

COUPLET (?): note the concluding *sḏm.n.f* Relative Form; I assume that the beginning N + *pw* serves as a heading.

The foreigners are coming in humility/penance
Standing at his gate.

COUPLET: If this is correct, then the idea is rendered abruptly; the concept is based on petitions of a "legal" fashion.

His slaughter is within Khenethennefer,
And his fame is within the Fenchu lands.

COUPLET: first south, then north; undefined localities in their respective *ultima thules*.

The fear of his majesty in within this land,
As Min in the year of his coming.

COUPLET: this one and the previous play emphasis upon the king's might; both may be placed together to form a single couplet.

They fetch beautiful gifts, laden with impost for the king,
When he proceeds, his archers are on his two sides as the moon in the middle of the stars.

COUPLET: the last image is quite striking; circumstantial clause with Stative.

Beautiful of bearing at going forth
Peaceful of stride, firm of soles

COUPLET: a simple one and composed of common motifs; possibly compounded together with the following verse attached.

The "support" of Re alights on him (or: upon whom the support of Re alights),
And Amun is his protection,
His August father who loves him making the road for him.

TRIPLET (?): Amun is second in order but first in importance; see the last comment. Note how long is this "quote". The two riverbanks say:

Would that we could see him!
All people filled with his love.

COUPLET with a circumstantial clause in the second verse; see the Stative; note the idea of "bodies" being filled.

Two eyes are staring at this king,
Hearts are leaping for him.

COUPLET: possibly connected with the following; the return to the eyes of mankind follows.

He is seen like Re when he rises,
As when the Aten shines, when Khepri appears in the two eyes.

COUPLET: the morning and the sun disk stressed.

His rays are in faces as Atum in the eastern heaven,
And ostriches dance in the valleys.

COUPLET: unless combined with the following two verses; morning is again indicated.

As sun's radiance shines in the middle of the day,
And all worms are heated.

COUPLET: the mover to the zenith; Stative.

The sole king whom Sothis has taught,
Who is praised by Seshat

COUPLET: probable; common alliteration; effects of the two gods upon the ruler.

The majesty of Thoth is on his two sides
He has given to him wisdom,
He guides scribes to accounts.

TRIPLET: unless the latter two verses are joined together.

He is "Great-of-Magic",
The possessor of love more than all kings.

COUPLET: the positive aspects of Werethekau are indicated.

And he causes hearts to give praise to him,
While hearts are joyful in bodies.

COUPLET: with the two words for hearts; joy, engendered by the Pharaoh, is the final theme.

The Re-Use of Propp for Egyptian Folktales

An Introduction

The following interest concerned with folktales, *Märchen*, and the like, reflects various situations in which we often observe that there are only states rather than actions per se. Specific features of this background of temporality and causality include the lack of cause and effect, two dimensionality in characterizations (i.e., no characters per se), and what we think are inconsistencies when there are none.

Here are two useful examples from the Doomed Prince.

(1) Why does the dog go after the hero so late? He does bite the young man (has to, the other translation of "speech" is meaningless here for the plot), but only later, after the "marriage" (N.B.: there is none described, but that is easy to explain by folklore dynamics) and really to push the hero off so that he can meet the last remaining fate. Then follows the typical "exchange" scene: the crocodile will not kill the hero *if* the man aids the crocodile. He will. The crocodile will win against his opponent, a Force.[1] The plot demands it. (It should be recognized that the three fates are in essence one: death. The triplet is used for emphasis.)

(2) The king, who has to be opposed to the man as the latter is about to enter into an exogamous relationship with his daughter, first says "make him go home", and later, with the original form of the base folk tale evident, attempts to kill him. (The second is really the only action expected. The king has to kill the man, as the latter is the threat to the kingdom. I.e., the king is to be displaced by the man outside of his clan. The marriage must be an exogamous one.) But why is the presentation in this order? No reason can be given except for the use of emphasis by means of repetition, a factor that is heightened by the increased threat of the king of Mitanni. But there is no psychological development; there cannot be. The universe appears as a state in which actions occur but are not motivated. Time is not important; indeed it is rudimentary.[2] When activity seems to take place a closer understanding is necessary, and after some thought we realize that only a sharpening of the hero's linear progress has taken place.

---

1 Note the term *nḫtw*; it is extremely archaic. I have discussed this issue in a forthcoming publication "Re, Osiris and Cheops". I do not follow the hypothesis of Hubert Roeder, "Die Imagination des Unsichtbaren. Die altägyptischen Erzählungen des Papyrus Westcar und die Performanz des Performativen", *Paragrana* 12 (2003), pp. 184-222.

2 Vladimir Jakolevic Propp, "La fiaba cumulative russa" in: Jurij M. Lotman and Boris A. Uspenskij, eds., *Recherche semiotiche. Nuove tendenze delle scienze umane nell'URSS*, Turin (1973), pp. 87-106; and in the same volume, S. Ju. Nekljudov, "Il sistema spaziale nell'intreccio della bylina russa", pp. 107-124. The Italian editor and translator was Clara Strada Janovic.

True, there is a protagonist and so an interaction of positive and negative occurs. But at the same time the voyage (in time and place) has stopped.[3] In other words the simple and undifferentiated, almost atemporal, motion of the sole main character ends when the hero or heroine faces a second party. (In this case the engagement need not be with a hostile power; there are helpers as well.) Basically we are faced with two scenarios:

1) The movement of the protagonist in which the temporal framework is minimal; and
2) The interaction of the protagonist with others. Essentially there is only one 'Other'. Cases in which two or three (the limit) people are present at the same time and in the same place with the hero are not that rare. The additional characters, however, act:
   a. independently when there are two (king hostile to hero; daughter favorable to hero), and so serve as two separate and independent factors/forces; or
   b. they are used a form of strengthening (i.e., repetition) and thus are one. But in this case there is no motion and time, as well, is extremely vague, to say the least.[4]

Evidently, folktales are rooted in a quasi-atemporal world in which states of affairs rather than individual actions reign. In this framework, it might be necessary to return to questions of "state" and to re-read Diakonov's study on early language structures.[5] In this study, which was devoted to the Sumerian integers, an important series of definitions of ergativity as well as an effective criticism of G. A. Klimov's various postulations are presented.[6] His careful analysis is also useful in re-evaluating the subsequent work of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov.[7] Diakonov saw problems with Klimov and later definitions of ergativity. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, for example, proposed that the difference proposed for PIE centered on active verbs versus state ones.[8] Diakonov, in a presentation not relating to the latter, argued that the term "fientive" was more

3 See A. Ya. Gurevich, "Space and Time in the *Weltmodelle* of the Old Scandinavian Peoples", *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 2 (1969), pp. 42-53.

4 Cinderella has, of course, three opponents, but they are in essence one. The two stepsisters act as a unit and merely reflect their mother's position.

5 Igor M. Diakonov, "Some Reflections on Numerals in Sumerian. Towards a History of Mathematical Speculation", *JAOS* 103 (1983), pp. 83-93.

6 *Ibid*., 83-84 note 4.

7 Thomas V. Gamkrelidze and Vjachelav V. Ivanov, *Indo-European and Indoeuropeans*. *Theoretical Bases*, Tiflis (1984). In addition to Diakonov's reservations concerning the terminology employed by both scholars, I can refer to Alice C. Harris, "Kartvelian Contacts with Indo-European", in: T. L. Markey and John A. C. Greppin, eds., *When Worlds Collide: The Indo-Europeans and the Pre-Indo-Europeans (Proceedings Bellagio 1988)*, Ann Arbor (1990), pp. 67-100.

8 There is a good up-to-date analysis of ergativity by R. M. W. Dixon, *Ergativity*, Cambridge UK, New York and Melbourne (1994).

appropriate for a system which others call "active", especially as most of the ergative languages that we know (and to be fair, he knew almost all of them) are really mixed. They tend to have nominal structures, and the excuse that we have "split ergative" languages is not a useful explanation.[9] Indeed, it is not helpful to the argument of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov. Contamination of ergative languages by nominal ones is all too frequent, added Diakonov, and as well we have nominal languages showing many ergative traits.[10]

Nonetheless, we may be on safer ground by proposing an ergative stage before a fientive one. (Diakonov avoids the term "active".) The reason is that we begin with no "pure" verbs, and this is what I found highly enlightening.[11] At present, the trend in Indo-European linguistics is to stress its presumed "active" status, a position with which I generally concur. However, I share the reservations of Diakonov, especially when I observed that none of the practitioners of this theory have considered seriously the implications of their work.[12] It seems to me that one simple fact stands out. The further we go back in history by postulating earlier linguistic forms the closer we arrive at what even Lehmann regards as words devoid of verbal-substantive differentiation.[13] The following passage reveals that he is following in the footsteps of Wolfgang Meid:[14]

> "… the early means of expression was lexical, accomplished by sound and form symbolism….. Moreover, there was little difference between noun and verb roots, ….."

9 In this light, see Vit Bubenik, "An Interpretation of Split Ergativity in Indo-Iranian Languages", *Diachronica* 6 (1989), pp. 181-212.

10 With regard to Egyptian, see Antonio Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic introduction*, Cambridge UK (1995), *passim*; he refers to Jürgen Zeidler, "Ergativität und Kasussystem", *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992), pp. 210-213. There is a most recent analysis by Hanna Jenni, "Die pronominalen Erweiterungen beim Imperativ und der Ausdruck verbaler Reflexivität im Ägyptischen", *ZÄS* 132 (2005), pp. 112-122. She covers (split)- ergativity in the Egyptian language.
A remarkable attempt, but not building on Diakonov's research, was that of Winfred Lehmann, "Active Language Characteristics in Pre-Indo-European and Pre-Afro-Asiatic", *General Linguistics* 35 (1995), pp. 51-79. He did read, however, Diakonov's *Afrasian Languages*, Moscow (1988). I can add a recent similar study by Frithiof Rundgren, "Semitic and Indoeuropean. A Linguistic Study in Comparative Aspectology", in: Gábor Takács, ed., *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam W, Vycichl*, Leiden and Boston (2004), pp. 585-599.

11 We can now add the recent analysis of Josef Tropper, "Die Endungen der semitischen Suffixkonjugation und der Absolutivkasus", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 44 (1999), pp. 175-193.

12 A detailed an up-to-date summary may be found in Winfred P. Lehmann, *Theoretical Bases of Indo-European Linguistics*, London and New York (1993).

13 Lehmann, "Earlier Stages of Proto-Indo-European", in *Indogermanica Europaea. Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid*, Graz (1989), pp. 109-131. See as well his later study "Towards a History of Early-Indo-European", *Diachronica* 16 (1999), pp. 67-95.

14 Lehmann, "Earlier Stages of Proto-Indo-European", p. 116.

Indeed, Meid's position, summarized in 1975, may be understood in exactly the same way:[15]

> "Da die thematische Flexion beim Nomen und Verbum ja entwicklungsmäßig sicher jünger ist als die athematische, wird man nicht weit fehlgehen, wenn man die Entwicklungsstufen beim Nomen und Verben parallel setzt: die Phase des Wurzelnomens war mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit auch die des Wurzelverbums."[16]

But the important conclusion of Meid then follows wherein he states that yet earlier in time the specific elements of words (nouns and verbs) were not connected and the individual components were units. This conclusion equates to what Lehmann claims is simple "sound and form symbolism".[17]

There are many residues in the later stages of PIE that indicate this, but one stands out in a particular way. I am referring to the Middle, especially the Greek Middle. Winfred Lehmann as well as Brigitte Bauer are struck by the contrast between the two forms of the simple present; i.e., the Active lúo in lúo híppon and the Middle lúetai in lúetai híppon.[18] I am not that concerned with these conclusions because I consider the Middle formation, though not extremely old, still to be a part-verb. Frankly, you cannot tell me that it is a "real verb". It contains something of what we call the subject. So stage I of Diakonov makes good sense to me (S = Subject; e = the ergative marker; null or 0 = non ergative marker, well no marker of course):

1 S_e-Action > S_0-State
2 S_0-State.

In this case I preferred his avoidance of the term "verb". I could then see the need to use a "state" conception of reality and so solve some of the *Märchen* problems I was faced with, especially as I earlier recognized the very archaic, indeed hunter-gatherer (pre subsistence agricultural) societal characteristics. This argument is well known,

15 Wolfgang Meid, "Probleme der räumlichen und zeitlichen Gliederung des Indogermanischen", in: Helmut Rix, ed., *Flexion und Wortbildung. Akten der V. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft Regensburg, 9-14. September 1973*, Wiesbaden (1975), p. 212.

16 In this context I can now refer to Burkhart Kienast, *Historische Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden (2001), pp. 3-4, 15-16, 63-68 (root formations and developments), 177-178, 483-485 (especially with the ergative question). I thank Frances Breyer for these references.

17 Lehmann, *Theoretical Bases*, p. 114.

18 Brigitte Bauer, *Archaic Syntax in Indo-European. The Spread of Transitivity in Latin and French*, Berlin and New York (2000); the volume appears to be a refinement of Lehmann but does not branch out further than what earlier research had accomplished. See as well Lehmann, *Theoretical Bases*, 184.

but I am somewhat surprised that neither Mario Liverani nor Jan Assmann used Propp's equally important "The Roots of the Folktale".[19] For example, in the basis of the Doomed Prince the king originally would kill the young prince because he is, in turn, to be displaced by the next royal figure, his son-in-law. The "flying up", not jumping, is standard. The Rapunzel daughter-princess does not let down her hair in this tale, and even the expected ladder, the original mechanism of going up into the closed and hidden chamber, is missing. But the isolated maiden (a *Jungfrau*), placed in an impossibly enclosed setting, is the obvious pattern. Vice-versa, the chamber into which the son is placed (in German a *Gemach*) was replaced by a stone house. It appears that few, if any, realize the inherent problem in an ancient Egyptian setting. One did not use stone for the construction of private houses or even for royal residences. The opening motif thus possesses some of its original, non-Egyptian, background.[20]

Nonetheless, the essential issue is why this was done. That is to say, why does the father of the prince (and his original role was not that of a monarch) hide away his son? The reason is that Forces in the world are dangerous and will kill his son. Note that the boy is underage; i.e., he has not yet reached puberty. Hence, he is placed away for safety. The Mitannian daughter, on the other hand, is removed for fear that she will become pregnant by a Force. This is not a taboo, or tapu as we say in New Zealand, regarding sex, but the fear that a maiden will get pregnant by a Power. Incidentally, the latter is originally the Wind.[21]

Then comes the fientive system that is very close to the posited PIE active system. This is Diakonov's phase II.

1 S_e-trs verb > S_0-State
2 S_0-intr verb

But all of the modern post 1990 Indo-European linguists prefer the following assumed earliest stage for PIE or even Pre-IE. They feel we had:

19 Vladimir Jakolevic Propp, *Die historischen Wurzeln des Zaubermärchens*, Martin Pfeiffer, trs., Munich and Vienna (1987). I am referring to the studies of Jan Assmann, "Das ägyptische Zweibrüdermarchen (Papyrus d'Orbiney)", *ZÄS* 104 (1977), pp. 1-25; and Mario Liverani, "Leaving by Chariot for the Desert", in: Zainab Bahrani and Marc Van De Mieroop, eds., *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography*, London (2004), pp. 85-96. Liverani's study, somewhat revised for this publication, was originally published in 1972.

20 Two dated but ever-useful early analyses remain those of E. Sidney Hartland, "The Forbidden Chamber", *The Folklore Journal* 3 (1885), pp. 193-242; and W. F. Kirby, "The Forbidden Doors of the Thousand and One Nights", *The Folklore Journal* 5 (1887), pp. 112-124.

21 Propp, *Die historischen Wurzeln*, Chapter 2.

1 S-trs verb > S-intr verb
The first subject is active and the second not.
2 S-intr verb
The subject is inactive of course.

Lehmann places the following markers: -s for the subject of a transitive verb and -m for the other case, thereby actually coming pretty close to Diakonov.[22] The -m is later used as the marker for the subject of a transitive verb and the direct object of said transitive verb. I would like to know just how exactly this operated with respect to the move from intransitive verbs to transitive ones.[23] I.e., the -m is now used for subjects of active verbs. I agree with the overall explanation of the systematic development but nevertheless feel that Diakonov's postulated formations might explain it somewhat better.

Perhaps we can formulate the differences between Diakonov and Lehmann's positions as follows. According to the latter, a nominal system arises with the presence of the accusative substantive endings being now used with subjects of intransitive verbs. Then the latter is applied to subjects of transitive verbs. This theory allows the primeval system to be dependent upon intransitive, or better, inactive verbs. That is to say, the later development of S-Action (as I argue) is reflected in the later development of $S_{(\text{nominal ending})}$-transitive verb. With a postulated ergative system à la Diakonov, one retains the hypothesized original system of S-State, but there ensues the difficulty in the future case endings. I.e., where do the accusative markers for a subject of a S-Action (Diakonov's S-State) come from, and equally does the ergative marker then carry over to the subject of an intransitive verb in his Phase III? Both proponents have offered very useful and challenging theories with regard to extremely early linguistic systems, but problems remain. On the other hand, I believe it is fair to conclude that both of these scholars perceive late Pre-Indo-European society as being one in which aspect (state) predominated. My position is that such a conclusion automatically implies a mental outlook at odds with the present, but one that can be seen in certain aspects of folktales. In more than one way this is the basic conclusion of Propp.

We all know that many things can be direct objects, not just substantives and their pronominal equivalents. Yet the -m continues, correctly says Lehmann, through to m(e) as the direct object pronoun.

By the way there are two other nominal endings posited by Lehmann. The third is -h for collectives, and this is pretty well self-evident owing to the later developments

22 His classical article on the subject is "On Earlier Stages of the Indo-European Nominal Inflection", *Language* 34 (1958), pp. 179-202.
23 Lehmann, *Theoretical Bases*, 151-155.

of the collective plurals in long a, and their relation to the neuter, as well as the feminine (first declension). The final ending was nothing; only the stem or root existed. I think that Lehmann needed to approach the difficulties inherent with this last one if only because it is the oldest formation, as he in fact states, and as such would be the root. I.e., the endings come in later with the separation into "action" versus "state". That is to say, in the phase that is presupposed by Diakonov's ergative system (Phase I).

Obviously, Diakonov then goes into a phase III which is a nominal one, and here we coincide even further with Lehmann, *et al*.

But the presuppositions of Phase I or Phase II imply a rudimentary concept of time and the relationship between cause and effect.[24] (Naturally also the temporal distinctions of verbs, but all of these things act together so to pick out one or two is meaningless.) Still, these arguments destroy many scholarly conceptions regarding ancient Egyptian concepts of time.[25]

We should then presuppose a system in which everything is S-State. The Laws of Thermodynamics, which the linguists re-discovered later (but used a different terminology), for which the existence of one marker within a closed system, e in Diakonov's case, must indicate a development from a pre-existent state without disturbance; i.e., a state of equilibrium of course. The ending has entered the system in order to separate what was now perceived to be akin to what we call "action" as opposed to the ordinary and pre-existent concept of reality, namely, "state". The earlier hypothesized system would be pretty close, historically speaking, to our hunter-gather phase, wherever it was, and would have lacked most of our real "time" consciousness.[26]

This idea is not new. Indeed, Émile Benveniste's arguments presupposed a verbal root structure that later developed into two bases (I and II), the latter eventually splitting upon into two further ones.[27] This assumed a verbal root structure that developed into two, the latter eventually splitting upon into two further ones. But he regarded any form that extended beyond these to be a nominal base. I am sure that he indicates

---

24 A recent study that touches on this factor, especially in connection to tales, is that of Lázló Kákosy, "Time Paradoxes in Religious Literature", in Takács, ed., *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies*, pp. 98-102.

25 For example, I would not join the Pyramid Text case that Assmann always uses with Dynasty XVIII evidence, and not even with Dynasty XII material; classically see Jan Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit im alten Ägypten,* Heidelberg (1975), p. 11.

26 In particular, I can refer to the seminal work of Norbert Elias, *Time: An Essay*, Edmund Jephcott, trs., Oxford and New York (1992).

27 Émile Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des noms indo-européens* I, Paris (1935), pp. 147-173; see the useful summaries of Lehmann, *Theoretical Bases*, 93-94 and 125-126. The key references in Benveniste's work will be found on pages 154 note 1, 155, 170-171. As noted in the text, it appears that his arguments argue for "a base exclusively nominal" developing from the later verbal ones.

that one cannot make a difference between nouns and verbs in the posited stage of *Pre*-Indo-European. Hermann Hirt, on the other hand, argued that Indo-European verbs developed after nouns.[28] The early bases I and II and their predecessor, the root (CéC), cannot properly be considered to be "true" verbs. This is the position of Vladimir Georgiev as well.[29] In the context of these Indo-European roots/lexemes Lehmann, following Antoine Meillet, indicates that in contradiction to the earlier use of roots verbally, "there is relatively little evidence for the use of roots as nouns".[30] Most recently there is the contribution of Roland Pooth who argues for an inherent "root structure" for the very early stages of Indo-European and presents a detailed theory concerning such basic patterns into which he places the active and inactive "Flexionformen".[31]

These scholarly perceptions could fit into Diakonov's concepts of an original ergative system and its assumed forerunner. He is equally explicit in presenting an ergative basis for the Afrasian languages.[32] We must keep in mind that his definition of ergativity is somewhat different than others, including Gamkrelidze and Ivanov: the stress is upon subject and action/state. His arguments are also specific concerning the later development of verbs: "The oldest Common Afrasian roots are the nominal roots; or, more exactly, they belong to a period preceding the formation of verbs in their own right."[33] However we might feel that such hypotheses are open to question, it is clear that he and well as Benveniste placed great emphasis upon the root structure of the common lexicon of Proto-Afrasian or Proto-Indo-European, and even if both argued differently there remains the scholarly position that "verbs" and "nouns", especially at such an early stage, were not clearly differentiated. Nonetheless, we can add the interesting remarks of Georgiev who argues for Mesolithic as well as Palaeolithic developments of Indo-European during which there was no morphological difference between nouns and verbs.[34] Whilst seeing that many of his analyses are useful – note his concentration upon the lack of morphology in the earliest stage – I believe

28 See Lehmann, *Theoretical Bases*, p. 192.

29 Vladimir I. Georgiev, "Die Drei Hauptperioden des Indoeuropäischen", *Diachronica* 1 (1984), pp. 65-78. See page 67: "In dieser ältesten Phase gab es keine Morphologie".

30 Lehmann, *Theoretical Bases*, p. 245.

31 Roland A. Pooth, "Ablaut und autosegmentale Morphologie: Theorie der urindogermanischen Wurzelflexion", in: Maria Kozianka *et al*., eds., *Indogermanistik – Germanistik – Linguistik*, Hamburg (2004), pp. 401-471. We can also cite his study "Zur Genese der spät uridg. thematischen Konjugation aus früh uridg. Medialformen", *Indogermanische Forschungen* 109 (2004), pp. 31-61 with regard to the development of the Indo-European Middle voice from an original inactive activity.

32 *Afrasian Languages*, Moscow (1988), Chapter 5, but specifically pages 60, 101-102, and 111. A subsequent article of his, though short, can be cited in this context: "The Earliest Semitic Society", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 43 (1998), pp. 209-219.

33 *Afrasian Languages*, 42.

34 Georgiev, "Die Drei Hauptperioden des Indoeuropäischen", *Diachronica* 1 (1984), pp. 65-78.

that considerably more research is needed on these matters although I cannot leave the matter without referring to Stephanie Jamison's important contribution to the issue of ergativity in an Indo-European context.[35]

The state hypothesis aids in our understanding of the primitive reconstructed folktales because there we possess residues from pre-agricultural societies, especially with regard to their ritual/mythological make-up. But, as well, the social structures can be limned. This is what the early twentieth century cultural folklorists attempted to do but they met little success owing to the mass of unsystematized data. I agree with Propp that the next stage, that of the Finnish School, locked itself into Formalism, and so could not provide a historical basis for these tales.[36] Hence, the overt stress on a materialistic basis for society led Propp and his Russian (sic.; use the then contemporary term "Soviet") colleagues to a deeper understanding of the layers of acculturation inherent in any folktale. The "contaminations" that can be found run from very late mercantile and technological aspects (e.g., smiths, money) back through kingdoms (monarchical states), princedoms, agriculture, and finally to hunter-gatherer groups with little command structure.

Note that the recent work in Indo-European has eliminated the Vedic term for "king" to be "rex", thereby leaving only two groups that have the meaning of "king".[37] This led to the reasonable conclusion that, at least in the Indo-Iranic society, the term meant "power" but was not used for a male leader of a society. Lehmann is explicit on this matter arguing for an old sky god.[38] Thus the present scholarly opinion regarding Proto- if not Pre-Indo-European society has concluded that there was a lack of a king. In other words, we have returned to Propp's contention with regard to the primitive state of the hunter-gather society that is still reflected in these folktales.

It is somewhat unfair to take Propp as *the* person to whom we should return. He was one of many Soviet scholars who pursued folklore within the advantages of a recent historical/developmental thrust of his country, revolutionary Russia. This is often the case in history. People, and not only literary scholars, tend to signal a person or to single out just one individual among a group of writers, researchers, or the like who happened to have contributed the most to developing a theme or completing a major project. Thomas Kuhn, in his justly famous volume on scientific revolutions, is keenly

35 Stephanie W. Jamison, "Lurching towards ergativity: expressions of agency in the Niya Documents", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 63 (2000), pp. 64-80.

36 Propp, "Oedipus in the Light of Folklore", in: Lowell Edmunds and Alan Dundes, eds., *Oedipus. A Folklore Casebook*, Madison (1983), pp. 77-121.

37 Lehmann, *Theoretical Bases*, 66, referring back to Helmut Scharfe, "The Vedic Word for 'King'", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985), pp. 543-548.

38 Lehmann, "In Search of the Indo-Europeans", *Diachronica* 7 (1990), p. 107: the key Proto-Indo-European word **dey*, "shine", has its reflexes in Sanskrit *dyaús*, generally meaning "day", but Greek *Zeús*, and Latin *Juppiter* as well as Old Icelandic *Tyr* "refer to a specific god, presumably a sky god".

aware of these occurrences, and, more importantly, is able to provide reasons for these parallel developments that occur at the same time.[39] Focussing upon a solitary researcher is one-sided because it fails to recognize the historical setting in which these new formulations and discoveries occurred. One can point to the surprisingly all-too-frequent cases of identical societal discoveries occurring simultaneously: Wallace preceding Darwin, but not on paper; Newton and Leibnitz quarrelling over the calculus; the multiple discoverers of plate tectonics. It is interesting that Raymond Chandler in the context of the detective novel uses the same analysis when he discusses the works of his predecessor Dashiell Hammett and the contemporary writers of the *Black Mask* school.[40]

Propp's major work on morphology is nonetheless the capping stone of the Soviet school's work on folktales. Written early in his scientific career (1928), it remains too abstract for historical or cultural analysis. In a sense this work provides a base theory concerning the plot of folktales and its development through various transformations. But it is not suited for societal analysis, a point that I think Propp would agree with, if only as he ceased such endeavors and subsequently, indeed almost immediately in 1929, turned his research directions to a historical and cultural understanding of the folktale.

Finally, because Propp objected so strenuously to Lévi-Strauss' calling him a Formalist, a few words ought to be brought into the discussion regarding this matter.[41] In particular, Propp specifically likened his work to Goethe. He placed some passages of Goethe's *Metamorphosis of Plants* on various chapter-heading pages in his *Morphology*. To his chagrin, they were omitted in the original and successive English translations of the work, thereby rendering his fundamental perspective even more obscure. He remarks on this in his strongly worded analysis of Lévi-Strauss. To put it another way, Propp viewed the folktale from a point of view that stressed its ever-changing character. Thus he did not consider himself a Formalist. On the other hand, he identifies the Finnish School as having fallen into that method of analysis, one that he considers, rightly in my view, to be limited.

Over time, the themes/images/functions/participants of the original settings are altered to fit later societies. In a way the original, often to us horrible situations are watered down. Not only are we unable to understand them. For example, why are the portions of Baba Yaga's house "alive"? Why does the young male hero have to identify, by name, the individual components of her hut?[42] But we would also be repelled

39 Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*[2], Chicago (1970); see as well his *The Copernican Revolution. Planetary Astronomy in the Development of Western Thought*, Cambridge MA (1957).

40 I am referring to Raymond Chandler's essay, "The Simple Art of Murder".

41 Propp, "Study of the Folktale: Structure and History", *Dispositio* 1 (1976), pp. 277-292.

42 Propp, *Die historischen Wurzeln*, Chapters 3-4.

by them. Hence, the transformations have occurred over time, and this is intimately connected to their morphology. A good example is ritual slaughter of humans and the resultant cannibalism.[43] How could this be understood, at least religiously, by peoples in a developed agrarian-based society containing a sophisticated cultic religion which also had one man as its chief with kingship determined through the male side of the royal lineage?

Similarly, we would be at odds to understand the ever-present nature of the Dead in these early societies. Only later are the Dead assigned to graveyards or places separate and distant from the living. Earlier, they live with us. In this connection I liked Propp's analysis because it provided a human dimension to the un-spiritual or un-humanistic approach of the archaeologists. I am referring to the presence of skulls in houses during the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A Period at Jericho, the Çatal Hüyük evidence, and the later residues of the living dead being with and around us at home as reflected by the Latin *personae* (masks) of ancestors, or the Chinese pictures of ancestors and their little shines.[44] These objects, and even from an earlier date the funerary urns of the ancestors' dust, were kept in one's house. One can add the evidence from Egypt.[45]

A further example is the overt nature of the color white being used for the dead. Its use in folktales originally did not refer to or indicate purity. I will cite the main studies on this matter and leave a study of the Egyptian evidence to the side. Suffice it to say, the colors, which I believe are dependent upon the sun, operate as follows: east = blue-green, south = red, west = white, and north = black. This is virtually universal.[46] Moreover, the cardinal direction, west, is always associated with white, a logical conclusion. I am referring to Sinitic, Turkic, Semitic, and Indo-European cultures, but I am ignoring the ancient Egyptians because the connection of specific colors for the cardinal points is not yet solved.[47] Owing to their universality, I think that white would have originally been the Egyptian color for the west.[48] For Egyptologists, con-

43 In this context see now Christopher J. Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn. A Cultural and Literary Study*, Liverpool (2002).

44 On the significance of the Roman data see Maurizio Bettini, *Kinship, Time, Images of the Soul*, John Van Sickle, trs., Baltimore and London (1991), pp. 167-83.

45 *Inter alia*, see Barry Kemp, "Merimda and the Theory of House Burial in Prehistoric Egypt", *CdE* 43 (1968), pp. 22-33, who points out that in Predynastic Egypt (Upper Egypt) the inhabitants had (page 32) "no qualms about placing their burial grounds near their houses, and that sometimes one encroached upon the other".

46 Julius von Negelein, "Das Pferd im Seelenglauben und Totenkulte" *Zeitschrift für Völkerkunde* 11 (1901), pp. 406-420, 12 (1902), pp. 14-25 and 377-390, and "Die Volksthümliche Bedeutung der weissen Farbe", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 33 (1901), pp. 53-85.

47 Most recently, see Eric Hamp, "A Rule of the Road", *General Linguistics* 41 (2004 = 2001), pp. 147-158.

48 J. A. Huisman, "Eklipitik und Nord/südbezeichnung im Indogermanischen", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 71 (1953), pp. 97-108; H. Hirt, "Schwarzes und rotes Meer", *Geographische Zeitschrift* 32 (1926), pp. 430-431; Leopold de Sassure, "L'origine des noms de mer rouge,

siderably more research on the identification of these so-called "four corners of the word" with colors and other objects is needed.[49] Perhaps Assmann's revised definition of collective memory applies here.[50] Such a construct implies not only *mémoire involontaire* but as well *mémoire volontaire*. We should keep in mind that in essence a direction like "east" actually encompasses northeast to southeast, an arc of ninety degrees.[51]

To sum up, one should not blame the twentieth century Walt Disney interpretations of folktales as being watered down versions of the originals.[52] Actually, he and his associate workers used later versions or revisions of Perrault and others.[53] Moreover, Perrault did the same for the seventeenth century French, and he was court-centered as well. In this case he was working within a milieu of aristocratic women who preferred a certain outlook for the old *Märchen*.

But to return to the question of Propp's alleged formalism, I believe that his issue against Lévi-Strauss (Propp's words are extremely harsh) centered on the official repudiation of Formalism in the Soviet state, a fact that Lévi-Strauss appears not to have known. The school of Formalism was effectively curtailed in 1924 through the agency of Leon Trotsky. As a movement, it was rather imploded by the time that Propp completed his *Morphology* in 1928. The standard work on this subject by Victor Erlich is relatively clear on these matters.[54] Note that even Erlich does not devote that much time to Propp because he logically preferred to concentrate on literature and not aca-

---

mer blanche et mer noire", *Le Globe* 63 (1924), pp. 23-36; Georges Dumézil, "Blanc, rouge, noir dans le monde indo-européen", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 131 (1946), pp. 57-60; Jan de Vries, "Rood-Wit-Zward", *Volkskunde* 44 (NR 1) (1942), pp. 53-62; H. V. Velten, "The Germanic Names of the Cardinal Points", *The Journal of English and German Philology* 39 (1940), pp. 443-449; and Lucien Gerschel, "Couleurs et teinture chez divers peuples indo-européens", *Annales. Economies. Sociétés* 21 (1966), pp. 608-631.

49 In general, I can cite Arno Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves* I, Egyptologische Uitgaven 8/1, Leiden (1995).

50 Jan Assmann, *Die mosaische Unterscheidung*, Munich and Vienna (2003), p. 134.

51 A study on this matter is in preparation.

52 For some useful studies aiming in this direction, I am dependent upon the helpful comments and references of Frances Breyer. In particular, see Stephanie Dalley, "Gilgamesh in the Arabian Nights", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 (3rd series) (1991), pp. 1-17; O. R. Gurney, "The Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur and its Folktale Parallels", *Anatolian Studies* 22 (1972), pp. 149-158; and Hasan El-Shamy, *Folktales of Egypt*, Chicago (1980), pp. 248, 275, and 281.

53 It is useful to cite here the comments of Paul Auster on the Disney version of Collodi's (Carlo Lorenzini's) "Pinocchio": "The Invention of Solitude", in *The Book of Memory*. On the other hand, a direct antithesis can be seen in Disney's "Bambi" where the mother is killed. This is shocking. The film, however, was not dependent upon a folktale but was rather based on a book by the Swiss author Felix Slaten: *Bambi. A Life in the Wood*s. It is very interesting to know that the translator into English was Whittaker Chambers, the architect of the Yalta Conference, the Secretary General of the San Francisco Conference that created the United Nations, and the man involved in the Alger Hiss case.

54 Victor Erlich, *Russian Formalism. History-Doctrine*, The Hague (1965), pp. 249-250; add Tony Bennet, *Formalism and Marxism*^{2}, London and New York (2003).

demic scholarship. (Trotsky was attacking the literary people, especially poets, and not scholars.)[55] Incidentally, this "purge" (it was such) was not part of Stalin's program for power.

But Propp remained a true Soviet citizen. True, his works avoid the typical lengthy dogmatic introductions of the Soviet era and, so far as I know, he never praises Stalin. From the limited corpus of translations into Western European languages that I have consulted (in particular English, German, French, and Italian) only Marr appears, and that is understandable. But even here, Marr's name turns up rarely, and is only mentioned with a few positive words; no fulsome praise is included. Propp's honest stress on Marxism is his core belief, and this is supported, at least to himself, by the success of the new folklorist technique followed by him and his compatriots. It should be added, however, that he strongly attacks the classically minded (not Classically-minded) outlook of the western bourgeois folklorists, and especially those Russians from the Tsarist era.

Frankly, this work could have been done elsewhere. Radcliffe-Brown comes to mind. Indeed, Propp refers to his work in northern Australia (1929) where the former solved the problem of the Rainbow God, and he uses the results in interpreting certain portions of folktales.[56] The same may be said for A. L. Kroeber, who might have gone on beyond collecting *Märchen* of Amerindians and addressed himself to the metamorphoses of humans in their history. With regard to Kroeber, Propp's remarks are somewhat severe concerning the former's linguistic abilities.[57]

But the fact remains that folkloric studies had greatly diminished in significance and importance in American-British anthropological research in the post Frazer era due to the triumphant rise of Cultural Anthropology. (The aims of the Myth and Ritual school, though employing folktales for study, diverged from the aims of the folkloric research derived from these *Märchen*.) I am referring to the stress on collecting and evaluating data from the then contemporary primitive societies. This began soon before the First World War and greatly expanded immediately thereafter. Indeed, the English-speaking anthropological field became (and to a large extent has remained) a-historical. This was partly due to the collapse of the study of Classical civilizations,

---

55 Erlich, *Russian Formalism*, 100-104. The study is *Literatura i revoljucija*, Moscow (1924). The earliest English edition is *Literature and Revolution*, Rose Strunsky, trs., New York (1925).

56 Propp refers to Radcliffe-Brown in Chapters 7 and 8 of his *Die historischen Wurzeln*; the classic article is A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Rainbow-Serpent Myth in South-East Australia", *Oceania* 1 (1930/31), pp. 342-347. I can also refer to the later printed, yet earlier researched study of Aby Warburg, "A Lecture on Serpent Ritual", *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1938/39), pp. 277-292; Propp cites him.

57 In the American translation of some of his shorter works the editor noted this fact: Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, Ariadna Y. Martin, *et al*., trs., Manchester (1984), p. 206 note 3 of Chapter 7, the English translation of the Introduction to *Die historischen Wurzeln*. The editor was Anatoly Liberman.

but it was also due to the ever-increasing reliance upon learning rare primitive languages and a considerable amount of anthropological data. (Classically, see Marcel Mauss's *Essai sur le don*, a study that presupposes a reasonable knowledge of Roman legal and social structure.) It would have taken too long to study for a PhD in Anthropology if one were to add Latin and Greek, and their two cultures, not to mention Hebrew. Naturally, this situation was also connected to the end of Greek and Latin in the secondary school curriculum, and the slower rise (at least in the USA and Great Britain) of scholarship independent from a Classical background.

That this was not merely an English-speaking problem is self-evident from the work of Lévi-Strauss. At the minimum he ignores or overlooks much historical data on the societies that he covers, especially when it comes to issues of development or change. Not surprisingly, I find him very different that Lévy-Bruhl. The two came, of course, from totally different generations, yet the latter had a considerably deeper knowledge of past human history.[58]

With regard to folkloric studies it is only in the 1950s onwards that American scholarship truly returned to this area. (N.B.: it still predominantly remains taught in Departments of Anthropology.) By this time and in the light of subsequent American research, Propp appears to have become somewhat of a conservative figure when one contrasts or compares him with the newer folklorists from the United States.[59] The criticism, worded as an explanation to the reader, centers upon Propp's conception of "Mutterrecht"/high role of women in primitive societies and his linear theory of development. Yet his avoidance of Freudianism (now championed by Alan Dundes) cannot but be seen as salutary. Moreover, the move to political correctness, especially centered at Berkeley in the 1980s and 1990s, is further proof of the need for the field to go back to its roots and encompass materialistic concerns regarding economic levels of society located within a firm historical basis but also to shun moralistic value statements. Propp, at least, correlated his folktales with specific socio-economic formulations and accepted past society for what it was.[60]

58 If this reads too strong I can always cite the following two articles: Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Le temps dans l'histoire", and Maurice Godelier, "Myth et histoire: reflexions sur les fundaments de la pensée sauvage", *Annales. Économies. Civilisations*, 26 (1971), pp. 533-540 and 451-458 respectively.

59 In particular, note the introduction to the translation of his "Oedipus in the Light of Folklore", in: Edmunds and Dundes, eds., *Oedipus. A Folklore Casebook*, p. 76.

60 Diakonov, on the other hand, researched the early myths of various societies in his work *Archaic Myths of the Orient and the Occident*, Göteborg (1995). Though not relying upon ancient Egyptian evidence to any degree, he briefly touches upon folktales.

Datings of the Kadesh Reliefs

Adopting a general historical development of the various Kadesh records is not a difficult matter.[1] On the other hand, any progress in ascertaining a more exact historical and textual interrelationship among the various exemplars has to be dependent upon certain "peculiar" or "unusual" writings present within the inscriptions. Here, we shall following a simple line of attack, one that is dependent upon a "progression" in time. That Abydos can be placed before Abu Simbel and the latter before the various Karnak, Luxor, and Ramesseum exemplars appears self-evident. In addition, the closeness of the two Ramesseum versions (R1, R2) as well as those at Luxor (L1, L3) allow one to posit a relative straightforward analysis of the entire material.[2] As this has been done earlier, albeit in a tentative fashion, my present analysis will concentrate upon the writings of Ramesses II's prenomen and nomen within the Kadesh corpus.

Unfortunately, everything chronologically important for research in the temple of Abydos is lost in the Kadesh reliefs.[3] It may be significant that the festival calendar itself is not one that included the complete year. Therefore, it does not resemble the one on the south exterior wall at Medinet Habu, for example.[4] Instead, it presents a series of celebrations for Osiris. Was this because of the importance of the chief Abydene deity or perhaps a result of the delayed work project at Ramesses II's temple?

Instead, we can proceed to survey the military scenes of Ramesses at Abu Simbel, a grotto edifice which appears to have been decorated – or at least its Kadesh material – soon after the commencement of similar work at Abydos. The northern or Kadesh depictions show the standard practice of including god representations, the Re figure holding the maat feather in the left and woser in the right. Because these changes were not even and, more importantly, were restricted to the main temples of Egypt, I do not

---

1 Anthony Spalinger, "Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II: The 'Bulletin'", in: Hans Goedicke, ed., *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh*, Baltimore (1985), pp. 43-75.

2 In this context I can now refer to Irmgard Hein, "Die ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien", GOF IV/22, Wiesbaden (1991), *passim*, especially pages 107-112. Cf. Anthony Spalinger, "Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia", *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 83-99.

3 Yet note P 131 for the Abydos variant which I have labeled, following Liverani, a "free variant". Seth may have been preferred later and not the Theban war god Montu who is recorded at Abydos. In the relief texts R 23-4 of Abydos has at least two of the major fallen enemies – one of whom is Muwatallis' brother – recorded by name and JEA designation. The texts are also present in R2 and at Abu Simbel but not at Luxor.

4 Ben J. J. Haring, *Divine Households. Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 12, Leiden (1997), Chapters I-II.

claim that the alterations followed a consistent pattern, but perhaps we can argue that they began in the Theban region and slowly moved elsewhere.[5] At Abu Simbel this is perfectly clear, even if we ignore the Kadesh images and inscriptions. On the northern wall of the main hall the expected very early writing of the prenomen occurs with, of course, *stp-n-Rᶜ*. In this case the god Re, standing and holding the maat feather, grasps the standard of woser. In the nomen Re is a seated god as is Amun. These writing are identical to those on the south wall.[6] In the triumph scenes, which after all are related to the military account, the same occurs, except we can note the more developed form of the nomen *Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ stp-n-Rᶜ* on one of the texts on the north side. In that case Maat is sitting on a throne and grasping the woser standard.

The earliest writings of the king's last two names, after Ramesses had ended a standardization of epithets at the close of his first year, are listed immediately below. Let me remark in addition that there is a distinct change from theriomorphic representations to abstract ones. Naturally, I am working with hieroglyphic cases and restricting myself to the developments and changes within one corpus, that of the Kadesh war.

Prenomen

Early

1. Harachty stands and holds a Maat feather in one hand and the woser in another. (Sometimes the Maat feather can not be seen or else is poorly rendered.)
2. Re is represented by the disk on Harachty's head; Maat is the feather.[7]

Middle

1. Re is not a god; he is a sun.
2. As an intermediate stage, Maat is a goddess. She sits on a throne and holds the woser.

Late

1. Re is a disk.
2. Maat sits as a goddess but not on a throne.
3. All three, Re, Maat, and woser are independent figures.

---

5 See Kenneth A. Kitchen's comments on the southward movement into Nubia of the spelling of the king's name with *-sw* in "Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia", in: Erika Endesfelder, *et al*., eds., *Ägypten und Kusch. Fritz Hintze zum 60. Geburtstag*, Berlin (1977), p. 220 and note 7.

6 *KRI* II 206-207.

7 *KRI* II 129.9 (Abu Simbel) is a slip.

Writings of the prenomen

Early



KRI II 102.6: Abu Simbel;
129.8, 9: Abu Simbel



KRI II 141.2: Abu Simbel

Middle



KRI II 147.2: Karnak – K1



KRI II 102.3: Luxor – L2;
146.11: Karnak – K1

Late



KRI II 10.11: Karnak – K1;
129.14: Ramesseum – R1

Second name (nomen)

Here, the progression is not as fixed within the previous movement in time. In other words, these three phases are somewhat independent of the previous ones.

Early	Middle
1. Amun is a god.	1. Amun is a god.
2. Re is a god.	2. Re is a god.
3. Both gods stand and face each other.	3. Both gods are seated.

Later

1. The name “Amun” is spelled out.
2. Re remains a seated god.

Writings of the nomen

Early



KRI II 3.4: Luxor – L2



KRI II 102.6: Abu Simbel



KRI II 141.2: Abu Simbel

Middle



KRI II 10.12: Luxor – L1

Not in Kadesh texts



KRI II 324.11, 325.11 (etc.): Dedicatory Inscription



KRI II 360.5: Quban Stela

General comments

The corpus employed for these two charts is that of the Kadesh reliefs and inscriptions. The advantage in using this data is that, for the most part, the textual history is circumscribed within a half-decade or so and the parallels among the versions are simple to analyze. Despite the employ of independently working équipes the development of as well as the differences in the writings are relatively straightforward.[8] One must keep in mind that this material is solely of a royal nature and, in fact, is of first-rate quality.

There is an increase to abstraction, but Maat becomes a deity. Re, in turn, moves to the disk icon while Amun's name is soon to be spelled out. Note the representation of the two gods – Re and Amun – facing each other. This example is from Abu Simbel. Individual idiosyncrasies of each temple (Abydos, Abu Simbel, Karnak, Luxor, and the Ramesseum) have been overlooked.

There is no "final form" for the nomen in the Kadesh Inscriptions. I have included two early texts for contrast: the year three Quban Inscription and the year one Dedicatory Inscription. Both naturally deal with events predating the Kadesh war of Ramesses. Yet those nomen writings become standard later on in the king's reign. The same may be said with respect to the induction text of the high priest Nebwenenef wherein, although dated to year one of Ramesses (almost immediately after his assumption of power as sole ruler), the writings for the prenomen and nomen are respectfully[9]:

 and 

The later developments, but also those early writings that are independent of the Kadesh corpus, show variants determined by other factors: importance of text, royal versus non-royal, provenance (especially with regard to localities outside of Egypt or even provincial sites) and the like.

8 Hein, *Die ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, pp. 109-112 and following.

9 *KRI* II 283.1 and 5. Let us keep in mind that this case as well as the two preceding (Dedicatory Inscription and Quban Stela) are not part of the Kadesh group. Quban, as well, was carved south of Egypt.

From a psychological or religious viewpoint certain aspects in this schema are worth surveying. With regard to the prenomen separation and the rise of Maat are the most outstanding. We can immediately see that the sign for truth, originally a feather, has suddenly become the deity. This increasing emphasis on "Truth" as a goddess is reflected in the growing importance of Maat during the Ramesside Period.[10] At the same time the connected hieroglyphs become independent of one another, and their intimate associations, so well viewed by the grasping arm holding the woser sign, have ceased. It is as if a strict move to atomization has taken place. At the same time the original deity, Re-Harachty (who is not Maat), represented with the falcon's head and sun disk on head, became a "purer" or more abstract image of the sun disk with Maat depicted as a goddess.

The nomen follows a similar pattern. The deities Re and Amun slowly are transformed into either a mere spelling of the god's name (Amun) or the abstract sign of the disk for Re. (This last step is very irregular and, in fact, is not present in the Kadesh texts.)[11] Lastly, observe that this alteration brought with it an end to any close association between both gods. Originally the two face each other, either standing or sitting; the intimacy abruptly ceases once Amun is presented by the spelling of his name. These marked differences did not progress in an even fashion, as one might expect. Re, for example, is always present in some form, and the epithet *stp-n-Rᶜ*, connected to Seth, may also indirectly link the ruler with the royal capital of Avaris. The changes, surely emanating from the king, may point to a number of subtle differences in thought practices, among which the contemporary reliefs give added emphasis. Hornung, for example, observed that in the standard representations of cult scenes of the presentation for Maat, the Pharaoh now delivers his prenomen, which of course includes the word maat; Assmann is yet a third scholar whose research has encompassed this aspect.[12]

As indicated in the charts above, this would tend to reflect a time slightly after the earlier spelling in which the hieroglyphs clutter up the cartouche less.[13] In this section of the temple there are various unique writings in which the gods Re and Amun,

10 Kenneth A. Kitchen, "The Titulary of the Ramesside Kings as Expression of their Ideal Kingship", *ASAE* 71 (1987), p. 140; Erik Hornung, "Maat – Gerechtigkeit für alle? Zur altägyptischen Ethik", *Eranos* 56 (1987), pp. 385-427 and especially pages 416-417; Miriam Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, OBO 120, Göttingen (1992); and Jan Assmann, *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten*, Munich (1990).

11 I am very well aware that these different writings are dependent upon the scribal practices of individual workmen's *équipes*.

12 "Maat – Gerechtigkeit für alle?", pp. 416-417, and also his "Pharao Ludens", *Eranos* 51 (1982), pp. 494-496; cf. Emily Teeter, "Observations on the Presentation of the Ramesside Prenomen", *Varia Aegyptiaca* 2 (1986), pp. 175-184, with her volume, *The Presentation of Maat. Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 57, Chicago (1997); and Assmann, *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten*, Chapter VIII.

13 Cf. *KRI* II 208.10.

standing, face each another, perhaps indicating the double connection of the two main deities in his southern temple.[14] All in all, it seems self-evident that the northern wall was carved close in time to the southern. The triumph scenes perhaps were carved somewhat later than the Kadesh, but one can see immediately that the Abydos calendar ought to postdate the work in the south.

At roughly the same time the northern chapel at Abu Simbel was decorated whereas the southern chapel shows work accomplished later.[15] In the latter scenes the king's cartouches can be placed within a post middle phase but have not reached the standard formation that I have categorized as "later". (I.e., see the presence of the *-sw*, but deities still represent Re and Amun.) The terrace reveals a very early stage with Maat, the goddess, sitting on the throne and touching the woser. Re, naturally separate from her, is represented by the disk.[16] The bandeau text is definitely later, but the two colossi appear to have been designated with the cartouches that also occur at the terrace.[17] When we are about to enter the temple, there is a semi-cryptographic writing of Ramesses' name but it and the architrave decorates can be place to the same timeframe as the military scenes; namely, a transference over to the middle phase for the prenomen. Maat is a seated goddess who holds the woser staff but Re is a god.[18] Owing to the special cryptographic writing present here, it is probably best to discount this case.

At this point one can deal with the various Osiride colossi as well as the sanctuary area. By and large the same presentation of the king's two names within the cartouches holds. Yet in the sanctuary itself we can find the standing figure of the solar deity with the sun disk on his head and one of his hands holding the woser symbol. Clearly, this area was probably carved earlier than the zones located more to the front.[19] Indeed, this is what we should expect: the inner portions of a rock cut temple will be, as a rule, decorated before the outer rooms.

Although a reasonable outline of the carving within Abu Simbel is discernable, major difficulties occur when one attempts to place all of the Kadesh accounts together. I had tried to do this earlier from a somewhat limited point of view; here, the argument will be more rigorous.[20] I shall first deal with the three major versions at Luxor and work out their internal chronology. It is understood that the Lp exemplar can only be brought into consideration a few times owing to the limited data available.

---

14 *KRI* II 208.14, 209.1.

15 *KRI* II 747 for the northern chapel and 748-751 for the southern chapel. In particular, note the separation in *stp-n-Rᶜ*.

16 *KRI* II 751-752.

17 *KRI* II 752-753.

18 *KRI* II 754.7.

19 Cf. *KRI* II 760.16.

20 See my "Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia".

(The sign '>' indicates that the version to the left preceded in time that to the right.) It should be further observed that Abu Simbel predates any of the Luxor reliefs.[21]

1) Poem — The cases are P 1, 24, 35, 39, 304, 305, 338, and 341.
The historical order is L2 > L1; L3 parallels L2 but this only can be seen in P 24; at the end L2 moves to the later form of L1; P 1 might show the middle phase as Kuentz felt.[22]
L2 mainly shows the middle phase whereas L1 is at the end of the development. L2, however, changes near the end of its account.
Lp, L1, and L2 present the same later form in P 304, but also note that L1 and L2 are moving to the later phase in the nomen when the text begins to approach the end (e.g., P 305).

2) Bulletin — The case is B 2. Only L2 is present and it is identical to the middle phase.

3) Reliefs — The cases are R 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 50, 57, 92, and 95.
The remaining two of R 98 and 100 are the presentation scenes that are only carved at Abu Simbel.
In R 6 L1 has not completely moved away from the middle phase as as it shows two deities; R 17 shows the expected later phase for L1.

Our preliminary results come to:

L2, L3, and Lp > L1.

The last development had to have occurred because the palimpsest version on the pylon was erased and L1 placed over it. By the time the carvers reached the work on the relief captions, which we have seen from the Abu Simbel arrangement, were added after the reliefs, the change from middle to end seems to have been effected. This may be noted independently in the progression noted in version L2, but how does this fit with the architectural layout? L2 is located on the east and southeast walls of the temple whereas L3 is on the west walls (plus the transverse wall connecting the Tutankhamun Colonnade with the Court of Amunhotep III). The Poem of L3 was

21 The early attempt of Kurt Sethe, "Die Jahresrechnung unter Ramses II. und der Namenwechsel dieses Königs", *ZÄS* 62 (1927), pp. 110-114. While pioneering and now very dated, this article deserves recognition.

22 Charles Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech. Les texts ("Poem de Pentaour" et "Bulletin de Qadech") et les bas-reliefs* I, MIFAO 55, Cairo (1928), p. 212. I follow him rather than Kitchen who restores the key signs (*KRI* II 3.4) to the late phase.

placed at the location of the forecourt of Amunhotep III, but the Bulletin, now lost, was closer to the front of the temple as it is to be found at the Processional Colonnade.

L2 presents the Poem and Bulletin as independent entities separate from the reliefs; the latter, in any case, were never carved. The former can be found on the east wall of the Luxor forecourt, constructed under Ramesses II, and its winds around the southeast side until ending up at the Bulletin. This area is even closer to the front of the temple than the areas used for version L3. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the latter, it is difficult to say when the workers completed L3 and then moved to L2. The latter, nonetheless, preceded in time the decoration program of Kadesh on the two front faces of the first pylon, L1. Hence, even its earlier palimpsest version (Lp) reveals the change in the writings of the king's names. This is to be expected. Namely, that the program of decoration would move forward. I feel that L2 has to be later than L3 because of the large blank area left on the east side of Tutankhamun's colonnade. Whether more than one team of workers operated at the same time on this temple can be left for subsequent analysis. Perhaps the desire to carve the king's later so-called "Moabite and Edomite wars" led to the abandonment of any further work at Luxor with regard to the Kadesh conflict.[23] On the other hand, L1, which definitely is the latest, may have taken up the activities of men carving the work at L3. It should not be forgotten that only the scenes of L2 are missing, and they would have been carved by a separate group of men than those dealing with "pure" hieroglyphic texts.

As a final point, it seems to be a rule, although one that could be broken, to place the war scenes on native Egyptian temples, on all exterior locations but the south. Luxor, of course, has its axis running somewhat north-south – Kitchen considers it to be west-east – so this rule may not be so hard and fast. But for the following version at the Ramesseum the expected calendar of feasts was placed on the south exterior wall, as we have seen at Medinet Habu and the Abydos temple of Ramesses II.

Combining our knowledge of Abu Simbel, we arrive at:

$$I > L3 \text{ and } L2 > (Lp > L1).$$

Let us now turn to the work at the Ramesseum. Here we have two versions, R1 and R2, with the former located on the exterior of the first pylon. Hence, we should expect it to be the later one. R1 and R2 are, nonetheless, very similar, a conclusion that I drew in an earlier study.[24]

23 See now Nadav Na'aman, "Did Ramesses II Wage Campaign against the Land of Moab?", *GM* 209 (2006), pp. 63-69 for a major reevaluation of the presumed Trans-Jordanian aspect of these pictorial accounts.

24 "Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II: The 'Bulletin'".

1) Poem — This is not informative.

2) Bulletin — R1 and R2 show the later forms, but R1 seems to have the older form of the god Re in the second cartouche. This, I hasten to add, is dependent upon the copy of Lepsius.[25] It definitely follows that of the late form, but the presence of the sun for the god in Ramesses' name in R2 also puts this version at a later stage of carving.

3) Reliefs — R1 shows the late form in the prenomen as does R2 but the latter sometimes presents two seated gods (for Amun and Re) in the nomen; see R 19. Here, R2 > R1 (and R2 is also similar to L1 for R 6). The R1 palimpsest shows the late form in relief text R 20. The R2 palimpsests also shows the late form, but to remind ourselves, the case is the caption of the royal horse span, and I suspect not that worthwhile to use as evidence (see Abu Simbel above).

Our conclusion would be that R1 > R2 on the basis of only one cartouche in the Bulletin as the opening line reveals, if we follow Lepsius (case R1). But the version inside the temple, and that is R2, might on the other hand be considered to be the earlier one. Unfortunately, so much of it has been lost, especially the necessary checks that we could perform with the evidence of the Poem. R 19, for example, reveals what we might suspect: R2 > R1. Was the Bulletin, a self-standing text, carved independently of and later from this interesting rhetorical-eulogistic composition? If so, we would have further proof that the Bulletin and Poem were drawn up and transmitted to temple walls independent of the accompanying pictorial matter. (One cannot but exclude Abu Simbel as it is a grotto temple and thus its architectural and decorative program was considerably different than the work done in the free-standing mortuary temples or Luxor and Karnak.)

Yet these two versions of the Ramesseum were extremely close in presentation. I am referring to cases where only these two accounts coincide and are at the same time independent form the others, especially the Luxor exemplars. On this fragmentary data we can set up R1 and R2 as contemporaries. The inside location of the latter might just predicate a date somewhat after that carved on the pylon, especially as outer walls tended to be decorated before inner ones that were located in the forecourt or frontal zones. Moreover, the location of the inside version occupied two distinct areas. The Poem, owing to somewhat constricted free space in the second court, was relegated to the front of the second pylon in the north sector of the first court. Hence,

25 Richard Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen* III, Berlin (1849-1859), Pl. 153; see *KRI* II 102 note 4a-a. The reading of the R2 version has been improved by Kitchen in *KRI* II 102 note 5a-a; cf. Charles Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech* II, MIFAO 55, Cairo (1934), Pl. XVI.

it was physically separated from the war scenes as well as the Bulletin, almost as if the entire layout of the second court was circumscribed. The Bulletin and battle scenes occupy wall space just below the upper level texts and scenes of the Min festival; space had most certainly become a premium.

We can now combine the previous details and set up this schema:

I > L3 and L2 > (Lp > L1) > R1 and with R2
possibly a bit later.

This now leaves the Karnak versions, K1, K2.

1) Poem K1 shows later form in both cartouches; K2 is earlier in P 305 (middle style). It is interesting that in the final passage of P 341 K1 is the only version ever to employ the two different alphabetic signs of *s* in the name Ramesses. This is true throughout the whole corpus and could be, though this is speculative, an indication of an even later writing.

2) Bulletin This text is of no use for our analysis.

3) Reliefs R 57 in Episode III has a late form in K2 for the first cartouche, the prenomen, *Wsr-m3ᶜt-Rᶜ stp-n-Rᶜ*. There are no parallels.

4) Presentation Scenes (Episode IV)
These are unique to the Karnak temple, but are paralleled by the early ones in Abu Simbel.[26] The forms are old and in fact represent the early middle stage of development, and so will be discussed below.

The carving of K1 should be placed around the time of R1-R2 with K2 somewhat earlier. I set K2 before K1 on the basis of the above data *excluding the material from the presentation scene of Episode IV that is questionable.* The latter are located in an original presentation. All of Parts I and II of the K1 version, located on the exterior southern wall of the great Hypostyle Hall, has been carved over, and this portion of the account had to be old considering its location on the main temple axis.

But it is very clear that some of these scenes were carved extremely early and so may have nothing to do with the Kadesh war. The writings are the very early ones, although not the oldest, but they run up against the writing system in the other reliefs. Moreover, the reference to foreigners does not mention Hittites or anyone associated with Kadesh. (This is unlike the previous schematic presentation scene in which the

26 *KRI* II 146.7-7; this must be treated separately from the other presentation images of Episode IV (*KRI* II 143-6.6).

monarch's twelve sons appear with their "prisoners".)[27] Then too, why does the king show himself with vases and other valuable items?[28] I have no difficulty in assuming that the Pharaoh could have brought such refined and exotic objects back to him from other places in Asia. Nonetheless, it is far fetched to see him devoting his victory celebrations after the Kadesh war with objects culled from peaceful cities as well as a whole rafter of non-Hittite captives. In the representations of Asiatics none are Hittites or their Asia Minor allies. Two small captions refer to the land of Hatti, but the prisoners are specified as local potentates (the *wrw*) from Asia.[29] Clearly, we ought not to connect the final presentation scene on the southern rear portion of the third pylon – the final part of Episode IV of K1 according to Kitchen – with the extant depiction of sons located just south of the adjunct wall. But why should mere "Asiatics" and their tribute be considered to be part and parcel of his mighty "victory"? We can further remark that *no other records of the Kadesh battle includes two such presentation images*. Indeed, Kuentz must have realized this because he purposely omitted them from his monumental addition, a fact noted by Kitchen.[30] Can we thereby date them one year earlier than Kadesh, basing our analysis on the evidence of the Nahr el Kelb Stela?[31]

In contrast, the portion of this presumed section of Kadesh that is carved on the exterior southeast corner of the Hypostyle Hall is more recent. There we have the king again presenting captives to the Theban triad, but here the references include the explicit mention of the kingdom of Hittites, the original twelve sons of Ramesses,[32] and the designation of the captives led by Ramesses' sons (title/designation and country included). Moreover, the width of the columns in this register is smaller than that used for the Poem.[33] Underneath is the Poem which has to be connected with this portion of the Kadesh depictions. But even more damming to the position that both presumed sections of Episode IV – southern wall and rear of third pylon – form a unity is that there was no reason for the account to include *two separate presentation scenes*. Because three of the king's sons are mentioned in one Luxor version, a possible parallel

27 I am relying upon some photographs kindly given to me by Prof. K. A. Kitchen. The twelve sons are listed in *KRI* II 143-146 (§§ 63-91). See below for an analysis of this portion of the text.

28 Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* II, Leipzig (1935), 59 is explicit on this matter; general but very useful is R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak. Contribution à l'étude de la pensée pharaonique* II, Paris (1982), Pl. 94.

29 *KRI* II 147.9 and 12.

30 *KRI* II 146 note 6a.

31 Episode IV is also separate from the palimpsest episodes (I and II) owing to the presence of the eastern transverse (adjunct) wall.

32 On this matter, see now Anthony Spalinger, "Epigraphs in the Battle of Kadesh", *Eretz Israel* 27 (2003), pp. 222*-239*. The sons are simply presenting offerings; none of them are explicitly connected with the battle at Kadesh.

33 The difference is obvious from the photographs and can be estimated rather well thanks also to Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech* I, 21; the average width is 19.07 cm.

to this part of Episode IV can be argued.[34] Yet the earlier one, located around the corner, should regarded as separate from the last panel of twelve king's sons.

In this area the so-called "minor war scenes", originally published by Gaballa, cover a series of unidentified wars that were later superimposed over the Kadesh war.[35] Indeed, this whole area, apparently originally devoted to that famous encounter, was reworked at later times by Ramesses as well as his son Merenptah. Why this was done must remain a mystery, unless one wants to argue that the other Karnak version K2 was considered to be the definitive Kadesh production and the depictions and texts of K1 could take second place. A second interpretation could be that the king wished to indicate the role of his first twelve sons within the celebrations of offerings. Hence, the original battle scene located just above the Poem in K1 was erased, and a later secondary representation of official presentation took its place. Note that the direction of movement in the early depictions makes perfect sense. The original work would have moved around the corner for the final role of King before his deities at Karnak.

The presence of the twelve sons in Part IV also poses a conundrum. The elimination of Merenptah, Ramesses II's thirteenth son, from the present is easy.[36] In the battle, however, we read of only three of them by name in one version (the ninth, eleventh and twelfth). The temporal frame thus fits, as does the presence of the Poem below. On the other hand, this portion of the reliefs was also carved over an original Kadesh depiction which presented part of the battle. Owing to this, we can thus bring together all the *original* depictions on the southern exterior wall. But as Episodes I and II *seem* to have already been drawn so that one moves to the front, the now erased battle relief located above the Poem seems out of place because it is to the rear.

The version of K1 thus needs additional elucidation. The use of the exterior southern wall of the Hypostyle Hall meant that any additional depictions had to be placed either on the left or the right side of the transverse wall. But I have excluded the evidence on the transverse wall. There, additional Kadesh material was removed that originally presented the arrival of the Na'arn. Thus, the original layout, now mainly destroyed through later superimposition, commenced on the transverse wall and then moved westwards to the front and beyond the doorway. That wall interrupted the flow of the action, and it remains unclear what, precisely, was the organization. (Episode III, the battlefield presentation or spoils, also can be found in the K2 version, for example.) One might want to identify a similar depiction in K1 wherein princes bring their prisoners to Amun the upper register to the rear. This image, however, is a

34 L3; see R 53-5.

35 Gaballa A. Gaballa, "Minor War Scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak", *JEA* 55 (1969), pp. 82-88.

36 Spalinger, "Epigraphs in the Battle of Kadesh". In *KRI* II 145.14 the erasure of Ramesses' twelfth son by Merenptah is definite. Even the term "king's son", *sꜣw nswt*, with the egg, is written this way only here. Cf. Marjorie M. Fisher, *The Sons of Ramesses II*, ÄAT 53, Wiesbaden (2001), pp. 55-56. Note the superimposition of these depictions over an earlier Kadesh accounts

final presentation scene and, as we have observed, belongs to Episode IV. Because the original depiction appears to be a battle, this would imply that above the Poem lay yet another scenic rendition of the great encounter of Ramesses and the Hittites, a most unusual narrative presentation. *A fortiori*, one expects the spoils to be there, and following them, around the corner, is the expected Episode IV. Thus this original arrangement of scenes was not a neat and easy-to-perceive unity, and this is most definitely owing to the "interruption" of the wall that cuts through the entire block of images. The camp was completely split from the depiction of the beating of the spies plus Bulletin, and the intervention of the doorway served as an effective divider.

Owing to the planned set-up it was decided to locate the Poem and the final phase (IV) to the east of the transverse wall. This meant that Episode III was discarded. It might be asked that, given enough blank space on the western side of the transverse wall, why did the master designer avoid using that area? After all, Ramesses later placed his Treaty with the Hittites immediately south and adjacent to the first phase of the Kadesh images. The reason is simple. He wanted to work outwards or from the rear of the temple. So he employed the southern transverse wall, west side, then moved his pictures over to the southern exterior wall of the Hypostyle Hall, and finally ended up as west as he could. This meant, however, that certain key elements were not included in the narrative; they were then placed in their southerly position. Indeed, there was not enough room for Phase III and this section had to be curtailed. But have we found a further reason for not including the corner reliefs in the Kadesh repertoire, Episode IV? If that area had been blank, there would have been more than enough room to follow up the account with Episodes III, IV, and the Poem.

This leads to K2 > K1, or now:

I > L3 and L2 > (Lp > L1) >	R1 with R2 possibly somewhat later
K2 >	K1

The architectural set-up of K2 presents the longest of all the monuments except for the circular account at Abydos. Note that the Poem is right at the rear and thus its location is parallel to the other Karnak account K1, L3 at Luxor and the Abydos version. In other words, this lengthy piece of narrative was meant to be read as a summation of the whole event separate from the pictorial ones. See the space between the final door and the west face of the Tenth Pylon. (L2 has radically separated both literary accounts from the pictorial even though the latter were never carved.) K2, nonetheless, presents an impressive spectacle for the viewer, and you do not need to enter Amun's domain to view the account.

The location of the Poem, an extremely important factor in the expression of the reliefs and texts, operates in the following manner:

K1: Outside of the pictorial narrative and placed underneath a later presentation scene. It was originally underneath a battle image and so located *separately but only partially subsequent* to the war depictions.

K2: Outside of the pictorial narrative and placed after the presentation scene of Episode III. Hence, it is located after the battlefield presentation of the spoils. But here Episode IV is not included. Was it to be added after the Poem (at the south) and never completed? If so, that would have filled up the empty space immediately south of the doorway and ending at the Tenth Pylon.

L2: Furthest to the front. It is followed by the Bulletin.

L3: Located after the battlefield spoils. There are some slight queries attached to an accompanying depiction further to the south or rear.[37]

R1/2 (?): Located independent of the reliefs. It is to be found in the first court on the north-eastern surface of the second pylon. There is a question whether the Poem it is to be connected to this version or to be joined with the R1 variant. See our comments below.

With regard to the last version, one might note that the southern side contains the Hittite treaty and thus the entire arrangement is parallel to K1. If further proof were

37 Cf. *KRI* II 126.

needed on this matter – one dependent upon space reasons – Phase III is also omitted. (This is why I follow Kitchen's position that often scenes could be added or omitted almost as one liked.)[38] Nevertheless, we must find the causes. In this case Episode III is significantly less important than the first two as well as the fourth. But the fourth act of the drama, namely the role of the king before his deities, was omitted in K2 and L3. On the other hand, the Abu Simbel account provides Episode IV and, owing to space, cuts out the third portion of the narrative. I would also eliminate the pylon depictions of L1 and R1 if only as they are compressed if only because of the need to add the lengthy literary accounts of the Poem and Bulletin. In the first court of the Ramesseum the interior faces of the pylon also eliminate the last two events of the narrative, yet the Poem is also not included. In this case we should view its presence in the same area but on the northeast wall of the second pylon as performing its expected interrelated function with those other war depictions of Kadesh.

Those undated scenes at Karnak that replaced through recarving most of the version of K1 were analyzed earlier in this study. I now wish to reflect more deeply upon the spelling of the king's names in his two cartouches. What is preserved allows us to locate a rough timeframe of the middle stage. In the second cartouche both Re and Amun remain depicted as seated gods. The nomen seems to prefer, as well, the earlier writing of the goddess Maat who is seated on her throne.[39] There are two locations where the *Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ stp-n-Rᶜ* clearly shows the latest writing.[40] It is extremely important to keep in mind that both references indicate the name chariot span of the king's horses, exactly as we have noted in the Kadesh scene at Abu Simbel. The coincidence of three later writings serving the same function may indicate that we are dealing with a full name-title-designation that was official and thus stood aside from these slight alterations of the spellings of Ramesses' prenomen and nomen.

What is the difference between the original Kadesh version (K1) and these later undated scenes? In this case we are extremely fortunate that there is a temporal sequence which is straightforward: K1 is earlier. Kitchen's first portion of Episode IV, the unique case of the twelve princes in procession behind their father, cannot help. As we have noted, the second section located around the corner to the south presents the earlier writings.[41] Thus the two names of the Pharaoh confirm the dating that is

38 See my comments in Chapter XI of *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative. P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh*, GOF IV/40, Wiesbaden (2002).

39 *KRI* II 153.1 and 15 are restored; Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 56 indicates that they cannot be analyzed as the signs are lost.

40 *KRI* II 157.3 and 159.2; 153.15 might be considered to be *sub judice*. The first is impossible to verify from Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 54a as well as from Wilhelm Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Washington (1910), Pl. 37; the second is in Gaballa, "Minor War Scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak", 55 and Pl. XX, and fig. 6b page 87. At this point I am also relying upon some photographs of Prof. Kitchen.

41 *KRI* II 146.11 and 147.2.

evident by the palimpsest on the exterior south wall of the Hypostyle Hall. Those original depictions and captions must have presented spellings akin to the final portion on the southern half of the third pylon.

K1 and L1, though close, nonetheless differ at key points, and L2 is somewhat older than L1.[42] In P 24 (nomen, prenomen) and P 304 (prenomen) the former two are identical: the god's name Amun is spelled out. The reliefs of L1, on the other hand, show on one occasion a preference for the deity (R 6) although the later writing persists elsewhere (R 17). At any rate, Episode IV of K1 is most definitely earlier than any of these Ramesseum and Luxor cases.

Let us now divide the Poem from the scenes of battle (Episodes I-II in particular). Here, we are faced with a scattered result owing to the later reliefs that replaced the Kadesh scenes in K1. But the following may be said. In the Poem the versions of spellings in the first name in K1 are the later ones with the seated figure of Maat, and for the second name Amun is no longer a god. This is best revealed in P 24, 304, 338, and 341. (The Poem of K1 is definitely later than the Poem of L2, for example.)[43] But what can we learn from the reliefs? Absolutely nothing because the erasures by the later designers have been so effective that the cartouches no longer can be read. Only the final presentation scene (IV) and the Poem remain as possible proof for a reconstruction of the date of K1. But – and this is the crucial point – the former gives us the middle-range cartouches, completely unlike the Poem. In fact, in the two cases of Episode IV the figure of Maat not merely sits on her throne, she also clasps the woser standard. The Poem therefore appears to have been carved after the presentation scene, an important conclusion if only as the latter does not fit in so well with our expectations concerning such depictions. Previously, we have recognized the oddity of the items given to Amun such as vases and other exotic tributes, a depiction completely at odds with the communality of the standard image. There was also the absence of a Hittite captive in the row of prisoners brought to the godhead by Ramesses. Because its complete independence from relief notations or headings has been amply emphasized in this discussion, the question remains whether or not this scene actually belongs to the Kadesh narrative.

If we concentrate upon the final episode at Karnak in this section of reliefs and also maintain that it was set up for the Kadesh war, then we can place the final portion to a timeframe that is earlier than R1. The writings are virtually identical with L2 but later than Abu Simbel.

---

42 Two telling cases of L2 > L1 are in P 39 and 338. In the Ramesseum the key differences may be seen in the identical set-up of R 19: R2 > R1. Hence, the rule "earlier in, later out" applies.

43 Owing to this I still wish to separate Episode IV of K1, the southerly depiction located on the rear of the third pylon at Karnak.

I > L3 and	L2* >	(Lp > L1) >	R1 with R2 possibly somewhat later
	K2 > "K1 (IV)"		K1 Poem

* L2 is already undergoing a change.

I believe that this chart accurately represents the basic development of the spellings of the two cartouches within the Kadesh material. It however excludes the later reliefs carved over the original K1 version. There, excluding the two horse teams, the writings fit in a timeframe before the accompanying Poem. Following a more narrow approach, we have repeatedly pointed the reader to the seated Maat goddess holding the woser symbol. Thus we can place them to a later period of the middle phase, if only as two of the horse teams reveal the later spelling.[44]

The reader will observe that this inevitably leads to the conclusion that the original version of K1, or at least the scenes, can be dated to a short interval contemporary with Abu Simbel *irrespective whether we argue that the pylon section of Part IV originally was part of the Kadesh repertoire.* And we can view the changes in a clearer fashion from the king's so-called "Edomite/Moabite" wars. The preserved section of the forecourt preserved, allows us to for a gradual alteration in spelling. By and large the middle phase is represented but three cartouches reveal the later one.[45] Noteworthy is the presence of the younger writing with three clear-cut examples referring to the king's span of horses. I tend to feel, nonetheless, that owing to the latter we should place these depictions somewhat later than K2, but keep in mind that L2 is already undergoing a change.

I have hesitated to claim that L1 was the last of the Kadesh group to be carved. Indeed, one suspects that the decoration of the pylon should have taken precedence over those addition, and later, wars of Ramesses. But the war at Kadesh looms so greatly in his military repertoire, and one suspects that it ought to have had precedence over all other military conflicts in Asia. A fortiori, we would also expect that pylons take precedence over side elements, even if they were often finished late in the

44 There is the strong possibility that horse spans' names were added later, almost as an after thought. Because the whole phrase, "the stall of *Wsr-m3ᶜt-Rp stp-n-Rᶜ*" is an official designation, perhaps the later writing was consistently employed as a title before it later turned up on temple walls.

45 *KRI* II 180.4, 180.15,181.7, 182.7, and 182.14 join against II 181.5 (horse span), 182.8 (horse span), and 182.15 (horse span). *KRI* II 181.12 (horse span) is restored.

architectural program. By and large, I wish only to note the steady movement forward at Luxor while keeping in mind that L2 was never completed.

Even though the Ramesseum is not in as good a physical condition as Luxor or Karnak, the information assembled here allows us to posit the same development. The towns of year eight are very close to the gateway of the first pylon. But the location was not ideal, to say the least. They are placed within a very constricted space, a situation that was discussed earlier in conjunction with the importance of the royal images of power. The same can be said for those undated Dapur-Satuna scenes, with the text of the valorous king included. At this point we find ourselves in the middle of the Hypostyle Hall and here as well space is at a premium. I believe that this section as well as the aforementioned one, though showing the transference to the late standard writings, reveal the necessity of searching for available space. In other words, the reasons why both are not so close to the front is simple: the other walls had already been decorated. One look at the use of the northern exterior wall shows this to be accurate. (The southern has the calendar of feasts on it.) The R2 version is, frankly speaking, not as well designed in layout as it could have been, and the cause lies in the limitations of space. Yet there were areas remaining, if only because Ramesses commissioned his workmen to carve his Hittite-Egyptian treaty on the south front wall of the second pylon. That area remained blank until his royal command.

Bibliography

Allam, Shafik. *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*, Tübingen (1973).

Allen, Thomas George. *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, SAOC 37, Chicago (1974).

Altenmüller, Hartwig and Ahmed M. Moussa, "Die Inschrift Amenemhets II. aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis. Ein Vorbericht", *SAK* 18 (1991), pp. 1-48.

Aron, Raymond. *Clausewitz: Philosopher of War*, trs., Christine Booker and Norman Stone, Englewood Cliffs (1985).

Assmann, Jan. *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Hymnik I*, MÄS 19, Berlin (1969).

Assmann, Jan. *Zeit und Ewigkeit im alten Ägypten*, Heidelberg (1975).

Assmann, Jan. "Das Bild des Vaters im Alten Ägypten", in: Hubertus Tellenbach, ed., *Das Vaterbild in Mythos und Geschichte*, Stuttgart *et al*. (1976), pp. 12-49.

Assmann, Jan. "Das ägyptische Zweibrüdermarchen (Papyrus d'Orbiney)", *ZÄS* 104 (1977), pp. 1-25.

Assmann, Jan. "Eulogie, Königs-", in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, Wiesbaden (1977), 39-46,

Assmann, Jan. "Fest des Augenblicks – Verheißung der Dauer: Die Kontroverse der ägyptischen Harfnerlieder", in: Jan Assmann, *et al*., eds., *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, Wiesbaden (1977), pp. 55-84.

Assmann, Jan. *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, Zurich and Munich (1975).

Assmann, Jan. "Eine Traumoffenbarung der Göttin Hathor. Zeugnisse 'Persönlicher Frömmigkeit' in thebanischen Privatgräbern der Ramessidenzeit", *RdE* 30 (1978), pp. 22-50.

Assmann, Jan. "Weisheit, Loyalismus und Frömmigkeit", in: Erik Hornung and Othmar Keel, eds., *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*, OBO 28, Göttingen (1979), pp. 11-72.

Assmann, Jan. "Die 'Loyalistische Lehre' Echnatons", *SAK* 8 (1980), pp. 1-32.

Assmann, Jan. *Re und Amun. Die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18-20. Dynastie*, OBO 51, Fribourg and Göttingen (1983).

Assmann, Jan. *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, Theben 1, Mainz (1983).

Assmann, Jan. "Der schöne Tag: Sinnlichkeit und Vergänglichkeit im altägyptischen Fest", in: Walter Haug and Rainer Warning, eds., *Das Fest*, Munich (1989), pp. 5-28.

Assmann, Jan. *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten*, Munich (1990).

Assmann, Jan. "Ägypten und die Legitimierung des Tötens", in: Heinrich von Stietencron and Jörg Rüpke, eds., *Töten und Krieg*, Munich (1995), pp. 57-85.

Assmann, Jan. *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom*, Anthony Alcock, trs., London and New York (1995).

Assmann, Jan. "Verkünden und Verklären. Grundformen hymnischer Rede im alten Ägypten", in: Antonio Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms*, PdÄ 10, Leiden, New York, and Köln (1996), pp. 313-334.

Assmann, Jan. *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*^{2}, OBO, Göttingen (1999).

Assmann, Jan. "Cultural and Literary texts", in: Gerald Moers, ed., *Definitely Egyptian Literature*, Göttingen (1999), pp. 1-15.

Assmann, Jan. *Die mosaische Unterscheidung*, Munich and Vienna (2003).

Avdiev, Vsevolod I. *Military History of Ancient Egypt* I-II, Moscow (1948-1959).

Baines, John. *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre*, Warminster (1985).

Barns, John W. B. *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, Oxford (1956).

Bauer, Brigitte. *Archaic Syntax in Indo-European. The Spread of Transitivity in Latin and French*, Berlin and New York (2000).

Bennet, Tony. *Formalism and Marxism*^{2}, London and New York (2003).

Benveniste, Émile. *Origines de la formation des noms indo-européens* I, Paris (1935).

Berlev, Oleg D. "Egipetskij Voennyj Flot v èpoxu Srednego carstva", *Palestinskij Sbornik* 17 (80) (1967), pp. 6-20.

Berlev, Oleg D. "Les prétendus 'citadins' au Moyen Empire", *RdE* 23 (1971), pp. 23-48.

Berlev, Oleg D. *Trudovoe Naselenie Egipta v Epochu Srednego Carstva*, Moscow (1972).

Berlev, Oleg D. *Obščestvennye otnošenija v Egipte Epochi Carstva*, Moscow (1978).

Berlev, Oleg D. "The Oldest Description of the Social Organization of Egypt", in: *Problemy social'nych otnošenij I form zavisimosti na drevnem vostoke*, Moscow (1984), pp. 26-34.

Berlev, Oleg D. "Der Beamte", in: Sergio Donadoni, ed., Erika Feucht, trs., *Der Mensch des Alten Ägypten*, Frankfort, New York, and Paris (1992), pp. 108-142.

Berlev, Oleg. Review of Vandersleyen, *L'Egypte et la vallee du Nil* tome 2, in: *Or* 66 (1997), pp. 98-99.

Bettini, Maurizio. *Kinship, Time, Images of the Soul*, John Van Sickle, trs., Baltimore and London (1991).

Bickel, Susanne and Mathieu, Bernard. "L'écrivain Amennakht et son enseignement", *BIFAO* 93 (1993), pp. 41-43.

Björkman, Gun. "Neby, the Mayor of Tjaru in the Reign of Thutmosis IV", *JARCE* 11 (1974), pp. 43-51.

Blumenthal, Elke. "Die Koptosstele des Königs Rahotep (London U. C. 14327)", in: Erika Endesfelder, *et al*., eds., *Ägypten und Kusch*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 13, Berlin (1977), pp. 63-80.

Borghouts, Joris F. *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, Leiden (1978).

Borghouts, Joris F. "Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation (*bȝw*)", in: Robert J. Demarée and Jac. J. Janssen, eds., *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 1, Leiden (1982), pp. 1-70.

Brack, Annelies and Artur Brack. *Das Grab des Tjanuni. Theben Nr. 74*, AV 19, Mainz am Rhein (1977).

Bresciani, Edda and Pernigotti, Sergio. *Assuan*, Pisa (1978).

Brunner, Hellmut. "Die religiöse Wertung der Armut im Alten Ägypten", *Saeculum* 12 (1961), pp. 319-344.

Bubenik, Vit. "An Interpretation of Split Ergativity in Indo-Iranian Languages", *Diachronica* 6 (1989), pp. 181-212.

Budge, E. A. Wallis. *The Papyrus of Ani* I, London (1913).

Burkard, Günther. *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Weisheitslehren des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, ÄA 34, Wiesbaden (1977).

Caminos, Ricardo A. *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, Rome (1958).

Caminos, Ricardo A. *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Oxford (1954).

Cenival, Françoise de. "Deux papyrus inédits de Lille avec révision du P. dém. Lille 31", *Enchoria* 7 (1977), pp. 1-49.

Černý, Jaroslav and Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* I, Oxford (1957).

Černý, Jaroslav. "Stela of Ramesses II from Beisan", *Eretz Israel* 5 (1958), pp. 75*-82*.

Černý, Jaroslav. *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, BdE 50, Cairo (1973).

Chandler, Raymond. "The Simple Art of Murder", New York (1972).

Chatwin, Bruce. "An Aesthete Goes to War", in: Robert B. Silvers, Barbara Epstein, and Rea S. Hederman, eds., *The First Anthology: 30 Years of the New York Review of Books*, New York (1993), pp. 189-203.

Claggert, Marshall. *Ancient Egyptian Science Volume II. Calendars, Clocks, and Astronomy*, Philadelphia (1995).

Collier, Mark. "Circumstantially adverbial? the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* reconsidered", in: Steven Quirke, ed., *Middle Kingdom Studies*, New Malden (1991), pp. 21-50.

Collombert, Philippe and Laurent Collon, "Les dieux contre la mer. Le début du 'papyrus d'Astarté' (pBN 202)", *BIFAO* 100 (2000), pp. 193-242.

Condon, Virginia. *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period*, MÄS 37, Munich and Berlin (1978).

Dalley, Stephanie. "Gilgamesh in the Arabian Nights", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 (3rd series) (1991), pp. 1-17.

Davies, Norman de G. *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* VI, London (1908).

Darnell, John Coleman. "A New Middle Egyptian Literary Text from the Wadi el-Hol", *JARCE* 34 (1997), pp. 85-100.

Deines, Hildegard von, Hermann Grapow, and Wolfhart Westendorf. *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte*, Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter 4, Berlin (1958).

Depuydt, Leo. *Conjunction. Contiguity. Contingency*, New York and Oxford (1993).
Diakonov, Igor M. "Some Reflections on Numerals in Sumerian. Towards a History of Mathematical Speculation", *JAOS* 103 (1983), pp. 83-93.
Diakonov, Igor M. *Afrasian Languages*, Moscow (1988).
Diakonov, Igor M. "On Some Supposed Indo-Iranian Glosses in Cuneiform Languages", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 7 (1993), pp. 47-49.
Diakonov, Igor M. *Archaic Myths of the Orient and the Occident*, Göteborg (1995).
Diakonov, Igor M. "The Earliest Semitic Society", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 43 (1998), pp. 209-219.
Doret, Eric. "A Note on the Egyptian Construction Noun + *sḏm.f*", *JNES* 39 (1980), pp. 37-45.
Doret, Eric. "La forme *sḏm.n=f* narrative", *BSEG* 2 (1979), pp. 13-22.
Dixon, R. M. W. *Ergativity*, Cambridge UK, New York and Melbourne (1994).
Drenkhahn, Rosemarie. *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Ägypten*, ÄA 31, Wiesbaden (1976).
Dumézil, Georges. "Blanc, rouge, noir dans le monde indo-européen", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 131 (1946), pp. 57-60.

Edgerton, William F. and John Wilson. *Historical Records of Ramses III*, SAOC 12, Chicago (1936), pp. 119-120.
Egberts, Arno. *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves* I, Egyptologische Uitgaven 8/1, Leiden (1995).
Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process*, trs. Edmund Jephcott, Oxford (1978-1982).
Elias, Norbert. *The Court Society*, trs. Edmund Jephcott, London (1983).
Elias, Norbert. *Studien über die Deutschen. Machtkämpfe und Habitusentwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Michael Schröter, ed., Frankfurt am Main (1989).
Elias, Norbert. *Time: An Essay*, Edmund Jephcott, trs., Oxford and New York (1992).
El-Shamy, Hasan. *Folktales of Egypt*, Chicago (1980).
Erlich, Victor. *Russian Formalism. History-Doctrine*, The Hague (1965).
Erman, Adolf. "Die Erwerbungen der ägyptischen Abtheilung der Königl. Museen im Jahre 1889", *ZÄS* 28 (1890), pp. 54-62.
Erman, Adolf. "Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräbern", *ZÄS* 38 (1900), pp. 19-41.
Eyre, Chris. "Fate, Crocodiles and the Judgement of the Dead. Some Mythological Allusions in Egyptian Literature", *SAK* 4 (1976), pp. 103-114.
Eyre, Christopher J. "Why was Egyptian Literature?", in: *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia*, Atti II, Turin (1993), pp. 115-120.
Eyre, Christopher J. "Is Historical Literature 'Political' or 'Literary'?", in: Antonio Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms*, PdÄ 10, Leiden, New York, and Köln (1996), pp. 415-433.
Eyre, Christopher J. *The Cannibal Hymn. A Cultural and Literary Study*, Liverpool (2002).

Fantham, Elaine. “Two Levels of Orality in the Genesis of Pliny’s *Panegyricus*”, in: Anne Mackay, ed., *Signs of Orality. The Oral Tradition and its Influence in the Greek and Roman World*, Leiden, Boston, and Köln (1999), pp. 221-237.

Fecht, Gerhard. *Literarische Zeugnisse zur “Persönlichen Frömmigkeit” in Ägypten*, Heidelberg (1965).

Feucht, Erika. *Das Kind im alten Ägypten*, Frankfurt and New York (1995).

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner. *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I*, KÄT, Wiesbaden (1983).

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner. “The Sufferings of an Army Officer”, *GM* 63 (1983), pp. 43-45.

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner. *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I*, ÄA 44, Wiesbaden (1986).

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner. *Lesefunde im literarischen Steinbruch von Deir el-Medineh*, KÄT 12, Wiesbaden (1997).

Fischer-Elfert, Hans Werner. “Neue Fragmente zur Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn (P. BM EA 10775 und P. BM EA 10778)”, *JEA* 84 (1998), pp. 85-92.

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner. “Ostrakon DeM 1610. ‘Autobiographie d’un roi divin?’”, in: Jan Assmann and Elke Blumenthal, eds., *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten*, BdE 127, Cairo (1998), pp. 197-208.

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner. *Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn. Eine Etappe auf dem “Gottesweg” des loyalen und solidarischen Beamten des Mittleren Reiches*, ÄA 60, Wiesbaden (1999).

Fisher, Marjorie M. *The Sons of Ramesses II*, ÄAT 53, Wiesbaden (2001).

Franke, Detlef. *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*, HÄS 3, Hamburg (1983).

Franke, Detlef. “Anchu, der Gefolgsmann des Prinzen (Grabrelief Boston MFA 1971.403)”, in: Hartwig Altenmüller and Renate Germer, eds., *Miscellanea Aegyptologia. Wolfgang Helck zum 75. Geburtstag*, Hamburg (1989), pp. 67-87.

Franke, Detlef. “Erste und Zweite Zwischenzeit: Ein Vergleich”, *ZÄS* 117 (1990), pp. 119-129.

Franke, Detlef. “The Career of Khnumhotep III. of Beni Hasan and the So-Called ‘Decline of the Nomarchs’”, in: Steven Quirke, ed., *Middle Kingdom Studies*, New Malden (1991), pp. 51-67.

Franke, Detlef. “‘Schöpfer, Schützer, Guter Hirte’: Zum Königsbild des Mittleren Reiches”, in: Rolf Gundlach and Christine Raedler, eds., *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, ÄAT 36/1, Wiesbaden (1997), pp. 175-209.

Franke, Detlef. “Kleiner Mann (*nḏs*) – Was bist Du?”, *GM* 167 (1998), pp. 33-48.

Gaballa, Gaballa A. “Minor War Scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak”, *JEA* 55 (1969), pp. 82-88.

Gamkrelidze, Thomas V. and Vjachelav V. Ivanov, *Indo-European and Indoeuropeans*. *Theoretical Bases*, Tiflis (1984).

Gardiner, Alan H. “Hymns to Amun from a Leiden Papyrus”, *ZÄS* 42 (1905), pp. 12-42.

Gardiner, Alan H. “Ramesside texts relating to the taxation and transport of corn”, *JEA* 27 (1941), p. 19-73.
Gardiner, Alan H. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, Oxford (1947).
Gardiner, Alan H. “The Coronation of King Haremhab”, *JEA* 39 (1953), pp. 13-31.
Gardiner, Alan H. *Egyptian Grammar*[3], Oxford (1957).
Gardiner, Alan H. “A Pharaonic Encomium (II)”, *JEA* 42 (1956), pp. 8-20.
Gardiner, Alan H. *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, BAe 7, Oxford (1937).
Georgiev, Vladimir I. “Die Drei Hauptperioden des Indoeuropäischen”, *Diachronica* 1 (1984), pp. 65-78.
Gerschel, Lucien. “Couleurs et teinture chez divers peuples indo-européens”, *Annales. Economies. Sociétés* 21 (1966), pp. 608-631.
Gilula, Mordechai. “Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184-85”, in: *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, SAOC 39, Chicago (1975), pp. 75-82.
Giumlía-Mair, Alessandra and Steven Quirke, “Black Copper in Bronze Age Egypt”, *RdE* 48 (1997), pp. 95-108.
Gnirs, Andrea Maria. *Militär und Gesellschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, SAGA 17, Heidelberg (1996).
Godelier, Maurice. “Myth et histoire: reflexions sur les fundaments de la pensée sauvage”, *Annales. Économies. Civilisations*, 26 (1971), pp. 533-540.
Goedicke, Hans. *The Protocol of Neferyt*, Baltimore (1977).
Grapow, Hermann. *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert*, Berlin (1958).
Grimal, Nicolas. *La stèle triumphale de Pi(‘ankh)y au Musée du Cairo*, MIFAO 105, Cairo (1981).
Grimal, Nicholas-Christophe. *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIX*e *dynastie à l’époque d’Alexandre*, Paris (1986).
Grzybek, Erhard. *Du calendrier macédonien au calendrier ptolémaïqu*e, Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 20, Basel (1990).
Gurevich, A. Ya. “Space and Time in the *Weltmodelle* of the Old Scandinavian Peoples”, *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 2 (1969), pp. 42-53.
Gurney, O. R. “The Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur and its Folktale Parallels”, *Anatolian Studies* 22 (1972), pp. 149-158.

Hamp, Eric. “A Rule of the Road”, *General Linguistics* 41 (2004 = 2001), pp. 147-158.
Hannig, Rainer. *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, Mainz (1995).
Haring, Ben J. J. *Divine Households. Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 12, Leiden (1997).
Harris, Alice C. “Kartvelian Contacts with Indo-European”, in: T. L. Markey and John A. C. Greppin, eds., *When Worlds Collide: The Indo-Europeans and the Pre-Indo-Europeans (Proceedings Bellagio 1988)*, Ann Arbor (1990), pp. 67-100.
Hartland, E. Sidney. “The Forbidden Chamber”, *The Folklore Journal* 3 (1885), pp. 193-242.

Hartmann, Thomas Charles. *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, Brandeis Dissertation (1967).
Hein, Irmgard. "Die ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien", GOF IV/22, Wiesbaden (1991).
Heinz, Susanna. *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches. Eine Bildanalyse*, DÖAW 17, Vienna (2001).
Helck, Wolfgang. *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie*, UGAÄ 14, Leipzig (1939).
Helck, Wolfgang. "Frondienst", in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, Wiesbaden (1977), 333-334.
Helck, Wolfgang. *Die Lehre des Dwꜣ-Ḫty*, I-II, KÄT, Wiesbaden (1970).
Helck, Wolfgang. *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, KÄT, Wiesbaden (1975).
Helck, Wolfgang. "Die Erzählung vom Verwunschenen Prinzen", in: Jürgen Osing and Günther Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass – Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten*, ÄAT 12, Wiesbaden (1987), pp. 218-225.
Herbin, François R. *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, OLA 58, Leuven (1994).
Hintze, Fritz. *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*, Berlin (1950).
Hirt, H. "Schwarzes und rotes Meer", *Geographische Zeitschrift* 32 (1926), pp. 430-431.
Hoch, James E. *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton (1994).
Hornung, Erik. "Zur geschichtlichen Rolle des Königs in der 18. Dynastie", *MDAIK* 15 (1957), pp. 120-133.
Hornung, Erik. *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, OBO 46, Göttingen (1982).
Hornung, Erik. *Nacht und Finsternis im Weltbild der alten Ägypter*, Dissertation Tübingen (1956).
Hornung, Erik. "Lexikalische Studien I", *ZÄS* 86 (1961), pp. 106-114.
Hornung, Erik. "Pharao Ludens", *Eranos* 51 (1982), pp. 479-516.
Hornung, Erik. "Maat – Gerechtigkeit für alle? Zur altägyptischen Ethik", *Eranos* 56 (1987), pp. 385-427.
Huisman, J. A. "Eklipitik und Nord/südbezeichnung im Indogermanischen", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 71 (1953), pp. 97-108.

Jamison, Stephanie W. "Lurching towards ergativity: expressions of agency in the Niya Documents", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 63 (2000), pp. 64-80.
Janssen, Jac. J. *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, Leiden (1975).
Janssen, Jac. J. "*Bꜣkw*: from Work to Product", *SAK* 20 (1993), pp. 81-94.
Jenni, Hanna. "Die pronominalen Erweiterungen beim Imperativ und der Ausdruck verbaler Reflexivität im Ägyptischen", *ZÄS* 132 (2005), pp. 112-122.
Johnson, Janet. "NIMS in Middle Egyptian", *Serapis* 6 (1980), pp. 69-73.

Junge, Friedrich. "*Emphasis" and Sentential Meaning in Middle Egyptian*, GOF IV/20, Wiesbaden (1989).

Junge, Friedrich. "A Study on Sentential Meaning and the Notion of 'Emphasis' in Middle Egyptian", in: Gertie Englund and Paul Frandsen, eds., *Crossroad. Chaos or the Beginning of a New Paradigm*, CNI Publications 1, Copenhagen (1986), pp. 189-254.

Junge, Friedrich. *Syntax der mittelägyptischen Literatursprache*, SDAIK 4, Mainz (1978).

Jünger, Ernst. *In Stahlgewittern*. *Ein Kriegstagebuch*, Berlin (1937).

Jünger, Ernst. *Das Sanduhrbuch*, Frankfurt am Main (1954).

Kákosy, Lázló. "Time Paradoxes in Religious Literature", in: Takács, ed., *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies*, pp. 98-102.

Keegan, John. *A History of Warfare*, London (1994).

Kemp, Barry. "Merimda and the Theory of House Burial in Prehistoric Egypt", *CdE* 43 (1968), pp. 22-33.

Kemp, Barry. "Large Middle Kingdom Granary Buildings (and the Archaeology of Administration)", *ZÄS* 113 (1986), pp. 120-136.

Kemp, Barry. *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilisation*, London and New York (1989).

Kienast, Burkhart. *Historische Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden (2001).

Kirby, W. F. "The Forbidden Doors of the Thousand and One Nights", *The Folklore Journal* 5 (1887), pp. 112-124.

Kissinger, Henry. *Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Problems of Peace 1812-22*, Boston (1957).

Kissinger, Henry. *American Foreign Policy*, New York (1969).

Kitchen, Kenneth A. "Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia", in: Erika Endesfelder, *et al*., eds., *Ägypten und Kusch. Fritz Hintze zum 60. Geburtstag*, Berlin (1977), pp. 213-225.

Kitchen, Kenneth A. Review of Condon, *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period*, in: *Or* 48 (1979), pp. 417-418.

Kitchen, Kenneth A. "The Titulary of the Ramesside Kings as Expression of their Ideal Kingship", *ASAE* 71 (1987), pp. 131-141.

Kitchen, Kenneth. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations* I, Oxford (1993).

Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Notes and Comments* I, Oxford and Cambridge MA (1993).

Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated. Translations* II, Oxford and Cambridge MA (1996).

Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated. Notes and Comments* II, Oxford and Malden (1999).

Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, Jonsered (1999).

Klug, Andrea. *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 8, Turnhout (2002).

Koch, Roland. *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, BAe 17, Brussels (1990).

Koefoed-Petersen, Otto. *Les stèles égyptiens*, Copenhagen (1948).
Krauss, Rolf. "Was wäre, wenn der altägyptische Kalendertag mit Sonnenaufgang begonnen hätte", *BSEG* 17 (1993), pp. 63-71.
Krauss, Rolf. *Sothis- und Monddaten*, HÄB 20, Hildesheim (1985).
Krauss, Rolf. "August Böckh (1785-1867) und andere Autoren über den Beginn des ägyptischen Kalendertages nach Ptolemäus im Almagest", *SAK* 32 (2004), 275-286.
Kruchten, Jean-Marie. "From Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian", *LingAeg* 6 (1999), pp. 1-97.
Kuentz, Charles. *La bataille de Qadech*, MIFAO 55, Cairo (1928).
Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Copernican Revolution. Planetary Astronomy in the Development of Western Thought*, Cambridge MA (1957).
Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*[2], Chicago (1970).

Lacau, Pierre. *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, Cairo (1926).
Leahy, Anthony. "Two Donation Stelae of Necho II", *RdE* 34 (1982-1983), pp. 77-91.
Lehmann, Winfried P. "On Earlier Stages of the Indo-European Nominal Inflection", *Language* 34 (1958), pp. 179-202.
Lehmann, Winfried P. "Earlier Stages of Proto-Indo-European", in: *Indogermanica Europaea. Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid*, Graz (1989), pp. 109-131.
Lehmann, Winfried P. "In Search of the Indo-Europeans", *Diachronica* 7 (1990), pp. 101-116.
Lehmann, Winfred P. *Theoretical Bases of Indo-European Linguistics*, London and New York (1993).
Lehmann, Winfred P. "Active Language Characteristics in Pre-Indo-European and Pre-Afro-Asiatic", *General Linguistics* 35 (1995), pp. 51-79.
Lehmann, Winfried P. "Towards a History of Early-Indo-European", *Diachronica* 16 (1999), pp. 67-95.
Leitz, Christian. *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie*, ÄA 49, Wiesbaden (1989).
Lepsius, Richard. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen* III, Berlin (1849-1859).
Lévi-Strauss, Claude. "Le temps dans l'histoire", *Annales. Économies. Civilisations*, 26 (1971), pp. 451-458.
Lichtheim, Miriam. *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, OBO 120, Göttingen (1992).
Lichtheim, Miriam. "Didactic Literature", in: Antonio Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms*, PdÄ 10, Leiden, New York, and Köln (1996), pp. 243-262.
Liverani, Mario. "Leaving by Chariot for the Desert", in: Zainab Bahrani and Marc Van De Mieroop, eds., *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography*, London (2004), pp. 85-96.
López, Jesús. *Ostraca Ieratici N. 57001-57092*, Milan (1978).
Loprieno, Antonio. *The Sequential Forms in Late Egyptian and Biblical Hebrew: A Parallel Development of Verbal Systems*, Malibu (1980).

Loprieno, Antonio. *Topos und Mimesis. Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur*, ÄA 48, Wiesbaden (1988).

Loprieno, Antonio. *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction*, Cambridge UK (1995).

Loprieno, Antonio. "The 'King's Novel'", in: Antonio Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms*, PdÄ 10, Leiden, New York, and Köln (1996), pp. 279-295.

Loprieno, Antonio. "On the Contribution of phonology to Egyptian philology", in: Josep C. Autuori and Alberto J. Q. Álvarez, eds., *... Ir a buscar leña. Estudios dedicados al prof. Jesús López*, Aula Ægyptiaca – Studia 2, Barcelona (2001), pp. 107-115.

Loprieno, Antonio. *La pensée et l'écriture*, Paris (2002).

Luft, Ulrich. "Das Verhältnis zur Tradition in der frühen Ramessidenzeit", *Forschungen und Berichte* 14 (1972), pp. 59-71.

Luft, Ulrich. "Der Tagesbeginn in Ägypten", *AoF* 14 (1987), pp. 3-11.

Luft, Ulrich. "A Further Remark on the Beginning of the Day", *DE* 18 (1990), pp. 35-36.

Luhmann, Niklas. *Social Systems*, trs. John Bednarz, Jr., Stanford (1995).

Maderna-Sieben, Claudia. "Die grosse Bauinschrift von Abydos", in: Sibylle Meyer, ed., *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World. Ägypten – Tempel der gesamten Welt. Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann*, Leiden and Boston (2003), pp. 237-282.

Manuelian, Peter Der. *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26, Hildesheim (1987).

Mariette, August. *Abydos. Descriptions des fouilles exercutées sur l'emplacement de la ville* I, Paris (1869).

Mathieu, Bernard. "Études de métrique égyptienne III: Une Innovation métrique dans uns 'litanie' thébaine du Nouvel Empire", *RdE* 45 (1994), pp. 139-154

Mathieu, Bernard. *La poésie amoureuse de l'Égypte ancienne*, BdE 115, Cairo (1996).

Mathieu, Bernard. "La 'Satire des métiers'. Dossier bibliographique", *Grafma Newsletter* 2 (December 1998), pp. 37-40.

Massy, Adam. *Le papyrus de Leyde I, 347*, Ghent (1885).

Mayeur-Jaouen, Catherine. "Crocodiles et saints du Nil: du talisman au miracle", *RHR* 217 (2000), pp. 733-760.

Meeks, Dimitri. *Année Lexicographique* III , Paris (1982).

Meid, Wolfgang. "Probleme der räumlichen und zeitlichen Gliederung des Indogermanischen", in: Helmut Rix, ed., *Flexion und Wortbildung. Akten der V. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft Regensburg, 9-14. September 1973*, Wiesbaden (1975), pp. 204-219.

Menu, Bernadette. *Recherches sur l'histoire juridique, économique et sociale de l'ancienne Égypte* II, BdE 122, Cairo (1998).

Moers, Gerald. "'Bei mir wird es Dir gut ergehen'", in: Ulrike-Christine Sander and Fritz Paul, eds., *Muster und Funktionen kultureller Selbst- und Fremdwahr-*

nehmung. Beiträge zur internationalen Geschichte der sprachlichen und literarischen Emanzipation, Göttingen (2000), pp. 45-99.
Moers, Gerald. *Fingierte Welten in der ägyptischen Literatur des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, PdÄ 19, Leiden, Boston, and Köln (2001).
Mond, Sir Robert and Myers, Oliver H. *The Bucheum*, London (1934).
Moreno Garcia, Juan Carlos. *Études sur l'administration, le pouvoir et l'idéologie en Égypte de l'Ancien au Moyen Empire*, Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 4, Liege (1997).
Morenz, Ludwig D. *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit*, ÄAT 29, Wiesbaden (1996).
Moret, Alexandre. *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, Paris (1902).
Müller, Wilhelm Max. *Egyptological Researches*, Washington (1910).
Murnane, William J. *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40, Chicago (1977).
Murnane, William J. Review of von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II. zur Qadeš-Schlacht*, in: *CdE* 66 (1991), pp. 163-164.
Murnane, William J. "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution", in: David O'Connor and David Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, PdÄ 9, Leiden, New York, and Cologne (1995), pp. 185-217.

Na'aman, Nadav. "Did Ramesses II Wage Campaign against the Land of Moab?", *GM* 209 (2006), pp. 63-69.
Negelein, Julius von. "Das Pferd im Seelenglauben und Totenkulte" *Zeitschrift für Völkerkunde* 11 (1901), pp. 406-420, 12 (1902), pp. 14-25 and 377-390.
Negelein, Julius von. "Die Volksthümliche Bedeutung der weissen Farbe", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 33 (1901), pp. 53-85.
Nekljudov, S. Ju. "Il sistema spaziale nell'intreccio della bylina russa", in: Jurij M. Lotman and Boris A. Uspenskij, eds., *Recherche semiotiche. Nuove tendenze delle scienze umane nell'URSS*, Turin (1973), pp. 107-124.
Neugebauer, Otto and Richard A. Parker. *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* I, Brown Egyptological Studies 3, Oxford (1960).
Niccacci, Alviero. "Su una formula dei 'Testi dei Sarcofagi'", *Liber Annuus* 30 (1980), pp. 197-224.

Obsomer, Claude. "La date de Nésou-Montou (Louvre C1)", *RdE* 44 (1993), pp. 103-140.
Osing, Jürgen. "Zu zwei literarischen Werken des Mittleren Reiches", in: Jürgen Osing and Erland Kolding Nielsen, eds., *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt*, CNI Publications 13, Copenhagen (1992), pp. 109-119.
Osing, Jürgen. *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I, Text*, CNI Publications 17, Copenhagen (1998).

Parker, Richard A. *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 26, Chicago (1950).
Parker, Richard A. "Some reflections on the lunar dates of Thutmose III and Ramesses II", in: William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis, eds., *Studies on Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, Boston (1981), pp. 146-148.

Parkinson, Richard B. “Teachings, discourses and tales from the Middle Kingdom”, in: Stephen Quirke, ed., *Middle Egyptian Studies*, New Malden (1991), pp. 91-122.

Parkinson, Richard B. *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, London (1991).

Parkinson, Richard B. “Types of Literature in the Middle Kingdom”, in: Antonio Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms*, PdÄ 10, Leiden, New York, and Köln (1996), pp. 297-312.

Parkinson, Richard B. “Two New ‘Literary’ Texts on a Second Intermediate Period Papyrus? A Preliminary Account of P. BM EA 1045”, in: Jan Assmann and Elke Blumenthal, eds., *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten*, BdE 127, Cairo (1999), pp. 177-196.

Parkinson, Richard B. *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, London and New York (2002).

Parkinson, Richard B. “The History of a Poem: Middle Kingdom Literary Manuscripts and their Reception”, in: Günter Burkard, *et al*., eds., *Kon-Texte. Akten des Symposiums “Spurensuche – Altägypten im Spiegel seiner Texte”*, ÄAT 60, Wiesbaden (2004), pp. 51-63.

Peden, Anthony J. *Egyptian Historical Texts of the Twentieth Dynasty*, Documenta Mundi Aegyptiaca 3, Jonsered (1994).

Peden, Anthony J. *The Reign of Ramesses IV*, Warminster (1994).

Piehl, Karl. “Petites notes de critique et de philologie”, *RecTrav* 1 (1870), p. 133-138.

Pieper, Max. *Die grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos*, Leipzig (1929).

Plantikow-Münster, Maria. “Die Inschrift des *Bȝk-n-ḫnsw* in München”, *ZÄS* 95 (1969), pp. 117-135.

Polotsky, Hans Jakob. “Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique” *IOS* 6 (1976), pp. 1-50.

Polotsky, Hans Jakob. *Egyptian Tenses*, Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Arts and Sciences 2.5, Jerusalem (1965).

Pomoroska, Irena. *Les flabellifères à la driote du roi en Égypte ancienne*, Warsaw (1987).

Pooth, Roland A. “Ablaut und autosegmentale Morphologie: Theorie der urindogermanischen Wurzelflexion”, in: Maria Kozianka *et al*., eds., *Indogermanistik – Germanistik – Linguistik*, Hamburg (2004), pp. 401-471.

Pooth, Roland A. “Zur Genese der spät uridg. thematischen Konjugation aus früh uridg. Medialformen”, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 109 (2004), pp. 31-61.

Posener, Georges. *Littérature et politique dans l’Égypte de la XII^e^ Dynastie*, Paris (1956).

Propp, Vladimir Jakolevic. “La fiaba cumulative russa” in: Jurij M. Lotman and Boris A. Uspenskij, eds., *Recherche semiotiche. Nuove tendenze delle scienze umane nell’URSS*, Turin (1973), pp. 87-106.

Propp, Vladimir Jakolevic. “Study of the Folktale: Structure and History”, *Dispositio* 1 (1976), pp. 277-292.

Propp, Vladimir Jakolevic. “Oedipus in the Light of Folklore”, in: Lowell Edmunds and Alan Dundes, eds., *Oedipus. A Folklore Casebook*, Madison (1983), pp. 77-121.

Propp, Vladimir Jakolevic. *Theory and History of Folklore*, Ariadna Y. Martin, *et al*., trs., Manchester (1984).

Propp, Vladimir Jakolevic. *Die historischen Wurzeln des Zaubermärchens*, Martin Pfeiffer, trs., Munich and Vienna (1987).

Quack, Joachim Friedrich. *Die Lehren des Ani*, OBO 141, Freiburg and Göttingen (1994).

Quirke, Steven. “The Regular Titles of the Later Middle Kingdom”, *RdE* 37 (1986), pp 107-130.

Quirke, Steven. “State and Labour in the Middle Kingdom. A Reconsideration of the Term *ḫnrt*”, *RdE* 39 (1988), pp. 83-106.

Quirke, Steven. *The Administration of the Late Middle Kingdom. The Hieratic Documents*, New Malden (1990).

Quirke, Stephen. Review of Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, in: *DE* 16 (1990), p. 89-95.

Quirke, Steven. “‘Townsmen’ in the Middle Kingdom. On the Term *s n nỉwt tn* in the Lahun Temple Accounts”, *ZÄS* 118 (1991), pp. 141-149.

Quirke, Steven. “Archive”, in: Antonio Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms*, PdÄ 10, Leiden, New York, and Cologne (1996), pp. 379-401.

Quirke, Steven. “’Art’ and ‘artist’ in late Middle Kingdom Administration”, in: Steven Quirke, ed., *Discovering Egypt from the Neva. The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D Berlev*, Berlin (2003), pp. 85-105.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. “The Rainbow-Serpent Myth in South-East Australia”, *Oceania* 1 (1930/31), pp. 342-347.

Redford, Donald B. “The Coregency of Thutmosis III and Amenophis II”, *JEA* 51 (1965), pp. 107-122.

Redford, Donald B. *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty: Seven Studies*, Near and Middle East Series 3, Toronto (1967).

Redford, Donald B. in: A. Kirk Grayson and Donald B. Redford, eds., *Papyrus and Tablet*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall (1973), pp. 25-28.

Redford, Donald B. *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day Books*, SSEA Publications 4, Mississauga (1986), pp. 259-275.

Roccati, Alessandro. “Réflexions sur la Satire des métiers”, *BSFE* 148 (2000), pp. 5-17.

Roeder, Hubert. “Die Imagination des Unsichtbaren. Die altägyptischen Erzählungen des Papyrus Westcar und die Performanz des Performativen”, *Paragrana* 12 (2003), pp. 184-222.

Römer, Malte. *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches*, ÄAT 21, Wiesbaden (1994).

Rommelaere, Catherine. *Les chevaux du Nouvel Empire égyptien. Origines, races, harnachement*, Paris (1991).

Rundgren, Frithiof. "Semitic and Indoeuropean. A Linguistic Study in Comparative Aspectology", in: Gábor Takács, ed., *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam W, Vycichl*, Leiden and Boston (2004), pp. 585-599.

Ryholt, Kim. "The Late Old Kingdom in the Turin King-list and the Identity of Nitocris", *ZÄS* 127 (2000), pp. 87-100.

Sassure, Leopold de. "L'origine des noms de mer rouge, mer blanche et mer noire", *Le Globe* 63 (1924), pp. 23-36.

Sauneron, Serge. "Les désillusions de la guerre asiatique (Pap. Deir el-Médineh 35)", *Kemi* 18 (1968), pp. 17-27.

Sauneron, Serge. "Deux pages d'un texte littéraire inédit. Papyrus Deir el-Médineh 39", in: Jean Vercoutter, ed., *Livre du centenaire 1880-1980*, Cairo (1980), pp. 135-141.

Scharfe, Helmut. "The Vedic Word for 'King'", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985), pp. 543-548.

Scharff, Alexander. Review of *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie*, in: *Or* 9 (1940), pp. 144-148.

Schenkel, Wolfgang. "Standardtheorie und invertierte Standtheorie", *ZÄS* 125 (1998), pp. 140-160.

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *Die Kultur der Niederlage*, Berlin (2001).

Schulman, Alan R. *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, MÄS 6, Munich (1964).

Schwaller de Lubicz, R. A. *Les temples de Karnak. Contribution à l'étude de la pensée pharaonique* II, Paris (1982).

Seele, Keith C. "A Hymn to Amon-Re on a Tablet from the temple of Karnak", in: Lewis Gaster Leary, ed., *From the Pyramids to Paul. Studies in Theology, Archaeology, and Related Subjects*, New York (1935), pp. 224-241.

Sethe, Kurt. "Die Jahresrechnung unter Ramses II. und der Namenwechsel dieses Königs", *ZÄS* 62 (1927), pp. 110-114.

Shaw, Ian. *Egyptian Warfare and Weapons*, Shire Egyptology 16, London (1991).

Shaw, Ian. "Battle in Egypt. The Triumph of Horus or the Cutting Edge of the Temple Economy", in: Alan B. Lloyd, ed., *Battle in Antiquity*, London and Swansea (1996), pp. 239-269.

Simpson, William K. "Papyrus Lythgoe: A Fragment of a Literary Text of the Middle Kingdom from el-Lisht", *JEA* 46 (1960), pp. 65-70.

Simpson, William Kelly. *Papyrus Reisner I*, Boston (1963).

Simpson, William Kelly. *Papyrus Reisner II*, Boston (1965).

Simpson, William Kelly. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*[2], New Haven and London (1972).

Simpson, William Kelly, ed. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*[3], New Haven and London (2003).

Spalinger, Anthony. "Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia", *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 83-99.

Spalinger, Anthony. *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, New Haven and London (1982).

Spalinger, Anthony. "Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II: The 'Bulletin'", in: Hans Goedicke, ed., *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh*, Baltimore (1985), pp. 43-75.

Spalinger, Anthony, "Foods in P. Bulaq 18", *SAK* 13 (1986), pp. 207-247.

Spalinger, Anthony. Review of von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung zur Qadeš-Schlacht*, in: *JARCE* 24 (1987), pp. 153-156.

Spalinger, Anthony. "A Sequence System", *RdE* 38 (1988), pp. 107-129.

Spalinger, Anthony. "Night into Day", *ZÄS* 119 (1992), pp. 144-156.

Spalinger, Anthony. "Calendrical comments", *BiOr* 51 (1994), pp. 5-20.

Spalinger, Anthony. "From Local to Global: The Extension of an Egyptian Bureaucratic Term to the Empire", *SAK* 23 (1996), pp. 353-376.

Spalinger, Anthony. "Drama in History: Exemplars from Mid Dynasty XVIII", *SAK* 24 (1997), p. 269-300.

Spalinger, Anthony. Review of Claggert, *Ancient Egyptian Science Volume II*, in: *BiOr* 54 (1997), pp. 677-684.

Spalinger, Anthony. *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative. P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh*, GOF IV/40, Wiesbaden (2002).

Spalinger, Anthony. Review of Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, in: *JAOS* 122 (2002), pp. 125-127.

Spalinger, Anthony. "Epigraphs in the Battle of Kadesh", *Eretz Israel* 27 (2003), pp. 222*-239*.

Spalinger, Anthony. "New Kingdom Eulogies of Power: A Preliminary Analysis", in: Nicole Kloth, *et al*., eds., *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück. Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beihefte SAK 9, Hamburg (2003), pp. 415-428.

Spalinger, Anthony. "Re, Osiris and Cheops", forthcoming.

Spiegel, Joachim. "Der 'Ruf' des Königs", *WZKM* 54 (1957), pp. 191-203.

Stricker, B. H. "Spreuken tot beveiliging gedurende de schrikkeldagen naar Pap. I 346", *OMRO* 29 (1948), p. 55-70.

Teeter, Emily. "Observations on the Presentation of the Ramesside Prenomen", *Varia Aegyptiaca* 2 (1986), pp. 175-184.

Teeter, Emily. *The Presentation of Maat. Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 57, Chicago (1997).

Tiradritti, Francesco. "'I Have not Diverted My Inundation'. Legitimacy and the Book of the Dead in a Stela of Ramesses IV from Abydos", in: *L'Impero Ramesside*, Vicino Oriente – Quaderno 1, Rome (1997), pp. 193-203.

Tiradritti, Francesco. "Lecture et sens des scenes dans les stèles royals de la XXe Dynastie", *TdE* 1 (2002), pp. 103-111.

Toomer, Gerald J. *Ptolemy's Almagest*, London (1984).

Tropper, Josef. "Die Endungen der semitischen Suffixkonjugation und der Absolutivkasus", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 44 (1999), pp. 175-193.

Trotsky, Leon. *Literatura i revoljucija*, Moscow (1924).

Trotsky, Leon. *Literature and Revolution*, Rose Strunsky, trs., New York (1925).
Turney-High, Harry Holbert. *The Practice of Primitive War: vol. 1, A Study in Comparative Sociology*, Missoula (1942).
Turney-High, Harry Holbert. *Primitive War, its Practices and Concepts*, Columbia (1949).
Turney-High, Harry Holbert. *The Military: The Theory of Land Warfare as Behavioral Science*, West Hanover (1981).

Valloggia, Michel. *Recherche sur les "messagers" (Wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes*, Geneva and Paris (1976).
Vandersleyen, Claude. *Les Guerres d'Ahmosis, fondateur de la XVIII^e^ Dynastie*, Monographies Reine Élisabeth 1, Brussels (1973).
Velten, H. V. "The Germanic Names of the Cardinal Points", *The Journal of English and German Philology* 39 (1940), pp. 443-449.
Vercoutter, Jean, ed., *Livre du centenaire 1880-1980*, Cairo (1980).
Vernus, Pascal. "Quelques exemples du type de 'parvenu' dans l'Égypte ancienne", *BSFE* 59 (1970), pp. 31-47.
Vernus, Pascal. "Études de philology et de linguistique", *RdE* 32 (1980), 117-134.
Vernus, Pascal. "Formes 'emphatiques' en function non 'emphatique' dans la protase d'un système correlatif", *GM* 43 (1981), pp. 73-88.
Vernus, Pascal. "Inscriptions de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (I). Les inscriptions de la cour péristyle nord du VIe pylône dans le temple de Karnak", *BIFAO* 75 (1975), pp. 1-66.
Vernus, Pascal. "La Stèle du roi Sekhensankhtaourê Neferhotep Iykhernofret et la domination Hyksôs (Stèle Caire JE 59635)", *ASAE* 68 (1982), pp. 129-135.
Vernus, Pascal. "La Stèle du Pharaon *Mnṯw-ḥtpỉ* à Karnak", *RdE* 40 (1989), pp. 145-161.
Vernus, Pascal. *Les Parties du Discours en Moyen Égyptien*, Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie 5, Geneva (1997).
Vries, Jan de. "Rood-Wit-Zward", *Volkskunde* 44 (NR 1) (1942), pp. 53-62.

Walle, Boudouin van de. "Le thème de la satire des métiers dans la literature égyptienne", *CdE* 22 (1947), pp. 50-72.
Warburg, Aby. "A Lecture on Serpent Ritual", *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1938/39), pp. 277-292.
Way, Thomas von der. *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II. zur Qadeš-Schlacht*, HÄB 22, Hildesheim (1984).
Wells, Ronald Allen. Review of Christian Leitz, *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie*, *BiOr* 49 (1992), pp. 723-728.
Wente, Edward F. and Charles C. Van Siclen III, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom", in: *Studies in Honor of George Hughes*, SAOC 39, Chicago (1976), pp. 217-261.

Wente, Edward F. “Age of Death of Pharaohs of the New Kingdom Determined from Historical Sources”, in: James E. Harris and Edward F. Wente, eds., *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies*, Chicago and London (1980).
Westendorf, Wolfhart. “Zu zwei Tagesformeln der ägyptischen Literatursprache”, *ZÄS* 79 (1954), p. 65-68.
Willems, Harco. *Chests of Life*, MVEOL 25, Leiden (1988).
Wilson, Edmund. *Patriotic Gore: Studies on the Literature of the American Civil War*, New York (1962).
Wilson, Penelope. “Slaughtering the crocodile at Edfu and Dendera”, in: Stephen Quirke, ed., *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, London (1997), pp. 179-203.
Wolf, Walther. “Papyrus Bologna 1086: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Neuen Reiches”, *ZÄS* 65 (1930), pp. 89-97.
Wreszinski, Walter. *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* II, Leipzig (1935).

Yoyotte, Jean and Jesús Lopez, “L’Organisation de l’armée et les titulatures de soldats du Nouvel Empire Égyptien”, *BiOr* 26 (1969), pp. 3-19.
Yoyotte, Jean. “Religion de l’Égypte anienne”, *Annuaire. École Pratique des Hautes Études*, V^{e} Séction 91 (1982-1983), p. 217-223.

Zandee, Jan. “Hymnical Sayings addressed to the Sun-god by the High-priest of Amun Nebwenenef, from his tomb in Thebes”, *JEOL* 18 (1964), pp. 253-265.
Zandee, Jan. *De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350*, Leyden (1947).
Zeidler, Jürgen. “Ergativität und Kasussystem”, *LingAeg* 2 (1992), pp. 210-213.
Zivie, Christiane M. *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, BdE 70, Cairo (1976).