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EXPLORING THE MORPHOLOGY OF CLASSICAL EGYPT
(BASED ON PHERMITAGE 1115 – THE STORY OF THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR)

Sergei Ignatov

A double barrier separates the modern scientist from Ancient Egyptian literary monuments: (1) the symbols conveying the meaning of these monuments, i.e. the words, (2) and the symbols of these symbols, i.e. the written representations of the words.

Words are a barrier for us because they are Egyptian language words or symbols which are meant to be meaningful for a man belonging to a distant era. The mind, the awareness of that man has little in common with ours. Word meanings in Ancient Egyptian language more or less differ from word meanings in modern language. And the biggest difference is the most difficult to notice – i.e. in the simplest words related to the spiritual world, such as soul, truth, good, evil, God, etc. Here is the paradox: even while reading the original Egyptian one actually reads a translation of the text. To a certain degree it is inevitable for the egyptologist to give Egyptian words habitual meanings as if translating the ancient language into a modern one. On the other hand, those who read a translation of the ancient literary monument, actually use a translation of the translation (cf. Steblin-Kamenski 1984: 14).

Another barrier is the written representation of the words, because it naturally occurs to the egyptologist that the purpose of the study are the written representations themselves, i.e. the manuscripts, the material monuments containing ancient texts rather than the core message, the spiritual world encoded in these texts (Ibid.).

There is a third danger, due to ignoring a simple law governing all language history, namely, that as a rule words do not occur earlier than their corresponding concepts. Therefore, the absence of linguistic expression of some concept precludes the possibility of proving the presence of this concept in human mind. This is the main principle observed in the present study – what is nonexistent in Egyptian language is nonexistent in the world of the ancient Egyptians as well.
This study aims to examine the morphology, structure and separate features of Classical Egypt, though not in a fragmented form but subjected to a uniform law. As various words, concepts and expressions would become meaningless if they didn’t obey the relevant linguistic laws, so would written facts, neatly arranged in filing cabinets, but removed from their natural environment, lose a substantial part of their informativeness.

As a rule, the scientific approach is carried out, first, by collecting a variety of texts that are subsequently referenced and filed; and second, by seeking the historical roots of the phenomenon. As a result the inherent content is permanently lost. For instance, once you’ve fragmented the Old Testament into separate lines for analysis, it becomes almost impossible to get an adequate idea of Jewish history.

The present study aims at avoiding such an approach as much as possible. That is why it is structured around a text which is placed in dialogue with the accessible texts of the era.

The first part is devoted to the world of Classical Egypt, which is generally considered be the period of the Middle Kingdom, Twelfth Dynasty in particular. In my understanding however Classical Egypt comprises the almost full extend of the third millenium BC, i.e. the Old Kingdom, the transition to the Middle Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom itself. The reason for this understanding is rooted in the policy of the Middle Kingdom kings who declared an era of revival and restoration of everything Old Egyptian (Franke 1994, 1995).

The Old Kingdom, the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom are studied in great detail (see Perepelkin 1988: 326–420; 599–602). So far no separate history of the Old Kingdom has been published, but the Middle Kingdom has been subject of special and extensive studies (Grajetzki 2006).

The second part, the core of the study, is a source analysis of pHermitage 1115 – a text representing the meeting and the discourse between an Egyptian and a deity. The study analyses the text in dialogue with other texts of the epoch following the principle that in order to understand an ancient text one has to inquire into every other extant source. The uniqueness of the text lies in the fact that it is the most ancient evidence of a prayer and sacrifice carried out without the mediation of priests. The text is also the oldest story about a human meeting a deity but without leaving his body. Unlike other religious texts, referring to similar meetings during the transformation process in the world beyond, pHermitage 1115 depicts a man who crosses the southeastern border of the inhabited world and finds himself in the realm of a deity. Traditionally the text is regarded as the oldest example of an adventure story. However the meticulous analysis of the texts reveals its esoteric character because here we come upon the mechanisms of passage between the Worlds, the revelation of god’s essence and the essence of god’s realm, and the all-important instruction about the way human beings are to behave in such
exceptional situations. And most importantly, the text reveals the mental image of Egypt through the eyes of god and the Egyptian man himself. This is the core objective of the present study.

Photos of the papyrus with hieroglyphic transcription of the text were published a century ago by Vladimir S. Golenishtev (Golenischef 1913). An attempt at philological comment was made in H. Goedike's monograph (Goedicke 1974) and there is a huge bibliography on various separate problems (Simpson, LA V: 619–22; Kurt 1987; Baines 1990: 55–72; Ignatov 1994). However the present article is based on the first comprehensive publication of pHermitage 1115 so far.

The selected excerpts from pHermitage 1115 are presented word by word, line by line with exhaustive source material and in discourse with other Classical Egyptian texts. The image of Egypt is presented in its dynamic aspect, described by representatives of the Egyptian civilization and my personal interference, comments and opinions are included only if need be.

THE WORLD OF CLASSICAL EGYPT

Egyptologists used to think that in the fourth millennium BC there were about 40 Nile Valley kingdoms, which at the end of the millennium united in Southern (Upper Egypt) and Northern (Lower Egypt). Subsequently, the Southern kingdom conquered the Northern and thus “united” Egypt was formed governed by a single ruler (the discussion is presented fully in Ignatov 2004: 15–46). Recent archaeological studies indicate that this view is untenable (cf. Berlev 1984: 21–23; Wengrow 2006). It turns out that the Egyptian kingdom is a continuation of the Naqada culture in Upper Egypt, which after 3500 BC extends north from the first cataract of the Nile, and ca. 3000 BC could already be found in the Delta (Quirke 1990: 10). The first historical kingdom emerged in the late IV millennium BC.

Most of the III millennium BC coincides with the era of the so-called Old Kingdom. The Old Kingdom era was established at the crest of a mighty wave of worship of the king. The reign of the second king of the Third Dynasty, Djoser, outlines the border between old and new. His Horus name is Netjerhket, “God in the flesh” (Beckerath 1984: 176). His name is associated with the secret of divine incarnation and with the construction of the first pyramid the Egyptian king began his ascent to the Sun-god.

The funerary construction of Djoser’s predecessors is no match to Djoser’s pyramid complex. The tombs of Egyptian rulers from the IV millennium BC are only slightly different from the tombs of Egyptian nobles (Vinogradov 1982: 101). But on the eve of the third millennium BC a dramatic change took place in Egypt and
the central place in Ancient Egyptian worldview was occupied by the king (Berlev 1981, 2003: 1–18, 361–377).

During the reign of Djoser his closest associate, the polymath Imhotep wrote his *Precepts* – the beginning of the history of Egyptian and world literature (Wildung 1977).

One of the first unambiguous references to the Sun as a god dates from the time of the Third Dynasty. We find it in the name of the famous dentist Hesire, which is translated as “the one who is praised by the Sun” (Quirke 1992: 22).

The sun worship was established in Egypt during the reign of the Fourth Dynasty. The founder of the dynasty is Snofru, the greatest and the most revered ruler in Egyptian tradition. Snofru reigned approximately twenty-four years and during this period Egypt was virtually covered with new castles, temples and palaces. Many ships were also built. The pharaoh sent to Lebanon and Syria a fleet of 40 vessels to procure timber for Egyptian shipbuilding (Schäffer 1902). Snofru was the only Egyptian ruler who built three pyramids – a step pyramid in Meidum and two new ones, of true pyramidal form in Dashur. The founder of Twelfth Dynasty Amenemhe I relied on Snofru’s name and authority to prove his rights to the throne. Snofru was highly revered deity during the Middle Kingdom – there is a temple dedicated to Snofru near Ankara in nowadays Turkey! The name of Snofru marks the beginning of the overt Sun god worship in the Nile Valley. The Horus name of the king is Nebmaat – a clear evidence about the relation to the Sun, and one of the pyramids in Dashur is called “Snofru shines”. From this point at the beginning of the Fourth dynasty on the verb hfr “to rise, shine” was transferred from the solar imagery to the king himself, who apparently was already deemed a creature with essentially solar nature (Quirke 1990: 11).

Snofru was the first Egyptian ruler who enclosed his second name in a cartouche. Egyptian rulers thereafter would become famous with their names written in cartouches (Quirke op. cit.: 25).

The cartouche is an essential part of solar imagery. Egyptians called the cartouche “shenu” (*šnw*), which is derived from the verbal root *šnj*, “to encircle, embrace, envelop”, so probably spelling the king’s name in a cartouche presents him as a ruler of “what the Sun revolves around” (Sin B 213). (Gardiner 1953: 74; Bolshakov 2001: 99–103)

According to Manetho, Snofru’s successor Khufu (Cheops in Greek) reigned sixty-three years (Manetho 1964: 47) while the Turin Canon speaks of twenty-three years (Gardiner 1997, Pl. II, alnum III). *Khufu* is an abbreviation of *Khnum-Khufu-i*, “Khnum is protecting me”. Ironically the builder of the first of the Seven Wonders of the World, the Great Pyramid at Giza, is known from a single image – a miniature ivory statuette about 7.5 cm high. The king is seated on a throne and wears the red crown of the North. The small figurine was discovered by Sir Flinders
Petrie at Abydos and is at the National Museum in Cairo, in the gallery with the treasures from the tomb of pharaoh's mother, queen Hetepheres.

Khufu's pyramid at Giza was originally 146.5 meters high. Its name is highly significant — Akhet Khufu because it shows beyond all doubt that the king deems himself to be the Sun. Egyptians consider the Akhet to be the place where the Sun lives, a peculiar palace of light. Akhet is the starting point of the daily journey of the Sun on the sky (for the concept of Ahet see Kuentz 1920: 121–190). After the construction of the pyramid another Sun was allowed in the Akhet — the king of Egypt.

During the reign of Khufu the term ntr nfr “young god” was also used in relation to the king (Weill 1914: 84, pl. V, 1; Berlev 2003: 5). A written source containing this term from the time of Snofru is very likely to be found.

So, in the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty the king considered himself to be the Sun. He was glorified as ntr nfr, “young god”, and the Sun was called ntr ♂, “old god”. It is obvious that the Sun and the King have a common name — the term ntr, “god.” The only difference is that the former is the older and the latter is the younger Sun.

Since the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty to the very end of the Egyptian civilization a winged solar disk was placed above the images of the king. They called it bḥdjt nfr ♂ nbw pt, bḥdjt nfr ♂, “Lord of heaven.” The first appearance of the solar disk was as an adornment of the canopy of queen Hetepheres, Snofru’s wife, and after that was used permanently (Berlev, op. Cit. R. 7). Earlier, during the Third Dynasty, this bḥdjt was portrayed as a falcon above the king (Ibid.).

The important thing here is that the Sun is the ruler of heaven and the Older God, but the king is the ruler of the Two Lands and is the Younger god. So, at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty Egyptians placed the king and the Sun — two kings, two suns, two consubstantial entities — at the core of the universe (Berlev 2003).

Khufu was succeeded by Djedefre (Radjedef) mentioned in the Turin Canon (Gardiner 1997, op. Cit. Pl. II). Djedefre was the first Egyptian ruler to include the title “son of the Sun” in his titulary. He was also the first king to append to his own name in the cartouche the name of the Sun Re, thus describing the luminous solar nature of the ruler. Djedefre i.e. “Re is his might” (Quirke 1990: 25). From then on right to the end of Egyptian history all pharaohs — with a single exception — would extol themselves as “sons of the Sun.” These facts from the history of the Old Kingdom suggest the increasing role of Heliopolis, “the Sun City”, in the political and religious affairs of the country.

A legend in the Westcar Papyrus relates that the wife of the high priest of Re in Heliopolis conceived three sons of the Sun god himself. The three children were
the future kings of the Fifth Dynasty under which Heliopolis picture of the world started to take precedence.

The maternal line of this dynasty directly descended from the Fourth Dynasty. The pyramids of the Fifth Dynasty were just unworthy copies of the majestic edifices of the Fourth Royal House. But the sun temples built by almost all kings of the dynasty were a novelty in Egypt. These temples were erected both in honor of the Sun and the king.

The theological thought was marked by a major development during the reign of Unas (Onnos), the last king of the Fifth Dynasty – texts were inscribed on the inner walls of the pyramid! These are the Pyramid Texts – the oldest extant body of religious texts in human history.

In the era of Old Kingdom texts were written in the pyramids of Unas, Teti, Pioppe I Merenre I, Pioppe II and Ibi, and also in the pyramids of the queens Uedjebten, Nein and Iput.

After the end of the Old Kingdom texts started to appear on tomb walls and on the sarcophagi of nobles. In the Middle Kingdom there were no Pyramid Texts in the pyramids of the rulers, but a number of sentences from that compendium were still used in the inscriptions on sarcophagi. In the Middle Kingdom the text from the Unas pyramid appeared almost unaltered in the mastabata of Senwosret-ankh. This fact is a proof that Egyptians consider the texts from the pyramid of Unas to be the canonical version.

Egyptians themselves divide the Pyramid Texts into larger sections. Some describe the heavenly life of the deceased ruler, his life thereafter. Others are connected to the funerary rites and there are still others containing magical formulae and incantations.

The main unresolved issue of the study of the Pyramid Texts is about their beginning and their end – what is the proper sequence of reding the texts. G. Maspero and K. Sethe start reding from the chapel, from the lists of sacrificial offerings on the northern wall (the main bibliography is collected in Hornung 1982; Lekov 2004).

In my opinion the reading order should be from the entrance to the sarcophagus inclusive. This reading sequence synchronises the narrative with other texts.

Pyramids and later royal tombs are regarded by Egyptians as the nether region where the deceased king is revived, and the texts inscribed on the walls describe the various stages of this process. And since each stage is often viewed from different standpoints there are repetitions in the texts. The king’s revival is a process consisting of consecutive stages, that’s why the text contains scattered magic formulas, incantations and extracts relating to the way the ritual should be conducted.
If we compare the texts from the Unas pyramid with texts and images from the tomb of Tutankhamun, composed centuries later, we find the following similarities in the plot and the symbolic content:
1. The pharaoh was born in Nun.
2. He crosses the sky in the boat of Re.
3. He equals himself to the gods.
4. He rules the Creation.

An Egyptian would say that "the divine members have been united with their creator".

In the Unas pyramid rebirth, the emergence of Nun, is inscribed on the walls of the corridor that leads into the pyramid. In the antechamber the king ascends in heaven, sails in the Sun boat and is likened to the gods. The culmination is in the burial chamber – the king is embraced by his father Atum.

It is in the afterlife that the late king rises and sets (Pyr. $138, 149, 210,$ etc.). He is identified with Re and Osiris. A later text, the Abydos inscription, contains a very informative description of king’s life after death. Ramses II converses with his deceased father Sethos I:

So, you’ve ascended to heaven and now you accompany Re, you mingle with the stars and the moon.
You abide in the netherworld as those who are there next to Unen-Nefer (Osiris), Ruler of eternity. Your hands draw (embrace!) Atum in heaven and on earth like the Tireless stars and the Never Waning Stars. You stand in front of the Millions of years boat. When Re appears in the sky, your eyes delight in his beauty. When Atum enters the netherworld, you are among his suite (Gauthier 1912: 19–20, Translated from Egyptian by S. Ignatov).

According to Egyptians from the III millennium BC the world is divided in two halves – upper and lower, the lower being an inverted repetition of the upper, its mirror image. The sky extends above the earth and resembles a flat ceiling with rounded edges. Below the earth there is an identical inverted sky. In the upper land people walk with their heads up, but in the lower land they are upside down. The main difference between the underworld and world of the living is that the nether region are dark.

Heaven as well as earth has gates and is propped on pillars. The sky is inundated with water and the heavenly bodies sail in boats. The lower sky is also covered with water. So, what we have is solid ground, surrounded by upper and lower sky, both covered with water.
More than a millenium later we come upon a similar idea in the Bible, Genesis 1: 6: And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. (And it was so.)

Egyptians of the era are not familiar with the dichotomy of the material and the spiritual. Man, beings from the netherland, all things visible and invisible are completely material. The spiritual life of beings is conceived as activity of a carnal receptacle (“womb”), but the first and foremost is the heart. Mental content is inseparable from the mental organs to such an extend in Ancient Egyptian magic swallowing the hearts and internal organs in the netherworld is tantamount to “the spells locked inside them” (Perepelkin 2000: 166).

Many souls are attributed to man by Ancient Egyptians: Ka, Ba, Akh, Name, Shadow, etc. What is important is that souls are material just like people. For example Ka (the Double) has flesh, eats and thinks; Ba and Akh could be eaten, etc. A peculiarity of the souls is their invisibility. The Shadow only “was visible”, and the Name could be heard.

Ba however could probably be experienced in the world of “living” in the supernatural might – the Bau “manifestations” of the king, as well as in the form of a live star in the sky, while Akh could be spotted among the northern stars than never wane (Perepelkin op. cit.: 167).

Egyptians deemed there is no substantial difference between human beings and gods. Once upon a time gods also lived in our world and after that they withdrew to their “Ka Doubles”. Gods have flesh and material souls, they eat, drink, wash and dress. Like the souls of the deceased gods float on the sky like stars. The deceased Egyptian could become another being as the gods could turn into one another or become part of the body or the “name” of another god (Perepelkin op. cit.: 167).

According to Pyramid Texts god Atum – who is Everything, the Whole universe – gives birth to the king before the manifestation of the visible world, the people death before the birth of other gods. So, the firstborn son of the king is the most powerful of all gods. Each city and each area have several deities, even whole divine families, but they all remain in the form they were born by the Creator, who alone has the power to give birth.

Pyramid Texts assist the transformation of the pharaoh into the primal cause of the world. At the same time the deceased ruler’s life in the pyramid is a series of awakenings and departures primarily to the sky, to the sun, to the moon, to the stars, to “the field of offerings”, to the “field of reeds”. Leaving and returning together with the Sun, the dead king visits his realm and administers justice (Perepelkin op. cit.: 171).

From the time of the pyramids to the very end of Egyptian civilization people believe that Ba (translated by Horapollo as “soul”) is what goes up to the sky and the dead body goes down in the ground (Ba to heaven, body to earth, Pyr.).
Egyptian noblemen also dream of living in heaven after death. The spells in their tombs show clearly that they aspire to better funeral, to plentiful nourishing sacrifices, to sail the sky like the pharaoh himself and to ascend to the "great god". For a long time the exit from the tomb chapel pointed north to the "society of never waning stars", i.e. like the exit from the king's pyramid (Perepelkin op. cit.: 172).

The first spells evoking Osiris date from the middle of Fifth Dynasty and during the reign of the Sixth Dynasty mortal Egyptians began to identify themselves with Osiris. "Osiris N" (Kees 1977: 206 ff).

Apart from his departures and returns the dead man in the pyramid has another life as well. Until his next awakening he rest "with his Double". The "Double" is considered to be the life-giving principle and joining him means life (Perepelkin op. cit.: 172).

The world of the Double is closely linked with the world of tomb images. The possibility for transmigration is carried out through Ba, which passes through the images on the walls as if through a door or resides in the statue or the mummy of the deceased (Ignatov 2004: 60, 139–166; Ignatov 2004: 9–32).

The Ancient Egyptian concept of afterlife is the world of the tombs images. Image is considered to be man's Ka ("Double") and Ka is considered to be man's image. Thus Ka represents that part of the human person, which can be depicted by artistic means.

According to ancient Egyptians there are two coexisting worlds beyond: "the world of images" and "the World of the dead body". Those two worlds are created by man. The first one is not supernatural, therefore it can be depicted. However due to its supernatural character the second one cannot be depicted but is described in the funerary texts instead. These two worlds start to operate not after a man's death, but immediately following the creation of images or texts about that man (Berlev 1982: 14–16).

During the reign of Third and Fourth Dynasty central government kept the regional centers under control. At the same time the high-ranking nobles in the capital formed a narrow circle of the royal relatives. The representatives of the dynasty held every major office in the country. The situation began to change in the second half of the Old Kingdom. Parallel to the decline of pyramid construction the tombs of the Upper Egyptian nomarchs got richer and richer.

Even during the reign of the Sixth Dynasty, however, governors were not high-ranking nobles. There is no comparing the enormous stone tombs of the capital nobles, covered with reliefs and inscriptions, to significantly smaller, rock-cut and often poorly carved tombs of the provincial aristocracy.

The growing power of the nomarchs and the local nobility was perhaps the main reason disintegration of the country into semi-independent provinces. However, the exact circumstances of demise of the Old Kingdom are unknown.
The First Intermediate Period, which conventionally covers the reign the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Dynasties could be divided into two stages: Stage One, the Seventh and Eighth Dynasty which are immediate successors of the Old Kingdom, and Stage Two, the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties under which Egypt radically departed from the traditions of the Old Kingdom.

During the Intermediate Period the capitals of the Nile Valley were Memphis, Heracleopolis and Thebes. Memphis remained the largest city in Egypt, the administrative and military center. Instruction for Merikare notes that the army in Memphis was 10,000-strong.

During the First Intermediate Period the centralized state of the Old Kingdom fell apart into powerless dynasties, semi-independent nomes and several kingdoms in the Nile Valley.

Two works of Egyptian literature, known from later copies, tell of the terrible years of the First Intermediate Period: Instruction of Ipuwer and Prophecies of Neferti. By genre both are close to messianic or prophetic literature (Gardiner 1909b; Golenischeff 1913).

The first literary work written by a king in Egyptian history dates from that period too: Instruction for Merikare. (Golenischeff 1913).

The fall of Heracleopolitan Dynasty and the unification of the country by Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe brought the violent First Intermediate Period to an end.

The fall of the Old Kingdom changed religious life in Egypt. Practices and ideas, known since prehistoric times were restored.

The solar heavenly existence after death proclaimed by the priests in Heliopolis, gave way to provincial ideas and Egyptians turned to local deities and attributed to them primordial forces and importance.

Since the end of the Sixth Dynasty funerary rituals and rights, once reserved only for the king, were made available first to members of the provincial elite. After that all Egyptians, who could afford to obtain the necessary goods and texts for the afterworld gradually gained access to those rituals.

Following this change the solar life after death under the supremacy of the Sun-god continued to prevail and dominated the early coffin texts from the Heracleopolitan period. However near the demise of Heracleopolitan kingdom the solar religion of Heliopolis started to give way to Osiris connected perceptions. The idea of his dominance over Re as lord of the dead and ruler of the netherworld is documented in the funerary texts and monuments of the Middle Kingdom.

Instead of making a pilgrimage by ship to Heliopolis the deceased Egyptian set off to the holy places of Osiris at Abydos, where as the legend tells us was the grave of the god. Every Egyptian began dreaming about following the Great god, the Lord of Abydos. The funerary stele of the poorer pilgrims and the tombs or cenotaphs of the richer pilgrims became a common occurrence in Abydos.
The earliest usage of the epithet mỉr-ḥrw, "justified, deceased" was registered during the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe (Eleventh dynasty). The term was added to the name of every deceased Egyptian as a proof that he was entitled to bliss and immortality like Osiris himself with whom the deceased identified (CAH, II, 522).

Under the Twelfth Dynasty the capital was again moved from Thebes to the region of Memphis and so was only natural for some of the kings to turn back to the funeral customs of the Old Kingdom and revive the ancient solar formuli of the Pyramid Texts.

The beginning of the Middle Kingdom marks the appearance of a new frevered form of the solar deity – the sun disk jtn (Aten/Yot). The earliest evidence of this fact is found in The Prophecy of Nefertiti (Golenisheff, op. Cit., P.1116B, rt., 24) and The Tale of Sinuhe (Sin. 6–7). The return to the Sun of the At-Towe (Twelfth Dynasty) kings was a turning point and an important part of the policy for restoration of everything Old Egyptian.

At the height of this spiritual ferment which characterized the last decades of the third millennium and the first decades of the second millennium BC, something unique happened, but most Egyptologists tend to overlook it. Osiris was declared a ruling pharaoh. Under the Twelfth Dynasty Osiris received the titles nj-sw’t (king) and nj-sw’t-hjt (King and Lord). He is an Egyptian pharaoh like any other, but ruling the Egypt of beyond (Berlev 2003: 6).

The netherworld was presented in a large group of texts recorded from the end of the Sixth Dynasty to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. They are written in linear hieroglyphs on the walls of the rectangular wooden sarcophagi, typical of the time. Excerpts from Pyramid Texts were appended with new series of sentences and spells on behalf of mortal Egyptians intended to protect the people from the dangers and disadvantages of the netherworld and to endow them with special powers and privileges. These texts, known as The Coffin Texts, were specific to the Heracleopolitan period and the Middle Kingdom, but after that the tradition was discontinued until the Sais period when they were revived again.

Groups of similar texts, which are an earlier version of the Book of the Dead, were found on the sarcophagi. Several sarcophagi in Deir el-Bersha are inscribed with a map of the netherworld accompanied with a guide for the deceased. This is the so called Book of the Two Ways (Hornung 1982: 7–12; Kees 1977: 450 ff; Lekov 2004: 269–295).

It becomes obvious that the fall of the Old Kingdom is accompanied by religious coup, as a result of which the prevalence of heavenly life in the netherworld was replaced by the dominance of the West as the netherworld. The first attempt at implementing this change was made yet by Shepseskaf at the end of
Dynasty 4, who gave up the pyramid funeral, built for himself a mastaba typical for the fourth millennium BC, and no longer used the title “son of the Sun” (Ignatov 2004: 56).

The Twelfth Dynasty began the restoration of everything Old Egyptian. According to traditional Egyptian concepts the end of the Eighth Dynasty severed the blood relation to the ancient dynasty of gods. It was during the reign of Amenemhe I that a god was born again on earth and the first Renaissance period in Egypt was declared (Franke 1994, 1995). This pharaoh took the Horus name Uhem-Mesut, “Repeating the Birth” (Beckerath 1984: 197).

The Egyptian notion is that the king is a god, he is a son of the Sun-god. According to the Egyptian teaching about the king the pharaoh does not exhibit even the faintest human trait. He was glorified as ntr nfr, “Young God”. The king’s Double is the god Horus. The ruler, conceived from the seed of the Sun-god, has divine flesh and was regarded by the Egyptians as pure gold (Berlev 1972: 37, 1979: 53). Gold is the godly substance, the flesh of every god. (Ibid.) The sun Atum is described as follows:

*His flesh (hfr) is pure gold, his bones are silver.* (Ibid.)

Moreover a stress was laid on the fact that the king was “the son of Atum, the successor to the Sun, his superb likeness, existing in On (Heliopolis), which appeared in the world, being of his flesh (literally “the same flesh in which he occurred”) (Ibid.). *Pyramid Texts* represent the king as a golden calf, born from the sky (Pyr., 129).

As pointed out by O. Berlev, “according to the Egyptian notion the king is one of the most powerful gods and the nature of the divine body allows God to separate a part from himself which can thereafter function on its own”. This property of the divine body is the basis for the tale about the Sun Eye, which the Sun entrusted with a mission in distant countries” (Berlev 1972: 170).

It was O. Berlev who proved that the Egyptian sent on a royal mission at the head of an expedition or military troops, could consider himself a part of the royal body (Berlev op. Cit.: 171). Thus the first regnal years of Amenemhe I (2000 BC) are characterized with the fully unfolding doctrine that under certain conditions the subjects of the pharaoh are parts of the body of the king. Even before ascending to the throne, while being the highest dignitary of the last Mentuhotpe, Amenemhe I left an inscription in Wadi Hamamat, where he compared himself to a part of god’s body (i.e. the king’s body) sent by the king (God) on a mission in a far-away land (Couyat-Montet 1912–13: 113). An inscription of earlier times is also known — the inscription of the prince Ini–itu–ef whose stela is now in Copenhagen. The prince emphasizes that he is a limb of king’s body, and what’s more, that he was born of the queen-mother’s (because he is a limb of her son’s body) and at the time of birth he belonged to the body of the “royal newborn” (Clére et Vandier 1948: 46).
This then was the environment of the texts describing a man conversing with his (soul/ghost) Ba (JEA, 1956, Vol. 42, 21–40) and the meeting between a man and a deity at the boundary of the inhabited world, which is the main topic of this study.

**THE IMAGE OF EGYPT IN **p**HERMITAGE 1115**

**(SOURCE ANALYSIS)**

§ 1. (1)\(^1\) *dd.jn šmsjf w jqr*

**Said the experienced shemsiu.**

The group hieratic signs *dd.jn šmsjf w* is written in red ink. This is the so-called “red line” in Egyptian texts, which still has not received its fair interpretation in the scientific literature.

Even a cursory reading of the words marked in red indicates that they are semantically connected. The “red line” does not mark the beginning of a new paragraph, but places a special emphasis on the most important moments in the text, on the most essential content according to Egyptian contemporaries of the text. Thus in their overall sequence the “red lines” are a mix between what we perceive both as content and summary of the text. This approach to the phrases written in red ink brings us closer to the Egyptian viewpoint. So, what are the most significant moments in the story of the shipwrecked sailor?

1. The story of the shipwrecked sailor, *(šmsjf)*. There is no emphasis on the successful return to the capital, described in detailed on the initial sheet 1.

2. The ability of seafarers to make prophecies, to predict. The phrase “they have seen sky, they have seen seen land” highlights their experience.

3. The fact *(šmsjf)* has found “a plentiful garden” on the island. The finding itself!

4. The thunder preceding the appearance of the serpent. A special comment is necessary here. I will only mention that sound is the primal form of any energy. The sound always has a referent, an object that it denotes. Just remember what we know about the creation of the world by Ptah. Man is creation of the sound which makes our different bodies. This applies to the world and the worlds, to the whole.

5. The moment when the serpent gaped at the Egyptian. This motif is present in numerous Egyptian texts and images. It is repeated twice in red ink.

6. The story of the shipwrecked sailor, this time addressed to the serpent. Again, the emphasis is on the prophetic ability of seafarers.

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\(^1\) The sign $ marks the fragments which are being commented; the numbers and the brackets stand for the lines in the Egyptian original.
7. The Egyptian being “given up onto” the island.
8. The joy, the pleasurable moments of retelling your experience after everything is already behind.
9. The star, the celestial body which had destroyed the world of the serpent – the key point in his story.
10. The promises the sailor gives to the serpent. A type of man–god relationship. If the serpent ensures him a safe return to Egypt, then the man will...
11. That serpent does not take seriously the promises of the sailor. The ridicule, in effect meaning: “Relax, young man! I do not want, I do not need what you promise me. But! I want my name to be...”
12. The arrival of the ship, foretold by the serpent.
13. The Egyptian prostrates on the ground, expressing gratitude, worship, paying homage. Proper behavior – Sh.S. as a didactic work.
14. Loading the gifts of the serpent on the ship
15. Sailing to Egypt.
16. The beginning of the colophon. “Bringing” the entire story of the shipwrecked sailor from beginning to end in the “book”.

Indeed, if we imagine just for a moment an Egyptian library containing an enormous number of scrolls, the easiest way to find out what the scroll is about is to unroll it and simply scan the “red lines”.

Let’s check our observation with the help of other literary works. The Tale of Sinuhe is a good source of examples. The text is long enough – a court novel.

Here, as well as in Sh.S., the “red line” is a text within the text.

The word šmsjw is a participle of the verb šms “to escort”, hence meaning “accompanying” or something similar (Berlev 1978: 206 Berlev)

Jqr is a qualitative adjective (Petrovskiy 1958: 112–114). There is little ground to accept that the word jqr clarifies the title šmsjw. The adjective jqr, meaning “excellent,” “knowledgeable,” “dignified,” “trustworthy” (Faulkner 1988, 31; Meeks 1980–82: 1, 47, 2, 52 3, 36; Wb. I. 137), is most often connected with the ability of eloquent speech. It emphasizes speaking skills. The most common formula is:

jqr st-ns “Excellent/experienced in eloquence”
(Faulkner 1988: 206; Urk. IV, 964, 6; Janssen 1946: II, 18, n. 35)

Jqr often associated with fairness and justice and appears in relation to mtt “precise, exact”. (Janssen 1946: II, 38; Doxy 1998: 53–54) Compare the main character of Sh.S., šmsjw jqr “very experienced shemsiu” with Polutropoi, poleumhcaos Odysseus (“very clever Odysseus”)

The historical perspective into the text would benefit from the analysis of a number of keywords. The first is šmsjw, which is mentioned only twice, but in a quite informative context:
(1) dd.jn.šmsjw jqr
(177) ‘h:n(j) rdj.kwj r šmsjw
s3h.kwj m tp 200

O. Berlev collected and studied a huge material about the institution of the "escorts; followers" (šmsjww) in the Middle Kingdom (Berlev 1978: 206 et seq). As I noted above, šmsjw is a participle of the verb is šmsj. D. Mueller also defines šmsjw as an active participle and gives other similar examples (Mueller 1975: 7, 44). The most detailed description of the term could be found in O. Berlev: "This was the name given to the people accompanying their master everywhere and carrying everything he needed... But the term denoted not only the servants following their master on the road, but also the servants who were constantly surrounding him, i.e. servants in general. Šmsjw is an ambiguous term. It denotes the servants as well as the guards of prominent persons and especially the king's guards" (Berlev 1978: 206). Y. Perepelkin also tackled the subject about king's guards, "the followers" of the nobles and the immediate attendants of the pharaoh. He emphasizes on the fact that we come upon special troops "following the ruler" and being in the immediate proximity of the rulers of Dynasy 11 in particular (Perepelkin 1988: 412, 2000: 198). Y. Perepelkin notes the heterogeneous staff of the royal sentinels: some of them were probably from a noble origin, but according to the available data most were commons. Regional nomarchs also had their armed "escorts" (šmsj), but they couldn't afford to bestow such generous gifts to them as the pharaoh, who could reward his šmsj with dozens of "men" (2000: 198 Perepelkin).

The term šmsj is used yet in the Pyramid Texts (Pyr. 1710) in the phrase šmsjw ḫr.

The problem about šmsj has been a topic of scientific discussion (WB 1926–1930, 1955, 1982: IV 486; Faulkner 1988: 267; Gardiner 1961: 414). In the text of Sh.S. the term šmsj occurs twice: Sh.S. (1) and Sh.S. (177). The second instance is more informative because a donation of 200 heads is mentioned. O. Berlev noted that fact and also the possibility of comparing Sh.S. with the biography of ḫwjw-sbk, where the šmsj is also rewarded with heads (Berlev 1978: 215 et seq). For his battle feats ḫwjw-sbk received the title šmsjw ḫq3 and was awarded "60 heads":

\[\text{djt.j Šmsjw n(j) ḫq3}\]
\[\text{rdj.(w).n.j tp 60 (\text{Sethe 1924: 83})}\]

"I was promoted as Šmsjw ḫq3
and was given 60 heads."

The ḫwjw-sbk case is the only instance when the promotion of šmsj is accompanied by "heads". Another example is the anonymous šmsj from Sh.S. The comparison of the two texts justifies the conclusion that šmsj from Sh.S. was also promoted at least to šmsjw ḫq3. O. Berlev clarifies that the "heads" given to ḫwjw-sbk and the shipwreck sailor are "undoubtedly royal ḫmww" (Berlev 1978: 216) as
it should be borne in mind “that the soldiers in the Egyptian army are not counted in “heads” (Berlev 1978: 216). He also explained that “the numbers in the story about the shipwrecked sailor could be regarded as fabulous”, but frankly speaking a household of two hundred “heads”, belonging to a person of even modest standing, is not an impossible real case in the Middle Kingdom (Berlev 1978: 216). It is important to understand that every šmsjw nj ḥq3 could call himself simply šmsjw.

The conclusion that the main character of Sh.S. received title šmsjw nj ḥq3 is an important dating evidence. The title was first registered under Senwosre III (Sethe 1924: 82–83; Garstang 1900: IV-V; See also the analysis of O. Berlev – Berlev 1978: 216), although an earlier date is also possible. This earliest example is the already familiar hwjw-sbk. The hwjw-sbk stella was found in El-Araba and is now in the Manchester museum. hwjw-sbk was born during the reign of Amenemhe II, he lived under Senwosre II and Senwosre III. Subsequently he rose to become chief of šmsjw and for that he received another 100 heads. In his study of the social relations in Egypt O. Berlev noted that before Senwosre III the king’s sentinels were called šmsjw as all the servants and subjects of the Egyptian king. Under Senwosre I the loose phrase šmsjw ḏḥdj was registered, but it wasn’t a title. What is meant was šmsjw nbw nbw.

In the hierarchy of the expeditionary troops šmsjw occupied a very privileged position. An inscription from Wadi Hamamat provides us with a good material for comparison (Goyon 1956: 61). The ḫṯṯjw-creativecommonslicenseprefix c princes have the honorary place (Cf. Sh.S.!), then follow 30 šmsjw nbw, 1000 warriors. The staff roster and the rations list mention šmsjw together with ḫṯṯjw-creativecommonslicenseprefix c. Their ration is bigger than that of the army – 30 breads daily and a goblet of beer each. (Berlev 1978: 217). The inscription is straightforward indeed:

\[
\text{šmsjw n(jw) nbw ṅḥ(w) – (w)ḏḥ(w) – s(nbw)} \\
\text{t 30, ḫḥqt 1, ḫṯṯjw-creativecommonslicenseprefix c t 100 ḫḥqt 4} \\
\text{"šmsjw nbw – 30 breads and a goblet of beer each,} \\
\text{ḫṯṯjw-creativecommonslicenseprefix c – 100 breads and 4 goblets beer each.}\]

Traditional comments usually point out that the main character of Sh.S. received the title šmsjw after returning from the island (Livshits 1979: 199), before that he was not a šmsjw. This finding is refuted by O. Berlev who has studied some 13 ranks of šmsjw, the šmsjw nj ḥq3 being one of the highest. The ranks šmsjw are as follows:

šmsjw j hw
šmsjw nj ṣṛjrjt
šmsjw (nj) prw
šmsjw nj prw-creativecommonslicenseprefix c
šmsjw nj nbw
The comment, designed to place the anonymous main character of Sh.S. in a particular historical context, requires a clarification — “heads” could only be bestowed by the king. In this particular case the “heads” were not accompanied by land. In his History of Egypt Y. Perepelkin quotes an example from a biography dating from the Middle Kingdom about an award of 20 “heads” and 50 “sat” of land. (Perepelkin 2000: 185)

I. Livshits suggested that the main character of Sh.S. was a šmsjw pr-Ę3 (Livshits 1979: 109). In some literary studies šmsjw jqr is defined as a title — a replica of the title of the ancient prophet Neferti.

šmsjw jqr is a free combination of words, not an epithet. jqr is a qualitative adjective used as an attribute of šmsjw (nj ḫq3). But it’s worth considering a probable pun: šmsjw jqr — sš jqr.

§ 2. (1) . . . wd3 (2) jb.k ḫ3ṭj-Ę3
Calm your heart, hatia!

What is of interest in the phrase wd3 jb.k ḫ3ṭj-Ę3 is the meaning and the content of the notion jb and its function in the text of Sh.S., as well as the title ḫ3ṭj-Ę3. The heart jb is mentioned eight times in the text.

There are two words in the Egyptian language meaning “heart” — jb and ḫ3ṭj. (The main literature on the subject is collected in Lekov 2001: 136 et seq; Piankoff 1930; Brunner 1965, 1977; de Buck 1944). In Helck’s opinion a number of Egyptian words from the old Semitic-hamitic layer denoting body parts have been replaced by a periphrastic expression of their functions or manifestations. The later replacements are preserved in Coptic. This is probably due to the fact that it is a taboo to say out loud the names of deities and different forces. jb and ḫ3ṭj are such words (Helck 1955: 144–145). O. Berlev shares a similar opinion — that the old Semitic denominations were replaced by descriptive phrases and at the same time the internal organs which are hidden from the “evil eye” preserve their designations as before (Vassoevich 1987: 15).
The concept of the heart -jb in Sh.S., which is connected with the arguments presented so far, is demonstrated by wd3 jb.k; jb.k m.k; d3jr jb.k.

The meaning and the content of word wd3 is “pleased”, “whole”, hence also “favorable”, “strong”, “healthy”. In context of the “tale” the state of the heart -jb is the first degree of control over the heart. One should master this degree of control after the troubles and worries while still being surrounded by his likes in this world. The possible meaning could be that after all bad and scary events are left behind, one has to take heart and brace up for what’s coming ahead.

The next degree is jb m.k. The heart must be present and be under control in such a difficult and responsible situation as reporting to the pharaoh. I would call it a boundary state, a transient state. The king is god, the palace is also god. Hence stepping over the threshold of the palace is a transition into another world, the world of divine manifestations. Therefore while making that passage the Egyptian should have his heart with him – jb m.k. Similarly, the heart of the deceased must never leave him and should not be lost during the passage to eternity. This is the meaning of the analyzed examples with jb m.k. The state jb m.k. means life in this world and in the netherworld and is a condition for merging with eternity. Therefore, landing on the island, the Egyptian points out that his only companion is his heart, i.e. his heart is with him.

The highest level of control over the heart is the d3jr-jb condition. The aforesaid is related to the world of people and their passage to a reality beyond, but d3jr-jb makes us face a completely different set of problems. After the shipwreck at the end of the world the divine will send the Egyptian seaman to an island where he meets the serpent deity – the protector of the boundaries of the world. The serpent starts giving him instructions and sets out the conditions to be complied with so that the seaman could cross back the border between the divine world and the world of Egyptians and return to his fellow human beings:

(132) “If you are strong, if you have fully mastered your heart (d3jr-jb) = if you humble yourself (133), you will fill your embrace with your children, kiss your wife and see your home – this is better than anything”.

So the possibility of returning from the world of the gods to the human world is realized through d3jr-jb. In the Tale of the Shipwrecked sailor we could outline three basic levels of knowledge about mastering the heart, which allow Egyptians to live in this world, to make passage to another world and come back from the world of the gods in the world of the humans by mastering wd3-jb. N, jb. N m.n, d3jr-jb.N.

§ 3. (5) rdj(w) hknw dw3(w) (6) nr
Praise is given, god is glorified.
In the bilingual decrees from Ptolemaic times, among which is the famous Rosetta Stone, the word nfr is used as the equivalent of the Greek theos (Hornung 1982: 42). E. Hornung, who has devoted a comprehensive study to the Egyptian idea of God, notes that when the word is in the singular, without prior reference to the name of god, without a possessive suffix or without any mention at all in the prayers, etc. this is the **absolute use**, typical mostly for the didactic works. The Proper names are another instance of such usage (Hornung 1982: 44), but this fact is irrelevant to our text. Hornung stresses in particular the fact that in Egypt there was no cult, temple or priests of a nameless deity (ibid.).

Analyzing the text of the tale about the shipwrecked sailor one must bear in mind the above mentioned peculiarity: sometimes Egyptians refer the glorification dw3 to the morning while its opposite sns marks the sunset. The arrival in the Egyptian capital, the story of $msjw, which helps him to calm $h3j-$c occur in the morning. This conclusion is confirmed by the end of the story. In Erman's opinion that the main character of the story used the words wd3 jb.k $h3j-$c mk ph.n.n hnw to wake up his master at dawn (Erman 1966: 30). The idea of the daily self-resurrection of the sun is associated with the idea of the daily birth (bringing forth) of the king by the sun. (Perepelkin 1979: 271). Here's what E. Drioton notes on the subject:

“Every morning... the deity is revealed through a double operation: it produces the disc through which it manifests itself and at the same time it gives birth to the king as an image of the deity itself” (Drioton 1944: 38). In one of many examples of the sun name in Perepelkin's study we come across the following: “In the morning you give him (i.e. the king - S.I.) birth, like the birth (i.e. the manifestation - S.I.) of your own appearance (ibid.).”

The last example is more recent than Sh.S., but it reflects very ancient ideas. We could say that glorification of the nameless nfr is glorification of the sun king.

What distinguishes the king from creation is the fact that he was born from the sun while creation is manifested. Hence the opposition ms – hpr. The best evidence could be found in the Piope's pyramid:

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msj Ppj pn jn jt.f'tlmw
n hpr.tj pt n hpr.tj t3 n hpt.tj rmt n msj.tj nfr:w n hpr.tj m.t
```

“This Ppj was born of his father Atum,
heaven was not manifested, the earth was not manifested,
people were not manifested, the gods were not manifested,
death was not manifested.

§ 4. (7) jzwt.n.jj.t(j) c'd.t(j)
Our crew has come back safe.
jzw$ from the times of Ancient Egypt were studied Y. Perepelkin (Perepelkin 1956: 166; Perepelkin 1988: 168 et seq). jzw$ is a collective designation for any ship's company. The command of jzw$ had at least three levels (Perepelkin 1988: 169). According to O. Berlev Old Egyptian naval organization was thought to be exemplary (Berlev 1980). He proved convincingly that in official documents the sailors were listed before other troops and also that the sailors were military (Berlev 1980: 16). Military ship captains obeyed the direct orders of the king. O. Berlev states that “the fleet, which was the main military force in the Old Kingdom, served as Guards and was under the command of the king and his closest associates (Berlev 1980: 17). The example from Sh.S. is connected with the army, as evidenced in Sh.S. 8, where m$ is mentioned as part of the expedition. Provincial officials often combined administrative positions with military and naval ones (Berlev 1980: 18). The examples collected by O. Berlev show that the fleet appealed to the nobles. The story of the hereditary nomarch Enhab Kbsj is very important for the proper understanding of our text. Kbsj sold the rule of the nome to a close relative of his but kept the rank “captain” for himself which suggests that before that the man had two positions: a captain and h$tj (ibid.).

The study of this specific organization of Egyptian fleet from the Middle Kingdom shows that the Egyptians were able only to colonize the part of Nubia near the river and to control some extent the area of the second Nile Cataract in the Kush country (Ibid.).

§ 5. (7) ...nn (8) nhw n m$ n
With no loss in our troops.

m$ – army. See the comment of jzw$.

The inscription from Wadi Hamamat 61 states that 1000 soldiers accompanied the squad on the march. (“Each ship of the Ruler (nhw.w n(w)t hq) of the Thebes – 300 soldiers, from the nh nw spt nome – 700.” (Berlev 1980: 6–20). In Egypt the infantry was merely a back up for the fleet which was the main army force. While in campaign the infantrymen were assigned to the vessels and the ship crews were the core of the separate army units.

§ 6. (8) ... ph.n.n (9) phw$ W3w$ t znj.n.n (10) Znmwt
We reached the northern limits of Wawat,
And passed the island of Senmut.

The traditional translation of phw$ is “border”. But underneath this visible upper layer there are complex mythological concepts. The word phw$ does not mean
"border". It means literally "rear, rear part". Egyptians imagined the Earth as a cow whose head was facing south. Hence, the word "horn" acquired the meaning south, and "rump" started to denote north. That is why reaching the northern part of Wawat, the area bordering with Egypt, means simply that Egypt was reached (Berlev 1959: 167).

\textit{Wāwšt}

The country Wawat and its northern border were yet in ancient times considered to be the Egyptian border. For ancient Egyptians Egypt is the country of the flood and the gates to this country were located near the first cataracts of the Nile. There are certain mythological ideas connected to that concept. Here's what the father of history Herodotus, (II. 28) tells us:

"...but as to the sources of the Nile, not one either of the Egyptians or of the Libyans or of the Hellenes, who came to speech with me, professed to know anything, except the scribe of the sacred treasury of Athene at the city of Sais in Egypt. To me however this man seemed not to be speaking seriously when he said that he had certain knowledge of it; and he said as follows, namely that there were two mountains of which the tops ran up to a sharp point, situated between the city of Syene, which is in the district of Thebes, and Elephantine, and the names of the mountains were, of the one Crophi and of the other Mophi. From the middle between these two mountains flowed (he said) the sources of the Nile, which were fathomless in depth, and half of the water flowed to Egypt and towards the North Wind, the other half to Ethiopia and the South Wind. As for the fathomless depth of the source, he said that Psammetichos king of Egypt came to a trial of this matter; for he had a rope twisted of many thousands of fathoms and let it down in this place, and it found no bottom. (Herodotus II, 28).

II 18. "...The god however... said that that land which was Egypt which the Nile came over and watered, and that those were Egyptians who dwelling below the city of Elephantine drank of that river. Thus it was answered to them by the Oracle about this..."(Herodotus II, 18).

During a certain period of the history of the Middle Kingdom the southern border of Egypt may be placed in the area mentioned in Sh.S. 80–10.

The fragment Sh.S. 184–186 ("Who gives water to the bird that will be slain at dawn?") is traditionally interpreted as a proverb or saying. In the town of Abu-Handan in Lower Nubia we come upon a high incidence of inscriptions corresponding to Sh.S. 184–186. (Żaba 1974). These inscriptions refer to the application of harsh measures against members of Egyptian expeditions departing to or returning from Nubia. This was the southern border of Egypt in the early period of the Middle Kingdom before the conquest of the regions south of the first cataracts of the Nile.
Judging by the regnal years mentioned in these inscriptions, the threats are typical for the period between the 29th regnal year of Amenemhe I and the 16th year of the reign of Senwosre I. After the 16th regnal year of Senwosre I no such threats are mentioned.

A similar threat, but in different wording, is expressed in Sh.S. 183–184. The leader of the expedition ḫȝȝ-myfile is convinced that because of the unsuccessful mission he will be delivered to the hands of the executioner. Therefore, the comparison between Sh.S. 183–186 and the rock inscriptions from Lower Nubia suggests that Egypt from The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor belongs to the period the 29th regnal year of Amenemhe I and the 16th year of the reign of his successor Senwosre I.

An earlier date is also possible. According to line 9 of Sh.S. pẖwȝ ḡwȝȝ was the southern boundary of Egypt. Judging by testimonies from the beginning of Dynasty 12, Wawat was conquered in the last 10 years of the reign of Amenemhe I (Grimal 1992: 61). Amenemhe I was famous as the king who “conquered the people of Wawat”:

واجب (Sin B 71–72; Zaba 1974: 34).

“He will subdue the southern countries.”

It follows from the above that the situation in Egypt “reflected” in The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor refers to the rule of Amenemhe I preceding the conquest of the Wawat country, i.e. before the border, mentioned in Sh.S. 80–10, was moved further to the south.

The harsh rule introduced by Amenemhe I in Egypt was continued by his son Senwosre I. However there are is no evidence that such an approach was typical for the next rulers of the Middle Kingdom. That's why Spalinger (Spalinger 1983) compares Amenemhe I with Stalin, supporting his conclusions with examples from contemporary literature.

The proposed timeframe may be extended to a much earlier period – the starting point being the 41st regnal year of Mentuhotpe I. (Mentuhotpe I restored the Egyptian border in the area of the first cataracts of the Nile (Petrice 1888: 16). So the “events” in Sh.S. could be dated within the wide timeframe between the 41st year of Mentuhotpe I and the 16th regnal year of Senwosre I. The frame may be narrowed to the reign of Amenemhe I.

§7. (23)...šm.kwȝ r ḫȝȝ (24) n ḫȝȝ

I headed to the mines of our ruler.

It turns out that when the king sent someone on a mission outside of Egypt, he sent him as part of the body of god, i.e. of his own (royal) body. The inscription of Amenemhe from Hamamat declares:

ẖȝȝ nb ḫȝȝ(w) ḡȝȝ(w) snb(w)
nsw-hjt Nb-t3-wj-Rc "nh(tj) dt
m h3b "t npr jm.f r ...(Gollenisheff 1884–85 L XII,7)
"My Lord, safe and sound, healthy, ruler and master of Egypt Nb-t3-wj-Rc, ever living sent me as God sends his member (a part of himself)."

Another literary monument of the same age, slightly earlier than Hamamat inscription of Amenemhe, also states that the mortal body of the Egyptian man belongs to and is a part of the body of god, i.e. the king. h3tj-c jnj-jtw.f declares that:

3k(w).f w*r mj "t jm.f
ms(w) bjk.t n.t š.f (Clere et Vandier 1948: 46)
"His slave (= servant) and a (consubstantial = mj!) part of his (king's) body, born of a she falcon in his (i.e. king's) nest"

O. Berlev explains that the "she falcon in his (i.e. king's) nest" is undoubtedly the queen mother, hence jnj-jtw.f not only identifies himself with the members of the royal body, but puts a stress on the fact that he intrinsically belongs to the king's body and that from the moment of his birth he was a part of the body of the king, i.e. of the body of the newborn royal infant. Here's the answer to the question about the meaning of the title jnj-jtw.f (given to those sent by the king on a mission outside Egypt like the sun sends his eye as part of itself – My note, S.I.). The holders of this title stress on the fact that they are tools of the king, his body organs that are inherently his since his birth (Berlev 1972: 170).

This idea goes back and is akin to the golden years of the Old Kingdom, or at least it is there that we find a more ancient written evidence. We learn that subjects are part of the royal body from the pyramid of Unas (Pyr. 371a):

nhm W. pn p*t m "t jm.f
"Saves this Unas (people) p*t, (who are) as limbs of his flesh.”

The expeditions after Mentuhotpe III are sent on behalf of the king (Berlev 1972: 155), which is important dating evidence. The leaders of the expeditions were chosen among the court ranks as evidenced by the Hamamat inscription of Amenemhe:

8. stp.n.f w(f) hnt njwt.f
ssbq.kwj hnt šnw.f
“He chose me before the eyes of his city.
I was chosen to every other man in court.”

It is clear that lines 27 and 28 of Papyrus 1115 describe a real practice, which existied in the history of Egypt. Not only the leaders of the expeditions but also their deputies and the key officials were elected in this way. According to king's order the sailors for the Red Sea voyages were also selected in this manner.

... sqd 120 jm.s (28) m stpw n Kmt
"120 sailors were in it – the chosen few of Keme.”
The word *jīj* probably derives from *jt* "father", "forerunner", "ancestor". It is used from the late period of the Old Kingdom to the end of the First Intermediary Period for both the king and the high-ranking mortal Egyptians, who were held in high respect (Hassan 1930: 50; Lorton 1974: 7–8). In a different context the word may denote any senior official, but in the Middle Kingdom the term refers primarily to the king. The suggested translation is "master", "king" (Wb. I, 143; Faulkner 1988: 32), but it must be borne in mind that the shade of meaning "father" is still there. H. Goedicke thinks that *jīj* refers not to the king as an individual but much more - to the kingdom and the kingship (Goedicke 1967: 49 et seq). Underlying this conclusion is the comparison between *jīj* and *nsw* (ibid.). The usage of *jīj* as an epithet in the Middle Kingdom is not very common. Moreover, the examples do not support the assumption of H. Goedike. In tomb No.2 in Beni Hassan Amenemhe is called *jmj-jb jīj gjš.f; "he who is in the heart of the ruler himself". E. Doxey notes that the usage of *gjš.f* aims at describing a particular king, not at expressing the idea of kingdom and kingship as a whole. (Doxey 1998: 119). She has also summarized the whole discussion about *jīj* (ibid.).

§8. (60) kḥ n.j (61) hr.j gm.n.j hḥsw (62) pw jw.f m j.j t n(f)-sw (63) mḥ 30 ḥbswtf wr.s (64) r ḡw.f zhrw (65) m nbw jn.j.fj m ḥsbd (66) m3s c rk(.w) sw r-hnt

I uncovered my face. I found (= saw) that this is a serpent walking (= coming) (to me). He was 30 cubits long. His beard was longer than 2 cubits. His body was made of gold and his eyebrows were of real lapis lazuli. He was towering upward.

The serpent and the circumstances of his appearance require special attention. Here’s what the ancient story teller focuses on:

*shpr.n.j Ĥt jr.j.n.j sb-n-sd.t n ntrw ḫ. n sdm.n.j hrw ṯrj gm.n.j hḥsw pw jw.f m j.j t*

So the serpent appeared after the fire had been kindled and he fire sacrifice has been offered to the gods. This is the first connection of the serpent with the world of gods where fire sacrifice and the prayers of the castaway sailor were heard. The comparison with “Call on me in the day of trouble. I will deliver you, and you will honor me.” (Ps. 50: 15) is somewhat self-evident.

The drama that unfolds on the island, "follows" the story of the of the author of the psalm – appeal to the gods, the appearance of the ruler of the island, who is a serpent deity, pouring the riches of the island on the shipwrecked sailor and the desire of the serpent that his name be glorified in Egypt.
The analyzed fragment Sh.S. 55–62 is the first indication of the all-important fact, widely debated in Egyptology, that the serpent belongs to the world of gods (cf. Lanczkowski, 1953: 239 ff; Goedicke 1974: 58; 65; 83; Bryan 1979: 98). As will soon become clear the name of the serpent and the identity of the deity who has thus manifested itself are encoded in this particular fragment.

Who are the deities that the shipwrecked sailor appeals to? It is written in the text — *nṯr*w in plural. We have a unique evidence referring to the chief priest (*ḥmwwntwrw*) of the gods of the Great green (sea) i.e. where the shipwreck happened.

*jmj-r n ḥmww-nṯr n nṯrw nbw w3d-wrw* (Berlev 1982: 85. 5)

The fragment is from the Nineteenth Dynasty, probably from the time of Ramses II.

The word *nṯr* (“god”) requires special study. Its meaning and contents are not clearly disclosed even in the work of Hornung (Hornung 1982). From Ptolemaic times *nṯr* has been translated as “god” (theos). The focus of the Egyptian ritual are entities called *nṯr*. In the opinion of E. Meeks a common feature shared by all entities, called *nṯr*, is the fact that they are “beneficiaries” of the rituals (Meeks 1988: 425–446).

To my knowledge The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor is the most ancient text where the man appeals to the god directly, without the mediation of priests. This is also the first text describing a meeting between a man and a god.

Sacrifice is a form of communication between two worlds: the daily world and the superreality beyond the everyday world. Sacrifices are also the way of maintaining order in the world. Science explains the mechanism of this type of communication with the “give in order to be given” principle. In M. Mauss’s opinion gifts are evaluated according to the internal state of the giver and suggest that the recipient must donate in return. What is given is what must be received back (Mauss 1923–24: 30–186).

The possibility of direct contact between man and divinity is due to the downfall and the destruction of institutions during the First Intermediary Period. Ipuwer says that then that the magic spells that were once available only to the royal circle, were stolen and became widely known. In Coffin Texts the non-royal owners of these spells obtain the status of gods after they die and the promise of eternity to spend in the company of gods. Thus Egyptians from the Middle Kingdom start to communicate with the gods as never before.

The “fire sacrifice” offered is also subject to debate. Whether the burning of the sacrificial offerings was a common practice remains open for discussion. Scenes from the New Kingdom sometimes show sacrificial offerings consumed by flames. This type of sacrifice is interpreted as offerings to God that God shares with no one.
In the late period the annihilation of the sacrificial offerings in the fire started to symbolize "victims", representing the hostile forces to be destructed.

In the formative years of the Middle Kingdom the instruction of the Heracleopolis king to his son Merikare points out that the good qualities of the aspiring man are preferable to a sacrificial ox offered by an evil person. This is the attitude of the Egyptians of that era to the sacrifices. A similar example is the deity from Sh.S. which in exchange for the good deeds of the shipwrecked sailor expresses one wish only – to be held in high repute in Egypt.

Sh.S. mentions the "fire sacrifice".

The appearance of the serpent after the sacrifice reveals an important didactic element: God comes to help, but you should ask him to do so.

The appearance of the serpent is impressive – all the elements thundered and shook. D. Berg considers verb shpr of Sh.S. 55 a key to everything that happened on the island (Berg 1990 (76): 170) and despite the fact that the proposed analysis is a philological one, it would be reasonable to assume that the deeds outlined in Sh.S. 54–56 have aroused invisible forces as a result of which the Lord of the island, the serpent, appears thundering.

The reason for the thundering appearance of a deity is known from the Old Kingdom. According to the Pyramid Texts the king appears in the divine world in exactly the same way.

Pt nhm.s t3 nmn (Pyr. 1771)
And the sky thunders, the earth quakes...

This idea of the appearance of God has been passed through the millennia and has reached the Bible:

Exodus (19: 16): "And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud."

Also cf. Matthew (27: 51) about crucifixion of Jesus and his passage to the Father: "And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent."

Another text from the time of the Middle Kingdom has been preserved containing a story about a meeting between an Egyptian and a deity. This is the Tale of the Herdsman which appears at the end of the manuscript The Dialogue of a Man and His Soul (conditionally: his soul). (Gardiner 1909a: 16 a–17a).

That image in which the goddess presented herself before the people is as follows:

nn s m hmw w rmt (ibid. 3–4)

She was not in the capacity of ahuman hemu (bodies, images). (i.e. nothing resembling a human body or image).
§ 9. ...(114) ... jw pn n k3
...this island of Ka.

Traditionally the word Ka is translated as “Double”. The tradition is inherited from the XIX century, ever since Champollion, but the translation itself is attributed to G. Maspero. Ka is translated also as a “person”, “guardian”, “genius”, “food”. The analysis of the main ideas and references is collected in my study “An Attempt at Interpretation of the Ancient Egyptian Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor” (Ignatov 1988: 148–151).

In recent years the traditional view has been appended with new interpretations such as “energy”, “energy double”, etc. I would only note only that such notions are alien to the world view of Ancient Egyptian people. What did not exist in the language of the ancient Egyptians did not exist in their world either.

What is the Ancient Egyptian notion of the Double? Three evidences from the Pyramid Texts provide specific and unambiguous descriptions.

\[j\bar{f} \ j \vec{w} \ j\bar{f} \ jw \ k3.k \ hmsj \ k3.k \ wnm.f \ t \ hn^r \ n \ wr \ n \ d.t \ d.t \ (Pyr. 789)\]

Wash yourself so that your double may wash himself and that your double sit down and eat bread and beer with you without cessation for ever and ever.

\[\text{tgj} \ tw \ 3h \ p(w) \ P. \ pn \ hmsj \ w\ddot{\ddot{s}}b.k \ hmsj \ k3.k \ wnm.f \ t3 \ hn^r.k \ n \ nwr \ n \ d.t \ d.t \ (Pyr. 1357)\]

Raise yourself, O spirit of this King, sit down and eat; may your double sit down and eat bread and beer with you without cessation for ever and ever.

\[\ddot{s}\ddot{s}p \ sw \ hr \ (j)r \ db^c.wJ \ jf(j) \ s(w)b.f \ Wmjnjs \ pn \ s\ddot{\ddot{s}}b \ sfjhw.f \ k3 \ n \ Wmjnjs \ pn \ m \ s \ d3.tj \ jsk.f \ jwf \ n \ k3 \ n \ Wmjnjs \ pn \ n \ d.t.f \ (Pyr 372)\]

Horus accepts him beside him, he purifies this King in the Jackal Lake, he cleanses this King’s double in the Lake of the Netherworld, he wipe sover the flesh of this King’s double and of his own...

Hence Ka is an entity of flesh, he washes himself, he eats (see Perepelkin 1988: 379, 2000: 167) According to Y. Perepelkin Ancient Egyptians “have presented the Double as closely connected to man, but he has never been a part of his body and has never been deemed as existing outside his body” (Perepelkin 1966: 9). Perepelkin also underline that “in Egyptian language “Double” and “food” are the same “Ka”(ibid., also Wb. V 91).

Additional information on the nature of Ka could be obtained from the following lines from the Pyramid Texts:

\[\text{psd} \ b.wj \ jwn.f \ hr \ ntrw \ shp.f \ k3 \ n \ W. \ pn \ n \ d.t.f \ r \ hwt \ s.t \ (Pyr. 373)\]

...when the Two Lands shine again and he clears the vision of the gods. He conducts this King’s double and his own to the Great Mansion...
Perepelkin's comment that in Egyptian language "Double" and "food" are the same "Ka" refer to that ecerpt (ibid.).

\( n \text{ d.t.k h.t nb(t)} n k3 \text{ W. h.t nb(t)} n \text{ d.t.f ht nb.(t)} \) (Pyr. Utt. 50)

O Re... if all things belong to yourself, then all things will belong to the double of the King, all things will belong to himself...

So apart from the complex connection between the notion of the "Double" and "food" there is a notion that the "Double" has property. The fragment quoted expresses a certain hierarchy:

1. God Re
2. The king's Double
3. The king himself.

Hence the notion of the "double" (Ka) is inextricably linked with the idea of form (= body). After the extinction of the bodily life in the netherworld is a life through Ka and in Ka (Ignatov 2004: 162).

\textbf{§ 10.} ...\( (147) \) ...mj \( jrrt \ n \ ntr \ mrr \ (148) \ r(m)\) \( m \ t3 \ w3 \ n \ rh \ sw \ r(m)\)

...As is due to a deity who loves people from a distant land, unknown to the mortals.

The analyzed fragment contains evidence of the divine nature of the serpent from the Island of Ka. Sh.S. 147–148 named him \( ntr \ mrr \ r(m)\) – "the people (= Egyptians) loving God". W. Simpson is the author of a special study of love – amor dei. He notes that the term \( mrrj \) was generally used to denote love that was given by God and was received by the king or by the mortal Egyptians. The king's or a person's love of God is only rarely expressed by that term. For example, in Egypt before the epoch of Ramses these relationships were expressed as follows:

1. The love of God to the king or a man is expressed by the term \( mrrj \).
2. The opposite relationship: the love of man to the God or the king was most frequently expressed by the term \( dw3 \) (Simpson 1977).

The expression of love to mankind (=Egypt), which we find in the \textit{Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor} is the only example from the earlier periods, i.e. before the New Kingdom (Hornung 1982: 202).

\( t3 \ w3 \ n \ rh \ sw \ r(m)\)

The idea of Punt is encoded in this expression. The fact is confirmed only a few lines later by the lord of the island himself (Sh.S. 151).

In the texts from the temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, devoted to the expedition, which she sent to Punt, the exclamations of the amazed natives who went to meet the Egyptian ships, have been preserved:

"How did you go to ..." (literally: Why did you reach...)

\( R \ h3s.t \ tn \ hm.t \ nn \ r(m)\)
"This country, which is unknown to people (= Egyptians)?"

"Have you come here down the road of heaven, or have you sailed on water, on
the sea of God’s land? Or you marched on the roads of Re? "(Urk. IV 324)

The description “deity who loves people from a distant land” (Sh.S. 147–
148) actually encodes t3-ntr “land of God” (= the divine/God’s land) that in the
description of the voyage of Hatshepsut’s expedition is equaled to Punt.

ssp tp-w3t hfr r t3 ntr

\(d(w) r t3 m htp r h3st Pwnt\) (Urk. IV 322)

"Making a good voyage to God’s land; landing in peace in the country of
Punt."

\$ 11. (159) ... jmj rn.j nfr(w) m njwt.k

Make my name \(nfr\) in your town!

In the world of ancient Egyptians the name has ritual and magical power. It is
a vital part of the personality. Here’s what Perepeolkin writes about the name: “In
the Old Kingdom the name was perceived as a specific soul or essence. The name
lived, it was capable of feeling bad. It could be delivered, man could prosper to-
gether with his name. Knowledge of the name gave others power over the man who
bore it, that’s why it was important for the man to have a highly cherished name,
unknown even to his own mother. Since the name denoted the personality, keeping
the name was equal to preserving the personality. Pyramid inscriptions suggest a
direct link between king’s eternity and the preservation of his name. What else was
the anxious reminding of the royal name to future generations if not a perpetua-
tion of his power forever?” (Perepeolkin 1988: 386).

Further on Perepelkin stresses on the link between the king’s name and the
pyramid. “The pyramid represented the king’s name, it was already perceived as the
king himself and the word “pyramid” was represented by his name!” (Perepelkin

The views of Perepelkin are actually a comment to an excerpt from “a prayer
for the king and his pyramid”, which is worth quoting as it explains the request of
the serpent from the Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor:

j3 psd.t 53.t jmj.t jwnw rdj.tn rwd n. rdj.tn rwd mr pn n(j) N k3.t.f tn n d.t d.t mj
rwd (j)r rnx ntw nhtj psd.t 53.t (Pyr. 1660)

O, you Great Ennead which is in On, make the King’s (name) endure, make this
pyramid of this King and this construction of his endure for ever, just as the name
of Atum who presides over the Great Ennead endures.

The fragment quoted underlines the connection between the name and
monument.
The serpent’s request to be have his name nfrw in the city of the Egyptian sailor receives a detailed interpretation in Thutmose’s I stela in Abydos:

\[ \text{jrm} \text{hmr} \text{j} \text{nn} \text{n} \text{jt} \text{j} \text{Wsjr} \\
\text{n} \text{mrwt} \text{mn} \text{rn} \text{j} \text{rwd} \text{mnw} \text{j} \\
\text{smnh} \text{mnw} \text{nw} \text{hmw} \text{j} \text{dm} \text{rn} \text{j} \text{sh3} \text{nht} \text{j} \text{Urk. IV 100–101} \]

Make my hemu a hemu for my father Osiris,
so that my name endures and my monuments be indestructible.
Decorate the monuments of my hemu, say my name, remember my titulary.

Here are a few more examples that explain what does it mean for a name to be nfr:

\[ \text{wnn} \text{b3} \text{f} \text{nh} \text{r} \text{nb} \text{dr} \\
\text{rn} \text{f} \text{nfr} \text{m} \text{r} \text{nhw} \\
\text{sh3} \text{f} \text{sh} \text{f} \text{n} \text{d} \text{t} \text{Urk. IV 62} \]

Let his Ba be in the hand of the Lord of All,
Let his name be nfr (nice, young) in the mouth of the living!
He is remembered, his fame is eternal!

An interesting parallel is the famous excerpt from the pyramid of Piope:

\[ \text{nfr} \text{n} \text{Ppj} \text{pn} \text{hn} \text{r} \text{f} \\
\text{nh} \text{Ppj} \text{pn} \text{hn} \text{k3} \text{f} \text{Urk. IV} \text{75} \]

Young is this Piope with his name,
Alive is this Piope with his Ka.

The inscription of Rnj from the time of Dynasty 18 suggests a similar state of the name comparable to the desire of the serpent:

\[ \text{rn} \text{nfr} \text{m} \text{t3} \text{r} \text{dr} \text{f} \text{Urk. IV, 75} \]

Young is my name in my country as far as its borders.

The examples show that the name rn is associated with the notion of nfr, while nh may be the state of the b3 or the state of the deceased with his Ka. There are numerous similar examples.

Since the beginning of the Old Kingdom Egyptians often have two names:
1. rn f3 – the long formal name that is either theoforic or basilophoric (i.e. incorporates the name of a deity or king).
2. *rn nds* — the small short name, which in the majority of the cases is an abbreviation of the long name. Later *rn nds* was replaced by *rn nfr* — “the good young name” acquired by the Egyptian shortly after birth; it characterized the man and enhanced his status. This name lost its importance at the end of the Old Kingdom and virtually disappeared during the Middle Kingdom (Doxey, OEAE, II, 490–491).

In Berlev’s opinion the problem of *rn nfr* is identical to *nfr nfr*. The solution depends on clarifying the contrast between the epithets “big”, “great” and “beautiful”, “wonderful” that are combined either with the noun “god” or the noun “name”. In both cases the epithet “beautiful” is a euphemism of the word “small” which normally is an antonym of the epithet “big”, “great”. Thus the active couple “big/small” should be interpreted as “adult/young”. A possible shade of meaning is “greater”, “older” and “younger”. The “little name” was opposed to the “big name”. Ultimately “beautiful, lovely” is the euphemism for “small” in the meaning of “young” (Berlev 1982: 44). “The “young name” is given after birth. It is the infant’s name, the informal name” (ibid.). It follows from the aforesaid that in Sh.S. 159 the serpent wants his cult to be established in Egypt, his everyday name to be pronounced in Egypt and following the pattern of the establishment of the “young name” given at birth, the desire of the serpent suggests that his image should be made as well. According to The Palermo stone for example, the birth of a deity means creating his image (Schafer 1902 = Urk I, 235–249).

If this is the meaning of words of the serpent in Sh.S. 159, then the generally accepted idea of the serpent as the Creator god (Baines 1990: 52–72), whose daughter is the goddess Maat (Derchain-Urteil 1974: 83–104) appears to be an artificial structure which doesn’t fit in the context of the *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*.

In Sh.S. 159 we find the first and only mention of *rn* — “name”. The name of the serpent is not mentioned directly anywhere in the text, but it is obvious that the Egyptian sailor has an idea about whom he converses with.

The *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* observes the established Egyptian rule that the name of the deity should not be mentioned. The name of the god or the king is most cherished, it is a secret.

*hm n mwt.f rn.f* (Pyr 394)

Whose mother knows not his name.

§ 12. (8) . . . *rnpj.k* (9) *m hnw qrst.k*

You will rejuvenate in the capital (= at home) and you will be buried.
Rnpj – “you will rejuvenate!

The words of the serpent are a succinct expression of the most important notion in the life of ancient Egyptians – the funeral in Egypt, which opens the gates of life after the death the body. Cf. Sh.S. 123.

This is what Sinuhe dreams for:

Jh rnpj ḫw j (Sin. B 167)

“Oh, may my body be rejuvenated.”

Many more examples could be added to the analyzed excerpt but I will give only one quote from Book of the Dead, which is very significant:

mḥw.kwj rnpj.kwj rḥ nb (BD. LXXXVII)

I am renewed, I do rejuvenate each day!

This expression is taken from a spell transforming a man into a snake, from Book of the Dead, papyrus Ani. The example shows that the Egyptian idea of rejuvenation after merging with the earth is very stable. The appearance of this notion in the Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor is indicative of its important role in the worldview of Ancient Egyptians (Moreover, Sh.S. does not belong to the group of writings about the afterlife!).

Indeed, if life leaves the body of the Egyptian, while he resides outside of Egypt, then he falls within the sway of death quite literally:

hr ḫm nfr w3ḥ-jb
nhm wj m r m(w)t
jw k3.k r rdj.t
jrr.j pḥwj ḫw j m ḫnw (Sin. B 202–204)

Great is the mercy that saves me from death!

Your Ka will allow me to make the end of my body members in the capital.

In Ancient Egypt funeral is salvation from death! Therefore when the serpent tells the silor rnpj.k “you will rejuvenate” he actually means “you will die”.

Rejuvenation in death is commented by I. Livshits. In his comment to the translation of Tale of Sinuhe he emphasized that “rejuvenation” is expressed in the desire for “eternal life” which, according to the Egyptian notion means that the deceased must be buried in Egypt in compliance with all prescribed funerary rituals and rites. One of the most important moments in these rituals is laying the mummy of the deceased in the sarcophagus, which is prepared and inscribed in a strict manner. “There are extinct texts where we find the notion about the coffin being the mother of the deceased – the sky goddess Nut. This goddess is
often depicted on the inner surface of the lid of the coffin as a woman prostrated over the dead man lying in coffin. According to the ancient Egyptians when placed in the coffin the dead man was placed in the bosom of his mother, the goddess of heaven, and was born again, as the goddess Nut gives birth to the infant (Livshits 1979: 187, Rusch 1922).

In conclusion we can say that the Ancient Egyptian Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor is an esoteric treatise describing the meeting of a man and a deity at the end of the inhabited world and is a summary of the main ideas forming the mental picture, the worldview of the Egyptians from the Classical period. The extreme conditions permit the “image of Egypt” to be put into focus and to be seen and studied as it were in the minds and hearts of the ancient inhabitants of the Nile valley, i.e. Heaven upon Earth, the centre of the created world and Gates to eternity.

THE MORPHOLOGY OF CLASSICAL EGYPT

1. The text of pHermitage 1115 about a meeting and a dialogue between a man and a deity became possible due to the dramatic changes in Egyptian religion at the fall of the Old Kingdom.
2. The meeting between a man and a deity takes place in a religious environment, characterized by the claims of mortal Egyptians for royal bliss in the afterlife.
3. After the collapse of the Old Kingdom every Egyptian becomes a deity after his death and his flesh becomes divine.
4. The substance of the divine flesh is deemed to be pure gold.
5. The king is in the center of the universe. He always dwells in “henu” which literally means “environment, centre, core, interior” and its derivatives. Henu could be translated conditionally as “residence”, “capital” but this translation does not reflect the meaning and the content of the concept.
6. In the text the king is mentioned only with the term “iti”, derivative of “it”, “father”. He is father of the creation and of the Egyptians.
7. The king and the Egyptians are of the same nature. Subjects are part of the body of the king, they were in the womb of the queen mother and were born together with the royal infant as an essential part of his body.
8. This phenomenon is particularly true for those Egyptians who were sent by the king on a mission in a distant area outside Egypt. Such is the case of the Egyptian in pHermitage 1115. Being sent by the king, he was given the title “iri hi nisut”, which shows that he belongs to the King’s body, and to the placenta in the womb of the queen mother in particular.
9. In the text the Egyptians deem Egypt as “our land”. This is the earliest such reference to the country by that name and its meaning corresponds to “tameri”, i.e. “Beloved land”.

10. The expression “mines of our ruler” (= Punt) indicates that this text, as well as the Tale of Sinuhe is dominated by the idea that the king rules over everything above which the sun disk moves – from the Mediterranean islands in the north to Punt (Somalia) in the south.

11. The inhabited world is surrounded by water. The lexis of the text is consistent with the idea of Nun – the primordial ocean, the state beyond space and time.

12. The boundaries of the world are guarded by serpent deities. What these creatures have in common is their length – 30 cubits (approx. 15 m) and the gold as the substance of their divine flesh.

13. In the eyes of the Egyptian people the appearance of the god is fearsome. Yet for all their might gods are only slightly different from people:
   - under certain circumstances gods are mortal;
   - they are subjected to the providence of the creator;
   - they suffer;
   - they are dependent on the king of Egypt, which alone has the power to establish their cult, the worship of their name, their birth as images;
   - gods offer sacrifices to the king so that their cult be established in Egypt. This is the meaning of the gifts they sent to the king;
   - god’s prophecy comes true unlike the prophecies of most eminent humans;
   - god as a potency possesses all the riches which Egyptians are striving for. This wealth, however, is placed in the service of the pharaoh.

14. Humans and deities have multiple “souls” that are material. The most important one which is connected to the womb, is the heart ib, which is a receptacle of the mind, the feelings and the emotions, it is the “Double” in the body, but both the heart ib and the processes connected to it are material. This heart can communicate. It is like a second self and under certain circumstances is a material being.

15. The Double relates to the notion of abundance because of his connection with sacrificial food, ensuring him a satiated life.

16. The name is a creature that could be heard, it can be either young or old.

17. Egypt is a gateway to eternity. Here is the family, the earthly joys but also the opportunity for a burial according to the instructions providing a tomb with a fully unfolded double world within, a replete life with the double and through the double, a young name, praises by the king and following the steps of the great god in the afterlife.
This is the reading of the esoteric text the about meeting between a man and a mysterious deity on an island beyond the limits of the human world. An island which, like the primary hill appears in service of the Egyptian man and the Egyptian king and will disappear in the waves in Nun.

The main difference between pHermitage 1115 and the Tale of Sinuhe is the fact that the Egyptian man in pHermitage of 1115 is a messenger of the king in a distant country outside the boundaries of Egypt and as a messenger acts like a part of the king’s body, activated by king’s power. While Sinuhe is a fugitive from Egypt, he was dropped out of the body of the Pharaoh and at the end of his life prays to be accepted back in god’s bosom. There is a significant ideological difference between the two texts, which are only superficially similar.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BD – Book of the dead
CAH – Cambridge Ancient History
JEA – The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
OEAE – The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt
Wb – Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache

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The Shadow of the Dead and its Representations

Teodor Lekov

The vignettes to Spell 92 of BD are considered to be one of the sources for representations of the shadow in a human form. It is generally suggested that the black figure at the entrance of the tomb in some variants of the vignette, represents the shadow of the deceased. This view is based solely on the title of the spell which mentions Ba and the Shadow: “Spell for opening of the tomb for the Ba and the Shadow of NN., so that he may come out in the day and have power over his legs”. This conclusion is taken for granted in too many works to be cited here but it’s still worth considering in more details. Special attention on the problem of the representation of BD Spell 92 vignette is paid only in few works.

Most of the vignettes for BD Spell 92 show the entrance of the tomb or funerary chapel and a flying Ba towards the door of the tomb or out of it. The Ba can be accompanied by the deceased, represented as a living person. In some cases this figure is shown opening the tombs door. In pap. Ani (BM 10470) the man is depicted twice – visiting the tomb and leaving the tomb together with the flying Ba hovering over him. This kind of representation obviously suggested going in and out of the tomb. Inscriptions with the name and titles of the deceased, if such exist, are orientated to point in the same direction as of the living person, or in the direction of the Ba, if the person is not represented. Thus the most important elements of the representation are Ba (in movement) and the tomb (with its doors) as is simply shown on the vignette from pap. Nebseni (BM 9900 (Aa)).

The image of the black human figure is represented in the following variants of the vignette from BD Spell 92:

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1 This opinion is widespread, see inter al. in the later general works - F. Sayfried 1998, 262; Taylor 2001, 24; J.P. Allen 2001, 278.
3 pap. BM 9949 (Ap); pap. Boulaq 21 (Cc); pap. Turin 1791= Lepsius 1842, Taf XXXIII where the dead opens a shrine with the Ba in it.
4 Milde 1991, 228.
1) pap. Neferubenef (18th dyn.)\(^1\) (fig. 1).
2) pap. Neferenpet (19th dyn.)\(^2\) (fig. 2).
3) pap. Anchesenmwt (21st dyn.)\(^3\) (fig. 3).
4) TT 219 – Nebenmaat (19th dyn.)\(^4\) (fig. 4)
5) TT 290 – Iri-nefer (19th dyn.)\(^5\) (fig. 5).

The black silhouette is shown in the entrance of the chapel in 2), 3), 4) or in front of the tomb but close to the entrance – 1), 4). Obviously the black image is linked with the tomb and is perceived as its inhabitant. Moreover, in cases where Ba is depicted, it is shown flying towards the black image. This means that Ba and the black silhouette are understood as separate entities and the accent of these images in the vignette is that they meet each other at the tomb. Could it be possible that the shadow of the dead is such an entity, which resides in the tomb and meets Ba when it opens the doors of the tomb? The text to Spell 92 of the BD could help us to answer this question. In the text the shadow is shown only together with Ba. First in the title of the Spell and then in an invocation towards the guardians of Osiris:

\[
iw \; hhw \; r \; hr.w.tn \; lrj.w \; Wsjr
m \; hnj \; b3.j \; s\;wt \; s\;wt.j
wn \; wt.t \; n \; b3.j \; n \; s\;wt.j \; m33.f \; ntr.-c3
m \; hn.w \; krj \; hrw \; ip \; b3.w
whm.f \; mdw \; n \; Wsjr
\]

“When the darkness is (fallen) towards your faces, O guardians of Osiris, do not restrain my Ba, do not guard my Shadow, open a way for my Ba, for my Shadow, so that it (Ba) may gaze upon the Great God in the interior of his shrine (in) the day of counting Ba’s. Then it (Ba) will repeat the words for Osiris.”\(^6\)

Striking in this passage is the fact that although the two terms are mentioned when speaking of the action of the deceased only the Ba is envisaged. So we have “It (Ba) repeats”, “It (Ba) looks at” not “they” for both Ba and the Shadow. This

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\(^1\) Naville 1886, CIV, (Pb).
\(^2\) Milde 1991, Pl. 41.
\(^3\) Saleh 1984, Abb. 60.
\(^4\) Saleh 1984, Abb. 61 (Ba is not depicted on the fig. because it lacks in the photography).
\(^6\) Naville 1886, CIV.
observation leads us to two options. First, Ba and the Shadow are thought as a composite, as something complex and undistinguishable. In this case Ba moves freely together with the Shadow as its component (or a reflection, or some aspect of its nature). Ba (and Shadow) go in/and out of the tomb. Then, the Shadow is not represented in the vignette at all. The only representation is that of the flying Ba, which concentrates in itself both aspects of the person in this free movement—his Ba and his Shadow. The cited above passage leads us in this direction for an explanation. Both words are employed in the text as aspects of a whole, like the two sides of a coin. Moreover, the word for Ba is used twice in the text from the Spell without mentioning the Shadow. In the rubric of the Spell (preserved in pap. Ani) the Shadow is also lacking:

\[ ir\ r\ h\ r\ p\ n\ w\ f\ p\ r\ m\ h\ r\ w\ n\ n\ h\ n\ j\ .\ t\ w\ b\ \ f.\]

"As for him who knows this spell, he will go out in the day without his Ba being restrained."

The second option is that Ba is movable element of the person but the Shadow is not. The Shadow remains in the tomb where it is motionless and awaits for Ba to visit it. The dark silhouette in the entrance of the tomb could then be the Shadow of the dead. The only known to me instance where the Shadow is envisaged as body, similar to the dark silhouette is in a determinative of the word for shadow, used in the ritual of Opening of the mouth in the tomb of Seti I\(^2\) (fig.6).

Speaking in favor of this interpretation are the qualifications of the guardians (\(irjw/sât\)) of Osiris in Spell 92 from BD. They are \(sêt\ \ Ws\) - "guardians of the flesh of Osiris", \(s\ jw\ \ h\) - "guardians of Akhw-spirits", \(s\ jw\ \ s\ w\ t\ mw\ jw\) – "guardians of the shadow(s) of the dead", but also they are \(h\ m\ j\ w\ \ s\ w\ t\ mw\ jw\) – "The ones who seal the shadow(s) of the dead". The last example may serve as evidence that the Shadow is "sealed" in the tomb. On the other hand some texts support the idea that the Shadow is similar to the body and that Ba can rest upon it, for example in TT 219:

\[ h\ t\ p\ b\ j.\ s\ n\ h\ r\ s\ w\ t\ s\ n.\]

"Their Ba rest on their shadows.\(^3\)"

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1 J.P. Allen 2001, 277: "two parts of a single entity".
2 Otto 1960, 29 (Sz.10 I, 2); Hornung 1991, 142, Abb. 102.
3 Maystre 1936, Pl. 9; George 1970, 100-106 with the examples.
We have to widen the perimeters of our research studying more closely the imagery of the Spells like BD Spell 92 and also to look for clues in the iconography of the black figure at the entrance of the tomb. Spell 92 from the BD has its parallels in the preceding Coffin texts. The spell is an outcome of a long period of development. It includes in itself parts of Spells 97, 491-499, 500 and 570 of the Coffin texts. The same theme, for free movement of the Ba and the Shadow is frequently expressed in this body of texts. In these texts Ba and the Shadow are thought as a whole of a person together with Akh:

\[ i b₃.j i 3h.j i śwt.j wn.k ś.wj ptr.wj m-snw 3ht shm.k [rd.wf].k m b₃ ʒnḥ \]

"O my Ba, O my Akh, O my Shadow, open the shutters of the sky-windows within the Akhet.
May you have power over your legs as a living Ba." ¹

A similar expression had survived in later tomb inscription as for example in a prayer from the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11) of 18th dyn.:

\[ ir.k w3t n b₃.j 3h.j śwt.j \]

"Lets you make a way for my Ba, my Akh and my Shadow"².

It had also survived in some of the variants of Spell 92 from the BD, for example in the pap. Neferrenpet as Milde has observed³.

Yet the three aspects of the personality are shown as entities which move together toward the corpse. In a late inscription of a funeral bed from Roman period, now in Berlin, we learn of the movement of the dead that:

"You go forth as a Ba, you fly as a Shadow, you move as rightful Akh, to see his Corpse"⁴.

In other cases the entities in the spells are not only Ba, Akh and the Shadow, but also the Magic (ḥkšw) of the man. In Spells 491, 492, 500 (B3L) for example they are

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¹ CT Spell 488 = CT.VI 67; Faulkner 1973-1978, II, 132. Note the comment of Faulkner on B9C, where the three entities are referred to with the sing. suffixes.
² Urk.IV 446, 5-9.
³ Milde 1991, 230; Pl. 42,1.
grouped in two pairs – Ba and Akh, and the Shadow and the Magic using only one suffix 1 sg. for each group\(^1\), or they are grouped Ba and the Shadow, Akh and the Magic in the same manner\(^2\).

An interesting example is shown by the passage that describes mutual relationship between Ba and the Shadow in Spell 493 and 495. When the man has escaped from the dangers in the Beyond and has reached the Akhet it is said that his Ba and Shadow are together near the corpse:

\[iw \text{ b3.j n dt.f iw šwt.j n c.s} \]

"My Ba belongs to my body, my Shadow is at its side (of the body)"\(^3\).

In the corpora of BD Spells there is another spell that shows similarity with the theme of BD Spell 92. It’s BD Spell 188\(^4\). This spell has its precedence in CT Spell 413\(^5\) but the two spells vary considerably. The aim of the spells is "to send the Ba in the necropolis". The most important part of the text gives us the impression of this voyage:

\[sīh.k \text{ b3. šwt.j (qr B3 šwt nt NN) m33.sn R c m inw.f} \]
\[dbh.f šm.f iw.f šhm.f m rd.wj.fr m33 sw z pn \]
\[m bw nb ntj.f im m kmtw.mj m sš3w.j m irw.j n 3h \text{ pr ntr.(j)} \]
\[(r) \text{ psd.f m R c hp.f m hwt-hr} \]
\[(i) \text{ sk rdj.n.k šm b3.j šm šwt.j (šm.irw.j) m rd.wj.sn r bw ntj z pf im} \]
\[c\text{h.c.f hms.f šm b3.f r prf n dt.f} \]

"May you glorify (makeAk) my Ba and my Shadow, so that they may see Re in his gifts. He bags that he may come and go, that he may have power in his legs, so that this man may see him in every place where he is, in my nature and in my wisdom, in may form of a true Akh, equipped and divine, (so) he shines as Re, he travels as Hathor. Therefore you have granted that my Ba may walk, that my Shadow may walk, (that my form may walk) on their feet to the place where that man is.

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\(^1\) CT.VI 69a; 71a and 71k; 83g; 84q; 85f.
\(^2\) CT. VI 70b.
\(^3\) CT.VI 74i; 77d; Cf. Faulkner 1973-1987, II, 134, 135 and 136 note 8.
\(^4\) Budge 1910, III, 111-112 from the pap. of Nu (Brit.Mus. 10477); The resemblance is pointed out also in the work of Lloyd - Lloyd 1989, 127.
\(^5\) CT. V 240 – 243.
That he may stand and sit, that his Ba may walk to the house of his own body (i.e. the tomb)\(^1\).

This BD Spell has its precedence in some Spells from the Coffin texts. For example Spell 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104 which contain similar formulas that enable Ba to be seen by “that man”\(^2\). In these formulas, Ba and the Shadow are connected as a single entity, and Ba is seen in his “form” or a “shape”, for example in Spell 101:

“...in order that man may see you, in my real shape of a divine dignitary, wherever he is. He stands and sits while you are before him until this Ba and this Shadow of mine pass by him.”\(^3\)

Ba and the Shadow could be seen in the form of an Akh:

\[\text{isj isj b3.j m33 ñw z pʃ h'.t(j) lft hrf m bñ nb nñ(j) f infinitely long n hrf m trw n 3h} \]

“Go, go my Ba, that the man may see you. Stand opposite him wherever he is. Go up into his sight in the form of an Akh.”\(^4\)

This passage enables us to make two observations. First, that Ba and the Shadow may see the sun god if they are glorified (make Akh). Furthermore, they could be seen in the form of an Akh. And second, although the difficulties in identifying the uses of the personal pronouns and the meaning of the mysterious “that man”, it's clear that Ba and the Shadow move together in one direction to “the place where that man is”.

The BD Spell 188 has additional title: “building the houses (i.e. tomb in the Beyond) and going forth by day as a man”. It also shows some differences – “May you glorified (make Akh) (me?) as a Ba and Shadow, so that it (the Shadow) may see there, that it (the Shadow) may see him (Ba), assigned in every place where he is...”. In the place of “true form of an Akh equipped and divine”, in BD Spell 188 we have: “true form of a Ba...”. Here if the suffix pronoun for sg. 3 fem. is assigned to the Shadow the sense could be that the Shadow is enabled to see the Ba in every place. Comparing the two spells, it could be supposed that there are three personages – Ba and the Shadow, and on the other side – “that man”, a designation with some euphemistic fluids in it, which could be a term for the deceased. These personages

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\(^1\) CT. V 240d-e – 243a-c.

\(^2\) CT. II 94, 96, 98, 102, 104, 108, 110, 111.

\(^3\) CT. II 102-104. Note here the variants with the Shadow and Ba in S1 and G2T – b3.j šwt.j pn – here demonstrative pronoun is used for both Ba and the Shadow as a single entity in masc., i.e. Ba is leading noun, and the var. with b3.j pn šwt.j tn .

\(^4\) CT. II 110.
have to recognise each other, so that Ba and the Shadow may visit “that man.” This resembles the key elements from the iconography of the vignette of BD Spell 92. Ba (together with the Shadow, which is not seen) visits the “that man”, which is in the tomb?

Although it is difficult to establish a complex and ultimate picture of these realities, the evidences show that the movement of the deceased is conceived as the movement of Ba. The person in this process of movement is some kind of composite whole between Ba, Akh, the Shadow and the magical powers of the dead. The magical powers and Akh here are more like qualities or conditions through which the person could move freely. The same notion requires that Ba and the Shadow should be spiritualised (made Akh, or more appropriate “made effective”). In the later version of these spells only Ba and the Shadow are mentioned but also the Shadow is not described as something separate from the Ba. It is more like another aspect of the same movement. So, the Shadow could not be the inert inhabitant of the tomb towards which Ba is going, and consequently the black figure in the tomb is not a representation of the Shadow. Most of the vignettes of Spell 92 from BD confirm this thesis – only Ba is represented, flying toward the tomb. But what is of such importance in Spell 92 from BD which the ancient scribe has wanted to express by the black silhouette in the entrance of the tomb. We have to analyse more deeply the iconography of the vignette in BD Spell 92.

Four main points are considerable here: 1) that the figure is linked with the tomb, it is its inhabitant; 2) Ba is oriented towards the black figure; 3) the figure is black; 4) the figure is nude; 5) the representations with the figure are always with the black disk. Let’s examine some of these elements.

The black silhouette, but in lying position is used in the Spell 85 from BD in some papyri. In these variants the vignette is almost the same as some variants of the BD Spell 89, where the Ba is lying on the body of the deceased. The title of the spell supports the idea that the lying body is the corpse of the dead: “Spell for giving the union of the Ba with the corpse.” And again, there is no concordance among the scholars as to what this black figure in the BD 85 represents. According to Milde the black figure in pap. Louvre III 89 (Pc) is the “prone shadow of the deceased”, although he correctly stresses that in the BD Spell there is no reference whatsoever to a shadow. His observation on the placement of the vignettes in the Book of the Dead, leads him to conclude that the rare vignette to Spell 85 from BD with a hovering Ba over a lying black figure is a misunderstanding, due to the

1 Naville 1886, XCVII (Pc).
2 Naville 1886, CI (Cc).
replacement of the vignettes, and that the vignette is actually an illustration to the BD Spell 89. If this is correct the lying black figure is the body or the corpse of the deceased. In a similar manner the black figure is also shown in other monuments as on some of the Late coffins, where it represents the dead body (standing or lying) in the different phases of the process of the mummification.

The black is the colour of dead, it can symbolise the process of death, or the state where the body is prepared to reach the new life. This symbolic of the black figure is evident elsewhere in the Egyptian monuments. The dead could also be represented in the scene of the Judgement sometimes as a black figure of a child combining two phases of its transformation (birth (child) and dead (black))³. An interesting example is depicted on the ointment container of gold, inlaid with coloured glass from the tomb of Tutankhamun, in the form of kings cartouches (no.240)⁴. Here the representation of the king in the prenomen (Nb-hprw-R) of his cartouches is equivalent to the sign “kheperu” — “transformation”. So, it is clear that the four representations of the king are his “kheperu” or his manifestations. These four manifestations reflect the four stages of his life cycle: king child (orange), adult king (red), dead king (black) and the king’s child (orange) which has to be reborn again⁵. The black representations of the king are characteristic feature of his Ka. The statues of king’s Ka are black. The most famous example of these statues is the wooden figure of the king Hor from Dahshur with arms, representing the sign of Ka above the head of the figure⁶ and the two black statues of the king Tutankhamun from his tomb in KV⁷. Statues of this type are attested long before Tutankhamun. Some of them are found in the Valley of the Kings as those of Thutmosis III, Ramesses I and Ramesses IX but not in good condition. The same type of statue is represented in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100), where the workers are shown preparing it⁸. The statue of the king Hor is black because of the natural colour of the wood and is not painted. The later statues however are painted in black, in the same manner as on the representation from the tomb of Rekhmire. Obviously the black colour is linked with the idea of Ka. Lisa Maniche comments that black colour of the king’s Ka statues is used to symbolise “a particular stage in the transformation of the king after his physical death. Black is the starting point of the rites that centre on the mysteries at Buto, preparatory of the rebirth of the

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¹ Milde 1991, 187-188.
³ Maniche 1979, 17; Seeber 1976, 101-106 and fig. 20 on p. 73.
⁴ Reeves 1990, 158.
⁵ Maniche 1979, 17; Maniche 1982, 10; Wilkinson 1996, 115 ill. 73.
⁷ One of the statues is inscribed as king’s Ka, see Bell 1985, 256; Reeves 1990, 128-129.
⁸ N. Davies 1973, Pl. LV.
king in the marshes. The royal Ka (black) there will be united with the goddess Hathor and will create Ihy, the black child of Hathor". Another example of this idea is represented by the statue of king Amenophis II at Deir el-Bahari, where the king painted in black is placed between the front legs of the heavenly cow, but he is shown painted red to suck from the cow breast. We find in relief the same black representation of the king in the chapel of Hathor from the temple of Deir el-Bahari, where the king is Thutmosis III. Without entering into details of the iconography of this king's representation, it is evident that the Ka is represented as a black figure. This figure is shown as a striding man holding a stick in one hand and a sceptre in the other. In some cases the figure is nude (the Ka of Hor) or is wearing kilt.

One more clue, which links the idea of the Ka with the above stated black representations, is found in the late testimonies for the notion of the four Ka of the Creator god. It is said about these four Ka that:

\[ w^e \text{im.w p3 nb ms kj p3 nb iwt p3j kj [nb mwt p3j kj p3 nb] krst} \]

"One of them is the lord of birth, another – the lord of the old age, another – the lord of death, another – the lord of the funeral" 4

The four representations of the king from the ointment container of Tutankhamun are closely related to this idea. The four Ka of the Creator are qualities that dominate over the four stages (or "kheperu") of human life – birth, growing up, death and funeral (or regaining the new life in the Beyond). Black as colour is characteristic of Ka (as man's double in the Beyond) and of death. So, the nude black figure at the entrance of the tomb may be used to designate the Ka of the deceased. Could this proposal gain some support from the text of Spell 92 from BD? Obviously, it was being required from the Egyptian artist to represent in this black figure some important notion from the text of the Spell. It is possible to find in Spell 92 from BD such a key statement that would answer the requirement. It states the reason for free movement of the Ba and why it has power to do this movement. This statement is in the words of the guardians of Osiris:

\[ isj \text{w3t n k3.k hn^e.k m b3} \]
\[ \text{in lrjw}^c.\text{wt Wsir sijw šwt mwtjw} \]

...
You are who has power in his legs, distant from your Corpse which is on the earth."

The other variants show that the first sentence could be translated also: “Go far away, because your Ka is with you, my Ba”, without preposition m as in TT 290. Faulkner prefers to translate the passage: “Go far away, because your Ka is with you as a soul”\textsuperscript{3}, while Allen, Hornung and Barguet prefer to translate it not “as a Ba”, but as a part of appeal towards Ba, and so - “my Ba”\textsuperscript{4}. The prime idea is that Ba could move freely only if the Ka is with it. The variant "your Ka is together with you, as a Ba" could be secondary or erroneous. One could also understand the passage, using the sense of Ba as an “external manifestation”, so: “Your Ka is with you as a visual manifestation”\textsuperscript{5}

A similar expression of this idea is attested in the earlier Coffin text. The CT Spell 500 could be seen as a possible prototype for the passage cited above:

\textbf{1 b3.j 3h.j hk3w.j šwt.j  \\
\textbf{isj sbj w\textsuperscript{r} t r.sn k3.w.k hn\textsuperscript{k}.k imjw n\textsuperscript{r} nb  \\
in sfjw ipw n\textsuperscript{r} w \textsuperscript{pr.(w) r\textsuperscript{r} nb  \\
"O my Ba, my Akh, my Magic, my Shadow, go reach the path towards them, your Ka’s (qualities), which are in every god, are together with you – so say the seven gods who are equipped every day.”\textsuperscript{6}}
Here not the personal Ka, but Ka's as a complex of qualities that constitutes each personal Ka, are described. These Ka's reside in every god. Again, the fact that Ka/Ka's is together with the Ba (or with the other elements/manifestations of the person), makes the movement of the Ba possible. In the vignettes to Spell 92 from BD we have the same statement, but shown by the language of the visual images. Ba visits the tomb, where it finds Ka – represented as a black naked figure of the deceased. Someone could think of a dead body or a statue in the tomb instead of a Ka in this case, but why among the variants are only black figures and there are not conventional representations of mummies? The black figure of a man could be perceived as a body of the deceased, but more probably, it represents a manifestation of the body in the tomb and his union with Ka. An addition in support of this thesis is the final statement in the speech of the guardians of Osiris in BD Spell 92. When Ba can move freely, it is far from the corpse, and it is called: “distant from your Corpse, which is on earth”. So the accent in the representation is not the body, as for example is in BD Spell 89, where Ba is shown to rest on the body/mummy, but the freedom of movement achieved through the union of Ba with Ka.

Another important feature of the vignette from Spell 92 from BD is the black or netherworld-sun. It appears only in the cases where the black human figure is represented, so it is obvious that the black figure and the black sun are linked and have their meaning in the repertoire of the Egyptian artists. The earliest representation of the disk which is in pap. Neferubenef ultimately has shown that it's a sun-disk. The sun is depicted in some way unusual. It is positioned over the tomb, and the tomb is represented as the sign of Akhet. The sun is red, i.e. the sun in sunset, underworld sun, but the rays are visible and this red sun is positioned in a larger yellow disk, i.e. the daytime sun. This may be an attempt to visualise not only the sunset, but also the next rise of the sun. The door of the tomb is yellow too, as if there is light in the rooms of the chapel. In TT 219 the black sun is depicted on the ground in front of the tomb entrance. The figure is leaving the tomb, as in pap. Neferubenef. The Ba is represented flying towards the tomb according to Saleh¹, but this cannot be seen on photograph [Milde 1991, 229]. If the black figure is depicted in the entrance of the tomb then the disk is shown outside of it.

In TT 290, the vignette to Spell 92 from BD is in some way unusual. Here Ba is represented twice, first flying toward the tomb with the black silhouette and second in the opposite direction, standing on the ground together with the dark sun. According to Saleh during the day Ba visits the Shadow (or the Mummy) and in the evening it leaves the tomb together with the sun. Milde's objection to this

¹ Saleh 1984, 54.
view is based on the observation that there is always just one Ba in the vignette\(^1\). The figure of Ptah in the same scene and tomb is accepted to be the general prove that the artist of the tomb of Iri-nefer has combined few vignettes from BD into one. The representation of Ptah is characteristic of Spell 82 from BD, so the standing Ba with the disk must be ascribed to Spell 85 from BD. The same vignette – Ba with a black disk is attested in the vignette to Spell 85 in the papyrus of Neferenpet\(^2\). The explanation given by Milde is that the artist of pap. Neferrenpet has copied or was inspired by the images from TT 290 but was misled to believe that the images of Ba and the sun were part of the vignette to BD 85. According to him Ba has nothing to do with the sun. The dark sun belongs to the vignette of BD Spell 92 but is combined with Ba in the presentation because of the lack of space and the necessity for compressing of the vignettes. The Cairo pap. Ankhnesenmut on the other hand was copied from pap. Neferrenpet and the artist had repeated the same mistake, representing Ba and the black sun together in the vignette of BD Spell 85. This explains the combined representation of Ba and the disk. Although some objections could be raised the argumentation of Milde is sound. Some of the objections for example are that the doubling of the figure really has its meaning as in the vignette of pap. Ani for BD Spell 92, where Ani is represented twice – entering and leaving the tomb together with Ba. It could also be pointed out that such an explanation leaves aside the possibility that there could be much more copies of the same vignette and the artists are not inevitably dependant on TT 290 as a forerunner for other examples of the later BD copies. The vignettes in the pap. Neferrenpet and pap. Ankhnesenmut are actually very similar. Both of them have representations of a man, walking in the opposite direction of the tomb. The dark sun is represented close to him. According to Milde this is a representation of the deceased as a god, or a depiction of his Akh\(^3\). What does this image really mean? The figure in pap. Neferrenpet is holding a stick and the sign for life in the other hand. The head is wearing a headdress like the royal “nemes”. The same figure in pap. Ankhnesenmut is depicted more simple, without an ankh-sign, but with a headdress and a stick. This is a typical representation of Ka. The same we have seen in the royal monuments, in relief or sculpture. So, what is the figure – Ka, or Akh? To ask such a question would be to apply logic which is too one-sided and narrow and would be consequently misleading. Akh is a state of existence achieved after death. This state could be denoted in different ways. One of them is through representation of man with the characteristics of a god. But what is more important is that such a representation denotes the state of union between the man

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\(^1\) Milde 1991, 188-189.

\(^2\) Milde 1991, Pl. 35.

\(^3\) Milde 1991, 230.
and his Ka, and from here – it denotes the Ka itself. The puzzle must be resolved by using the similar representations from the royal tombs of the New Kingdom. In the tomb of the king Tutankhamun, on the northern wall, are depicted three scenes marking the process of immortality of the young king. In the first Eye (the next king on the throne) opens the mouth of the king’s mummy. As a result of this ritual action the king ascents to heaven where he is met by the goddess Nut. The difference between the first and the second image of the king is striking. After the ritual of the opening of the mouth the king is shown as a living person, walking towards the goddess, holding a sign of life in one hand and the walking-stick in the other. In the next scene, the king is together with his Ka. Ka is embracing the king. In the Egyptian iconography the embrace would mean - “to unite” (ḥnḥ). So the king is united with his Ka. May be in the preceding scene this union has not taken place yet? The similar scene from the tomb of Amenophis III gives us the answer

Here the king is holding the sign of life. He is being welcomed by the goddess Nut, but he is together with his Ka. So, if we re-examine the scenes from the tombs of the kings, we will observe the following sequence: the opening of the mouth ritual performed over the mummy of the king leads to the state of the king being united with his Ka and ascending to heaven together with it. In the vignette from BD Spell 92, the figure leaving the tomb is the deceased together with his Ka (or as a Ka) after the ritual of the opening of the mouth ceremony is performed. Note the order of the Spells in pap. Neferenpet where Spell 23 for Opening of the mouth is shortly followed by Spell 92. The two images of a man, first the black figure of the man, and second – the walking man with stick and ankh-sign, are different stages of the process of revival of the dead. In observing the sequence of the images from the vignette to BD Spell 92 we can really grasp the idea of entering in the tomb and leaving it. Ba enters the tomb at sunset in the evening, and in the text of the spell there is some clues for this:

\[ iw \text{ hhw r hr.w tn irj.w Wsjr m hnj b3.j s3wt šwt.} \]

“When the darkness is (fallen) towards your faces, O guardians of Osiris, do not restrain my Ba, do not guard my Shadow.”

In the tomb Ba is united with the Corpse, and with Ka as a source of its energy for movement. It leaves the tomb in the new state, which it has gained. So, Ba, together with Ka, leaves the tomb, and it is separated from the corpse, without being restrained by the “guardians of the flesh of Osiris”, i.e. the corpse. The direction of its movement now is toward the new rebirth in the next morning.

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1 Hornung 1981, Abb. 9.
Where is the Shadow meanwhile? It is part of the movement of Ba, but it could also be represented in the vignette of BD Spell 92. The Shadow is to some extend linked with the disk, and may be the dark disk denotes this idea too. An important clue is the text from the temple of Abydos:

\textit{dj.n.k htp b3 h3t.f st.f m itn}

"Let you give so that the Great Ba will rests on his Corpse, his Shadow in the disc." \(^1\)

Other examples also present the idea of the link between the Shadow and the light and especially in the moment of the movement of Ba. For example in the Book of Aker, in the tomb of Ramesses VI, for the representations of the twelve hours:

"They do what they have to do, they pass by and enter the earth, into the Cavern of He who hides his Hours, while their shadows carry their rays and their rays are in the flesh of him who hides them" \(^2\).

A similar text from a sarcophagus from the Late period mentions:

"When Bau go to the secret cavern, their Shadows are with/beneath their light in the sky, in Duat among the gods." \(^3\)

Text from TT 157 underlines, that when Kehehsenuf gives the Shadow of the dead, it will "breathe the light eternally"\(^4\).

For now this is only a guess, but it deserves to be checked on a larger base of information. The observation made by the above presented argumentation is that the black figure in BD Spell 92 denotes more probably Ka, or the body as a vehicle for the Ka, than the idea of a Shadow. Our expectation that the Egyptian notion we conveniently translate as Shadow, or Shade of the dead must be in some way similar to the idea of darkness is not necessarily approved by the ancient texts. Moreover, it is not without sense to remind of an old statement of S. Birch, which has been written nearly 120 years ago: “the shade has no representation beyond the head or mumified form, nor is it ever represented like the deceased; so that no light is thrown upon the hypothesis of its representing the form of the deceased from

\(^1\) Mariette, Abydos I, Pl. 52, ll. 22-23 = Birch 1885, 397. Note that here determinative of the word “shadow” is the sign for the disc.
\(^2\) Creation Pl. A, IV = Piankoff 1954, 332, Fig. 90; George 1970, 98-99.
\(^3\) Maspero 1914, 238.
\(^4\) For this passage see George 1970, 100.
the monuments themselves”. He believed that the shadow was supposed to be the light envelope of the soul, visible but not tangible.

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1 Birch 1885, 388.
Maystre 1936 = Ch. Maystre. La tombe de Nebenmat (No 219), MIFAO 71, Le Caire, 1936.
Fig. 1.
Vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 92 from pap. Neferubenef
(From Naville 1886, CIV, (Pb)).

Fig. 2.
The Vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 92 from pap. Neferrenpet
(Redrawn by author from Milde 1991, Pl. 41).

Fig. 3.
The Vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 92 from pap. Anchesenmut
(Redrawn by author from Saleh 1984, Abb. 60).
Fig. 4.
The Vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 92 from TT 219
(Redrawn by author from Saleh 1984, Abb. 61).

Fig. 5.
The Vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 92 from TT 290
(Redrawn by author from Sayfried 1998, 262).
Fig. 6.
From the Scene 10 of the Ritual of Opening of the mouth, represented at the tomb of Seti I. (Redrawn by author from photo).
Why do we read Ancient Egyptian Literature?

Richard Parkinson

I will offer some reflections on a very basic question: why do we read literature from Ancient Egypt? The impact of Egyptian culture on Europe has been usually visual, and we are very familiar with its plastic art and architecture, but its verbal art is less familiar and often completely unknown outside academic circles. From the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphic script in 1824, texts have been used to reconstruct the lost history of Egypt, providing an invaluable resource of historical facts, linguistic and philological data. This approach reached a highpoint in the Berlin school of the early 20th century, and with the work of scholars such as sir Alan Gardiner (1879–1963), who established the text and commentary of the poem I will talk about today, the Tale of Sinuhe, composed about 1825 BCE and often regarded as the masterpiece of Egyptian writing. It is the life-story of an official whose life goes wrong, who deserts his culture and eventually returns home after an exiting but troubled life in an alien land; it is a dark and potentially subversive probing of the ideals and fears of Middle Kingdom culture.

Sir Alan Gardiner however seems to have thought little of the text as a work of literature, only as a source of philological data and an insight into the ‘old Egyptian national character’. In such issues of culture, English scholars of that period had a somewhat isolationist attitude that excluded the aesthetics of other cultures: If poems did not belong to the great stream of tradition that leads to us, then they were in a sense primitive, and were not true culture. This attitude was unsurprising in an age of Empire, but it is one that persists in many of our academic attitudes: we read such literature only for the sake of our academic training, because we are producing scholarly editions, and these exotic sources exist only to provide the information we need. We read them for the sake of our own science. In this vision, philology is very objective, and avoids anything personal such as subjectivity, ambiguity and imagination, but unfortunately these qualities seem to be abundantly present in the ancient poems.

We can contrast this model of an ideal and somewhat abstract philology with other 20th century treatments of this same poem. For example, the poem was the basis of the historical novel, Sinuhe the Egyptian, by Mika Waltari in 1940s, which
was later made into a (deeply regrettable) Hollywood blockbuster in the 1950s. In these the ending is utterly rewritten, and Sinuhe dies abroad in existential isolation, instead of being buried in Egypt after a life abroad as in the original. It is of course very ridiculous, and we can see how easily Hollywood re-writes the text for its own concerns, including exotic splendour and sex. But academics perhaps do exactly the same – we too take the ancient poem and edit it, often emending/changing the text so that it provides the historical information that we seek. In our commentaries we examine manuscripts and passages to resolve any logical difficulties, as opposed to exploring any poetic ambiguities. Not all imaginative treatments are as ridiculous as Hollywood’s: in the 1940s Naguib Mahfouz wrote a short story based on Sinuhe, which is also free and romantic, but is a sophisticated living work of art.

When one works in an international institution such as the British Museum where the artefacts belong not only to specialist scholars, but to the public and to the entire world, one gets a sense that academic practices are sometimes limited means of describing reality. Trying to find ways of approaching the poem closely I have worked with anthropologically inspired models of criticism, in particular the New Historiastic School. This deals with texts form English early modern culture, in particular Shakespeare, and tries to analyse the poems in their own cultural context. With Egyptian literature, we have little evidence of this original context. The only time that we have a copy of Sinuhe and know its exact find-spot, is this stone writing-board with the first few stanzas now in Cairo. It comes from the village of Deir el-Medina, the famous tomb-chamber of the royal craftsman Sennejem. If he wrote it, it was probably here in c. 1200 BC in his house in the village on his divan. It was apparently placed in his burial as a display of his education – it is only a writing exercise, an excerpt, and (to be frank), it is not an entirely 100% legible as a copy of the poem. Already it seems the poem was something that would be learnt when being educated, but we must remember that this is already some six centuries after it was first composed. In the Ramessid version of Sinuhe, the text has changed and Sinuhe, who was a fallible commoner in the original, is made into a prince – instead of saying ‘I was a poor wretch’ he now says ‘I was a king’s son’ – suggesting that the processes that made this poem into an educational classic, also lessened any potentially subversive elements. Sinuhe’s aberrant life-story is subsumed into a version of history that is a sequence of royal figures. It has become a classic text that will have been read by all the great educated figures of Egyptian history, and as a classic it is quoted on the walls of temples, as here the temple of Queen Nefertari at Abu-Simbel.

The poem changes in its reception across the millennia. Earlier still, we have another manuscript, from the collection of a lector priest of the 13th dynasty (c. 1680 BC), whose partly plundered tomb was discovered in 1895, under the later funerary temple of Rameses II. The papyri, which are now mostly in the British
Museum, are very fragile, but seem to belong to a collection owned by someone who also owned magical equipment. The French team investigating the Ramesseum are kindly re-investigating the site for us, in the hope we can date the tomb more precisely. In this library, Sinuhe is a work associated with the word of a specialist priest from a temple, who performed rites for healing. It is a very official and professional set of documents. This person read the texts in a very different context from the scribes in Deir el-Medina, although his version of the poem is already partly in the form of the text that was copied out by the Ramessid apprentice scribes.

Earlier still in the high 12th dynasty, around 1800 BC we encounter the earliest manuscript, and the most complete one. This was discovered in a tomb together with two other poems in the 1830s and unfortunately they were offered to the British Museum, and we turned them down – they are now in Berlin. The catalogue says they are from Thebes. Many years of searching through archives suggests that the tomb was probably in the valley in front of Deir el-Bahari, probably in a provincial middle class sort of burial, like this one. Here all the papyri are poetic, and the scribe – who has been much denounced by editors such as Alan Gardiner – wrote his copies very hastily. He makes mistakes, but he also corrects himself, and one can see his enthusiasm as he copies. He even redips his pen at the start of metrical lines, wherever he can. He reads as he writes, and he knows little of the foreign world that the poem evokes, as he garbles the name of the Palestinian kingdom where Sinuhe spends his life. He is no great man, but a provincial bureaucrat, and his other poems are all surprisingly dark and ambiguous masterpieces – The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant is a lament against social injustice and the third poem is a pessimistic Dialogue between a Man and his Soul about death. Why did this person read the poems, why did he choose these poems? He was wealthy, and an official, but this does no seem professional as a library. All are dark, and all concern to a remarkable degree a sense of interior identity.

One question that new historicist theory poses is how can we try to recapture his sense of the poems, how analyse his place as a reader in his culture? Our lack of context is a problem, but we can study – as Prof Ignatov has shown – the contemporaneous intertext to reconstruct a sense of these poem's meanings. Close readings suggest a world very distant from our modern expectations of the text as historical source. Instead of a monumental biography, providing and commemorating the historical information of a life, Sinuhe's life-story offers its readers a view of experience that is almost a parody of such monumental discourse. Because it is fictional, the poems can express aspects of life that were excluded from official discourse. As such it can evoke for us not only the 'structure of feeling' of an ancient culture, but also aspects of that society that were in effect written out of history. The poem celebrates the Egyptian king, but it also dwells on a human
individual, and at the heart of the poem are scenes where the hero is simply panicking and emoting in away that we do not expect the noble dead to do. In this interiority, that seems to have been valued by this ancient reader, I find one useful reason to reads these texts. Sinuhe defies our tendency to see in the past a world of verifiable historical facts. These poems show us human fallible people, caught in a contingent and fluctuating world. And the different manuscripts show that the texts, readings and meanings of these poems varied.

They also simply engage us with expressive beauty: the sheer wonder of this poetry is largely lost to us, since the script does not record vowels, but sometimes the magic can break through.

\[ \text{phrt-pw} \text{rn} \]
\[ \text{jw-hwt hr:sn} \]
Life is a transitory time,
The trees fall.

This couplet is linguistically simple and dull, and tells us nothing of history, but it is still strangely beautiful and powerful; it still addresses issues that touch our soul. If we pause to consider how the poetry was once probably recited and performed – probably in manner similar to modern Egyptian performance artists – we cannot escape the fact that to the original audiences this was not just a text to be studied and analysed, but something immediate and highly expressive, creating delight and emotion. Too often the modern scholar is ‘trained to detachment’, and in our concern with our own objective scientificity may lose more than we gain. We must try to read these texts for entertainment and beauty, to reconstruct the sense in which they address the political, cultural and real human issues of their world. We have experimented with modern performances of Sinuhe and the poem that takes several months to read in class, when performed by actors becomes a rapid, highly emotional work that lasts only some 35 minutes. It is hard to accommodate this difference into our academic perception of the text, and to remember how alive these dead archaeological traces once were.

For me, the physical sensation of reading the manuscripts is itself challenging and stimulating in its material specificity, as the ‘New Philologists’ of English studies have argued. It is possible, for example, to sit and read a facsimile of the Sinuhe Berlin papyrus in the excavated Chapel of Heqaib on the frontier island of Elephantine. This is one way to experience a manuscript in a place that recalls its original context, and to draw as close as I am able to the original actors’ experience, in attempting to ‘read over the shoulders’ of the dead. While reading the manuscript, how can one imagine what a 12th dynasty reader saw as he looked up from his roll, and how can one conceive what he would have thought and felt as he read? This is to attempt the impossible, of course, but all anthropological study is by its nature incomplete, as Clifford Geertz has remarked. As we read from this
manuscript we can be aware that all poems are parts of their material culture; poems are not abstract or absolutely autonomous entities but cultural artefacts, and the manuscripts we have are only the surviving traces of a lost human habits of composition, circulation and performance. The aesthetic ‘contemporary’ impact of the poem that we read is now untranslatable, but it did once exist. Although the original poets and audience are dead, modern academics do not have a privileged vantage point – studying such texts is to engage in a dialogue with these dead, in which our attempts to perceive the original actors’ perspectives should occasionally be prioritised. This is an idea that would have appealed to the ancient readers for whom the dead continued to be part of their communities; and it is one that is not so different to our own ideas of poetry. Is not the great myth of European poetry opera and music all about talking with the dead – the Thracian bard Orpheus and his half-regained Eurydice? Rigorous philology and theoretical frameworks are essential for any understanding, but the poems were not written for the sake of such things but for a more immediate experiential reception by their living audience for ‘pleasure’. And so from a constant awareness of our own subjectivity, we should in the words of Marguerite Yourcenar, ‘travailler à lire un texte du IIe [millénaire] avec des yeux, une âme, des sens du IIe [millénaire]’ (Yourcenar 1991 a: 528). We must attempt to reconstruct a historical act of reading, or rather, multitudinous readings through both scholarship and empathy.

But why? Because ancient expressive culture can reach beyond its materiality, and although it cannot answer back, it preserves the expression of other cultures and of other individuals who can challenge our own assumptions. These poetic manuscripts are only fragments, but they continually pose a question that is fundamental to our engagement with ancient texts, although it is often not explicit: what and how would I – this culturally constructed consciousness that I call I – have felt if I were sitting in the 12th dynasty Chapel of Hqiib on Elephantine not now, but then? Reading the same poem, not now, but then? Or in the 13th Dynasty Thebes, or in the Village of Deir el-Medina? If we need a reason to enjoy these poems, Egyptian literature gives us a reminder that everything is as shifting as these manuscripts, as varied as these histories: we as scholars are nothing absolute, only one stage in this poem’s huge history. And in reading, we – the ancient, modern and future readers – are all united in imagining the experiences of other (functional) beings: not ourselves, but Sinuhe. Through this process we can experience other forms and other histories, and taste the full diversity of the world’s cultures. Such reading is perhaps one of the most subversive and liberating actions that we can take. And it is also something we do together.
Ptaahhotep Maxim 32  
(P. Prisse 14, 4–14, 6)

Emil Buzov

The maxim 32 of The Teaching of Ptaahhotep is frequently discussed in the field of Egyptology. The purpose of this paper is to show another possible point of view for this obscure passage.

Lines 457-462 (P. Prisse 14, 4–6) raise many problems because of the expression hmt-hrd, which occurs only in this text. There are a few translations of this compound:

“unreifes Madchen” (Wb. III, 76, 21);
“Woman with a child (one that is pregnant)” (A. Erman)¹;
“femme-enfant” (F. Lexa; Z. Žaba)²;
“woman-boy (H. Goedicke)³;

The term is examined in detail by Hans Goedicke, who as Z. Žaba, compares it to the expression hmt-bŷ, which according to him must be understood as “prostitute” and interpreted hmt-hrd as “vulva of a boy or vulva-boy”⁴. This leads him to the point of this maxim as “an admonition to abstain from making pederasty”⁵. In the years following the appearance of his article, everybody who translates or examines The Teaching of Ptaahhotep acknowledges his opinion. F. Kammerzell and M. Rueda propose another possible meaning for the expression hmt hrd. They understand it as two parallel objects and translate it as “Frau und/or Knabe”⁶. A year latter, in a brilliant article Goedicke rejects this allegation⁷. The strongest evidence for the theory of Goedicke is the use of the masculine suffix  in

² Žaba, 1956: 155-156.
³ Goedicke, 1967: 100.
⁴ ibid., 100.
⁵ ibid., 100.
⁶ Kammerzell; Rueda, (2003): 63-78.
the following sentences, which cannot be explained in another way. Nevertheless, if the term refers to a boy as a woman, i.e. anal contact, it is not clear why Ptahhotep used the neutral noun hrd. It would be better to say ḫy-hmt (men – woman or man as woman) to express a person with homosexual propensity.

The term hmt hrd may have another explanation: to describe a person (hmt), who must be illustrated by another noun (hrd) in order to clarify the age, not the sex. A good example of a similar term is hrd-B ‘child - chick, i.e. little child, kiddy’². Then the term would mean woman – child, i.e. little girl.

Line 458 presents us another difficulty – ḫn.k ḫswt r mw h3t.f. Goedicke is correct to take it as relative past in the sense of “after you have learned” and ḫswt as noun². The problem is what h3t means here. It is obvious that it is not “heart”, “breast” or “Antlitz”. ḫ3t with determinative “peace of flash” means “front” in general. It is hard to believe that this h3t here has a metaphorical sense for “phallus”. As Goedicke alludes, in such case we must expect another determinative³. We know at least two words phallus that could be used here – b3h and hnn. In my opinion, it is more likely that here this h3t means female sexual organ. Of course, there exist specific words for this anatomical organ but here Ptahhotep describes a sexual organ of a little girl not of a woman. That is why he used the neutral “front”. According to Goedicke, “water” is “liquid with the specific connotation semen”⁴. If we accept that hmt hrd means little girl, then this water or liquid must be result of her sexual organ. There are examples where the word mw “water” is used for such kind of liquid. In P. Med. London XIV, 8-14 the goddess Isis saves her son Horus with ḫrt r mw snbw īmjtw mntj “milk and healthy water, which is between my thighs”⁵.

Line 460 īmj.f swḥw r īrt īṣf “He/She shall not spend the night to make objections” would mean that she – the little girl, will not be able to oppose to him who attacks her and may be it will be a pleasure for her. But this action will lead to upset of her heart (ḥd ib) – line 462. After finishing the sexual act, she will become calm and peaceful but her heart will be injured.

Of course the problem with the masculine suffix remains. It can be explained only with mistake of the clerk. If we accept this possibility the translation of maxim 32 will be:

3 ibid., 101, n.31.
4 ibid., 101.
5 Grapow, (1958): 372. According to Grapow it is not mnt “thighs” but mndw(j) “breast”. In hieratic the two signs are similar. The use of preposition īmjtw “between; in the midst of” proposes something which is between two things not inside. That is why I follow translation based upon work of J. Assmann. Assmann, (1977): 24-25.
"You shall not copulate with a little girl,
after you learn objection to the water in his/her front.
It shall not be calm what is in his/her womb
and he/she shall be calm (only) after he/she upset his/her heart."

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The notion of the judge during the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt

Jordan Chobanov

Before discussing the role, given by the ancient Egyptians to the judge we must consider their notion of Maat – a basic phenomenon for understanding the worldview of the ancient dwellers of the Nile Valley. *Mt3* has the meaning of “truth”; “right-doing”, “righteousness”; “justice”. Maat is the harmony in the world created; she determines the right way everything in it should occur – from the movement of the stars and the sun, to the annual inundation of the river and the change of the lunar phases, to the daily human activities. Maat is a cosmic force, which puts the world in order, as well as an ethical category. The force of Maat is personified as a female goddess – the daughter of Re. In creating the world the Creator puts in it the principles of Maat. The opposite of Maat is the chaos and disorder (Isefet). While Maat is everything the Creator has included in the creation, Isefet is all that remains external to it. The serpent Apop – the enemy of Re, appears as a peculiar personification of Isefet. Apop is constantly trying to penetrate into the world of order, while Re, together with the crew of his sun-barge, protects the universe from him. Creation for the ancient Egyptians was not a one time historic event, it was repeated each time a new king ascended to the throne and a new temple was build; even daily, with every new sunrise. That is why the powers of chaos had to be constantly overwhelmed. As being external to the creation Apop is not given birth to and cannot be killed, only “driven away” (*hst*), “bewitched” (*hk3*), “overthrown” (*shr*) and “punished” (*nj.k*). In this process of daily repulsing of Isefet the humans took active part.

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1. FD. 101
2. T. Lekov. Скритото знание, свещените книги на Древен Египет. Изток-Запад, София 2004. 270-1
to fell their enemies. They created magic spells for felling Apop” is written in the Bremner-Rhind papyrus.¹

Although Maat is an inexhaustible and indestructible force she depends on the deeds of the humans. Applying and observing her is a task which demands the collective effort of all people. Thus, people are not only a product of creation, but are also responsible to the Creator for their deeds. The Egyptian king is called upon to establish Maat on Earth among the people. This is why among the most common images of sacrifice the king presents to the Creator the figure of Maat.² As a result of the crisis after the fall of the Old Kingdom the idea of personal human responsibility increasingly started to emerge in the texts. And if during the Old Kingdom Maat was directly connected with the king and the loyalty to him, the Middle Kingdom seems to introduce the element of personal human responsibility towards the actual principal of Maat.³

Following Maat in life guarantees the person eternal life in the hereafter. So in “The eloquent resident of the oasis”⁴ it is written:

\[ \text{dd}(w) \text{ m3t} \]
\[ \text{ir}(w) \text{ m3t} \]
\[ \text{dr} - \text{ntt wr.s(j) f3 s(j) w3h s(j)} \]

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¹ R. Faulkner. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca III. The papyrus Bremner-Rhind (BM No. 10188). Bruxelles 1933. line 29,6
² Т. Леков. Скритото знание. свещените книги на Древен Египет. Изток-Запад, София 2004. 270-1
³ Ibid. 271
⁴ “The eloquent resident of the oasis” is a unique literally work, witch combines in itself devices, characteristic for a number of different genres. We owe the first complete publication of the text to Friedrich Vogelsang & Alan H. Gardiner. Literarische Texte des Mitleren Reiches I: Die Klagen des Bauern. Adolf Erman (hrs.). Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs. 1908. The present work follows the publication of R.B. Parkinson. The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant. Griffith institute, Ashmolean museum. Oxford. 1991. The writing of the text is dated towards the middle of the XII. din., while the events described in it are from the time of the Firs intermediate period, during the reign of Nebkaure. The text tells the story of the misadventures of Hueninpu. After his goods got stolen on the way to Egypt, he goes to appeal to the “high steward” Rensi. Captivated by the eloquence of the “resident” of the oasis, Rensi makes a report on him to the king. The King issues an order to Rensi not to answer to the appeals and to make a record of everything Hueninpu says. The text includes the actual appeals of the “resident” of the oasis. They are in verse and their content is similar to the topics, discussed in the so called didactic literature. The explanations of the role and responsibilities of the judge occupy a central position among the statements of Hueninpu. This is what makes this text a prime source of information on the discussed topic.
gm.w.tw kft.s
sb.w s(j) r im3hw1

"Speak Maat!
Do Maat!

Because great is she, huge is she, enduring is she.

Her trustworthiness is found –
Moving is she towards the state of imahu (blessed-dead)."

From XVIII Dyn. onwards, the court of the deceased in front of Osiris can be seen depicted on the vignettes to the “Book of the dead”. Central place in the representation is given to the image of the balance, on which the heart of the deceased is weighed against the symbol of Maat. What is actually being juxtaposed is one’s road of life towards the norms of Maat. If both are balanced, the deceased may pass and “repeat life” in the Afterworld, otherwise final oblivion and death awaits him.

As Assmann notes: Die Staat ist nach ägyptischer Auffassung dazu da, daß auf Erden Ma’at, und nicht Isefet, herrscht. The king in Egypt was considered the supreme judge. In practice during the New Kingdom this obligation was carried out by the vizier (βτj). The vizier was responsible for the effective functioning of the state administration as a whole and appears to be first executive to the king in governing the country. In addition to this, he also controlled the activities of the en-

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1 Peas. B1. 351-3
4 Ibid. 200
5 Information about the obligations of the vizier is obtained by the so called “Duties of the vizier” and “The Text for appointing the vizier” (they contain moral norms by which the newly appointed vizier should go, and uttered by the king on the entering upon office of the vizier) attached to it. Both texts were found written on the walls of tombs from Thebes from the XVIII – XX din. Although the copies of the text on our disposal are all from the New Kingdom, the scientists, judging by a number of peculiarities in the text, tend to refer the composition of the text to the period of the Middle Kingdom; И. М. Лурье. Очерки древнеегипетского права XVII-X в. до н.э. Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград 1960. 18-9; for bibliography on the subject see: N. Shupak. A new source for the study of the judiciary and law of Ancient Egypt: “The tale of the eloquent peasant”. JNES
tire judicial body in the country and had the right to press charges against other high officials. In his archive were kept the proceedings of the court of law, and he also superintended the preliminary investigation. The title Btj was first attested on the monuments of II-III din., but it could be much older. Even from this period the titles enlisted to the vizier defined him as a head of the institutions, with at that time were considered to be high judicial instances in the country. Until the V din. the vizier was elected mainly among the midst of the royal sons. From the V din. onwards the office started to be taken by people with none-royal origin. During the Middle Kingdom the vizier remained high official in the country and, in accord with a custom dating back to the beginning of the VI din., was also appointed as "governor of the capital." The demands towards the administration grew with the territorial expansion of Egypt during the New Kingdom. This led to the practice, at least from the time of Tuthmosis III and certainly up until Ramesses IV including, for two viziers to be appointed – one of the south and of the north. The residence of the south one was in Thebes, while the north one resided in Memphis until the beginning of the XIX din. and then in Perramesses. Since IV din. the vizier as a judge bore the title "priest of Maat." The vizier resided in the "great kenbet" (knbt '3), which was situated in the capital. When a second vizier was attested, there accordingly also appeared two "great kenbets", associated with them. The "great kenbet" was not only the highest instance of appeal but was also engaged with administrative functions. It was entrusted with observing the collecting and distributing of the taxes according to various purposes; as well as with observing the condition of the irrigational network. Along with the vizier other high officials were also members of the "great kenbet" – such as the high priest of Amon, the chief of the treasury and others. Throughout the country a multitude of smaller kenbets were dispersed. Their primary function was to prosecute criminal activi-

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1. I. M. Лурье. Очерки древнеегипетского права XVII-X в. до н.э. Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград 1960. 19
2. Ibid. 20
3. Ibid. 20-1
5. I. M. Лурье. Очерки древнеегипетского права XVII-X в. до н.э. Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград 1960. 51
7. I. M. Лурье. Очерки древнеегипетского права XVII-X в. до н.э. Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград 1960. 41
8. Ibid. 27
ties (excepting the ones involving capital punishment, witch was referred to the vizier), and to resolve cases of disputes over property rights. Apart from their judicial obligations, the lesser kenbets were also entrusted with administrative ones. There is proof of the existence of district kenbets; kenbets of individual towns, amongst which the one in Memphis is most prominent; temple kenbets, concerned with cases dealing with property of the temple or its priests; together with a special kenbet of the necropolis in Thebes. The kenbet represents a bureaucratic council, which summons under the supremacy of its lord (the king; and in the New Kingdom the vizier, who represented him). The word knbt most probably means "men of the corner", namely "люди, находящиеся по сторонам своего владыки".

Apart from kenbet, jajat (d3d3t) was another judicial instance, present as early as the Old Kingdom. The term d3d3t is semantically connected with the word for head (d3d3). Even since the early Old Kingdom jajat often played a role as a court of justice. It carried out its judicial functions until the beginning of the New Kingdom, when it practically ceased to exist as an active institution. Similar to the kenbet, jajat was also not only a judicial instance, but was also involved in collecting the taxes. During the time of the Middle Kingdom the council of the chief of expedition, sent to the Sinai-peninsula was also called jajat. The members of jajat together with the ones of kenbet were referred to with the general term sFr.w ("noblemen"; "magistrate" FD.235). According to Lurie the difference between the two judicial instances was in that the fact that kenbet was a bureaucratic council, comprising people appointed by the king, while jajat was a council of the elders. In other words, jajat was guided by common law, and kenbet followed the written laws.

Among the antiquity sources that discuss Egyptian law, Diodor (I,94) is the most informative. According to him the first laws were created by Mnevis (Men). Diodor also mentions five other kings-legislators. We know from the "Duties of the vizier", that during sessions of the vizier in court in front of him were laid 40

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2 И. М. Лурье. Очерки древнеегипетского права XVII-X в. до н.э. Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград 1960. 33-65
3 see: FD. 280
4 И. М. Лурье. Очерки древнеегипетского права XVII-X в. до н.э. Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград 1960. 45
5 Ibid. 43
6 Ibid.; Wb.V 529,2
7 И. М. Лурье. Очерки древнеегипетского права XVII-X в. до н.э. Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград 1960. 44-5
8 Ibid. 91
leather scrolls (containing laws).⁠¹ “Scrolls with laws” are mentioned in the teaching of Ipuwer which was written during the Middle Kingdom.⁠² The Late Egyptian and Antiquity tradition considers the origin of the first legislation as a result of the will of god Toth.⁠³ Unfortunately, a full codex of laws from Ancient Egypt is yet to be found, and the fragments that have reached to us remain largely unpublished.

There are three terms connected with Egyptian legislation – “law” (hp FD. 158); “instructions”, “regulations” (tp-rd FD. 297); “decree”, “dispatch” (wd FD. 73-4). The terms hp and tp-rd are not mentioned in texts and documents of the Old Kingdom, and first appear during the Middle.⁴ With wd are meant documents, presenting privileges and having constricted use. wd (lit. “order”) is an exception from the norm (namely hp); something unusual, which occurs seldom and does not constitute a change in the law. For the time of the New Kingdom hp and tp-rd are considered similar, but not identical conceptions. “Duties of the vizier” and “The Text for appointing the vizier” bore the title tp-rd.⁵ The first comprises norms, which determine the relationships between the vizier and other officials and executing the correct order of different trial hearings. The second comprises ethical teachings, constantly uttered by the kings in the course of a few centuries during the rituals on entering the office of the vizier. From these and other similar texts we can determine, that under tp-rd the ancient Egyptians understood incorporations, regulating administrative law – e.g., functionary legislation.⁶

Egyptian justice is, in its greater part, public. The gate or the entrance-hall of a temple, palace or the residence is the place where hearings are made. That is the place where the king and his representatives can present themselves in their official role in front of the public.⁷

The earliest sources mentioning oracles that have reached us date back to the XVIII din. By far not all available evidence of oracles consists of divine decisions concerning judicial issues. In many cases they deal with topics concerning political or domestic activities.⁸ The first reports of making a decision with the help of an oracle are found in the inscription of Hatshepsut concerning the expedition

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¹ Urk.IV 1104,7
² Adm. 6,9-11
³ И. М. Лурье. Очерки древнеегипетского права XVII-X в. до н.э. Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград 1960. 93
⁴ Ibid. 94
⁵ Urk. IV 1186-93
⁶ И. М. Лурье. Очерки древнеегипетского права XVII-X в. до н.э. Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград 1960. 95-6
⁷ G.P.F. van den Boorn. Wd³-ryt and Justice at the gate. JNES 44 (1985). 7-8
⁸ И. М. Лурье. Очерки древнеегипетского права XVII-X в. до н.э. Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград 1960. 69
to Punt, the inscription of Tuthmosis III concerning his coronation according to oracle of Amun, as well as in an inscription of the same king concerning the erection of new temples. The first reports of oracles, dealing with judicial problems, that we know of, are from the time of the XIX din., while the largest number of available sources is from the time of the XX din. Judicial oracles are always given in days of national celebrations, or during celebration of a local divinity. On such occasions processions of the god were held. The oracle was given at the time of the procession, while the statue of the divinity stood on a palanquin in the divine bark.

The role entitled to the judge throughout the Egyptian history was not constant. During the Old Kingdom the judge was simply a clerk who followed the bidding of the king. As a result of the crisis after the fall of the Old Kingdom, during the First intermediate period and the pursuing chaos and lawlessness, and, hence, during the falling Middle Kingdom, the judge’s role began to be understood as a guarantor of the establishing of Maat on Earth. He continued to play this role until approximately the XIX din., when, following the introduction of oracles for resolving judicial issues, the leading role shifted from the human judge to the god. From this point on, the judge’s role began to be understood as a transmitter and fulfiller of the divine will, while the responsibility on maintaining Maat shifted in the sphere of supernatural. The literary works of the period are our main source for understanding the way in which the Egyptians thought of the judge during the Middle Kingdom. To these we must add also individual passages from autobiographical texts, as well as “The Text for appointing the vizier”.

\[m.k \text{sph} \text{k n ir} k \text{ b} b \text{i} b \text{t} \text{ ir} k m3^3 \text{t}\n\[m.k \text{bb} \text{t(w) ir t m3^3 t m prw n bjtj}\n\[m.k \text{hr hp s pw mtf dr ntr}\n\[m.k \text{dd t(w) r ss wr n bjtj ss m3^3 t hr t(w) r f}\n
---

1 Urk. IV 342,5
2 Urk. IV 158-9
3 Urk. IV 833
4 И. М. Лурье. Очерки древнеегипетского права XVII-X в. до н. э. Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград 1960. 69-72
5 I express my deepest gratitude to dr. Teodor Lekov, who was so kind as to direct my attention at this particularity in The Egyptian understanding of the judge.
6 As was already mentioned above, although written on the walls of Theban tombs from XVIII-XX din. “The Text for appointing the vizier” was most probably comprised during the Middle Kingdom.
7 Urk. IV 1091,13-1092,5
“Look, you have attained to this office by doing Maat!
Look, desirable is the doing of Maat in the deeds of the vizier!
Look, [only] then her law shall be as exact as god is!
Look, it will be said for the chief scribe of the vizier – “scribe of Maat is he called.”

Although these words are dedicated to the vizier, they could be equally meant for any Egyptian judge. So the fundamental requirement towards the judge is to follow Maat in his deeds:

\[
\text{hsr.w gwt } \text{pw sr.w nb.w}
\text{bw-nfr pw}
\]

\[
\text{hmwt } \text{pw n.wt shpr ntt}
\text{ts.w tp hsk}
\]

“All magistrates are the ones who drive away evil.
Good is this.

Craftsmen are these in making to appear that which is.
Joining the head, that is cut off.”

These few lines found in “The eloquent resident of the oasis” deserve special attention. The fundamental requirement towards the judge is to drive away “evil” (=Isefet). By acting in this manner he conducts that, which is “good” (=Maat). The judge is expected to protect the underprivileged. He is appointed to be a “dam for the poor”\(^2\), protecting the needy from troubles, coming down on his head like a water flood.\(^3\) The judge should prevent the “flooding” according to the ordinances of Maat.\(^4\) Thus, to follow Maat for the judge would also mean to take care for the poor and needy.\(^5\)

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1 Peas. B1. 319-20
2 Peas. B1.268-9
3 see Peas. B1.167-9; 188
4 Ibid.
5 This was a moral obligation for every Egyptian noble in general. Examples proving this statement could be found even in the autobiographical texts of the Old Kingdom, where noblemen often bring forward their own deeds: Urk.I 133,2-3 iw rd.n(f) t n hkr hbs n hwj
“I give bread to the hungry, cloth to the naked,” etc.
Inseparably connected with the principles of Maat is the notion of reciprocity of actions. Good is answered with good, bad – with punishment. In the stele from Semne of Senusert III the king presents himself as:

\[ \text{fr} \, \text{hr} \, \text{sf} \, \text{tm} \, \text{sfn} \, \text{n} \, \text{hrwj} \, \text{ph} \, \text{sw} \]
\[ \text{ph.w} \, \text{ph.t(w).f} \, \text{gr.w} \, \text{gr.t(w)} \]
\[ \text{wšb.w mdt mi hpr.t im.s}^1 \]

“One who stands for mercy, who is not merciful for the enemy, who attacks him.
One who attacks when is attacked; who ceases when is ceased.
Who answers the deeds as they happen.”

In an inscription from his tomb in Dra Abu el-Naga from the time of Tuthmosis III Intef announces that he is:

\[ \text{wd} \, \text{kn} \, \text{n} \, \text{wd.w-kn} \]
\[ \text{shm-ib r shm.w-ib}^2 \]

“One, who conducts offences towards the conducting offences,
Violent towards the violent.”

Following the same principle, the judge in “The eloquent resident of the oasis” is advised:

\[ \text{ir.(w) hṣfšt r hṣf.w n.f} \]
\[ \text{nn sin tw r tp-ḥṣb.k} \]

........................

\[ \text{m wšb.(w) nfrt m bin} \]
\[ \text{m rd.(w) kt m st kt}^3 \]

---

1 Les.83, 25 - 84, 2
2 Urk.IV 968,12-6
3 Peas. B1.178-183
"Deal punishment to the one, who should be punished, none shall be equal to thy norm.


Do not answer good with evil!
Do not put one in the place of another!"

\[ m\ k3hs.w\ hft\ wsr(w).k\ tm\ spr\ bw-dw\ r.k \]
\[ sw\i(\w)\ hr\ sp\ \iw.f\ r\ snw^i \]

"Do not be harsh according to thy power – evil shall not reach you!
Neglect the manifestation and it will double itself!"

The judge is expected to answer "the deeds as they happen". He should be neither too harsh, nor too merciful. Inaction is also not an answer. The risk exists, that injustice will occur again if measures against it are not adopted. Following the principle of reciprocity, the judge should be prepared to punish those who should be punished, and do so with harshness equal to the crime. The aim of the judge is to bring the arguing parties into a state of *htp* ("satisfy", "make content", "pacify" etc. FD.180)^3^. In an inscription from the tomb of Jefauhapi in Siut from the time of Senusert I it is stated:

\[ ir.n(\j)\ mrr.t\ rm\t\ hsst\ ngr:w \]
\[ iw\ wp.n.\ j\ snw\ r\ \htp.sn \]
\[ shrwj\ m\.....^4 \]

"I do that witch is desired by the people, praised by the gods.
I judge the petitioners in order to calm (*htp*) them.
I pacify,.............."

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1 Peas.B1.244-6
2 the most common punishment was beating with stick; capital punishment was rarity in Egypt and was only in the capacity of the vizier and the king.
3 for *htp* see also: T. Lekov. Ancient Egyptian Notion of Ka according to the Pyramid Texts. *JES* 2 (2005). 22-3
4 Urk.VII 63.10-3
It is stated in the autobiographical text from the Theban tomb of the vizier Rehmire that the vizier is:

\[ wp \text{ } m\text{ }\text{št} \]
\[ tm \text{ } rd \text{ } hr\text{-gs} \]
\[ dd \text{ } pr \text{ } s.wj \text{ } htp \]
\[ wp \text{ } m\text{šlr} \text{ } hn\text{ }\text{w} \text{ } wsr \text{ } nn \text{ } hr \text{ } \text{rm.n} \text{ } spr \text{ } n.f \]

“One who determines/reveals the truth (Maat),
who does not know partiality.

One who makes the “contestants”\(^3\) to go out appeased (\text{htp}),
who judges between the poor and the rich, without it being said: “The
one who petitions him cries.”

In order for both sides to go out of the courtroom “pacified”, the magistrate
should judge according to Maat. Only when judgment is made in accord with
Maat, can the petitioners be satisfied with the decision. Thus the threat to which
Maat has been subject during the dispute is cleared out. From here originate
some of the epithets used for the judge - “arbitrator” (\text{psšw}), “the one who
pacifies” (\text{shrr}), “the one who settles [disagreement]” (\text{swt}).\(^4\) In the Shabaka
inscription a trial of the gods is described on witch Geb judges between Hor
and Seth and attests the government of Egypt to Hor. After judgment is passed
the two gods are “appeased and united”; that is to say, the verdict has been
pronounced according the biddings of Maat:

\[ \text{Hr } \text{Swt} \text{h } \text{pw } \text{htp.wj } \text{sm3.w} \]
\[ \text{snw.sn } \text{tm } \text{šntt.sn} \]

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\(^1\) for discussion on the meaning of \text{wp } m\text{št} see: R. Anthes. The legal aspect of The Instruction of Amenemhet. \text{JNES 16} (1957). 176-85

\(^2\) Urk.IV 1118.5-9

\(^3\) lit. – the two man

\(^4\) Peas. B1.279-81

\(^5\) H. Junker. \text{Die politische Lehre von Memphis}. Berlin 1941. 35, 15c; see also: H. te Velde.
\text{Seth god of confusion.} 1967. 63-5
"Hor and Seth are appeased (ḥtp) and united,
They are made brothers [in order] for their quarrel to cease."

If judgment is not passed according to Maat only one side will be content with the decision and the quarrel won’t cease when they leave the courtroom. This leading of the petitioners to the state of ḫtp proves to be even more important then the strict following of “regulations” (tp-rd). In “The Text for appointing the vizier” the king advises the future vizier:

\[
m.k\ ibw\ pw\ n\ sr\ ir.t\ \ h.t\ hft\ tp-rd\ 
m\ ir.(w)\ t(w)\ \ gdd.t\ n\ sprw\ hr.s\ \ wpp\ nn\ gd.f\ 
n\ rd.t(w)\ n.j\ r\ wnb.\ j-m3^6
\]

"Look, shelter for the magistrate (sr) is to do things according to regulation. Do not pass judgment\(^2\) to the petitioner because of this\(^3\), [so that while] judged he does not say:
- It is not given to me according to the whole truth."

Let us now return to the example from “The eloquent resident of the oasis”. In its second part we find two parallel sentences which can be understood as bearing identical meaning:

“Craftsmen are these in making to appear that which is.
Joining the head, that is cut off.”

Under “that which is” the Egyptians understood the created world.\(^4\) One of the images, presenting the creation of men, uses as its starting point the analogy with the work of Egyptian craftsmen: just as statues of the gods are created from Egyptian craftsmen, so the bodies of men were shaped out of clay on the potter’s wheel of Chnum.\(^5\) The verb used to describe this action is hnm ("join", "unite with").\(^6\) So the image of the judge is presented intertwined with that of the

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\(^1\) Urk.IV 1089.3-6  
\(^2\) lit. – do what has been said  
\(^3\) the doing of things according to regulation  
\(^4\) Wb.II 354  
\(^5\) Т. Леков. Скрытото знание, свещените книги на Древен Египет. Изток-Запад, София 2004. 126; for Chnum see also: H. Bonnet. Lexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte. 3. unveränderte Auflage 2000 by Walter de Gruyter & Co. KG, 10795, Berlin. 135-40  
\(^6\) FD. 202
Creator, actively taking part in the daily recreation of the world. The next sentence, identical in meaning, gives us the opportunity to understand the way in which this is achieved. An interesting parity could be made between this sentence and the tales from papyrus Westcar, where a sentence about the sage Jedi states: *lw.k rh.tj št tp hsk* 1 "You know how to join the head, that has been cut off." Following this, he indeed demonstrates his abilities in front of the king by joining the cut off head of a goose with the help of magic, and bringing the bird back to life.2 In our case this sentence is most probably used as allegory, explaining that the judges are precisely the ones who know how to return things to their rightful state, such as it is according to Maat. This is precisely the role of the judge: in the daily recreation of the world he is entitled to be a guarantor for the existence of Maat on Earth. In doing so he prevents Isefet from entering the world of creation and expels it to the "nonexistent". The judge is that person, on whom the balance in the world depends. As is stated in "The eloquent resident of the oasis": "The true balancing of Earth is the doing of Maat."3 The only way for the world in which man live to be orderly is for Maat to be performed, and the judge is exactly the person who sees to it. The opposite would make the pictures of chaos and lawlessness described by Haheperraseneb materialize:

```
rd.tw m3't [r] rtwk  isft m hnw sh  hnn.tw shr.w ntr.w  wn.tw mhrw.sn  wnn t3
  [m]-snj-mnt  irjw m st nb.t  ntw.wt  sp3.wt  m i5nw  hr-nb twt  hr  iw.w
```

"Maat is cast away. Isefet is inside the palace hall. Disturbed are the plans of the gods. Their biddings are neglected. The land resides in malady. The mourning is in every place. The towns and districts are in misery. All men together are under injustice."

The image lastingly connected with the notion of the judge is that of a balance. The judge is most commonly depicted in texts precisely in this way: as a balance.4 In a text from the tomb of Rehmire the vizier is called:

```
iwsw n t3-tmw  hr  sntjt  ibw.sn  hft  h3j
```

---
1 Westc. VIII.13
2 Westc. VIII.18-23
3 Peas.B1.189-90
4 Brit. Mus. 5645; Rec.11
nwdw-ib iwtjw ʾk3.sn wfd.n st šsp

"Balance of all men, examining their hearts in front of the plumb-line. Those with diverted hearts, which are without accuracy, the šsp-stick subdues them."

Maat gives the standard, on which the values are determined. On his entering into office, the judge begins to be identified with that standard, his deeds serve as an example for what good should be. This notion causes his assimilation with the image of the balance. In "The eloquent resident of the oasis" the judge is advised:

"Do not speak a lie – you are the balance. Do not swerve – you are the norm.

Look, you are one and the same with the balance, If she tilts, you will tilt. [Therefore] do not diverge-

........................................

Do not steal! Act against the thief!"

Because the judge is that norm which determines which is righteous and which is not, it is unacceptable for him to be anything but a pure embodiment of Maat. If the judge committed a crime, this act would automatically become a role model. The text cited above even presents a literal identification of different body parts of the judge with the elements of the balance:

th pw ns.k
dbh pw ib.k
rmn.w.f pw sptj.kj

"Thy tong is the plummet.

---

1 Urk.IV 1076, 6-9
2 Peas.B1.189-99
3 Ibid. B1.148-9
4 Ibid. B1.196-7
Thy heart is the weight\(^1\) of the balance.
Thy lips are her [of the balance] shoulders."

The tong, lips and heart are not randomly selected organs. Through them the Creator creates the world.\(^2\) The heart is that which contemplates; the lips and tongue are that which pronounces whatever has been contemplated and, in so doing, create it. As is stated: Pth swd(.w) [\(^{nht}\) ngr.w nb.w k3.w.sn sk m h3tj pn ns pn\(^3\) “Ptah commanded [the life?] of all gods, and their Ka through that heart and through that tong.”\(^4\) In the same manner, everything which the judge creates by contemplating and pronouncing should be a manifestation of Maat.

From XVIII din. onwards the image of the balance, on which the heart of the deceased is being weighed against the symbol of Maat, begins to appear on the vignettes to the “Book of the dead”. The god Toth is the one, who directs the court of the deceased. At the same time, the image of a balance itself represents the judge who juxtaposes the path of life of the deceased with the principles of Maat. Thus the “heart” of the deceased on the depictions is placed in the spot where the weight (\(dbn\)) should be.

What are the virtues, which the judge should meet? In first place this is the ability to listen. As Assmann states - “Zu hören ist die vornehmste Tugend des Richters.”\(^5\) As early as in “The teaching of Ptahhotep” it is said:

“If you are one, to whom petitions are being made, be silent [while] you listen to that which is said by the petitioner. Do not rebuff him until he has cleansed his body, until he has said [that,] because of which he has come. The petitioner loves his words to be taken into consideration more then that for which he has come to be accomplished. He is more joyful there then any other petitioner...”\(^6\)

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\(^1\) \(dbn\) has the meaning of “weight” of about 91 gram G.Gr.\$266.4; as well as “general term for weight of balance” FD. 331
\(^2\) Т. Левков. Скри́пто́ знание́, све́щените кни́ги на Древен Египет. Изток-Запад. София 2004. 41-50
\(^3\) Н. Юнкер. Die Götterlehre von Memphis. Berlin 1940. 53
\(^4\) Т. Левков. Скри́пто́ знание́, све́щените кни́ги на Древен Египет. Изток-Запад. София 2004. 46
\(^6\) Dévaud L2, 264-70; for translation and transliteration see: G.Gr. p.323
The same motif is found also in “The text for appointing the vizier” from the Theban tomb of Rehmire:

“Do not neglect the petitioner without taking his words into consideration. If there should be a petitioner, who will petition you, do not dismiss that [which] he says while he is speaking. Dismiss it [when] you allow him to hear that, because of which you dismiss it. Look, it is said: “The petitioner loves his words to be taken into consideration according to that, which is heard from his petition.”

Here it is important to take notice of the feedback: the judge is obliged to explain his decision in front of the petitioner. “The eloquent resident of the oasis” explains in short the obligations of the judge:

rd.n.tw.k r sdm mdt r wdš snw r hšf ġwš-IRR.f

“You are appointed to hear the words, to judge between the petitioners, to punish the criminal.”

The judge should inspire respect - in “The Text for appointing the vizier” the king teaches the newly appointed vizier:

imj snq.k snq.tw n.k sr pw sr snq.w.n.f m.k šf(j)t n.t sr ir sj mšš m.k ir dt s snq.f.n sp iw nkt im.f n ġdw m rh(w) n rmš n dd.nn sn rf s pw

“Cause fear [so that] you are feared. The true magistrate (sr) is the magistrate who is feared. Look, respect from the magistrate is what causes Maat. Look, if a man allows his fear to manifest itself [then] something in him belongs to the guilt. Do not be known to the people[,] so that] they do not say: “He is [just] a man!”

The idea of impartiality of the judge occupies a central position in the texts. As early as in “The teaching of Ptahhotep” we find:

ir ir.k šš s n kkbt sr n shr.w.t ġšššt śd(w) mšš dw n.w wdš’t mdj.k m rd(.w) hr gs

---

1 Urk.IV 1090,9-1091,1; for other examples see J. Assmann. Maat, Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten. Verlag C.H. Beck. München 1990. 73-4
2 Peas. B1.265-6
3 Urk.IV 1091,4-10.
4 Dèvaud, 415-18
“If you act as an important man\(^1\) from the kenbet, a magistrate for pacifying\(^2\) the many, accept the impartiality (?) of the court. [When] you speak – do not take a side!”

In “The eloquent resident of the oasis” it is stated:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ntk snw n } & \text{Dhwj} \\
\text{wdn } & \text{nn rd.t hr gs}\quad
\end{align*}
\]

“You are a “double” of Thot, who judges without showing partiality.”

We find in “The text for appointing the vizier”:

\[
\begin{align*}
bwt npr rd.t hr gs \wedge n3 m sbjt \quad k3.k ir.k mitt \quad m33.k rh n.k mi \quad \text{hm n.k} \quad \text{tkn m} \\
\text{hsw.k mi w3 r pr.k}
\end{align*}
\]

“Disgusting to god is to show partiality! This acts as a teaching: You will regard the one you know like the one you do not know, the one close to your flesh like the one far from your home!”

In the autobiographical text of the vizier Rehmire we find:

\[
\begin{align*}
iw \text{wp.n.j sprw n rd.j hr gs} \\
\text{n h3.j} \quad \text{m3.wj n gbsw}\quad
\end{align*}
\]

“I adjudge the petitioner without showing partiality, without paying attention to payments.”

In order for the judge to be impartial, he should also be incorruptible. In his inscription from Elkab Paaheri states:

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\(^1\) for the meaning of sAs see: E. Buzov. The social aspect of expression sAs “son-of-men”. JES 2 (2005). 39-41

\(^2\) in the inscription from the tomb of Jefauhapi in Siut from the time of Senusert I the verb shrw is used as a synonym of htp – see below; Urk.IV 63.10-3

\(^3\) Peas.B1.299-300

\(^4\) Urk.IV 1082,11-13
n shj.j hr.j n dbw
n šsp.j hsj m prw
sšm.n wj lb.j ds.j r wṣn hsj.w.n niswt

"I am not deaf because of rewards.
I have not taken bribes.2
My heart leads me towards the road of that which is praised by the king."

But even though the texts stress the necessity for the judge to be incorruptible, in reality it was not always so. We have a number of sources from the time of the New Kingdom, reporting bribes, taken by judicial clerks. So, for example, we know of a tomb robber form the time of Ramesses IX who bribed a scribe to steal the documents of the prosecution against him and was later released.3 According "The decree of Horemheb" the taking of bribes was subject to penalty equal to the one given for the worst of crimes.4 The Egyptian tradition compared the corrupt judge with a voracious crocodile.5 A good example is found in "The teaching of Ptahhotep" where it is said: ḫt.f m mšš m knbt 6 "he robs like a crocodile in the kenbet". The Egyptians saw the solution to the problem in appointing as judges men who were rich enough (that is, of independent means), and at the same time were not greedy but fully satisfied with what they had. Example for this is found in the teaching for king Merikare:

šš.š w shr.wk ir.sn hp.wk

n nmš.h hwd pr.f
nb-ḥt pw tm gšš

n dd.n šwš.w m mšš.t.f
n ḫšš.h dd hšš n.j

nmš.f n mrj.f

1 Urk.IV 118,15-17
2 lit. - "bribe from the surplus [of someone]"
3 И. М. Лурье. Очерки древнеегипетского права XVII-X в. до н. э. Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград 1960. 51
4 Ibid. 54-5
6 Dévaud.168 P-L2
gsz.f n nb ḏbhw

"Enrich thy magistrates for them to fulfill thy laws.

The one, rich with his home is not partial.
The one, who does not feel lack, is master of things.

The poor does not speak according his truth (Maat).
The one saying: "If only I had!" is not honest.

He is partial for the one, who is preferred by him.
He inclines towards the master, who pays."

In his inscription from Siut Jefauhapi states:

wpsnw nn nm³
′k3-ib ḏwtj gsz.f

"One adjudging the petitioners without partiality.
I am rich, the lie disgust me,
honest, which has none favorite to him."

The "perfect" life, as the ancient Egyptians saw it, was life according to Maat. In this respect the judge offered no exception. Besides this, however, he had other obligations. He was considered as a guarantor for the existence of Maat on Earth. On his shoulders was placed the responsibility for the accomplishment and the reestabishing of order in the world. His role was to withstand the chaos and lawlessness. The judge's duty was to care for the needy, to be patient and attentive and listen to the petitioners, to invoke respect and to be impartial and incorrupt. According to this model of behavior the judge was precisely that balance, on which good and evil was weighted; he was the earthly embodiment of the norm (= Maat). He was responsible for the protection, respect and observation of Maat. The judge had to "settle disagreement" and "appease" contestants so that harmony could be restored in the world.

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² Urk.VII 59,15-17
Abbreviations

Adm. – Gardiner, A.H. Admonitions of an egyptian sage from a hieratic papyrus in Leiden. J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Leipzig. 1900

Dévaud – Dévaud, E. Les Maximes de Ptahhotep, I. Texte. Fribourg. 1916


JE A – Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. London. 1914-

JES – Journal of Egiptological Studies. Sofia. 2004-

JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Chicago. 1942-


POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND HYKSOS AT THE END OF THE 17TH DYNASTY

Velichka Gotsova

The Hyksos ruled Egypt approximately from 1650 to 1550 BC.¹ Their name derives from the Egyptian ḫk3.w-ḥ3s.wt which means 'rulers of foreign countries'. The Egyptian word ḥ3s.wt stands for everything beyond the borders of Egypt. Thus, it is not appropriate to expect any hint at an ethnic designation.² At the beginning of 12th Dynasty the inhabitants of the Syro-Palestine region were called ḫk3.w-ḥ3s.wt. Evidence for this is found in Sinuhe B-98³ and in the tomb of Khnumhotep II4 in Beni Hasan. But we have no reason to regard these ḫk3.w-ḥ3s.wt mentioned in the 12th Dynasty – i.e. two or three centuries before the Hyksos – as identical to the later Hyksos. Not until later, when the Hyksos rulers use the term as a royal title, does it acquire a more concrete meaning as 'the group of Asiatics who ruled Egypt'.⁵

Their invasion coincides with the end of the 13th Egyptian Dynasty. The only literary source that describes the fall of Egypt under Hyksos rule is written by Manetho about 1500 years after the actual events take place. The idea Manetho gives sounds rather like a change of political leaders than mass invasion of foreign people.⁶

Hyksos rulers belong to 15th and 16th Dynasties and their capital city is Avaris (ḥwt ḫrטר) situated in the Eastern Delta. A great number of objects found in situ in Upper Egypt and Nubia bear the names of 15th Dynasty rulers, which shows that the Hyksos ruled over entire Egypt at the time. The preserved trade routes with Kerma attest that the Hyksos have retained the Egyptian administration and trade

¹ Beckerath 1999
² Игнатов 2004 103-104
³ Grapow 1952 46
⁴ Newberry 1893 Plate 31
⁵ Säve-Söderbergh 1951 56
⁶ Waddell 1964 79-80
system. It is proved by the existence of scribes with Egyptian names among the Hyksos personnel. This fact suggests that the Hyksos used Egyptian officials.¹

At the time of the 16th dynasty the situation begins to change. There are no names of Hyksos kings found in Nubia and the southern part of Upper Egypt from this period. The influence of local governors is growing stronger. In Thebes the kings of 17th Dynasty acquire greater power. Conflicts between Egypt and the Hyksos characterize this period. Pap. Sallier 1 (British Museum EA 10185)² gives the first records of this serious conflict. The document contains the tale about the struggle between Sekenenre Tao II and the Hyksos king Apophis. The preserved part of the text reads that the king of Egypt receives a letter from the Hyksos ruler in which the former complains that the hippopotami of Thebes interrupt his sleep and demands that measures be taken to prevent this. After receiving the letter Sekenenre summons his council seeking advice. Unfortunately, the preserved part of the text end without making it clear what happened afterwards. The only certain thing is the hostility of Apophis who had probably presumed that military actions were to be undertaken against him. Maybe this is indeed what the lost part of the text tells about.

The theory that the deadly wounds on the skull of Sekenenre are received in a battle against the Hyksos raises controversial views among scholars. On the one hand, according to B. Gunn and A. Gardiner, this theory ‘is certainly tempting but belong wholly to the realm of conjecture’.³ On the other hand, most recent examinations of the wounds show that they are most probably inflicted by a Syro-Palestinian axe.⁴ The Hyksos used such axes at the time. Nevertheless, it is not certain whether real military actions took place in the time of Sekenenre. However, his son Kamose led two military campaigns against the Hyksos. Two main documents give record about these.

The first of them is a wooden tablet found in 1908 in a tomb located near Dra Abu el-Naga, dating back to 17th Dynasty. It is discovered by Lord Carnarvon and H. Carter and is known as Carnarvon Tablet N1 (CairoMuseum JE 41790).⁵ The discovery raises different opinions among scholars. R. Weill, supported by G. Maspero, considers the text a fictitious tale.⁶ P. Newberry and A. Gardiner are convinced that the document tells about actual events.⁷ By this time the evidence

¹ Säve-Söderbergh 1951 65
² Pritchard 1955 231
³ Gardiner and Gunn 1917 241-251
⁴ Trigger 1983 173
⁵ Carnarvon and Carter 1912 36-37
⁶ Weill 1910-13 535-580
⁷ Gardiner 1916 108-109
on the rule of Kamose is exceptionally scarce and the historical credibility of the text cannot be ascertained. Things remain this way until 1932 when during the reconstruction of the Third Pylon in Karnak H. Chevrier discovers two fragments of a stela that contain the first fifteen rows of the tablet. The rest of the text is destroyed as only separate words which are identical to those from the tablet remain. There is no place for doubt anymore since in Egypt royal stela are official documents and describe actual events.

The text begins with the 3rd year of the reign of Kamose. Some scholars suggest that this is the last year of his rule as no source is found that mentions a later date. However, it is more probable that he has ruled for one or two years more because, as we will later see, he led another campaign after the one the tablet describes. After the indication of the date and announcing the king’s titulary there follows a speech expressing his dissatisfaction with the situation at the time. It says:

\[\textit{si} \text{j sw r i} \text{h p}i \text{j j nht} \\
\textit{wr m hwt-wrt k}j \text{m K}3i \\
\textit{hms.kwj sm3.kwj m}3m \text{ nhsj} \\
\textit{s nb h}r \text{fdk.f m Kmt ps}3 \text{ t}3 \text{ hn}5.j\]

'To what end am I cognizant of it, this power of mine, when a chieftain is in Avaris and another in Kush, and I sit in league with an Aamu and a Negro, every man holding his slice of this Egypt.'

This fragment depicts the political situation at the time very clearly. Vast territories where pharaohs ruled before were then under foreign domination. Besides, the pharaoh’s authority in his own realm is weakened by local governors’ aspirations to power. The grandees have acquired enough confidence to defend their own interests instead of those of the state. They are not encouraging the king to undertake military actions, either. According to A. de Buck, gathering the council before making difficult decisions is a conventional theme that describes how the grandees expose all the difficulties of the plan proposed by the king advising him not to try this difficult enterprise. This, however, does not mean that their speech in the particular case does not provide evidence on the actual political situation. The speech says:

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1 Lacau 1939 245-271
2 Habachi 1972 48
3 de Buck 1929 16-17
m.k mw pw n ṣm.w ṣṣ r KIs
ith.n.sn ns.w.sn m krä w
tw.n kbi.n ḫr t3.n Kmt
nhl ṣbw ḫrj-li ḫn n ṣṣ r KIs
sk3.tw.n.n n nḥt.sn k3.w.n m ḫlw
bdī ḫb r rrjt.n n ḫt k3.w.n

‘Behold the Asiatics have advanced as far as Cusae, they have pulled out their tongues all together. We are at ease holding our part of Egypt. Elephantine is strong, and the middle land is with us as far as Cusae. Men till for us the finest of their land; our cattle are in the papyrus marshes. Spelt is trodden out for our swine. Our cattle are not taken away.’¹

This part of the text casts new light on the idea of the Hyksos rule over Egypt at that time. Previously, some Hyksos rulers had dominated over entire Egypt but at the time of Kamose their policy conforms to Egypt. This becomes clear from the fact that Egyptian cattle grazes freely in the Delta. This shows that there has probably been some agreement between the two sides that allowed Egypt to use the Hyksos’ resources. What is unclear, however, is what was demanded from Egyptians in exchange of the resources and whether these agreements were not a result of previous successful military campaigns against the Hyksos. It may also be only a matter of trade relations. However, one thing is certain - the grandees feel comfortable with the current situation of peace and do not want to risk their own authority in an eventual war. Moreover, it is in their interest that the positions of the king remain weaker, so that they would be able to dispose of more influence. However, not only does the king strongly believe in his own power and the support of the military, but he has also received orders from Amun himself.² He sets off with his army and dispatches a unit of Mejai to investigate. The Mejai are of Nubian origin and are hired as auxiliary troops. The attack is against Teti, a local governor in Neferusi near Ashmunein, who is most probably a supporter of the Hyksos. The preserved part of the text ends with the fall of Teti’s stronghold. This, however, is not the end of Kamose’s military actions against the Hyksos.

According to P. Lacau, the Stela has contained twenty to forty rows more³, which means the document contained one or two times more text than the preserved.

¹ Habachi 1972 48
² This motif appears frequently in texts of the New Kingdom but it had not been encountered by that moment.
³ Lacau 1939 249
The evidence for another campaign of the kind comes from the other document we are about to discuss, i.e. the Second Stela of Kamose\(^1\) discovered in 1954 during reconstruction works on the Second Pylon in Karnak. As L. Habachi points out, the difficulty in dealing with the text is rooted in both the considerable amount of rare and unknown words and, at some places, the impossibility to determine whether it describes events that have already taken place or Kamose's intentions\(^2\) What is more, the beginning of the Stela is rather unusual as it does not start with the date and royal titulary. This gives us reason to presume that this stela is continuation to the first one and that the texts of the two stelae actually represent one unified text describing the rule of Kamose. Unfortunatelly, the destroyed part is considerable, which does not allow complete certainty that it is indeed one text.

The tale begins directly with the panic that took over the capital city of the Hyksos at the war-cry of Egypt's armies. The Pharaoh tells how his fleet landed near the unknown territory of Per-Djet-Kens. Before reaching the residence of Apophis, Kamose captures a messenger, the frightened Hyksos king has sent to the ruler of Kush; here is a part of the message he carried:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in iw gmh ir.t.n kmt r.j} \\
\text{hk3 ntj m hnw.s k3ms dj }\text{cnh} \\
\text{hr thm.j hr ltn.j n ph.j sw} \\
\text{mi-ki n ir.t.n.f nb.t r.k} \\
\text{stp.f p3 t3 snw r 13d.s} \\
\text{p3j.j t3 hn^c p3j.k} \\
\text{hb.n.f st mj hd m 3^c} \\
\text{m.k sw 3 m^c.j} \\
\text{nn ntj }\text{cnh n.k hr t3 kmt} \\
\text{m.k nn rdj.j n.f w3t r spr.t.k} \\
\text{k3.psš.n n3 n dmiw n.t kmt}
\end{align*}
\]

'Have you seen what Egypt has done against me? The ruler who is in it, Kamose, the Valiant, given life, is attacking me on my soil, but I am not attacking him in the way he had done also against you. He chose the two lands
to persecute them, my land and yours, and he has ravaged them. Come, navigate down streams, do not be afraid. Behold he is here with me, there is no one who will be waiting for you in this Egypt, for I will not let him go until

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\(^1\) Habachi 1972
\(^2\) Habachi 1972 53
you have arrived. Then we shall divide the towns of this Egypt.'
This fragment makes it clear that Kamose had already undertaken a military
campaign against Nubia and Apophis relies on the fact that the ruler of Kush
is aware of the threat coming from Egypt's growing military power and, will
take part in an alliance against it. His plan, however, fell through.

Kamose and his armies plunder the city and take the chariotry of Apophis. This
is the first time that the chariotry is mentioned in Egyptian history. However, the
loot acquired from plundering 'thousands of ships'² with goods from Rechenu.
Rechenu spreads on the territories of Syria and Palestine. Probably the Hyksos ruler
collected taxes from these lands.

Despite that he does not take control of the capital city of the Hyksos, Kamose
achieves great success through his campaigns. He causes serious material damage
to the Hyksos, moreover, some hostile local governors also fall victim to his army.

Although the Hyksos still hold their positions, their influence in the region
is getting more and more unstable, which is a precondition for their complete
expulsion under the reign of Ahmose.

After the discovery of the two stelae certain facts of the Kamose's reign come
to light that are totally unknown to scholars by that moment. But apart from the
answers the two texts provide, they also raise important questions regarding the
relations between Egypt and the Hyksos at that time. Of what kind these relations
actually were? What were the moods of the people under Hyksos rule? Can it be as-
sumed that there was real Hyksos domination to the south of Avaris or it is rather a
matter of protection the Hyksos king had granted to local rulers, who, were paying
taxes and were loyal to him in return? We can expect to find the answers to these
and other questions as soon as some new evidence on the matter is discovered.

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N1. JEA 3.

¹ Habachi 1972 49
² Habachi 1972 37
Säve-Söderbergh 1951 = T. Säve-Söderbergh: The Hyksos Rule in Egypt. JEA 37
Some notes on the History of the Alphabet
(Honoris Causa Lecture held at New Bulgarian University)

Mark Geller

The idea of Lingua Franca is crucial for comprehending how knowledge spread throughout the Ancient Near East, since lingua franca describes the complex network of highways and routes which bear the intellectual produce of globalisation from one region to another. As ideas and disciplines became popular and widely appreciated, they began to be dispersed along pre-determined linguistic lines, carried by a lingua franca unifying distant cultures and lands. The alphabet, of course, played a crucial role in this process, and this is what I wish to investigate in more detail today.

Let’s begin at the beginning, with Sumerian, of course. The script itself, a stylised development from archaic pictographs (in my view) is not perfect as the record of a spoken language, but then again, no script ever is. The question is whether this really is writing or not. Is writing a code for reproducing the sounds of language, as some people think, or is language a code for producing symbols which give both sound (possibly) and meaning. As an example, let’s take numbers from 1 to 10. If I write them out, I can sound them out as (numbers), and we can pronounce them however we like, in any language. Does this convey meaning? But if I write ‘5 + 5 = 10 (pet y pet ravno na deset)’, isn’t this a really language, with both sound and meaning?

This is the problem of interpreting our oldest writing, these archaic tablets from Mesopotamia. We don’t really know for sure what language they may represent, or in what language they were to be read out, but we can certainly see that they convey meaning and probably sounds of words.
But with Sumerian we have a particular problem, which is unusual. We have no knowledge of vowel length, vowel quality, or stress. This is hardly discussed in any textbook of Sumerian, but it really makes a big difference when we try to reconstruct the language from the script. In fact, we have the same problem when dealing with ancient Egyptian.

Let’s be clear about what we mean. We get different kinds of syllables in Sumerian, although the language is unusual in having so many monosyllabic roots. So gen is to walk, shub is to toss or fall, bad is to open, etc. We cannot tell if these syllables are long or short. We also don’t know about the quality of vowels within these words. So shub, for example, could potentially be pronounced as /shoob/ or /shubb/, and gen could be /gin/ or /gyn/, while bad could /baad/ or /bawd/ or even /bode/. With polysyllabic words we have words like durun for ‘sitting.’ Here is where the lack of stress confounds us: is the word dup'-run or du-ru'un? It makes a difference if we are trying to analyse poetry or even try to capture the sound of the language. It makes a difference if we are trying to find meter or rhythm in lyrics of songs.

‘So what does all this matter’? you may well ask. A native speaker will know automatically how to pronounce these syllables, and he will know whether the word for ‘seed’ in Sumerian is /numun/ or /numun/, or /numoomoon/ or /nummumun/. It will be obvious. But what about foreign speakers, who only encounter Sumerian as a lingua franca? Here is where we can expect to find some problems. And find them we do.
In the earliest phases of being a Lingua Franca, Sumerian spread beyond Mesopotamia as the techniques of writing spread, and Sumerian became the language associated with literacy. Lingua Franca developed as a result of the expansion of technology rather than through military conquest. By the end of the third millennium BC, a new contender took on the role of Lingua Franca, namely Akkadian. It is difficult to imagine the successful spread of Akkadian throughout the Near East without the military conquests of Hammurabi and his successors, establishing Babylonia as an economic powerhouse. What is difficult to explain is why Akkadian became a Lingua Franca while Egyptian did not, despite Egypt's power, wealth, and influence. We not only find an archive of Akkadian letters in the Egyptian capital of Amarna, but we also find a complete Babylonian scribal academy in Amarna, providing considerable potential for the spread of Lingua Franca.

As usual, it is the Randgebiet which offers clearest insights into Lingua Franca, rather than the homeland itself where the language is dominant. What is interesting is to see how Sumerian continued to be used outside Mesopotamia, such as in Elamite Susa or the Hittite capital Hattusas, where we find a strange group of texts in phonetic Sumerian, which are hardly recognisable unless we can identify the actual text being written in this way. These schoolboy exercises formed part of the curriculum in provincial areas where Sumerian had ceased to serve as Lingua Franca, but it still needed to be studied as a language of record and of learning. One good example from Susa shows a bilingual text of phonetically written Sumerian with an Akkadian translation.

Here we see what happens when the script concentrates on the sounds of the language, rather than on its formal orthography, which we are used to from written records. There is no reason for a phonetic text to show doubled consonants except...
to indicate a long vowel in the previous syllable. The doubled consonants in the phonetic Sumerian text above (with the reconstruction below) show that vowel length and maybe stress are noted for those trying to learn Sumerian is a foreign language. These phonetic texts also show up serious weaknesses in Sumerian as a suitable script for a lingua franca.

Already in the 3rd millennium BC we see Sumerian script being used to write Akkadian, which is to be the next great lingua franca. Akkadian is the oldest known relative to Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, and other Semitic languages. However, Sumerian script now had to try to accommodate certain basic new phonemes which did not exist in Sumerian, such as laryngeals and emphatic dental consonants, like tet and tsade. It is interesting to see how this encounter between Sumerian script and language and Akkadian took shape. In the early stages, an attempt was made to adapt Sumerian to the requirements of a Semitic language, but in the end, all attempts at reproducing the sounds of a Semitic language fail. Sumerian script cannot distinguish glottal stop (aleph) from guttural 'ayin,' or 'chet' from 'he.' Sumerian script can only approximate Semitic phonology, which makes things difficult for anyone learning Akkadian as a foreign language, such as an Egyptian in Amarna.

By around 2000 BC, scholars usually conclude that Sumerian was no longer a spoken language, although continuing to be used as the language of culture, high literature, and liturgy. The mystery is how little reaction we find to the appearance of a new Lingua Franca at the beginning of the second millennium BC. Changing one's Lingua Franca must not be taken for granted as a simple process. Usually such a change is accompanied by conquest and warfare and drastic changes in political regimes, and the loss of a Lingua Franca often signals a decline in national prestige or even identity. What happened to Sumerian and to the Sumerians? Had they assimilated so efficiently into Semitic culture that they abandoned their own language without a struggle? The fact is that we know very little about the death throes of Sumerian as a spoken language or as a Lingua Franca, but this may partly be because we haven't been looking for them. We are so anxious today to avoid the notorious Nazi labels of 'Arian' and 'Semitic' from the 1930's and 1940's, that we may have gone too far in the opposite direction, in assuming that the transition between Sumerian and Semitic dominance of Mesopotamia was a seamless boundary which was hardly noticed. This seems unlikely.

It's worth having a brief look at Akkadian, to see how it adapted itself as the international language of the second and first millennia BC. What is interesting, however, is how Akkadian language was also affected by its own script, that is Sumerian script, since the spoken language itself lost many of the phonemic distinctions which we know from Arabic and Hebrew. Distinctions between
emphatic and non-emphatic consonants are often ignored in the script, and it is clear that Sumerian phonology has affected its close neighbour and compatriot, Akkadian.

But something happens in the mid 2nd millennium BC. Akkadian met the alphabet. One wonders what the reaction was among learned Akkadian scribes from Mesopotamia when they first encountered the alphabet, which had been introduced in the city of Ugarit, on the Mediterranean coast of Syria at about 1500 BC, although it is likely that the alphabet as such had been invented earlier in Egypt.

One of the puzzles in this regard is the Egyptian writing system, particularly Middle Egyptian hieroglyphs, which contained all the elements of an alphabet incorporated into its complex syllabary, but Egyptian scribes never developed the idea. Egyptian scribes used this group of ‘alphabetic’ characters (consonants without vowels) for writing foreign names, but not for general use. This is a bit like inventing postage stamps but only using them for decorating envelopes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hieroglyph</th>
<th>Sumerian</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[vulture]</td>
<td><code>g</code></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[reed-leaf]; also \ (dual strokes)</td>
<td><code>j</code></td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[double reed-leaf]</td>
<td><code>y</code></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[arm]</td>
<td><code>c</code></td>
<td>ayin (“EYE-in”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[quail-chick]; also * (curl of rope)</td>
<td><code>w</code></td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[foot]</td>
<td><code>b</code></td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[stool]</td>
<td><code>p</code></td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[horned viper]</td>
<td><code>f</code></td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[owl]; also — (unknown object)</td>
<td><code>m</code></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[water]; also @ (red crown)</td>
<td><code>n</code></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mouth]</td>
<td><code>r</code></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I'm sure the Akkadian scholars reacted badly and I'm sure they didn't like it: 'what is this alphabet'? For one thing, whatever problems existed for Akkadian scribes using the old Sumerian syllabary (of 600 signs) to reproduce the sounds of a Semitic language, the alphabet was much worse. In fact, the alphabet simply abandoned any pretence at trying to record with any exactness the sounds of language, because the original alphabet had almost no vowels.
Vowel letters were only added later when the alphabet was adopted for Greek and later for Latin, and then for many languages after that. Second, it was impossible for the original alphabet to show double consonants. For instance, the original alphabet would not be able to distinguish the English word ‘marry’ (to get married to someone) and the proper name Mary, the English name of the Virgin. So for the Akkadian scribes with their 600 signs, using both consonants and vowels, the alphabet was just a cheap instrument for writing, a kind of abstraction, but not really serious.

Let me explain, however, that I'm not one of the many people who believe that the alphabet encouraged literary on a broad scale by offering an easier and more convenient writing system to replace the cuneiform syllabary. The alphabet is not any easier to learn than cuneiform or even Egyptian hieroglyphs for a native speaker of the language, and in fact in many respects the alphabet is more difficult, since one had to remember which vowels to use and how they were pronounced. If you don't believe me, try reading an unpointed medieval Arabic manuscript, or even a modern Arabic newspaper.

So I'm sure that Akkadian scholars hated the alphabet, and in fact the feeling may have been mutual. For the first 500 years after the introduction of the alphabet, we have virtually no cross-over between texts written in Akkadian signs and also written in alphabet script. This is surprising, since Ugaritic scribes were amazingly well-trained in four languages, but texts which appear in alphabetic script do not appear in Akkadian, and texts in Akkadian do not appear in alphabetic script, almost without exception. Different scripts were used for writing different texts. This separate world of syllabaries and alphabets does not appear to have changed until the 9th century BC, more than 500 years later, when we find a statue from Syria, from Tell Fekhriye, with an Akkadian-Aramaic bilingual inscription. Such texts are rare indeed.

So despite the scorn of Akkadian scholars, the alphabet included a couple of features which were actually an improvement on the Akkadian syllabary. For one thing, guttural letters were correctly noted, each by its own alphabetic character, so for the very first time proper distinctions could be made in a Semitic language between aleph (later A) and ayin (later O), between the sounds chet, het, and he. Second emphatic consonants were correctly rendered as kaf (later K) and qoph (later Q), between taf (T) and tet, between tsade and zayin (Z), and samech (S). These were major improvements.

All these distinctions which had, for so long, been obscured by Sumerian script and the Akkadian syllabary could now be correctly transcribed. There was another
additional advantage to the alphabet: roots. Suddenly it became much easier to actually see the roots of words than in cuneiform writing. Semitic languages have the peculiar feature of having 3-letter verbal roots which also form the basis for nouns and adjectives. So a root *mlk* to rule is closely related to *melek* or *malik*, king. It is easy to detect the roots in an alphabetic script because there is little interference from vowels when one only writes consonants. In fact, it took a very long time for Akkadian scholars to begin thinking of their own language, Akkadian, in terms of roots of words, and this new thinking was probably the result of being influenced by alphabetic writing.

Finally, the alphabet was not only an instrument of writing language (in fact, many of the world’s languages adopted it, as Greek alpha beta gamma, etc.). But it also served as a numbering system and a calendar. Each letter had a number associated with letters, so that aleph (alpha) is one, bet (beta) is two, etc. The original alphabet consisted of 30 characters, which was designed in this way to keep track of the days of a lunar month, either 29 or 30 days. So in the end, the alphabet turns out to be a sort of mini-computer, which eventually revolutionised how languages were recorded.

I want to show a few slides of what happened during the history of alphabet during the first millennium BC, after it spread and became more popular throughout the Ancient Near East, as Aramaic language became more widely spoken. Here is a point not to be missed: different scripts are often associated with different writing materials. So just as cuneiform was written with a stylus on clay tablets, with characters being impressed into clay, by the first millennium BC alphabetic writing was almost always painted on parchment or leather or papyrus in ink. This means that much of our evidence for alphabetic writing has been lost, since parchment and papyrus have trouble surviving outside the dry sands of Egypt. But fortunately we have some interesting examples of alphabetic writing which do survive, which show how scribes were experimenting with the alphabet and learning how to use it, even in traditional environments like Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Here are examples. The first is an Aramaic incantation in cuneiform script:
This process of using cuneiform script to write Aramaic (usually written in alphabetic characters on leather) required scribal training, which is confirmed by the following tablet found in a Babylon scribal school. The first two columns of this tablet are alphabetic letters written in cuneiform characters (a, bê, ge, da, etc.).
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We come to the final chapter in the history of the alphabet, which was developed in order to write the last important Lingua Sacra in Europe, namely Old Church Slavonic. I am referring here, of course, to Cyril and Methódius, inventors of Glagolithic and who introduced their alphabet in 863 AD, the later Cyrillic system of writing adapted by their disciples.

Both the Glagolith and Cyrillic alphabets have some interesting features. First, the traditional order of the letters is more-or-less preserved, which goes all the way back to the Ugaritic alphabet from 1500 BC.

Second, the Glagolithic and Cyrillic alphabet also functioned as a numerical system, with many of the same values for letters which one finds in Hebrew or in Greek alphabets.
Third, the letters are given names which actually mean something. So the meanings of the first letters of the Slavonic alphabet are: *as buki vedi glagól dobró*, 'I know the letters so that I speak well', etc., as everyone here knows better than I. This too is based on an ancient system of interpreting the alphabet.

The earliest form of alphabetic letters as pictographs comes from ancient Sinai, on a rock carving of the alphabet which shows the actual meaning behind the letters.

As you can see, the first letter 'aleph' meant 'ox', 'bet' meant 'house', 'gimmel' meant throwstick, and 'dalet' (Gr. delta) meant 'door', etc., and the names of the letters we use today, 'aleph-beta' and 'alpha-beta' etc., go back to these early pictographs. The fact that Cyril and Methodius associated new meanings with their alphabetic letters follows a long tradition of hermeneutics, in which earlier Jewish and Christian scholars searched for hidden meanings of alphabetic letters.
The alphabet has a long and impressive history, although the end of the story is not yet so clear. It took a very long time, almost 2000 years, in fact, for cuneiform writing and Egyptian hieroglyphs finally to become obsolete and be replaced by the alphabet. Alphabets today still compete with many other systems of writing, particular in Asia, but the world is rapidly changing. The impact of English as a lingua franca, combined with the immense power of computers and the internet may cause major changes in how we write languages. I notice that emails from Bulgaria often arrive to England in Latin rather than Cyrillic characters, and this is a worrying sign, and somehow I don't think Cyril and Methodius would have approved.