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 extent of the third millennium 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 (Golenisheff 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 Netjer-yhet, “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 hr “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, alumn 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 ’3, “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 bhdi j nfr ’3 nbw pt, bhdi j nfr ’3, “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 bhdi j 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, Piopol Merenre I, Piope 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 Senwosretankh. 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 Heracleopolian 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 *m3c-hrw*, "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 formulae 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* (Golenischeff, 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-swt* (king) and *nj-sw-bjt* (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 Heracleopolitian 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 (hływ) 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 (JE A, 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 PHERMITAGE 1115**

**(SOURCE ANALYSIS)**

§ 1. (1)\(^1\) *dδ.jn šmsjw jqr*

Said the experienced shemsiu.

The group hieratic signs *dδ.jn šmsjw* 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, *šmsjw*. 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 land” highlights their experience.

3. The fact *šmsjw* 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)


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:
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(1) dd.jn.šmsjw ṣqr
(177) ‘h.n.(j) rdj.kwj r šmsjw
šh.kwj m tp 200

O. Berlev collected and studied a huge material about the institution of the “escorts; followers” (šmsjw-w) 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 nj ḫq3 and was awarded “60 heads”:

djt.j r šmsjw n(j) ḫq3
rdj.(w).n.j tp 60 (Ṣetḥ 1924: 83)
“I was promoted as šmsjw nj 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 nj 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 šmsjww njw nbw.

In the hierarchy of the expediary troops šmsjw occupied a very privileged position. An inscription from Wadi Hamamat provides us with a good material for comparison (Goyon 1956: 61). The ḥ3ṭjw-c princes have the honorary place (Cf. Sh.S.!), then follow 30 šmsjww, 1000 warriors. The staff roster and the rations list mention šmsjww together with ḥ3ṭjw-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:

šmsjw njw nbw ṣḏ(w) rḥw(n) – ṣḏ(w) ṣḏ(w) – s(nbw)

t 30 ḫnqt 1, ḥ3ṭjw-c t 100 ḫnqt 4

“šmsjww njw nbw – 30 breads and a goblet of beer each,

ḥ3ṭjw-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 jw
šmsjw nj ṣrrjḥ
šmsjw (nj) ẖrw
šmsjw nj prw-c3
šmsjw nj nbw
Šmsjw nj ṛmn tpj
Šmsjw nj ḫṯj-сет
Šmsjw nj ḫrw
Šmsjw nj ḫqASET
Šmsjw nj ḫqASET nj ṛmn tpj
Šmsjw nj z3 njswt
Šmsjw sdw
Šmsjw šmsj(w) (Berlev 1978: 229)

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-сет (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 ḫqASET). But it's worth considering a probable pun: Šmsjw jqr — ss jqr.

$2. (1) . . . wd3 (2) jb.k ḫṯj-сет
Calm your heart, hatia!

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

There are two words in the Egyptian language meaning "heart"—jb and ḫṯj. (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 ḫṯj 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 aforementioned 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) ntr
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 smsw, which helps him to calm h3ty-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 h3ty-c mk ph.n.n lnw 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:

msj Ppj pn jn jt.f’lmw
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) ‘d.t(j)
Our crew has come back safe.
Jizwt from the times of Ancient Egypt were studied Y. Perepelkin (Perepelkin 1956: 166; Perepelkin 1988: 168 et seq). Jizwt is a collective designation for any ship’s company. The command of jizwt 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 msr 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 h3ti (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 msr.n
With no loss in our troops.

msr - army. See the comment of jizwt.

The inscription from Wadi Hamamat 61 states that 1 000 soldiers accompanied the squad on the march. (“Each ship of the Ruler (‘nhw.w n(w)t t hq3) 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) phwj W3wt znj.n.n (10) Znmwt
We reached the northern limits of Wawat,
And passed the island of Senmut.

The traditional translation of phwj is “border”. But underneath this visible upper layer there are complex mythological concepts. The word phwj 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).

W³w³t

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 slayed 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 h3tj-ε 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. pḫw.j w3w3t 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”.

*jw.f r.jt t3 rsjww (Sin B 71–72; Žaba 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 41th regnal year of Mentuhotpe I. (Mentuhotpe I restored the Egyptian border in the area of the first cataracts of the Nile (Petrie 1888: 16). So the “events” in Sh.S. could be dated within the wide timeframe between the 41th 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.kwj r hj3 (24) n jtz
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:

h3b.n w(f) nb 5nh(w) w3(w) snb(w)
nsw-hjt Nb-t3-wj-Rc "nh(tj) dt
m h3b t npr jm.f r ...(Gollenischeff 1884-85L 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 be-
longs to and is a part of the body of god, i.e. the king. h3tj-c jnj-jtw.f declares that:
b3k(w).f w rc mj t jm.f
ms(w) bjk.t n.t s.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.1). 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 šnwt.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
existed 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 or-
der 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 *jj* 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 *jj* 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 *jj* and *nsw* (ibid.). The usage of *jj* 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 jj* *gsjf*, “he who is in the heart of the ruler himself”. E. Doxey notes that the usage of *gsjf* 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 *jj* (ibid.).

§8. (60) *kβ.n.j* (61) *hrj gm.n.j hfs.w* (62) *pw jw.f m jj.t n(j)-sw* (63) *mh 30 hbswt.fwr.s* (64) *r mh 2 hgw.f zhgw (65) m nbw jnj.fj m hsbd* (66) *m3c rkm.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 *ht jrij.n.j *sb-n-sd.t* *n ntrw ḫn.n sdm.n.j hrw ḫrj gm.n.j hfs.w pw jw.f m jj.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 enclosed 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 (hmww-nṯr) of the gods of the Great green (sea) i.e. where the shipwreck happened.

jmjr n hmww-nṯr n nṯrw nbw wḏ-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 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 thudding.

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 hmww rmt (ibid. 3–4)

She was not in the capacity of a human 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.

\[ f^j tw f^j sw k3.k hmsj k3.k wnm.f t hnt n wr n d.t d.t \text{(Pyr. 789)} \]

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.

\[ t^j tw s^h p(w) P. pn hmsj wšb.k hmsj k3.k wnm.f t^3 hnt.k n nwr n d.t d.t \text{(Pyr. 1357)} \]

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.

\[ šsp sw hr (f)j r db^s.wj.f(j) s(w)b.f Wnjs pn š sib sfhw.f k3 n Wnjs pn m š d3.tj jsk.f jwf n k3 n Wnjs pn n d.t.f \text{(Pyr 372)} \]

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 underlines 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:

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

...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 excerpt (ibid.).

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

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).

§ 10. ... (147) ... mj jrrt n ntr mrr (148) r(m)\| m t3 w3 n rh sw r(m)\|t

...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)t - "the people (= Egyptians) loving God". W. Simpson is the author of a special study of love - amor dei. He notes that the term mrr 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 mrr.
2. The opposite relationship: the love of man to the God or the king was most frequently expressed by the term d\( w 3 \) (Simpson 1977).

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

\[ t3 w3 n rh sw r(m)\|t \]

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...)

\[ R h3s.t tn hm.t nn r(m)\|t \]
“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 tḥ-ntr “land of God” (= the divine/God’s land) that in the description of the voyage of Hatshepsut’s expedition is equaled to Punt.

ṣṣp tp-wśt ḫfr r tḥ nṯr

d(w) r tḥ m ḫtp r ḫḥst Pwnṯ (Urk. IV 322)

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

§ 11. (159) ... jmj ṣn ḫ nr(w) m ṣjw.t.k

Make my name ḫr 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 Perepelkin 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 together 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 perpetuation of his power forever?” (Perepelkin 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 1988: 388).

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:

ḥj ṣsd.t ḫḥ.j ḫjnw ṣndj.tn ḫw d N. ṣndj.tn ḫw ṣmr pn n(j) N kḥ.t.t ṣn n ḫ.t ḫ.t mj ḫw (j)r ṣn ḫtnw ḫḥtn ṣsd.t ḫḥ.j (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:

jr.n hmw.j nn n jt.j Wsjr
n mrwt mn rn.j rwd mnw.j
smnḥ mnw nw hmw.j dm rn.j ṣḥ3 nḥbt.j (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:

wnn b3.f c_nh r c_nb dr
rn.f nfr m r(3) c_nh w
ṣḥ3.t.f ṣḥ3.f n d.t (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:

nfr n Ppj pn hnc rn.f
‘nh Ppj pn hnc kṣ.f
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:

rn nfr m ṭ3 r dṛ.f (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 c_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 b3 – the long formal name that is either theoforic or basilophoric (i.e. incorporates the name of a deity or king).
2. *rn nnds* – the small short name, which in the majority of the cases is an abbreviation of the long name. Later *rn nnds* 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 *ntr 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). . . *rnpi.k* (9) *m hnw qrs.t.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:
Jḥ ṭḥ ṭḥw.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:

mšwj.kwj rnpj.kwj r₄ 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:

ḥr ḫm nfr w3ḥ-jb
nḥm wj m₄ m(w)t
jw k₃.k r rdj.t
jṛj.j ṭḥw.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
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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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