Linguistic Understanding of Divine Interaction in Ramesside Egypt

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Abstract

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This thesis sets out to examine a number of linguistic topoi from Ramesside Egypt which are utilised to express an understanding of divine interaction with humanity. In order to assess each of these topoi, the methodologies and axioms of the fields of Pragmatics and Cognitive linguistics are employed. Previously, theoretical insights from both of these fields have not been applied fully to Egyptian texts of a religious nature. Through the in depth examination of these topoi, this thesis aims to foster a greater comprehension of the ways in which individuals during this period understood divine interaction and how this understanding was figured in rhetorical devices. The selected corpus dates from the Amarna period to the start of the Third Intermediate pefriod and includes royal and private monuments, as well as hieratic material. The inclusion of examples from a variety of language registers and genres allows for a wider assessment of each theme.

The introduction presents the dataset and discusses the individual sources. This section also presents the theoretical backgrounds of Pragmatics and Cognitive Linguistics, as well as discussing potential cross-cultural variances.

Chapter 1 deals with the topoi of the "hand" and the "arm(s)" of the divine. The phrase "the hand of god" is highly familiar to western thought, and this chapter assesses the use of *ḏrt* "hand" and ꜥ(*wy*) "arm(s)" in relation to the divine. Though both lexemes have been regularly translated as "hand", in reality both lexemes function as separate idioms, appearing in separate contexts concurrently within a number of sources. *ḏrt* "hand" represents a close and palpable interaction with human characters whereas ꜥ(*wy*) "arm(s)" is used to describe the control of more distant, abstract concepts. As both lexemes are frequently utilised a part of compound prepositions, the issue of grammaticalization is also addressed, and to what extent they are semantically meaningful within such constructions.

Chapter 2 assesses the use of the verbs "come" and "go" in relation to divine motion. As deictic verbs of motion, which encode egocentric information, they may only be understood in terms of the speaker and their worldview, and the application of such verbs illustrates how the divine are perceived within their movement. When a positive interaction is iterated, the verb "come" is utilised in order to place focus upon the individual as GOAL (deictic centre) of the movement. Within the gathered corpus, the divine do not "go". Instead, when expressing negative interaction "come" is negated or the divine movement is described as rotational (i.e. "turning" as opposed to a movement from/towards the individual). Each interaction is described in the same manner as human interactions and is highly attentional. A number of instances also show elements of presupposition of divine interaction when requested.

Chapter 3 examines instances in which individuals describe "finding" or having "found" the divine. From analysis of the participant roles within the utterances as well as a contextual analysis, it is clear that the divine are viewed as real world, interactive characters. In all the instances examined *gm*(*i*) is used to express perceptual discovery.

Each of the studies shows a linguistic understanding of a highly interactive divine. Each expression is couched in the same rhetoric as human interactions and is highly rooted in the perception of the individual speaker/writer/composer.

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Though it is often stated in relation to large pieces of written work, I am certain that I could not and would not have completed this thesis without the support and guidance of a great number of people.

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Throughout my studies I have also been lucky to have some fantastic colleagues. I have shared my office, my time and my distractions with all of them. Special mention must go to Jan Haywood for many afternoons discussing anything under the sun, Anne Landborg for being a great teaching companion, Allison Williams for sharing the PhD experience with me whilst also persistently correcting my French (I promise I will get better) and Guen Taeitti for teaching me "useful" Greek. Thank you to each and every one of you. I am also fortunate to have a close group of friends who have endeavoured to keep me grounded; reminding me that if they can finish a PhD then so can I, so thanks to Jay, Ez, Nick and Adam.

My most heartfelt thanks go to my family. When I have been away for too long or have been distracted, they have always been there for me at any and every time. To my Mum and Dad who always told me that I could do anything I put my mind to, and to Kim who reminded me that a quotable knowledge of Disney films is just as useful as Egyptian grammar.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my Grandma.

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Abbreviations

Aeg.Insch.	Roeder, G., *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen Zu Berlin,* 2 Volumes (J.C. Hinrichs; Leipzig 1924)
ÄHG	Assmann, J., *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete,* (Universitätsverlag; Freiburg 1999)
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*, (New York 1897-)
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte,* (Cairo 1900-)
CAJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, (Cambridge 1990-)
Caminos *LEM*	Caminos, R. A., *Late Egyptian Miscellanies,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 1954)
Černý *LRL*	Černý, J., *Late Ramesside Letters,* (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth; Brussels 1939)
Černý-Groll	Černý, J. and Groll, S. I., *A Late Egyptian Grammar,* (Biblical Institute Press; Rome 1978)
CdÉ	*Chronique d'Égypte*, (Brussels 1925-)
Discussions	*Discussions in Egyptology*, (Oxford 1985-)
DZA	Das digitalisierte Zettelarchiv (Digitized Slip Archive) of *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache.* Ancient Egyptian Dictionary Project (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/TlaLogin)
Gardiner *Egyptian Grammar*	Gardiner, A. H., *Egyptian Grammar (Third Edition),* (Griffith Institute; Oxford 1950)
Gardiner *LEM*	Gardiner, A. H., *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies,* (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth; Brussels 1937)

GM	*Göttinger Miszellen,* (Göttingen 1972 -)
HO	Černý, J. and Gardiner, A. H., *Hieratic Ostraca,* (Griffith Institute; Oxford 1957)
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion*, (Leiden 2001-)
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Cairo,* (American Research Centre in Egypt 1962-)
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* (London 1914-)
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* (Chicago 1942 -)
JSSEA	*The Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities,* (Toronto 1978 -)
KRI	Kitchen, K. A., *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical,* 8 Volumes (Blackwell; Oxford 1968-1990)
LÄ	Helck, W. and Otto, E., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie,* 7 Volumes, (Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1975-1992)
LES	Gardiner, A. H., *Late Egyptian Stories,* (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth; Brussels 1932)
Lesko *Late Egyptian Dictionary*	Lesko, L. H., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian,* 2 Volumes, (Scribe; Berkeley, CA 1982-1987)
Lichtheim *AEL*	Lichtheim, M. *Ancient Egyptian Literature,* 3 Volumes, (University of California Press; Berkeley,CA 1973-1980)
LingAeg	*Lingua Aegyptia, Journal of Egyptian language Studies*, (Göttingen 1991-)
MES	Blackman, A. M., *Middle Egyptian Stories,* (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth; Brussels 1932)

Nyord *Breathing Flesh*	Nyord, R., *Breathing Flesh: Conceptions of the body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts,* (Museum Tusculanum Press; Copenhagen 2009)
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; Chicago, IL 1924 -)
PM	Porter, B. and Moss, R. L. B., *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings,* 7 volumes, (Clarendon Press; Oxford 1960-)
RAD	Gardiner, A. H., *Ramesside Administrative Documents,* (Griffith Institute; Oxford 1948)
RITA	Kitchen, K.A. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated*, 7 volumes (Blackwell; Oxford 1993-2014)
RITANC	Kitchen, K.A. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated*, *Notes and Comments,* Volumes I and II (Blackwell; Oxford 1993-) Davies, B. G. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated*, *Notes and Comments,* Volumes III and IV (Blackwell; Oxford 2013-)
TLA	*Thesaurus Lingua Aegyptia* BBAW- Ancient Egyptian Dictionary Project (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/TlaLogin)
Tosi-Roccati	Tosi, M. and Roccati, A., *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, n. 50001-n. 50262,* (Edizioni d'Arte Fratelli Pozzo; Turin 1972)
Urk	Sethe, K., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie Zweiter Band,* (J.C.Hinrichs; Leipzig 1906)

	Helck, W., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie (Heft 22),* (Akademie Verlag; Berlin 1958)
Wente *LRL*	Wente, E. F., *Late Ramesside Letters,* (University of Chicago Press; Chicago 1967)
The Workman's Progress	B. J. J. Haring, O. E. Kaper and R. van Walsem (eds.) *The Workman's Progress: studies in the village of Deir el-Medina and other documents from Western Thebes in honour of Rob Demarée,* (Peeters; Leuven 2014)
Wb	Erman, A. and Grapow, H., *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache,*7 Volumes (Akademie-Verlag; Berlin 1926-1961)
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes,* (Vienna 1915 -)
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* (Leipzig/Berlin 1863 -)

Introduction: Translating Religious Expression

1.1 The Expression of Divine Interaction

This thesis examines the linguistic expression of divine interaction in Ancient Egyptian through the application of theoretical insights from modern linguistics in three case studies. The application of these methods to ancient sources is based on the concept of universality[1]. Namely that if the analysis of an utterance in one language is logical, it should produce the same logical result within another (unless there is a cultural taboo guarding the discussed topic)[2]. The ancient Egyptians possessed cultural preferences for what was and was not acceptable to present and discuss within text and image, which differ from our own, and as such this must be taken into account during analysis[3].

The application of modern linguistics to ancient sources has gained pace in recent times, with an increase in the use of the methods of pragmatics and cognitive linguistics for the analysis of ancient Egyptian textual sources. The work of Nyord[4], Collier[5], Groll[6] and Gregersen[7] amongst others, have shown the efficacy and utility of these methods when applied to a variety of textual genres. The theoretical insights from modern linguistics, when placed in the ancient context have allowed for a greater, more detailed understanding of a number of linguistic phenomena. Despite the evident value of these analytic traditions, there has been a sparing application of them to religious discourse. One

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[1] See: Huang, Y., *Pragmatics,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2007).

[2] Thomas, J., *Meaning in Interaction,* (Longman; Oxford 1995).

[3] The subject of "taboo" subjects in religion has been discussed Baines in: Baines, J., 'Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institution', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990), 1-23.

[4] Nyord, R., *Breathing Flesh: Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts,* (Museum Tusculanum Press; Copenhagen 2009), and Nyord, R., 'Prototype Structures and Conceptual Metaphor: Cognitive Approaches to Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian', in E. Grossman, S. Polis and J. Winand (eds.) Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian, (Widmaier Verlag; Hamburg 2012), 141-174 amongst other work also.

[5] Collier, M. A., 'Facts, Situations and Knowledge Acquisition: *gmi* with *iw* and *r-dd* in Late Egyptian', in T. Schneider and K. Szpakowska (eds.) *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occaision of His Retirement,* 347 (Ugarit-Verlag; Münster 2007), 33-46, Collier, M. A., 'Pragmatics and Meaning Construction in late Egyptian: of Implicatures, Pragmatic Scales, and Scope.', *Lingua Aegyptia* 17 (2009), 9-26.

[6] Groll, S. I., 'Semiotics, Pragmatics and Structuralism as a means to Determine the Degree of Connectedness between Utterances. I: *pꜣ*-A versus Ø−A', *Lingua Aegyptia* 1 (1991), 143-153.

[7] Gregersen, E. A., 'Deixis in Ancient Egyptian', in Z. Hawass (ed.) *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000* III (American University in Cairo Press; Cairo 2003), 213-217.

notable exception to this is that of the Coffin Text corpus, which is fairly unified compared to later corpora.

This chosen corpus to be examined within this thesis dates from the Amarna period to the start of the Third Intermediate period. The Amarna period is chosen as a starting point as it signals a number of alterations in Egyptian society, which are keenly felt in the language used; manifested in changes in grammar[8] and literary forms[9]. There are also changes in the representation of the divine within the Egyptian worldview[10], reflected in the range and utilisation of religious expressions. Though some elements may have pre-Amarna antecedents[11], the use of such expressions is continued through the latter half of the New Kingdom and onwards[12].

As a result, during the Ramesside Period, individual non-royal human interaction with the world of the gods becomes more prominent within the textual record. The material associated with this prominence has been characterised as "personal piety"/persönlichen frömmigkeit"[13]. First noted by Erman[14] and Breasted[15], and expanded on by Battiscombe

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[8] Junge, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar,* (Griffith Institute; Oxford 2005), 23 and Silverman, D. P., 'Texts from the Amarna Period and their Position in the Development of Ancient Egyptian', *Lingua Aegyptia* 1 (1991), 301-314.

[9] For an overview; Baines, J., 'Classicism and Mmodernism in the Literature of the New Kingdom', in A. Loprieno (ed.) *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms,* (Brill; Leiden 1996), 157-174.

[10] cf. Baines states that Akhenaten's intentions were "clearly revolutionary". Baines, J., 'Presenting and Discussing Deities in New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period Egypt', in B. Pongratz-Leisten (ed.) *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism,* (Eisenbrauns; Winona Lake, IN 2011), 41-89, Assmann, who promotes cultural evolutionism, also places great prominence on the Amarna period as an impetus for change within the New Kingdom Assmann, J., *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt,* (Cornell University Press; Ithaca, NY 2001)189-198.

[11] cf. Luiselli, M. M., *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe: Untersuchungen zur Persönlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Nuen Reiches,* (Harrasowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden 2011).

[12] For example Frood notes a number of elements present within New Kingdom religious discourse which survive in Third Intermediate period Biographies. Frood, E., 'Sensuous Experience, Performance, and Presence in Third Intermediate Period Biography', in R. Enmarch and V. M. Leper (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Theory and Practice,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2013), 153-184.

[13] Due to semantic arguments, this has also been called personal/practical/popular and folk religion variously.

[14] Erman, A., *Denksteine aus der Thebanischen Graberstadt* (Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Berlin 1911).

[15] Breasted, J. H., *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt,* (Hodder & Stoughton; London 1912) who described this era as the "age of personal piety".

Gunn[16], many of these early studies focussed on the so-called penitential stelae[17]. Originating from the village of Deir el-Medina, these stelae are inscribed with religious and dedicatory texts, typically dealing with the theme of divine punishment[18]. It was quickly realised that these stelae were only a small part of a bigger picture; the broader corpus of personal piety material has since been studied with vigour[19].

Assmann views the religious changes of the Amarna period as part of a continuum; that the shifts between pre-Amarna Amun-Re theology, the Amarna period[20] and Ramesside personal piety are "phases of a single process of development that began in the Middle Kingdom"[21]. At the same time as stating this, Assmann places a great emphasis upon the repercussions of the Amarna period, crystallised as a "crisis of Polytheism"[22]. Conversely, Baines whilst accepting the "caesura" of the Amarna period[23] suggests that there was a structure in place before the New Kingdom for such expression, that they "may be intrinsic to Egyptian religion but seldom given monumental expression before the late New Kingdom"[24]. As such, his argument for the quantitative increase of pious material is focused upon a change in decorum[25], as to what may be discussed by non-royal individuals, as well as a religion which shows less plurality in its focus[26]. It is highly

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[16] Gunn, B., 'The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 3 (1916), 81-94. Ironically, the dedicators of these stelae were not poor in the fiscal sense of the word as Gunn implied. The concept of a "High" and "Low" cultural split in this case is examined by Luiselli, M. M., 'Themen der modernen Kulturwissenschaft innerhalb der Untersuchung der altägyptischen Religion', in A. Verbovsek, B. Backes and C. Jones (eds.) *Methodik und Didaktik in der Ägyptologie: Herausforderungen eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Paradigmenwechsels in den Altertumswissenschaften,* (Wilhelm Fink; Munich 2011), 81-90.

[17] Though often focussing upon these stelae, they were not exclusive to these; also examining hymns from this period as well as New Kingdom Biographies such as that of Samut-Kyky.

[18] See: Galán, *CdE,* 74, 18-30.

[19] For more on the development of the study of this corpus, see: Luiselli, M. M., 'Personal Piety (modern theories related to)', in J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich (eds.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology,* (http://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee; Los Angeles, CA 2008), which also provides a comprehensive bibliography of the subject.

[20] An assumption of a complete break from the previous religious practices is no longer tenable, as shown by the presence of private religious objects which do not conform to the practice of Atenism within the settlement of Amarna. Stevens, A., *Private religion at Amarna: the material evidence,* (Archaeopress; Oxford 2006).

[21] Assmann, J., *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt,* (Cornell University Press; Ithaca, NY 2001),168.

[22] Assmann, J., *Ägypten : eine Sinngeschichte,* (Hanser; Munich 1996),259-277.

[23] Baines, J., 'Classicism and Mmodernism in the Literature of the New Kingdom', in A. Loprieno (ed.) *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms,* (Brill; Leiden 1996), 157-174, specifically 167.

[24] Baines in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms,* 172.

[25] Baines, J., 'Practical Religion and Piety', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987), 79-98, Baines, J., 'Society, Morality and Religious Practice', in B. Schafer (ed.) *Religion in Ancient Egypt,* (Cornell University Press; Ithaca, NY 1991), 123-200.

[26] Baines, J., 'Egyptian Letters of the New Kingdom as evidence for Religious Practice', *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion* 1 (2001), 2.

problematic to attribute the changes in religious presentation to a single cause; instead it is likely that factors from both viewpoints are contributing factors.

Due to the varying arguments centred on the causes or catalysts for the display of Ramesside piety[27], there is a focus on what variety of change this represents. When commenting upon Late Period magic, Ritner[28] suggests that the increase in the use of amulets in the Late Period was a quantitative increase as opposed to a "qualitative change in Egyptian thought or practice" [29]. Thinking in this manner, it is clear that there is a quantitative increase of material during the latter part of the New Kingdom, which may be described as pious. Lichtheim voices a suggestion of some qualitative change also, stating that "Piety has become a visible and verbalised partner of the individual's morality"[30]. With regards to the personal piety corpus and related sources, there is a clear quantitative increase of material, with an intimation of qualitative change also. Eyre[31] expresses some scepticism over the extent in which "observed changes in the record reflect changes in belief, or simply changes in what may be made visibly explicit[32].

Discussing his research in Madagascar, the anthropologist Maurice Bloch noted that "only those statements by informants that seemed odd and therefore interesting by anthropologists and their readers were recorded, while, at the same time, other more familiar images were ignored as unworthy of interest"[33]. This same bias may be noted within Egyptology, explaining the interest in such eye-catching phrases as "seeing darkness by day"[34] as opposed to the ideas of "seeing" or "finding" god. Although many linguistic and lexicographical studies have focused upon non-religious language, those that have examined religious language have proven fruitful. For example, Borghouts' work on

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[27] Luiselli has examined some antecedents for personal piety. cf. Luiselli, M. M., *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe: Untersuchungen zur Persönlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Nuen Reiches,* (Harrasowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden 2011). Barbara Lesko has also provided a general outline of the role of the divine across pharaonic history: Lesko, B. S., 'Divine Interest in Humans in Ancient Egypt', in Z. Hawass and J. Houser Wegner (eds.) *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman,* I (Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Egypte; Cairo 2010), 305-313.

[28] Ritner, R. K., 'Horus on the Crocodiles: A Juncture of Religion and Magic in Late Dynastic Egypt', in W. K. Simpson (ed.) *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt,* (Yale University Press; New Haven, CT 1989), 103-116.

[29] Ritner in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, 104.

[30] Lichtheim, M., *Moral Values in Ancient Egypt,* (Universitätsverlag; Freiburg 1997), 29.

[31] Eyre, C. J., 'Women and Prayer in pharaonic Egypt', in E. Frood and A. McDonald (eds.) *Decorum and Experience: Essays in Ancient Culture for John Baines*, (Griffith institute; Oxford 2012), 109-116

[32] Eyre in *Decorum and Experience*, 114.

[33] Bloch *How We Think They Think*, vii.

[34] Galán, J. M., 'Seeing Darkness', *Chronique d'Égypte* 74 (1999), 18-30.

bȝw [35] has illuminated the use and context of this lexeme within the community of Deir el-Medina. There are less exotic, more familiar phrases, which may benefit from a close examination, phrases whose understanding has previously been taken for granted. These tropes may be harder to recognise "but this is not because it is alien and incomprehensible, but because it is so deeply entrenched in human mentality as to go unnoticed"[36]. This thesis focusses upon such phrases.

Clarity of literal sense in previous translations does not necessarily convey the full understanding of the individual. Only through a close reading of texts and contexts is it possible to expand the understanding of the culture itself as ultimately, "the progress we have made in our understanding of grammar has still not been matched by comparable progress in the domain of meaning"[37]. Translation is not the end of understanding and interpretation, as each use of a lexeme, verb or phrase is contextually dependent[38]. This view is also expressed within academic works on cognitive linguistics by Goddard and Wierzbicka, who propose that exploring the meaning of words systematically is "a vital part of what linguistics is all about" [39] as the universe of meaning is as vast as the physical universe, and no less awe-inspiring"[40].

Within this thesis, three case studies are presented in which different aspects of divine interaction are described, as elements of speech in which the individual *speaks to* or *speaks about* the divine in textual discourse. These are as follows:

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[35] Borghouts, J. F., 'Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation (*bȝw*)', in R. J. Demarée, And Janssen, J.J. (eds.) *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina,* (Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten; Leiden 1982), 1-70.

[36] Uljas, S., *The Modal System of Earlier Egyptian Complement Clauses: A Study in Pragmatics in a Dead Language,* (Brill; Leiden 2007)362. Concerning the meaning of apparently innocuous lexemes, Sir Alan Gardiner commented that the student "may be led to believe that the last word has been said in Egyptian lexicography", though this is misleading, "...lexicography is among the most important tasks still confronting the student of the Egyptian language in its various phases. A splendid beginning has been made, but no more..."cf. Gardiner, A. H., 'The First Two Pages of the "Wörterbuch"', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 34 (1948), 12-18.

[37] Grossman, E. and Polis, S., 'An Introduction', in E. Grossman and S. Polis (eds.) Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian, (Widmaier Verlag; Hamburg 2012), 2

[38] "Major advances in interpretation may come from deep engagement with carefully selected exemplars rather than from mass treatment of a category" Baines, J., 'Egyptology and the Social Sciences: Thirty Years on', in A. Verbovsek, B. Backes and C. Jones (eds.) *Methodik und Didaktik in der Ägyptologie: Herausforderungen eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Paradigmenwechsels in den Altertumswissenschafte,* (Wilhelm Fink; Munich 2011), 573-597.

[39] Goddard, C. and Wierzbicka, A., *Words and meanings : Lexical Semantics Across Domains, Languages, and Cultures,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2014),7.

[40] Goddard and Wierzbicka *Words and meanings,* 21.

6

Chapter 1: The topoi of the "hand" and the "arm(s)" of the divine.

The phrase "the hand of god" is highly familiar to western religious thought. This chapter assesses the use of this phrase within ancient Egyptian religious expression through the examination of *ḏrt* "hand" and ꜥ(*wy*) "arm(s)" in relation to the divine. Instances will be assessed through the means of contextual implicature and image schemata in order to understand the meaning construction of these idioms.

Chapter 2: The use of deictic verbs in relation to divine motion.

Within the selected corpus there are a number of instances in which the individual invokes the divine or describes their arrival through a verb of motion. The focus of this chapter is upon the use of deictic verbs of motion, which encode egocentric information, hence positioning the divine in relation to the individual, particularly focussing on "come" and "go".

Chapter 3: The description of individuals "finding" or having "found" the divine.

The concept of "finding" is complex, able to encode discovery of perceptual and conceptual means. This chapter follows the work of Collier[41] and Vernus[42] in order to assess how individuals describe "finding god" during the selected time period, and in what way this is understood by said speakers.

1.2 Dataset

The dataset gathered is formed from sources dating from the Amarna period to the start of the Third Intermediate period, selected due to their internal textual coherences and continuities in language. This provides relative synchrony, of a few hundred years, between c.1300-1000BC[43]. This chronological distinction reduces potential issues associated with more diachronic studies[44]. Diachronic studies may provide information

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[41] Collier in *Egyptian Stories,* 33-46.
[42] Vernus, P., 'Le Verbe *gm(j):* Essai sémantique lexicale', in E. Grossman, S. Polis and J. Winand (eds.) *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian,* (Widmaier Verlag; Hamburg 2012), 387-438.
[43] Shaw, I., *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2000)485. This general division thus includes the reign of Akhenaten and the start of the Third Intermediate period.
[44] In reference to other linguistic studies, synchronic study is often favoured, especially within contemporary metaphor studies, cf. Steen, G. J., *Finding Metaphor in Grammar and Usage,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 2007),79.

regarding change in lexicon and language use over time, due to the large amount of variables present over such a large period of time the amount of close detail is minimised. This thesis prefers the synchronic approach so as to procure as greater an understanding of the period in question as opposed to being a study of long-term language change. A variety of language registers and genres will also be assessed. This allows for the examination of the selected tropes within differing contexts, thus identifying trends within specific registers, genres and methods of transmission.

There are a number of considerations that may be made regarding the selection of this dataset. First of all, it is clear that there are antecedents for the tropes here examined that predate the Amarna period[45]. Similarly, the tropes examined do not disappear with the end of the New Kingdom[46]. However, the amount of evidence, especially papyri – which is swollen due to the activities of the village of Deir el-Medina during the later New Kingdom- is reduced with the start of the Third Intermediate Period.

A large number of the sources gathered within this thesis originate in the village of Deir el-Medina. Whilst this single provenance for the preponderance of data surveyed presents a bias, the level and quality of detail provided by the material from the site as well as the "exceptional"[47] literacy level of the population provides a snapshot of expression at this time. We will always be reliant upon the survival of material for study. Zivie-Coche when discussing small local shrines, suggests that we are most likely missing a great deal of evidence due to preservation[48]. As such, it is important to note that although there is a bias towards Deir el-Medina in the dataset in this thesis (as there invariably is in virtually any text-based study of Ramesside life), the tropes examined are not solely from this location

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[45] cf. Luiselli *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe* and Blumenthal, E., 'Sinuhes Persönliche Frömmigkeit', in I. Shirun-Grumach (ed.) *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology,* (Harrassowitz; Wiesbaden 1998), 213-231

[46] Frood in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Theory and Practice*, 160-163 provides a number of examples from Third Intermediate Period biographies which share thematic and linguistic parallels to a number of Ramesside religious expressions.

[47] Haring, B. J. J., 'From Oral Practice to Written Record in Ramesside Deir el-Medina', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46 (2003), 249-272. Haring suggests that there is a possible 25-30% literacy level of the *adult male* population of the village, increased to 40% with the inclusion of support staff. This is extraordinary compared to the proposed literacy levels of the rest of the Egyptian population. Baines, J. and Eyre, C. J., 'Four Notes on Literacy', *Göttinger Miszellen* 61 (1983), 65-96 suggest Egypt-wide literacy levels, though varying through pharaonic history, of 1%. This equates to around 1 in 20-30 adult males. Indeed, we are grappling with the "literate tip of a non-literate iceberg" Baines, J., 'Practical Religion and Piety', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987), 79-98.

[48] Zivie-Coche, C., 'Pharaonic Egypt', in F. Dunand and C. Zivie-Coche (eds.) *Gods and Men in Egypt 3000 BCE to 395 CE,* (Cornell University Press; Ithaca, NY 2004), 108-109.

and social level. Examples range from Memphite finds[49] to those linked with the administration of the Egyptian empire in Nubia[50], showing the spread of these ideas across the country.

At this point, it is important to note that this study will not be examining any underworld literature that may have been composed[51] or was in circulation[52] during the Ramesside Period. Nor will the corpora of Magico-Medical[53] and related dream manuals/books[54] be examined. Ritual and knowledge texts such as the underworld books do not describe human-divine interaction within the human sphere; instead any interaction takes place within a liminal zone. These texts also function as a collection of knowledge as opposed to a description of the world as is. Though the language of interaction explained within the underworld books may also provide interesting results it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Whilst magic certainly intends to have an interactive effect within the lived environment[55] it does not couch the divine interaction in the same manner as is the focus of this thesis. The mode of direct address is also present[56]. Even though there are shared characteristics with the material examined within this thesis there is often an attempt within magical texts to situate the practitioner in a mythological level of discourse. In this way, those involved function as part of a mythological analogy; this is not the case with the texts examined within this thesis. Such sources ultimately function as knowledge texts and do not function as a narrative describing interaction, thus engaging in a different mode of discourse.

Similarly, the mode of discourse in which onieromantic texts engage also differs to that examined within this thesis. Those interactions, which take place within a dream state and

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[49] Such as the Memphite corpus of *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (i.e. the Anastasi papyi).

[50] This refers to Cairo JE 37463 – Stela of Huy, Viceroy of Kush, who has strong links to Faras and the deification of Tutankhamun at that site.

[51] For example: *The Book of Caverns* and *The Book of Gates* among others. See: Hornung, E., *The Ancient Egytian Books of the Afterlife,* (Cornell University Press; Ithaca, NY 1999).

[52] Hornung, E. and Abt, T., *The Egyptian Amduat : The Book of the Hidden Chamber* (Living Human Heritage Publications; Zurich 2007).

[53] For example: Borghouts, J. F., *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts,* (Brill; Leiden 1978).

[54] Szpakowska, K., *Behind Closed Eyes: Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt,* (Classical Press of Wales; London 2003)123-151.

[55] Ritner, R. K., *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice,* (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; Chicago, IL 1993).

[56] For example: "Come to me Montu…" Borghouts *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts,* 1.

thus do not conform to the same restrictions as those within waking life, are not therefore included for discussion within the following studies.

Texts created during the Middle Kingdom and in the pre-Amarna period of the Eighteenth dynasty, which were still in circulation at this time are also discounted[57], as even though these may still have been being read at this time, their creation is rooted in a different social and cultural milieu- before the changes of the Amarna period. Again, a study into the intertextualities and understanding of said texts at this time would prove useful but is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Finally, documentary texts, which mention deities in passing will also be discounted. This is due to their lack of one-to-one direct human-to-divine discourse, on which the examination of sources within this thesis is predicated.

For each study, an appropriate sample size has been gathered[58]- none of the studies are intended to be a collection of *all* the instances of each particular topos, as this would exceed the scope of a word-limited doctoral thesis. As noted previously, despite being chronologically close, there are a number of varying language registers presented within this thesis, and they are presented based upon internal textual coherences, genre and mode of transmission (where possible) as follows:

Hieratic Sources

- *Epistolary*
- *Oracular* [59]

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[57] For example, the inclusion of probable Middle kingdom compositions within the archive of Qenherkhepeshef; McDowell, A. G., *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 1999)134-135 and Pestman, P. W., 'Who were the Owners, in the "Community of Workmen", of the Chester Beatty Papyri?', in R. J. Demarée and J. J. Janssen (eds.) *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina,* (Nederlands Institut voor het Nabije Oosten; Leiden 1982), also a number of fragments of earlier pieces discussed by Caminos, R. A., *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 1956).

[58] In the case of chapters 1 and 2, this sample size was limited by the time constraints of the thesis. In these cases, an attempt was made to include as many language registers and genres in circulation during this time period. Regarding chapter 3 an examination of the gathered sources provided the sample size.

[59] The cases presented within this thesis are written in hieratic script. Later in Egyptian history, this distinction is less pronounced. For example; during the Third Intermediate Period, an oracular text is inscribed upon the walls of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak by the High Priest of Amun, Menkheperre. PM II² 232 and for a full discussion: Dembitz, G., 'The Oracular Inscription of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre in the Khonsu Temple at Karnak ', in A. Hudecs and M. Petrik (eds.) *Commerce and Economy in Ancient Egypt : Proceedings of the Third International Congress for Young Egyptologists, 25-27 September 2009, Budapest,* (Archaeopress; Oxford 2010), 41-47. Published: OIP 103, *The Temple of Khonsu, Volume 2:Scenes*

- *Graffiti* [60]

- *Miscellanies* [61]

- *Literary* [62]

- *Hymnic Tradition*

- *Historical Fiction* [63]

- *Didactic* [64]

Private Monuments

- *Penitential stelae* [65]

- *Tomb Inscriptions* [66]

- *Statuary and Stelae*

- *Miscellaneous (i.e. other inscribed, architectural elements)*

Royal Monuments [67]

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and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall, (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; Chicago, IL 1981)

[60] A single, well known graffito is included within this thesis. A full examination of post-Amarna graffiti and its potential religious content is not included. For more on the content and context of various forms of graffiti: Peden, A. J., *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c. 3100-332 B.C.),* (Brill; Leiden 2001)

[61] Specifically, the various papyri labelled as the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* a group of around nineteen papyri which contain short compositions including; epistolary models, hymns and praises, extracts of other works and scribal satire. Though the content of each of these collections are highly varied, they are collated as a specific subsection within this thesis due to their shared mode of transmission and apparent purpose of codification. Introduction and Transcription: Gardiner, A. H., *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies,* (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth; Brussels 1937) and Gardiner, A. H., *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (Third Series) The Chester Beatty Gift* I: Text (British Museum Press; London 1935) Translation: Caminos, R. A., *Late Egyptian Miscellanies,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 1954)

[62] Whilst a number of the sections dictated above fall into the literary category (such as didactic writings or the *miscellanies*), this section includes and narrative tales, as well as other compositions which do not fall into other subcategories based upon internal textual coherences, genre or mode of transmission.

[63] For a definition of "Historical fiction" Manassa, C., *Imagining the Past: Historical Fiction in New Kingdom Egypt,* (Oxford University Press; New York, NY 2013),19-25. This definition thus excludes *Königsnovellen* creating a discreet genre.

[64] Again, whilst didactic compositions may also be categorised as literary, they are provided with a separate subsection within this thesis due to their shared internal coherences as a genre, allowing for comparison of the specific themes within the context of teachings at this time.

[65] These stelae are separated from other stelae due to the overriding internal coherences of content and language within this corpus. They thus form a choerent textual and monumental genre in their own right.

[66] With regards to private monuments, tomb inscriptions are included as a separate category. It follows that the inscriptions examined include hymns, personal biographies and other genres. They are collated as a section within this thesis due to their shared contexts of display.

[67] From the Amarna period onwards the differences between royal and non-royal discourse become notably lessened, due to this shift examples from royal inscriptions are also included within this thesis.

A full list of the forty-seven sources utilised within the three case studies is provided in section 1.4 of the current chapter.

1.3 Using Cognitive Linguistics and Pragmatics to Understand the World

In order to assess the linguistic expression of divine-to-human interaction during this period, this thesis applies a number of theoretical approaches from modern linguistics. Two areas of modern linguistics are particularly useful, they stem from attempt to understand the use of language through its application and structures. The first of these is that of pragmatics[68]. Pragmatics deals with how speakers and hearers understand utterances; based upon the context of the utterance. There is often a large gap between the literal meaning and what is conveyed by the utterance, thus dealing with those elements of speech and language which go un-uttered but remain understood. The domain of semantics is coded, pragmatics is not and relies on other knowledge (known as pragmatic competence).

The second, cognitive linguistics[69], aims to provide an understanding of language as "an integral part of the human cognitive system"[70]. Whilst pragmatics and cognitive linguistics have remained separate within academic work, it is clear that they are different and complementary ways of attaining an understanding of the building blocks and structure necessary for successful communication between parties.

Whilst these two disciplines have on occasion been at theoretical odds, it is the case that they share a number of objects of enquiry, i.e. that of understanding the use, function and organisation of language[71]. As such, the same phenomena may be described utilising two variant schools of thought. In order to illustrate these building blocks, what follows is a description of two of the most useful elements of these analytical traditions; those of implicature (pragmatics) and conceptual metaphor theory (cognitive linguistics). This

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[68] Huang, Y., *Pragmatics,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2007), 1-17.
[69] Croft, W. and Cruse, D. A., *Cognitive Linguistics,* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 2004) provides a useful overview of the areas of this discipline.
[70] Nyord, R., 'Cognitive Linguistics', in J. Stauder-Porchet, A. Stauder and W. Wendrich (ed.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology,* (http://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee; Los Angeles, CA 2015), 1.
[71] For an overview on this link in areas of modern pragmatics and cognitive linguistics see: Panther, K.-U. and Thornburg, L. L., 'Introduction: On the Nature of Conceptual Metonymy', in K.-U. Panther and L. L. Thornburg (eds.) *Metonymy and Pragmatic Inferencing,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 2003), 1-20 the same authors suggest that pragmatics is "often guided by metonymic principles", 5.

thesis applies the most apt and useful approach from each of the schools of thought within the following case studies so as to gain the most information from the texts examined.

1.3.1 Pragmatics and Implicature

The concept of implicature- first suggested by Paul Grice in the William James Lectures[72]- is defined as the meaning of an utterance that is not conveyed by the literal content of the words, where context plays a central role in determining meaning. The concept of Implicature formed part of Grice's attempt to explain everyday language usage and communication. In order to do so, he proposed the Co-operative principle and the Maxims of Conversation; these elements explain the *ideal* way in which language is used to communicate effectively and efficiently. They may be summarised as follows:

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[72] Partially collected and published in: Grice, H. P., *Studies in the Way of Words,* (Harvard University Press; Cambridge, MA 1989).

1) *The co-operative principle*:

   - Make your contribution as informative as is required.

   - Do not make it more informative than required.

2) *Maxims of Conversation*

   Quality

   - Do not say what you believe to be false.

   - Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

   Quantity

   - Make your contribution as informative as is required.

   - Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

   Relation

   - Be relevant

   Manner

   - Avoid obscurity of expression.

   - Avoid ambiguity.

   - Be brief.

   - Be orderly.

   Based on Grice, (1989:26-29)

By bending, breaking or flouting these rules then a conversational implicature is created. For example: by giving more information than needed, the speaker conveys a different meaning than that of the speaker who provides too little information[73]. These principles have been further developed by a number of academics, most notably Lawrence Horn[74]

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[73] For example; when referring to an incident, the name of the culprit may be omitted (less information than required), the omission thus may imply a number of outcomes- that the listener is already aware of their identity is one of these outcomes.

[74] Horn, L. R., 'Towards a New Taxonomy for Pragmatic Inference: Q-based and R-based Implicature', in D. Schiffrin (ed.) *Meaning, Form, and Use in Context: Linguistic Applications,* (Georgetown University Press; Washington, DC 1984), 11-42.

and Stephen Levinson[75]. Horn's work simplified the Gricean maxims into two simple rules[76]:

> **Q[uantity] -** Say as much as you are able.
>
> And
>
> **R[elation] -** Say no more than you must.

The application of Horn's methodology allows for "Q-Scales"[77] to be created; these illustrate levels of pragmatic strength, all of which are based on the premise that *P* is stronger that *Q* for example:

> **Horn/Q-Scales**
>
> *<P, Q>*
>
> <all, some, a>
>
> <excellent, very good, good, acceptable, fail>
>
> <succeed, manage, try>

(This method of pragmatic scaling has been applied successfully to ancient Egyptian sources by Collier[78], and will be returned to within the following studies.)

Further work has been conducted into the specifics of pragmatics allowing for a widening of the field from conversational implicature to include: deixis[79], which communicates

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[75] See: Levinson, S. C., 'Minimization and Conversational Inference', in J. Verschueren and M. Bertuccelli-Papi (eds.) *The Pragmatics Perspective,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 1987), 61-129. Also, for a concise introduction: Huang, *Pragmatics,* 40-54.

[76]See: Huang, *Pragmatics,* 37-40 and also Horn, L.R, 'Implicature', in L.R. Horn and G. Ward (eds.) *The Handbook of Pragmatics,* (Blackwell; Oxford 1979), 3-28.

[77] Also referred to as "Horn-scales".

[78] Collier, *LingAeg* 17, .9-26.

[79] For more details on deixis, see chapter 2 which utilises the structures of deixis for linguistic analysis. Specific sections include: Chapter 2, 1.1. and 1.2.

egocentric information about "I", "here" and "now". Presupposition[80], which deals with the background truths of utterances and speech acts[81], which frame speech as an element of action, i.e. "words are (part of) deeds"[82]. Each of these, despite their separation, follows the same basic principles set out by Grice providing extra (non-semantic) information to each utterance.

Despite the successful application of the methodology from this sphere of linguistics, there has been a great deal of scholarly discussion of the validity of these principles in application to non-western and non-contemporary cultures. Thomas[83] has pointed out that if the subject is not part of the culture then no implicature would be created, i.e. that if culture x does not see abruptness as rude, then if one is abrupt in conversation, the implicature that would be produced within culture y in which abruptness is undesirable as means of communication, would not be seen within culture x. This rebuttal also counters the apparent importance of the argument that efficiency is not paramount in all cultures, thus meaning that the Gricean maxims are flexible within cultural spheres. Whilst there are differences between cultures, given enough information it is surely possible for paradigms to be understood for each.

In a discussion of the application of the Gricean maxims to ancient Egyptian sources, Sweeney[84] considers whether it is possible to examine implicature in other languages due to cultural differences. This is rooted in the suggestion that we can never know enough about alien cultures in order to understand when the rules are being flouted; whilst this may be a genuine concern, there is a simple solution. During a discussion about the identification of words in image captions Kent Weeks stated;

"... we should not assume that one example of a representation with the term x above it is adequate information for the translation of that term. We must collect as many examples as possible to try to identify the significant attributes those examples share of the category

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[80] Huang *Pragmatics*, 64-92.
[81] Austin, J. L., *How to Do Things with Words.,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 1962), Searle, J. R., *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Langage,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 1969).
[82] Huang *Pragmatics*, 93.
[83] Thomas, *Meaning in Interaction*, 76.
[84] Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 36.

they are intended to represent. Only then will we be able to predict the boundaries of the category and seek an English terminological label for it."[85]

The collection of a large sample size, and detailed examination of said sample, allows for an understanding of the specific maxim usage within said culture, in the same way that a lexicographical study may also function. From this base point, we may then focus upon their application and thus upon the specific meanings of the examined utterances. This approach has been taken by a number of recent studies within Egyptology, illustrating the value of the application of the methodology and understanding of pragmatics. Sarah Groll[86] has applied a varied approach to assess the potential implied meaning within the stela of Neferabu (Turin 50058). Recently, Mark Collier has applied aspects of pragmatics and implicature to show how meaning is constructed within non-religious Late Egyptian sources[87]. Deborah Sweeney[88] has used elements of pragmatics to elucidate the inter-quotations and relationships documented in the *Late Ramesside Letter* corpus. I argue that this approach to textual analysis will also be fruitful to the study of religious expression. By examining the context and implicature of each utterance, a greater understanding of the idiom may be fostered.

1.3.2 Cognitive Linguistics

As previously stated, cognitive linguistics may be seen to overlap with pragmatics as it expresses sentiments whose explication requires access to a wider conceptual frame of reference than is provided solely within the words uttered. Cognitive linguistics aims to provide "an account of language as an integral part of the human cognitive system"[89], in this way, it follows that language embodies cognition[90]. There are a number of directions of focus within cognitive linguistics, including lexical semantics[91] cognitive grammar[92] and

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[85] Weeks, K. R., 'Egyptology, Language and Art', in K. R. Weeks (ed.) *Egyptology and the Social Sciences: Five Studies,* (American University in Cairo Press; Cairo 1979), 57-81, 73.

[86] Groll, S. I., 'Semiotics, Pragmatics and Structuralism as a means to Determine the Degree of Connectedness between Utterances. I: *pꜣ*-A versus Ø–A', *Lingua Aegyptia* 1 (1991), 143-153.

[87] Collier, *LingAeg* 17, 9-26.

[88] See: Sweeney, D., *Correspondence and Dialogue: Pragmatic Factors in Late Ramesside Letter Writing,* (Harrassowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden 2001).

[89] Nyord, R., 'Cognitive Linguistics', in J. Stauder-Porchet, A. Stauder and W. Wendrich (eds.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology,* (http://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee; Los Angeles, CA 2015), .

[90] Language is not the sole embodiment of cognition, art, music and other human pursuits also embody elements of cognition.

[91] Cruse, D. A., *Lexical Semantics,* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 1986).

[92] Langacker, R., *Cognitive Gramar: A basic introduction,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2008).

conceptual metaphor[93], each of which has its own approaches. It is the premise of cognitive linguistics that the individual forms an understanding of the world based upon these central experiential *gestalts*[94]. Through an examination of these we are able to develop an understanding of the structures of the particular "linguistic community"/ "speech community"[95].

Whilst this thesis utilises various elements of the cognitive linguistic approach, a particularly useful principle is that of conceptual metaphor theory, introduced by Lakoff and Johnson in their 1980 book *Metaphors we live by*[96]. Their theory is based around the idea that our linguistic expressions are based heavily on the abstract thought processes of metaphor. For example, if we take the metaphor of: ARGUMENT IS WAR, we can explain how we may talk about "winning an argument", "being strategic", "being attacked" or "being shot down" in relation to discourse[97]. Conceptual metaphors can vary in complexity as they become more specific in their usage. In some cases a single metaphor may include emergent properties of a number of different sources. How these complex metaphors are created has been discussed widely based upon the theory of "conceptual blending" as proposed by Fauconnier and Turner [98]. Conceptual blending involves the input of a number of concepts into a single metaphor. One frequently cited example of this is that of the metaphor surrounding the Grim Reaper[99], which includes metaphor associated with death as well as more abstract metaphor such as HUMANS ARE PLANTS[100].

Not all conceptual metaphors require such deep explanation, instead they perform their role through the medium of Image Schemata, a means of providing an overarching mental image of the concept expressed[101]. These schemata include; CONTAINER, SURFACE

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[93] Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M., *Metaphors We Live by,* (Chicago University Press; Chicago, IL 1980).

[94] Johnson, M., *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason,* (University of Chicago Press; Chicago, IL1987).

[95] Chomsky, N., *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax,* (MIT Press; Cambridge, MA. 1965),3.

[96] Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M., *Metaphors We Live by,* (Chicago University Press; Chicago, IL 1980).

[97] See: Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors we live by,* 4-6.

[98] Fauconnier, G. R. and Turner, M., *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (Basic Books; New York, NY 2002).

[99] Kövecses, Z., *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2002)269-271. See also: Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture,* 278-281, particularly Figure 11.7.

[100] Hence the Grim Reaper's use of the scythe to "harvest" the dead.

[101] Based upon the work of Johnson, M., *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason,* (University of Chicago Press; Chicago, IL 1987).

and NEAR-FAR. Through these mental images, the language user understands the relationship between objects within space and their roles thereabouts.

Within the field of Egyptology, early attempts to integrate and utilise the theories and methods of cognitive linguistics were performed by Collier[102] and Goldwasser[103] to useful ends, showing how such an approach may provide greater information about the cognitive processes behind expressions (Collier) and images (Goldwasser). Following these studies, these approaches have been applied to a wide range of evidence. These approaches have proven to be highly influential in the examination of the use of determinatives/classifiers; in particular in the work of Goldwasser[104], Lincke[105] and McDonald[106]. Frandsen has also discussed the applications of conceptual metaphor to the proportions and standards of Egyptian art[107]. Whilst strides have been made in this direction, and have been slowly provided with more credit within the research community, it is clear, given the breadth of determinative usage within Egyptian, that there is more work to be done[108].

Rune Nyord has recently applied the structure of image schemata to the metaphor use within the Coffin Text corpus. Despite the consistent and well thought out application of these image schemata to the numerous examples within the Coffin Texts, Nyord's approach has garnered some criticism. Within his review of Nyord's *Breathing Flesh*, Warburton[109] has criticised this approach, though much of the criticism seems to originate within Warburton's inherent dislike of conceptual metaphor theory[110]. Despite Warburton's relatively superficial discussion of the primary evidence, his criticism then

[102] Collier, M. A., 'Grounding, Cognition and Metaphor in the Grammar of Middle Egyptian: The Role of Human Experience in Grammar as an Alternative to the Standard Theory notion of Paradigmatic Substitution', *Lingua Aegyptia* 4 (1994), 57-87.
[103] Goldwasser, O., 'The Narmer Pallete and the "Triumph of Metaphor"', *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992), 67-85.
[104] E.g. Goldwasser, O., 'Where is Metaphor? Conceptual Metaphor and Alternative Classification in the Hieroglyphic Script', *Metaphor and Symbol* 20 (2005), 95-113 Goldwasser, O., *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes: Wor(l)d Classification in Ancient Egypt,* (Harrassowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden 2002).
[105] Lincke, E.-S., *Die Prinzipien der Klassifizierung im Altägyptischen,* (Harrassowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden 2011).
[106] McDonald, A., 'A Metaphor for Troubled Times: The Evolution of the Seth Deity Determinative in the First Intermmediate Period', *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 134 (2007), 26-39.
[107] Frandsen, P. J., 'On Catergorization and Metaphorical Structuring: Some Remarks on Egyptian Art and Language', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7 (1997), 71-104.
[108] For a fuller discussion of the use of cognitive linguistics in relation to determinitives, see: Nyord, R., 'Cognitive Linguistics', in J. Stauder-Porchet, A. Stauder and W. Wendrich (eds.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology,* (http://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee; Los Angeles, CA 2015), .
[109] Warburton, D. A., 'Review of: 'Rune Nyord, *Breathing Flesh: Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*", *Lingua Aegyptia* 19 (2011), 375-386.
[110] Warburton also errs towards *ad hominem* argument, thus weakening his overall arguments. cf. Warburton *LingAeg* 19, 384 and f.14.

sparked a debate on the usefulness of this methodology[111]. Reviewing the same work by Nyord, Stadler has also suggests that similar results may have been garnered without the application of the theories of conceptual metaphor[112].

Most of the criticism towards the application of these theories appears to stem from the general reception of external theories within the Egyptological discourse[113], which are sometimes treated with suspicion. Nyord has gone further, proposing that some of the disapproval of these approaches may be generated from the desire to appreciate the culture of ancient Egypt as unique (*sui generis*)[114].

Notwithstanding the ongoing debate as to whether conceptual metaphor theory is the *only* way to analyse this aspect of Egyptian texts, it is clear that it provides a more thoroughly systematically reasoned theoretical framework for so doing than has traditionally been used, and the present study seeks to apply its insights to late New Kingdom texts on this basis.

1.3.3 Cross-cultural variances

As many scholars have noted, we must be careful not to impose our own cultural expectations upon another culture. Zoltan Kövecses has discussed the variances of metaphor internally and cross culturally[115]. The crux of his argument forms around the creation of cultural models based upon social, religious and lived experience. These models stipulate the creation and use of conceptual metaphors in each culture, thus allowing for "metaphor variance". Given specific circumstances metaphors from culture *x* will perform identically in culture *y.* Cross-cultural variance is also present within pragmatic elements of speech also, as implicature is also dependent upon cultural norms.

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[111] Nyord, R., 'On (Mis)conceptions of the Body in Ancient Egypt', *Lingua Aegyptia* 20 (2012), 165-184, Warburton, D. A., 'Studying the Earliest Devleopment and Transformation of Written Expression', *Lingua Aegyptia* 21 (2013), 265-276 and finally Nyord, R., 'Concluding Remarks on a Recent Debate about the Conceptions of the Body and How to Study Them', *Lingua Aegyptia* 22 (2014), 177-182 See also: 'Editorial' *Lingua Aegyptia* 22 (2014), v.

[112] Stadler, M. A., 'Review of Nyord 2009', *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes* 101 (2011), 501-506

[113] Moreno Garciá, J. C., 'The Cursed Discipline? The Peculiarities of Egyptology at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century', in W. Carruthers (ed.) *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures,* (Routledge; New York, NY 2015), 50-63.

[114] Nyord, R., 'Cognitive Linguistics', in J. Stauder-Porchet, A. Stauder and W. Wendrich (eds.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology,* (http://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee; Los Angeles, CA 2015), 6.

[115] Kövecses, Z., *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation,* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 2005).

Whilst not all concepts in one language may be transferable, we may return to the concepts of universality and linguistic "relativity"[116], to inform our assessment. Elements of speech such as spatial perception are "central to human cognition"[117], whilst expression may differ[118] human conception is "constrained by the nature of the physical world as well as by the nature of human psycho-biology"[119]. This bodily basis for understanding[120] explains why some elements of speech such as deixis (the focus of chapter 2) may be seen as archaic/primitive element of human communication[121]. Those fundamentals for communication provide a reflection of cognition as an instrument for understanding.

Elsewhere within the literature of cognitive linguistics Goddard and Wierzbicka have discussed the state of lexical studies across various languages[122] through the approaches of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM). Their approach seeks to strip down lexical items (not lexemes) to the most basic prime elements, to "decompose them into simple concepts which can be found in all languages"[123]. Whilst they realise that there may be some things which remain untranslatable[124] and that we may not readily assume the same concepts are in all cultures[125] there are also some elements, which are fundamental in communication. They suggest that by working with the very simplest meanings we may be able to create a "non-ethnocentric *lingua franca* for conceptual analysis"[126]. Whilst the aim of their studies are laudable, we must be careful not to overinvest in this analysis as "universals" are very rarely universal, there will always be an exception to the rule[127]. As such we must be careful

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[116] Levinson, S. C., 'Relativity in Spatial Conception and Description', in J. J. Gumperz and S. C. Levinson (ed.) *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity,* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 1996), 177-202.

[117] Levinson 'Relativity in spatial conception and description' in Gumperz and Levinson, 179.

[118] For example, in the Guugu Yimithirr language, location is always a fixed orientation of up/downhill even when flat. This is expression is specific to this language. Levinson 'Relativity in spatial conception and description' in Gumperz and Levinson, 181.

[119] i.e. experience limited to the experience of being bipedal, front-facing pair of eyes, gravitation etc Levinson 'Relativity in spatial conception and description' in Gumperz and Levinson, 179.

[120] Hoffmann, S., 'Are low-frequency Complex Prepositions Grammaticalized? On the limits of corpus data- and the importance of intuition', in H. Lindquist and C. Mair (eds.) *Corpus Aproaches to Grammaticalization in English,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 1996), 171-210 specifically 188-189.

[121] Levinson, S. C., 'Deixis', in L. R. Horn and G. Ward (eds.) *The Handbook of Pragmatics,* (Blackwell; Oxford 2004), 98.

[122] Goddard, C. and Wierzbicka, A., *Words and meanings : Lexical Semantics Across Domains, Languages, and Cultures,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2014).

[123] Goddard and Wierzbicka *Words and meanings,* 2.

[124] Goddard and Wierzbicka *Words and meanings,* 4.

[125] Goddard and Wierzbicka *Words and meanings,* 10.

[126] Goddard and Wierzbicka *Words and meanings,* 10, for references to the semantic primes within other languages see: Goddard and Wierzbicka *Words and meanings,* 21.

[127] For example: Wierzbicka, A., 'Why There are no 'Colour Universals' in Language and Thought', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14 (2008), 407-425.

to represent the linguistic reality shown within the texts as opposed to rigidly applying such methodology which has the potential to be *reductio ad absurdum*.

1.4 Catalogue of Sources

What follows is a comprehensive list of primary sources examined within this thesis with details for their publication and previous translation, dating criteria for each as well as a short description of the artefact. Also provided is detail the relevant *textstellen* that the text displays. This may serve as a reference point for each source when discussed as an example within each chapter. The following list also serves as a model for the division of the sources within the following chapters.

Hieratic Sources

EPISTOLARY

   i)   <u>O.Berlin 11247</u>

Publication: *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin,* (1911),Vol. 3 Pl. XXXV-XXXVa and K*RI* III, 532-533.
Translation: Wente, E.(1990), *Letters from Ancient Egypt,* 142. *RITA* III, 372-373 and McDowell, A. (1999), *Village Life in Ancient Egypt,* 55-56.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II

Dating criteria and description: This epistolary ostracon from the village of Deir el-Medina dates to the reign of Ramesses II[128]. It details a father's request for his son's attention and help in the procurement of ingredients for an eye salve. It has been noted by McDowell[129] that the ingredients requested mesh closely with those described within the

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[128] It is possible to date the correspondents within this text to the early years of the reign of Ramesses II. Whilst no definite dates may be ascribed to this, Pay (i) is depicted together with his son Nebre (i) in the tomb of Qen (ii) (TT 4). Within this tomb there are also references to the Vizier Paser and the scribe Ramose (i), hence, it may be said that the tomb must have been constructed during the early part of the reign of Ramesses II. See: Davies, B. G., *Who's who at Deir el-Medina :A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community,* (Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten; Leiden 1999) 149, note 4 and K*RI* III:681. As the son of Pay (i) is mentioned as a draftsman then we may speculatively date this ostracon to the mid-part of the reign of Ramesses II.
[129] See: McDowell, *Village Life*, 55.

magico-medical papyri of the New Kingdom- particularly with P.Ebers (No. 371[130]). The father and son are named within the address as the draftsman Pay and one of his sons. As the ostracon is broken on this line, showing only *p3-r*[131], it is possible that the addressee could be read as either Prehotep or Preemhab, both of whom were the sons of Pay (i), and both of whom were also Draftsmen[132]. Keller has written deftly about the notable piety of Pay (and to a certain extent, his descendants) towards celestial and solar deities[133], dedicating a number of monuments to celestial gods such as Shu and Re, and he also appears to have had a propensity for giving his children theophoric names associated with Re[134].

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 1. In relation to movement *h3*ᶜ *h3=k* (rt.2) and *h3=f r=i* (rt.4)

Chapter 3: *nil*

    ii)   <u>P. BM EA 10419</u>

Publication: Janssen *LRLC,* Pl. 5-8.

Translation: Janssen *LRLC,* 16-20.

Date: *whm-mswt* period of Ramesses XI

Dating criteria and description: Janssen has suggested that Dhutmose may have made a number of journeys south[135], thus accounting for the number of arrivals described within the letters (one of which is described within this letter). Janssen also suggests that this letter may have been written between years 7 and 10 of the *whm-mswt* period [136]. This letter is

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[130] P. Ebers details the problem called ᶜ*fdt* (also rendered as ᶜ*dt* and ᶜ*dit*), See: Ebbell, B., *The Papyrus Ebers: The Greatest Egyptian Magical Document,* (Levin & Munksgaard; Copenhagen 1937)71-72. The ailment described suggests a variety of ocular cyst or growth, indeed, Ebbell interprets this as pterygium-a form of cunjunctiva thought to be caused by over exposure to wind, sand and sunlight (elements highly common to the Egyptian climate!) No matter how this problem may be identified medically, given the content of the letter, it is clear that it was painful for Pay, given his urgent manner.

[131] Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin,* Vol. 3 (Hinrichs; Leipzig 1911), Pl. XXXV for the Hieratic transcription of this text.

[132] See: Davies *Who's who at Deir el-Medina,* 149-155 and Chart 10.

[133] Keller, C., 'Some Thought on Religious Change at Deir el-Medina', in S. D'Auria (ed.) *Servant of Mut: Studies in honor of Richard A. Fazzini,* (Brill; Leiden 2008), 149-154. Particularly: 151-152.

[134] His children are named; Nebre, Prehotep, Preemhab, Reweben (possibly?), Beketre (i) and Beketre (ii). See: Keller in *Servant of Mut*, 152.

[135] Janssen *LRLC,* 19

[136] Ibid.

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included within this thesis due to the sentiments concerning the divine and tomorrow expressed by the writer.

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 4. (ḥr) ꜥ(wy) pꜣ nṯr (rt.7-8)
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

iii) <u>P. Leiden I 369 (*LRL* 1)</u>

Publication*:* Černý *LRL*, 1-2 and facsimile in Janssen *LRLC,* Pl.65.

Translation*:* Wente *LRL,* 18-19.

Date: *wḥm-mswt* period of Ramesses XI, year 6

Dating criteria and description: This letter was written by Dhutmose in Middle Egypt to his son Butehamun in Thebes. This letter is included within this thesis due to the sentiments concerning the divine and tomorrow expressed by the writer.

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 5. ḥr ꜥw(y) pꜣ nṯr (rt.6)
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

iv) <u>P. BM EA 10417 (*LRL* 14)</u>

Publication*:* Černý *LRL*, 27-28 and facsimile in: Janssen *LRLC,* Pl.43,44.

Translation*:* Wente *LRL,* 46-47.

Date: *wḥm-mswt* period of Ramesses XI, year 6 earliest [137]

Dating criteria and description: This letter was written by Amenhotep (in Thebes) to Dhutmose who appears to be residing somewhere in Middle Egypt. This letter is included

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[137] Wente *LRL,* 16.

within this thesis due to the sentiments concerning the divine and tomorrow expressed by the writer.

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 3. (*ḥr*) *ꜥw(y) pꜣ nṯr* (rt.11)
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

v)   P. Geneva D 192 (*LRL* 17)

Publication: Černý *LRL,* 51. And Janssen, J. J., (1990) *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications,* Pl.61-62.

Translation*:* Wente *LRL,* 33-34.

Date: *wḥm-mswt* period of Ramesses XI, year 10

Dating criteria and description: Wente[138] attributes this *Late Ramesside Letter* tentatively to year 10 of the *wḥm-mswt* period. It has been ascribed to the General Piankh (written by Pentahaures) who was writing from south of Thebes whilst Dhutmose was in Thebes, before Dhutmose's journey to Nubia. It is one of six of the *Late Ramesside Letter* corpus gathered within this thesis. This letter is included within this thesis due to the sentiments concerning the divine and tomorrow expressed by the writer.

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 1. (*ḥr*) *ꜥwy pꜣ nṯr* (rt.7)
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

vi)   P. Geneva D 407 (*LRL* 8)

Publication*:* Černý *LRL*, 13-17 and facsimile in Janssen *LRLC,* Pl.63, 64.

Translation*:* Wente *LRL,* 33-37.

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[138] Wente *LRL,* 16.

Date: *wḥm-mswt* period of Ramesses XI, year 10 [139]

Dating criteria and description: This letter belongs to the "Nubian group" of letters (written whilst Dhutmose is in Nubia)[140]. It was written by Butehamun to Dhutmose and is one of the longest surviving letters in the Late Ramesside Letter corpus. This letter is included within this thesis due to the sentiments concerning the divine and tomorrow expressed by the writer.

Within this thesis: Chapter 1, Ex.2
Chapter 1: Example 2. (*ḥr*) *ꜥwy pꜣ nṯr* (rt.15)
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

    vii)   <u>P. BM EA 75025 (Bankes 'C')</u>

Publication: Demarée, R.J. (2006), *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri*, Pl. 27 and 28.

Translation: As above pp. 26-28.

Date: *wḥm-mswt* period of Ramesses XI

Dating criteria and description: This text is preserved as palimpsest, the original text was washed out and the papyrus re-used in order to write down a new, possibly religious text[141]. This later text appears to be in foreign language[142] written in Egyptian. This re-use may still be attributed tentatively to Dhutmose based upon the style of the handwriting used[143]. It is unclear whether the letter was sent and then re-used in the Theban area or drafted and re-used by the writer whilst in Nubia. This letter is included within this thesis due to the sentiments concerning the divine and tomorrow expressed by the writer.

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 6. *ḥr ꜥwy pꜣ nṯr* (rt.7-8)
Chapter 2: *nil*

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[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Demarée, R. J., *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri,* (British Museum Press; London 2006).
[142] Suggested by Demarée *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri,* 27.
[143] See: Janssen, J. J., 'On Style in Egyptian Handwriting ', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987), 161-167.

Chapter 3: *nil*

ORACULAR

viii)   <u>P. BM EA 10335</u>

Publication: K*RI* VII, 416-418 and Dawson, W.R. (1925), 'An Oracle Papyrus. B.M. 10335', *JEA* 11,3/4,247-248 and Pls.XXXV-XXXVIII. Facsimile copies in Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography*, Pls. XXVII, XXIX and XXX.

Translation: Blackman, A.M. (1925), 'Oracles in Ancient Egypt', *JEA* 11, 3/4, 249-255.

Date: The text may be dated broadly to the 20th dynasty, due to the inclusion of the cartouches of Ramesses III (rt.8) and Setnakht (vs.14). Dawson goes one step further suggesting that the palaeographic details of this text suggest a date of Ramesses IV [144].

Dating criteria and description: This papyrus contains the description of an oracular consultation, in which the plaintiff- Amunemwia seeks the assistance and judgement of a Theban form of the god Amun, (Amun of Pa-Khenty[145]) in the matter of some stolen clothes. It also details the petition of the defendant Patjauemdiamun to another form of Amun, as Amun of Ta-Shenyt (Amun of the Garden) (rt.6). Despite Patjauemdiamun's protestation in a number of situations, the various oracles proclaim his guilt and the text concludes with his punishment.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 2. *mi* in reference to Amun (rt.1)

Chapter 3: *nil*

ix)   <u>O. BM EA 5625</u>

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[144] Dawson *JEA* 11, 247.

[145] For the meaning of *p3-ḫnty* see: Haring, *JEA* 90,220. Who convincingly draws parallels to the use of the short title *p3-ḫnty* in relation to a longer form of the toponym *p3-ḫnty-ḥr.w* present in P.Mallet III, literally "The foremost (or southernmost) of low fields". Previous interpretation of this phrase has been discussed within: Blackman, *JEA*, 11, 3/4, 250 note 2 and 253, cf. von Lieven, A., 'Divination in Ägypten', *Altorientalische Forschungen* 26 (1999), 77-126.

Publication: Blackman, A.M. (1926), 'Oracles in Ancient Egypt II', *JEA* 12, 3/4, pl. XXXV, XXXVI and XLI, Allam, S. (1973), *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*, 46-7, Demarée, R. J., (2002), *Ramesside Ostraca,* Pls. 9-10, and K*RI* VI, 252.

Translation: Blackman *JEA* 12, 3/4 181-183, *RITA* VI, 194 and McDowell, *Village Life,* 177.

Date: 20th Dynasty, Year 4, month 4 of *Akhet*, last day

Dating criteria and description: This ostracon records the oracular consultation of the deified Amenhotep I in relation to the apparent usurpation of the restored tomb chapel of Kaha (TT360 [146]). The protagonist Merysekhmet (iii) son of Menna (i) [147] is well known within the village of Deir el-Medina due to his recurrent bad behaviour. He is attested as part of the work gang during the later years (24-30) of the reign of Ramesses III[148], though the low year (4) noted within this text suggests a later King. It is unclear which King's reign this refers to with suggestions varying between Ramesses IV[149], RamessesV[150] or Ramesses VI[151] with each of these reigns passing year 4 though not always much more.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 3. *mi* in reference to the oracle of King Amenhotep (rt.3).

Chapter 3: *nil*

GRAFFITI

   x)   Graffito of Pawah in the tomb of Pairi

Publication: Gardiner, A.H. (1928), 'The Graffito from the Tomb of Pere', *JEA,* 14, 1 / 2, 10-11 and Pls. V-VI.

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[146] PM I[1] ,424-426.
[147] Davies *Who's who at Deir el-Medina,* Chart 11 and 162.
[148] Davies *Who's who at Deir el-Medina,* 165 referencing P.DeM 27, rt. 6.
[149] Blackman *JEA* 12, 3/4,181.
[150]
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=24922 0001&objectId=176711&partId=1 Accessed:10/08/2015 suggests that the King in question is Ramesses V
[151] Davies *Who's who at Deir el-Medina,* 165.

Translation: Gardiner, A.H. (1928) *JEA,* 14, 1/2, 10-11. Murnane, W.J. (1995), *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt,* 207-208 and Luiselli, M. M. (2011) *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe*, 340-656.

Date: 18th Dynasty, Smenkhare

Dating criteria and description: This graffito is written in thirty-three lines of black ink hieratic, it is located in the tomb of the *wab* priest Pairi (TT 139[152]), on the left door jamb between the main chamber and the burial chambers[153]. The tomb itself is contemporary to the reign of Amenhotep III, though the hieratic graffito may be dated to year three of the reign of Smenkhkare [154], meaning that this example comes from the very start of the time period examined within this thesis. This dating is confirmed by the presence of the cartouches of Ankhkheperura and Neferneferuaten[155]. It details religious wishes of the writer to see the god Amun again, given the time period it is usually interpreted as a reaction to the potentially prescriptive religious climate of the Amarna period. In terms of language, Gardiner noted that the text does "contain some queer spellings and some obscure phrases"[156] and some constructions that span the Middle and Late Egyptian forms of the language.

Previously it has been thought that this graffito fitted into the tradition of *Besucherinschriften*[157]. However, a recent study by Luigi Prada[158] has placed this attribution into question. His argument is based upon the inclusion of a "painter's signature" written in cursive hieroglyphs elsewhere within TT 139[159]. The "signature" appears to be written by the same Pawah whom the graffiti is dedicated to shown below[160]. This would connect

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[152] PM I[1], 252-254.
[153] See: PM I[1], 248 for a basic outline of the tomb. The graffito corresponds to number 5 on the plan.
[154] Peden, A. J., *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c. 3100-332 B.C.),* (Brill; Leiden 2001)69. Interestingly, the date of this text is also the highest attested date for this monarch, whose identity has been the source of extended enquiry, due to the uncertain successions after the reign of Akhenaten. See: Allen, J. P., 'Nefertiti and Smenkh-ka-re', *Gottinger Miszellen* 141 (1994).
[155] Lines 1,2, 4, 29 and 33.
[156] Gardiner, *JEA* 14, 10.
[157] See: Helck, W., 'Die Bedeuting der ägyptischen Besucherinschriften', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 102 (1952), 39-46.
[158] Prada, L. (Forthcoming) and personal communication.
[159] See: Scheil, V., *Tombeaux Thébains de Mâi, des Graveurs, Rat'eserkasenb, Pâri, Djanni, Apoui, Montou-m-hat, Aba* V: 4 (E. Leroux; Paris 1894), 585.
[160] Unfortunately, Schiel did not include a facsimile copy of this graffito. As such, the orthographical differences between the name of Pawah in this and the main text cannot be reconciled at this time.

the act of decorating the tomb to the creation of the graffiti through the relationship of individuals.

"the wab-priest, the scribe of the temple of Amun   *p3-w3ḥ*" [161]
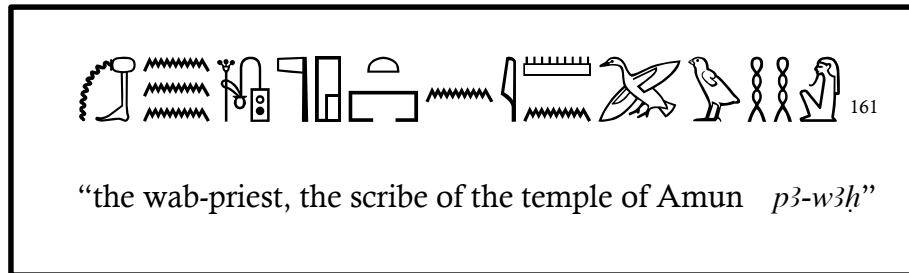
As *Besucherinschriften* constitute a generic tradition, they may not be said to be entirely casual texts left behind by casual visitors[162].

Within this thesis: Chapter 2, Ex.4 and Chapter 3, Ex.1

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 4. *ꜥnn* (line 19) and *iy* (line 22) in relation to Amun.

Chapter 3: Example 1. *gm(i)* (line 25)

LITERARY

xi)   *The Tale of the Doomed Prince*

Publication: Gardiner *LES,*1-9. Budge, E. A. W., (1923), *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series,* Pls. 48-52.

Translation: Lichtheim *AEL* II, 200-203, Wente, E.F. in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt,* 75-79.

Date: 18th-19th Dynasty

Dating criteria and description: This tale is recorded upon the verso of P.Harris 500 (P. BM EA 10060), which also contains *The Capture of Joppa* and a number of love poems. The tale details the life of an unnamed prince who is assigned three possible fates by the Seven

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[161] Based on Scheil, V., *Tombeaux Thébains de Mâi, des Graveurs, Rat'eserkasenb, Pâri, Djanni, Apoui, Montou-m-hat, Aba* V: 4 (E. Leroux; Paris 1894) 585. It is likely that the graffito should read *p3-w3ḥ* ( ) as opposed to *p3-wḥḥ* as shown within Scheil's transcription.
[162] For a broad survey of the theme of visitors graffiti: Peden, A. J., *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c. 3100-332 B.C.),* (Brill; Leiden 2001)and Navrátilová, H., *The Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Northern Saqqara* (Czech Institute of Egyptology; Prague 2007).

Hathors. The tale records his birth, travels, marriage and confrontation of potential fates. The tale does not meet a conclusion due to a large break to the text. It is of interest for this thesis due to its use of interactive phraseology regarding the Prince, one of his fates and the divine.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: Example 12. *m-ḏrt=k* (vs.8,5) to describe personal possession of fate as a result of divine interaction.

Chapter 2: *nil*

Chapter 3: *nil*

xii)   O. Glasgow D. 1925.69 (O. Colin Campbell 4)

Publication: McDowell, A.G. (1993), *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow (The Colin Campbell Ostraca)*, Pls. VI-VIa and *HO,* 39.

Translation: McDowell *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum*, 7-9. McDowell, A. G.(1999), *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs*, 142-143 and Assmann *ÄHG*, 416-417 (no. 186).

Date: Tentatively dated by McDowell to the early 20th Dynasty[163]

Dating criteria and description: The text inscribed upon this ostracon is titled as a *ṯni*[164], though it is uncertain whether this is a distinct genre. Nevertheless, it is clear that it shares a number of characteristics with religious texts of this period. The text shows thematic similarities with the other pious texts, such as the prayers and supplications found within the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies-* in which desire for the city is iterated as well as human success through divine benevolence. There is also some parallel to the views of preparation for death as iterated in Harper's songs[165]. As a whole composition, the text deals with the god Amun and his relationship with humanity, it has been suggested that the text

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[163] McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum,* 7.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Lichtheim *AEL* II, 115-116.

preserved may not be fully complete[166]. It is included within this thesis due to its explanation of tomorrow in relation to divine interaction.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: Example 7. *ḥr ꜥwy imn* (rt.1) and *ḥr [ꜥwy?]* (rt.8)

Chapter 2: *nil*

Chapter 3: *nil*

MISCELLANIES

    xiii)   <u>P. Sallier I (P.BM EA 10185)</u>

<div align="right"><u>The profession of a scribe is superior to all</u></div>

Publication: Gardiner *LEM,* 84-85.

Translation: Caminos *LEM,* 317-319.

<div align="center"><u>Prayer to Thoth</u></div>

Publication: Gardiner *LEM,* 85-86.

Translation: Caminos *LEM,* 321-323.

Photographs:http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=428806001&objectId=113973&partId=1 Accessed: 20/10/2015

Date: 19th Dynasty, Merenptah

Dating criteria and description: The title of this collection includes the "Regnal year 10, Month 4 of Akhet, Day 7" (3,4-3,5), it is likely that this refers to the reign of Merenptah due to the inclusion of a passage marked as a *Eulogy of Merenptah* (8,7-9,1). The verso of this papyrus contains a copy of *The Teaching for King Amenemhat.* These two pieces both include an invocation of the divine (Thoth in both cases) to come to the individual as well as utilising other deictic verbs of motion.

Within this thesis:

The profession of a scribe is superior to all

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[166] Suggested by McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum,* 9 due to the inclusion of a potential first line of a fifth stanza upon the verso.

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 9. *mi* in relation to "his god" (8,4)

Chapter 3: *nil*

Prayer to Thoth

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 10. *mi* in the mouth of the gods (8,4) and *mi(n=i)* directed at Thoth (8,5)

Chapter 3: *nil*

  xiv) <u>P. Sallier IV verso (P.BM EA 10184)</u>

<u>*From a Letter Praising Thoth, written to a young scribe*</u>

Publication: Gardiner *LEM,* 92.

Translation: Caminos *LEM,* 350-353.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II

Dating criteria and description: This papyrus may be dated to the reign of Ramesses II due to the inclusion of his titulary (vs.16,3-vs.16,6) and the date of "Regnal year 56, Month 4 of Peret, day 22" (vs.17,1). Given the high regnal date, this may only be Ramesses II who reigned for sixty-six full years[167]. The recto of this papyrus contains a *Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky days*. Within this text the scribe hopes for divine assistance from Thoth, that the divine will give them their hand.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: Example 9. *ḏḥwty ḏrt* (vs.5,5)

Chapter 2: *nil*

Chapter 3: *nil*

  xv) <u>P. Anastasi II (P. BM EA 10243)</u>

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[167] Hornung, E., 'New Kingdom', in E. Hornung, R. Krauss and D. A. Warburton (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Chronology,* (Brill; Leiden 2006), 197-217, with specific reference to 211-212.

<div align="center"><u>Prayer to Pre-Herakhti</u></div>

Publication: Gardiner *LEM,* 18-19.

Translation: Caminos *LEM,* 60-63.

<div align="center"><u>Fragments of text on the Verso</u></div>

Publication: Gardiner *LEM,* 19.

Translation: Caminos *LEM,* 63-65.

<div align="center"><u>Prayer of a defendant to Amun</u></div>

Publication: Gardiner *LEM,* 17.

Translation: Caminos *LEM,* 56-58.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Merenptah

Dating criteria and description: One of a number of papyri gifted to the British Museum by the Swedish Conusl Giovanni Anastasi[168]. This particular papyrus may be dated to the reign of Merenptah due to texts focusing on praising the King at 3,6-4,4 and 4,4-5,4. Plates of this papyrus are also available in and Netherclift, J., *Select papyri in the hieratic character from the collections of the British Museum,* I, 2, Pls. LXIII-LXXIII. These extracts are included for various reasons; the *fragments* contain an instance of the hand/arm topos, the *Prayer to Pre-Herakhti* utilises a deictic verb of motion in relation to the divine and the *Prayer of a defendant to Amun* describes the discovery of the divine through the verb *gm(i)*.

Within this thesis:
Prayer to Pre-Herakhti
Chapter 1: *nil*
Chapter 2: Example 5. *mi* in relation to pre-horakhti (10,1)
Chapter 3: *nil*

Fragments of text on the Verso
Chapter 1: Example 11. *ḥr ʿwy sn(w)ty* (vs. between rt.4-5)

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[168] Bierbrier, M. L., *Who Was Who in Egyptology,* (Egypt Exploration Society; London 2012),19-20.

Chapter 2: *nil*

Chapter 3: *nil*

Prayer of a defendant to Amun

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: *nil*

Chapter 3: Example 3. *gm*(*i*) (9,0)

Longing for Memphis

Publication: Gardiner *LEM,* 39.

Translation: Caminos *LEM,* 150-152.

Supplications to Amun in a year of need

Publication: Gardiner *LEM,* 45.

Translation: Caminos *LEM*, 170-174.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Seti II

Dating criteria and description: This collection of texts was copied out by the scribe Inena in "Regnal Year 1, month 4 of Shemu, day 15" (vs.1a,1), this date likely corresponds to the reign of Seti II[169], this is reinforced by the inclusion of cartouches at 5,12 and 7,1. The scribe Inena is also responsible for P.D'Orbiney (P.BM EA 10183), P. Anastasi VI (P.BM EA 10245), P.Anastasi VII (P.BM EA 10222) and P.Sallier II (P.BM EA 10182). Transcription of this papyrus is also available in Netherclift, J., *Select papyri in the hieratic character from the collections of the British Museum,* I, 2, Pls. LXXXII-XCVIII. These texts are included due to their use of deictic verbs of motion in relation to the divine as well as an instance of divine discovery.

Within this thesis:

Longing for Memphis

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[169] Caminos *LEM,* 125

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 6. *mi* in relation to Ptah, with extended meaning with *it̠(i)* (5,2).

Chapter 3: *nil*

Supplications to Amun in a year of need

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 7. *mi* in relation to Amun (10,2).

Chapter 3: Example 2. *gm(i)* (10,3)

    xvii)   <u>P. Anastasi V (P.BM EA 10244)</u>

<div align="right"><u>Prayer to Thoth for skill in writing</u></div>

Publication: Gardiner *LEM,* 60.

Translation: Caminos *LEM,* 232-234.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Seti II

Dating criteria and description: This collection of texts inscribed in large literary handwriting may be dated to the reign of Seti II due to mentions of the particular king in a number of locations within the papyrus (12,1 and 19,4). This papyrus comes from a set of manuscripts from Ramesside Memphis. Though there is no known archaeological context for these papyri, they are linked through the names of copyists[170]. Whilst many of the sources gathered here originate within the Theban region, sources from this Memphite corpus also contain the specific topoi examined within this thesis, i.e. the hand/arm of the divine and the use of deictic verbs in relation to the divine [171].

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: Example 10. *m-ꜥ=k* (9,7)

Chapter 2: Example 8. *mi* in relation to Thoth (9,2 9,3 and 9,7), and *iw* relating movement towards Thoth by individuals (10,1).

Chapter 3: *nil*

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[170] Quirke, S., *Egyptian Literature 1800 BC: Questions and Readings,* (Golden House; London 2004), 17-18

[171] Other passages and texts from this set are also examined within this thesis. These include: P.Sallier I and IV, P.Anastasi II, IV and V as well as comparative examples from P.Sallier IV and P.D'Orbiney.

HYMNIC TRADITION

    xviii)   P. Chester Beatty XI (P.BM EA 10691), P.UC 32793 and P.BM EA 10780

Publication: Gardiner, A. H. (1935), *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (Third Series) The Chester Beatty Gift,* II Plates. Griffith, F.L., (1898) *The Petrie Papyri: Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 2 Vols.

Translation: Gardiner, A.H., (1935) *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (Third Series) The Chester Beatty Gift* Vol.I, 119-120.

Date: 19th Dynasty

Dating criteria and description: Three sources are included as a single item- when translating the text of P. Chester Beatty XI, Gardiner included the translation of what he called Gurob Q[172]. Gurob Q forms part of the papyrological finds of Flinders Petrie at the New Kingdom site of Gurob during the 1888 season[173]. Griffith published a selection[174], and many of the administrative papyri were published as part of Gardiner's *Ramesside Administrative Documents*[175], there has been no full treatise of the Hymn to Amun preserved within these papyri. The papyrus containing the Hymn to Amun was split between collections and now resides in two locations - The British Museum (P. BM EA 10780 Gardiner's Bequest) and The Petrie Museum, University College London (P. UC 32793). Work upon these papyri is currently being undertaken by a number of researchers including Carsten Knigge-Salis[176] and Frederik Hagen[177].

Whilst Gardiner ultimately classifies both P. UC 32793 and P. BM EA 10780 as 'Gurob Q' he also provides some description of the fragments of that papyrus. Based upon his description of Gurob fragments A and B[178], it may be said that they correspond with P. BM EA 10780. Whilst P. UC 32793 may be matched to what Gardiner calls fragment C.

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[172] Gardiner *The Chester Beatty Gift,* I, 119-120. Noted as Gurob C within the Notebook bequeathed to The British Museum. See: Politi, J., 'Gurob: The Papyri and the "Burnt Groups"', *Göttinger Miszellen* 182 (2001), 107-111.
[173] Gardiner *The Chester Beatty Gift,* I, 120. See: Politi *GM* 182,107-111.
[174] Griffith, F. L., *The Petrie Papyri: Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob,* (Bernard Quaritch; London 1898).
[175] Gardiner, A. H., *Ramesside Administrative Documents,* (Griffith Institute; Oxford 1948).
[176] Via Politi *GM* 182, 109 f.15.
[177] See:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=175980&partId=1&museumno=10780&page=1 Accessed: 17/03/2014 at 09:58
[178] Gardiner *The Chester Beatty Gift,* I, 120 states that A and B consist of "Some opening lines at the top of a page".

This allocation is made clearer as the overlap of the second line of P. UC 32793 with P. Chester Beatty vs.2,1 mentioned by Gardiner[179] is easily visible within the hieratic of P. UC 32793 is the line ending in *ḥ3y n3 mw*. The manuscripts have been independently dated to the reign of Ramesses II- based upon internal coherences as well as paleographic details. This hymn contains a number of anaphoric uses of the deictic verb "come" as invocation to the divine.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 11. *mi* used anaphorically.

Chapter 3: *nil*

xix)   P. Leiden I 350 recto

Publication: Zandee, J. (1947), *De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350*, And Gardiner, A.H. (1905), 'Hymns to Amon from a Leiden Papyrus.', *ZÄS,* 42, 12-42.

Translation: See above, also Assmann, *ÄHG,* 325-6.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II

Dating criteria and description: P.Leiden I 350 is made up of four sheets of papyrus, the recto and part of the verso contains a number of religious texts divided into chapters[180], which are subdivided into verses. Whilst this text had been previously named "Hymns to Amun" a number of the chapters written upon this papyrus do not relate to Amun directly. The rest of the verso of the papyrus is an official record of a ship's log[181], this official document is dated to the 52nd year of the reign of Ramesses II, based on this, Gardiner surmised that the verso "cannot be put much later than the *recto*"[182]. Baines tentatively suggest that this text "was perhaps composed around the end of the 18th Dynasty"[183].

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[179] Ibid.

[180] The chapters are somewhat artificial as the chapter numbers are predominantly in place in order to create puns within the following texts. See: Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42, 13.

[181] Janssen, J. J., *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs : Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008+2016,* (Brill; Leiden 1961)

[182] Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42, 13.

[183] Baines in *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism*, 68.

It is likely that some elements of this composition predate the production of this papyrus, the language of which shows a number of Middle Egyptian features. Junge uses P.Leiden I 350 rt. as a paradigm for Late Middle Egyptian, which shows "middle Egyptian sentence structure and Middle Egyptian Orthography" with "sparing use of Late Egyptian forms, words and writings"[184]. Despite the Middle Egyptian features, it seems likely that the assembly of texts into a whole is a product of the Ramesside period. This hymn contains a description of creation in relation to the arm of the divine as well as the application of deictic verbs in relation to divine interaction with the human sphere.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: Example 14. *ḥr ꜥ=f* (II,9).

Chapter 2: Example 12. *ii* in relation to the divine (III,17).

Chapter 3: *nil*

xx)   O. Cairo Unnumbered

Publication: Černý, J. and Gardiner, A. H., (1957) *Hieratic Ostraca*, Pl.V, 1.

Translation: Kitchen, K. A., (2007) 'Festivity in Ramesside Thebes and Devotion to Amun and his City', in T. Schneider and K. Szpakowska (eds.) *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occaision of His Retirement*, 152.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Ramesside

Dating criteria and description: This ostracon recorded by Černý and Gardiner in their *Hieratic Ostraca* volume has no known Cairo catalogue number, it was copied in Arthur Weigall's Luxor stores[185] (presumably by Gardiner, given the dates of Weigall's tenure within Luxor). The text is inscribed in seven lines of black inked hieratic with black verse-points, inscribed upon the convex side of a potsherd. The end of the hymnic text describing dependence upon Amun is followed by the date "Month 1 of Peret, Day 17". Within the text deictic verbs of motion are used by the writer as part of an invocation of the divine. Kitchen suggests that this is a "less usual example of the minor but engaging items often

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[184] Junge, F., *Late Egyptian Grammar,* (Griffith Institute; Oxford 2005)23. There is also an element of universal subject matter which has clear thematic parallels with other hymns such as the *Cairo Great Hymn to Amun.*
[185] *HO* I, 1.

categorised under 'personal piety'"[186], whilst it is less documented within the personal piety literature, it is unusual only in its usage of so many pious expressions within a single small hymn, the expressions themselves are highly regular though couched in a poetic style.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 13. *mi* in relation to Amun (2) and *mi* placed in the mouths of the gods (4)

Chapter 3: *nil*

xxi)   O.Gardiner 45

Publication: *HO,* I, Pl.VIII, 1.

Translation: Kitchen in *Egyptian Stories*, 152.

Date: 19th-20th Dynasty

Dating criteria and description: This limestone ostracon contains a hieratic prayer to the god Amun. Due to its content and nature it is probable that this originates within Thebes, possibly the village of Deir el-Medina. This prayer commences with a wish for Amun to come to the individual in order to save them.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 14. *mi* in relation to Amun (lines 1 and 4)

Chapter 3: *nil*

xxii)   O.Gardiner 46

Publication: *HO,* I, Pl.VIII, 2.

Translation: Kitchen in *Egyptian Stories*, 152.

Date: 19th-20th Dynasty

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[186] Kitchen in *Egyptian Stories*, 152.

Dating criteria and description: The text inscribed upon this red-ware potsherd is a prayer to Amun by an individual who is appearing before magistrates. This prayer utilises the deictic verb "come" repeatedly within the first three preserved lines. The text is incomplete due to breaks on the left and bottom sides.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 15. *mi* in relation to Amun (Twice in line 1 and once in line 2).

Chapter 3: *nil*

    xxiii)   <u>O. Borchardt</u>

Publication: Posener, G., 'Amon juge du pauvre', in A. e.-M. J. Abubakr (ed.) *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke* 12 (1971), 61-62 and Pl.15a.

Translation: Posener, G., 'Amon juge du pauvre', in A. e.-M. J. Abubakr (ed.) *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke* 12 (1971), 61-62. Vernus, P., (2003) *Affairs and Scandals in Ancient Egypt,* 139.

Date: 19th-20th Dynasty

Dating criteria and description: This ostracon was purchased by Ludwig Borchardt in 1932 in Western Thebes (according to a note kept with the ostracon), it likely to originate in Deir el-Medina[187]. Based upon style, it may be dated to the 19th-20th Dynasty, and is thus roughly contemporaneous to O. Gardiner 45[188]. The text details the actions of the divine in relation to the *nmḥ* when they are in the *ḳnbt* in terms of human interaction.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 16. *ꜥn(n)* in relation to Amun-Re (line 1).

Chapter 3: *nil*

HISTORICAL FICTION

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[187] Posener *Fs. Ricke,* 12, 59.
[188] Posener *Fs.Ricke,* 12, 59 and 61.

xxiv) <u>*Tuthmose III in Syria*</u> (P.Turin 1940-1941)

Publication: Botti, G., 'A Fragment of the Story of a Military Expedition of Tuthmosis III to Syria (P.Turin 1940-1941)', *JEA,* 41 (1955), 64-71.

Translation: Manassa, C., (2013) *Imagining the Past: Historical Fiction in New Kingdom Egypt*, 187-194 (With full treatment 102-116).

Date: 19th -20th Dynasty

Dating criteria and description: This literary composition, though detailing the events during a part of the Syrian campaigns of Tuthmose III[189], dates to the late Ramesside period. This dating is based upon a number of elements present in the manuscript; the presence of verse points- indicative of New Kingdom compositions, the inclusion of the cartouche of Ramesses II (as part of the title of a scribe of his mortuary cult) in a different hand upon the verso[190] which conforms to a Twentieth Dynasty administrative hand[191] and upon palaeographic and grammatical factors, which point to a Twentieth Dynasty date of creation[192] . The text itself though damaged draws heavily upon the text and style of the Qadesh Poem of Ramesses II providing a *terminus post quem* [193]. The most well preserved section of the composition details the interaction between an official named Paser (his title is unrecorded) and the King. During this interaction, the invocation and arrival of the divine are described utilising deictic verbs of motion.

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: *nil*
Chapter 2: Example 17. *mi* (Page 1,rt.2). *iw* in relation to Amun-Re (Page 2, rt.3).
Chapter 3: *nil*

DIDACTIC

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[189] Manassa suggests that the tale may be set around the time of the battle of Megiddo, though this is based upon contextual information and intertextual allusions found in the Gebel Barkal Stela. Manassa *Imagining the Past,* 103.
[190] Botti, *JEA* 41, 65.
[191] Manassa *Imagining the Past*, 105.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.

xxv)   <u>O. UC 39614 (O. Petrie 11)</u> *The Prohibitions*

Publication: *HO,* Pl.I-Ia. And Photographs : Hagen, F. (2005), '"The Prohibitions": A New Kingdom Didactic Text', *JEA,* 91, 125-64.

Translation: Gardiner, A.H. (1957), 'A New Moralizing Text', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 54, 43-45. Gwyn Griffiths, J. (1960), 'Wisdom about Tomorrow', *The Harvard Theol ogical Review,* 53 (3), 219-21. McDowell, A.G. (1999), *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs*, 142-143 and Hagen, *JEA* 91.

Date: 20th Dynasty

Dating criteria and description: This text, variously called "The Prohibitions"[194] "Thou Shalt Not…"[195] and "a Moralizing text"[196] is comprised of a largely stichtically written list of behaviours the reader should refrain from doing, in which lines frequently begin with *imi=k*. The composition is preserved written upon five ostraca (one of which- O.DeM 1632 I+II+III - is broken into a number of smaller pieces). For the purposes of analysis, O. UC 39614 (O.Petrie 11) is taken as the model text as it contains complete copies of both lines in question (Chapter 1, ex.8), thus marking them as two elements of the same work.

O. UC 39614 has been dated to the 20th dynasty; its original find spot is unknown. Linguistically, the text is far from "true" Late Egyptian, for example; the form *imi=k sḏm* is a distinctly un-Late Egyptian Feature. Despite these inclusions, orthographically the text shows more Late Egyptian features[197]. It is included within this thesis due to its thematic and verbal continuity with other sources gathered here as well as its Ramesside *production* date. It is of interest to this thesis due to its explanation of time via the divine hand/arm topos.

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 8. *ḥr ꜥwy pꜣ nṯr* (rt.1).
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

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[194] Hagen *JEA* 91,125-161.
[195] McDowell, A. G., *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 1999),142-3.
[196] Gardiner, *WZKM* 54,43.
[197] Ibid.

xxvi)   <u>*The Teaching of Amenemope*</u>

Publication: Laisney, P-M. V.(2007), *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé.* Lange, H. O. (1925) *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope, aus dem Papyrus 10,474 des British Museum,* and Budge, E.A.W, (1923)*, Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series,* 9-18, 41-51 and Pls.1-14.

Translation: Laisney, P-M. V. (2007), *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé,* Lichtheim *AEL II,* 146-163,

Date: Late Ramesside

Dating criteria and description: This Late Egyptian instruction text is preserved upon a number of artefacts, including five writing tablets[198], an ostracon[199] and a graffito[200]; the most well-known copy of the composition is the complete copy preserved upon P. BM EA 10474[201]. P.BM EA 10474 may be dated to sometime in the 22nd Dynasty based upon paleographic details[202], though other extant examples of this text precede this[203]. Thus, the composition may be dated to the to the late Ramesside period (later 20th Dynasty). The main focus of the text is upon the proper behaviours of the silent man (the paradigm of behaviour), social injustices and interaction with the lowly. The text which is divided into thirty chapters has been described as a marker of a shift from the success based ideals presented within older instructions such as *The Instructions of Ptahhotep*, to a new focus, on the ideal man, modesty and humility[204]. The text covers all 27 pages of the recto of P. BM EA 10474 and a few lines of the verso. It is of the interest for this thesis due to its discussion of tomorrow in relation to the hand/arm topos. It is a complex text with many elements

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[198] Louvre AE/E 17173, Turin N. 58005, Turin N. 58001 (of which there are two) and Moscow Tablet I 1 δ 324.

[199] O.Cairo 14840.

[200] Medinet Habu Graffito 30. Edgerton, W. F., *Medinet Habu Graffiti Fascimiles,* (Oriental Institute; Chicago, IL 1937), Pl.10, 30.

[201] There is also a partial copy of the text on P. Stockholm MM 18416. Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*, 5.

[202] Posener, G., 'Quatre tablettes scolaire de basse époque (Aménémopé et Hardjédef)', *Revue d'Egyptologie* 18 (1966), 45-65.

[203] Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*, 7.

[204] Lichtheim *AEL II,* 146.

of metaphor, allusions and possible display of intertextual engagement, thus making it an equally difficult yet attractive composition to study.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: Example 13. (*ḥr*) *ꜥwy pꜣ nṯr* (5,4). *r ꜥwy pꜣ nṯr* (22,7 and 23,10).
m ḏrt pꜣ nṯr (9,4 14,1 19,22 24,11 24,20 and 26,20). *r ꜥwy pꜣ nṯr* (22,7 and 23,10).
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

Private Monuments

PENITENTIAL STELAE

   xxvii)   Cairo JE 37463 – Stela of Huy, Viceroy of Kush

Publication: Helck, W. (1958), *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie (Heft 22),* 2075-2076. PM II², 166, Rowe, A., 'Newly-identified monuments in the Egyptian Museum showing the deification of the dead together with brief details of similar objects elsewhere', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 40 (1940), Pl.IX.

See also: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=84[205] (Accessed 06/11/2013).

Translation: Davies, B.G. (1995) *Egyptian Historical Records of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty,* VI, 52-53 and Luiselli, M. M. (2011) *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe: Untersuchungen zur Persönlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Nuen Reiches*, 347-348, Assmann *Oacular Desire,* 26 and Rowe *ASAE* 40, 47-49.

Date: 18th Dynasty, Tutankhamun

Dating criteria and description: This double sided, steatite stela from the Karnak cachette (numbered by Legrain as K100) was discovered in 1904[206]. It was dedicated by Amenhotep called Huy[207], the King's son of Kush (Viceroy), the Overseer of the Southern Lands during

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[205] The Karnak Cachette database includes full bibliographic details and colour photographs.
[206] Between the 5th and 8th March, See: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=84 Accessed: 3/11/13
[207] Buried in TT40, for details on his tomb, see: PM I, 75-78 and 64 for line drawing plan.

the reign of Tutankhamun. The front shows the gods Khnum and Amun in the upper register with a short hymn to the *Kas* of Amun and Tutankhamun. Reverse shows deceased kneeling in adoration before columns of text and a discussion of the punishment by Tutankhamun in the form of his *b3w* and Huy's seeing "darkness by day"- at this time, this may be the earliest preserved instance of this phraseology[208]. Within this framework, Huy invokes the King to "come" to him with the purpose of redemption.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 18. *mi* in relation to Tutaknhamun (line 1).

Chapter 3: *nil*

xxviii) <u>Turin N 50042- Stela of Pay</u> [209]

Publication: K*RI* I, 390 and Tosi-Roccati, 76-77 with photograph 278.

Translation: *RITA* I, 321, Tosi-Roccati, 76-77 and Keller in *Servant of Mut*, 152.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Seti I-Ramesses II

Dating criteria and description: This round topped stela was dedicated to the god Shu by Pay (i). This individual belongs to the first generation of workmen at Deir el-Medina, and is notable due to his predisposition to solar and celestial deities[210]. The lunette contains an image of the sun barque, below is a standing, right-facing male figure with arms raised and five columns of text. Within this text, Pay invokes the divine utilising a deictic verb of motion. (Pay and his family are also key characters within O.Berlin 11247 and Berlin 20377[211]).

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 19. *ii* in relation to various forms of the solar god (line 5).

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[208] This was noted by Brunner as part of a discussion of personal piety: Brunner, H., 'Verkündigung an Tiere', in J. Assmann, E. Feucht and R. Grieshammer (eds.) *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto,* (Reichert; Wiesbaden 1977), 119-124.

[209] Also known as "Cat. 1554" in the Museo Egizio, Torino database.

[210] cf. Keller, C., 'Some Thought on Religious Change at Deir el-Medina', in S. D'Auria (ed.) *Servant of Mut: Studies in honor of Richard A. Fazzini,* (Brill; Leiden 2008), 149-154.

[211] Sources (i) and (xxxii).

Chapter 3: *nil*

xxix)   Turin N 50046 – Stela of Neferrenpet

Publication: K*RI* III, 668-669. And Tosi-Roccati, 80-81, 280 (Photography).

Translation: Galán, J.M.(1999), 'Seeing Darkness'*, Chronique D'Égypte*, 26 and *RITA* III, 452-453

Date: 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II

Dating criteria and description: As the father of Neferabu (i)[212], we may infer that Neferrenpet(i) was active in the village of Deir el-Medina during the early years of the reign of Ramesses II. This particular stela is dedicated to Iah-Thoth (the lunette showing a lunar bark with seated ibis and baboon), with an image of the dedicator, his wife (Huyneferet) and daughter (Werel) [213] in the bottom right corner before ten columns of incised hieroglyphs. Within the inscription, life and health are placed under the control of Iah-Thoth, within his hand.

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 15. *m ḏrt=k* (line 5).
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

xxx)   Turin N 50058 – Stela of Neferabu

Publication: K*RI* III, 772-773 and Tosi-Roccati, 94-96.

Translation: *AEL* II, 107 and Frood, *Biographical Texts*, 226-227 and *RITA* III, 518-519.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II

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[212] Davies *Who's who at Deir el-Medina*, 11 and Chart 1.
[213] For familial information on Neferrenpet see: Davies *Who's who at Deir el-Medina,* 183.

Dating criteria and description: This stela is one of five[214] surviving stone stelae dedicated by the workman Neferabu[215]. Neferabu was active in Deir el-Medina during the reign of Ramesses II, attested by the presence of his name in work gang lists on two ostraca[216] dated to regnal years 36 and 40. This rectangular stela shows a coiled, human-headed snake in front of an offering table to the viewer's right, with seventeen columns of inscribed text to the left. The text describes the punishment of Neferabu by the goddess Meretseger, whom he has offended[217]. Within this description Neferabu utilises the hand/arm topos, a deictic verb of motion to relate the movement of the divine and also describes a the discovery of the divine using *gm(i).*

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 17. *m ḏrt=s* (line 4) and *m33.n=i ḏrt=s* (line 13).
Chapter 2: Example 21. *nn iw* in relation to the breeze (line 6). *ii.ti n=i* in relation to Meretseger (line 11).
Chapter 3: Example 4. *gm(=i)* (line 12).

xxxi) <u>BM EA 589 – Stela of Neferabu</u>

Publication: K*RI* III, 771-772 and James, T. G. H.,(1970) *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae. Part 9.,* Pl.XXXIa.

Translation: Galán, *CdE* 74, 25-26. *AEL* II, 109-110. *RITA* III, 517-518 and Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt,* 223-225.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II

Dating criteria and description: This particular round-topped stela is dedicated to the god Ptah, a large text inscribed on the back of the stela which discusses Neferabu's interaction with Ptah after he had misused Ptah's name within an oath and received divine

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[214] See: *PM* I², 728.
[215] For more on his tomb (TT5) see: Vandier, J. and Vandier d'Abbadie, J., *Tombes de Deir el-Medineh: La Tombe de Nefer-Abou,* (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale; Cairo 1935)
[216] O. Gardiner 133 and O.BM EA 5634. See: Davies *Who's who at Deir el-Medina,* 158.
[217] For potential interpretation of his offence cf. Groll, *LingAeg* 1, 143-153 suggests that it is Neferabu's misuse of the titles of the goddess which is the source of his punishment.

punishment for this act, which he describes as being "in his (Ptah's) hand". It is particularly well known due to the inclusion of the phrase "darkness by day".

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: Example 16. *m ḏrt=f* (reverse line 7).

Chapter 2: *nil*

Chapter 3: *nil*

xxxii) <u>Berlin 20377 – Stela of Nebre and Nakhtamun</u>

Publication: K*RI* III, 653-655. Roeder, G., (1924), *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen Zu Berlin,* II, 158-162.

Translation: Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 105, *RITA* III 444-446, Assmann, *ÄHG*, 371-375, *RITA* III, 444-446 and Wente in Simpson, 'The Literature of Ancient Egypt', 284-286.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II

Dating criteria and description: This round-topped stela was dedicated by the draughtsman Nebre on behalf of one of his four known children: Nakhtamun[218]. Found during excavations carried out by the Berlin museum near the Ramesseum[219], the lunette shows Nebre in from of Amun of Karnak. With its fifteen columns of text it is the longest known text of the penitential stela corpus. The long text describes the miserable state of Nakhtamun after divine punishment, though what Nakhtamun did wrong is unclear and hangs upon the interpretation of one word, Frood suggests that it may have something to do with cattle of the temple (line 8)[220]. Within this long inscription the movement in terms of deictic verbs and discovery of the divine through *gm(i)*.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 20. *ii* (Upper line 3) and *iw* (Lower line 6) in relation to Amun-Re. *ii* (Lower lines 5 and 7) and *iw* (Lower line 9) in relation to Amun.

Chapter 3: Example 5. *gm.n=i* (lower line 8)

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[218] Davies *Who's who at Deir el-Medina,* chart 10.
[219] Frood *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*, 220
[220] cf. Frood *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*, 254 f3.

TOMB INSCRIPTIONS

    xxxiii) <u>*The Great Hymn to the Aten* in the tomb of Ay</u>

Publication: Sandman, M. (1938), *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, 93-96 and Davies, N. de G. (1906), *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna,* IV*,* Pls.XXVII and XLI.

Translation: Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 96-100.

Date: 18th Dynasty, Akhenaten

Dating criteria and description: This long inscription comes from the tomb of the noble Ay (Amarna, Southern tomb 25), who, after the death of Akhenaten, would take the role of King[221]. The decoration and architectural style of the tomb is typical for a civil burial of the period including a pillared hall, incised decoration and inscriptions dedicated to the Aten. The so-called "Great Hymn" is the most complete, known copy of this composition. Within the hymn elements of creation are described in relation to the arm of the Aten. Despite its early date, it is included within this thesis due to its internal coherences of language and style, comparable to a number of later examples.

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 18. *ḥr ꜥ=k* (line 12).
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

    xxxiv) <u>TT 194- Djehutiemhab</u>

Publication: K*RI* VII, 153-155. Seyfried, K-J. (1995), *Das Grab des Djehutiemhab (TT 194),* Pl. XXXV, and Pl.XXI (Photograph).

Translation: Seyfried *Das Grab des Djehutiemhab,* 69-73. *RITA* VII, 99-106 and Frood, E. (2007), *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt,* 91-94.

Date: 19th Dynasty

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[221] Ay also had a Theban royal tomb in the form of WV23.

Dating criteria and description: This 19[222] Dynasty tomb is hewn into the eastern part of the courtyard of the tomb of the 18th Dynasty official, Kheruef (TT 192[222]), within the Assasif. It notable due to both its unusual decorative scheme and the inclusion of a long text, which includes a discourse between the tomb owner and the goddess Hathor. Within separate inscriptions the hand/arm topos is utilised (Text 115) and the movement of the divine is invoked using a deictic verb of motion (Text 119).

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 19. *ḏd ḏrt=f* (*Text 115,* line 11)
Chapter 2: Example 23. *ii* in relation to Mut (*Text 119,* line 12).
Chapter 3: *nil*

xxxv)   TT 409- Samut called Kyky

Publication: Negm, M. (1997), *The Tomb of Simut Called Kyky,* Pls. XLIV-LXIII and K*RI* III, 336-341.

Translation: *RITA* II, 238-249, Negm *The Tomb of Simut Called Kyky,* 37-46. Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt,* 85-91, Assmann *ÄHG,* 401-406 (No. 173)*,* Wilson, J. A., 'The Theban Tomb (No. 409) of Si-Mut, Called Kiki', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 29 (1970), 187-192 and Vernus, P., 'Littérature et autobiographie. Les inscriptions de *s3-mwt* surnommé *Kyky*', *Revue D'Égyptologie* 30 (1970), 115-146.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II

Dating criteria and description: The tomb of Samut-Kyky is located within the Assasif area of the Theban necropolis, it was found accidentally by Muhammed Abdel-Qader Muhammed in 1959[223]. It dates to the reign of Ramesses II, during which Samut-Kyky held the office of "Assessor of Cattle within the Domain of Amun". The tomb is most well-known due to the content of its longer texts which focus on Samut-Kyky's devotion to the goddess Mut, whom he shows special piety towards. Text A of this tomb is of the most interest to this thesis as it contains examples of each of the topoi examined.

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[222] See: PM I¹ 298-300, as well as Seyfried *Das Grab des Djehutiemhab,* 1-6.
[223] Published in: Abdel-Qader Muhammed, M., 'Two Theban Tombs. Kyky and Bak-en-Amun', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 59 (1966), 157-184.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: Example 20. *m-ʿ=s* (line 6) and *ḥr ʿ=t* (line 19).

Chapter 2: Example 22. *ii* in relation to Mut (line 9).

Chapter 3: Example 6. *gm.n=f* (line 5).

STATUARY AND STELAE

   xxxvi) Berlin 6910- The Double statue of Amenemope and his Wife

Publication: K*RI* I, 386-388. *Aeg.Insch*. II 63-71.

Translation: *RITA* I, 316-319. Assmann *ÄHG*, 394-396 (No. 169).

Date: 19th Dynasty, Seti I-Ramesses II

Dating criteria and description: This wooden double statue is dedicated to Amenemope, Scribe of the Tomb and his wife Hathor called Hunero, it likely formed part of TT265/215 assemblage[224]. Amenemope (i) is one of the earliest [225] individuals at the village of Deir el-Medina whose career may be tracked, attested from the reign of Seti I to the mid years of Ramesses II[226]. The text is inscribed around the figures, within three registers around the base of the statue and in nine vertical lines upon the flat reverse side. Within a number of these short inscriptions the topos of the divine hand/arm is employed in relation to a number of concepts.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: Example 21. *m ḏrt=k* (twice), *ḥr ʿ imn* and *imi n=i ḏrt*.

Chapter 2: *nil*

Chapter 3: *nil*

   xxxvii) Musée Guimet C 21- Stela of Baki

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[224] PM I¹:364 and 311-312. TT215 is the chapel for the burial chamber known as TT265.
[225] Davies *Who's who at Deir el-Medina,* 76-78.
[226] Ibid.

Publication: Capart, J., *Recueil de monuments égyptiens,* Vol 2*,* (Vromant; Bruxelles 1905), Pl.78 and Moret, A., *Catalogue du Musée Guimet: galérie égyptienne; stèles, bas-reliefs, monuments divers.,* (Leroux; Paris 1909), Pl. XIX.

Translation: Assmann *ÄHG,* 396-398 (No. 170) and Luiselli *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe,* 348-350.

Date: 18th Dynasty/early 19th Dynasty.

Dating criteria and description: This funerary stela may be dated to the end of the 18th Dynasty[227]. It is dedicated to Amun-Re by Baki- one of the workmen in the village of Deir el-Medina[228], though it does not carry a solid find context. It is rectangular with a break to the top right corner; on the right of the viewer is a kneeling male figure in a praise position, his dress suggests a Ramesside date for the Stela. The text details wishes for a good afterlife from the god Amun-Re of Karnak in terms of divine interaction.

NB Luiselli identifies this as Stele Louvre C 21[229]. However, Louvre stela C 21 is a rectangular stela dating to the 12th Dynasty (dedicated by Senusret[230]), this confusion is likely due to the complex history of the two collections, within its publication it is also designated as Inv. no.2660 [231].

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 22. [*m ḏr*]*t=k* (line 9).
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

   xxxviii) Berlin 2081- Stela of the Scribe of the King, Hor

Publication: *Aeg.Insch*. II,186-189.

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[227] Moret, A., *Catalogue du Musée Guimet : galerie égyptienne ; stèles, bas-reliefs, monuments divers.,* (Leroux; Paris 1909), 47 suggests a date post-Amenhotep IV.
[228] Luiselli *Das Suche nach Gottesnähe,* 348. As Baki is a fairly common name within the community of Deir el-Medina (six persons share this name) it is difficult to establish which Baki this is. However, three of these individuals are all active during the late 19th Dynasty, cf. Davies *Who's who at Deir el-Medina,* 11-12.
[229] Luiselli *Das Suche nach Gottesnähe,* 348.
[230] http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=14206&langue=fr Accessed: 20/10/2015
[231] Moret *Catalogue du Musée Guimet*, 47.

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Translation: Assmann *ÄHG*, 393 (No. 167), Luiselli *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe,* 402-403, Breasted, J. H.,(1906) *Ancient Records: historical documents from the earliest times to the Persian conquest,* IV, 484-485.

Date: 20th Dynasty, Ramesses VIII

Dating criteria and description: This stela from Abydos[232] dates to the reign of Ramesses VIII, this dating is confirmed by the inclusion of two cartouches inscribed upon the front of the stela[233], where the King is shown present Ma'at to five gods (two versions of Osiris, Onuris, Horus and Isis). Ramesses VIII is sparsely documented, managing a maximum of two years upon the throne[234]. The text itself describes interaction through the hand/arm topos, relating safety to that location.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: Example 23. *m ḏrt pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥ.w.s* (line 7-8).

Chapter 2: *nil*

Chapter 3: *nil*

xxxix) <u>Cairo CG 42185- Limestone block statue of Roma-Roy</u>

Publication: K*RI* IV, 129-131 and Lefebvre, G.(1929), *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep,* 4-16. See also: www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=100 for photographs and a full bibliographic treatment.

Translation: Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt,* 50-54, *RITA* IV, 98-99, and Lefebvre,G. (1929), *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep,* 4-16.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Merenptah

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[232] Ibid.
[233] *Aeg.Insch.* II, 186.
[234] Hornung, E., 'New Kingdom', in E. Hornung, R. Krauss and D. A. Warburton (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Chronology,* (Brill; Leiden 2006), 197-217 specifically 216.

Dating criteria and description: This limestone block statue of the High Priest of Amun, Roma called Roy dates to the early part of the reign of Merenptah[235]. Whilst this statue bears no cartouche for dating purposes, there are two other block statues dedicated to this individual, which provide this data[236]. It forms part of the Karnak Cachette[237] discovered by Georges Legrain in 1904[238]. The inscription describes the "length of lifetime" in relation to the hand/arm topos. Other inscriptions on this statue discuss the career of Roma, his moral qualities, as well as his temple building activities and a number of references to the divine.

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: Example 24. *ḥr ꜥwy imn* (line 8).

Chapter 2: *nil*

Chapter 3: *nil*

MISCELLANEOUS

xl-xlii) Inscribed seats from Deir el-Medina (Turin N 50253, N 50258 and N 50259)

Publication: Tosi-Roccatti, 207 and 209 with photographs: 358,359 and 360. Bruyère, B.,(1934), *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Mèdineh (1931 à 1932).*

Translation: Sweeney, D., (2014), 'Sitting Happily with Amun', in B. J. J. Haring, O. E. Kaper and R. van Walsem (eds.) *The Workman's Progress: studies in the village of Deir el-Medina and other documents from Western Thebes in honour of Rob Demarée,* 217-231.

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[235] Lefebvre, G., *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep,* (Paul Geuthner; Paris 1929), 4.

[236] Cairo JE 37874, which has the cartouche of Merenptah inscribed across the knees of the block statue and Cairo CG 42186, which shows erased traces of the same cartouche upon its shoulders. See: Frood, *Biographical texts from Ramessid Egypt*, 46-47.

[237] A cache of over 700 stone statues (among other artefacts) found in the courtyard of the Seventh Pylon at Karnak. See: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/about Accessed:28/06/13 for the full database and Bibliographic information.

[238] Specifically 26th March 1904. See: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/#galerie Accessed:28/06/13. This statue was given the number K 124 by Legrain.

Date: 19th-20th Dynasty (Ramesses II onwards[239])

Dating criteria and description: Ernesto Schiaparelli found sixteen seats with inscriptions within Deir el-Medina during two seasons of excavation[240]. Whilst their original findspot was not recorded further scholarship has suggested that the majority of these seats come from what Bruyère identified as Chapelle Votive I (C.V.1)[241]. Of these seats a number of them bear inscriptions, there is also a suggestion that other seats from different chapels may have been labelled in ink[242]. From the prosopographical data associated with the twenty-four[243] named individuals within this corpus a wide range of dates from the reign of Ramesses II onwards is proposed. Three of these seats are inscribed with short texts in which the topos of the hand/arm of god is utilised. Whilst other inscribed and uninscribed seats/benches have been found in other chapels of this period[244], no others show this topos; possibly due to survival as well as application. It has been suggested that the seats were gathered as a part of a "cultic community"[245] , whilst also noting that the membership to this community is not restricted to single families like some titles[246].

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: Example 25. *ꜥwy imn* (Turin N 50253), *ḥr ꜥ* […] (Turin N 50258) and […] *ꜥwy imn* (Turin N 50259).

Chapter 2: *nil*

Chapter 3: *nil*

Royal Monuments

xliii)   _Tutankhamun Restoration stela_ (CG 34183)

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[239] cf. Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 222 for a proposed sequence of individuals named on seats.

[240] Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 217.

[241] For a summary of this see: Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 217 and Bruyère, B., *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Mèdineh (1931 à 1932),* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale; Cairo 1934)57-60.

[242] Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 218 notes this potential relating to Turin N. 50259 and Turin N. 50260

[243] Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 219

[244] Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 219 footnote 7

[245] cf. Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 218 for a full discussion of this possibility as well as Sadek, A. I., *Popular Religion in Egypt During the New Kingdom.,* (Gerstenberg Verlag; Hildesheim 1987)80-81. For a proposed reconstruction of the chapel and the positioning of its seats see: Bruyère, *Rapport 1931-1932*, 58

[246] Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 220

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Publication: Helck, W. (1958), *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie (Heft 22),* 2025-2032 and Lacau, P., *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Stèles du Nouvel Empire,* (1909), 224-230.

Translation: Davies, B.G. (1995), *Egyptian Historical Records of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty, Fascicle* VI, 30-33. Bennett, J. (1939), 'The Restoration Inscription of Tut'ankhamun', *JEA*, 25/1, 8-15 and Baines, J., 'Presenting and Discussing Deities in New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period Egypt', in B. Pongratz-Leisten (ed.) *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism*, (2011), 46-55.

Date: 18th Dynasty, Tutankhamun

Dating criteria and description: The stela itself (CG 34183[247]) was found in 1905 by Georges Legrain, lying in the north-east corner of the Hypostyle hall within the Temple of Amun at Karnak (before the third pylon)[248]. A fragment of a duplicate (CG 34184[249]) was also found within the foundations of the Temple of Montu at Karnak in 1907 (again by Legrain), however, the inscriptions of the duplicate only detail lines 15-27 [250]. It is likely that further copies existed, distributed from Memphis[251]. As part of the description of the state of the country after the Amarna period the lack of divine interaction after prayer is described. It is significant, as the content of the inscription allows for a greater understanding of "how people reacted and reversed a revolution in Egypt"[252], through the active engagement with polytheistic expressions and iconography[253].

Within this thesis:

Chapter 1: *nil*

Chapter 2: Example 24. *mkḥȝ* in relation to "gods" (line 8). *nn ii.n=f* and *nn ii.n=s* (line 9).

Chapter 3: *nil*

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[247] Also known as JE 41504
[248] Bennett, *JEA* 25/1, 8.
[249] Also known as JE 41565
[250] See: Bennett, *JEA* 25/1, 8.
[251] Baines, J., 'Presenting and Discussing Deities in New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period Egypt', in B. Pongratz-Leisten (ed.) *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism,* (Eisenbrauns; Winona Lake, IN 2011), 41-89, specifically 46-47.
[252] Baines in *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism*, 46.
[253] Baines in *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism*, 47-48 and 52 notes the "polyatric" scene as well as the purposeful inclusion of *nṯrw*

xliv)   Qadesh Poem of Ramesses II

Publication: K*RI* II, 2-101 aned Kuentz, C. (1928), *Le bataille de Qadech*.

Translation: *AEL* II, 57-72. Gardiner, A.H. (1960), *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II. RITA* II, 2-26 (and others).

Date: 19th Dynasty, Ramesses II, Year 5

Dating criteria and description: The Qadesh inscriptions detail the battle fought by Ramesses II against the Hittite King Muwatallish in the fifth year of his reign, particularly focussing on the King's own valour, skill and his interactions with the divine at the turning point of the battle itself. It has been pointed out by Goedicke[254] that the large amount of text related to this even seems "somewhat curious, if one considers that the meeting was not exactly an Egyptian victory" but "rather a defeat for Ramesses II, despite his personal bravery."[255]. The text itself straddles a number of genres and language registers, taking elements from royal inscriptions, *Königsnovellen*, personal piety and literature. Sections of the Poem and Bulletin are preserved in twelve locations,[256] as well as in two surviving papyri copies[257]. The focal point of the narrative is the interaction between Ramsses II and Amun, within this interface all three examined topoi are employed in the voice of the King.

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 26. *di=f n=i ḏrt=f* (§124). *ḏrt=i m-di=k* (§126). *ḏrt=i* (§155). *ḏrt=f* (§171) and *ḏrt=s ḥnꜥ=f* (§287).
Chapter 2: Example 25. *iw* in relation to Amun (§123).
Chapter 3: Example 7. *gm.n=i* (§123).

xlv)   The Israel Stela of Merenptah (CG 34025/JE 31408)

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[254] Goedicke, H., 'Considerations on the Batte of Kadesh', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 52 (1966), 71-80
[255] Goedicke, *JEA* 52, 71.
[256] These are as follows: one in his Abydos Cenotaph temple, two in Karnak temple, three locations in Luxor, three locations within the Ramesseum and one within the Nubian temple of Abu Simbel. See: K*RI* II, 2. Notably, the Poem-from which the following instances are found- is present in all inscriptions except those of Abu Simbel, See: Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II,* 3.
[257] P. Raife Sallier II, P. Chester Beatty III

Publication: K*RI* IV, 12-19 and Petrie, W.M.F. (1897), *Six Temples at Thebes*, Pls. XIII-XIV.

Translation: *AEL* II, 73-78. Spiegleberg, W. "The Inscriptions" In Petrie, W.M.F. (1897), *Six Temples at Thebes,* 26-28. *RITA* IV, 10-15.

Date: 19th Dynasty, Merenptah, Year 5

Dating criteria and description: Described by Petrie as "The greatest discovery in the temple" of Merenptah [258] , this stela was found lying "in the S.W. corner of the first court"[259] and is often simply called the "Israel Stela" due to its mention of the country[260]. The black granite stela was originally created by Amenhotep III and reused by Merenptah for his inscription. It shares a number of themes with the Qadesh inscriptions of Ramesses II, glorifying the victory of Merenptah over Libyan and Near Eastern enemies as well as praising his valour. A number of examples of the hand/arm topos are present within this inscription relating to different characters.

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 27. (*m*) *ḏrt=s* (rt.14). *m ḏrt mr-n-ptḥ* (rt.20) and *m ḏrt=f* (rt.20).
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

> *xlvi)*   Ramesses III Prayer to Amun-Re ("Tablet of Gold" Inscription)

Publication: Epigraphic Survey, (1936) *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak,* I, OIP 25, Pl.23, with photographs on Pl.25.

Translation: Assmann *ÄHG,* 441-445 (No.196).

Date: 20th Dynasty, Ramesses III

Dating criteria and description: This prayer to Amun-Re is inscribed upon the interior of the Eastern wall of the main court of Amun constructed by Ramesses III at Karnak temple.

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[258] Petrie *Six Temples at Thebes,* 13.
[259] Ibid.
[260] rt.7

It is located in a panel showing the feast of Amun-Re above the so-called Bubastite gate[261]. There are two textual elements to this scene; a longer text to the left of the figure of Ramesses III and an excerpt in a smaller section to the feet of Ramesses III, known as the "Tablet of Gold". Within the prayer safety is equated to the hand/arm topos. The early lines of the hymn share a theological content akin to older Amun hymns such as P.Boulaq 17[262]. These early lines (up to line 9 of the "Tablet of Gold") conform to Middle Egyptian forms, with an absence of Ramesside articles[263], though the later lines show Ramesside articles, omission of prepositions and typical Ramesside grammatical forms. Goldwasser suggests that this lexical shift is due to the shift in religious register, in that the lines after line 9 deal with personal religion, thus necessitating a shift in grammar *and* lexicon[264].

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 28. *m ḏrt=k* (Col.4-5, line 8-9).
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

   xlvii)   <u>Ramesses III Inscriptions at Medinet Habu</u>

Publication: K*RI* V 8-54, 57-86. Full details of the relevant scenes: Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I: Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III,* OIP 8, (Oriental Institute Publications; Chicago, IL. 1930), and Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu II: Later Historical Records of Ramses III,* OIP 9, (Oriental Institute Publications; Chicago, IL. 1932).

Translation: Partial translations in Israeli, S., '*ṯȝw n ꜥnḫ* ("breath of life") in the Medinet Habu War Texts', in I. Shirun-Grumach (ed.) Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology, (Harrasowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden 1998), 271-283 and Israeli, S., *Ceremonial speech patterns in the Medinet Habu war inscriptions,* (Ugarit-Verlag; Münster 2015).

Date: 19th Dynasty, Ramesses III

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[261] See: OIP 25, Pl.17b for full line-drawing of the scene. For the placement of this inscription within the temple complex, see: OIP 25, Pl.1 fig.1.
[262] Luiselli, M. M., *Der Amun-Re Hymnus des P. Boulaq 17 (P. Kairo CG 58038),* (Harrassowitz; Wiesbaden 2004)
[263] Goldwasser, O., 'On Dynamic Canonicity in Late-Egyptian: The Literary Letter and the Personal Prayer', *Lingua Aegyptia* 1 (1991), 129-141, specifically 139-140.
[264] Goldwasser, *LingAeg* 1, 140

Dating criteria and description: During his reign Ramesses III engaged in a number of military campaigns, most notably with the so-called "Sea Peoples". His mortuary temple on the west bank of Thebes- Medinet Habu, records large amounts of detail to do with not only the campaign and naval battle with the Sea Peoples but also campaigns against various Libyan peoples and expeditions into Syria through the first half of his reign. These inscriptions provide a large amount of instances of the hand/arm topos in reference to different characters, also placed in the mouth of varied protagonists.

To this date, these large-scale inscriptions have been frequently omitted from studies into the dimensions of religious understanding at this time despite their theme being "more pious ritualistic nature than historiographical"[265]. Their content follows certain patterns, with pre-battle speeches between Amun and the King, the King and his courtiers and the post- battle speech of the same variety as well as the speeches of the defeated chiefs/captives. What is presented is not a complete survey of the hand/arm topos as there are a number of non-divine examples, a small selection of such examples are presented due to coherrences in form with divine instances of the topos. Elsewhere within the inscriptions there are also other related lexemes which also show interactive qualities as *gb3wy* [266] which are not examined within this thesis.

Within this thesis:
Chapter 1: Example 29. *ꜥwy=i* (twice), *ꜥwy=sn*, *ꜥwy=f*, *m ꜥwy=k* (twice) and *m ꜥ=k* (twice). *ḏrt=i*, *ḏrt=w*, *ḏrt=f* (three instances), *m ḏrt=i*, *ḏrt=f ḥnꜥ=i* (twice) and *ḏrt=i ḥnꜥ=k* (twice).
Chapter 2: *nil*
Chapter 3: *nil*

1.5 Outline of Methodology

Each study presented within this thesis follows the same methodological outline: for each study, the cultural background to the particular thematic topos will be discussed- with special attention paid to its place in modern understanding and translation. Whilst paying

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[265] Israeli, S., *Ceremonial Speech Patterns in the Medinet Habu War Inscriptions,* (Ugarit-Verlag; Münster 2015), 3.
[266] "upper arm" *Wb* V, 163. "my two (upper) arms having covered the people" Israeli *Ceremonial speech patterns in the Medinet Habu war inscriptions*, 24

close attention to the vagaries of modern translation, this thesis seeks to understand the meaning of these topoi in their emic context.

In order to assess each topos within the Egyptian mind-set during this period a wide range of examples is presented. These are transliterated and translated in turn. For the ease of reading, those sections, which are the focus of attention for the particular study are presented in **bold** within the transliteration and translation, these sections are also presented in hieroglyphic transcription[267]. Following this; the specific textual, linguistic and cultural elements to each example are discussed with an eye to the relevant methods and theories of pragmatics and cognitive linguistics. After the presentation and discussion of the examples, each topos is considered as a whole and conclusions are drawn from the study. Through the close reading of sources within this study aims to further comprehend the individual's understanding of divine (inter)action at this time [268].

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[267] Orientation of hieroglyphs follows the original as much as is possible.

[268] It is important to note that this thesis does not seek to explain "beliefs" of any group or individual but to instead focus in on the contextual usage of language to allow for further understanding. For a summary of this position see: Eyre, C. J., 'Source Mining in Egyptian Texts. The Reconstruction of Social and Religious Behaviour in Pharaonic Egypt', in A. Verbovsek, B. Backes and C. Jones (eds.) *Methodik und Didaktik in der Ägyptologie: Herausforderungen eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Paradigmenwechsels in den Altertumswissenschaften,* (Wilhelm Fink; München 2011), 599-615 with specific reference to the discussion of religion, 609-612.

Chapter 1: The Hand and Arm(s) of the Divine

1.0 Introduction

1.1 The Concept of the "Hand of god"

Within P. Leiden I 369, the Scribe of the Tomb Dhutmose writes:

"Indeed, I am alive today; tomorrow is in God's hands" [269]

(rt.5) *yꜣ tw=i ꜥnḫ m pꜣ hrw* **(rt.6)** *dwꜣ ḥr ꜥw(y) pꜣ nṯr*

This is readily understandable to the modern reader, familiar with the cultural topos of "the hand of god", indeed this ease of understanding may be attributed to the wide distribution of this phrase within multiple cultures[270]. The extensive presence of this metaphor may be explained simply: if a divine character is understood as an interactive force, the most direct way of describing their interaction is in the terms that we would also describe human interaction. Levinson argues that this is due to the constraints of human psycho-biology, i.e. we use our hands to interact with the physical world[271], and it follows that the divine would require hands to interact also[272]. Barrett and Keil have shown that subjects of linguistic studies often use an anthropomorphic god concept, even when doing so would be ontologically or theologically inconsistent[273]. Guthrie, has also suggested that

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[269] Wente *LRL*, 18. Capitalisation of "God" present in Wente *LRL*, 18. This expression belongs to a broader epistolary topos which will be discussed in full later in this chapter.

[270] No full treatise has been conducted regarding the use of the divine hand *across* cultures, though there has been some research into the phenomena of anthropomorphism in relation to the divine, cf. Barrett, J. L. and Keil, F. C., 'Conceptualizing a Nonnatural Entity: Anthropomorphism in God Concepts', *Cognitive Psychology* 31 (1996), 219-247.The "hand of god" is highly present with the literature of the Abrahamic faiths (detailed in section 1.1 of this chapter), as well as a Christian artistic trope, with conspicuous inclusion within pre-Rennaisance works, for example: Smith, A. M., 'The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac in Early Christian Art', *American Journal of Archaeology* 26 (1922), 159-173. Smith describes the image of a divine hand emerging from a cloud as an "omnipresent detail" within Asiatic-Hellenistic versions of the scene Smith *AJA* 26, 163.

[271] Levinson in *Rethinking linguistic relativity,* 179.

[272] Within the satirical "Church of the Flying Spaghetti Monster", followers do not describe a "hand of god" due to the presentation of the divine without such limbs, cf. Cowan, D. E., 'Religion on the Internet', in J. A. Beckford and J. Demerath (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of the Sociology of Religion,* (SAGE Publications; Los Angeles, CA 2007), 357-376. "If oxen and horses and lions had hands and were able to draw with their hands and do the same things as men, horses would draw the shapes of gods to look like horses and oxen to look like oxen, and each would make the gods' bodies have the same shape as they themselves had." Xenophanes, *Miscellanies* (5.110).

[273] Barrett and Keil *Cognitive Psychology* 31, 219-247 with special reference to 221.

anthropomorphism is a fundamental cognitive bias when dealing with novel or ambiguous stimuli, thus until proven otherwise, the god concept is frequently anthropomorphised[274].

For example, within near-eastern texts the "hand of Nergal" is used as a metaphor to express the impact of pestilence. Within a cuneiform letter from the King of Alashiya to the King of Egypt[275], it is stated that "the hand of Nergal is in my country"[276]. In a similar way, there are also a number of instances within Babylonian and Assyrian documents which utilise the "hand of Ishtar" [277], "the hand of a god "[278] and "the hand of lilû"[279], in order to describe illness[280].

Within the Bible the "hand of God" is used to express a variety of metaphors including divine punishment:

"Have pity on me, have pity on me my friends, for **the hand of God has struck me!**" [281,] or as a representation of the omniscience and omnipresence of God:

"Also **the hand of God was on Judah** to give them singleness of heart to obey the command of the King and the leaders, at the world of the LORD." [282]

"But I trust in you, O Lord;
I say, 'You are my God.'
My times are in your hand;
deliver me from the hand of my enemies and persecutors." [283]

"Humble yourselves, therefore, **under the mighty hand of God** so that at the proper time he may exalt you," [284]

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[274] Guthrie, S. E., *Faces in the Clouds: a New Theory of Religion,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 1993). After all, man makes god in his own image.

[275] BM EA 29788.

[276] Moran, W. L., *The Amarna Letters,* (Johns Hopkins University Press; Baltimore, MD 1992)107-109.

[277] See: Kinnier-Wilson, J. V. and Reynolds, E. H., 'Translation and Analysis of a Cuneiform Text forming part of a Babylonian Treatise on Epilepsy', *Medical History* 34 (1990), 185-198 specifically 190. BM EA 47753, obverse 24-25. See also: the inscribed ceramic hand of Ishtar MMA 57.27.30.

[278] Geller, M. J., 'Fragments of Magic, Medicine, and Mythology from Nimrud', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 63 (2000), 331-339, see: 336. ND 5488/2 obv.

[279] See: Kinnier-Wilson and Reynolds, *Medical History* 34, 190,191,192,193.

[280] Usually these phrases are used to describe various conditions related to epilepsy, see: Kinnier-Wilson and Reynolds, *Medical History* 34, 185-198.

[281] *Job* 19:21 *, The Holy Bible: containing The Old and New Testaments Revised Standard Version, (Oxford University Press; London 1971 Edition),*548

[282] *2 Chronicles* 30:12, *The Holy Bible RSV*, 486.

[283] *Psalms* 31:14-15*, The Holy Bible RSV*, 590.

[284] *I Peter* 5:6 *, The Holy Bible RSV*, 1271.

(*NB* These Biblical examples exclude the trope referring to the "Right hand of God"[285]- which may be seen as a specific representation of this idiom.[286])

The Qur'an also makes use of this topos to describe the authority of Allah:

"The People of the Book should know that they have no power over any of God's grace and that **grace is in the hand of God alone**: He gives it to whoever He will. God's grace is truly immense." *[287]*

The use of this idiom within the religious sphere has been extended to cover the artistic, visual metaphor[288], and as a means to express religious experiences[289]. This phraseology is so entrenched that the hand of god has been utilised to describe a wide variety of phenomena to which non-human influence may be attributed, the most famous example within the vernacular being a controversial goal within a football match[290]. This explanation of influence may also be seen in the writing of academics: "It was **the prompting hand of God**, not a mere wanton desire to extort sheep, that had first motivated the Arabs to leave their desert homeland."[291]. In his inaugural address in 1961, United States President John F. Kennedy[292] utilised this topos in relation to the founding principles of the United States of America, that"...the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but **from the hand of God.**"[293]. The following study investigates

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[285] For example: *Mark 16:19, Luke 22:69, Acts 2:33* among a number of others, many instances are found particularly in *The Acts of the Apostles.*

[286] There is a division between the left and right hand within biblical literature, in which the right hand/side is associated with being just and the left hand/side with the wicked. See: Goldberg, M. and Payne, D. F., 'Left Hand, Right Hand', in D. L. Jeffrey (ed.) *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature,* (W.B. Eerdmans; Grand Rapids, MI 1992), 442-443.

[287] *Al-Hadid (Iron) 57:29*, Haleem, M. A., *The Qur'an,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2005 Translation), 361.

[288] Grabar, A., *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins,* (Routledge; London 1969).

[289] Dewhurst, K. and Beard, A. W., 'Sudden Religious Conversions in Temporal Lobe Epilepsy', *The British Journal of Psychiatry* 117 (1970), 497-507, with special reference to 501.

[290] This relates to the goal scored by Diego Maradona in the 1986 FIFA World Cup Quarter Final, see sections of the modestly titled: Maradona, D. A., *El Diego: The Autobiography of the World's Greatest Footballer,* (Yellow Jersey Press; London 2005). This incident has meant that the phrase "hand of god" has become synonymous with unsporting behaviour cf. Tamburrini, C. M., *The "Hand of God"? : Essays on the Philosophy of Sports,* (Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis Göteborg 2000).

[291]Holland, T., 'Miracle upon Miracle', in *Guardian,* (31/03/2012), 2-4 , Discussing the spread of Islam.

[292] Tofel, R. J., *Sounding the Trumpet: The Making of John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address,* (Ivan R. Dee; Chicago, IL 2005).

[293] Various, 'John F. Kennedy: Inaugural Address. Friday, January 20, 1961', in (ed.) *Inaugural addresses of the presidents of the United States: from George Washington to George W. Bush.,* www.Bartleby.com/124/ (United States Government; Washington D.C. 2001), .

the use and significance of this idiom within the Ancient Egyptian context of the Late New Kingdom.

1.2 Varied lexemes and translation

There are a number of passages which use idioms linking the actions of deities to the limb. As shown above (section 1.1), it is common to read of the "hand of god" within western thought. However, within Late New Kingdom Egyptian sources, two lexemes are distinguished: ꜥ /ꜥwy "arm(s)"[294] (Based around Gardiner sign D36) and ḏrt "hand" [295] (Based around Gardiner sign D46). Modern Egyptologists such as: Gardiner[296], Assmann[297], Wente[298], Janssen[299], Demarée[300], Sweeney[301], Luiselli[302], Lichtheim[303], McDowell[304] and Shirun-Grumach[305] have all translated ꜥ(wy) and ḏrt used in relation to the divine as "hand(s) of god" within the same sources examined within this study, due no doubt largely to their own cultural familiarity with this term in their own cultural context. At the time of writing, I am only aware of Laisney[306] differentiating between ḏrt and ꜥ(wy) in translation[307].

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[294] *Wb* I, 156-157.

[295] *Wb* V, 580-585.

[296] "Prepare not thyself on this day for tomorrow ere it be come, is not (?) yesterday like today **upon the hands of God** ?" Gardiner *WZKM* 54, 43.

[297] "Heute geht es mir gut. Das Morgen **liegt in Gottes Hand**." Assmann, J., *Ägypten- Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur.,* (Kohlhammer; Stuttgart 1984), 273 Translated as: Assmann, J., *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt,* (Cornell University Press; Ithaca, NY 2001), 236.

[298] "I am alive today; tomorrow is **in God's hands**." Wente *LRL,* 18, 33-34, 46 and 51.

[299] "I am alive today; tomorrow is (in) **the hand of the god**" Janssen *LRLC,* 17.

[300] "Indeed I am alive today; tomorrow is **in God's hands**."Demarée, R. J., *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri,* (British Museum Press; London 2006), 26.

[301] "tomorrow is <in> **God's hands**."Sweeney, D., *Correspondence and Dialogue: Pragmatic Factors in Late Ramesside Letter Writing,* (Harrassowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden 2001), 77 .

[302] "Ich bin heute am Leben; Morgen ist **in der Hand Gottes**." Luiselli, M. M., *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe: Untersuchungen zur Persönlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Nuen Reiches,* (Harrasowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden 2011), 285. Unusually, Luiselli also transliterates the lexeme ꜥ as ḏrt Luiselli *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe*, 285.

[303] Lichtheim *AEL* II, 62-71, 108 and 148-162 amongst others.

[304] "Do not be afraid today about tomorrow before it has come; yesterday is not like today **in the hands of god.**" McDowell, A. G., *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 1999),142.

[305] Shirun-Grumach, I., 'Bedeudet "In der Hand des Gottes" Gottesfurcht?', in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.) *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim,* II (Magnes Press; Jerusalem 1990), 836-852.

[306] Laisney, V. P.-M., *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé* (Pontificio Istituto biblico; Rome 2007).

[307] "laisse-le **dans les bras de dieu**." (ꜥwy) and "alors que <tu> es sauf **dans la main du dieu**" (ḏrt) Laisney, *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé,* 55 and 135.

Explaining his reading of these two lexemes as synonyms within the Coffin Text corpus[308], stating that in certain circumstances, they function as "two different renderings, required by English usage, of one Egyptian term"[309]. He suggests that the different readings of "hand" or "arm" would have been perceived by the ancient Egyptians through contextual information[310]. As such, Nyord's presentation of "(fore)arm"[311] within the Coffin Texts shows a much greater variety of meanings and usage than that of "hand"[312]. The hand and the arm are inextricably linked biologically, and thus often linguistically. Werning[313] has assessed this as a representation of meronymy (part name), his interpretation shares a lot with that of Nyord in the manner of Langacker's "Active Zones"[314], whereby we able to divide the whole and the part.

Whilst hand/arm may have been demarcated through contextual information within the Coffin Texts, a large period of time elapsed between the composition and circulation of the Coffin Texts and that of the corpora examined within this thesis. With this elapsed time, linguistic change is to be expected, as such the use of ꜥ(wy) and ḏrt to represent "arm(s)" and "hand" respectively makes good sense. The treatment of ꜥ(wy) and ḏrt as "hand" within late New Kingdom sources appears reductionist, especially within texts which display independent variance in their usage. Within this study ꜥ(wy) is translated as "arm(s)" and ḏrt as "hand", so as to differentiate between lexical choices shown within the original Egyptian. Adopting this consistency aims to create a greater emic understanding of how these terms were used during the late New Kingdom and what (if any) difference they perceived in their meaning.

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[308] Nyord *Breathing Flesh,* 249.

[309] Ibid.

[310] Ibid.
Nyord also refers to the work of Langacker in reference to the notion of "active zones", cf. Langacker, R., *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar,* I (Stanford University Press; Stanford, CA 1987), 272.

[311] Nyord *Breathing Flesh,* 249-266.

[312] Nyord *Breathing Flesh,* 267-269.

[313] Werning, D. A., 'Der 'Kopf des Beines', der 'Mund der Arme' und die 'Zähne' des Schöpfers: zu metonymischen und metaphorischen Verwendungen von Körperteil-Lexemen im Hieroglyphisch-Ägyptischen', in K. Müller and A. Wagner (ed.) *Synthetische Körperauffassung im Hebräischen und den Sprachen der Nachbarkulturen,* (Ugarit-Verlag; Münster 2014), 107-161 with particular note 129-130, Anhang 1 and 149-150 which details various lexemes based around Arm/Hand.

[314] Langacker, R., *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar,* I (Stanford University Press; Stanford, CA 1987),272f.

1.3 Previous Research

Concerning the "hand of god" topos within Ancient Egyptian textual sources there is one published study which focuses on the examination of this idiom directly[315]. In her paper, Irene Shirun-Grumach sets out to assess whether "the hand of god" is a direct metaphor meaning the fear of god, taking time also to assess to what extent *m-ḏrt* and *ḥr-ꜥ (wy)* are synonyms. To do this, she presents twenty-nine examples of the topos dividing them morphologically. However, the study does not discuss how meaning is constructed within these phrases, nor is a full analysis made of the phrases involving the lexeme ꜥ, choosing instead to focus on the group of *m-ḏrt* examples and their potential biblical parallels. In this way, Shirun-Grumach states that certain readings of this idiom may be influenced by the reader's unconscious linking of the Egyptian instances to the *Book of Psalms* [316]. Whilst gathering a number of pertinent examples, there are a number of areas where more information is available than is presented or where a further exploration of concepts would be useful.

Claude Sourdive has produced a broad survey of the structural morphology of objects/images representing the hand[317]. Whilst providing a brief examination of the divine hand/arm[318] , his study is more concerned with the visualisation of the hand and the arm in objects or images. Whilst there is a detailed diachronic discussion of the hand and arm within a wide variety of sources, this is limited to physical representation[319].

Ogden[320] has addressed the link between the image of the hand and the seal, suggesting that this is a means of signalization, emphasising the presence of the image of the hand on

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[315] Shirun-Grumach, I., 'Bedeudet "In der Hand des Gottes" Gottesfurcht?', in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.) *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim,* II (Magnes Press; Jerusalem 1990), 836-852.

[316] Shirun-Grumach, in Groll (ed.) *Studies in Egyptology*, 836-7. "auch dem Ausdruck wird fast unbewußt die Vorstellung des psalm buches unterlegt, daß "in der Hand Gottes sein" gottes Schutz beduetet". This line of argument has seen some popularity in relation to the *Teaching of Amenemope*, which shares some surface similarities to biblical Book of Proverbs. cf. McGlinchey, J. M., *The Teaching of Amen-em-ope and the Book of Proverbs,* (University Microfilms Inc.; Ann Arbor, MI 1964). For further discussion of the connections between the Book of Proverbs and *Amenemope* see: Shupak, N., 'The Instruction of Amenemope and Proverbs 22:17-24:22 from the Perspective of Contemporary Research ', in R. L. Troxel, K. G. Friebel and D. R. Magary (eds.) *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion on His Sixty-Fith Birthday,* (Eisenbaums; Winona Lake, IN 2005), 203-220.

[317] Sourdive, C., *La main dans l'Egypte Pharaonique,* (Peter Lang; Bern 1984).

[318] Sourdive *La main*, 402-419 also Sourdive, C., 'La main dans les objets égyptiens: approche archéologique d'une structure symbolique', *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 97 (1983), 30-52.

[319] For a further assessment of Sourdive's work cf. Genaille, N., 'La main dans l'Égypte pharaonique', *Chronique d'Égypte* 66 (1991), 148-155.

[320] Ogden, J. R., 'Studies in Ancient Egyptian Magical Thought: I. The Hand and the Seal', *Discussions in Egyptology* 1 (1985), 27-34.

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a number of seals, as well as textually within P.Berlin 3027 "my hand is upon you, my seal is your protection!". Despite the link between seals and the action of sealing with the hand, the textual artefacts which Ogden references do not all utilise *ḏrt*. Similarly, he does not consistently translate ꜥ, reading it as both "hand" and "arm" on separate occasions[321]. Petrie also noted the image of the hand on seals, characterising the "Hand open" as meaning the "power of action" [322].

Rune Nyord has analysed of the references to parts of the body within the Coffin Texts utilising elements of conceptual metaphor theory and cognitive linguistics[323]. The Coffin Texts are a complex form of religious discourse, functioning as knowledge literature freely incorporating elements of myth. With their performance during the preparation and interment of the body, or in posthumous funerary cult, priests are in some way equated with divine actors through impersonation or personification. These elements are shared with the material examined within this study, though with one key difference: the interactions of interest for this study are pre-mortem.

Finally, a broad survey of the concept of the hand of god within a number of cultures has been collated by Kieffer and Bergman. This collection includes a broad assessment of the theme within the Ancient Egyptian mind-set[324] and the use of the hand of god as an element of iconography in the near east[325], though does not focus upon lexical matters.

2.0 The Corpus

2.0.1 Grammaticalization

The topos of the divine hand/arm within sources gathered for this study makes frequent use of constructions *m-ḏrt* and *ḥr-ꜥ* (*wy*) [326]. A highly important issue relating to the use of these forms is whether they are to be taken literally, as separate lexical items or whether they should be seen as compound prepositions. This matter is concerned with the level of

[321] Ogden *Discussions* 1, 28.
[322] Petrie, W. M. F., *Amulets,* (Constable & Company Ltd; London 1914),11.
[323] Nyord *Breathing Flesh.*
[324] Bergman, J., 'Darstellungen und Vorstellungen von Götterhänden im Alten Ägypten', in R. Kieffer and J. Bergman (eds.) *La Main de Dieu - Die Hand Gottes,* (Mohr; Tübingen 1997), 1-18 Whilst this summarises well the use of the theme, Bergman does not make any full investigation into the language used to describe this phenomenon.
[325] Mittmann, S., 'Das Symbol der Hand in der altorientalischen Ikonographie', in R. Kieffer and J. Bergman (eds.) *La Main de Dieu - Die Hand Gottes,* 19-47 (Mohr; Tübingen 1997), .
[326] Written in this manner due to the frequent omission of the dual marker in texts from this period.

grammaticalization[327] present within these groups. Grammaticalization is defined as "The process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions"[328], and this "begins with concrete, lexical forms and constructions and ideally ends in zero"[329]. The creation of new grammemes, differs from the creation of new lexemes (known as lexicalisation), both processes are gradual and not necessarily independent[330]. The reasons for grammaticalization have been debated broadly within linguistics; it is likely that there is a great deal of mutual factors which lead to grammaticalization. As such, it has been suggested that the process is due to repeated pragmatic inferencing[331], or as an extension of metaphor[332] i.e. as "dead" metaphor[333].

It is highly problematic to fully differentiate between the original form and the fully grammaticalized form. It is a gradual process, and had been likened to a chain[334], each use linked to the previous and to the subsequent uses. Such gradation in usage means that grammaticalization is both diachronic (i.e. it develops over time) and synchronic (i.e. the same phrase can be used with differing meanings by the same speaker)[335].

The two compound prepositions which need to be explored in relation to this study are *m-ḏrt* and *ḥr-ꜥ(wy)*. Both of these compound prepositions function as BLCs (Basic Location Constructions) and as a means of expressing functions associated with INSTRUMENT, of which there are "especially numerous"[336] varieties within Late Egyptian. Both are formed with a basic preposition (*m* or *ḥr*) combined with a noun phrase/pronoun. The use of the human body (in this case hand/arm) within a grammaticalized form is common

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[327] Also called grammaticalization, grammaticization and grammatization. As such, there is a burgeoning literature addressing the issues around these differing interpretations. Due to this terminological confusion, James Matisoff called the term grammaticalization a "heptasyllabic cacophony" Matisoff, J. A., 'Areal and Universal Dimensions of Grammatization in Lahu', in E. C. Traugott and B. Heine (eds.) *Approaches to Grammaticalization,* II (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 1991), 383-453383.

[328] Hopper, P. J. and Traugott, E. C., *Grammaticalization,* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 1993), xv.

[329] Heine, B. and Kuteva, T., *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization,* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 2002),4.

[330] Wischer, I., 'Grammaticalization versus Lexicalization: 'Methinks' there is some Confusion', in O. Fischer, A. Rosenbach and D. Stein (eds.) *Pathways of Change: Grammaticalization in English,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 2000), 355-370.

[331] See: Hoffmann, S., 'Are low-frequency Complex Prepositions Grammaticalized? On the limits of corpus data- and the importance of intuition', in H. Lindquist and C. Mair (eds.) *Corpus Aproaches to Grammaticalization in English,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 1996), 171-210 particularly 172.

[332] Hooper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization,* 77.

[333] For a discussion of the place of dead metaphor in language see: Guttenplan, S. D., *Objects of Metaphor,* (Clarendon Press; Oxford 2005).

[334] Heine, B., 'Grammaticalization Chains', *Studies in Language* 16 (1992), 335-368.

[335] Heine and Kuteva, *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*, 5.

[336] Grossmann and Polis in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 205.

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within a number of languages in order to express a variety of concepts[337]. Indeed, there appears to be a "general process whereby certain body parts, on account of their relative location, are used as structural templates to express deictic location"[338], including the face, head, back, flank, heart and neck. Specifically, the use of the hand/arm as a means of expressing POSSESSION or AGENT is also present within the Zande language group[339].

Hoffmann has analysed the possibility of grammaticalization within low-frequency complex prepositions[340]. These constructions (*m-ḏrt* and *ḥr-ʿ(wy)*) fit neatly into this description when considered in relation to Hoffmann's algorithm for finding PNP-construction complex prepositions (preposition-noun-preposition)[341]. It may also be noted that a number of English complex prepositions contain human features such as the back or the face as the noun in this construction[342].

Nyord has examined the conceptualization of space as represented in compound prepositions with body parts in Sahidic Coptic[343]. Through the application of cognitive linguistic methods to New Testament instances of compound prepositions, Nyord is able to show how "Compounds tend to become specialised for particular idiomatic uses"[344], assessing the use of various compounds based around the head, face, mouth, breast, hand and foot [345]. Variations in preposition use related to the head, through ⲉⲭⲛ and ϩⲓⲭⲛ delineate between concepts which are dynamic/static, variable/established[346]. For example, "…the whole flock **over which** the holy spirit placed you…"[347] utilises the

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[337] See: Heine and Kuteva, *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*, 62 referring to the use of 'bron' "breast" in Welsh to express locative sentiments and similar within Bantu.

[338] Heine and Kuteva, *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*, 170 cf. chapter 2 regarding deictic markers within the corpus. Heine and Kuteva also include *m-ʿ=i* within Egyptian as "in my hand", following the translation of Gardiner.

[339] Heine and Kuteva, *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*, 165.

[340] Hoffmann in *Corpus Approaches to Grammaticalization in English,* 171-210 and Hoffmann, S., *Grammaticalization and English Complex Prepositions: A corpus-based study,* (Routledge; New York, NY 2005).

[341] Hoffmann in *Corpus Approaches to Grammaticalization in English.*

[342] Heine, B., Claudi, U. and Hünnemeyer, E., *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework,* (University of Chicago Press; Chicago, IL 1991), 32.

[343] Nyord, R., 'Conceptualizations of Embodied Space: The Semantics of Body Parts in Sahidic Compound Prepositions', in R. Nyord and K. Ryholt (eds.) *Lotus and Laurel: Studies in Ancient Egyptian Language and Religion in Honour of Paul John Frandsen,* (Museum Tusculanum; Copenhagen 2015), 241-281

[344] Nyord in *Lotus and Laurel*, 280.

[345] For a summary of the combinations of preposition and body parts see Nyord in *Lotus and Laurel*, 248, fig.2.

[346] Nyord in *Lotus and Laurel*, 250-251 ⲉⲭⲛ represents dynamic/variable and ϩⲓⲭⲛ the static/established concept.

[347] *Acts* 20:28. *The Holy Bible RSV,* 1172.

dynamic ⲉ︤ⲭ︦ⲛ︥[348], which also communicates sensory perception[349]. Whereas describing an unchanging state of affairs such as "He who has come from heaven is **above** everyone"[350] utilises the compound ϩⲓⲭⲛ[351]. There are similar differences found within compound prepositions related to the hand. Of particular note for the purposes of this study is the treatment of ⲛⲧⲛ "in the hand" and ϩⲓⲧⲛ "upon the hand". In this way ⲛⲧⲛ represents CONTAINMENT and ϩⲓⲧⲛ SURFACE[352] (old *m-ḏrt* and *ḥr-ḏrt*[353]). As such objects related with ⲛⲧⲛ remain in the immediate area (possession) and those related to ϩⲓⲧⲛ move dynamically away from the area in a specialised spatial use[354]. The current study seeks to assess the domains of meaning represented by the lexemes *ḏrt* and *ꜥ(wy)* and the compound prepositions which they form.

Due to the prevalent usage of compound prepositions based around body parts, they are translated within dictionaries and grammars in a number of manners, varying from the most literal to the abstract (in modern and ancient languages). What follows is a summary of the current understanding of two compound prepositions prevalent within the sources gathered for this study (*m-ḏrt* and *ḥr-ꜥ(wy)*).

Concerning *m-ḏrt*, it must be noted that whilst it shares orthographical features, *m-ḏrt* is distinct in use from *m-di*. Černý states that *m-ḏrt*: "… is not simply another version of *m-di*, a fact which can be demonstrated by comparison with Coptic ⲛ︤ⲧ︦ⲛ︥, and ⲛ︤ⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ[355] . They are in fact two different prepositions, but with almost identical uses"[356]. Within demotic, this pattern of use carries with (*n-*) *ḏr.(t)* used to express "with, from, through (lit. in the hand of)" and as a means "to introduce the agent after a passive"[357]. Whilst the two prepositions are closely connected, Grossmann and Polis have also shown that there is a "clear division of labour" between the two[358]. Whilst the two compound prepositions share some overlap in the SOURCE meaning, they may be divided in the following way, *m-di*

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[348] Nyord in *Lotus and Laurel*, 251.
[349] Nyord in *Lotus and Laurel*, 254.
[350] *John* 3:31. *The Holy Bible RSV,* 1121.
[351] Nyord in *Lotus and Laurel*, 251.
[352] Nyord in *Lotus and Laurel*, 270.
[353] Cf. P. BM EA 10183, 4,9; 6,8 and 8,6 as well as P. Mayer B 2,11.
[354] Nyord in *Lotus and Laurel*, 280.
[355] cf. Heine and Kuteva, *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*, 166. Nyord in *Lotus and Laurel*, 265-266 discusses the semantic differences of ⲛⲧⲛ and ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ further.
[356] Whilst the two forms have overlapping meanings due to a similar source, I do not agree that they are "identical". cf. Černý-Groll, 120.
[357] Johnson, J. H., *Thus Wrote 'Onchsheshonqy,* (Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago; Chicago,IL 1986) 31 and also within E166:14/13 in Lesson 9, 73.
[358] Grossmann and Polis in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 208 and 205, f.72.

is used in contexts which communicate COMITATIVE and POSSESSION, CO-PARTICIPANT and NP-COORDINATION and *m-ḏrt* in contexts relating INSTRUMENT, AGENT, LOCATION (and CAUSE?)[359].

Černý and Groll present five options for the translation of *m-ḏrt* [360], similar categories are applied to the form by Grossmann and Polis[361], albeit, within the framework of cognitive linguistics. (See table 1)

Černý-Groll	Grossmann-Polis
'from'	SOURCE
'by/through'	INSTRUMENT
'the agency of'	AGENT
'in the service of'	AUTHORITY
Expressing the 'self'	INSTRUMENT/AGENT
'by/through'	CAUSE
'in the hand of' (lit.)	*Basic meaning (lit.)*

TABLE 1: Potetntial translations of *m-ḏrt* as detailed by Černý-Groll and Grossmann-Polis

What follows are a number of the examples gathered by Černý-Groll, this allows for an assessment of what it means to discuss a grammaticalized compound preposition, as well as allowing for an attempt at gauging whether *m-ḏrt* is a grammaticalized form in relation to the divine. Each example is presented with the grammaticalized translation offered by Černý-Groll as well as the literal translation.

P. Abbott (P.BM EA 10221), rt. 6,24 **'from'** [362]

n3-mdwt i.sḏm=i **m-ḏrt p3y ḥ3ty n niwt**

Černý-Groll: "The words which I heard **from this mayor of Thebes**" [363]

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[359] Grossmann and Polis in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian,* 208.
[360] Černý-Groll, 120-121.
[361] Grossmann and Polis in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 205.
[362] Černý-Groll, 120. Also: Peet, T. E., *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty,* (Clarendon Press; Oxford 1930),28-45, Pls.I-IV.
[363] Černý-Groll, 120.

Literal: "The words which I heard **from the hand of this mayor of Thebes**"

In terms of grammaticalization, it is clear that a hand is unable to speak. On the other hand, this could easily be a metaphorical use, either as a means of representing agency, i.e. a letter may have been passed to the individual[364] or as a representation of metonymic transference i.e. hearing the words written down by the mayor. Thus conforming to the INSTRUMENT realm of meaning[365].

 P. Bib Nat 198,III rt.12 **'By' 'Through the agency of'** [366]

*r-ḏd tw=n ḏdḥ.tw **m-ḏrt=k***

Černý-Groll: "We have been imprisoned **by you**" [367]

Literal: "We have been imprisoned **in/by your hand**"

P. Leopold-Amherst 3, 5 **'In the service of'** equivalent to *r-ḫt* [368]

A *wn **m-ḏrt** ḥm nḥsy* B

Černý-Groll: "*A* who was **in the service of** the Nubian slave *B*" [369]

Literal: "*A* who was **in the hand of** the Nubian slave *B*"

P.BM EA 10052, 8, 20-21 **As a way of expressing 'self'** [370]

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[364] cf. P. BM EA 10417 vs.6 , "through the hands of every person" *m-ḏrt rmṯ nbt*. Černý *LRL,* 28.
[365] cf. ex.47 Grossmann and Polis in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 205.
[366] Černý-Groll, 120. For full publication see: Černý *LRL,* 69.
[367] Černý-Groll, 120.
[368] Černý-Groll, 120. For full publication see: Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies,* 45-51, Pls.IV-V.
[369] Černý-Groll, 120.
[370] Černý-Groll, 120. For full publication see: Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies,* 135-169, Pls.XXV-XXXV.

*ḏd=f bwpwy=i ptr ḫr bwpwy=i irt **m-ḏrt=i***

Černý-Groll: "He said: 'I did not see, and I did not take part **myself**'" [371]

Literal: "He said: 'I did not see, and I did not take part **with my (own) hand**'"

P. BM EA 10054, rt.2, 10. **In the literal sense 'in the hand of'** [372]

*iw i.iri=n wn nꜣ ḏbꜣwt m nꜣ ḫꜣiw n ḥmt i.wn **m-ḏrt=n***

Černý-Groll: "And it was with the copper chisels which were **in our hands** that we opened the outer coffins" [373]

Literal: "And it was with the copper chisels which were **in our hands** that we opened the outer coffins"

Regarding these examples, it is possible to apply a more or less literal reading to those instances which Černý-Groll have rendered with an abstract/grammaticalized reading. For example, P.Bib Nat 198 III, rt.12[374] may be translated more literally as: **"We have been imprisoned through your hand"**. The conversational implicature of agency is clearly present within this instance, the schema of AGENT may also be successfully applied to vs.20 of the Israel Stela of Merenptah (ex.24) where **"Amun punishes with his hand"** may be rendered as: **"Amun punishes through his agency"**. In representational art, the divine are not usually shown performing any smiting, instead allowing the King to exact his vengeance on his behalf. Despite an alteration in the feel of the text, the meaning remains consistent. This change merely suggests that the "hand" is a metonym for agency, allowing for the consideration of grammaticalization as a result of repeated inference or

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[371] Černý-Groll, 120. cf. English "with my own hands" meaning "myself".
[372] Černý-Groll, 121. For full publication: Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies,* 52-71, Pls.VI-VIII.
[373] Černý-Groll, 121.
[374] And its duplicate found in P.BM EA 10052, 8, 20-21.

metaphor[375] and thus as two interpretations of the same phrase within a spectrum of available meanings.

We may also apply the translation of "in the service of" to a number of examples in which an individual is named in relation to the divine via *m-ḏrt*. For example: in the penitential stelae where Ptah and Meretseger are mentioned the individual would thus be **"in the service of…"** (as a euphemistic rendering of "in the control/power of…") rather than **"in the hand of …"** the divine, resulting in a different interpretation of the instances. As an extension of this, within the *Teaching of Amenemope* the instances of *m-ḏrt pꜣ nṯr* (in Chapters 6, 10, 18 and 25), hence **"Better is poverty in the hand of the god"** would then be rendered as **"better is poverty in the service of the god"**, whilst a number of instances discussing **"prospering in your hand"** would be read as **"prospering in your service"**. The variation between the more and less literal renderings of the construction varies the meaning little, though both imply the control of an individual by a superior. As stated previously, these readings may easily be viewed as part of the process of grammaticalization, as an extension of metaphor[376].

There a number of examples which appear within this study do not take a preposition[377], where *ḏrt* then appears as an independent lexical item. A number of instances within the Qadesh Poem and those which discuss "giving a hand", this use may be found elsewhere in P. Mayer A vs.8, 3-5:

P. Mayer A vs.8, 3-5
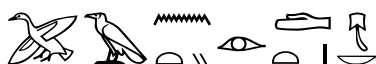
pꜣ nty ir ḏrt=k

"(you do not know that a theft) **is what your hand did**"[378].

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[375] Hoffmann, S., 'Are low-frequency Complex Prepositions Grammaticalized? On the limits of corpus data-and the importance of intuition', in H. Lindquist and C. Mair (eds.) *Corpus Aproaches to Grammaticalization in English,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 1996), 171-210 particularly 172.and Hooper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization,* 77.

[376] Hooper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization,* 77.

[377] Not including those examples in which the preposition is omitted from writing, such as those examples within the *Late Ramesside Letters*.

[378] Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue,* 116.

Notably, this is not the case for ꜥ(*wy*), which appears only as part of prepositional phrases and not as an independent lexical item. This immediately differentiates the two lexemes through their use.

The great variety of translation options provided regarding the use of *m-ḏrt*, are not present for *ḥr*-ꜥ(*wy*). Černý and Groll provide the reading 'in the charge of' [379],presumably taking ꜥ(*wy*) to mean power/control[380] in a similar way to *m-ḏrt*. This is not a literal translation of the compound preposition, thus reflecting the possible pragmatic meaning of the construction itself. Again, what follows are a few examples of the treatment of this lexical grouping.

<u>P.Mayer A, 7, 2-3</u>

Context: Userhatnakht is questioned about another individual.

 [A]

sw wꜣḥ (ḥr)-ꜥ=k ḏd=f sw (ḥr)-ꜥ(wy) ḥm [A]

Černý/Groll: "'It is **in your charge'** He answered, 'It is **in the charge of** the priest [A]' " [381]

Literal: "'it remains/rests **upon your arm'** He answered, 'It is **upon the arm of** the priest [A]' "

Černý-Groll offers seven examples of possible orthography of *ḥr*-ꜥ(*wy*), two of which are represented in the above example. In this case, it is easy to see how a more literal rendering provides a visual understanding of the possession of a matter (idealized as a physical object), though does not provide a felicitous English translation.

<u>Turin Strike Papyrus vs.4,13</u> [382]

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[379] Černý-Groll, 115.
[380] a(wy) does have a longer and older meaning based around "action" used during the Old and Middle Kingdoms.
[381] Černý-Groll, 115.
[382]See: Gardiner, A. H., *Ramesside Administrative Documents,* (Griffith Institute; Oxford 1948), 45-58.

Context: Part of a statement of amounts of vegetables provided for the workmen of a tomb.

nty ḥr-ꜥwy kꜣry pꜣ ḫꜣrw

Černý/Groll: "which is **in the charge of** *kꜣry* the Syrian"

Literal: "which is **upon the arms of** *kꜣry* the Syrian"

P. Mayer A 10,24 [383]

Context: Hori, son of Efenamun is cleared of suspicion due to being a minor

…ḫꜣꜥ (ḥr) ꜥ pꜣ m-r pr-ḥḏ

Černý/Groll: "He was left **in the charge of** the Overseer of the Treasury"

Literal: "He was left **(upon) the arm**[384] of the Overseer of the Treasury"

P. BM EA 10383 3,7 [385]

Context: Referring to a mast (the result of theft) which was returned to the merchant Tjathui after the intervention of the King and his household.

ptr sw wꜣḥ (ḥr) ꜥwy pꜣ šw n ṯꜣṯꜣwy

Černý/Groll: "Look, it is **in the charge of** the merchant Tjathui"

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[383] Peet, T. E., *The Mayer Papyri A & B : nos. m. 11162 and m. 11186 of the Free Public Museums, Liverpool* (Egypt Exploration Society; London 1920), Pl.10.

[384] Peet translates this line as "He was left in the hands of the overseer of the treasury." Peet, *The Mayer Paryri,* 16.

[385] K*RI* VI, 836 and Peet, T. E., *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty,* (Clarendon Press; Oxford 1930), 122-126, Pl.XXII.

Literal: "Look, it is **(upon) the arms of** the merchant Tjathui"

If ḥr-ꜥ(wy) is to be taken as compound preposition in this way, meaning **"in the charge"**[386] then the following translations may be suggested: within the *Late Ramesside Letters* we would thus read **"tomorrow is in the charge of the god"**, within the inscriptions of Berlin 6910 and the *Teaching of Amenemope* (ch.21 and 22) the individual would be said to be **"sitting in the charge of the god"** rather than **"upon the arm of the god"**. Furthermore, the instances found within O. Glasgow D.1925.69 would be read **"I have placed yesterday and today in the charge of the god"** and O.UC 39614 would state that **"yesterday is not like today in the charge of god"**. Despite the obviously felicitous English viewed within "in the charge", the difference between the more literal or more grammaticalized meaning is very small indeed. If an individual or a concept is upon the arm of a character, then it is logical to suggest that control or charge is implied. Notably, within the gathered examples, ḥr-ꜥ(wy) appears to be limited in use, and is used solely in relation to anthropomorphic characters.

ḥr-ꜥ(wy) "upon the arm(s)" may be linked to a number of compound prepositions which share a similar metaphorical origin based around the arm, representing agency of some type, such as ḥr-ꜥ "arrears"[387] and ḥr-ꜥwy "immediately" [388]. Both of these meanings predate the instances examined within this study. For example ḥr-ꜥwy "immediately" may be found within P.Westcar (P.Berlin 3033)[389] and the manuscripts of *The Eloquent Peasant*[390].

Whilst ḥr-ꜥwy "immediately" is presented as the dual within the *Wörterbuch*[391], New Kingdom examples of this (as well as those within *The Eloquent Peasant*) write this

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[386] Used in a similar way to the English idiom "To be in charge of".

[387] *Wb* III, 134. See also: *Peas.* B1 205. Parkinson, R. B., *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant,* (Griffith Institute; Oxford 1991), 30. Parkinson, R. B., *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: A Reader's Commentary,* (Widmaier Verlag; Hamburg 2012), 172 discusses the possible renderings of ḥr-ꜥ in this context, exploring meanings around "debt" and "immediately". Cf. the use of (ntt) m-ꜥ "debts owed" and ḥr-ꜥ "subordinate" within the Heqanakht papyri. Allen, J. P., *The Heqanakht Papyri,* (Metropolitan Museum of Art; New York, NY 2002).

[388] *Wb* I, 526.

[389] "Then he was brought to him immediately" *in in.tw=f n=f ḥr-[ꜥ]wy* (4,24) and repeated "Then he was brought to him immediately" [*in in.tw=f n=f ḥr-ꜥwy*] (55,25). For a full transcription: Blackman, A. M., *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians: Transcribed from Papyrus Westcar (Berlin Papyrus 3033),* (J.V. Books; Reading 1988).

[390] "It (a sheet) was brought immediately" *in in.tw=f ḥr-ꜥ* (R, 7.7) Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, 9.

[391] *Wb* I, 526.

compound with the singular ⸢ꜥ⸣. Whilst ḥr-ꜥ(wy) "upon the arm(s)" is often written omitting a fully expressed dual marker, there are a number of examples in which ḥr-ꜥ "immediately" is written with a marked singular[392], thus delineating the two compounds orthographically.

One particularly valuable example in order to illustrate the difference in meaning between ḥr-ꜥ "immediately" and ḥr-ꜥ(wy) "upon the arm(s)" is found within the inscription of Roma-Roy presented within this chapter (ex.24). Within the left side inscription both compound prepositions are used in relation to their specific domains of meaning and are written out fully, with ḥr-ꜥ used adverbially to mean "immediately" (line 7) and ḥr-ꜥ(wy) used to mean "upon the arms" (line 8) in relation to a proper noun (can be used with a pronoun).

It is clear that these various compound prepositions share some semantic and metaphorical link, through the arm as a point of human interaction. Whilst an exploration of this relationship within pre-New Kingdom sources would certainly prove useful in the study of categorisation within the Egyptian mind, the current study does not explore this further. For the purposes of this study, it is accepted that ḥr-ꜥ expresses immediacy adverbially whilst ḥr-ꜥ(wy) is used only in direct relation to a character and is thus translated as "upon the arm(s) of x".

One final point may be made in relation to the use of ḥr-ꜥ(wy), it appears to be common within the writing of this form to omit ḥr. For example; it is notably absent within the *Late Ramesside Letters* (exx.1-6), it is also absent within the examples provided by Černý-Groll in the form of P.Mayer A, 7, 2-3, P. BM EA 10383 3,7 and P. Mayer A 10,24. The omission of simple prepositions is common within Late Egyptian hieratic, especially within grammaticalized constructions (e.g. ḥr + infinitive). As this compound preposition (ḥr-ꜥ(wy)) is common it may simply be conveniently shortened, or on the other hand this may be an example of a more advanced grammaticalization. It may not be possible at this time to distinguish whether it is one of, or a combination of these factors that leads to the persistent omission of ḥr in ḥr-ꜥ(wy). However, given the commonality of this within such a context, this does reaffirm the reading of those instances with an omission as "upon the arms/in charge of".

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[392] Within *Peas.* R, 7.7 and Bt, 33 ḥr-ꜥ is marked as singular, Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, 9. As well as a further possible instance in B1, 205 depending on interpretation, in relation to which Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: A Reader's Commentary*, 172 notes that the Bt Scribe writes ḥr-ꜥ as such.

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As grammaticalization is such a gradual process it is difficult, if not potentially impossible to demonstrate a division between the original, independent PNP structure and the complex preposition. Similarly, grammaticalization does not necessarily result in fossilised forms[393] as shown by the variable preposition use in Sahidic Coptic in relation to body parts[394]. It is likely that the basic PNP structure of "in the hand of" and "upon the arm of" is the origin of the more abstract prepositional meanings shown by Černý-Groll, as it requires a physical origin[395]. Grossman-Polis even go as far as stating that "…the compound preposition did not yet reach an advanced stage of grammaticalization in Late Egyptian"[396]. Despite this, the concepts of continued pragmatic inferencing and metaphor fit well with the reading of these phrase groups, as it may be that it is through metaphor and implicature that the more nuanced meanings such as **"in the service of"** or **"in the charge of"** appear to be created, rather than the slow process of grammatical codification. Rather than looking to grammaticalization as a definitive answer, the similarity between the more and less literal renderings appears more to be based on how meaning is conveyed-specifically, whether it is shown directly by the translation or within the implied and metaphorical meaning[397].

Within this study, the literal translation of these compound prepositions, paired with commentary is favoured; it is our duty then to "interpret the pragmatic meaning over and above the literal meaning of the words"[398]. This approach will allow for a greater understanding of the spectrum of gradations in meaning between the literal and grammaticalized usage specific to each context.

[393] Cf. Haspelmath, M., 'Why is Grammaticalization Irreversible?', *Linguistics* 37 (1999), 1043-1068 and in relation to Egyptian specifically: Winand, J., 'Dialects in Pre-Coptic Egyptian, with a Special Attention to Late Egyptian', *Lingua Aegyptia* 23 (2015), 229-269.
[394] Nyord in *Lotus and Laurel*.
[395] Hence the affirmation that *m-ḏrt* requires "an agentive entity who actually has *hands*" by Grossmann and Polis in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 205.
[396] Ibid.
[397] "what ancient actors saw as literal and what they saw as metaphorical is not easy to establish" Baines, J., 'Presenting and Discussing Deities in New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period Egypt', in B. Pongratz-Leisten (ed.) *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism,* (Eisenbrauns; Winona Lake, IN 2011), 41-89.
[398] Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue,* 33. In the words of Nabokov; "The clumsiest literal translation is a thousand times more useful than the prettiest paraphrase" Nabokov, V., 'Problems of Translation: "Onegin" in English', *Partisan Review* 22 (1955), 496-512, in which Nabokov expresses the desire for accuracy of translation along with "footnotes reaching up like skyscrapers" to discuss and examine the meaning of texts.

2.0.2 Corpus and Methodology

In order to evaluate this, the following study concentrates upon instances in which ꜥ (*wy*) "arm(s)" and *ḏrt* "hand" occur in relation to the divine. This relationship with the divine takes two forms, grammatical and contextual i.e. when used in direct grammatical relationship (such as through the use of genitive forms), or where the context of the utterance indicates that the lexeme is referring to a divine actor. The divine is defined as those gods which are name directly but also when *nṯr* is used without specific reference to a single deity.

As a means of comparison, a selected number of instances which relate to non-divine characters which utilise the same phraseology within the corpora will also be presented. The reason for this inclusion is simple, if the individual exemplifies the same linguistic flexibility in description of their interactions with a non-divine character any conclusions about their understanding of the divine may be supported by the similar expression seen within other utterances. Other lexemes such as *ḏbꜣ* "finger"[399] or *ḥft* "grasp"[400] are not assessed as part of this thesis.

Titles appearing to refer to the divine hand or arm will not be discussed within this study[401], instead, only examples where an earthly writer talks about their interaction with a god pre-mortem will be studied. There is some difficulty in establishing the functional meanings of some titles, which tend to be highly archaising and as such are not appropriate for inclusion within a synchronic study of late New Kingdom discourse.

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[399] *Wb* V, 562.

[400] *Wb* III, 272-273.

[401] For example: the sacerdotal title of "god's hand" *ḏrt-nṯr* which was coined during the early New Kingdom and came to specific prominence during the Third Intermediate Period, cf. Robins, G., *Women in Ancient Egypt,* (British Museum Press; London 1993),153 and Ayad, M. F., *God's Wife, God's Servant: The God's Wife of Amun (c.740-525 BC),* (Routledge; London 2009), 4.
Also of note is the western Theban ritual title of ꜥꜣ-*n*-ꜥ Davies, B. G., 'The ꜥꜣ-*n*-ꜥ: A New Title for a Deir el-Medina Ritualist?', in B. J. J. Haring, O. E. Kaper and R. van Walsem (eds.) *The Workman's Progress: Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in honour of Rob Demarée,* (Peeters; Leuven 2014), 33-41.

2.1 Hieratic Sources

2.1.1 EPISTOLARY

The following six examples are solely from the *Late Ramesside Letters* corpus, and each contains the phrase:

> **X** *is ok/alive today;*   *tomorrow is upon the arm(s) of the god*
>
> **X** *m sš /ꜥnḫ* [...402] *pꜣ hrw*   *dwꜣ ḥr-ꜥ(wy) pꜣ nṯr*

Due to shared phraseology of the instances within the *Late Ramesside Letters* a full discussion of the meaning of the topos will take place after the presentation of all of the examples from this corpus.

Example 1: P.Geneva D 192 (*LRL* 17)

Recto:

Quote: **I am ok today; tomorrow is (upon) the arms of the god.** Say to Amun-united-with-eternity and every god of my town 'protect me, my Lord'. And you (should) write (to me) through the servants of my Lord, who come to make my heart happy.

(rt.6) *ḥnꜥ-ḏd r-nt(y) tw=i m šsr m pꜣ* **(rt.7)** *hrw dwꜣ (ḥr) ꜥwy pꜣ nṯr*

i-ḏd (n) imn-ḫnm-ḥḥ nṯr nb pꜣy=i dmyt **(rt.8)** *šd -wi nb=i*

mtw=k hꜣb m-di nꜣ šms (n) pꜣy nb=i **(rt.9)** *nty iy ꜥꜣ ḥꜣty=i*

 (rt.6-7 phrase)

Example 2: P.Geneva D 407 (*LRL* 8)

Recto:

As for your saying: 'And give your face to the Chantress of Amun Shed(em)dua and her children and (to) Hemesheri and her daughter' I will do, I will, whatever I am able to do!

---

402 This gap is dependent on whether X is an individual or a group- hence this is reflected by an agreement if present.

Indeed, they are alive [today; tomorr]ow is (upon) the arms of the god. You are the one they wish to see.

(rt.12) *mtw=k dit ḥr=k n* (rt.13) *šmʿy n imn šd-(m)dwꜣ nꜣy=s ʿḏdw ḥm-šri tꜣy=s* (rt.14) *ʿḏd šri*

ink iry sp sn pꜣ nty nb iw=i rḫ ir=f

(rt.15) *yꜣ st ʿnḫ m pꜣ hrw dwꜣ (ḥr) ʿwy pꜣ nṯr*

ntk pꜣ nty ib=w ptr=k

(rt.15 *instance*)

Verso:

Another matter for Horamenpenaf, Amenpanefer, Amenopet and the [singe]r of the General Pen[tahaures] in life, prosperity, health and favour of Amen-Re King of the gods. I say to Amen-Re King of the gods, Mut, Khonsu and all the gods of Thebes to give you life, prosperity, health and many favours before gods and men, and to let (me find) you in life, prosperity and health, and I fill [my] embrace with you. **Indeed, I am alive today; tomorrow is (upon) the arms of the god.** You are the matter which is in my heart.

(vs.10) *ky ḏd n ḥr-imn-pnʿ-f imn-pꜣ-nfr imn-ipt* (vs.11) [*ḥsy*] *pn[tꜣ-ḥwt-rs] n pꜣ m-r mšʿ m ʿ.w.s m ḥst imn-rʿ nsw-nṯrw*

tw=i ḏd n imn-rʿ (vs.12) *nsw-nṯrw mwt ḫnsw nṯrw nbw wꜣst*

imi n=tn ʿ.w.s ḥsty ḳnw (vs.13) *ʿšꜣt m-bꜣḥ nṯrw rmṯ imi* [3 groups]*=tn iw=tn ʿ.w.s*

mtw=i šd ḳni[=i] (vs.14) *m=tn*

yꜣ tw=i ʿnḫ.k m pꜣ h[rw dwꜣ] (ḥr) ʿwy pꜣ nṯr

mntn tꜣ ḫt (vs.15) *nty m ḫꜣty=i*

(vs.14 instance)
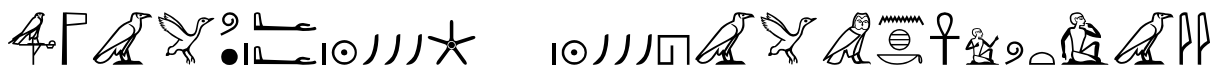
Example 3: P. BM EA 10417 (*LRL* 14)

Recto:

Quote:

I have heard all that you sent to me. Now, as for your having said 'Give your face to the Scribe Butehamun, the Chantress of Amun-Re King of the gods Shedemdua and the children' so you said. They are all right, do not worry about them. **They are alive today; tomorrow is (upon) the arms of the god.** You are the one who we wish to see.

(rt.7) *ḥnꜥ-ḏd*

*r-nty sḏm mdw nbw i-h3bw***(rt.8)=***k n=i ḥr rw*

p3 i-ḏd i.irw=k imi ḥr=k n **(rt.9)** *sš bw-th3-imn šmꜥt imn-rꜥ nsw-nṯrw šd-m-dw3* **(rt.10)** *n3 ꜥddw i.n=k*

st m sš mi h3t m-s3=w

(rt.11) *st ꜥnḫ m p3 hrw dw3 (ḥr)ꜥw(y) p3 nṯr*

ntk p3 nty ib=n ptr.k

(rt.11 instance)

Example 4: P. BM EA 10419

Recto:

Quote:

I have heard what you wrote (to me, saying) to keep an eye on my condition. <It is> Amun, Pre and Ptah who will watch over you and do all good (things) for you**. I am alive today; tomorrow is (upon) the arm(s) of the god.** Now you are all right before the General, no bad has come him. No-one[403]

(rt.6) *sp 2 r-nty sḏm=i p3 h3bw i.irw=k r ptr ꜥ=i*

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[403] This line is continued onto the Verso.

imn p3-rˁ **(rt.7)** *ptḥ i.irwptr=k mtw=w irw n=k nfr nb*

tw=i ˁnḫ.k p3 hrw dw3 (ḥr) ˁ(wy) **(rt.8)** *p3 nṯr*

ḫr tw=k m šs m-b3ḥ p3 m-r mšˁ m-ˁ=n n bt3 m-di=f ḥr bwpwy

(rt.7-8 instance)

Example 5: P.Leiden I 369 (*LRL* 1)
Recto:

How are you? How are your men? Indeed, I am alive today; tomorrow is upon the arms of the god. I am one who longs to see you and hear about your condition daily. In fact, what is the point of me sending all these letters, when you have not sent a single one to me?! (Even) if I had done millions of wrongs, have I not done one good thing to make them forgotten? (Surely) as I am one who is good to you, I am not one who is bad at all!

(rt.5) *y3 tw=i ˁnḫ m p3 hrw* **(rt.6)** *dw3 ḥr ˁw(y) p3 nṯr*

ink p3 nty ib r ptr=tn r sḏm ˁ=tn m [mnt]

y3 **(rt.7)** *iḫ.tw=i dit in.tw n=tn p3 ḥmn nšˁt iw bwpwy=tn dit in.tw wˁ*

iry iḫ **(rt.8)** *r r=rn ir iry=i ḥḥ n bt3 bw ir=i wˁ nfr dit sḥmw*

ḫr ink p3y=tn **(rt.9)** *nfr bin ink p3y=tn bin iwn3*

(rt. 5-6 instance)

Example 6: P. BM EA 75025 (Bankes 'C') - Palimpsest
Recto (Palimpsest):

Furthermore, I have heard the letter which you sent to me saying to keep an eye on my condition. Amun-Re King of the gods, your Lord is the one who watches over you, who

does good for you and gives you favours before the General. **Indeed, I am alive today; tomorrow is upon the arms of the god.** May he cause that I banish the illness in [me(?)...]

(rt.5) *ḥnꜥ-ḏd sḏm=i hꜣb i.irw=k r ptr* **(rt.6)** *ꜥ=i*

imn-rꜥ nsw-nṯrw pꜣy=k nb i-irw=f ptr=k mtw=f irw n=k nfr **(rt.7)** *mtw=f dit n=k ḥst m-bꜣḥ m-r mšꜥ*

tw=i ꜥnḫ.kwi m pꜣ hrw dwꜣ ḥr **(rt.8)** *ꜥwy pꜣ nṯr*

iry=f i.irw sḫry pꜣ mr im [*=i (?)*]

(rt.7-8 instance)

Discussion:

Whilst these instances come from a tight corpus of epistolary material, the full implications of the inclusion and use of this phraseology has not been explored fully. Whilst discussing P. BM EA 75025, Demarée suggests that this is an "almost proverbial phrase"[404]. Similarly, whilst discussing his interpretation of the view of god within the Ramesside period, Jan Assmann describes this idiom as a part of the Ramesside "experience of life": "(taken) down to its *most mundane expressions*[405]. Thus, for example, one might impart the following sort of information about one's circumstances in a letter:"[406]. Assmann's explanation implies that those utilising this phrase are cognisant of the ideas behind it, hence its ready usage within the *Late Ramesside Letters*. Elsewhere, John Baines has described the use of this phrase within these letters as "fatalistic"[407], though he also accepts that a fatalistic disposition is equally appropriate to "the context of letter writing which is intrinsic to most letter writing, since the two parties are not together"[408].

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[404] Demarée, *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri,* 27.
[405] Author's own italics.
[406] Assmann, J., *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt,* (Cornell University Press; Ithaca, NY 2001), 236.
[407] Baines, J., 'Egyptian Letters of the New Kingdom as Evidence for Religious Practice', *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion* 1 (2001), 1-31, 11.
[408] Baines, *JARCE,* 1, 11.

Religious or not, one would expect this idiom to function identically within letter-writing as Sweeney has proposed in relation to other set phrases[409], i.e. it may be manipulated to suit the means of the author and the context of the letter itself. In this way, it must be noted that the topos of the "arm of the god" appears within the *Late Ramesside Letters* solely in relation to personal wellbeing and the future: it is not employed in relation to other subjects. For example; discussions about crops, travel and other topics which are of concern to the letter writers are not said to be **"upon the arms of the god"**. Similarly, there are instances found within the corpus in which the writer discusses their or other's "condition" but do not include the phrase **"tomorrow is upon the arms of the god"**[410]. As such, this idiom is not a ubiquitous means of coping with the uncertainty of the future, as opposed to the modern usage of Insha'Allah (meaning: "if it is the will of Allah") within Arabic speaking cultures. Insha'Allah is undoubtedly pious in its origins; yet, it has evolved into a social reflex, with each speaker investing different value to its pious origins[411]. It may be the case that in a culture "permeated by statements symbolic and direct,"[412] those employing this topos within the letters are merely situationally pious[413] with the idiom performing a specific role within communication.

Concerning intercessory formulae within New Kingdom letters, Baines states that "while the formulas could become detached from practice, their creation is most meaningful if it referred to some activity that was recognised during their time of origin"[414]. As such, it may be said that the inclusion of this phrase within this corpus is important in and of itself. Notably this phrase is utilised by more than one writer (see Table 2.), consequently it may not be said to be an idiosyncratic feature[415]. There is a bias towards Dhutmose as the writer[416]; however, given the unusual preservation of the corpus this bias is not unexpected.

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[409] Sweeney, D., 'Idiolects in the Late Ramesside Letters', *Lingua Aegyptia* 4 (1994), 275-374.
[410] cf. P. Ashmolean no.1945.93, P. Bibl. Nat. 197, II, P. Bibl. Nat. 197,VI and P. Bibl. Nat. 198,I.
[411] It is not totally unusual to hear this phrase used by non-Muslims or the non-religious within an Arabic context.
[412] Kemp, B. J., 'How Religious were the Ancient Egyptians?', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5 (1995), 25.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Baines, *JARCE* 1,14.
[415] Despite this, Sweeney notes that women do not utilise this ꜥwy phrase. Reasons for this may be multiple, potentially related to the survival of letters or indeed the position of the male letter writers at the time of composition (i.e. in Nubia), thus requiring more reassurance of their condition to the recipients of the letters. cf. Sweeney, D., 'Women and Language in the Ramesside Period or, Why Women don't say Please', in C. J. Eyre (ed.) *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists,* (Uitgeverij Peeters; Leuven 1998), 1109-1118
[416] And indeed as the recipient.

This phrase also shows variance within the first component of the phrase- *"X is ok today"* (Table 2).

Source	Author	Main Recipient	Who the Phrase Refers to	Geographical Information
P. Leiden I 369 (rt. 5-6)	Dhutmose	Butehamun	Sender	Middle Egypt → Thebes
P. Geneva D 407 (rt.15)	Butehamun	Dhutmose	Others [417]	Thebes → Nubia
P. Geneva D 407 (vs.14)	Butehamun	Dhutmose	Sender	Thebes → Nubia
P. BM EA 10417 (rt.11)	Amenhotep	Dhutmose	Others [418]	Thebes → Middle Egypt
P. Geneva D 192 (rt.6-7)	Pentahaures /Piankh	Dhutmose	Sender	South → Thebes
P. BM EA 10419 (rt.7-8)	Dhutmose	Hafy	Sender	South (?) → Thebes
P. BM EA 75025 (rt. 8)	Dhutmose (Restored)[419]	Unknown[420]	Sender	(?)Thebes→Nubia(?) [421]

TABLE 2. The Late Ramesside Letters and ꜥ(wy) pꜣ nṯr

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[417] Shedemdua and her children.
[418] Shedemdua and her children.
[419] Demarée, *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri,* 27.
[420] Ibid. The name of the addressee is lost.
[421] For discussion of the potential route of this letter see: Demarée, *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri,* 27-28

Due to the compact time-period and geographical distribution of the letters[422] it may be suggested that the presence of this expression may just be an unusual phrasing utilised by those represented within the *Late Ramesside Letters,* a turn of phrase unique to the context of the community based around Deir el-Medina (idiolect[423]). If we are to treat this phrase in the same way as other lexical items-as a "ready-minted phrase" [424] – then we should also consider that the senders and recipients are both required to understand the implications and inferences associated with this phrase, as well as knowing how it may be deployed within their writing. The understanding of shared concepts has been explained by Herbert H. Clark as Common Ground[425]. Common ground is based upon the axiom that communication is a joint effort rooted in information (cf. Grice), hence, it is important that each speaker understands the utterances of the other[426]. This understanding can include mutual/common/joint knowledge, beliefs and suppositions. If we apply these elements of common ground to this phrase within the Late Ramesside Letters, we can see that all three of these areas of understanding are present as follows:

Knowledge	State of individual	(*X is ok/alive today*)
Beliefs	Role of Divine	(*tomorrow is upon the arms of the god*)
Suppositions	Result of statement – implied/internalised	

Zoltan Kövecses provides a number reasons for the variation of conceptual metaphor within a single culture[427]- his reasons for explaining variance are startlingly similar to those of Clark[428]- selecting factors such as; social, religious and lived experience. Though these factors relate to the creation of conceptual metaphors, I would argue that these factors may also function to explain the creation of this phrase group and its apparently local use.

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[422] Though the letters were not found *in situ* their original location may be deduced simply by a close study of their contents.
[423] Sweeney, D., 'Idiolects in the Late Ramesside Letters', *Lingua Aegyptia* 4 (1994), 275-374,
[424] Sweeney *Ling Aeg* 4, 275.
[425] Clark, H. H., *Using Language,* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 1996).
[426] Clark *Using Language,* 92.
[427] Kövecses *Metaphor in Culture,* 88-116.
[428] Clark *Using Language,* 92.

Part of the meaning of this idiom is centred in the possible implicatures created by the phrase *"tomorrow is upon the arms of the god"*, these may be divided into the positive or the negative, holding a positive or negative connotation to the individuals involved. If positive, the idiom implies the divine may be taking an interest in the individual's life and that the divine possession of tomorrow is reassuring. If viewed as a negative concept, then this idiom implies that the individual is subject to the will of the god exclusively. The construction of the implicature associated with this phrase may also be explained through the Q and R form of implicature proposed by Horn[429]. In the phrase *"tomorrow is upon the arms of the god"*, the sender does not state their perception of the positive/negative nature of this. They do not give any further information or explanation for this statement, thus fulfilling the requirements of the Q- element of Hornian Implicature by saying *"no more than you must"*, thus creating such implicature.

The results of the analysis of the implicature within this phrase group are expanded below:

"tomorrow is upon the arms of the god" [430]		
Assumed to be positive	+>	Tomorrow will be favourable
Assumed to be negative	+>	Tomorrow remains undecided
Both viewpoints	+>	Recognition of divine influence
Both viewpoints	~+>	Future is certain/known to the divine

In a number of the instances presented here, the text immediately following the phrase **"tomorrow is upon the arms of the god"**, four contain a reassuring sentiment pertaining to the recipient and the senders focus upon their wellbeing. They are as follows;

"you are the one we wish to see"[431]

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[429] Huang, *Pragmatics,* 37-40. See also: within this chapter, section 1.3.
[430] +> means "conversationally implicates", ~+> means "does not conversationally implicate".
[431] P. BM EA 10417 rt.11.

"I am the one who wishes to see you and hear about your condition daily" [432]

"you are the one they wish to see" [433]

"You are the matter which is in my heart" [434]

Two instances from the seven presented here (summarised in Table 1.) do not switch their focus to the recipient choosing instead to say:

"Say to Amun-united-with-eternity and every god of my town 'Protect me, my lord'"[435] As this phrase is an imperative, it is implicitly second person, as such the recipient is being addressed. However, this sentiment does not switch personal focus to the recipient but to their actions on behalf of the writer.

 "May he cause that I banish the illness in [me"[436]

This variant formula, i.e. non-reassuring, is written by two separate authors (again arguing against the possibility of a purely idiosyncratic writing style). The non-reassuring variants may be explained by the sender/recipient relationships of these two letters. P. Geneva D 192 was sent by a superior to an inferior, it is possible that the same may be true of P. BM EA 75025, (the addressee's name is lost.) If the other examples are peer-to-peer type letters, then it is possible to conclude that the reassuring formulae seen within those letters is associated entirely with peer-to-peer correspondence, and may not be employed within superior/inferior correspondence. Ridealgh[437] interprets these variances as an element of politeness reflective of "generations of scribal tradition"[438], though does not note these phrases nor does she interpret how these phrases function.

Aside from these two non-reassuring examples, the final instance presented here shows some elements of reassurance for the recipient though not in the same, direct format:

"Now you are all right before the General, no bad has come to him."[439]

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[432] P. Leiden I 369 rt.5-6.
[433] P. Geneva D 407 rt. 15.
[434] P. Geneva D 407 vs.14-15.
[435] P. Geneva D 192 rt.7-8.
[436] P. BM EA 75025 rt.8.
[437] Ridealgh, K., 'Yes Sir! An Analysis of the Superior/Subordinate Relationship in the Late Ramesside Letters', *Lingua Aegyptia* 21 (2013), 181-206.
[438] Ridealgh *LingAeg* 21, 183.
[439] P. BM EA 10419 rt.8.

Though it is broadly positive in relation to the wellbeing of the individual it does not refer to the sender and recipient's relationship, as in other reassuring instances. Concurring with Sweeney, who has suggested that this serves to comfort the recipient. "The sender does not say explicitly that he is taking care of the recipient's family. On the other hand, he takes note of the recipient's underlying concern by stating that the family is in fine fettle. In fact, to comfort the recipient he shifts the focus of attention to him."[440] (Referring to P. Geneva D 407). Sweeney also suggests that it is the clefted nature of the text following the phrase in question also performs a reassuring role[441], showing a grammatical focus as well as a physical focus[442] of the sender on the recipient.

Each phrase group begins: *X is alive/ok today.* For the sender; this is known. The phrase in question follows: *tomorrow is upon the arms of the god*. Tomorrow is unknowable to both sender and recipient- thus showing an increased level of uncertainty. The third element fulfils two roles; initially it shows that the wellbeing of the recipient is also unknown by the sender- hence fully uncertain. Secondly, in most cases it provides some amount of reassurance between peers thus providing some respite from such increasing uncertainty (see below).

X is ok/alive today	Known Condition
Tomorrow is upon the arms of the god	Unknown Condition
You are the one we wish to see	Unknown Condition and Reassurance

The *Leiden Letters* are a group of nine letters attributed to the time of Ramesses II[443]. The group focusses on the correspondence of the royal court, including princes and their peers. They are almost of an entirely phatic nature, one facet of which is the application of similar phraseology to that of the *Late Ramesside Letters*, namely: *"X is alright/alive today, but X does not know their condition for tomorrow"*.

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[440] Sweeney, *Dialogue and Correspondance,* 77.
[441] Sweeney, *Dialogue and Correspondance,* 75.
[442] See also: Ritter, T., 'On Cleft Sentences in Late Egyptian', *Lingua Aegyptia* 4 (1994), 245-69, specifically example 17 on page 255. Also: Neveu, D., *The Language of Ramesses: Late Egyptian Grammar,* (Oxbow; Oxford 2015), 233.
[443] Janssen, J. J., *Nine Letters from the Time of Ramses II,* (Brill; Leiden 1960).

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This phraseology is found within five of the nine letters, presented below:

P. Leiden I 360 (rt. 8-9) [444]

We are alright today. I do not know our condition of tomorrow.

(8) *tw=n m šs m pꜣ ẖrw*

(9) *bw-rḫ=i ꜥ=n r dwꜣ*

P. Leiden I 362 (rt. 5) [445]

We are alive today but (we) do not know our condition [for tomorrow]

(5) *tw=n ꜥnḫ=n m pꜣ hrw bw-rḫ=n ꜥ=n [n dwꜣ]*

P. Leiden I 363 (rt. 3-4) [446]

Furthermore: **We are alive today but we do not know our condition for tomorrow**

(3) *r-nty tw=n ꜥnḫ=n m pꜣ hrw bw-rḫ=n ꜥ=n n dwꜣ*

P. Leiden I 364 (rt. 6-7) [447]

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[444] Janssen *Nine Letters from the Time of Ramses II,* Pl.III and IV, 35 with Translation 40.

[445] Janssen *Nine Letters from the Time of Ramses II,* Pl.V and 35-36 with Translation 41.Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography,* Pls.10-11.

[446] See: Janssen *Nine Letters from the Time of Ramses II,* Pl.VI, 36 with Translation 42. Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography,* Pl.11 and K*RI* III, 231.

[447] See: Janssen *Nine Letters from the Time of Ramses II,* Pls.VII and VIII, 36 with Translation 42. Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography,* Pls.11-12 and K*RI* III, 923.

And furthermore: **I am all right today but I do not know my condition for tomorrow**

[hieroglyphic text]

(6) *ḥnꜥ-dd r-nty tw=i m šs m pꜣ hrw bw-rḫ=i ꜥ=i n*

[hieroglyphic text]

(7) *dwꜣ*

P. Leiden I 366 (rt.6-7) [448]

And furthermore I have taken note of all the matters that you sent to me. **I am all right. I am alive today but I do not know the condition of tomorrow.**

(6) *ḥnꜥ-dd r-nty sdm=i mdwt*

(7) *nb hꜣb n=i ḥr rꜣ=sn tw=i m šs tw=i ꜥnḫ.k(w) m pꜣ hrw bw-rḫ=i ꜥ n dwꜣ*

[hieroglyphic text]

Whilst these instances share a similar structure to the utterances of the *Late Ramesside Letters*, they also show a distinct variance in the lack of reference to the divine in relation to tomorrow. Similarly, whilst a number of the writers provide a wish for future correspondence following this sentiment, there is no full element of switching focus or reassurance as seen within the *Late Ramesside Letters*; likely due to the differing relationships of correspondents within the two corpora.

As an extension to these differences, it may be noted that between these two corpora the *Late Ramesside Letters* describe the future as an abstract notion "tomorrow" and the *Leiden Letters* describe the future in a more direct means as "my/our condition for tomorrow". This fits neatly into New Kingdom sapiential discourse about the future in relation to the

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[448] See: Janssen *Nine Letters from the Time of Ramses II,* Pls.XI and XII, 37-38 with Translation 44.Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography,* Pl. 14 and K*RI* II, 910-11.

divine, seen also in O.Glasgow D.1925.69 (ex.7 within this chapter), *The Prohibitions* (ex.8 within this chapter) and the *Teaching of Amenemope* (ex.13 within this chapter) [449].

An example of this phraseology may also be found within the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*:

P. Bologna 1094, 7,1-7,10 *Letter from a female musician of Amun* [450]

 "Furthermore, **I am alive and well. Do not worry about me, it is your condition I wish to hear about daily**" (7,5)

(7,5) *ḥnꜥ-ḏd r-nty tw=i m šs tw=i ꜥnḫ.k(w) m diyt ḥꜣty=k m-sꜣ=i ntk pꜣ nty ib=i r sḏm ꜥ=k mnt*

There may be some semantic or metaphorical link between the use of ꜥ(*wy) pꜣ nṯr* within the *Late Ramesside Letters* and ꜥ *n dwꜣ* utilising ꜥ as condition[451] in the Leiden Letters and P.Bologna 1094[452]. The use of ꜥ as "condition" may speak to the flexibility of the arm in a similar way to the grammaticalization of ideas similar within *ḥr-ꜥ* "arrears"[453] and *ḥr-ꜥwy* "immediately"[454]. Indeed, it may be that the use of *ḥr-ꜥ(wy) pꜣ nṯr* is part of some wordplay on the part of the writers. In relation to potential grammaticalization, whilst *ḥr-ꜥ(wy)* is preferred within the *Late Ramesside Letters* within the phraseology detailed above, there is also an example of *m-ḏrt*.

P.BM EA 10417 (*LRL* 14)

"You should not stop writing to me about your condition, **through the hand of every person who is going south,** so that our hearts are happy."

(vs.6) *mtw=k tm r hꜣb n=i ꜥ=k m-ḏrt nbt nty* **(vs.7)** *iwi y rsy ꜥy ḥꜣty=n*

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[449] cf. Griffiths, J. G., 'Wisdom about Tomorrow', *The Harvard Theological Review* 53 (1960), 219-221.
[450] Translation: Caminos *LEM*, 20-22 Transcription: Gardiner *LEM*, 6-7.
[451] *Wb* I, 158.
[452] Also: P. BM EA 75025 rt.6.
[453] *Wb* III, 134. See also: *Peas.* B1, 205. Parkinson, R. B., *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant,* (Griffith Institute; Oxford 1991), 30. Parkinson, R. B., *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: A Reader's Commentary,* (Widmaier Verlag; Hamburg 2012), 172 discusses the possible renderings of *ḥr-ꜥ* in this context, exploring meanings around "debt" and "immediately".
[454] *Wb* I, 526.

(vs.6-7 Instance)

⟨hieroglyphs⟩ **(vs.7)** ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ **(vs.6)**
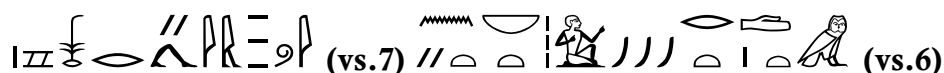
With this example, we may again assess the level of potential grammaticalization. In this case, I would argue against grammaticalization, with this example instead signalling the act of delivery of a letter i.e. it is passed by hands. Furthermore, it is important for the premise of this study that both *ḥr-ʿwy* and *m-ḏrt* are used within this corpus and within separate contexts. *ḥr-ʿwy* is associated with the divine control of the future whereas *m-ḏr*t relates a human, interactive act.

2.1.2 LITERARY

Example 7: O. Glasgow D. 1925.69 (O. Colin Campbell 4)

Recto:

Another *ṯni* of enjoyment, (saying):

I have left yesterday; today is upon the arms of Amun.

I was found prosperous, my condition enduring.

I will make for myself a good stay until the end of my lifetime.

I will give my all to him; it is he who brings me to land.

O, the happiness of burial; there is nothing like it.

The protector amongst men perishes; his plans are sluggish.

(rt. 1) *ky ṯni nt sḏ3 ḥr (ḏd)*

ḫ3ʿ=i sf p3 hrw ḥr ʿwy imn

 gm.n **(rt.2)** *tw=i wḏ3.k sḫrw=i mn*

iry=i n=i mnt nfrt r km ʿḥʿw=i

di=i n=f r-ḏr=i **(rt.3)** *mntf mniw=i*

hy p3 wḏ(3) n ḳrs nn mitt=s

nḥw m rmṯ 3ḳw sḫrw=f wsf3

(rt.1 instance)

[hieroglyphic line]

A second possible instance:

PAUSE

How short is lifetime! It is upon your [arms[455]]

Make, indeed our fate within Thebes.

It is the dream on earth that we see;

Every man ends his journey; do not allow us to be far from you.

PAUSE

(rt.8) *grḥ*

ktt wsy ꜥḥꜥw sw ḥr [*ꜥwy?*] **(rt.9)** *=ky*

imi is šꜣy=n m-ḫnw n wꜣst

mꜣꜣ=tn ḥr tꜣ rswt nty ḥr tp-tꜣ

(rt.10) *pꜣ mn s ḥr r mni mi wꜣ=n n=k*

grḥ

(Instance rt.8-9)

[hieroglyphic line] **//** (rt.9) [hieroglyphs] (rt.8)

Discussion:

Within the first stanza, it is stated that after, the speaker's leaving of yesterday that **"today is upon the arms of Amun"**. This differs from the previous examples within the *Late Ramesside Letters* in two ways: the text inscribed upon the ostracon directly names the god in question; it also states that it is "today" (*pꜣ hrw*) and not "tomorrow" (*dwꜣ*) which is upon the divine arms. Because of its fictionalised literary context, it stresses the liberation

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[455] There are only traces of ink of this section, as unluckily, this important lexeme occurs upon a break. However, due to the inclusion of the dual *ky* upon the start of rt.9, it may be inferred that this may be read either arms of hands.
www.huntsearch.gla.ac.uk/cgibin/foxweb/huntsearch/DetailedResults.fwx?collection=archaeology&SearchTerm=D.1925.69&reqMethod=Link Accessed: 16/05/2013.

of being close to Amun, it is more acceptable to be direct in this case as opposed to the instances found within the *Late Ramesside Letters* where the assurance of family is paramount.

The remaining lines of the stanza detail the benevolence of Amun towards man, a theme which is sustained throughout the rest of the text. Given the references to good burial and the failings of a human protector, it would appear that this phrase is appears to allude to the concept of "life as the gift of god" discussed within a number of texts examined for this study, hence the application of *ḥr-ʿwy* would imply that "today" is placed under the control of the divine. Elsewhere within the text the theme of *mutabilitas mundi* is reiterated, pairing the line: "miserable are the plans of men who are among us" (rt.7) with requests for divine favour.

Within the fourth stanza there is a possible second instance (rt.8-9). Unfortunately, the ostracon has suffered a break, thus leaving a barely diagnostic trace of ink[456]. McDowell restores the possibility of reading "hands"[457], noting that Gardiner "stated explicitly 'not hands'"[458], whilst Assmann translates this section as "Wie kurz ist die Lebenszeit! Sie vergeht"[459]. What remains is *sw ḥr* […] *ky* hence, both of these views may be accommodated, it is only by the texts similarities to other pious sentiments such as this, and the virtue that this stanza appears to be addressed to the divine- probably to Amun- that such an allusion to divine control over lifespan may be inferred through *ʿwy*.

Example 8: O. UC 39614 (O.Petrie 11) *The Prohibitions*

Recto:

You should not prepare yourself on this day for tomorrow, as it has not yet come, yesterday is not like today upon the arms of the god.

(rt.1) *imi=k ḥr=k m hrw pn r dw3 bw iit=f nn sf mi p3 hrw ḥr ʿwy p3 nṯr*

(rt.1 Instance)

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[456] For clear photographs of the object:
www.huntsearch.gla.ac.uk/cgibin/foxweb/huntsearch/DetailedResults.fwx?collection=archaeology&SearchTerm=D.1925.69&reqMethod=Link Accessed: 16/05/2013.
[457] McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum,* 7.
[458] McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum,* 9. Note *o.*
[459] *ÄHG*, 417.
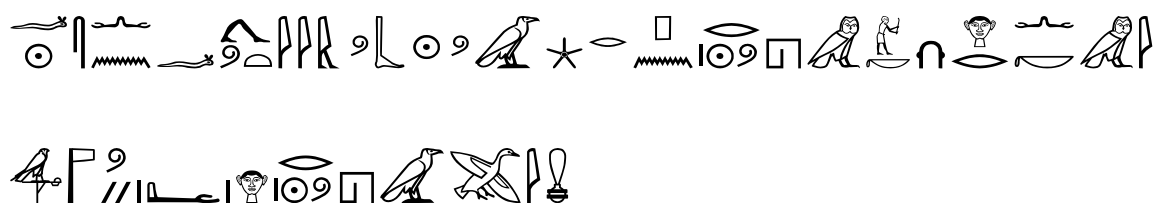
Verso:

You should not plan for tomorrow, as it has not yet come; (it is) today until tomorrow comes

(vs.5) *imi=k w3w3 r dw3 bw iit=f m p3 hrw r iy dw3*

(vs.5 Instance)
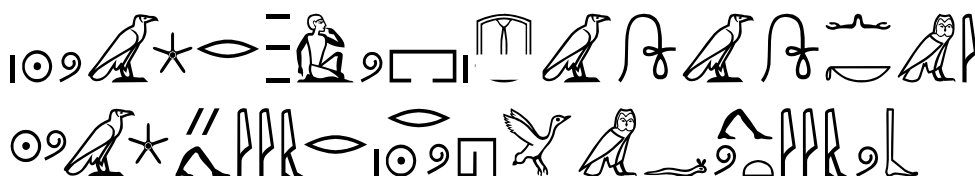
Discussion:

The topos of the divine hand/arm is preserved in the first line of O. UC 39614. This line, assigned the designation A9 by Hagen [460], deters the reader from preparing for tomorrow **"as it has not yet come, yesterday is not like today upon the arms of the god."** (rt.1). Though this is the first line preserved upon this ostracon, it does not seem to be first line of the composition due to its partial preservation upon both O. DeM 1632 I(b) [461] and O. Turin 57089 [462]. This line has been translated in a variety of nuanced ways, the element on which most translators agree upon is the secondary element; **"yesterday is not like today…"**, both of these time options are placed **"upon the arms of the god"**, placing both of them in the control and influence of the divine, simultaneously creating a distinction between the two. The distinction between the two appears simple: yesterday is complete, whilst today is incomplete. Simply, 'things change', so there is little point in planning too

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[460] Hagen, *JEA* 91, 143.

[461] Excavated by Bruyère in 1930. For full publication see: Posener, G., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh,* III, 3 (Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale; Cairo 1980), Pls.62 and 62a. And Hagen, *JEA* 91, figs. 1-7, 9.

[462] Found by Schiaparelli in 1905. See: López, J., *Ostraca ieratici n. 57001-57092,* III, 1 (Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino - La Goliardica; Milan 1978), Pls. 38 and 38a. See also: Hagen, *JEA* 91, fig. 11.

much for tomorrow[463]. Where previous translations differ is upon the reading of ꜥwy as hand or arm. Orthographically, ꜥwy is written fully (including dual marker) on O. UC 39614[464], whereas the same word is written as the singular, showing no plural markers on O. DeM 1632 I(b).

Upon the verso of the ostraca, there is a second instance which shares similar phraseology to part of the A9 instance. It differs in the second portion of the phrase, which does not entail the divine; instead stating that **"You should not plan for tomorrow, as has not yet come; (it is) today until tomorrow comes"** (vs.5.) The instance is analysed here, to illustrate the choices of phraseology employed by the author of these compositions.

Whilst the instances of *The "Prohibitions"* do not share an identical phraseology to those of the *Late Ramesside Letters*, both corpora relate the concept of the unknowable tomorrow, and entail the topos of the divine arm. It may be noted that the preserved ostraca of *The "Prohibitions"* with known provenance originate at Deir el-Medina. This shared origin offers an intriguing possibility: whilst it is highly problematic to assess when *The "Prohibitions"* were first composed[465] it may be possible that the writers of the *Late Ramesside Letters* had read this text.

Example 9: P.Sallier IV verso (P.BM EA 10184) *From a Letter Praising Thoth, written to a young Scribe*

If you do not have the strength to fly at my voice, then I know that a servant of this great official will write to me, so that I may come myself and report it to the *setem* priest. He will turn around[466] when I report to him, he will give me his attention. **Then Thoth will give him a hand**. He loves him, he praises him[467].

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[463] 'Today is not like yesterday' is also trope in Middle Kingdom pessimistic literary laments e.g *The Dialogue of a Man and his Ba*, "Whom can I talk to today? Yesterday is not remembered…" ḏd=i n-m min n sḫꜣ.tw sf (P.Berlin 3024, 115).

[464] Hagen, *JEA* 91, fig.14 –interestingly this is written on the side of the Ostraca.

[465] Discussed within: Introduction section 1.2.1.

[466] lit. "overturn" or "capsize" *Wb* I, 508-509 though such a translation does not make good English sense.

[467] i.e. The Scribe loves and praises Thoth.

(vs. 5,3) *ḫr-ir nn wn pḥty im=k r pwyt ḥr ḫrw=i* **(vs. 5,4)** *ḥr tw=i rḫ.kwi r-ḏd b3k n p3 i3w-ꜥ3 r h3b n=i*[468] *iw=i ḏs=i smi n=i stm*

iw=f r pnꜥ=f ḫft smi=i n=f iw=f r **(vs. 5,5)** *dit n=i m3ꜥ=f*

ḥr di n=f ḏḥwty ḏrt

mr[=f −s]w ḥsy [=f −sw]

(vs. 5,5 *instance*)

Discussion:

This instance comes from a passage described as "*A letter praising Thoth*", it describes the relationship between the scribal audience and the god Thoth, whilst also detailing the building of a temple to the god. A focal point of the text is on the attentive nature of Thoth and his unique qualities: "There is no god like Thoth. He who loves him has praised you[469]" (vs.5,1-5,2). The author (the young scribe) states that when speaking to the *setem* priest, **"He[470] will turn around when I report to him[471], he[472] will give me his attention. Then Thoth will give him[473] a hand."** (vs. 5,4-5,5)[474]. This passage utilizes the *ḏrt* lexeme, illustrating a focus on the direct interaction of the divine. This same usage is present within a number of other examples within this chapter whereby the divine hand is an object within itself. The idiom of "giving a hand" meaning assist may be seen throughout Pharaonic history, for example within the Pyramid Texts[475].

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[468] *passim* Caminos *LEM,* 351.

[469] *passim* Caminos *LEM,* 351- due to the inclusion of the dependent pronoun *tw*. Caminos also suggests the reading "He whom he has praised longs for him" if the *tw* is omitted.

[470] Thoth.

[471] The *setem*-priest.

[472] Thoth.

[473] The scribe.

[474] The interpretation of this passage is complex due to the repeated use of the masculine suffix pronoun for each of the three characters.

[475] For Brief discussion, see: Eyre, C. J., *The Cannibal Hymn: A Cultural and Literary Study,* (Liverpool University Press; Liverpool 2002),128 and 131.

Example 10: P.Anastasi V (P. BM EA 10244) *Prayer to Thoth for skill in writing* (9,2-10,2)

I have seen many who you acted for, they are (now) among the thirty, strong and powerful through what you have done. You are the one who gives advice; you are the one who gives advice to him who has no mother. **Fate and Fortune are in your arm**[476]. Come to me so you can advise me. I am a servant of your house.

(9,5) *ptr=i* [477]*ẖnw iw iry=k n=sn iw=sn m-ẖnw 30yt* **(9,6)** *iw=sn nḫt.ti wsr (.ti) m i.irw=k*

ntk p3 i.irw sẖrw ntk p3 **(9,7)** *i.irw sẖrw n p3 n nty mwt=f*

š3y rnnt m-ꜥ=k

mi n=i iry=k n=i sẖrw

ink **(9,8)** *ḥm n pr=k*

(9,7 Instance)

Discussion:

Within this piece, amongst the praise of the divine we read: **"Fate and Fortune are in your arm"** (9,7). Caminos prefers "Fate and fortune are with thee"[478], whereas Assmann renders this as "Schicksal und Gedeihen sind in deiner Hand"[479]. These considerations give rise to the discussion of grammaticalization and the differences between *m-ꜥ* as a compound preposition (Caminos), and *m-ꜥ* as separate lexical items (Assmann). For the purposes of current analysis, it is rendered above as separate lexemes following the discussion present within 2.0.3 within this chapter.

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[476] In this instance the topos refers to arm (sing.) as ꜥ. In other examples discussed within this, such as the *Late Ramesside Letters* there are allusions to the dual, if not fully written out but with plural markers.

[477] *passim* Gardiner *LEM*, 60a.

[478] Caminos *LEM*, 232.

[479] *ÄHG,* 412.

The pairing of fate and fortune is common[480] and may be seen within other examples gathered within this chapter[481]. As the two concepts set at birth, with *šꜣw/šꜣy* allotting the length of life and manner of death and assigning the more material elements of an individual such as height, weight *et cetera*[482] this instance indicates a distant control by the divine. Quaegebeur[483] notes the use of *šꜣy* in this context, as well as a number of other references to Shay in relation to Thoth.

Example 11: P.Anastasi II (P. BM E 10243) *Fragments of text on the Verso*
Verso between rt.4-5

[…] being upon the arms of the Two Sisters,

[…] *iw=k ḥr-ꜥwy sn(w)ty*
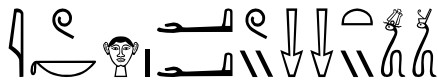
Discussion:

This fragmentary text follows a number of wishes for another individual such as "May you live, may you be healthy, may you be wealthy, may you be strong…" the instance of the topos forming the final preserved element of this. The "Two Sisters" often refer to Isis and Nephthys, whose arms are literally spread over the deceased, the determinatives used (crowned cobra figures[484]) argue that the characters in question are Nekhbet and Wadjet.

Though Caminos reads "May you be in the hands of the Two Sisters"[485], the use of *ꜥwy* indicates "arms". It is possible that this utterance forms part of a model letter, due to the

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[480] Miosi, F. T., 'God, Fate and Free Will in Egyptian Wisdom Literature', in G. E. Kadish and G. E. Freeman (eds.) *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams: a Festschrift,* (Benben Publications for The Society for the Study of Egyptian Toronto 1982), 69-111. This pairing is also seen within Middle Egyptian texts, e.g. *Teaching of a Man for his Son* which speaks of both of these qualities as well as that of Meskhenet.

[481] cf. exx. 12, 22 in this chapter.

[482] Miosi in *Studies in Philology*, 75-76.

[483] Quaegebeur, J., *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique,* (Leuven University Press; Leuven 1975), 103-104.

[484] *passim* Caminos *LEM,* 63. This instance is unusual in relation to others referring to the "two sisters" who are often shown iconographically as protecting the deceased. cf. Piankoff, A., *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon,* (Princeton University Press; Princeton, NJ 1955).

[485] Caminos *LEM,* 63.

repeated well wishes in the preserved lines above this line, with this invocation of the "two sisters" as a final element (i.e. "[May you be well], being upon the arms of the Two Sisters"). Given the inclusion of this phrase within the context of other positive wishes, we may conclude that a positive implicature is intended- that the distant control by these deities is desired, as is being wealthy or powerful[486].

Example 12: The Tale of the Doomed Prince

vs.8,4-8,6

Then they woke up her husband […] him. **She told him "Look, your god has placed one of your fates in your hand. He will p[rotect you"**. Then he made an] offering to P[re], praising him and extolling his *bȝw* every day.

(vs.8,4) *wn.in=sn ḥr nhs pȝy=s nhȝy* […]**(vs.8,5)** *-sw*

iw=s ḥr ḏd n=f ptr di pȝy=k nṯr wˁ m nȝy=k šȝy m-ḏrt=k iw=f r s[ȝw=k

(vs.8,6) …]*wdnw n pȝ[rˁ] ḥr dwȝw=f ḥr skȝ bȝw=f m-ˁ ḫrt hrw nt rˁ-nb*

(vs.8,5 Instance)

Discussion:

Whilst this instance does not involve a divine hand/arm, its context is highly instructive for our understanding of the topos. Fate (*šȝy/šȝw*) in other examples within this study is treated as a distant force, placed "upon the arms" of the divine[487]. The divine control is then not palpable, fate is instead set and affected by the divine as a matter of their powers[488], placed upon their arms rather than in their hand. Within the narrative, three

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486 Ibid. "may you be wealthy; may you be strong".
487 cf. ex.10 within this chapter which places fate upon the arms of Thoth and ex.22 within this chapter which places fate upon the arms of the goddess Mut.
488 Miosi in *Studies in Philology*, 72 cf. *Teaching of a Man for his Son* which speaks of the setting of the length of life. Simpson, W. K., 'The Instruction of a Man for his Son (First Section)', in W. K. Simpson (ed.) *The*

possible fates have been assigned to the Prince by the Seven Hathors (vs.4,3). Further into the narrative, the Prince's wife states, after the aversion of one of the possible fates, that **"your god"** (i.e. the personal god of the Prince) has **"has placed one of your fates in your hand."** (vs.8,5) utilising the topos of the hand to mean close, personal control. This shift of control allows the Prince to affect "one" of the three possible fates, illustrating in a lexicalised manner the "room for human initiative" alluded to by Hornung[489]. Whilst the Prince has control of one of his fates, it is still recognised that this may be an unusual occurrence as the Prince goes on to offer to the god and states that he will extol the *bꜣw* of the god every day, a sense of *do ut des*.

Frandsen has examined this text specifically in reference to "fate/*šꜣy*"[490], in which he differentiates between the usage of a DOMINATED or DOMINATING genitive. Within this text the DOMINATED genitive (*pꜣy=f šꜣy* or *nꜣy=f šꜣyw*) thus suggests that this is not an inalienable attribute which may not be averted, but an inalienable *possession*, creating a relationship between the individual and the possession[491], implying that a man "is not a slave of his destiny"[492].

Example 13: The Teaching of Amenemope

N.B. Due to the size of this composition, the relevant sections are presented within the context of their chapters. The content of each chapter is also summarised within footnotes.

Chapter 2 [493]

5,1- 5,6

We will steer the ferry of the wicked,

though we do not act like him;

Raise him up, give him your hand

Leave him (upon[494]) the arms of the god;

Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry, (Yale University Press; New Haven, CT 2003), 175-177.

[489] Horning *Conceptions of God,* 212.

[490] Frandsen, P. J., 'Aspects of Kingship in Ancient Egypt', in N. M. Brisch (ed.) *Religion and Power : Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond,* (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; Chicago, IL 2008), 47-73

[491] Frandsen in *Religion and Power*, 54-55.

[492] Frandsen in *Religion and Power*, 55.

[493] Chapter 2 of *Amenemope* focusses on the theme of the defence of the poor and the upholding of proper behaviours.

[494] Laisney suggests the insertion of the preposition *m* opposed to *ḥr*. Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*, 63.

Fill his belly with your own bread,

So that he is sated and he is ashamed[495].

(5,1) *i.ir ḥm ḏ⁽ʿ⁾y=n pȝ bin*

(5,2) *iw bn iry=n mi-ḳd=f*

(5,3) *ṯs –sw imi n=f ḏrt=k*

(5,4) *ḫȝ⁽ʿ⁾ –sw (ḥr) ȝwy pȝ nṯr*

(5,5) *mḥ ḫt=f m t m-di=k*

(5,6) *sȝ=f mtw=f ṯm*

(5,3 Instance)

(5,4 Instance)
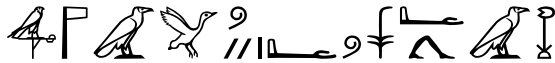
Chapter 6 [496]

9,5 -9,8

Better is poverty in the hand of the god,

Than wealth in the storehouse;

Better is sacred bread[497] when contented

Than wealth with vexation.

(9,5) *ȝḫ pȝ nmḥ m ḏrt pȝ nṯr*

(9,6) *r wsrw m wḏȝ*

(9,7) *ȝḫ pȝty ḥȝty nḏm*

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[495] Lit. "eyes downturned" *Wb* V, 367.

[496] Chapter 6 of *Amenemope* is concerned with countering negative social behaviour and the divine relation to this, particularly focussing on agricultural situations and instances.

[497] *pȝ.t (pȝw.t)* as "offering bread" *Wb* I, 495 *passim* Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*,97.

(9,8) *r wsrw ḫr šnn*

(9,5-9,6 Instance)

(9,5) [498]

(9,6)

Chapter 10 [499]

13,17- 14,1

Don't separate your heart from your tongue,

and then all your affairs will succeed.

And (you) will be important before others,

Success is in the hand of the god.

(13,17) *m ir pšn ḥȝty=k r ns=k*

(13,18) *ḫpr sḫrw=k nb mꜥr*

(13,19) *ḫpr (=k) dns.tw m-bȝḥ tȝ kwy* [500]

(14,1) *iw wḏȝ m ḏrt pȝ nṯr* [501]

(14,1 Instance)

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[498] Unusually, there is a *y* written above the *ȝḫ* in this line, it is unclear why this is so. It may be that this may have been a slip of the pen or a hieratic flourish which has been repeatedly transcribed. cf. Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*, 335.

[499] Chapter 10 of *Amenemope* concerns honesty of speech.

[500] Written using syllabic orthography *kȝ-wȝ-wy*. *passim* Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*, 138 who considers this to be a noun in its own right, preceded by the feminine singular.

[501] The link between *m-bȝḥ* and *m-ḏrt* is reiterated in Chapter 18, though the components are reversed: (19,22-23). This appears to be a conscious linking of the two elements, with the later instance (Chapter 18) showing the potentially negative or capricious side of the divine and the instance of Chapter 10 describing the positive and caring element of the divine. In either case, whether benevolent or malevolent, the divine is still actively involved with the individual, affecting them; as such the *ḏrt* lexeme is used.

Chapter 18 [502]

19,22-20,6

There is no success in the hand of the god,

Nor is there vanity before him;

If one strives for perfection

In no time he destroys it.

Keep your heart firm, steer your heart.

Do not steer with your tongue!

If the tongue of a man is a boats rudder,

The Lord of All is its pilot.

(19,22) *mn mnḫ m ḏrt pꜣ nṯr*

(19,23) *ḫr mn whꜣ m-bꜣḥ=f*

(20,1) *ir stꜣ=f-sw r whꜣ pꜣ mnḫ*

(20,2) *km ꜣt ḥḏ=f -sw*

(20,3) *dns tw* [503] *m-ib=k smn ḥꜣty=k*

(20,4) *m-ir iry ḥm n ns=k*

(20,5) *ir ns n rmṯ ḥm n im*

(20,6) *nb-r-ḏr pꜣy=f iry ḥꜣt*

(19,22 Instance)

Chapter 21 [504]

22,5- 22,8

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[502] Chapter 18 of *Amenemope* discusses the nature of tomorrow as well as the relationship between the divine and humanity.

[503] *dns* as an imperative form *passim* Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*,180.

[504] Chapter 21 of *Amenemope* is described by Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé,* 9 as "Le puissant protecteur - Éloge du silence" though this also skims over issues to do with social behaviours as well as the nature of tomorrow.

Indeed, you do not know the plans of god,[505]

you should not be downcast[506] over tomorrow.

Settle yourself [507] towards the arms of the god,

As your silence will overthrow them.

(22,5) *ḫr rꜣꜥ bw rḫ=k sḫrw n nṯr*

(22,6) *tm=k ṯm (n) dwꜣ*

(22,7) *ḥms n=k r ꜥwy pꜣ nṯr*

(22,8) *r pꜣy=k gr ḥdb=w*

(22,7- 22,8 Instance)

(hieroglyphic text line) **(22,7)**

(hieroglyphic text line) **(22,8)**

Chapter 22 [508]

23,8- 23,11 repeats fully 22,5-22,8 [509]

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[505] It is significant that *sḫrw nṯr* is paired with *ꜥwy pꜣ nṯr*. As noted previously, the concept of the unknowable tomorrow is also present within Middle Egyptian pessimistic literature, *sḫrw nṯr* is also an important phrase within Midle Egyptian literature, speaking also to the concepts of faith and the maintenance of the *status quo.*

[506] *ṯm* "Augen niederschlagen; sich schämen" *Wb* IV, 367.2-4. *TLA,* lemma no. 175420. This word is found within *Horus and Seth, A Tale of Woe* as well as *Amenemope.*

[507] *ḥms* is written including the so-called "Bad Bird" determinative (Gardiner Sign G37) Gardiner *Egyptian Grammar,* 471. See also the remarks of: Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé* 198, who points out that this is written similarly in lines 17,9 and 17,22. Whether this inclusion may hint to certain implicature of the verb "to settle" or "to dwell"-perhaps aiming more towards "flop","descend" or indeed "abandon oneself"-is a question which may be investigated further. cf. *in manus tuas domine.*

[508] Chapter 22 of *Amenemope* is related to the behaviour of the individual to their adversary, showing also a refrain of the discussion of the nature of the future seen in the previous chapter.

[509] This repetition appears to be a deliberate stylistic inclusion rather than as a doublet or through a copying transposition as both chapters 21 and 22 share a similar theme and thus similar warnings. *passim* Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*, 204.

Chapter 25 [510]

24,9-24,20

Do not laugh at a blind man, nor tease a dwarf.

Nor do down the condition of the lame.

Do not mock a man who is in the hand of the god,

Nor be irritated because of his faults.

(24,9) *m ir sbi n k3mn mtw=k piṯ3 nmiw*

(24,10) *mtw=k ḫḏ sḥrw n ḳbḳb*

(24,11) *m-ir piṯ3 s iw=f m ḏrt p3 nṯr*

(24,12) *mtw=k ḥs-ḥr*[511] *r tḥ3=f*

(24,11- 24,12 Instance)

 (24,11)

 (24,12)

As for man, (he is) clay and straw,

The god is his builder.

He destroys and he builds daily,

He makes a thousand poor by his desire,

He makes a thousand men into chiefs,

When he[512] is in his hour of life.

Happy is he who reaches the west,

When he is safe in the hand of the god.

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[510]Chapter 25 of *Amenemope* discusses the protection of the low and unfortunate, as the centre of the third thematic group in this piece.

[511] *Wb* III, 161,3 "have irritated face" *passim* Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*, 212 ft.1206 Grammatically this somewhat corrupt passage provides two possibilities for interpretation focussed around

the writing . If the *r* is a miswriting of *ir* (as part of *i-ir=f*) providing the reading "nor be irritated because of what he has done, his faults".

If the simple preposition *r* has been miswritten the first masculine suffix pronoun would be unnecessary, in this way *ḥs-ḥr* functions as a pseudo-infinitive, allowing for a more direct reading of the passage "nor be irritated because of his faults".

[512] Each of the 1000 men rather than the god.

(24,13) *ir rmṯ ꜥmꜥt dḥꜣ*

(24,14) *pꜣ nṯr pꜣy=f ḳd*

(24,15) *sw wḥny sw ḳd m mnt*

(24,16) *sw iry 1000 n twꜣ n mr=f*

(24,17) *s w iry rmṯ 1000 n ḥy*

(24,18) *iw=f n tꜣy=f wnwt n ꜥnḫ*

(24,19) *rši w(sy) pꜣ iry-pḥ imntt*

(24,20) *iw=f wḏꜣ m ḏrt pꜣ nṯr*

(24,19-24,20 Instance)

(24,19)

(24,20)

Chapter 29 [513]

26,16-27,1

Do not prevent people from crossing the river,

when you travel openly in the ferry.

If you have been brought an oar in the waters,

You should bend your arms to take it.

There is no abomination in the hand of god,

which the *hwty*[514] will not take note of.

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[513] Chapter 29 of *Amenemope* is a short chapter relating to the poor and the individual's ability to provide ferry.

[514] Written using syllabic orthography this may be read as *hwty* "ship people" *Wb* II, 485 Whilst other translations have preferred "passengers" or "crew" the use of *hwty* appears to be intentionally vague in order to include *all* those present within the boat, crew and passengers. Cf. Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé,* 227 f.285.

(26,16) *m-ir ik rmṯ n ḏ3y n itrw*

(26,17) *iw=k wsdn.tw m-ꜥ ḥnw(t)*

(25,18) *ir in.tw n=k ḥp ḥr ib p3 mt*

(26,19) *inḳ=k 3wy=k ṯ3 =s*

(26,20) mn bwt m ḏrt p3 nṯr

(27,1) *iw bn bꜥ3 h3-w3-tyw* [515]

(26,20 Instance)

 (26,20)

 (27,1)

Discussion:

There are nine instances of the divine hand/arm topos within the *Teaching of Amenemope*, these may be divided into three instances applying the ꜥ*wy* lexeme and six applying the *ḏrt* lexeme. These instances are spread throughout the text, and are present in eight of the chapters (2, 6, 10, 18, 21, 22, 25 and 29).

The first instance within Chapter 2 (line 5,3) is a non-divine instance, insisting that the individual should act positively towards the hothead and give their hand (*ḏrt*) to them in spite of their bad behaviour[516]. In the following line (5,4) the addressee is urged to place the hothead **"upon the arms of the god"**[517], this implies that the divine has ultimate control over the fate of the hothead, indeed human retribution towards the hothead is discouraged **"though we do not act like him"** (5,2). Within this couplet both *ḏrt* and ꜥ*wy* are used, *ḏrt* expresses proximity between two human characters, ꜥ*wy* expresses a more

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[515] *bꜥ* "taken into account" *Wb* I, 446. Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*, 212 interprets this as a negative future circumstantial *iw bn sḏm=f*.

[516] For the idiom of "giving a hand" see: P.Sallier IV vs 5,5 (ex.9) and also a number of instances inscribed upon Berlin 6910 (ex.22) within this chapter.

[517] It may be noted that of the six instances within the Teaching of Amenemope ꜥ*wy* is written with two arms as well as plural/dual markers *wy*, though this instance is written with a single arm. It may be that this is a semantic variant, however, there are a number of orthographic variants visible within the *Late Ramesside Letters*, in which ꜥ*wy* is written both fully as a dual and in a number of other shorter manners. cf. discussion following ex.6 within this chapter.

distant control between the hothead and the divine. The theme of divine retribution and human acquiescence to their control is present within other religions: "Beloved, never avenge yourselves, but leave it to the wrath of God; for it is written: 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord' " [518], it is also present elsewhere within the Egyptian canon, for example within *The Teaching for King Merikare* it is stated that "God is aware of the rebel, and will smite his evil with blood" (E 49-50)[519].

Within chapter 6 of *Amenemope*, the topos of the divine hand/arm forms part of a series of couplets which stand within a tradition of Egyptian wisdom teachings, in the form of "better is *x* than *y*". This form is also present within *The Teaching for King Merikare* "the character of him who is upright of heart is more acceptable than the (sacrificial) ox of him who does wrong" [520]. The theme is repeated in *Amenemope* **"Better is a bushel given by god, than five thousand through wrongdoing"** (8,19-8,20)[521] **"better is poverty in the hand of the god, than wealth in the storehouse"** (9,5-9,6). The notion that success is the gift of god as iterated within this chapter is also found within the *Teachings of Ptahhotep* maxims 22[522] and 30[523]. *Amenemope* recounts the dichotomy of wealth and poverty to the hand of god. By utilising the *ḏrt* lexeme the individual is placed in close contact with the divine, a situation which is preferable even if poor.

It has been suggested that the specific use of this topos is a metaphor for infirmity or illness[524], possibly reflecting an interpretation of the inscription of Neferabu (BM EA 589,

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[518] *Romans* 12:19, *The Holy Bible RSV,* 1194.

[519] (E 49) *iw. nṯr rḫw ḫꜣkw-ib* (E 50) *ḥww nṯr sḫdw=f ḥr snf* Publication: Quack, J. F., *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare,* (Harrassowitz; Wiesbaden 1992) Translation: Tobin, V. A., 'The Teaching for Merikare', in W. K. Simpson (ed.) *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies and Poetry,* (Yale University Press; New Haven, CT 2003), 152-165.

[520] E 128-130, Quack *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare,* 195.

[521] *Amenemope* contains a number of other instances which utilise the "better is *x*…" formula, for example: "Better it is to be praised as one loved by men, than wealth in the storehouse. Better is bread when the mind is at ease, than riches with troubles" (16,11-16,14). cf. Proverbs 15:17 "better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a fatted ox and hatred with it".

[522] *Ptahhotep* maxim 22 "it comes about through the favour of god" *ḫpr n ḥssw nṯr* (340) Žába, Z., *Les maximes de Ptahhotep,* (Éditions de l'Académie Tchécoslovaque des Sciences; Prague 1956),43.

[523] *Ptahhotep* maxim 30 "it happens for you, given (by) god" *ḫpr n=k rdiw nṯr* (334) Žába *Les maximes de Ptahhotep*, 50.

[524] Shirun-Grumach, *Beduedet "in der hand des Gottes" Gottesfurcht,* 844. Miosi in *Studies in* Philology, 100 also suggest that being "in the hand of god" is "their equivalent to the modern plea of temporary insanity" suggesting a possible link to admission of guilt and request for sanctuary within a temple. I suspect that his interpretation is highly influenced by the cultural background of the near-east (Epilespy) cf. section 1.1 within this chapter and by modern idiom, in light of this I prefer an interpretation akin to piety rather than ailment.

line 7[525]) which discusses divine punishment. Elsewhere within *Amenemope* we also read **"Do not mock a man who is in the hand of the god,"** (24,10), whilst there is a possibility for an implied affliction in 24,10 , this may be harder to apply to 9,5-9,6 as the contrast between wealth and poverty in affliction is harder to justify. Laisney states: "je ne pense pas que l'on puisse expliquer ici l'expression "dans le mains de dieu", par une infirmité quelconque. il y a clairement une opposition entre une valeur negative " la pauvreté" et une valeur positive "être entre les mains, ou près du dieu", qui l'emporte sur la pauvreté."[526]. Whilst infirmity may be a possible interpretation, closeness to the divine is a more apparent overarching concept. The implied care of the divine is stated clearly in Chapter 10 where it is said that if one behaves correctly and speaks truthfully then they may be respected by others and that **"success is in the hand of the god"** (14,1).

The emphasis of closeness of the divine to humanity is extended in the following lines, saying **"Happy is he who reaches the west, when he is safe in the hand of the god."** (24,19- 24,20). Clearly in this case, the implicature of infirmity associated with being "in the hand of the god" would make little sense; instead this example focusses in on the concept of closeness to the divine. This interpretation can be moulded to a number of other examples, with proximity and divine selection being preferred to affliction. Within all of the preceding examples in which something is "in the hand of the god" the image schema of CONTAINER through the application of the *m* preposition is prevalent; proximity to the divine though the implicature surrounding each of the phrases shows slight variations in intention to show a caring or punishing hand, nevertheless it is always proximate.

Within a passage of *Amenemope* chapter 18 described, rightly, by Laisney as "enigmatique" [527], we read: **"There is no success in the hand of the god, Nor is there vanity before him; If one strives for perfection in no time he destroys it."** (19,22-20,2). If we assume that "the hand of god" represents the concept of proximity to the divine, these lines may be seen then to describe divine the control of and interaction with the human world. The subsequent clause suggests that only the divine may attain perfection (20,2). Such a paradoxical/antithetical formulation may merely highlight the overwhelming power of god to override any mortal say within their futures. Whilst Hornung has stated that due to

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[525] "I was in his hand" Ex.15 in this chapter.
[526] Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé,* 101, Ft. 606.
[527] Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé,* 182.

the limitations of the divine (who are not thought of as fully omniscient) there is "always room for human initiative"[528]; humans are able to affect their own future. Despite this "room" whilst man **"strives for perfection"**, the inscrutable divine may ultimately destroy it. This negative concept becomes increasingly prominent in the later Egyptian wisdom literature such as P.Insinger[529] from the Roman Period, which presents a supremely pessimistic outlook.

Chapters 21 and 22 also discuss the nature of tomorrow: **"Indeed, you do not know the plans of god, you should not be downcast over tomorrow. Settle yourself towards the arms of the god, as your silence will overthrow them."** (22,5-22,8 and as a refrain 23,8-23,11). This brings to mind a number of examples which also relate to the concept of tomorrow[530].

The final example of this topos found within this text is found within Chapter 29 **"There is no abomination in the hand of god, which the *ḥwty* will not take note of."** Regarding the interpretation of *m-ḏrt*, Lichtheim[531] and more unusually Laisney[532]- who predominantly favours the literal translation of this topos[533]-both translate this passage as a compound preposition, i.e. "it is not abomination before god" (likely *m-bꜣḥ*). Contextually, the chapter relates to proper behaviours regarding ferrying. From this setting the couplet suggests that if the individual does not take up the oar and help row the abomination/sin (*bwt* [534]) noted by the divine will also be noted by those in the boat. Given the vagueness of *ḥwty* and the closeness to the divine implied by *m-ḏrt* it may evoke images of the sun barque common within Ramesside tomb motifs.

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[528] Horning *Conceptions of God,* 212.
[529] Lichtheim *AEL* III, 184-217.
[530] Summarised in section 3.2 within this chapter. This sentiment is also present within the bible- *Matthew 6:34* "therefore do not be anxious about tomorrow, for tomorrow will be anxious for itself.", *The Holy Bible RSV,* 1029.
[531] Lichtheim *AEL* II, 161-162.
[532] Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé,* 226.
[533] Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé,* 96. Also 138, ft.836 Laisney states: "Grumach n'a pas assez tenu compte, a mon avis, du fait que *m-ḏrt* est souvent une preposition, qui doit etre prise au sens litteral"
[534] *Wb* I, 453-454.

2.1.3 HYMNIC TRADITION

Example 14: P. Leiden I 350 recto

Recto: Column IV

"Chapter 9" Fourth Verse-point of II, 7 to the end of II, 10

The fishes are leaping in the water; they move around[535] in their pools **(II,8)** by his love.

All the cattle dance at his face.

The birds dance with their wings[536];

they know him in **(II,9)** his good time,

they live at the sight of him during the day.

They are upon his arm, sealed with his seal,

no god is able to open them except his majesty.

(II,10) Nothing is made without him: great god, life of the Ennead.

 (II,7) *rmyt ḥr ftft sbȝy? m mrw=sn n* **(II,8)** *mrwt=f*

tnwt nbt ḥr ṯhbw n ḥr=f

ȝpdw ḥr ksks m dnḥw=sn

ḳmȝ=sn –sw **(II,9)** *m nw=f nfr*

ꜥnḫ=sn n mȝȝ=f m-ḫrt hrw

st ḥr ꜥ=f ḏbꜥw ḥr ḫtm=f

nn wn=sn nṯr wpw ḥr ḥm=f

(II,10) *nn wn ir m-ḫt=f nṯr ꜥȝ ꜥnḫ n psḏt*

(II,9 Instance)

[537]
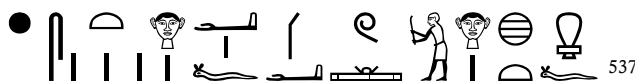
Discussion:

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[535] The reading here is unclear, however, Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42, 20 suggests "dart". Whichever translation is preferred, it is clear that this describes the animated movement of the fish- similar to that of the birds and cattle.

[536] cf. The Great Hymn to the Aten ex.18 within this chapter, which also describes the reaction of nature to the divine.

[537] Transcription based upon Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42, 19.

The text itself focuses on "the beneficent influence of the sun-god, by which all life and activity are caused and conditioned"[538]. Gardiner suggested that; "The passage vividly recalls, both in tone and in the actual expressions, the well-known hymn to the Aten: there can be little doubt, that, if the one be not directly derived from the other, at least both are drawn from a common literary source"[539]. The section begins with a description of the rising of the sun and its effect on numerous parts of the world as the sun's rays become visible. It is within this framework that a number of animals are referenced showing their joy towards the rising sun, as "fishes leap"[540] and "the cattle dance"[541]. After various poetic phrases, it is stated that **"They are upon his arm, sealed with his seal"** (Column IV, line II,9.).

Gardiner translated this instance as "They are in his hand," suggesting that this may also be read "«on his arm», i.e. dependent upon him."[542], "they" here may be seen to include man and the animals described in the previous lines. From other instances examined within this chapter the concept of dependence on the divine seems likely. This distant control is emphasised with the idea that nature is **"sealed with his seal"**, this may function as a metonym for possession or a further emphasis that creation bears the creator god's imprint.

Gardiner suggests that the use of the seal motif is a simile equating "nature in the night to things shut up in a dark box which can only be opened by the owner of the seal that is on it"[543]. Ogden has summarised the use of the image of the hand in relation to seals[544], there is an intrinsic link between the hand and the action of sealing. The idea of knowledge and power being sealed is also present within other cultures[545].

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[538] Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42, 20.

[539] Ibid.

[540] Column IV, line II,7.

[541] Column IV, line II,8.

[542] Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42, 20, n.8.

[543] Ibid.

[544] Ogden, J. R., 'Studies in Ancient Egyptian Magical Thought: I. The Hand and the Seal', *Discussions in Egyptology* 1 (1985), 27-34.

[545] *Revelation* 5:1 "And I saw in the right hand of him who was seated on the throne a scroll written with and on the back, sealed with seven seals"." *The Holy Bible RSV*, 1284.

2.2 Private Monuments

2.2.1 PENITENTIAL STELAE

<u>*Example 15*</u>: Turin N 50046 [546]
Lower Register (Lines 3-6):

Let me see your mercy, let me perceive how great your [mercy]! (Since) you have caused me to see darkness which you make. **Enlighten me, so that (I) may see you, because life and health are in your hand, one lives through your giving it.**

(3) *m33=i ḥtp=k ptr=i ʿ3w [ḥtp]=k*

di=k ptr=i kkw **(4)** *n irr=k*
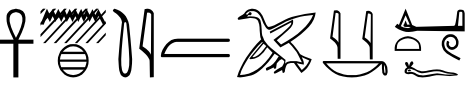
sḥḏ n=i m33(=i) **(5)** *tw*

p3 wn snb ʿnḫ m ḏrt=k

(6) *ʿnḫ.ti m p3y=k dit=f*

(Line 4-6 instance)

Discussion:

Within this inscription the *ḏrt* lexeme is used to explain Thoth's possession of "life and health". This places these abstract ideas in close control of Thoth. Typically within other examples gathered within this study such abstract concepts are placed upon the arm(s) of the divine. In this case, proximity to the divine seems more appropriate as the text goes on to describe Thoth's ability to give life and health to the individual: **"one lives through your giving it"**. This embodies life and health as objects which may be passed from the divine to the dedicator, in the same way that any other object may be passed from one to another.

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[546] Also known as "Cat 1592" in the Museo Egizio, Turin Database.

Example 16: BM EA 589

Reverse 6-9

He caused me to be like the dogs of the street. **I was in his hand, he caused men and gods to look upon me as a man who committed a transgression against his Lord.** Ptah Lord of Truth was in the right against me (when) he taught me a lesson. Be merciful to me so that I may see your mercy.

(6) *di=f wnn=i mi iwꜥy n* **(7)** *iwyt*

iw=i m ḏrt=f di=f ptr rmṯ nṯrw im=i iw=i **(8)** *mi s iry=f btw r nb=f*

mꜣꜥti ptḥ nb mꜣꜥt i.ir ir.n=f n=i sbꜣy(t)

(9) *htp n=i mꜣꜣ n=i ḥtp=k*

(Reverse line 7-8 instance)
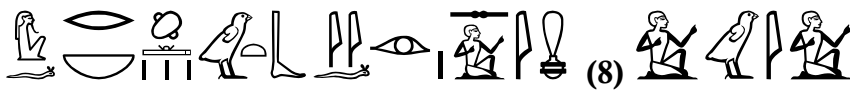
Discussion:

The phrase **"I was in his hand,"** comes in the middle of six lines describing the negative effects of the punishment of Ptah. In this section, the hand of Ptah is characterised as a location, fitting into the CONTAINER schema[547] (utilising the *m* preposition). Given the context of the phrase it may be seen that Neferabu's presence in the hand of Ptah carries a negative implicature, as an extension of the discussion of his punishment.

Being "in the hand" also represents the metaphor of control, in this case of the divine over the fate of the individual. Frood suggests this reading when she translates this passage as "while I was in his hand (power)"[548], though she does not discuss this reading further. Such a reading would suggest that "hand" is a metonym for power, though this relies on pragmatic context.

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[547] See: Nyord, *Breathing Flesh,* 13 and 249.
[548] Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt,* 225.

Example 17: Turin N 50058 [549]
Main Text 3-6

(I was) an ignorant man, without sense, who did not know good from bad. I performed a transgression against (the) peak, and she punished me [550], **while I was in her hand night and day.** I sat upon the birthing brick like the pregnant woman, I called out for breeze, without (it) coming to me!

(3) *s ḫm n iwty ḫȝ.ti=i bw rḫ nfr r bin*

iw=i ḥr irt pȝ sp n hȝb **(4)** *r dhnt*

iw=s ḥr irt n=i sbȝ

iw=i m ḏrt=s* (5) *m grḥ mi hrw

iw=i ḥms.k(wi) ḥr dbt mi tȝ **(6)** *iwr*

iw=i ḥr ꜥš n ṯȝw nn iw(=f) n=i

(Line 4-5 instance)
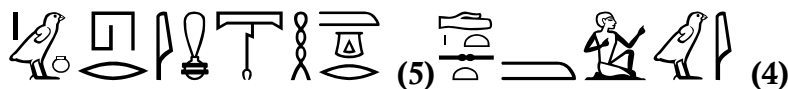
Main Text 7-16

Now look, I will tell the great and small who are in the crew:

'Beware of the peak because a lion is within her! The peak, she strikes with the strike of a fierce lion. She is after those who transgress against her and I called out to my mistress and found she came to me with sweet breezes. **She was merciful to me (after) she had made me see her hand.** She turned to me as a merciful on and she caused me to forget the affliction which was in my heart, the peak of the west being content when she is called upon.'

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[549] Also known as "Cat. 1593" in the Museo Egizio, Torino database.
[550] "taught me a lesson" would also be a suitable metaphor, however, in this case as it is written *iri sbȝyt* , the sense of force is likely higher.

(7) *ḫr* **(8)** *ptr iw=i r-ḏd n ꜥꜣ(w) šri(w) nty m tꜣ ist*

sꜣw **(9)** *tꜣ r dhn(t) pꜣ wn mꜣi m-ḫnw=s*

tꜣ **(10)** *dhn(t) ḥw=s m ḥw.ti n mꜣi ḥsꜣt*

(11) *iw=s m-sꜣ thꜣ r=s*

iw=i ḥr ꜥš n tꜣy=i **(12)** *ḥnt gm=s ii.ti n=i m ṯꜣw nḏm*

iw=s ḥr **(13)** *ḥtp(=s) n=i iw di=s mꜣi ḏrt=s*

iw=s ꜥn **(14)** *n=i m ḥtpy*

iw=s ḥr di sḫm=i n mr **(15)** *wn m ib=i*

iw tꜣ dhn(t) imntt ḥtpy iw=t **(16)** *ḥr ꜥš n=s*

(Line 13 instance)

Discussion:

What Neferabu had done to incur the punishment of Meretseger in this case is not clear, though Groll has suggested that his transgression was his incorrect use or deliberate misuse of the sobriquets of Meretseger (i.e. the peak, the mountain, the scarp)[551]. Within the inscribed text on the reverse of the stela there are two instances referring to the hand of the divine. The first is very similar to the instance seen in BM EA 589[552], wherein Neferabu is said to be **"in the hand of…"** the god who is seen to be punishing him.

Being in Meretseger's hand is a tangible representation of his punishment. Furthermore, this punishment is not swift, lasting night and day (4-5). Neferabu likens the experience to giving birth (5-6), previously in BM EA 589 he had likened the experience of Ptah's punishment to being as a **"dog in the street"**.

The second instance within this inscription does not have any parallels elsewhere within the penitential stelae corpus: **"I called out to my mistress and found she came to me with sweet breezes, She was merciful to me (when) she had made me see her hand."** (11). In

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[551] Groll *LingAeg*, 1, 143-153.
[552] ex.16 within this chapter.

this sense it is possible to render this in the same way that Frood has, saying: "for she had caused me to see her hand (power)"[553], as a way of saying that Neferabu had seen or felt the interaction of Meretseger. There is no preposition related to the hand in this case, where it performs as an independent item. Based upon the earlier mention of the hand of Meretseger, it is possible that "Seeing" her hand is an extension of this idiom and also of the negative implicature associated with that idiom. However, as this is unclear, it is possible that this carries positive implicature, insofar as "seeing" her hand may represent a redemptive nature.

SUMMARY: The hand/arm of the god within Penitential Stelae

With regards to the use of this topos within the penitential stelae corpus, is should be noted that, although these examples come from a larger corpus of such stelae[554], it is not ubiquitous within the corpus, but is instead a deliberately employed trope. For example, the long inscription dedicated by Nebre on behalf of the Nakhtamun[555] discusses a sense of close divine interaction "You give breath to the weak, you rescue me when I was bound"[556] yet the hand topos is not cited as a metaphor for either punishment or compassion. Similarly, BM EA 374[557], discusses Amunnakht's affliction; "you cause that I see darkness by day"[558] but does not associate his punishment with the divine hand topos.

From the instances present in these three stelae (exx.15-17), one instance discusses the possession of abstract concepts by the god, in their hand (Turin N 50046) and the presentation of these to the individual. The other instances detail more visible/palpable interaction with the individual by the god. Of these three, two specifically state that the individual was "in" the hand of the god. However, all three interactive examples are all inscribed upon stelae belonging to Neferabu. This bias should be noted, though it should not discount the value of the application of the idiom within this group, as it is also true

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[553] Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt,* 227.
[554] There are ten stelae which may be considered as *de facto* penitential stelae, i.e. which contain dedicatory texts which concern divine punishment and forgiveness. (BM EA 374, BM EA 589, Bankes No. 6, Berlin 20377, DeM 320, Turin N 50046, Turin N 50050, Turin N 50051, Turin N 50052 and Turin N 50058). cf. Exell, K., *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers : A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stelae,* (Golden House; London 2009).
[555] Berlin 20377. For publication, see: K*RI* III, 653, for translation see: Lichtheim, *AEL* II, 105-107.
[556] Berlin 20377, line 5.
[557] For publication, see: K*RI* V, 645. For translation, see: Galán, *CdE*, 74, 24-25.
[558] BM EA 374, line 6-7.

that the other individual in this corpus to use such an idiom is one of Neferabu's contemporaries. Throughout the penitential stelae examples gathered above, solely the *ḏrt* lexeme is utilised, further emphasising the proximity to the divine inherent within this genre of inscription.

2.2.2 TOMB INSCRIPTIONS

Example 18: The Great Hymn to the Aten in the Tomb of Ay

West wall [559]

You are in my heart,

there is no other who knows you except your son, Neferkheperura Waenre,

whom you have caused to know your plans and strength,

earth is manifested upon your arm, as you made them,

when you have dawned they live, when you set they die.

(12) *iw=k m ib=i*

nn wn kyy rḫ −tw wp ḥr s3=k nfr-ḫprw-rˤ wˤ-n-rˤ

di=k šf=f m sḫrw=k m pḥwy=k

ḫpr t3 ḥr ˤ=k mi ir=k sn

wbn n=k ˤnḫ=sn ḥtp=k mt=sn

(12 Instance)

[560]
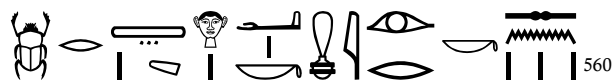
Discussion:

This instance shares a number of features in the form and usage of the hand/arm topos within P.Leiden I 350 (ex.14) [561]. Within both P.Leiden I 350 and within *The Great Hymn*

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[559] The section presented here is based upon the most complete inscription of the hymn, inscribed upon the south wall of the entrance. Abridged sections of the hymn (sometimes referred to as *The Short Hymn to the Aten*) are to be found within other Amarna tombs (Meryra I, Tutu, Mahi, Api and Ani). There tomb of Ay also includes various shorter hymns and prayers dedicated to the Aten though they do not employ the divine arm/hand topos.

[560] Transcription based upon; Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, 95.

[561] Assmann *The Search for God*, 53-82 "The Cosmos" makes a number of references to the underlying themes found within .Leiden I 350, *The Great Hymn to the Aten* and other sources.

to the Aten, creation is placed upon the arm (ꜥ) of the divine[562], similarly within both of these sources there are poetic explanations of the reaction of creation to the presence of the divine as well as descriptions of their reliance on the divine. In this case, it may be suggested that the distant agency of creation, that which is known of but not directly palpable within the human sphrere.

Example 19: TT 194- Djehutiemhab

Text 115- Hymn to Amun [563]

Line 10-12

Lord of the herd, who cared for his flock, **who gives his hand to the one who has nothing,** causing the hearts of those whom he loves to live, finding wind for every nose, saving who he loves when he is in the *Duat*.

 (10) *nb ihy nww* **(11)** *mnmnt=f*

dd drt=f n **(12)** *iwty nti* **(?)**[564]

sꜥnh ib m mrt **(13)** *=f gm*

ṯꜣw r fnd **(14)** *nb šd*

mr=f iw=f m dwꜣt

(Line 11-12 Instance)

Discussion:

Within this text, Amun-Re-Horakhty is associated with the control of creation as well as the Nile and the winds. This particular phrase follows the characterisation of the god as the Lord of the Herd, is characterised as one who **"gives his hand to the one who has**

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[562] P. Leiden I 350, II,9 reads "They are upon his arm, sealed with his seal," ex.14 within this chapter.

[563] Photo: Seyfried *Das Grab des Djehutiemhab,* Tafel XX, Abb.42 and 43. Line Drawing: Seyfried *Das Grab des Djehutiemhab,* Tafel XXXIV Numbered as 13 by PM I¹, 296. And as 15(2E) by Seyfried *Das Grab des Djehutiemhab,* 18, fig.11.

[564] It is not clear what role *nit/nti* is playing within this passage. Seyfried *Das Grab des Djehutiemhab,* 68 marks this as anomalous. The orthographic features suggest that this may be *nti* "to be harassed" *Wb* II, 351 though it is unclear.

nothing" (11-12) utilising *ḏrt* [565]. This benevolent nature is expanded stating that the divine also provide life to the heart, air to the nose and salvation to those in the *Duat*. Given this context, it appears that "giving a hand" is a marker of direct attention and interaction, also expressing the necessity of divine for humanity to live as well as an acquiescence to this fact. This inscription shares a number of motifs with other "personal piety" texts, again showing a direct interaction between the divine and humanity, and also the theme of the lowly, in this case, those "who have nothing". The theme of giving a hand is seen within other examples explored within this chapter, for example P. Sallier IV verso 5,5 (ex.9).

Example 20: TT 409 - Samut called Kyky

Text A (South wall)

Line 4 - 6

The god knew him when a child; he decreed noble food (for him). Then he deliberated with himself (in order to) find a protector[566]. **He found Mut in front of the gods. Fate and Fortune in her arm. The span of life (and) breath under her control. All that happens being at her command.**

(4) *rḫ sw nṯr m nḫn wḏ.n=f (n=f) k3w špss wn.in=f*

ḥr w3w3=f **(5)** *ḏs=f (r)gm n=f nby*

gm.n=f mwt m-ḫ3t nṯrw š3y

(6) *rnn(t) m-ꜥ=s*

ꜥḥꜥ n ꜥnḫ ṯ3w r-ḫt=s

ḫprt nb ḥr wḏ=s

(Line 5-6 Instance)

Line 19

Burial, it is upon the arm of the unique one.

(19) *ḳrs ḥr ꜥt wꜥtt*

(Line 19 Instance)

 [567]

Discussion:

The first instance found within the inscription of Samut-Kyky describes *šꜣy* and *rnnt*, as being in the arm (*m-ꜥ*) of the goddess Mut. Their positioning on the arm of the divine places them under the distant control of the goddess, emphasised by the following text which states that **"all that happens being at her command."** P. Anastasi V 9,7 also positions Shay and Renenet in the arm of the divine, though referring to Thoth[568].

In a second instance, "burial" is also placed upon the arm of Mut. Following this instance, the inscription goes on to discuss other elements of a positive death and burial, such as the quality of the mummification process. Samut-Kyky's piety to the goddess suggests that her control of these core concepts is a positive element to their interaction, especially as she is identified as "his protector".

Notably, the two instances of the ꜥ lexeme utilise differing prepositions. The first instance utilises "in" *m* **"Fate and fortune are in her arm"** (5) *šꜣy* (6) *rnn(t) m-ꜥ=s,* in the same manner as P. Anastasi V 9,7 (Ex. 10), whereas the second instance places burial "upon" *ḥr* the arm of Mut (19) *ḳrs ḥr ꜥt wꜥtt.* Why there is a difference between these two instances within the same text is unclear, it may be that there is some small variation in the perception of the concepts of fate/fortune and of burial, necessitating a separate visual metaphor. On the other hand, it may be that the two expressions are synonymous, the use

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[567] Wilson notes the presence of the extraneous *t*, Wilson, *JNES* 29, 140, Note 30. "He (or she) is upon the hand of," with an intrusive *t* after "hand." What does that mean?" It appears that this inclusion may be disregarded as a space filler. The photography of the inscription provides us with no further assistance Negm *The Tomb of Simut called Kyky*, Pl.XLVII. Speculatively, it is possible that this *t* ought to be an attempt at a plural marker, as a *y,* thus providing the reading "Burial, it is upon the arms of the unique one".
In Middle Egyptian, when addressed to a female (i.e. Mut) this should read *wꜥtt*, however, this inscription shares qualities of both Middle and Late Egyptian so this writing is not entirely unexpected.
[568] ex.10 within this chapter.

of prepositions in relation to *ḏrt* and *ꜥ(wy)* is explored fully within section 3.1 within this chapter.

2.2.3 STATUARY AND STELAE

Example 21: Berlin 6910- The Double Statue of Amenemope and his Wife.

Edges of the Base (Right side[569]):

May he give to me a long lifetime, as I prosper in your hand, may you hold no fault against me!

(2) *di=f n=i ꜥḥꜥ ḳꜣ wḏꜣ.kw m ḏrt=k nn ṯꜣ=k sp r =i*

(Edge of the Base Instance)

Rear of the Back-support (Left half):

How good it is to sit upon the arm of Amun,

The Protector of the silent, who saves the humble,

Who gives breath to whomever he loves,

Who decrees for him a fine burial in western Thebes.

(5) *ḫy pꜣ ḥms nfr ḥr ꜥ imn*

pꜣ sb n gr šd nmḥ

dd ṯꜣw n mrr=f

nbw n=f iꜣw nfr ḥr imntt wꜣst

(Rear of Back-support Instance 1)[570]

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[569] Spectator's right.
[570] Transcriptions of the back inscription after Roeder, *AegInsch,* II, 68-71. It should be noted that the inscription on the back of the artefact is inscribed in columns.

[hieroglyphs] **(5)**
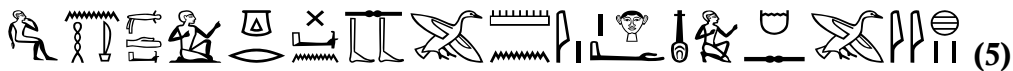
He[571] says: 'O, my God, Lord of the gods, Amun-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands! **Give to me a hand, rescue me, shine for me, may you make me live**.'

(6) *ḏd=f nṯr=i nb nṯrw imn-rˁ nb nswt-t3wy*

imi n=i ḏrt šd-wi wbn n=i iry iry=k sˁnḫ=i

(Rear of Back-support Instance 2)

[hieroglyphs] **(6)**

[hieroglyphs]
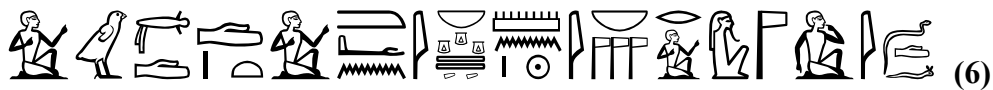
'may he provide a good burial after old age, myself prospering in your hand'

(9) *di=f ḳrst nfrt ḥr-ḫt i3w iw=i wḏ3.kw m ḏrt=k*

(Rear of Back-support Instance 3)

[hieroglyphs] **(9)**

Discussion:

The first instance from these inscriptions is part of an offering formula dedicated to Ptah, Lord of Truth, we read **"May he give to me a long lifetime, as I prosper in your hand, may you hold no fault against me!"** This theme is repeated on the reverse of the statue (line 9) with the focus shifted to Amen-Re. Following a second request for burial after old age, the resultant state is described as: **"myself prospering in your hand"** (*iw=i wḏ3.kw m ḏrt=k*). In respect of these two instances Kitchen reads "at your hand" and "in your care ('hand')"[572]. The use of the *m* preposition suggests that the individual is in direct contact

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[571] Amenemope.
[572] *RITA* I, 318-319.

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with the divine through, and that the idea of prospering is more about the implied care associated with such close interaction[573].

There are two more instances of this topos inscribed upon the reverse of the statue. The first of these forms the start of a hymn to Amun **"How good it is to sit upon the arm of Amun,"** (Line 5). The passage then continues with a number of the titles of and supplications to Amun. Given the context of this phrase, Kitchen appears to be vindicated in his reading of "How pleasant to sit in the care of Amen"[574] due to the apparently positive implicature of this phrase. Sweeney also suggests that this is used to "describe the happiness obtained by being in the god's presence and enjoying the god's protection" [575] reading $ḥr-ꜥ$ as "in the hand". Despite differences in translation, to "sit" or to "dwell" in the arms of god appears to show an element trust in their power, an acquiescence to the more distant divine control. There is a further instance of this topos, found within the direct speech of Amenemope to Amun-Re. Within his speech, Amenemope discusses the positive interactive qualities of the god as well as the previously mentioned instance (line 9- "prospering in your hand"). Amenemope then asks for Amun-Re to **"Give to me a hand, rescue me, shine for me, may you make me live."** (line 6) This passage presents a highly interactive divine, as not only do they give a hand, they also rescue Amenemope- a distinctly interactive act. The divine is also credited with providing life for Amenemope. When these wishes are combined in this way, it is clear that Amenemope envisages a close relationship to the divine.

It has been noted by Kitchen that the composition inscribed upon this statue follows a similar structure to that of Amun Hymns of the 18th Dynasty as well as Hymns to the Aten[576]. He also suggests that this similarity shows "the retention of such concepts in Egypt's Normative Religion"[577]. Within this chapter there are parallels to be seen within the *Hymn to the Aten* and P.Leiden I 350[578].

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[573] Based upon the instances utilising m within these inscriptions, Shirun-Grumach, *Bedeudet "in der hand des Gottes" Gottesfurcht,* 843-844 has suggested that this construction is a specific use of the topos of the hand/arm.

[574] *RITA* I,319.

[575] Sweeney, D., 'Sitting Happily with Amun', in B. J. J. Haring, O. E. Kaper and R. van Walsem (eds.) *The Workman's Progress: Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée,* (Peeters; Leuven 2014), 217-231.

[576] *RITANC* I, 283.

[577] *RITANC* I, 383.

[578] exx. 18 and 14 in this chapter.

Importantly for this study, both lexemes (ꜥ and *ḏrt*) are utilised within the same corpus within specific contexts[579]. The phrases which utilise *ḏrt* both refer to prospering through the divine in a manner of close interaction, whilst the instance utilising ꜥ discusses the positive state of being upon the arm of the divine. These two lexemes (*ḏrt* and *ꜥwy*) are clearly delineated within this text and are not interchangeable/synonymous expressions.

Example 22: Musée Guimet C 21- Stela of Baki

May you give me a buri[al after I have become old, with me being safe in] your [ha]nd, without bringing up my deeds until (I) reach reverence in peace.[…] ??? [for the *Ka* of Baki] *di w ??t m-di=i*

(8) *di=k n=i ḳr* **(9)** [*st m-ḫt iꜣw.t iw=i wḏꜣ.kw m ḏr*]*t=k*

nn in sp=i r pḥ.t (=i) r imꜣḫ m ḥtp **(10)** […*n kꜣ n*…] *di w ??t m-di=i*

(Line 8-9 instance)
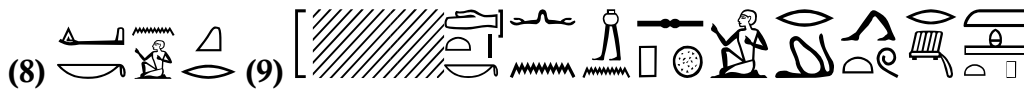
Discussion:

Due to the break across the top of this stela it is difficult to reconstruct the precise context of this instance. A number of authors have suggested a reconstruction based upon various wishes for the afterlife, Luiselli[580] and Assmann[581] both suggest a description of having attained old age and of being safe in the hand of Amun-Re, in a similar manner to *The Teaching of Amenemope*, where it is said: **"Happy is he who reaches the west, When he is safe in the hand of the god."** (24,19- 24,20) [582]. Given the contet of the rest of the inscription, this interpretation seems likely. It is clear (despite the lacuna) that the lexeme utilised is *ḏrt* thus suggesting a close interaction between Amun-Re and Baki, which would be expected if Baki has successfully reached the afterlife. If we are to assume that the

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[579] *ḥr-ꜥ* back left 5. *m-ḏrt* edge right 2 and back support 9.
[580] "Mögest du mir ein Begräb[nis nach dem Alter geben, indem ich unversehrt bin] in deiner Hand." Luiselli *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe*, 349.
[581] " Mögest du mir ein [schönes] Be[gräbnis] geben [nach dem Alter][indem ich wohlbewahrt bin in] deiner [Ha]nd" *ÄHG*, 396-398.
[582] ex.13 in this chapter.

restoration of *wḏꜣ.kw* is correct, this may also add an element of divine interest in the individual in a sense of having been guided by the god.

Example 23: Berlin 2081 - Stela of the Scribe of the King, Hor

Main inscription

As (long as) your Ka is effective, you will hear his prayers **and you will save me in/from the hand of Pharaoh l.p.h. my lord l.p.h. and you will give me favour before him daily.**

(7) *iw=tn r sḏm nꜣy=f šmꜣꜥw mi ꜣḫ=f n kꜣ=tn*

mtw=tn šd=i m ḏrt

(8) *pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥ.w.s. nb=i ꜥ.w.s.*

mtw=tn dit n=i ḥs m-bꜣḫ=f m mnt

(7-8 Instance)
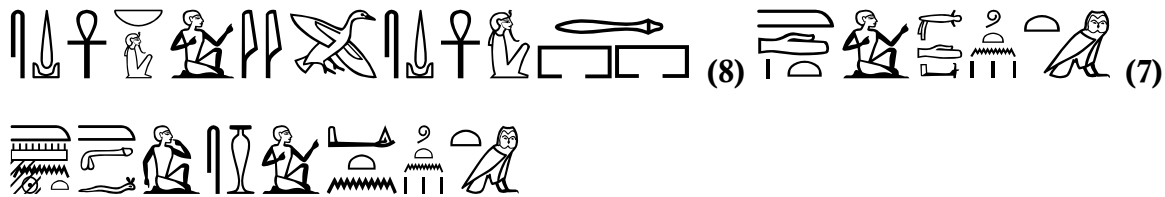
Discussion:

This instance is inscribed upon a stela dedicated to the gods of Abydos by the Scribe of the King, Hor. Within the speech of Hor, we see supplications of the divine similar to that of penitential stelae, followed by the following instance; **"and you will save me from/in the hand of Pharaoh l.p.h. my lord l.p.h**[583]**".** In this case, the pharaoh is seen as an interactive force through the lexeme *ḏrt*. Though the hand here is royal, the similarity between this phrase and others for example; within the Israel Stela, Merenptah is referenced in a similar manner to gods[584]. Luiselli[585] notes that this phraseology shares a lot with that of the "hand of God" discussed by Shirun-Grumach. Ultimately, this translation hinge upon the reading of *m-ḏrt;* i.e. whether it means "in the hand" or "from the hand", as based upon

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[583] In this case "Pharaoh" is Ramesses VIII, whose cartouches are also inscribed upon this stela.
[584] Whether the King is semi- or fully divine is a longstanding discussion within Egyptology. See: Posener, G., *De la divinité du pharaon,* (Imprimerie Nationale; Paris 1960).
[585] Luiselli *Das Suche nach Gottesnähe,* 403.

which translation is more palatable, the perceived implicature positive/negative also varies.

Example 24: Cairo CG 42185- Limestone Block statue of Roma-Roy[586]

Left side inscription

What is ordered to be done[587] happens immediately, as he has submitted[588] himself to the plans of his god.

The length of a lifetime is upon the arms of Amun, so as to reach its end in perfection, just as is done for one who is truly reliable (and) effective in his lord's domain.

(7) _ḏd.tw irw ḫpr=sn ḥr-ꜥ iw ḥn.n=f sw ḥr sḫr_ **(8)** _nṯr=f_

kꜣ ꜥḥꜥ ḥr-ꜥwy imn r in pḥwy=f m nfr

mi irrt n mt mꜣꜥ ꜣḫ m pr nb=f

(8 Instance)
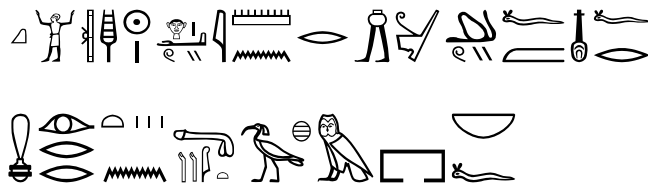
Discussion:

Contextually this instance directly follows the submission of the individual to "his god" – in this case Amun- who features heavily within the inscriptions of Roma-Roy, not only due to his association to the Theban priesthood (in which his descendants are also involved) but also as an element of personal favour [589]. It is then stated that **"The length**

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[586] Also known as Cairo JE 36929.

[587] By Amun.

[588] _ḥn_ here has been translated as submit, it has also been translated with words associated with bowing, bending and assent. See: Lesko, L. H., _A Dictionary of Late Egyptian,_ I (Scribe; Berkeley, CA. 1982-1987)288. This may be compared with the use of _ḥms_ within the _Teachings of Amenemope,_ 22,7. (cf. example 12, chapter 1).

[589] e.g. inscribed upon the same statue (on the right side) it is stated that his appointment as High Priest, was a "gift of Amun". This dedication to Amun is present within other inscriptions attributed to Roma-Roy. For example, see: 3D "the Inscriptions of Roma on the Eighth Pylon in Karnak" in Frood, _Biographical texts from Ramessid Egypt_, 54-59. And for original publication: PM II[2, 177]

of a lifetime is upon the arms of Amun," [590] and that it is he who brings an end to this "in perfection" (8). The choice of the ꜥwy lexeme indicates an element of distant divine control of such concepts which is not visible within the narrative.

Importantly, when examined in relation to the issue of grammaticalization and whether ḥr-ꜥwy is in fact a complex preposition, this inscription provides an instance of clear grammaticalization in the same text. In line 7 it is stated that "What is ordered to be done happens immediately," (ḏd.tw irw ḫpr=sn ḥr-ꜥ). When compared to the instance latter in the text, we see that when ḥr-ꜥ is grammaticalized becoming an adverb meaning "immediately", it is not followed by a proper noun, unlike that of line 8 (kꜣ ꜥḥꜥ ḥr-ꜥwy imn), the two formulations thus being distinguished through their specific context and use. For more on the grammaticalization of ḥr-ꜥ "immediately" and ḥr-ꜥwy "upon the arm", see section 2.0.1 within this chapter.

2.2.4 MISCELLANEOUS

Example 25: Inscribed Seats from Deir el-Medina (Turin N.50253, N.50258 and N.50259)

N.B. Three inscribed seats are presented below.

Turin N. 50253- Belonging to an unmnamed chisel-bearer

[…] arms of Amun, the merciful[591], **King of the Ennead, who saves the oppressed because of the greatness of** *tꜣ*[…]

[…] ꜥwy imn ḥtp pꜣ nsw n psḏt nḥm ꜣd n ꜥꜣ nḫt n tꜣ […]

 [592]

Turin N. 50258- Unknown dedicator

[How] good it is to sit upon the arm […][593]

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[590] Frood translates this as "upon the hands of Amun". Frood, *Biographical texts from Ramessid Egypt*, 52. Kitchen prefers "that (his) span of life may be long by the act ("hands") if Amun", *RITA* IV, 98.

[591] Possibly Amenhotep.

[592] Based upon Bruyère, *Rapport 1931-1932*, 60 and Tosi-Roccatti 209, 360.

[593] Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress,* 226 reads "O happy sitting in the hand…" choosing to render ꜥ as hand rather than arm, despite her previous translations in her study. It is possible that this choice is influenced by the lack of clear dual or plural markers in this inscription.

[ḫ]y [p3?] ḥms nfr ḥr ˁ ….

[...]arms of Amun, the lord of the silent man, eyes in the place[...]

Turin N. 50259- Unknown dedicator[594]

Cental column:

(My) body is renewed… seeing Amun-Re, …

ḥˁ (=i) rnpy… ḥr m33 imn-rˁ

Top row:

[…]arms of Amun, the lord of the silent man, eyes in the place[…]

[…]ˁwy imn p3 nb (iw) n gr ir.ty m st …

Discussion:

All three of the seats examined here (Turin N. 5023, N.50258, N.50259) have no named dedicators. Similarly, each suffers from specific lacunae and wear, though from the three inscriptions it may be suggested that each focussed upon the "the happiness and serenity obtained by sitting in the god's presence and enjoying the god's protection"[595] expressed through the phrase **"sitting upon the arms of Amun"** [596] in the same way as noted within the inscriptions of Berlin 6910[597], where it is stated: **"How good it is to sit upon the arm of Amun,"**. This is not the only pious topos utilised within the inscribed seats from this chapel, within the inscriptions of Turin N. 50250, Amun is described "as a shield"[598] in a similar means to a number of instances within the *Late Ramesside Letters* [599].

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[594] Due to the readability of the inscription within the photography of the object, the above reading is based upon Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress.*

[595] Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 226.

[596] The content of other inscriptions from this corpus suggest that the chapel's activity was centred upon the god Amun.

[597] ex.21 within this chapter.

[598] Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 224.

[599] Sweeney in *Ramesside Studies,* 505-509.

It is highly instructive that this topos is being utilised in such a situation, where proximity to the divine is most perceptible, within a chapel. As none of the inscriptions are placed in full textual context we may only make two suggestions as to the meaning of this topos within this situation; one option is to view this as an extension of other inscriptions which voice the positive aspects of being involved within religious feasts and festivals[600] (though this relies more heavily upon the contents of other similar inscriptions which do not utilise this topos) or the focus is upon the theme of being "saved" or being "renewed", related to the mercy of Amun.

Laurent Coulon whilst publishing a number of Greco-Roman "priests' seats" from Thebes[601] suggests that these inscribed seats were votive in nature[602] with the possibility of posthumous dedication[603]. The nature of dedication and the relatively few names mentioned within the inscriptions over such a long time period somewhat supports this concept as "clearly, there were many more group members at any given time than inscribed seats" [604] and by extension not an inscribed seat for each member. Whilst the utilisation of this topos is not ubiquitous upon inscribed seats from Deir el-Medina, this reflects a linguistic choice amongst the dedicators as well as an element of common ground between the members of this fraternity, who would have an understanding of the meaning of this topos within the context of their own cultic community.

2.3   Royal Monuments

Example 26: The Qadesh Poem of Ramesses II

§ *121-127*

Now, I made prayers in the furthest of foreign lands

my voice resounding in Southern On.

I found that Amun came when[605] I called him,

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[600] Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 228.

[601] Coulon, L., 'Les sièges de prêtre d'époque tardive: À propos de trois documents thébains', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 57 (2006), 1-46.

[602] Coulon, *RdÉ* 57, 29-30.

[603] Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 222-223 and 231. A number of the inscriptions include the *n-k3-n* formula. However, whilst the inclusion of *n-k3-n* often indicates a deceased dedicator this is not a hard and fast rule so may not be used as definitive proof of posthumous dedication.

[604] Sweeney in *The Workman's Progress*, 223.

[605] *passim* Gardiner *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, 21.

He gave to me his hand with me (and) I rejoiced!

He called (to me) from behind me (as if) face to face with your face

 (saying): **'I am with you, I am your father, my hand is with you,**

 I am more effective than a hundred thousand men. I am Lord of Strength who loves valour'

(§ 121) *ist ir=i sm3ˁw m pḥw ḫ3st*

(§ 122) *iw ḫrw=i pḫrw m iwn-rsy*

(§ 123) *gm.n=i imn iw ḏr ˁš=i n=f*

(§ 124) *di=f n=i ḏrt=f ḥnˁ=i tw=i ḥˁ.kwi*

(§ 125) *ˁš.n=f (n=i[606]) ḫ3(=i[607]) m ḥr-ḥr n ḥr=k*

(§ 126) *tw=i ḥnˁ=k ink it=k ḏrt=i m-di=k*

(§ 127) *3ḫ.kw r s ḫfn ink nb nḫt mr ḳnt*

(§ 124 Instance)[608]

(§ 126 Instance)[609]

§ *154-157*

I went towards them like Montu,

I caused them to taste my hand[610] in a moment!

I was causing a massacre[611] among them, killing them on the spot (lit. in their place).

(§ 154) *šm-wi r=sn iw=i mi mnṯw*

(§ 155) *di=i dpt=sn ḏrt=i m km n 3t*

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[606] Present within S Manuscript as *ˁš.n=f n=i* K*RI* II, 43.

[607] Present within S Manuscript as *ḫ3w=i* K*RI* II, 43.

[608] Based upon K₁.

[609] Based upon L₂ as it is the most complete copy when concerning the phrase in question.

[610] Kitchen proposes the reading "fist" to compliment the violent nature of the passage *RITA* II,8 this makes fuller sense in English though has been left as "hand" within the current translation so as not to muddy the water.

[611] *wˁwˁ Wb* I, 280.9-11 "(Feinde) niedermachen".

(§ 156) *iw=i ḥr wꜥwꜥ im=sn smꜣ m st=sn*

(§ 155 Instance)[612]

§ *170-171*

May you behold my victory when I was alone,

with (only) Amun as (my) protector, his hand being with me.

(§ 170) *ptr=tn pꜣy=i nḫt iw=i wꜥ.kw*

(§ 171) *iw imn m nby iw ḏrt=f ḥnꜥ=i*

(§ 171 Instance)[613]

§*283-287*

I was like Ra (when) he rises at the dawn,

My rays, they burned the bodies of the rebels.

One was calling out amongst them to another[614] saying:

"Look out! Beware! Do not approach him!

See, Sekhmet-the-great is the one with him, She is with him upon his horse, her hand is with him."

(§ 283) *tw=i mi rꜥ m ḫꜥ=f dwꜣyt*

(§ 284) *sttw=i wbd=sn ḥꜥw n sbiw*

(§ 285) *wꜥ ḥr ꜥš im=sn n snnw=f*

(§ 286) *ḥr=tn sꜣw-tn im=tn ḫꜥm=f*

(§ 287) *mk sḫmt-wrt tꜣ nt ḥnꜥ=f sy m-di=f ḥr ssmwt=f ḏrt=s ḥnꜥ=f*

(§ 286-287 Instance)[615]

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[612] Based upon L₁ as it is the most complete copy when concerning the phrase in question.

[613] Based upon K₁.

[614] lit. "his second" Lesko *Late Egyptian Dictionary* I, 230.

[615] Based upon K₁

𓎛𓂝𓅭𓏤𓏭𓈖𓊝𓏭𓈖𓅆𓄿𓅅𓏤𓃾𓊛𓆓𓏤76▨▨▨

𓈖𓊖𓏏𓈖𓐍𓅱𓃒𓅢▨𓊖𓀀

Discussion:

During the key part of the battle, Ramesses' valour is supported by the divine; when abandoned by his troops he questions Amun, asking if it is right that he be abandoned after all his positive works in Egypt. Amun hears his plea and attends. Within §124 this attention is vividly described as we see Amun's hand given to Ramesses II **"He gave to me his hand (and) I rejoiced!"**[616]. The presence of Amun is reiterated within the direct speech of Amun § 125-127 and within the speech of Ramesses II §170-171. A similar phrase is also placed in the mouths of the enemies of Ramesses II referring to the presence of the vengeful goddess Sekhmet (§285-287) whose hand is with Ramesses. This particular passage also provides a striking visual image of Sekhmet upon the horses of Ramesses' chariot.

Within the Qadesh Poem §125-127 and §170-171 the hand of the divine may be seen as a visible part of the narrative, as part of reality and thus as a force capable of direct and palpable interaction. The presence of the divine hand within the narrative is most often located using *ḥnꜥ*, for example: *ḏrt=f ḥnꜥ=i* (§ 124) *ḏrt=f ḥnꜥ=i* (§170-171) and *ḏrt=s ḥnꜥ=f* (§285-287), this extension places the hand within the real world. This trope is also utilised by Ramesses during the rebuke of his cowardly troops, he states that no soldier came to his assistance, nor did they **"give his hand together with me,"** *rdit ḏrt=f ḥnꜥ=i* (§265), here we may note that human interaction is described also as "giving a hand" utilising *ḏrt* to express proximity. Further affirming the reading of *ḏrt* as an interactive force, Ramesses also states that read that he gave his enemies **"a taste of my hand in a moment!"** (§ 155).

In each of the above instances there are no prepositions which directly modify *ḏrt*, i.e. no individual is placed "in" or "upon" the hand of the divine or the King.

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[616] cf. P.Sallier IV vs. 5,5 (ex.9 within this chapter) where Thoth is said to be giving his hand to the devotee.

Example 27: The Israel Stela of Merenptah (CG 34025/JE 31408)

Verso [617]

A great wonder has happened for Egypt, the one who attacks her is placed (in) her hand as a live captive, by the counsels of the divine King, triumphant over his foes in the presence of Pre.

(vs.14) *biꜣyt ꜥꜣt ḫpr.ti n tꜣ-mri dd pḥ sw (m)-drt=s m ski ꜥnḫ m n ḥb n nsw nṯry r ḫfwt=f m-bꜣḥ pꜣ-rꜥ*

(Instance vs.14)[618]

The Ptah said, concerning the Libyan foe:
'Gather his crimes/wrongdoings, they are turned onto his head.
Give him in(to) the hand of (Merenptah, Content with Ma'at)|'
(vs.19) *ddw ptḥ rḫ rw-r-bw sḫw*
sḫw btꜣ=f **(vs.20)** *wdb tp ḥr=f*
imi-sw m drt mr-n-ptḥ ḥtp-ḥr-mꜥꜣt

(Instance vs.20)

He[619] will make him[620] vomit what he swallowed like a crocodile.
Look, it is the quick who will carry off the quick; the Lord (l.p.h.) knowing his own strength will capture him.

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[617] On the basis of date, the inscription of Amenhotep III is designated as the recto.
[618] Transcriptions after Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes,* Pl.XIV.
[619] Merenptah.
[620] The Libyan foe.

It is Amun who subdued him in/with his hand[621]; so that he[622] may deliver him at his[623] pleasure in Southern On[624]-the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Baenre-Meramun)| Son of Re, (Merenptah, Content with Ma'at)|

(vs.20) *di=f bš=f ʿm=f mi dpy*

mk ḫ3ḫ inn ḫ3ḫ wn nb (ʿ.w.s[625]*)r sḫt=f rḫ pḥ=f*

m imn wʿf –sw m ḏrt=f

wḏwy=f n k3=f **(vs.21)** *m iwn-rsy*

nsw-bity b3-n-rʿ mr-imn s 3rʿ mr-n-ptḥ ḥtp-ḥr-mʿ3t

(Instance vs.20)

Discussion:

The first of three instances within this inscription comes at the beginning of a passage describing the victory of Egypt and the positive actions of Merenptah. The enemy of Egypt is placed in the metaphorical hand of Egypt as a live captive (vs.14). This implies direct control and possible subjugation of those described as ones who "stealthily did evil" (vs.14), they are also described as having been judged by the divine. Within this instance the *ḏrt* lexeme is applied without a written preposition, based upon other similar examples *m* may be restored. Notably, this is one of few examples within the selected corpus which applies the hand topos in a truly metaphorical sense, i.e. an animate source applied to an inaminate target.

The other two instances within this inscription form part of the speech of the god Ptah concerning the fate of the Libyan foe. The first appears early in his speech stating; **"His crimes/wrongdoings (*bt3*) are turned onto his head**[626]**. Give him in(to) the hand of Merenptah, Content with Ma'at."**(vs.20). Whilst it does not entail divine interaction, this phraseology is paralelled by those in this chapter which do entail the divine. For example; Neferabu is said to be in the hand of Meretseger (BM EA 589[627]) and within a

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[621] Reading this as a Late Egyptian cleft sentence.
[622] Merenptah.
[623] Amun.
[624] Thebes.
[625] Present only within the Karnak stela.
[626] Perhaps this may be undertood as a neat metaphor of visible guilt.
[627] ex.16.

number of instances within the *Instructions of Amenemope* individuals are said to be in the hand of the god[628]. In Chapter 2 of the *Instructions of Amenemope*, the reader is told to **"leave him**[629] **(upon) the arms of the god"**. Whilst the *Instructions of Amenememope* utilises the ꜥ(*wy*) lexeme, the phraseology is extremely close; perhaps given the more visible and immediate nature of the King, ḏrt is chosen. That is if one leaves the enemy to the god, it may take time for retribution- hence the distant ꜥ(*wy*), whilst the King would surely be swift and evident. It is clear from the context of this phrase that the hand of Merenptah shows elements of aggression and visible power- much like the divine hand topos when imbued with negative implicature.

This negative implicature is made clear in the third instance of this inscription (vs.20), in which the god subdued the enemy for the King so that offerings may be received. This also utilises the ḏrt lexeme to represent an interactive force against the foe. As such in the actions of Merenptah and Amun against the foe are both present within the visual narrative through the hand.

Example 28: Ramesses III Prayer to Amun-Re ("Tablet of Gold")
 "Tablet of Gold" lines 8-9 (Large Inscription columns 4-5)

O, most masculine of gods, appearing in Coptos/the Coptite Nome, Lord of Foreskins[630],
The goddesses dance for […]
all men are saved in your hand,
since you, yourself emerged from within the flood.
 (Column 4-5 / Line 8-9)

ṯꜣi nṯrw ḫꜥ -ṯ m mnty nb ṯꜣmwt

nṯryt m (ḫbt ? [631])*[…]*

s nb šḏ m ḏrt=k

ḏr bst=k ḏs=k m-ḫnw nwy

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[628] ex.13.

[629] The Hothead.

[630] For this unusual epithet see: Leitz, C., *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichungen,* III (Peeters; Leuven 2002),784. For which this is the only apparent attestation.

[631] The vertical inscription of this section is also incomplete; however, it contains a few traces that would suggest that the goddesses "dance". cf. *ÄHG,* 441-445 (No.196).

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(Instance Column 4-5 / Line 8-9) [632]

 [633]

Discussion:

Whilst previous translators have rendered *šd* in different manners[634], it is highly likely that this means "to save", present within a variety of other Ramesside sources which deal with divine interaction with humanity. This particular instance comes as part of a larger praise hymn of the qualities of Amun-Re, placing the saved individuals "in" *m* the hand of the divine as a CONTAINER.

Shortly after this instance there is a further potential instance, though the context is unclear due to a lacuna both within the long inscription and the "Tablet of Gold"[635]. Following an explanation of the origin of gods and men, who are said to have emerged from the mouth and eyes of Amun-Re, an unknown object is described as:

 (Column 5)

[… *p3*] on top of your hands"

[…*p3*] *tp ḏrty=k*

This is a unique instance within the corpus gathered for this study. First of all, it presents what appears to be the dual of *ḏrt* [636], this is not present within any other instances concerning the divine and indeed is a rare form in itself. It also employs an unusual preposition in the form of *tp*[637]. Due to the lack of context it is difficult to establish what

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[632] Based upon OIP 25, Pl. 23B, Line 8-9.

[633] The =*i* is likely an error for Gardiner Sign List A24

[634] Most notably Assmann translates this passage as "Jedermann ist ergriffen von deiner Hand," *ÄHG*, 442 assuming a different interpretation of the verb *šd*. cf. Lesko *Late Egyptian dictionay*, II, 139-140.

[635] OIP 25, Pls. 22 and 23.

[636] *Wb* V, 580.

[637] Werning, D. A., 'Ancient Egyptian prepositions for the expression of spatial relations and their translations: a typological approach', in E. Grossman, S. Polis and J. Winand (ed.) *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian,* (Widmaier; Hamburg 2012), 293-346 suggests that *tp/dp* has the meaning of "ahead" 311. This understanding is derived from the zoomorphic perspective that HEAD IS FRONT, thus *tp ḏrty=k* may mean "…ahead of your hands".

this phrase was referring to, nor is it clear whether this is a deliberate choice of forms or whether it is an error for something like *ḥr-ꜥwy*.

Both of these instances occur at a junction of the hymn, whereby there is a shift from the mythological-theological discourse to that of personal religion, as noted by Goldwasser [638], thus combining the late New Kingdom context with the established Amun theology of the earlier lines.

Example 29: Ramesses III Inscriptions at Medinet Habu

N.B. Titles/subtitles of each section are those provided within *KRI* V

First Libyan War – Ramesses III is commissioned by Amun-Khons and Thoth [639]

Words spoken by Thoth:

'Look, I am behind you, my arms bearing years, jubilees, life, dominion and command. Your father Amun causes you to destroy the Nine Bows, all (lands) are given to you together under your feet forever. I have given to you jubilees in life and dominion forever upon the throne of Horus'

(1) *ḏd (mdw) in ḏḥwty*
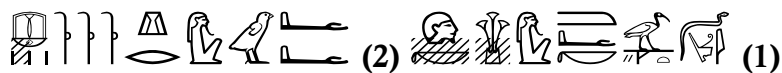
mk=i ḥꜣ **(2)** *ꜥwy=i ḥr rnpwt ḥbw* **(3)** *ꜥnḫ wꜣst wḏ.wt*

it=k imn r **(4)** *sksk pḏ 9*

 rdit n=k nb dmḏ rd.wy=k ḏt

(5) *di.n (=i) n=k ḥbw m ꜥnḫ wꜣs ḏt ḥr st ḥr*

(Instance line 1-3)

First Libyan War – The King Mounts his Chariot [640]

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[638] Goldwasser*, LingAeg* 1, 139-140.
[639] K*RI* V, 10. OIP 8, Pl.13.
[640] K*RI* V, 12. OIP 8, Pl.16.

His majesty arrived at the horizon of the Lord of All in order to request victory and a mighty sword[641] from (*m-di*[642]) his father, Amun, Lord of the gods, so that he may ordain victory for him, **his hand being with him in order to destroy the land of Temeh which transgresses his border.** Montu and Seth are his magical protection on his right and his left, Wepwawet is in front of him opening the roads.

(9) *ḥm=f spr r 3ḫt n nb r ḏr r dbḥ* **(10)** *nḫtw ḫpš wsr m-di it=f imn nb nṯrw wḏ=f sw m* **(11)** nxtw *ḏrt=f ḥnꜥ=f r sksk t3 ṯmḥ tḥ3* **(12)** *t3š=f*

mnṯ šwtḫ m s3w=f ḥr imnt=f i3b=f **(13)** *wpw3wt r-ḥ3t=f ḥr sd n3 mtnw*

(Instance line 11-12)

First Libyan War – The King in battle with the Libyans (Epithets of the King) [643]

Protection and life are behind him with all the gods, their arms *ḫḏsr* (shelter?) him [every] day.

(12) *s3 ꜥnḫ ḫ3=f m nṯrw nbw ꜥwy=sn ḥr ḫḏsr.tw=f rꜥ [nb]*

(Instance line 12)
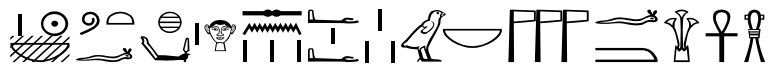
First Libyan War --The King presents prisoners to Amun-Mut [644]

'I[645] have given you my awe in your person, so that you may cast down the Nine Bows. **My hand is a shield for your breast,** averting evil from you'

(3) *di.n(=i) n=k šfyt=i m ḥꜥ=k dḫ=k t3 pḏt 9*

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[641] *passim* Edgerton and Wilson *Historical Records of Ramses III*, 7, f.10a.

[642] Israeli translates this phrase as "by the hand of his father", Israeli in Shirun-Grumach 'Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology', 271, f.5.

[643] K*RI* V, 14. OIP 8, Pl.18.

[644] K*RI* V, 19-20. OIP 8, Pl.26. Translation: Israeli in Shirun-Grumach 'Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology', 275.

[645] Speech by Amun-Re to Ramesses III.

ḏrt=i m **(4)** *ikm n š n bḫr=k sḫr ḏwt ḫr=k*

(Instance line 3-4)

First Libyan War –Speech of the Captive Chiefs [646]

Words spoken by the leaders of the fallen ones of Libya who are in the grasp of (his majesty), 'Great is your *b3w*, strong King! How great is your dread, your awe. You have caused our seed to turn back when fighting to advance themselves against Egypt, forever. **Give breath to us so that we may breathe it. Life is what is in your arms. You[647] are like the manner of your [648] august father, Amun-Re ruler of the Ennead'**

(14) *ḏd mdw in ḥ3ty n n3 ḫr nrbw* **(15)** *nty m ḫfˁ*

*wr b3w***(16)**=*k nsw nḫt ˁ3wy nrt=k* **(17)** *šfyt=k*

diw=k ḫty pr n ˁhˁ **(18)** *rd ḥw=w r kmt ḏt*

*im***(19)** *in=n p3 ṯ3w ssny=n –sw***(20)** *p3 ˁnḫ p3 nty m ˁwy=k*

tw=k mi ki n it=f špss imn-rˁ ḥk3 psḏt

(Instance line 18-20)

Campaign against the Sea Peoples – The King leads prisoners to Amun and Mut (Speech of Mut) [649]

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[646] K*RI* V, 20. OIP 8, Pl.26.

[647] Emending *nb* to =*k passim* Edgerton and Wilson *Historical Records of Ramses III*, 19, f20b.

[648] =*f* is likely an example of pronoun confusion within the inscription, which ought to read =*k*.

[649] K*RI* V, 35-36. OIP 8, Pl.44.

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Words spoken by Mut the great, Lady of Heaven: **'I put my arms as protection behind you, my flame is against your enemies.** I have given you millions of jubilees, hundreds-of-thousands of years, forever'.

(8) *ḏd mdw in mwt wrt nbt pt*

(9) *di=i ꜣwy=i m sꜣ ḥꜣ=k* **(10)** *ḥḥ=i r ḫft=k*

(11) *di.n(=i) n=k ḥḥ ḥbw ꜥmnwt m rnpwt ḏt*

(Instance 9-10)

Campaign against the Sea Peoples – The King leads prisoners to Amun and Mut (Speech of the Captive Chiefs) [650]

Words spoken by the generals of every foreign land which is in the grasp of his majesty: 'Great is your strength, strong King, great sun of Egypt. Your[651] strength is greater than a mountain of copper, your awesomeness is like Seth. **Give breath to us so that we may breathe it. Life is what is in your arms'**

(18) *ḏd mdw in ḫꜣty n ḫꜣst nb nty m ḫfꜥ* **(19)** *ḥm=f*

wr pḥty=k nsw nḫt rꜥ ꜥꜣ **(20)** *n kmt*

ꜥꜣ ḫpš =k r ḏw n biꜣ šfyt=k mi swtḫ

(21) *imi n=n pꜣ ṯꜣw ssny=n* **(22)** *-sw ꜥnḫ pꜣ nty m ꜥwy=k*

(Instance line 21-22)

Inscription of Year 8 [652]

Speech of the King

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[650] Ibid.
[651] Emending *nb* to *=k*
[652] K*RI* V, 39-42. OIP 8, Pl.46.

‘Give your attention to my utterances, so that you may know my manner of sustaining you, that you may realize the strength of my august father Amun-Kamutef, the creator of my beauties. His great and powerful *ḫpš* is mine, as strength, so that every land prostrate (itself) beneath my soles/sandals. **He has assigned victory to me, his hand is together with me, all transgressors of my border are slain in my grasp.**’

(13) *imi ḥr=tn tp-r3=i rḫ=tn n3y=i sḫr n s'nḫ=tn* **(14)** *'m=tn m t3 pḥty n it=i šps imn-k3-mwt=f km3 nfrw=i*

ḫpš=f '3y wrs n=i m ṯr ḥdb t3 nb ḫr tbwt=i

wḏ=f n=i nḫt ḏrt=f ḥn'=i th3 nb tš=i sm3 m ḫf'=i

(Instance line 14)

‘Their hands are a shield for me, for my breast’

(37) *ḏrt=w n=i m ikm n šn bt=i*

(Instance line 37)

King Reviewing Libyan spoils [653]

Spoken by his majesty to the Crown Prince and the two Viziers: ‘Look you at the many benefactions Amun-Re, King of the Gods has performed for Pharaoh l.p.h, (his) son, **he has placed the Chief** [654] **of the (Me)sh[wesh] into my hand together with his army, his charioty, his goods and his herds**’

(1) *ḏd in ḥm=f n p3 rp' ṯ3ty 2*

ptr nt n n3 **(2)** *nfrw ḳnw i-ir imn-r' nsw nṯrw n pr-'3 '.w.s p3y[=f] šri **di=f p3 wr n (m)š[wš] m ḏrt=i ḥn' mš'=f nt*** **(3)** *htri=f ḫt=f mnmnt=f*

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[653] OIP 9, Pl.75.

[654] Emending to Gardiner Sign List A19 from A16. However, it is possible that the inclusion of A16 was deliberate due the the Chief's position as a vanquished enemy.

(Line 2-3 Instance)

[hieroglyphs] (2)

[hieroglyphs] (3)

Second Libyan War --The King presents prisoners to Amun and Mut [655]

Speech of Amun

'What issues from my mouth is effective, my hand is with you to repel the Nine [Bows]. I killed for you the one who crossed you. I gave to you awesomeness against the hill-countries.'

(3) *pr m r=i smnḫt ḏrt=i r ḥnꜥ=k r dr* **(4)** *pḏt 9*

smꜣ=i n=k thꜣtw

di=i n=k šf(y)t r ḫꜣswt

(Instance line 3-4)

[hieroglyphs] (4) [hieroglyphs]

Second Libyan War [656]

[…] His arms against them like a net, his hand (on) their head. He destroys, he seals their nostrils and their bodies. [657]

(23) *ꜥwy=f r=w mi bit ḏrt=f tp=sn*

gmgm=f inḥ=f fnd hꜣw=sn

(Instance line 23)

[hieroglyphs]

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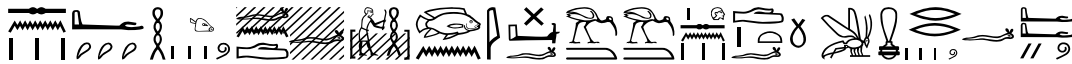
[655] K*RI* V, 47. OIP 9, Pl.78.

[656] K*RI* V, 61. OIP 9, Pls.80-83.

[657] This passage comes from a larger section which describes the qualities and powers of the King. It is highly fragmentary and hence the instance is presented alone.

Every survivor from his hand (fled) to their towns, likewise the Delta swamps behind him.

(30) *sp nb m ḏrt=f r dmi=sn mi p3 idḥ ḫ3=f*

(Instance line 30)

His hand tore the breast of the transgressor of his border.

(31) *ˁfḳ=f ḏrt=f šnbt th3 t3š=f*

(Instance line 31)

Syrian Campaign- Prisoners brought before the King (Speech of Prisoners) [658]

Words spoken by the chiefs of all countries who are in the grasp of his majesty: 'Breath, breath, O living Sun, who shines upon Egypt! **Life is in your arm for every nostril. May you give it to us so that we may breathe it'**.

(13) *ḏd-mdw in wrw n ḫ3st nbt nty m ḫfˁ ḥm=f*

(14) *t3w sp sn p3 šw ˁnḫ* (15) *nty psḏ ḥr kmt*

ˁnḫ m-ˁ(16)=*k r fnd nb di=k −s n=n ssny=n −s*

(Instance line 15-16)

Syrian Campaign- Speech of the Captive Chiefs [659]

Words spoken by the chiefs of all the hill-countries which are in the grasp of his majesty: 'You are Re, the good ruler. You are the likeness of your father, the Lord of the gods.

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[658] K*RI* V, 81-82. OIP 9, Pl.93.
[659] K*RI* V, 86. OIP 9, Pl.99.

Your form has combined with his form, like Re shining for the bows[660]. Your [*ḫpš*] is strong, your heart is stout. You are like Ba'al, exact in his true form. **Breath is in your arm, life is yours! Let us breath it, as you have ordered, strong King'**

(20) *ḏd-mdw* [*in*] *wrw n ḫꜣswt nbt nty m ḫfꜥ ḥm=f*

ntk rꜥ pꜣ ḥkꜣ nfr

(21) *tw=k mi ki n it=k nb nṯrw*

 ꜣbwt=k ꜣb.ti ḥr ꜣbwt **(22)**=*f mi rꜥ psdw n pḏt*

[*ḫpš*]=*k nḫt ib=k wt*

 tw=k mi b-ꜥ-y-r **(23)** *ꜥk m ḫpr=f mꜥꜣ*

ṯꜣw m-ꜥ=k twt pꜣ ꜥnḫ

ssny=n s **(24)** [*ḥr*] *wḏ.n=k nsw nḫt*

(Instance line 23-24)

Syrian Campaign -- Ramesses III smiting his enemies before the god [661]

Words spoken by Amun-Re-Horakhty, the great god, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Ennead: '(I) have given you all the courage and all the strength of Re forever. [Recei]ve[662] for yourself the sword. **My hand is with (you), so that you may overthrow the land of Hatti.'**

(1) *ḏd-mdw in imn-rꜥ-ḥr-ꜣḫti* **(2)** *nṯr-ꜥꜣ nb pt ḥkꜣ psḏt*

(3) *di.n(=i) n=k ḥn nb* **(4)** *nḫt rnb n rꜥ ḏt*

(5)[*sš*]*p n=k ḫps*

ḏrt=i ḥnꜥ (=k) dḫ=k tꜣ n ḫtꜣ

(Instance Line 5)

[660] Unusually this is not written as "the nine bows" but purely as "the bows".

[661] OIP 9, Pl.120c.

[662] *sšp* restored due to formulaic inclusion in the other inscriptions of the columns in the south part of the first court, which contain similar images and texts focussing on other enemies.
 cf. OIP 9, Pl.120a-c.

Discussion:

The inscriptions of Ramesses III from Medinet Habu provide instances which show the utilisation of the topos of the hand/arm of the divine, as well as comparative examples these utilising these phrases in reference to the king.

The use of the "arm(s)" ꜥ(wy) is used to describe the distant control of abstract concepts in a number of instances. In once case the god Thoth states that he is behind the king and that his **"… arms bear years, jubilees, life, dominion and command."** In other divine instances the gods are described poetically as using their arms to shelter the King (First Libyan War- multiple gods and Sea Peoples Campaign-Mut). Elsewhere within the inscriptions ꜥ(wy) is utilised to detail the control of the King over the life of his captives. Within inscriptions from the First Libyan War of year 5, the Sea Peoples campaign in year 8 and the Syrian campaign[663] the captives/prisoners and enemy chiefs proclaim the power of the triumphant King:

"Life is what is in your two arms" (First Libyan War)

"Life is what is in your arms" (Sea Peoples campaign)

"Life is in your arm for every nostril." (Syrian campaign)

"Breath is in your arm, life is yours!" (Syrian campaign)

Each of these iterations follows the pattern of the defeated foe requesting mercy[664]. However, the use of the lexeme ꜥ(wy) is not ubiquitous within the speech of the defeated foe. It may also be noted that within all of these instances the preposition m is used as opposed to ḥr, with the fully divine instances discussed above not taking any preposition. Why the preposition m is used with such persistency in the voices of the captives is unclear,

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[663] For a summary of Ramesses III's actions abroad see: Kitchen, K. A., 'Ramesses III and the Ramesside Period', in E. H. Cline and D. O'Connor (eds.) *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt's Last Hero,* (University of Michigan Press; Ann Arbor, MI 2012), 1-26.

[664] For a full treatise of the supplication/surrender of the enemy in these texts see: Israeli, S., 'ṯꜣw n ꜥnḫ ("breath of life") in the Medinet Habu War Texts', in I. Shirun-Grumach (ed.) *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology,* (Harrasowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden 1998), 271-283.

within other examples gathered within this chapter *ḥr* is preferred[665]. It may be that it is a particular idiosyncracy of these inscriptions, a repeated mistake, or perhaps even an intentional mistake placed in the mouths of the less literate enemy[666]. It may be possible that this is an example of colloquial language usage[667], though it is difficult to establish as the language utilised is uniform, showing an inconsistent use Middle Egyptian, Ramesside Late Egyptian and a hybrid of the two[668].

Four instances (First Libyan War, Year 8, Second Libyan, Syrian campaign) within the examples gathered here express the idea that the hand of the divine is "with" the King using *ḥnꜥ*, reminding us of the phraseology used within the Qadesh Poem of Ramesses II (**"I am with you, I am your father, my hand is with you,"**)[669]. This sentiment is placed in both the mouth of the King/narrator and the divine in the form of Amun-Re-Horakhty **"My hand is with <you>, so that you may overthrow the land of Hatti."** Again, this is not a ubiquitous theme, with other motifs in the column reliefs showing similar iconography though without the use of the hand topos[670]. Contextually, the purpose for the presence of the divine hand is described variously; **"... in order to destroy Temeh"** (First Libyan War), **"...to repel the nine bows"** (Second Libyan War), **"(to) overthrow the land of Hatti."** (Syrian Campaign) and simply as being **"with me (Ramesses III)"** having assigned victory (Year 8). In each case the close presence of the divine hand is a positive element in battle for the King allowing him success in the particular campaign. In two instances the hand of the divine, in one case unnamed *nṯrw* and in another Amun-Re is described as being **"a shield"** for the breast of Ramesses (First Libyan War and Year

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[665] Section 3.1 within this chapter.

[666] cf. Satzinger, H., 'How Good was Tjeker-Ba'l's Egyptian? Mockery at Foreign Diction in the Report of Wenamūn', *Lingua Aegyptia* 5 (1997), 171-176 Also: Di Biase-Dyson, C., *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories: Linguistic, Literary and Historical Perspectives,* (Brill; Leiden 2013), 334-335.

[667] Israeli *Ceremonial Speech Patterns in the Medinet Habu War Inscriptions*, 3.

[668] Israeli *Ceremonial Speech Patterns in the Medinet Habu War Inscriptions*, 3-4.

[669] ex.28 within this chapter. The links between these inscriptions have not been fully examined; one article referenced by a number of recent works does not even begin to scratch the surface as to the possible linguistic and literary links between the religious references of these pieces. Liesegang, D., 'The Phenomenon of "Personal Religion" in the Ramesside Period, from the "poem" of Ramses II through to the Prayers of Ramses III', in H. Abd el Gawad, N. Andrews, M. Correas-Amador, V. Tamorri and J. Taylor (eds.) *Current Research in Egyptology 2011: Proceedings of the twelfth annual symposium which took place at Durham University, United Kingdom, March 2011,* (Oxbow; Oxford 2012), 127-132.

[670] OIP 9, Pls.120a-c in which other enemies are shown, such as Kush, but without the hand topos being utilised.

8)[671]. In these cases, proximity is clearly a focus, as is a sense of care and interaction, bringing to mind the phrase "Shield for your back" seen within the *Late Ramesside Letters*[672].

The final examples of the hand topos concern the hand of the King. Three of these all originate within the inscriptions of the Second Libyan War. In each the hand appears to be a metoynm for the direct action and aggression of the King, for example: **"It is his**[673] **hand which tears at the breast of the transgressor of his border."** and **"Every survivor from his hand (fled) to their towns,"**. There is also an example in which relates what Amun-Re has done for King in terms of interation via the hand: **"he has placed the Chief of the <Me>sh[wesh] into my hand together with his army, his charioty, his goods and his herds"** (Year 8). This again represents a close interaction between the King and the divine, with the royal hand functioning as a metonym for force or as a CONTAINER for the enemy. This is reminiscent of the Israel stela of Merenptah, in which the idea of Egypt herself is given possession of the enemy; **"the one who attacks her is placed (in) her hand as a live captive,"** (rt.14)[674]. We may also compare this to the *Teaching of Amenemope* concerning the treatment of the hothead, in which we read; **"Leave him (upon) the arms of the god"** (5,4)[675]. Through this comparison there is a clear delineation between tha hand and the arm, in that Egypt and the King receive close interaction with the divine, whereas the individual is only able to interact distantly- by leaving the hothead to the discretion of the divine i.e. in their arms.

An inscription from the Second Libyan War provides an instance in which the hand and the arm are both described. This text, which is highly damaged, states of the King that **"His arms were against them like a net, his hand was upon their head"**, the use of both emphasises the power of the King in two ways, likeneing the enemy to a trapped bird[676]. In this way, the arms are still distant, functioning as the net, with the hand functioning as a closer interaction, in the same manner one would catch birds. The use of both lexemes

[671] cf. Israeli *Ceremonial speech patterns in the Medinet Habu war inscriptions*, 167.
[672] Sweeney, D., 'The Shield of Divine Protection', in M. A. Collier and S. R. Snape (eds.) *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen,* (Rutherford Press; Bolton 2011), 505-509.
[673] Ramesses III.
[674] ex.27 in this chapter.
[675] ex.13 in this chapter.
[676] The motif of the enemy as a trapped/pinioned bird is present within the inscriptions and iconography of Medinet Habu cf. OIP 8, Pls.26, 41 and 43 as a small selection of these scenes. This is also present clearly in *Tuthmose III in Syria* (see Ch.2, ex.17).

may be functioning poetically; nevertheless, this example reinforces the position that the two lexemes are not synonyms during this period.

There is a possible additional usage of the topos of the hand/arm from the inscriptions of year 8. However, due to a lacuna it is unclear which lexeme was utilised, Egerton and Wilson suggest the reading;

"the destined lifetime of years is that which is in [his hand]"[677]

(33) *ꜥḥꜥ šꜣt rnpwt nꜣ nty m* [*ḏrt=f*] [… 10/11 groups lost …]

It is just as possible to restore *ꜥwy=f* in the lacuna, providing the reading;

"the destined lifetime of years is that which is in [his arms]"

(33) *ꜥḥꜥ šꜣt rnpwt nꜣ nty m* [*ꜥwy=f*] [… 10/11 groups lost …]

Given the use of *ꜥwy* in relation to the divine twice and the context, however, this is speculative.

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[677] Restoration of *ḏrt=f* suggested by Egerton and Wilson *Historical Records of Ramses III,* 57 and K*RI* V, 42.

3.0 Results: Hand(s) and Arm(s)

3.1 Division of *ḏrt* and *ꜥ(wy)*

Due to an historical preference within the Egyptological community[678], the translation of "hand(s)" for both *ḏrt* and *ꜥ(wy)* has obscured the linguistic reality and as an extension the understanding of the divine by individuals of this time. Whilst not all languages distinguish between the part and the whole (e.g hand/arm or foot/leg), within the corpus examined within this chapter[679], this distinction is made. It is clear that the two lexemes utilised *ḏrt* and *ꜥ(wy)* are employed at different times and for separate purposes. As a summary of these instances, they have been categorised as follows:

Type A- instances related to time (tomorrow, today, the day, yesterday)

Type B- instances relating to abstract concepts other than time (including fate, fortune, creation)

Type C- instances which place an individual in/upon the hand or arm

Type D- instances which show the lexeme as a visible object (giving a hand, seeing a hand etc)

Type E- Mixed

Type F- Unknown due to lacunae

(Also noted are those instances within this study which are used in relation to other non-divine characters, including the King for purposes of comparison.)

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[678] Section 1.2 in this chapter.
[679] NB. this may not be the case across pharaonic history, with less meronymic distinction within older periods.
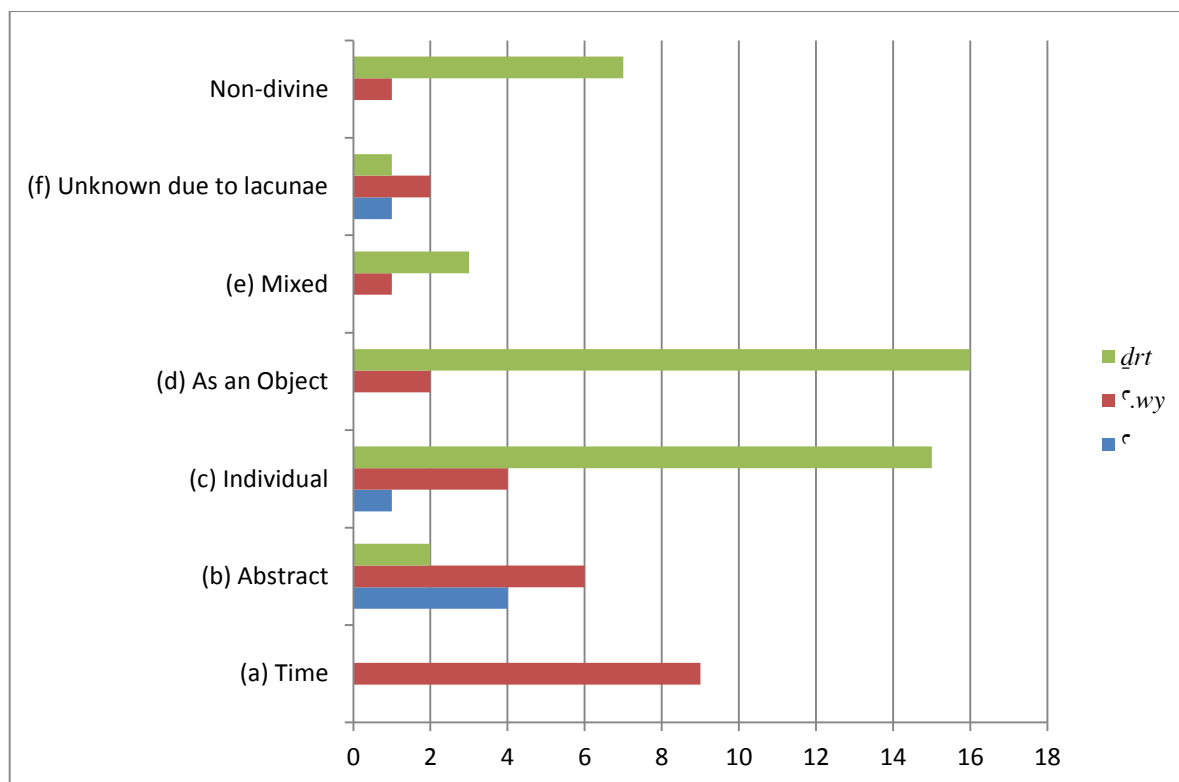
FIG.1. A Graph to show the usage of the lexemes ꜥ, ꜥwy and ḏrt

From this data, it is clear that the two lexemes have broadly distinct functions. The _ḏrt_ lexeme is used in relation to the individual and as a visible object whilst _ꜥwy_ and the singular _ꜥ_ are rarely used in this manner and are utilised to express an interaction which is more abstract, understood as agency. Both lexemes are used in parallel in their specific contexts[680]. _ꜥ(wy)_ "arm" is used in both singular and the marked dual though there is only one potential instance of _ḏrt_ used as a marked dual[681]. The two lexemes are not limited to specific inscriptional styles e.g. one to hieratic and one to monumentalised hieroglyphic, nor are they limited to particular genres.

The use of these lexemes may be understood as an extension of visual language, with _ḏrt_ "hand" illustrating a palpable interaction. This element of interaction may be illustrated by the image of Montu physically holding the arm of Tuthmose IV found upon the exterior of the chariot body (Cairo 46097) [682]. This iconographic example dates to the mid-18th

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[680] cf. exx 13 (_The Teaching of Amenemope_) 19 (Berlin 6910) and 29 (Medinet Habu inscriptions of Ramesses III).
[681] Ex.28 within this chapter.
[682] Carter, H. and Newberry, P. E., 'Catalogue of Antiquities found in the Tomb of Thoutmosis IV.', in T. M. Davis (ed.) _The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV,_ (Duckworth; London 1904), 2002 edn. Specifically: "7. The Chariot" 24-33. This decoration comes from the "off-side" of the chariot, i.e. the right hand side of the chariot if one were to be in the position of the charioteer facing forward.

Dynasty, predating any of the texts analysed, though it provides an apt trigger for the consideration of this topos within the Egyptian mind.

THE CHARIOT

RIGHT SIDE OF THE CHARIOT (EXTERIOR)
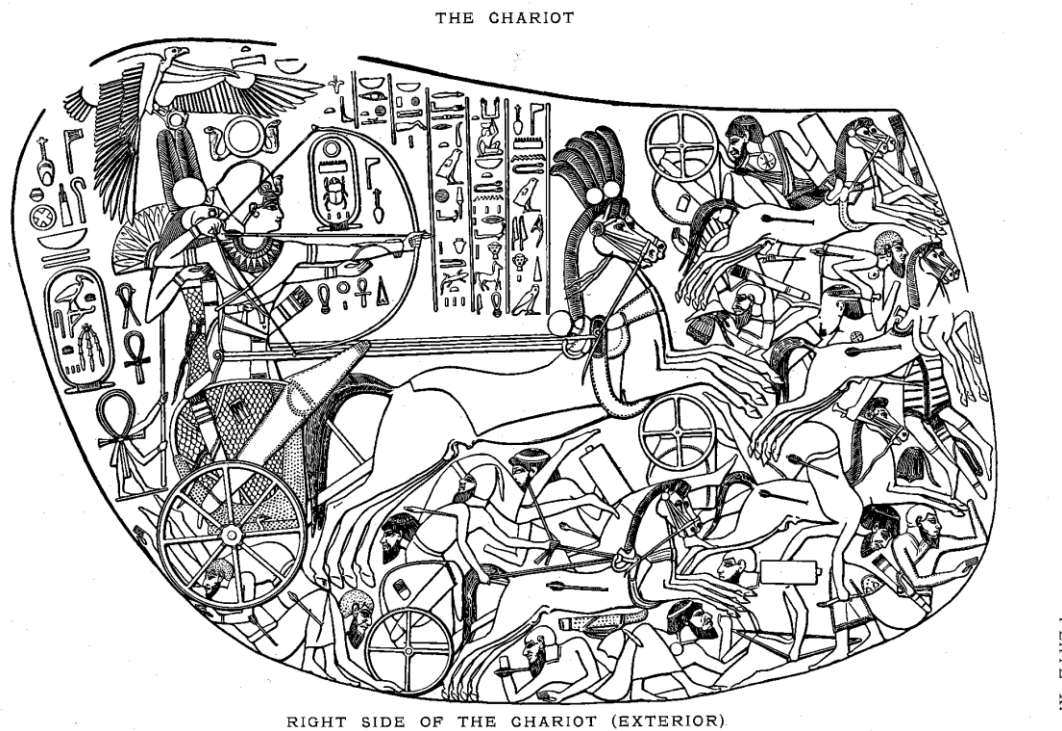
FIG.2: Chariot exterior showing Tuthmose IV and Montu attacking Asiatic enemies[683].

Considering this close interaction in other royal instances, we are provided with a number of examples in which the divine hand is said to be with the King [684]. As these examples are imbued with positive implicature it follows that the "hand" topos is utilised to show divine proximity. In a number of examples[685] the palpability of the hand is even more present through the idiom of "giving a hand". This idiom is commonly used metonymically to mean "to help" within other languages[686], it also employed in this manner within Egyptian. Due to this metonymy "give a hand" carries an overwhelming positive implicature, unlike the idiom of "seeing their hand"[687] which appears to be contextually negative[688]. Similarly, within the Qadesh Poem, Ramesses states that he gave his enemies "a taste of my hand"[689].

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[683] Carter and Newberry in *The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV,* Pl. X.
[684] exx.26, 29.
[685] exx.9,13,19,21 and 26.
[686] Newman, J., *Give: a Cognitive Linguistic Study,* (Mouton de Gruyter; Berlin 1996),15 and 239.
[687] Turin N 50058 (ex.17).
[688] Much like the English "I'll show you my hand" or "I'll show you the back of my hand", meaning that you will receive a beating.
[689] §155 of the Qadesh Poem.

The specific use of prepositions (or their omission) may further advance the understanding of this potential dichotomy when considered in relation to image schemata[690]. Whilst there are some small overlaps, *ḏrt* is predominantly used with the preposition *m* or without prepositional marking (as a subject or direct object) thus showing an understanding of the "hand" as either an object or as a CONTAINER. Meanwhile, *ꜥwy* is used predominantly with *ḥr*. It is possible to understand the arms as a SURFACE if *ḥr* is viewed as locative[691]. Notably, there are a number of *m-ꜥwy* instances which are solely in the mouth of the King's enemies, possibly intentionally[692]. Within the instances presented within this chapter *ḥr-ꜥwy* and *m-ḏrt* are used in relation to proper nouns only[693].

Notably, there is no use of *m-ẖnw ḏrt* within the gathered examples. Werning[694] shows an example from an 18th Dynasty Book of the Dead (P.Louvre E 21324) in which a document is said to be *m-ẖnw ḏrt=i*, distinguishing IN and INSIDE. Nor is there any distinction between left and right hand/arm, also exampled by Werning[695].

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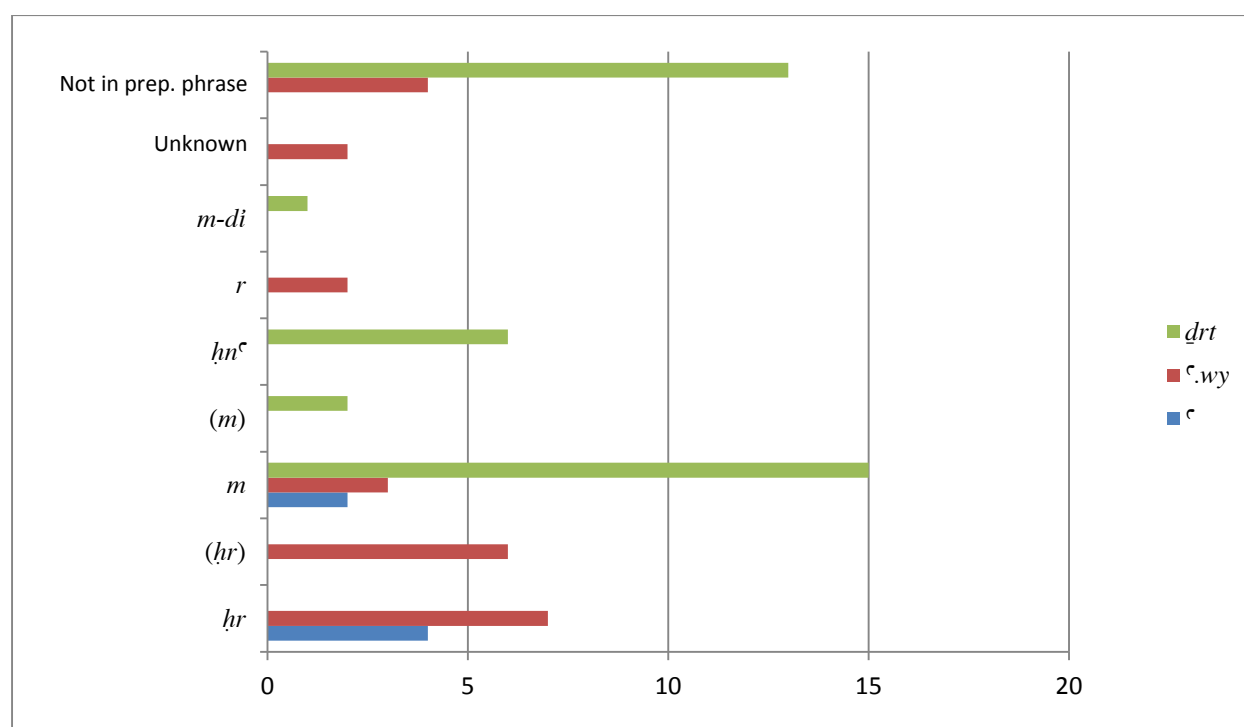
[690] Nyord, *Breathing Flesh,* 13 abley divides these lexemes through the use of preposition based Image Schemata.

[691] Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 49.

[692] cf. ex 29 discussion within this chapter.

[693] Grossman and Polis in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 205.

[694] Werning in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egptian*, 319.

[695] Werning in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egptian*, 303 ex-9. Cairo CG 28088 *m-ꜥ=f imnt*.

FIG. 3: A Graph to show the usage of prepositions with the lexemes

Based upon the uses of these lexemes, as well as the application of specific prepositions it must be concluded that the two lexemes codify different concepts representing a division between the macro and the micro. Whereby ꜥwy is used to represent an abstracted element of divine interaction[696], and ḏrt is used to show a direct/personal level of interaction. For example:

Great Dedicatory Stela (Ramesses I, Abydos)

This land was in my arm[697] **like my father** [698]

𓂋𓈖𓏏𓏤𓏌𓂝𓇋𓌳𓏏𓇋

_tꜣ pn m-ꜥ=i mi it=i_

In this case, the King's control over the country is an established and expected concept, much like fate or tomorrow when related to the divine which is aslo described using "arm" rather than "hand".

Whilst such a dichotomy is not required within the English language at least in terms or hand/arm, a split between the physical and metaphorical is present within the Egyptian language related to the body. For example; _ib_ and _ḥꜣty_ are often both translated as "heart", however, their uses differ. Whether these two words are distinguished as a physical notion and as a metaphorical have been discussed widely[699]. Nyord has shown that these lexemes also show the application of separate image schemata[700].

In consideration of the use of these lexemes it may be possible to show this divergence through a hypothetical Q-/Horn scale, which characterises the potential levels of interaction which have been lexicalised:

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[696] "Human language very often uses expressions denoting or implicating the human body and its parts to structure domains of more abstract and less experientially accessible domains" Nyord in _Laurel and Lotus_, 241.

[697] Frandsen in _Religion and Power_, 63 reads "in my hand". Concerning potential grammaticalization of _m-ꜥ_ refer to section 2.0.3 within this chapter.

[698] K_RI_ I, 112,2.

[699] See: Nyord, _Breathing Flesh,_ 55-65.

[700] Nyord, _Breathing Flesh,_ 83. Nyord also agrees that these two lexemes are distinct from one another- See Nyord, _Breathing Flesh,_ 112.

> $< ḥr\text{-}ꜥ(wy) \text{------------} m\text{-}ḏrt, ḏrt >$
>
> $< \text{with god, it is god's, upon the arms, in the hand of, hand} >$
>
> $< \text{distant and abstract} \text{-------------} \text{proximate and interactive} >$
>
> $< \text{established control/rules} \text{----------} \text{extraordinary action} >$
>
> $< \text{general providence} \text{----------} \text{special providence} >$
>
> Potential Q-scale model of divine interaction
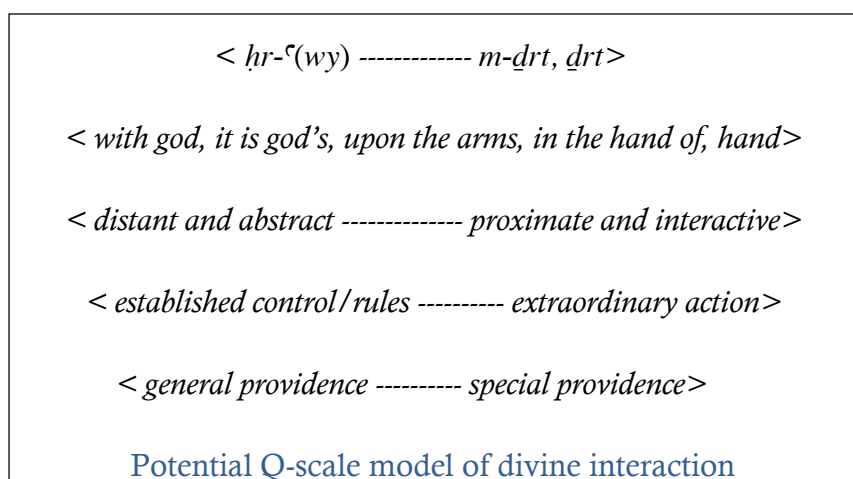
In this potential model, the most distant control of the divine is understood as being with the gods, as their control is felt more by the individual the description of the "arm(s)" becomes apt, with a final and most proximate interaction described through the topos of the "hand". More research is required to confirm this scale, with particular focus upon the discussion of divine interaction and control which does not employ the topos of the hand/arm.

3.2 ḥr-ꜥ(wy) and time

Though *ḥr-ꜥ(wy)* is utilised with no following noun or pronoun to mean "immediately"[701], it's use with noun/pronoun of a divine nature presents an apparently specialised use in relation to the concept of time. Whilst Assmann has stated that this particular usage is mundane[702], the prevalence of this theme and its contextual usage suggests that this may be an oversimplification.

The first study of the trope of the divine and tomorrow was performed by Gwyn Griffiths[703] who looked specifically at O.UC 39614 and its relationship to earlier Egyptian literature as well as similar representations in near-eastern and classical civilisations. In her work on the "hand of god", Grumach has also suggested that *ḥr-ꜥwy* and *m-ḫfꜥ* are pervasive relating the control over time by deity[704]. As shown in fig.1 the *ꜥwy* lexeme is used predominantly in relation to elements of time though it is not limited to this realm. Whether *ḥr-ꜥ(wy)* is to be interpreted as a fully grammaticalized compound preposition **"in charge of"** or literally

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[701] See section 2.0.1 within this chapter.
[702] Assmann, *The Search for God,* 12-13.
[703] Griffiths, J. G., 'Wisdom about Tomorrow', *The Harvard Theological Review* 53 (1960), 219-221.
[704] Shirun-Grumach, *Bedudet "in der hand des Gottes" Gottesfurcht,* 837.

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"upon the arm of", this partial specialism is still evident. The idea of divine control over humanity and *mutabilitas mundi* are present within earlier texts, though such instances do not use the divine ahnd/arm topos nor do they reference the divine in such close relation to the individual[705].

3.3 Creation of Idiom and Change over Time

The question of linguistic change over time is difficult to address. Over time, the lexicon shifts, long term processes such as grammaticalization and changes in cultural decorum may also alter what lexemes and constructions may be used in texts. Whilst this thesis is considering material with realative synchrony, we must still be wary over any potential linguistic changes within this time period. For example; if the *drt* lexeme were only present within texts from the reign of say Ramesses II, and the *ꜥwy* lexeme were only present in texts of the Third Intermediate Period, this might evidence of development or indeed innovation but in fact both lexemes used concurrently.

Time Period	ꜥwy	ꜥ	*drt*
18th Dynasty		1	
18th/19th Dynasty			1
19th Dynasty	6	3	23
19th/20th Dynasty	2	1	
20th Dynasty	16	1	13

TABLE 3: A table showing the dynastic divisions of the individual lexemes

[705] For example: *The Maxims of Ptahhotep* 6,10 and 11,2. Transcription: Žába, Z., *Les maximes de Ptahhotep,* (Éditions de l'Académie Tchécoslovaque des Sciences; Prague 1956).
The Instructions of Kagemni II,2. Transcription: Gardiner, A. H., 'The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni and His Brethren', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 32 (1946), 71-74. Translation: Lichtheim *AEL* I, 59-61.
P.Nag' ed-Deir N3737, 4. Translation and transcription: Simpson, W. K., 'The Letter to the Dead from the Tomb of Meru (N 3737) at Nag' ed-Deir', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 52 (1966), 39-52.

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King	ꜥwy	ꜥ	drt
Akhenaten		1	
Seti I / Ramesses II		1	4
Ramesses II	3	2	11
Merenptah	2		3
Seti II		1	
Ramesses III	7	1	11
Ramesses VIII			1
Ramesses XI	7		

TABLE 4: A table showing the instances of the individual lexemes when dateable to a specific King.
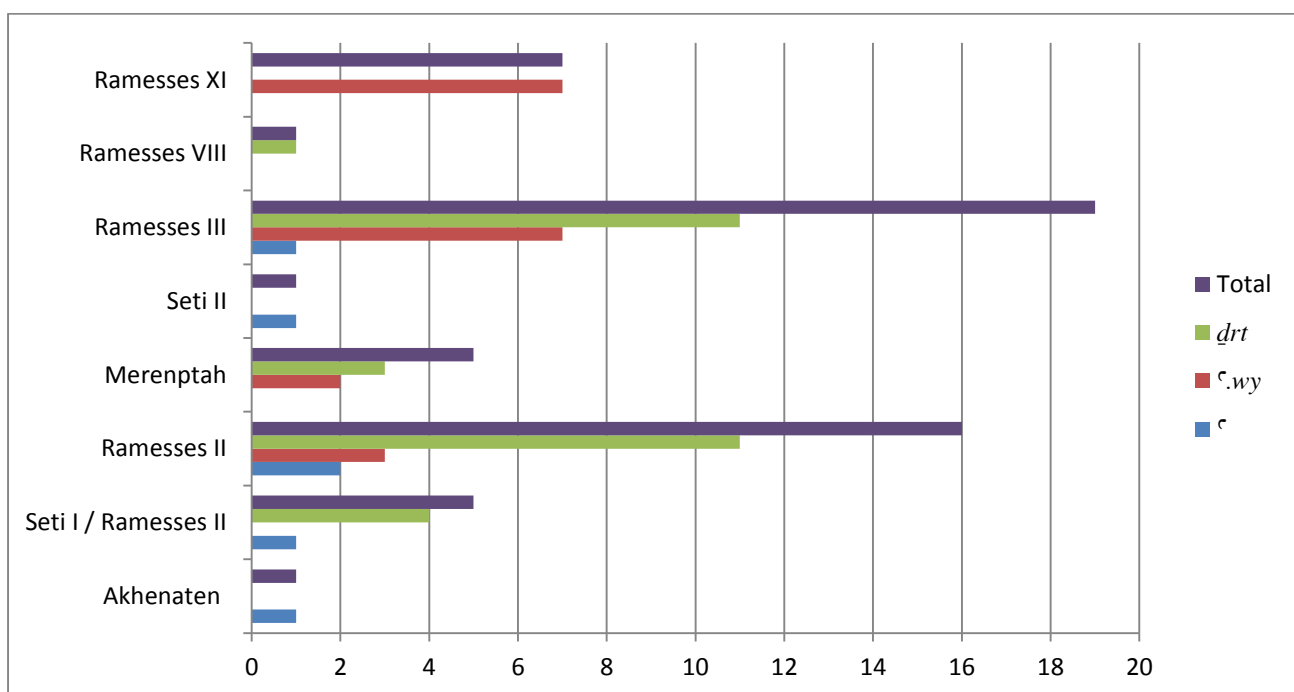
FIG.4: A graph to show the chronological distribution of lexemes (Arranged by attributed king)

This chronological distribution is not atypical. Haring[706] provides the following figures for the distribution of dated documents within the Deir el-Medina Database: undated 41%, 18th and 21st Dynasties 1%, 19th Dynasty 17%, 20th Dynasty 31% and 19th/20th Dynasty 10%. As such certain periods provide us with an increased amount of evidence to work with, for example during the reigns of Ramesses II and Ramesses III. Through most of the time period selected for this study, both lexemes are present within the corpus; one lexeme

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[706] Haring *JESHO* 46/3, 254.

did not become redundant and another prevalent, with a number of examples utilising ꜥ(*wy*) and *ḏrt* concurrently[707]. Similarly, the uses of these topoi are not localised, with instances originating in the communities of Deir el-Medina, Memphis and Amarna. Lichtheim has suggested that the prevalence of the use of *ḥr-ꜥwy* in the community of Deir el-Medina may be due to the author's access to wisdom literature[708] (presumably *The Teaching of Amenemope*). Largely, this bias is simply due to the survival of such large amounts of Ramesside material from Deir el-Medina.

In relation to the creation of idiom, it can be difficult to establish origins. If we accept that the concept of divine impact upon humanity is an established concept by the later New Kingdom, it is possible to see the application of this topos through greater use of idioms involving the divine hand/arm(s) as making these ideas "visible in new ways"[709]. What religio-sociological causes there were for such change have been the impetus for this change has been widely discussed, focussing on the increased emphasis on religious (self-)presentation in the Ramesside period. Kemp has suggested that the religious developments seen during the Pharaonic period were "deeply rooted in the past"[710], elsewhere Baines and Frood have also suggested (in reference to the depictions of the royal family during the Amarna period) that "it is more plausible that they existed earlier but that they had not been committed to permanent media that happen to survive"[711].

There are a number of examples which predate the Amarna period in which two non-divine characters interact through these lexemes, though the divine do not share these idioms. For example, within the inscriptions of the tomb of Ankhtifi at Mo'alla we read:

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[707] cf. exx 13 (*The Teaching of Amenemope*) 19 (Berlin 6910) and 29 (Medinet Habu inscriptions of Ramesses III)

[708] Lichtheim, M., *Moral Values in Ancient Egypt,* (Universitätsverlag; Freiburg 1997), Sweeney, D., 'Women and Language in the Ramesside Period or, Why Women don't say Please', in C. J. Eyre (ed.) *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists,* (Uitgeverij Peeters; Leuven 1998), 1109-1118 see 115. Who suggests that this is one of the reasons that women do not use the phrase *ꜣwy pꜣ nṯr*. For access to literary material within Deir el-Medina see: Bernard, M., 'La littérature égyptienne sous les Ramsès d'après les ostraca littéraires de Deir el-Médineh', in A. Guillemette (ed.) *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois: la vie en Egypte au temps des pharaons du Nouvel Empire. Actes du colloque organisé par le Musée du Louvre, les 3 et 4 mai 2002,* (Khéops; Musée du Louvre; Paris 2003), 117-137.

[709] Baines and Frood in *Ramesside Studies,* 17.

[710] Kemp, B. J., 'How Religious were the Ancient Egyptians?', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5 (1995), 38.

[711] Baines and Frood in *Ramesside Studies,* 6.

Tomb of Ankhtifi (Mo'alla) *Inscription 4*

(I, β,3) [hieroglyphs] [712]

ir grt r dy ḏrt(=i) ḥr=f n sp iwt ḫt im=f

"As for the one I placed (my) hand upon him, nothing (negative) ever came upon him"[713]

Vandier reads "la main" noting earlier writings of *ḏrt* as well as the use of the arm as determinative for *ḏrt* in the Middle Kingdom (particularly in the Coffin Texts)[714]. The meaning of interaction between the nomarch Ankhtifi and others is clear; it remains a close and palpable interaction, as well as one carrying positive implicature. Given the early date, the use of *ḏrt* with the arm determinative may suggest a close link between the two lexemes at this time, leading to a later divergence into differing concepts of interaction/control, though this is speculative.

In his discussion of this inscription Vandier also refers to a graffito from the quarries of Hatnub. The graffito in question is grafitto 15, known due to the characters who penned it, two doctors named Herishefnakht and Ahanakht. In a passage describing Herishef's treatment of the King, we read:

Hatnub Graffito 15 (Right side) [715]

[hieroglyphs]
[hieroglyphs] [716]

rdi ꜥ=f ḥr s iw=f rḫ −sw ḥmww m ḫꜣt-ḏrit

"Who places his arm on a man and knows him, who is skilled in examining (with his) hand"

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[712] Vandier's transcription does not make it clear which sign is used to write *ḏrt*. Personal correspondence and images provided by Mark Collier show that the sign, which is painted in green is an unusual rendering of the *ḏr* sign (as opposed to the *d* hand). It is composed of a short horizontal bar, a central trapezoid and a second trailing bar to the left. Vandier inscription II, A, 2 shows the same form of sign in order to write *ḏr-ntt* "because".

[713] Transcription available: Vandier, J., *Moꜥalla : La Tombe d'Ankhtifi et la Tombe de Sébekhotep*, (Institut français d'archéologie orientale; Cairo 1950),179.

[714] Vandier *Mo'alla*, 180.

[715] Anthes, R., *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, (J.C. Hinrichs; Leipzig 1928)33-35 and Pl.19.

[716] Anthes transcribes the final sign in this section as Gardiner sign D40, though from close examination I believe that the open arm is more likely.

Here, the arm and the hand are described in terms of use as a diagnostic method. Anthes[717] compares this passage to similar usage within P.Smith[718] and instances of *rdi ḏrt* in P.Ebers 36,19. Whilst Anthes prefers the tranlastion of "hand" for both instances[719], they are separate lexemes. Both are highly literal uses of "hand" and "arm" to emphasise Herishefnakht's skill as a medical examiner.

There is also a distinction between the "hand" *ḏrt* and "arm(s)" *ꜥ(wy)* within earlier texts. For example, within the Pyramid Texts of King Unas[720], we may observe the use of *ḥr ꜥ=sn* "upon their arms"[721], and a description of an object being in the hand of the King using *ḏrt*[722]. Despite a clear delineation orthographically, the division between the two lexemes does not appear to be as sharp contextually, with *ꜥ* used when one would expect *ḏrt* within a later instance and vice versa[723]. A fuller study of the instance of the divine hand/arm within the Pyramid Texts would certainly prove useful in relation to the use of such idiom during the Old Kingdom.

3.4 Post-Ramesside Instances

Due to time constraints, a full exploration of the use of this topos throughout Pharaonic history has not been performed. A dichotomy of lexemes is present during this period, may not be the case during other periods, with a shift in meaning or increase of grammaticalization possible. A fuller study of instances from outside the selected time period may also show a change or evolution of ideas and thus understanding of the divine, Frood has shown neatly how a number of ideas are retained and employed in the post-Ramesside period[724].

For example; it appears that after the late New Kingdom, this dichotomy of "hand" and "arm" and their separate use is maintained, though the evidence base is reduced. Within

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[717] Anthes *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub,* 35.
[718] Thoguh does not provide a specific instance.
[719] Anthes *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub,* 34.
[720] Piankoff, A., *The Pyramid of Unas: Texts,* (Princeton University Press; Princeton, NJ 1968) From a brief survey of the texts from the Pyramid of Unas there were the following instances: 23 *ꜥ*, 2 *ꜥ* with marked plural and 4 *ḏrt*.
[721] Antechamber, *PT* 306, §478.
[722] Passage, *PT* 23, §16 and repeated in Sarcophagus chamber.
[723] For example when describing possession of a sword see: Antechamber, *PT* 247, §257 *imt ꜥ=k*
[724] Frood, E., 'Sensuous Experience, Performance, and Presence in Third Intermediate Period Biography', in R. Enmarch and V. M. Leper (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Theory and Practice,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2013), 153-184.

the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* both lexemes are utilised in similar manners to that of the late New Kingdom. Again, previous translators have remained entrenched in their translation of both ꜥ and tꜥ as "hand(s)"[725]. For example, concerning "arm(s)" [726]:

"all good fortune is from the arm of the god" (20,6)

e.ꜥr ꜥš-sḥn nfr nb ꜥ p ntr [727]

"put your affairs in the arm of god" (11,23)

ḫ ꜥpe-k ꜥš-sḥn n(?) ꜥ p ntr

Instances of *tꜥ* which are referenced in the terms of divine characters[728] and human[729] are often introduced by the *n* preposition, which does not precede ꜥ. There is also an instance of the "hand" topos which appears highly familiar in the context of this study:

"They are all in the hand of fate and god" (26,8)

e.ꜥr-w tꜥ(n.t) p šy p ntr tr-w

It also appears that the idea of "arm(s) of the god" is perpetuated, whilst not becoming fully grammaticalized[730]. Further work into the post New Kingdom usage of this idiom could certainly be fruitful.

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[725] cf. Glanville, S. R. K., *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum,* II: The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy (Trustees of the British Museum; London 1955) and Ritner, R. K., 'The Instruction of 'Onchsheshonqy', in W. K. Simpson (ed.) *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry,* (Yale University Press; New Haven, CT 2003), 497-529.

[726] Johnson, J. H., *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago,* (University of Chicago; Chicago, IL 2001), 03.1, 5.

[727] Demotic transliteration following Glanville *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri* and Johnson *The Demotic Dictionary*.

[728] Instances at 3,3 and 26,8.

[729] Instances at 8,21 11,2 13,10 14,13 16,6 16,20 16,21 17,14 22,18 23,14 (twice) 25,16.

[730] There are a great number of grammaticalized forms in demotic related to ꜥwy cf. Johnson *The Demotic Dictionary*, 03.1, 5-18.

Chapter 2: The Divine and the Deictic

1.0 Introduction

This study focuses on the use of motion verbs and what the choice of verb communicates about the position of the speaker within their world using "come" and "go" as a starting point. Motion events describe the translocation of a *Figure* (Participants) in relation to a *Ground* (Location)[731], this study aims to assess how the divine are described within motion events at this time period. Specifically, this will be examined through the reflexes of implicature and deixis as a means of understanding the positioning of the divine within the speaker's worldview.

1.1 Motion and Deixis

One means of assessing the linguistic understanding of motion is through Deixis. Meaning a mode of proof or a demonstrative force/pointing in Greek **(δεῖξις)** [732], deixis was first discussed by Bühler in 1934, who described a method of relating the spatio-temporal context of the utterance centred upon the speaker. Bühler suggested that "here" and "there" altered the position of the speaker in the same way that "I" and "thou" shifts interlocutors[733].

Deixis is a vital part of everyday language, providing contextual information about the "I" "Now" and "Here" of utterances[734]. We may go as far as to say that "deixis is a fundamental human experience"[735], essential for successful contextual communication. Despite this, deixis has largely been overlooked within linguistic study, as the functions of the deictic categories of person, space and time are "usually treated as self-evident" by

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[731] Talmy, L., 'Lexical Typologies', in T. Shopen (ed.) *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol. III: Grammatical Catergories and the Lexicon,* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 2007), 66-168

[732] Literally "to point to", Liddell, H. G. and Scott, R., *A Lexicon abridged from Liddell and Scott's Greek-English lexicon (2002 Edition),* (Clarendon Press; Oxford 1891), 152.

[733] Bühler, K., *The Theory of Language (Sprachtheorie),* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 2011 [1934]).

[734] Weissenborn and Klein 'Introduction' in Weissenborn and Klein, 2.

[735] Di Meola, C., 'Non-deictic uses of the deictic motion verbs *kommen* and *gehen* in German', in F. Lenz (ed.) *Deictic Conceptualisation of Space, Time and Person,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 2003), 55.

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grammars[736]. It is also the case that spoken languages tend to focus in more detail on deixis, this feature tends not to be as prominent within written realisations of such language[737]. Thus it may be seen as a building block for communication present within spoken language and is carried over into writing. The importance of deixis within communication may be exemplified in the work of the child developmental psychologist, Jean Piaget, who noted the early development of egocentric speech within children[738].

Of the numerous elements of speech which convey person, space and time (often simply named "deictics"), this chapter focuses on spatial deixis as represented through verbs of motion. Huang describes what he calls *Space deixis* (known more commonly as spatial deixis) in three frames of reference 1) Intrinsic-object based, 2) Relative- egocentric 3) Absolute (such as co-ordinates)[739]. These locative deictics provide us with information about the relationship between the location of characters or objects relative to the participants in the utterance.

Terminologically, "deixis" and "indexicality" are often used interchangeably as they both indicate contextually-dependent references; deixis used within the discourse of linguistics, indexicality used in philosophical discourse[740]. From Bühler's foundations in this field we may arrive at the modern definition of deixis as a part of communication which "concerns the way in which some expressions can *only* be interpreted in terms of their relationship with the speaker"[741]. These communicate details about the speaker's perception of their position in three dimensional space, for example:

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[736] Levinson 'Deixis' in Horn and Ward, 112. Levinson also describes deixis as "one of the most empirically understudied elements core areas of pragmatics" Levinson 'Deixis' in Horn and Ward, 97.

[737] Weissenborn, J. and Klein, W., 'Introduction', in J. Weissenborn and W. Klein (eds.) *Here and There: Cross-linguistic Studies on Deixis and Demonstration,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 1982), 1-12.

[738] Piaget, J., *The Child's Conception of the World,* (Keagan Paul; London 1929) See also: Piattelli-Palmarini, M., *Language and Learning: The Debate between Jean Piaget and Noam Chomsky,* (Routledge & Kegan Paul; London 1980).

[739] Huang *Pragmatics,* 149.

[740] See: Brown, G., 'A Note on Deixis, Point of View, and the English Cerbs: Depart and Leave', *Working Papers (Research Centre for English and Applied Linguistics, University of Cambridge)* 8 (2002), 61-71.

[741] Brown, *Working Papers* 8, 61.
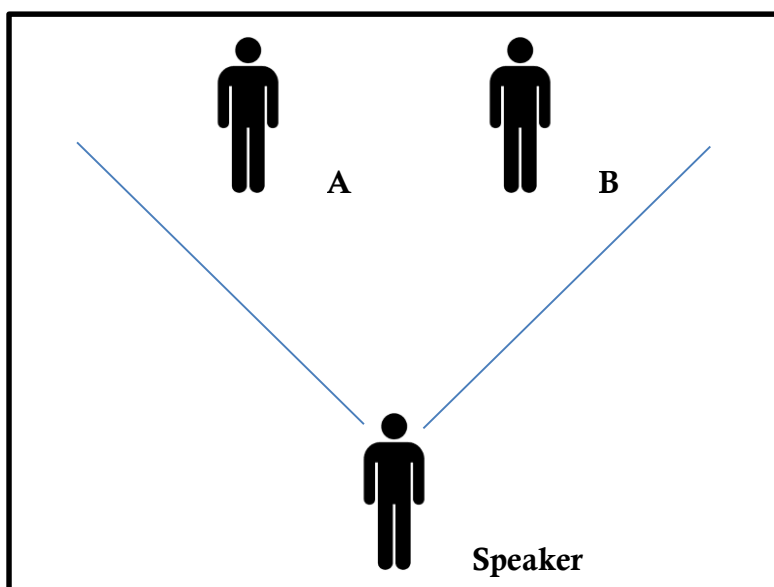
FIG.5: The Speaker's view of A and B [742]

In terms of deixis, as in other areas of pragmatics, we are reliant on two participant roles: 1) Speaker/Sender who is the encoder of the message and 2) Hearer/Addressee who is the intended decoder of the message. In the above figure, a deictic statement would be; "B is to the right of A" as this can *only* be understood via its relationship to the speaker as the deictic centre. The statement "B is to A's left" does not carry deictic information as it is not related to the speaker. This example illustrates clearly how deixis functions - in a pragmatic nature which may be described in terms of implicature, i.e. the information which deixis provides for us within the utterance is not made explicit but relies upon the co-operative principles expressed by Grice[743].

The focus of the utterance is known as the deictic centre or *origo*[744], this is a theoretical set of points to which the utterance is "anchored" e.g. "**I** am **here now**". Typically, deixis is organised in this egocentric manner[745]. This is not always the case. When the speaker is not the deictic centre we encounter what Lyons describes as deictic projection[746] and Bühler called *Versetzung,* a reflex whic enables speakers to project themselves into different deictic worlds i.e. different place, time of person. There are some languages which formally mark deictic projection including Inuktitut which includes a "field shifting

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[742] Based upon Fillmore, *Lectures on Deixis,* 28.

[743] Grice, H. P., *Studies in the Way of Words,* (Harvard University Press; Cambridge, MA 1989),26-27.

[744] In the terminology of Bühler, K., *The Theory of Language (Sprachtheorie),* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 2011 [1934]).

[745] Lyons, J., *Semantics,* 2 Vols. (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 1977), 646.

[746] Lyons, *Semantics,* 579.

prefix"[747]. The idea that the origo/deictic centre may be moveable has thus been dealt with by a number of scholars of the subject. Fricke has shown that the speaker takes the role of primary *origo*[748] though this does not limit the options for deictic projection, which may be allocated through a speech act[749].

With these complexities, it is not suprising that deixis has been called "a big black fly in the ointment of pragmatics"[750], as it "blurs the lines between semantics and pragmatics by introducing subjective, attentional, intentional, and context dependent elements to this field"[751]. We will return to the element of deictic projection following an exposition of the motion verbs "come" and "go".

1.2 Coming and Going

The pairing of lexical items has been proposed by Hill, who suggested that pairs such as come/go and bring/take are "ultimately anchored in the human body itself" based upon the natural asymmetry of the human body[752]. A case in point is the asymmetry of the human head allows for marked and unmarked lexemes in the English language, i.e. it is possible to describe the front of the head as the face, whereas the back of the head does not have its own marked lexeme in English[753]. Consequently, the face may be seen as a part of the head with special qualities- in this case, it is the home of the eyes and thus a large part of perception. Egyptian instead contains marked lexemes for the back of the head, including: *mkḥꜣ* rather than marking the lexeme *ḥr* "face" as in other languages. This highlights the differences between marking within languages. Importantly whilst such marking is not a language universal in the way presented by Wierzbicka, language can be analysed through close reading in order to illustrate and examine such specificities.

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[747] Denny, J. P., 'Semantics of Inuktitut (Eskimo) Spatial Deictics', *International Journal of American Linguistics* 48 (1982), 359-384.
[748] Fricke, E., '*Origo*, Pointing and Conceptualization: What Gestures Reveal about the Nature of the *origo* in face-to-face Interaction', in F. Lenz (ed.) *Deictic Conceptualisation of Space, Time and Person,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 2003), 69-93, especially fig.7.
[749] Ibid. with particular reference to fig.2, 76.
[750] Levinson 'Deixis' in Horn and Ward, 97.
[751] Ibid.
[752] Hill in Weissenborn and Klein, 13.
[753] Hill in Weissenborn and Klein, 37.

The scheme of paired lexemes is also present within Egyptological literature; Westendorf[754] proposes *Korrrelatverben* as groups of paired verbs, grouped by their specific semantic uses, though does not discuss the ramifications of his suggested pairings.

The most notable marked/unmarked pair in relation to motion events is in many languages "come" and "go". Whilst not all languages have a distinction between deictic verbs (notably Polish and Russian)[755] there is a voluminous literature assessing the differences between "come" and "go" in those languages which utilise deictic verbs[756]. The use of "come" and "go" within Egyptian through pairing of *iw* and *šm* has been examined by Leo Depuydt who points to the compound form of ϣⲉ–ⲉⲓ within Coptic, meaning "coming and going"[757]. Such lexical pairings of motion verbs may also be recognised in earlier Egyptian also, for example *pr(i)*[758] and *ḥꜣ(i)*[759] which are not examined within this chapter.

Fillmore's work forms the most notable work on the variable functions of "come" and "go"[760]. He provides seven developmental hypotheses with two addenda and two post-scripts in an effort to define the differences between the two verbs. Ultimately providing a five-way definition of "come" which may be summed up in the following way:

> 1) Movement towards the speaker's location at coding time (CT)
> 2) Movement towards the speaker's location at arrival time
> 3) Movement towards the addressee's location at CT
> 4) Movemnet towards the addressee's location at arrival time
> 5) Movemnet towards the home-base[761] maintained at CT by speaker OR addressee
>
> After Huang *Pragmatics,* 161.

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[754] Westendorf, W., *Grammatik der Medizinischen Texte,* (Akademie-Verlag; Berlin 1962),324, §479.

[755] Ricca, D., *I verbi deittici di movimento in Europa: una ricerca interlinguistica,* (La Nuova Italia; Florence 1993). Those languages which do not have motion verbs often compensate by their includion of motion affixes, morphemes or particles cf. Huang *Pragmatics,* 160 which gives the example of Somali which combines affixes to the verb "walk" to indicate direction.

[756] For example: Di Meola, C., 'Non-deictic uses of the Deictic Motion Verbs *kommen* and *gehen* in German', in F. Lenz (ed.) *Deictic Conceptualisation of Space, Time and Person,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 2003), 41-67. Particularly: Fillmore, *Lectures on Deixis,* 77-102 devotes a large amount of discussion to the differences between these two verbs.

[757] Depuydt in *Essays on Grammar,* 22.

[758] *Wb* I, 518-525.

[759] *Wb* II, 472-474.

[760] Fillmore, C. J., *Lectures on Deixis,* (CSLI Publications; Stanford, CA 1997),77-102.

[761] There are a number of languages (e.g. Diuxi Mixtec) which encode movement towards/away from a home-base and a non-home-base cf. Huang *Pragmatics,* 161-62.

Huang provides a simpler definition of these verbs, describing "go" as movement away from the deictic centre, and "come" as movement towards the deictic centre[762], this movement is sometimes labelled as centrifugal and centripetal. As noted previously, this centre is movable, to show how this works, what follows is an example provided by Huang[763]:

(a) *Can I go to your office tomorrow at 12:00?*

(b) *Can I come to your office tomorrow at 12:00?*

In the case of these two utterances (a) shows movement away from the deictic centre of the speaker by using "go", in reference to (b) "come" marks movement towards the deictic centre, in this case the deictic centre has been projected to the addressee. The speaker remains the same, as does the location (the office), the time (tomorrow at 12:00) and the Coding Time remain the same, what changes is deictic centre so that the motion is focused upon the addressee rather than the egocentric speaker. This is the reflex that allows a Liverpudlian to say "I am going to London next week" where Liverpool functions as the deictic centre, whilst it is equally valid for them to say "I am coming to London next week" thus projecting the deictic centre to London.

One of the most persuasive and most direct explanations of the nature of these two verbs of motion has been proposed by Levinson. He suggests that they may be differentiated through the reflexes of implicature, and that their differences are in their telic nature[764]. Levinson places this into a Q-scalar model of implicature as proposed by Horn[765] suggesting that: "saying 'go' where 'come' might have been used but wasn't implicates that the speaker is not in a position to use the stronger, more informative 'come' because its conditions have not been met, and thus that the motion is not towards the deictic centre"[766]. Huang also follows this model, stating that "go" is semantically weaker than "come"- in the same manner that "this" and "that" may also be placed upon a Q-scale[767].

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[762] Huang *Pragmatics,* 135.

[763] Huang *Pragmatics*, 135.

[764] Levinson, S. C., 'Deixis', in L. R. Horn and G. Ward (eds.) *The Handbook of Pragmtics,* (Blackwell; Oxford 2004), 97-121, specifically 117-118.

[765] Horn, L., 'Implicature', in L.R. Horn and G. Ward (eds.) *The Handbook of Pragmatics,* (Blackwell; Oxford 1979), 3-28.

[766] Levinson, 'Deixis' in Horn and Ward*,* 118.

[767] Huang *Pragmatics,* 162.

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The concept of implicature caused by telicity has been clarified through the work of Claudio Di Meola. Basing his work upon the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL framework provided by Lakoff [768], he proposes image schemata to illustrate the differences between these two verbs[769]. In these schemata (figs.5-6) whilst following an identical path in both utterances, the observer focusing upon the source utilises the verb "go" whereas the observer who is aware of the goal utilises "come". When converted from observer to speaker it is clear then that for "come" to be used the goal needs also to be understood; thus reinforcing the idea that "go" is semantically weaker than "come".
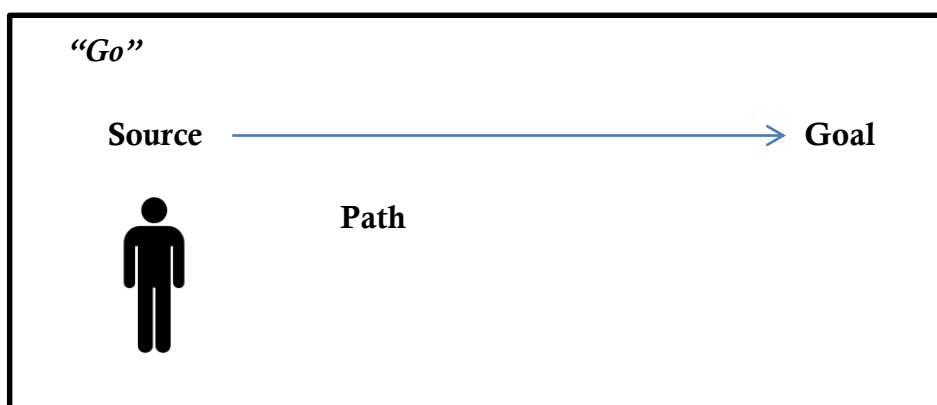
FIG.6: An Image Schema of "Go" in English
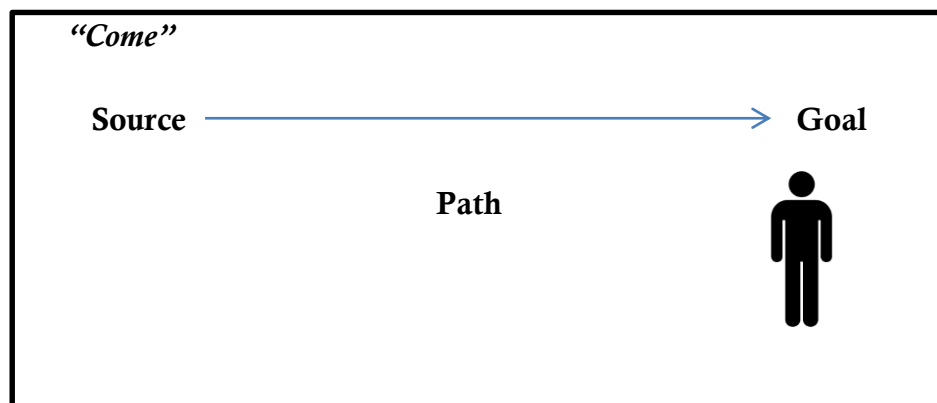
FIG.7: An Image Schema of "Come" in English showing the focus of the observer

We will return to the combination of the above approaches within section 1.4 within this chapter.

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[768] Lakoff, G., *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind,* (University of Chicago Press; Chicago, IL 1987),275.
[769] Di Meola in Lenz, *Deictic Conceptualization,* 41.

1.3 Deixis in Egyptology

As stated previously, it is often the case that deictic categories are "usually treated as self-evident" in grammars[770], this is also the case for most grammars of Ancient Egyptian. However, Loprieno describes pronouns and demonstratives in deictic terms in his *Ancient Egyptian: A linguistic introduction* [771].

In relation to the use of deictic demonstratives Sarah Groll has applied the study of pragmatics and semiotics to a number of "personal piety" texts[772]. Groll's focus lies in the differences between the specific, ego-centric nature of the *pꜣ*-A construction compared to the generic qualities of ø-A constructions[773]. Initially, Groll suggests that the *pꜣy* of Berlin 20377[774] refers to "this sanctuary" and may be taken as a deictic marker meaning that "this" sanctuary was where the stela was placed and hence implicates "here"[775]. Groll also describes the use of the definite article *pꜣ* in the same inscription as a "carrier of deictic information" [776], showing Nebre's "shift from the bystander position to the role of full participant" [777] whereby the increased use of *pꜣ* illustrates proximity to the divine. For example; the ø-A constructions present within Berlin 20377 lines 1-3 does not convey deictic information and are placed in the abstract (represented by the use of absolute infinitives)[778], whereas the *pꜣ*-A constructions within Berlin 20377 lines 10-11 show much higher specificity through the deictic information carried within *pꜣ*. This delineation may be considered in terms of implicature in that *pꜣ*-A is semantically stronger than ø-A.

Groll also examines the use of pronouns =*f* and =*k*, as deictic means of establishing face-to-face interaction. By using =*k* anaphorically, there is an implication of direct contact, whereas =*f* does not invoke such proximity[779]. "he/him" is semantically weaker than

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[770] Levinson 'Deixis' in Horn and Ward, 112.

[771] Loprieno, A., *Ancient Egyptian: A Linguistic Introduction,* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 1995)68-71. Section *4.4 Prounouns.* Loprieno also takes time to describe the evolution of demonstratives, ultimately ending with ⲡ(ⲉ) ⲧ(ⲉ) ⲛ(ⲉ) of Coptic.

[772] Groll, S. I., 'Semiotics, Pragmatics and Structuralism as a means to Determine the Degree of Connectedness between Utterances. I: *pꜣ*-A versus Ø–A', *Lingua Aegyptia* 1 (1991), 143-153.

[773] Groll, *LingAeg* 1, 149-150.

[774] The penitential stela of Nebre and Nakhtamun.

[775] Groll, *LingAeg* 1, 145.

[776] Groll, *LingAeg* 1, 145-146.

[777] Groll, *LingAeg* 1, 145.

[778] Ibid.

[779] Groll, *LingAeg* 1, 147. The differentiation between the second and third person pronoun is clear when compared to English, where the second person pronoun (you) is more direct in terms of interaction than the third person (he/she/it/they). This is partly because the Egyptian language tends when identifying nominalising participles to consider them as distinct to the thing they are identified with.

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"you" which is more specific and thus creates a Q- Implicature by saying as much as is possible. "who calls (to) him"[780] using =*f* is less personal than =*k* and by extension the direct *ntk*[781].Groll's work is a vital foundation to the following study as it shows deftly, how a close examination of deictics within a text may give more information about the perception of the divine at this time, suggesting that the divine are not perceived merely as bystanders but as the direct recipients of communication.

Whilst not utilising the terminology of deixis, Leo Depuydt successfully brings together a number of strands of research in this area, examining the semantic structures of the verbs "come" and "go"[782]. He distinguishes "come" and "go" as marked and unmarked lexemes, wherein "come" relates move-to-me-and-or-to-you and "go" relates move-NOT-to-me-NOR-to-you[783], after all, "it seems reasonable to assume that human beings attach some importance to motion approaching themselves"[784]. This assumption emphasises an egocentric element, suggesting that Depuydt interprets the individual as the deictic centre.

Winand[785] has also addressed the link between *iy/iw* and *šm* [786] noting their specified meanings. His study focusses upon the distinctions between *iy* and *iw*, which he concludes share a semantic meaning but are morphologically different[787]. It is probable that they originally had similar but neighbouring semantic ranges and differing graphic form, which, over time was reduced to graphic variance solely as they became synonyms. Winand has also suggested that *iy* and *šm* may represent marked and unmarked motion in a way similar to the French "allé" and "venir", that it may be possible that Sm is utilised when the deictic centre is not clear.

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[780] Berlin 20377, line 15-16. Groll, *LingAeg* 1, 147.
[781] Groll *LingAeg* 1, 148 Berlin 20377, line 14.
[782] Depuydt, L., 'The Semantic Structure of *jw-ei* 'Come' and *šm*-bōk 'Go'', in W. K. Simpson (ed.) *Essays on Egyptian Grammar,* 1 (Yale University Press; New Haven, CT 1986), 22-30.
[783] Depuydt in *Essays on Grammar,* 27.
[784] Depuydt in *Essays on Grammar,* 29.
[785] Winand, J., 'Le verbe *iy/iw*: Unité morphologique et sémantique', *Lingua Aegyptia* 1 (1991), 357-387.
[786] Particularly: Winand *LingAeg* 1, 362-363 where he presents a number of examples in which both appear side by side.
[787] Winand *LingAeg* 1, 383-384.

Peust has also examined the conjugation patterns of go-type verbs within Egyptian [788] and Lincke is currently researching the use of verbal deixis in Sahidic Coptic, focussing upon motion events utilising "come" and "go"[789].

The linguist and anthropologist, Edgar Gregersen, has provided the only published explicit treatise of the concept of deixis within Ancient Egyptian[790], focussing upon the presentation of a number of exemplars for the lexical pairings of *left/right, come/gsmno* and *in front of/ behind* (based upon the work of Hill[791]) as well as the notion of deictic centre shifting. Whilst the paper gives an overview of the lexical differences present in Egyptian[792], its strength lies in its treatment of the verbs *iw* and *šm*. A precise example of this treatment is a section of the Late Egyptian story, *The Tale of the Two Brothers.*

P. d'Orbiney (P. BM EA 10183): *The Tale of the Two Brothers* (13,5-13,6):

"...and he spent three years seeking it without finding it. Now, that was four years, when his heart desired to **COME** (back) to Egypt, and he said 'I shall **GO** tomorrow' so he said in his heart"[793]

(13,5) *iw=f ir 3 rnpwt n wḫ3=f nn gm=f*

ḫr-ir šsp.n=f t3 nty 4 rnpwt

iw ḫ3ty=f 3b(i) **iit** *r kmt*

(13,6) *iw=f ḥr ḏd iw=i (r)* **šmt** *n=i dw3w*

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[788] Peust, C., 'Die Konjugation des Verbs für "gehen" im Neuägyptischen', *Göttinger Miszellen* 212 (2007), 67-80.

[789] Papers presented at *Crossroads: Whence and Whither? Egyptian-Coptic Linguistics in Comparative Perspectives,* Berlin, 17-20th February 2016 and *Temps et espace en Égypte ancienne/ Time and Space in Ancient Egypt*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 9-11th June 2016.

[790] Gregersen, E. A., 'Deixis in Ancient Egyptian', in Z. Hawass (ed.) *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000* III (American University in Cairo Press; Cairo 2003), 213-217 Notably, it appears that this work is Gregersen's only foray into Egyptology, who has since preferred the areas of cultural and sexual anthropology.

[791] Hill, C., 'Up/down, front/back, left/right: a Contrastive Study of Hausa and English', in J. Weissenborn and W. Klein (eds.) *Here and There: Cross-linguistic Studies on Deixis and Demonstration,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 1982), 13-42.

[792] See: Gregersen, 'Deixis in Ancient Egyptian', 215. This includes discussion on the concept of left/right and also the Egyptian perception of front/back as expressed through words associated with the head.

[793] Gregersen, 'Deixis in Ancient Egyptian', 213-14 translates this passage as "When Anubis had spent three years in Asia then he was seized with the wish to COME back to Egypt, and he thought in his heart: 'Tomorrow I GO forth'".
Winand *LingAeg* 1, 362-363 a number of other instances as examples for the use of both "come" and "go" within Egyptian utterances.

i̓.n=f m ḫ3ty=f [794]

[hieroglyphs] (13,5)

[hieroglyphs]

[hieroglyphs]

[hieroglyphs] (13,6)

[hieroglyphs] [795]

Gregersen utilises this passage as it illustrates the shift of the deictic centre between the narrator residing in Egypt ("come") and Anubis, residing outside of Egypt at the time ("go")[796]. He also presents a number of instances found within two Letters to the Dead, and epistolary material dating from between the Eleventh and Twentieth Dynasties which show similar deictic characteristics[797].

Research is continuing in this area, specifically in the work of the TOPOI group, in their project area "Deixis and frames of reference: Strategies of perspectivation in language, text, and image"[798](also known as C-1 of the TOPOI project). This project aims to "determine the various types of interactions between visual and linguistic information and to develop a unified method for describing and analyzing them"[799]. It may be noted that in examining the interactions between visual and linguistic elements, a large amount of the research involved with Egyptian material is focussed upon corpora such as the Underworld books. Assessing material from a different culture, Lidewij van de Peut is in the process of completing a thesis which focusses on the way in which, within Akkadian

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[794] For a full transcription, see: Gardiner, A. H., *Late Egyptian Stories,* (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth; Brussels 1932)9-29. The use of the ethic dative in relation to the deictic verb is an area in which research may be fruitfully developed. Within this passage and others, it may be the case that the use of this form may further enhance the understanding of the use of the deictic verb in relation to telic choice and cognition.

[795] Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories,* 23.

[796] Gregersen, 'Deixis in Ancient Egyptian', 214.

[797] Gregersen, 'Deixis in Ancient Egyptian', 214-15.

[798] For more information, see: http://www.topoi.org/group/c-1/ Accessed: 24/07/2013. This developed from the previous project of "Spaces in Language" (C-I-1) See: http://www.topoi.org/group/c-i-1-topoi-1/ Accessed:24/07/2013.

[799] Ibid.

and Hittite prayers, "the person reciting the prayer uses speech to direct the attention of the addressed supernatural being in such a way that it is beneficiary to the supplicant." [800] Without doubt, this project has the potential to make some apt cross-cultural points with regards to the linguistic nature of prayer. As such, the current study fits neatly into a wider discourse of the use of deixis to examine perception within dead languages.

1.4 Methodology and Aims

Whilst the interpretations of Di Meola and Levinson do not contain the number of caveats common in Fillmore's work, all three approaches provide useful and complimentary ways of assessing the use of "come" and "go". There is no fundamental contradiction between these approaches, so they may validly by applied simultaneously. Limiting the differentiations between these two verbs, to a combination of SOURCE versus GOAL and Q-scalar implicature based upon telicity of the two verbs does not give voice to the deictic elements- particularly the notion of deictic centre/origo and of deictic projection and vice versa. As such this study will apply a combination of these three theories[801] to the Egyptian sources, as each provide a specific, further understanding of the utterance. To illustrate this approach, what follows is an example from *The Tale of the Doomed Prince* (P.BM.EA 10060 vs.4,8 [802]):

"Who/what is **going**[803] behind the old man who is **coming** on the road?"

(vs. 4,8) *iḫ pꜣ nty ḥr šm m-sꜣ pꜣ s ꜥꜣ nty m ii ḥr tꜣ mit*

𓄿𓏲𓏰𓄿𓂋𓄿𓏲𓃰𓏤𓄿𓏲𓏌𓏙 **(vs.4,8)**

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[801] For purposes of clarity, these approaches are listed below.
    Levinson: Telicity
    Di Meola: SOURCE vs GOAL
    Bühler/Fillmore/Lyons (Deixis Tradition): Deictic Centre/Origo and Deictic Projection
[802] Gardiner *LES,* 2. The papyrus is also known as P.Harris 500. For a full translation, see: Wente, E. F., 'The Tale of the Doomed Prince', in W. K. Simpson (ed.) *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry,* (Yale University Press; New Haven, CT 2003), 75-79. Depuydt attributes this passage to P.d'Orbiney.
[803] Wente in Simpson *The Literature of Ancient Egypt,* 76 translates this phrase as "walking behind".

Depuydt employs this example in order to illustrate that "come" and "go" are not merely antonyms. In the passage, the Prince is aware of the man's movement and likely his GOAL (following Di Meola) so the verb *ii* ("come") is used, whereas he is unaware of the nature of the figure (a dog) behind the man and the figure's GOAL so the semantically weaker *šm* is used. The man's movement is also the focus of the Prince, whilst the dog is moving towards the speaker; this is not the most relevant feature of the dog's movement, which is that it is following the man. Following Levinson, we may opine that the movement of the man shows a telic difference to that of the dog as it is more fully understood by the speaker (the prince). Finally, we may also examine the deictic centres utilised: the deictic centre when referring to the man is the speaker. The deictic centre used in reference to the dog may can either be viewed as the speaker as the man is utilised as *relatum* (via *m-sꜣ*). On the other hand, the motion of the dog, through the use of *šm*, suggests a deictic projection to the man as deictic centre.

This passage also clearly iterates the attentional aspect of deixis. It is possible that the telic differences between "come" and "go" in Egyptian may also have some relationship to the level of visibility of the character, i.e. if the speaker is the deictic centre as well as the GOAL then it is highly likely that the movement towards them would be clearly within their field of vision. There are other languages which express spatial deixis based upon levels of visibility- such as Kashmiri, Moroccan Arabic as well as a number of Amerindian languages[804].

Utilising sources detailed within *Intoduction* section 1.4, each instance showing deictic verbs of motion related to the divine – either directly or by contextual information will be assessed through the pragmatic context of deixis and implicature[805]. Each instance forms part of human rhetoric to describe divine movement, in other words, they are used in personal invocations or to describe divine movement in relation to the individual. The verbs on which this study focuses are *iw/ii*[806], *šm,* and *pr(i)*. Each of these verbs expresses

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[804] Huang *Pragmatics,* 156.

[805] The verbs included for study include *iw, šm* and *pr(i)*, as well as other verbs of motion used in reference to the divine.

[806] *iw* and *iy* are often considered as two verbs, however, Winand has shown that whilst they show morphological variances, they do not show any semantic differences. Winand *LingAeg* 1, 38.

a true motion event[807]/translational motion[808] (motion in which a body moves from one point to another). ꜥnn and other phrases describing "turning" that are present within the gathered sources are included *a posteriori*. Based upon the concept of lexical pairing within languages (likely highly influenced by my own native language of English), I had hypothesised that *šm* may be viewed as an antithesis to *iw/ii*, however, based upon experimental data, as well as considerations outlined in section 1.3 of this chapter, it became clear that this was not the case. As such ꜥnn and related expressions which relate rotational motion in a deictic manner[809] (through marked and unmarked lexemes) are also included.

Whilst the details of the organisation of the *Duat* and content of speeches within the underworld texts may benefit from deictic analysis, as noted within the introduction, movement within these compositions are not examined, as this thesis is focussed upon *dieseitsorientiert* texts.

Elements from oracular texts which describe divine motion within the framework set out above are included within this study. For example, when the oracle is invoked using *iw/ii* or described as turning will be examined in detail as oracular consultation forms part of divine interaction with humanity, utilising the same lexicon as within other texts. Those verbs describing the mechanics of oracular consultation through word such as "nod/bow down" (*ḥn*)[810] and "stop/remain/stay" (*smn*)[811] are not examined[812]. If we are to understand *ḥn* as "nod", nodding is an internal motion (within the axis), and whilst it describes a spatial movement, it does not carry deictic information. Stopping is a cessation of motion and again does not in itself communicate deictic information. In each of these constructions, further information has to be provided by prepositional phrases in order to

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[807] i.e. it is translocational.

[808] See: Goddard, C., 'The Semantics of Coming and Going', *Pragmatics* 7 (1997), 147-162.

[809] The question of whether "turn" is deictic or not was raised within discussion at *Temps et espace en Égypte ancienne/ Time and Space in Ancient Egypt*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 9-11th June 2016, it appears that the perception of such verbs is highly influenced by personal native language. The author takes the position that if turning towards/away, this motion can only be understood in terms of the view of the speaker as it relies on their perception of the face or the back of the head which would not be perceived by a separate observer.

[810] *Wb* II, 494 and Lesko *Late Egyptian Dictionary* I, 288.

[811] Lesko *Late Egyptian Dictionary* II, 41-42.

[812] See: Č erný, J., 'Egyptian Oracles', in R. A. Parker (ed.) *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3),* (Brown University Press; Providence, RI 1962), 35-48.

be truly deictic. Furthermore, the less frequent expressions, such as *nꜥy n ḥꜣ*[813], which may also entail movement of the oracle are not examined.

Similarly, formulations which include the verb *bsi* "introduce/pour forth"[814] which describe movement between two realms (according to Kruchten[815]) will not be assessed. This is partially as the verb is not necessarily deictic in nature but also due to its absence in the collected sources which as noted above deal with interaction within this world. If Kruchten's hypothesis is correct, it is possible that the divine may be described using this verb, as such a fuller examination of this hypothesis and the use of the verb would be productive.

Of course, deictic verbs in relation to the divine (*die Ankunft Gottes*), are attested before the corpus studied for this thesis. What follows are a few illustrative examples of such usage to describe how it differs or acts as an antecedent to what is examined within this chapter.

Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor (P.St Petersburg 1115A)[816]
 "…and I found it was a serpent that was **coming**"
(61) *gm.n=i ḥfꜣw* **(62)** *pw iw=f m iit*

This theophanic entrance also conforms to the premise in which "come" (as *iw*), relates the movement towards the deictic centre -the Snake towards the narrator. This choice of verb clearly reflects the viewpoint of the speaker. Whilst sharing deictic qualities, this theophany differs greatly from the examples which are to be examined within this chapter as it takes place within the liminal zone of the island within the tale. The island is made manifest in order to save the sailor only to sink back into the sea. Though divine intervention is part of expedition texts (fictional and non-fictional)[817], it is clear that the

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[813] Cerný in *A Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 44.

[814] *Wb* I, 473, 1-18.

[815] Kruchten, J.-M., *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIIIème dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs a l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon,* (Departement orientalistiek; Leuven 1989), 147-204.

[816] Transcription: Blackman, A. M., *Middle Egyptian Stories,* (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth; Brussels 1932),41-48. Translation: Lichtheim *AEL* I, 211-215.

[817] Enmarch, R., 'Of Spice and Mine: The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor and Middle Kingdom Expedition Inscriptions', in F. Hagen, J. Johnston, W. Monkhouse, K. Piquette, J. Tait and M. Worthington (eds.) *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and Linguistic Approaches,* (Peeters; Leuven 2011), 97-121 with special reference to 107-111.

experiences of the sailor do not conform to the norms of the rest of the world[818] due to it's explicitly fictional discourse, unlike the late New Kingdom corpus studied within this thesis.

Hymn to Hapi

"Hail Hapi, going out from the earth, **coming** to bring Egypt to life"

*ind ḥr=k ḥꜥpi pr m tꜣ **iy** r sꜥnḫ kmt*

𓇋𓈖𓆓𓊵𓏤𓎛𓂝𓊪𓏭𓈗𓉐𓂋𓅓𓇾𓈖𓏥𓂻𓂋𓋴𓋹𓈖𓆱𓈙𓅓𓊖 [819]

Whilst this text is preserved in New Kingdom copies, based upon the language used, it has been suggested that this hymn was a Middle Kingdom composition[820], however, Stauder[821] and van der Plas[822] have argued convincingly for an early 18th Dynasty date of composition based upon multiple factors including; elements of a New Kingdom theology and linguistic factors. Throughout the hymn, the deictic centre appears to be framed as Egypt as a whole rather than a single individual, as is the case for the late New Kingdom examples gathered in this chapter.

An analogous phrase is also exploited within the Coffin Text corpus, where Hapi speaks in order to say:

"**I have come** as King with the sceptre in my arm, with the seal in my arm, travelling within a cloud"[823]

ii.k(w) m nsw sḫm m ꜥ=i sꜥḥ m ꜥ=i skd=i m-ḫnw igp

𓇋𓇋𓎡𓅱𓏏𓅓𓇓𓏤𓌂𓅓𓂝𓏭𓋴𓅭𓇳𓅓𓂝𓏭𓋴�𓅱𓏏𓅓𓏌𓅱𓇋𓎼𓊪𓅆

Of the variant instances of the verb *ii/iw* within the Coffin Text corpus listed by van Der Molen[824] there a no instances which describe divine motion towards a human individual.

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[818] e.g. the presence of a giant talking snake.

[819] For a full transcription, see: Helck, W., *Der Text des 'Nilhymnus'*, (Harrassowitz; Wiesbaden 1972)

[820] See: Quirke *Egyptian Literature 1800BC,* 199 and Assmann, J., 'Nilhymnus', in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.) *Lexikon der Ägyptologie,* IV 1982), 490-496.

[821] Stauder, A., *Linguistic Dating of Middle Egyptian Literary Texts: "Dating Egyptian Literary Texts" Göttingen, 9-12 June 2010,* (Widmaier Verlag; Hamburg 2013).

[822] van der Plas, D., 'Dating the Hymn to Hapi: An Update of the Late Date', in G. Moers, K. Widmaier, A. Giewekemeyer, A. Lümers and R. Ernst (eds.) *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts,* (Widmaier; Hamburg 2013),

[823] *CT* IV, 125b-c (S1C) Spell 317.

[824] van Der Molen, R., *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts,* (Brill; Leiden 2000), 16-17 and 20.

In both instances relating to Hapi the verb *iw/ii* is utilised thus showing his movement from an unknown SOURCE (though travelling within a cloud) towards a known GOAL (Egypt).

The Poetical Stela of Tuthmose III (CG 34010)[825]

So called due to its structural use of two anaphoric phrases (detailed below)- The Poetical Stela of Tuthmose III, includes a prologue of twelve lines, which is followed by eleven strophes written in a Hymnic style. The inscription is concluded with a three-line epilogue. The stela is visually anaphoric also[826], utilising the "graphic device of stichic writing"[827] to visually delineate the content of the hymn to the rest of the inscription. The pervasive use of "sign-for-sign" anaphora within this inscription has lead Ogden Goelet to describe this as a "tour de force"[828]. As "repetition was hardly considered a stylistic sin"[829] this anaphoric style is also echoed other texts examined within this study, particularly in a Hymn to Amun partially preserved in P.Chester Beatty XI, which is examined later in this chapter (ex.11).

Each of the eleven lines of the hymn in the middle of the inscription contain two anaphoric phrases, in the first, the god Amun-Re states that:

"**I came** to allow you to crush/tread on *X*"

ii.n=i *di=i titi=k* *X*

 X

Within the same strophe pattern, the second anaphora provides further explanation as to what Amun-Re will cause to happen for the King, as the addressee of the speech:

"I let them see your majesty as *Y* "

di=i mȝ=sn ḥm=k m Y

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[825] Transcription: Sethe, K., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie Zweiter Band,* (J.C.Hinrichs; Leipzig 1906), 610-619 and Lacau, P., *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Stèles du Nouvel Empire,,* (Service des Antiquites de l'Egypte; Cairo 1909),17-21 and Pl.VII. Translation: Lichtheim *AEL* II, 35-39.
[826] See: Lacau *Stèles du Nouvel Empire,* Pl.VII.
[827] *AEL* II, 35.
[828] Goelet, O., 'The Anaphoric Style in Egyptian Hymnody', *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 28 (2002), 75-89.
[829] Goelet, *JSSEA* 28, 75.

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Y

This inscription is all framed as a divine speech to the King within the sanctuary, describing his actions to maintain the King's rule and to defeat Egypt's enemies. Within the first lines of the inscription (Prologue) in the voice of Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands describes the King's approach to him:

"**You came** to me…"

ii.ti n=i

In this utterance, the God is the GOAL but the deictic centre is projected to the King. Compared to the strophe pattern of the hymn, the inclusion of the verb *ii* also represents a GOAL orientated movement though with the roles reversed. Similarly, in these cases, the deictic centre is the egocentric one in the form of the speaker which is Amun-Re. Referring to all instances in this inscription utilising "come", the aim of the movement is known, thus fulfilling the telic differences as posited by Levinson.

This particular style of inscription was late adopted by Amenhotep III[830], Seti I and Ramesses III[831]. Notable instances of Royal Hymn's which include anaphoric formulae[832] include the Hymns of Senusret III[833], the "Israel Stela" of Merenptah and a number of stelae dating to the reign of Ramesses II[834]. Importantly within part four of the cycle of Hymns to Senusret III[835], the anaphora is referring to the King *ii.n=f* "He has come…" (page 3, 1-10), this very closely parallels the instances describing Amun within the *Poetical Stela* of Tuthmose III. This shows once again the overlap between gods and kings in

[830] *URK* IV, 1646 and translation *AEL* II, 46-47. Notably, instead of utilising a verb of motion the anaphoric phrase used to introduce stropes is *di=i ḥr=i*.
[831] *AEL* II, 35.
[832] Goelet, *JSSEA* 28, 79-80.
[833] Collier, M. A. and Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical,* (Archaeopress; Oxford 2004)
[834] For "typographic" anaphora, see: "Rhetorical" stela, "Zig Zag" stela and the Hittite marriage inscription of Ramesses II. Goelet, *JSSEA* 28, 89.
[835] P. UC 32157 (P.Lahun LV.1. Collier, M. A. and Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical,* (Archaeopress; Oxford 2004)18, Images: CD-ROM UC32157-pages2-3-f-RI and UC32157-pages2-3-f-CE Transcription: CD-ROM T32157col2TO and T32157col2BO as well as unnumbered plate.

Egyptian culture, as least, in earlier periods. In the case of the Hymns to Senusret III, the GOAL appears to be Egypt itself, showing the King's aim as being rule over the country and the establishing of set ideals such as burial of the old and the defeat of foreign enemies.

In relation to the following study, none of the examples presented above place the non-divine individual in the position of GOAL in respect to divine motion. Instead the country is placed as the GOAL for gods and kings, or the King as a GOAL for the divine. As such the non-royal individual is not a focal point of such divine interaction. The instances examined within this study express an understanding of divine interaction in a pragmatic manner in relation to the individual.

2.0 The Corpus

2.1 Hieratic Sources

2.1.1 EPISTOLARY

Example 1: O.Berlin 11247

Recto

Said by the draftsman Pay to his son, the draftsman Pre[…[836]]:

'Don't turn your back on me, for I'm not well. Don't be s[paring] in tears for me because I am in the […] **my Lord Amun's back is towards me!'**

(rt.1) *ḏd in sš-ḳd pꜣy n sꜣ=f sš-ḳd pꜣ-rꜥ* [3 groups]

(rt. 2) *m ir ḫꜣꜥ ḥꜣ=k r=i nn tw=i m sš*

*m-ir g[ꜣw]***(rt. 3)** *m rmyt n=i pꜣ-wn tw=i m pꜣ* [approx. 2 groups]

(rt. 4) *nb=i imn ḥꜣ=f r=i*

(rt. 2 Instance)

(rt. 4 Instance)

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[836] K*RI* III, 533 restores *ḥtp* to make the recipient of this letter Prehotep. However, as Pay(i) also had a son named Preemhab (i) who was also a draftsman so both sons have the potential to be the recipient of this letter. cf. Davies *Who's who at Deir el Medina*, 149.

Discussion:

Our first example provides two instances where an individual's back being towards the speaker is described. From the start of this letter, it is clear that Pay is distressed (later on in the letter, Pay also asks "Am I not your father?!" vs.5) to such a point where the attention of his son is requested saying: *m-ir ḫ3ꜥ ḫ3=k r=i* (rt.2). The combination of the verb *ḫ3ꜥ* [837] and *ḫ3* [838] may be understood only in terms of the speaker's view, and thus may be seen as deictic as this would require the speaker (as deictic centre) to be viewing the back of another. The idea of having turned your back to someone provides a clear representation of a lack of attention, whereby, the eyes of the addressee are not focussed upon the speaker. This phraseology is also present within two other ostraca from the village of Deir el-Medina and both involve at least one member of the family of Pay (i)[839], they are as follows:

O. Černý 19[840] (vs. 5-6)

From the draftsman Pay to his son, the draftsman Preemhab.

"Do not turn your back on anything that I have told you"

(vs.5) *m-ir ḫ3ꜥ ḫ3=k r p3***(vs.6)** *i-ḏd=i n=k nbt*

And

O. W.M. Staring[841] (vs.4-5)

From the draftsman Ipuy to the draftsman [Pre]emhab.

"Do not turn your back on us, so that you could cheat us"

(vs.4) *m-ir ḫ3ꜥ ḫ3=k r=n*[842] *i.***(vs.5)** *g3bw=k n=n*

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[837] *Wb* III, 227.18.
[838] *Wb* III, 8-13.
[839] Davies, *Who's who at Deir el-Medina,* Chart 10.
[840] For transcription see: K*RI* III, 533-534, and *HO* I, LIV. For full translation, see: *RITA* III, 373.
[841] For transcription see: K*RI* III, 541-542, and *HO* I, LIV. For full translation, see: *RITA* III, 376.
[842] Likely an unetymological writing of *r=n* expressed as *i.ir.n=n*.

Indeed, it is possible that all three of these letters could have been addressed to Preemhab (it may be that he was either exceptionally forgetful or fickle). The context of all three of these instances shows clearly that this phrase is an attentional one, functioning as a deictic marker within text as it can only be understood from Pay's viewpoint. O. Berlin 11247 requesting the attention of a son to an ill parent, O. Černý 19 requesting Preemhab's attention in a number of errands and O. W.M. Staring requesting attention to property (an ox). These examples of phraseology provide a clear example of lexical common ground within the community of Deir el-Medina, necessary for clear communication. A more complicated proposition it that this phraseology may be an example of a specific village or familial idiolect (Pay's family is after all one of the first generations of workers). However, this hypothesis requires further examination, for the moment and particularly for the focus of this study, it is more important that the same phraseology is being utilised in reference to divine and human characters alike.

Within rt.4 it may be seen that instead of requesting action, it states that Amun's back to Pay using the adverbial phrase: *nb=i imn ḥȝ=f r=i* [843]. Kitchen has translated this passage as "Amun [car]es about me."[844], Keller also suggests "my lord Amun is protecting me!"[845]. However, I have yet to find a convincing reason to read *ḥȝ* as *ḥȝ-ib* meaning "care" in this case, such a reading would this require emmendation, as there is no damage to the text at this point. Similarly, the writing of *ḥȝ* is identical and fully determined in rt.2 as well as rt.4, hence the surviving determinatives do not fit with such a reading.

Given the context of the requests noted above to "not turn your back" the idea that Amun's back is towards Pay and thus he *has* already turned, implying that the god is not providing the attention expected of him. Pay does not state why Amun would have neglected him, though it is not unusual for the offence to go unmentioned within other texts dealing within divine punishment, as such this may be an ill man's causal thinking[846], in that he needed to attribute some cause to the illness which requires such an eye salve as described upon the verso.

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[843] For the use of *ḥȝ* as a noun see *Wb* III, 8.5-9, which provides the meanings: Rückseite; Hinterseite; Außenseite; das Hinten; Hinterkopf
[844] *RITA* III, 372.
[845] Keller in *Servant of Mut,* 152.
[846] Groll, *LingAeg* 1, 150.

It is tempting to relate this physical ailment to the "darkness" (*kkw*) of the Penitential Stelae[847] and to restore "darkness" to the lacuna of rt.3, in order to read "Do not be sparing in tears for me, for I am in the darkness" as McDowell and Wente have speculated[848]. This ostracon may be dated closely to the penitential stelae, as not only do a number of the stelae originate within the same family- Berlin 20377 was dedicated to Pay's grandson Nakhtamun by his son Nebre, Turin N 50042 is dedicated directly by Pay and Turin N 50052 was dedicated by Pay to his mother Wadjronpet. Furthermore, there is also a relationship between Pay's son Prehotep and Neferabu (BM EA 589 and Turin N 50058), as Prehotep married into the family of Neferronpet[849].

2.1.2 ORACULAR

Example 2: P. BM EA 10335
 rt.1-3

Regnal year 2, month 3[850] of Akhet, day 1.

Then the servant Amunemwia called to Amun of Pa-Khenty during his good festival- the *ipt* festival, **saying:**

'Come [to me Amun] of Pa-[Kh]enty, my good and beloved lord. The Overseer of the Cattle of the altar caused me to stand here in Pa-Khenty-Kheru guarding his granary and securing his taxes, one came to me at noon and stole five coloured tunics from me. My good and beloved lord, will you have their theft given back to me?'

Then the god nodded (*hn*) greatly.

(rt.1) *rnpt-sp 2 ꜣbd 3 ꜣḫt sw 1*

ꜥḥꜥ.n ꜥš. n sḏmw imn-m-wiꜣ n imn pꜣ ḫnty m ḥb=f nfr ḥb-ipt

ḏd=f mi [*n=i imn*]   **(rt.2)**   *pꜣ*[*ḫ*]*nty pꜣy=i nb nfr mr*

di=i pꜣ m-r iwꜣw n tꜣ ḫꜣwt ꜥḥꜥ=i dmi m pꜣ-ḫnty-ḫrw ḥr sꜣw tꜣy=f snwt šdw tꜣy=f šꜣyw

tw-tw iw **(rt.3)** *r=i m mtrt iṯꜣwt sšt ms 5 m-di=i*

pꜣy=i nb nfr mr iw=k di=i pꜣy=w iṯꜣwt

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[847] See: Galán, J. M., 'Seeing Darkness', *Chronique d'Égypte* 74 (1999), 18-30.
[848] See: McDowell, *Village Life,* 55. And Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt,* 185.
[849] See: Davies, *Who's who at Deir el-Medina,* Chart 11.
[850] The transcriptions of Kitchen (K*RI* VII, 416) and Dawson (*JEA*, 11, 3/4, pl.XXXV) vary as to the number of strokes here. Making this either month 3 or 4, however, given the persuasive note of Blackman (*JEA,* 11, 3/4, 250, note 3) I am inclined to read "month 3" due to the mainly standardised dates of the *ipt* festival during this period.

ʿḥʿ.n pȝ nṯr hn r wrw

(rt.1-2 Instance)

 (rt.1-2)

vs.1-vs.5

He stood [851] again, standing in the presence of Amun of Pa-Khenty, during his good festival- the Khoiak Festival. **For a third time, he called, saying: 'Come to me Amun of Pa-Khenty, my good and beloved lord.** Is it I who took the clothes'. Then the god nodded (*hn*) very greatly again to him

(vs.1) *ʿḥʿ=f wḥm sp ʿ ḥʿ m-bȝh imn pȝ-ḫnty*
(vs.2) *m ḥb=f nfr kȝ-ḥr [-kȝ]*
r mḥ 3 sp
(vs.3) *iw=f ʿš r-ḏd mi n=i imn pȝ-ḫnty* **(vs.4)** *pȝy=i nb nfr mr*
n ink iṯȝ **(vs.5)** *ḥbsw*
ʿḥʿ.n pȝ nṯr hn r wr sp sn r=f
(vs.3 Instance)

 (vs.3)

Discussion:

In both invocations, the speaker is shown as the deictic centre of the utterance, not only through the use of a come-type verb but also through the lexicalised "to me"[852]. Outside of these invocations, the other deictic verbs of motion within this particular text describing deictic movement are reserved for the description of non-divine characters. Two of these instances expand upon the telic division of the verbs *iw* and *šm*. The first of these comes in reference to the thief of the garments, Amunemwia states that "one came to me at noon" *tw iw r=i m mtrt* (rt.2-3), indicating that his location (and the garments) were the GOAL

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[851] Assumedly, the "he" in this case is referring to Patjauemdiamun, who at this point in the text has petitioned to Amun of Ta-Shenyt and been returned to Amun of Pa-Khenty for a final judgement.
[852] The use of "me" may be read as a representation of person deixis. The use of person deixis within religious texts is certainly an area which could be expanded, though this study focuses upon spatial deixis through motion verbs.

of the thief's movement. Later in the text, Patjauemdiamun's movement before Amun of Ta-Shenyt is described using the verb *šm* (rt.5). In this case, the SOURCE of Patjauemdiamun's movement is known (telic difference)- hence this is the focus of the utterance and the verb *šm* is utilised. In reference to the use of the verb *šm*, there may also be some element of social deixis (based upon relationships) insofar as decorum may dictate that the god is more powerful and hence needs to be approached- perhaps a case of "if the mountain won't come to Mohammed". This being said, within this text, the divine are not said to go (*šm*) but are only requested to come (*iw*), whilst non-divine characters perform both verbs. This goes further to suggest the differentiation between these two verbs is based upon telic differences centred on the known GOAL and SOURCE of the specific utterances.

Example 3: O. BM EA 5625

rt.1-7

On this day, the workman Qenna- son of Siwadjyt, reported to King Amenhotep, the lord l.p.h of the village, **saying: 'Come to me, my good lord!** I am the one who rebuilt the chapel of the workman Pakhal when it was collapsed.' Now, look, the workman Merysekhmet son of Menna does not allow me to dwell in it, saying: 'It is the god who said to me to share it with you'.

(rt.1) *hrw pn smi* **(rt.2)** *rmṯ-ist ḳnnꜣ sꜣ sꜣ-wꜣḏyt n nsw imn-ḥtpw* **(rt.3)** *pꜣ nb ꜥ.w.s pꜣ dmi*
m-ḏd mi n=i pꜣy=i nb nfr
(rt.4) *ink i.ḳd pꜣ ḫnw n rmṯ-ist pꜣ-ḫꜣ-rw* **(rt.5)** *iw=f hn*
ḫr ptr bw ir rmṯ-ist **(rt.6)** *mr-sḫmt sꜣ mnnꜣ dit rḫ ḥms im=f*
r-ḏd m **(rt.7)** *pꜣ nṯr i.ḏd n=i pš −sw irm=k*
 (rt.3 instance)

Discussion:
The text provides a second instance of the use of deictics within an oracular context. In this case, the oracular consultation concerns the behaviour of one of Deir el-Medina's local

rogues, the serial adulterer[853] Merysekhmet son of Menna. In this case his crime was the appropriation of a recently restored chapel- that of the workman Pakhal which had been rebuilt by the plaintiff- Qenna. In a similar manner to the previous example (ex.2), we see the invocation **"Come to me, my good lord!"** (rt.3), in this case the oracle in question is the deified King Amenhotep I, the event taking place during a religious festival[854]. It would appear thus, that the use of the imperative form of *iw* in relation to the divine- in their form as an oracle- is used in an attentional manner, i.e. as a request for divine consideration. In this utterance the speaker (the plaintiff) functions as the deictic centre, focusing the movement of the divine. Despite Merysekhmet's prevarications, the god states that the chapel belongs to Qenna and that it should be returned to him. In the end, Merysekhmet is more fortunate than Patjauemdiamun (in ex.2) as he did not receive a beating for his wrongdoings.

2.1.3 GRAFFITI

Example 4: Graffito of Pawah in the tomb of Pairi

19-23

Turn yourself to us, O Lord of Eternity.

You were here (before), anything had come into being.

You are here when they[855] are gone[856].

(19) *ꜥn(n)-tw*[857] *n=n pꜣ nb nḥḥ*

wn=k dy iw bw **(20)** *ḫprt*

iw=k dy iw=w ḥnw

(19 instance)

 (19)

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[853] For transcriptions: K*RI* V, 578-579 and Allam *HOP,* 301-302, for a full translation, see also: McDowell *Village Life,* 47-49.

[854] Blackman *JEA* 12, 3/4,183.

[855] Who "they" are is unclear. Assmann *Oracular Desire*, 18 interprets the references to "they" and "them" as the instigators and followers of the Aten centred religion of the Amarna period. Whilst this is possible, it may be more likely that "they" refers to other gods as a way of expressing the primacry of Amun in the view of Pawah; this would mean that Amun was the first god and that he will out last all others.

[856] *Wb* III, 103.

[857] *passim* Gardiner *JEA* 14, 11 understanding an error between the dependent pronoun *-tw* and the suffix pronoun *=tn* this seems likely givne the context in which the god is being addressed.

You have caused me to see darkness of your causing.

Enlighten me, so that I may see you.

As your Ka endures, your perfect, beloved face will endure.

You will come from afar so that you may allow your servant, the scribe Pawah to see you.

di=k ptr=i kkw **(21)** *n dd=k*

sḥḏ n=i m33=(i) tn

w3ḥ k3=k **(22)** *w3ḥ p3y=k ḥr nfr mr*

iw=k r iy m w3w **(23)** *di=k ptr-tw b3k im sš p3-w3ḥ*

(22-23 Instance)

 (22)

 (23)

Discussion:

After a passage of the praising of Amun, the *wab* priest Pawah invokes the god to **"Turn to us, O Lord of Eternity."** (line 19). Assmann amends the text in order to translate "turn your face towards us"[858], likely based upon his focus upon the face of god within other texts[859] (including line 21-22 of the Pawah graffito). It is clear that line 19 of the graffito is corrupt, either missing *ḥr* (Assmann) or as an error for *-tw* (Gardiner). The meaning of the verb *ʿnn* "turn"[860] is a clearly attentional as it would inherrently mark a shift from the back of the head to the face or vice versa hence the use of the reversed legs determinative (GSL D55).

A similar phraseology is utilised within the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun (ex.24). If it were the case that this phraseology was present solely within those texts which may be

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[858] Assmann *Ocular Desire,* 15.
[859] This may be due to other instances where individuals are asked to give their face to a matter or a person as a way of expressing attention. For example: O.IFAO inv.2181 rt.7-8 *imi ḥr=k n p3 dm rn=k imn* "Give your face (your attention) to one pronouncing your name, Amun". See: Posener, G., 'Amon juge du pauvre', in A. e.-M. J. Abubakr (ed.) *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke* 12 (Steiner; Wiesbaden 1971), 59-63.
[860] *Wb*, I, 188-189.

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dated to the period directly post-Amarna, then it may be possible to suggest that this phraseology was specific to that context. However, this is apparently not the case, as ʿnn is also utilised within the inscriptions of Berlin 20377[861] (11-12) dated to the early part of the reign of Ramesses II.

If we compare this instance to the instances found within O. Berlin P. 11247 (ex.1) in which "turning one's back" (though not using the verb ʿnn) is an example of negative attention, we see the request for positive attention in the form of turning. Contextually, the surrounding text implies the omnipresence of Amun; "You were here (before), anything had come into being. You are here when they are gone." Given this, the possibility of a change in fortune towards a more positive state of affairs is likely.

This second instance states that: "As your Ka endures, so may your perfect, beloved face endure. **You will come from afar and allow your servant, the scribe Pawah to see you**" (21-23). The use of *ii* again indicates that the future movement of Amun will be towards the speaker (Pawah), this is emphasised by the inclusion of allowing Pawah to see Amun.

As Assmann has pointed out, this phrase is placed in the form of an asservation[862], thus extending the motif of omnipresence and thus implying that Amun *will* return from his current distance. An oath style formula is also used within the inscriptions of Berlin 20377, (line 11-12) "As your Ka endures, you *will* be merciful"[863]. However, the Berlin 20377 instance does not conjure the appearance of the divine as seen within the graffito of Pawah, it merely implies that mercy will be forthcoming. Both appear to provide what may be seen as a naive paradox for the divine, almost forcing their hand.

The "desire to see you" iterated five times within this text is seen as its focal point by Assmann[864] (restated by Spalinger[865]). If "seeing darkness" is assumed to be a metaphoric way of explaining Pawah's inability "to 'see' his traditional gods in operation"[866], use of "desire to see you" would neatly emphasise the importance of seeing the divine[867], Whilst

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[861] ex.20 within this chapter.
[862] Assmann *Ocular Desire,* 15.
[863] Ex.20, within this chapter.
[864] Assmann *Ocular desire*, 15.
[865] Spalinger, A., 'The Limitations of Formal Ancient Egyptian Religion', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 57 (1998), 241-260.
[866] Spalinger *JNES*, 251.
[867] "the reader is made clearly aware of the importance of seeing", Spalinger *JNES*, 251.

these points are valid in relation to the return of Amun to Pawah's sight, the attentional nature of the deictics also adds a dimension of divine focus on the individual as well as their involvement in traditional ritual.

2.1.4 MISCELLANIES

Example 5: P. Anastasi II (P. BM EA 10243) *Prayer to Pre-Herakhti* (10,1-11,2)

Come to me Pre-Herakhti so that you may make a plan for me.

(10,1) *mi n=i p3-rˁ-ḥr-3ḫ.ti iry=k n=i sḫrw*

(10,1 Instance)

It is you who acts! No one is able to act without you, but that it is you who acts with him. **Come to me every day Atum, O august god!** My heart goes southwards to Heliopolis. My [….868] having fallen.

(10,1) *ntk p3 nty ḥr ir*

(10,2) *nn wn ir m-ḫmt=k wpw ntk i.ir ḥnˁ=f*

mi n=i itm rˁ-nb ntk p3 nṯr špsy

ib=i **(10,3)** *šmt m ḫnty r iwn*

iw n3y=i š[…] ḥrw

(10,2 Instance)

Discussion:

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868 Whatever the object was in this corrupted section, it must be assumed to be a plural due to the use of *n3y=i*.

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Within this prayer, we see two requests for divine attention, the first of which provides an opening supplication: "**Come to me Pre-Herakhti so that you may make a plan for me.**" (10,1). The reason for this request is directly stated, unlike the following instance which states purely **"Come to me every day Atum, O august god."** (10,2). In both cases, there are no separate words for call/ask preceding the verb of motion, instead the request for attention is encoded within the verb form of *mi n=i*. As such, the use of these deictics suggests a divine movement towards the individual, where the individual is the GOAL and the deictic centre encoded within the motion verb and through the use of "me".

Contextually, we may glean a number of related conditions to this movement towards the individual. The passage following these instances ask the divine to listen to their "prayers" *smȝꜥw*, "supplications" *snmḥ* and "praises" *dwȝw*[869], Amun is also described as "the protector (*nḫw*) of the one who calls (ꜥš) him" (10,6). All options are covered through the various lexemes used to describe such requests for aid. Furthermore, it may also be concluded that the purpose of this advice and assistance by the divine is to act so as to improve the nature of the individual. Not only does the individual entreat the divine to "not bring up my many transgressions" (10,7), but they also characterise themselves as "ignorant" and "senseless". This characterisation is extended by stating that he follows his speech as if a cow to grass[870], and that the individual is said to *ḳdḳd-* meaning "loiter" or "to walk leisurely"[871], i.e. to be at ease.

Within the papyrus, this piece is preceded by two shorter texts of an equally pious nature: "*Prayer of a defendant to Amun*" (8,5-9,1) and "*Amun is my helper*" (9,2-10,1). Whilst these do not include any deictic use of a verb of motion, they do provide a background of understanding upon which the invocations of the piece presented above. The "*Prayer of a defendant to Amun*" opens with the appeal to Amun asking "give your ear to the one in the *ḳnbt*, who is poor and powerless" (8,5-8,6)[872], similarly Amun-Re is described as "The listener of one who calls to him" (9,6) in "*Amun is my helper*". Clearly, there is some

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[869] P. Anastasi II, 10,4-10,5.
[870] Possibly illustrating the idea of careless speech.
[871] Lesko, L. H., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian,* II (Scribe; Berkeley, CA. 1982-1987), 162.
[872] For discussion on this phrase, see ex.16 within this chapter.

precedent for the idea of the divine as the target for petitions and also as a listener to these supplications[873].

Finally, it can be noted that whilst the divine is said to come (in the imperative form *mi*), the verb *šm* meaning "go", whilst present in the same text- with heart (10,3) and the individual (11,2)- it is not related to the divine. This confirms the attentional nature of these deictic verbs shifting focus between the GOAL and SOURCE of utterances as well as representing telic difference.

Example 6: P.Anastasi IV (P. BM EA 10249) *Longing for Memphis* (5,0-5,5)

5,2-5,5

Come to (me) Ptah, to take me to Memphis, may you allow (me) to see you freely!

I spend the day longing for sleep, (but) my heart is not in my body, evil has seized all of my limbs, my eye is weak when looking, my ear does not hear, (my) voice is weak, all (my) words are upside-down.

(5,2) *mi n(=i) ptḥ r iṯt=i r mn-nfr* **(5,3)** *di=k m33(=i) -tw m wstn*

wrw šw=i iw ib=i nḥmt

ḥ3ty=i nn-sw m ḫt=i

(5,5) *ꜥwt=i nb ṯ3[iw] ḏw i3w3*

irt=i bšd m nw

t3y=i mꜥḏrt= bw mḥ

(5,6) *ḫrw(=i) ḥnr*

mdt=i pnꜥ

(5,2-5,3 Instance)

 (5,2)

[874] **(5,3)**

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[873] cf. Temples of the Hearing Ear and the multiple examples of "Hearing Ear" stelae from the village of Deir el-Medina. See: Emerit, S., 'Listening to the Gods: Echoes of the Divine in Ancient Egypt', in E. Meyer-Dietrich (ed.) *Laut und Leise: der Gebrauch von Stimme und Klang in historischen Kulturen,* (Transcript; Bielefeld 2011), 61-88.

[874] Gardiner suggests the substitution of for . Gardiner *LEM*, 39a note 13b.

Discussion:

This instance follows a short introduction which iterates the individual's longing for Memphis ("if only I could sit and wait for my heart to tell me the condition of Memphis"[875]). The individual the appeals to Ptah, saying: **"Come to (me) Ptah, so that you may take (me) to Memphis"**. This instance provides two deictic elements; come (*mi*) and take (*iṯi*), which we will deal with in turn.

The choice of *mi* (5,2), implies that the movement is towards the deictic centre, in this case the individual who is appealing to Ptah. This instance is followed directly by the reasoning for the request for divine attention, i.e. for Ptah to take the individual to Memphis. Again, this choice of deictic verb indicates the location of the individual in relation to Memphis. A similar encoding may be seen within O.Petrie 39[876] in which the individual expresses a desire to always return to Thebes due to their love of the city:

O. Petrie 39, 4-5

"Whenever I come forth to go about, bring me (back) to your city Amun"

 (4)

 (5)

(4) *tnw pr=i r mšꜥ* [877]

in -wi r **(5)** *niwt=k imn*

The differences between the causative deictic verbs "bring" and "take" have been explored by Fillmore[878], (though they have not been fully examined within Egyptian), who related the use of these verbs to those of "come" and "go", summarising "go" and "take" as "motion toward a location which is distinct from the speaker's location at coding time"[879] (GOAL). This then places the action of "take" in the future after Ptah has come to the

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[875] P. Anastasi IV, 5,1-5,2.

[876] Publication: *HO* I, pl. viii:3, Translation: Kitchen, K. A., 'Festivity in Ramesside Thebes and Devotion to Amun and his City', in T. Schneider and K. Szpakowska (eds.) *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occaision of His Retirement,* 347 (Ugarit-Verlag; Münster 2007), 149-153

[877] *m-ꜥ šmt ꜥ* is likely a corruption of *mšꜥ* meaning "to go on a journey" *Wb* II, 156 carried into the coptic ⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ Crum, W. E., *A Coptic Dictionary compiled, with the help of many scholars,* (Clarendon Press; Oxford 1939), 204-206.

[878] See: Fillmore *Lectures on Deixis,* 82-83 and 91.

[879] Also stated as- P_1 and T_1 of the encoder. See: Fillmore *Lectures on Deixis,* 83.

individual. The usage of *iṯi*, thus differs from the usage of *inn* within the *Late Ramesside Letters*, in which Dhutmose asks his son to appeal to Amun, asking him to "Bring me back alive"[880]. In this utterance the coding time of "bring" is when Amun is petitioned in Thebes by the recipients of Dhutmose's letters rather than at the time of the letter writing. Comparing *iṯi* within *Longing for Memphis* and the use of *ini* within the *Late Ramesside Letters*, there are clearly pragmatic and deictic factors at work; in the case of *iṯi* there is a lexicalised GOAL, whereas *ini* shows an implied GOAL as it is placed in the mouths of others (the family of Dhutmose in Thebes)[881]. The deictic movement in *Longing for Memphis* may be summarised in three stages:

1
- The movement of Ptah towards deictic centre of the individual-using *mi*- In this case the individual is the GOAL.
- **Coding Time #1**

2
- At this point, the god is with the individual, who iterates the reasoning for their supplication.

3
- The movement of the individual and Ptah towards Memphis- using *iṯi*-Thus, Memphis is the new GOAL of the action, also providing a second PATH.
- **Coding Time #2**

Following the invocation for Ptah to take the individual to Memphis, it is stated that the hopeful result of the invocation is to "allow me to see you freely" *di=k mꜣꜣ(=i) tw m wstn*. It is possible to read *m wstn* in two ways, either as "freely/unhindered" or as "to stride/move freely"[882]. Whilst the translation presented above and that of Caminos reads *m wstn* as meaning "unhindered"[883], conforming to the themes of personal piety. However, if this is read as *m wstnw* the translation may be altered to say "allow me to see you as one who strides/travels freely". This would add a further deictic element to the passage, suggesting that the movement of Ptah is integral to the desire to see the divine.

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[880] This phrase appears in seventeen of the Late Ramesside Letters. 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9, 13,14,15,23,24,28,29
[881] Further research into the deictic and pragmatic considerations of *iṯt* and *inn* within Ramesside material may yield some interesting results.
[882] See: Lesko, L. H., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian,* I (Scribe; Berkeley, CA. 1982-1987),113.
[883] Caminos *LEM*, 151.

Though this miscellany text was in all probability composed during the late New Kingdom, it is clearly intertextually related to a much older tradition. For example, within *The Story of Sinuhe*, having defeated the champion of Retjenu, Sinuhe implores the god responsible for his exile to allow him home to Egypt, the concept of the PATH is iterated though without the same level of direct divine interaction present within the post-Amarna material: "Whichever god decreed this flight, may you be merciful to me and place me towards the capital" **(156)** *nṯrw nb š3w rdit* **(157)** *rwd rn ḥtp=k di=k wi r ḫnw*[884].

Example 7: P.Anastasi IV (P. BM EA 10249) *Supplications to Amun in a year of need* (10,1-10,5)

10,1-10,5

Come to me Amun, save me in the wretched year.

(10,1) *mi n=i imn šd –wi m t3 rnpt g3b*

(10,1 Instance)
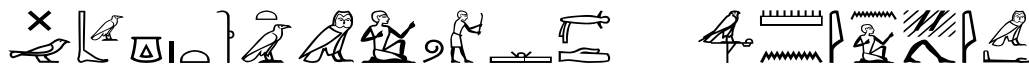
It has come about that the sun does not rise, Peret has come in Shemu, the months come about backwards, the hours are confused. The great call to you, Amun; the small seek you, those who are in the embrace of their nurses say: 'Give breath Amun'. **Finding**[885] **Amun having come in peace, the sweet breezes before him.**

(10,2) *p3 šw ḫprw bn sw wbn*

prt ii.ti m šmw n3 3bdw ḫprw bsnḫw n3 wnwt ṯḥṯḥ

n3 ꜥ3yw **(10,3)** *ꜥš n=k imn*

n3 šriw ḥr wḫ3=k

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[884]Blackman, A. M., *Middle Egyptian Stories,* (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth; Brussels 1932), 29-31.

[885] Assmann reads this passage in a similar manner; "May Amun be found having come, the sweet brieze [sic] before him"[885] . These translations are hinged upon the reading of the verb *gm(i)* meaning "to find". Conversely, Caminos reads the *gm* as a particle meaning "perhaps/perchance"[885], thus reading the passage as: "Perhaps Amun will come in peace, the sweet breezes before him." For a full discussion of this reading see: ex.2 within Chapter 3.

nꜣ nty m ḳni nꜣ(y)=sn ẖnmḥ=s(n) ḥr-ḏd [886] *imi ṯꜣw imn*

gm imn (10,4) *iw m ḥtp pꜣ ṯꜣw nḏm r-ḥꜣt=f*

(10,3-10,4 Instance)

 (10,3)

 (10,4)

Discussion:

This piece contains two instances of the deictic use of the verb *iw*. The first instance provides the opening to the appeal, using the imperative form *mi* saying: "**Come to me Amun, save me in the wretched year**" (10,1), thus indicating an appeal for direct attention, with the purpose of saving the individual. Caminos notes the similarity of this supplication to a number of other Ramesside sources[887], noting a link to P. Anastasi II, 8,5-9,1[888], in which *mi* is used in relation to Pre-Herakhti and Atum, and to P. BM EA 10335, rt.1[889]. This instance is followed by a description of the wretchedness of the year, in the manner of a world upturned (verkehrte Welt)[890]. The subsequent text shows similar phraseology to the inscriptions of the penitential stelae, by illustrating the pairing of great and small noted by Fecht[891], as "The great call to you, Amun; the small seek you, those who are in the embrace of their nurses say: "Give breath Amun"." (10,2-10,3).

The second instance is related to this situation and to its potential resolution; **"Finding Amun having come in peace"** (10,3-4). The divine nature of this particular deictic movement is emphasised by the inclusion of **"the sweet breezes in front of him"**[892]. Through the use of *r-ḥꜣt=f* also provides deictic information, i.e. Amun is moving towards the individual (using "come") the sweet breezes are *r-ḥꜣt=f* and are thus in between the

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[886] *passim* Gardiner *LEM,*45a.
[887] See: Caminos *LEM,* 171.
[888] Prayer to Pre Herakhti (ex.5).
[889] Ex. 2 in this chapter.
[890] For a short overview of this pessimistic motif, See: Enmarch, R., *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2008)38-39
[891] Fecht, G., 'The Structural Principle of Ancient Egyptian Elevated Language', in J. C. de Moor and W. G. E. Watson (eds.) *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose,* 42 (Verlag Butzon & Bercker; Kevelear 1993), 69-94. Specifically: 90-91 with reference to Berlin 20377, though this pairing may also be seen in Turin N 50058-ex.21 in this chapter.
[892] This phrase is also utilised in a number of other examples within this chapter. For a summary of this pairing, see: Section 3.4 within this chapter.

individual and the god. Based upon the work of Hill[893], this may be seen as an extension of the observer centred (ego-centric) codification of this movement[894] as the deictic centre is the speaker the intended object is the divine and the relatum is the wind.

Once again, much like the *Prayer to Pre-Herakhti* (ex.5), which utilises the verb *šm*, this passage includes a number of other deictic verbs of motion in relation to non-divine characters[895]. In this case, we see the use of *iy* in relation to months (10,2), thus indicating a movement towards the speaker, where the months are an object- rather than an element of abstract time (TIME as SPACE), which approach the earth within a geocentric celestial model. The verb *pri* is also utilised in relation to the Medjay who are said to have "come forth from the district[896]" (10,5). This usage may indicate a movement away from the SOURCE. The movement concerning Amun has no clear SOURCE and hence the utterance is focused upon the GOAL. Each of the uses of deictic verbs within this passage conforms neatly to the hypothesised telic differences between them.

Example 8: P.Anastasi V (P. BM EA 10244) *Prayer to Thoth for skill in writing* (9,2-10,2)

Come to me Thoth, the august ibis, the god who longs for Khemenu[897], the letter writer of the Ennead, great one who is in Iunu.

(9,2) *mi n=i ḏḥwty p3 hbw špsy p3 nṯr 3bw ḫmnw p 3šs šʿt psḏt* **(9,3)** *ʿ3 imy wnw*

(9,2 Instance)

Come to me, so you can advise me, so that you may make me skilful in your profession.

(9,3) *mi n=i iry=k n= i sḫrw di=k sš3=i m i3wt=k*

(9,3 Instance)

[893] Hill, C., 'Up/down, front/back, left/right: a Contrastive Study of Hausa and English', in J. Weissenborn and W. Klein (eds.) *Here and There: Cross-linguistic Studies on Deixis and Demonstration,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 1982), 13-42, with special reference to his deictic field diagrams on 36.

[894] For the usage of FRONT in other languages, see: Heine, B. and Kuteva, T., *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization,* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 2002),141-142.

[895] See: ex.2 discussion.

[896] *Wb* I, 243.

[897] Hermopolis.

Your profession is better than all other professions; it makes (men) great. One found to be skilful in it is towards being an official. I have seen many for whom you have acted for, they are in the group of 30, they are strong and powerful because of what you have done. It is you who gives advice, it is you who gives advice to he who has no mother. Fate and Fortune are in your arm[898]. **Come to me, so you can advise me.** I am the servant of your house.

(9,4) *nfr i3wt t=k r i3wt nbt s⸢3w[899] -sw*

gmy tw p3 sš s3w **(9,5)** *im-st r irt i3w*

ptr=i ḵnw iw iry=k n=sn

iw=sn m-ḫnw mb3yt

(9,6) *iw=sn nḫt.ti wsr m i.irw=k*

ntk p3 i.irt sḥrw

ntk p3 **(9,7)** *i.irt sḥrw n p3 n nty mwt=f*

š⸢y rnnt m-⸢=k

mi n=i iry=k n=i sḥrw

ink **(9,8)** *ḥm n pr=k*

(9,7 Instance)

 900

Allow me to speak of your feats in any land. Then many people will say, 'How great are the things which Thoth has done!' **Then they come with their children in order to brand them (for) your profession,** a good profession of the Lord of Strength: joyful is he that does it.

(9,8) *di=k sḏd=i[901]m p3y=k ḵnw m t3 nbt*

k3 ḏd p3 ⸢h⸢ rmṯ **(10,1)** *⸢3yw −sw n3 i.irt ḏḥwty*

k3 iw=sn ḥr n3y=sn ḫrdw (10,2) r 3bw=w (n) i3wt=k i3wt nfr n nb nḫt

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[898] cf. Chapter 1, ex.10.

[899] *passim* Gardiner *LEM*,60a who emends *sn* to *⸢3*.

[900] Unusually instead of the expected sign of ⌐ for *m-⸢* Gardiner shows the sign of having a hieratic flourish, thus reading the sign as ⌐ (*m-di*) Gardiner *LEM*, 60a, note 10c, presumably, this is a common scribal error.

[901] Emending *t* to *=i passim* Gardiner *LEM*, 60a.

(10,1-10,2 Instance)

[hieroglyphic text] (10,1)

[hieroglyphic text] (10,2)
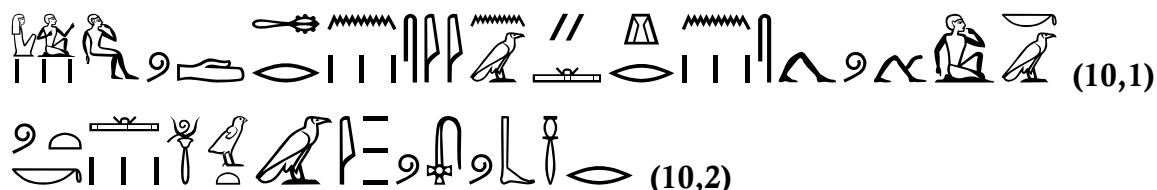
Discussion:

This piece praises the qualities of Thoth and the scribal profession, providing a platform for a scribe to request divine assistance in his development. As with a previous example in this chapter (ex.7), this passage opens with the invocation to the god of **"Come to me"** (9,2). This phrase is added to in the following line, saying: **"Come to me, so you can advise me**, so that you may make me skilful in your profession" (9,3). The purpose for divine attendance and interaction is made explicit and the theme of scribal superiority is extended following this line. The refrain **"Come to me, so you can advise me"** is repeated later in this piece (9,7), though in this case, it is surrounded by religious imagery associated with divine control. Not only as the divine arm[902], but also with lines such as "I am a servant in your house" (9,7-9,8). If Thoth attends to the appeals of the scribe, this text also indicates what Thoth would receive in return: "Allow me to speak of your feats in any land I am in. Then many people will say…" (9,8), clearly, given the refrains of the appeal and inclusion of this phrase that the scribe was intent on receiving divine assistance in their professional development.

In all three of these instances, the base unit of *mi n=i* is present. Whilst the movement of Thoth is not guaranteed, nor is it completed, the application of this verb would again indicate a movement towards the individual as the GOAL. In each case the speaker is also the deictic centre.

Having iterated the positive publicity Thoth will receive if he attends to the scribe, the scribe suggests that people who hear him "…**come with their children in order to brand them for your profession**" (10,1-10,2). "come" here is written as *iw*, this would suggest a movement towards Thoth from an unknown source. When considered with *iw* (as GOAL oriented), it is clear that "to be brand them for your profession" is a lexicalised extension

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[902] cf. chapter 1, ex.10.

and statement of the GOAL (Thoth), this utterance projects the deictic centre to the god, rather than the speaker.

As a final note, whilst *3bw* of "in order to brand them for your profession" may be translated in a number of ways, based upon whether one reads *3bw* "brand"[903] or *3bi* "desire"[904]. Caminos suggests that this is a metaphorical usage meaning something more in the region of "Ear mark"[905]. Notably, this verb is also used within P. Harris I in relation to war captives (77,5-77,6): "I gave them great chiefs of bowmen of their tribes, branded (*3bw*) and made as servants (*ḥmw*) stamped with my name, and their women and children done the same,"[906]. The repeated us of the polysemic *i3wt* meaning "office/profession"[907] and also "cattle"[908] further enhances the deliberate play on language, allowing the readings surrounding a desire to be in a profession and the branding of cattle (human's as divine cattle as an even further extension of metaphor). A level of richness that is apt if perhaps ironic in a prayer which seeks divine assistance in writing!

Example 9: P.Sallier I (P. BM EA 10185) *The profession of a scribe is superior to all* (6,9-7,9) *7,4-7,6*

When the soldier goes up to Khar[909], there is no staff, no sandals, and he does not know the difference between death and life in the hand of [910] of lions and bears. The strong foe is (hidden) in the reed thicket, the enemy stands ready, **and the soldier goes and calls to his god: 'Come to me, so you may save me'**.

(7,4) *iw p3 wˁw m ṯsyt r ḫ3rw*

iw bn ḥw bn tbw iw bw rḫ=f r iwd r **(7,5)** *mt ˁnḫ m-ḏrt m3iw ḥstmt*

iw p3 ḏ3iw ḫpš m p3 isbr p3 ḫrwy ˁḥˁ ḥry

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[903] *Wb* I, 6.23.
[904] Meeks, D., *Année lexicographique: Égypte ancienne,* I-III (Cybèle; Paris 1977-1982), 78.0019.
[905] Caminos *LEM,* 234.
[906] Erichsen, W., *Papyrus Harris I: Hieroglyphische Transkription,* (Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth; Brussels 1933), 94.
[907] Lesko *Late Egyptian Dictionary* I, 13.
[908] Ibid.
[909] Syria *Wb* III, 232.
[910] Caminos *LEM,* 84a, note 15a, who suggests that whilst this is written *m-ḏrt*, it could be an unusual writing for *m-di* of *m-ḏr* meaning "in the midst of". Avoiding the issue of altering the text, *m-ḏrt* makes good sense following from the conclusions of Chapter 1 in this thesis, merely providing a metaphoric manner of discussing the actions of lions and bears.

jw pꜣ wꜥw (ḥr) šmt ḥr (7,6) ꜥš n nṯr=f mj n=j šd=k wj

(7,5-7,6 Instance)

[hieroglyphic text] (7,6) [hieroglyphic text] (7,5)

[hieroglyphic text]

Discussion:

P.Sallier I (P.BM EA 10185) deals predominantly with the profession of the scribe and the nature of the profession through the epistolary dialogues of Pentaweret and his master, Chief book-keeper of the treasury of the Pharaoh Amenemone[911]. This particular piece follows the form of a number of satirical letters and entreaties to the reader to become a scribe, comparing the lot of the scribe to other professions[912]. Whilst describing the lot of the soldier, it is suggested that due to the dangers associated with the wilderness and the activities of the enemy, "**the soldier goes and calls to his god: 'Come to me, so you may save me'** " (7,5-7,6). This phrase contains two instances of deictic verbs of motion. The soldier is said to *šm* "go" in order to call upon his god. The usage of *šm*, appears to imply that the SOURCE of the movement of the soldier is known, whereas their GOAL is not i.e. the audience do not know where he goes. In the invocation *mj n=j*, the writer is not the deictic centre, instead the soldier is in the hypothetical situation. On the part of the soldier, they are then the GOAL of the divine motion, as projected by the narrator.

There is a parallel to be drawn between Amenemone's descriptions of the positive lot of the scribe and the negative lot of the soldier. Earlier in the "letter" it is suggested that being a scribe "saves (*nḥm*) you from toil, and protects you from all kinds of work" (6,10) *nḥm*[913] is frequently used in the sense of divine rescue, for example in the name of the goddess Nehemetaway [914]. As such the attribute of *being* a scribe is equivalent to salvation,

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[911] Gardiner *LEM,* xvii. See also: 3,4 for the title ("beginning of instruction in letter writing") and dedicatory information of this papyrus.
[912] Within this papyrus, see also: *Be a scribe, for a soldier's lot is a hard one,* (3,5-3,11), *The scribe is not taxed like the peasant,* (6,0-6,9).
[913] *Wb* II, 295.
[914] *Wb* II, 297.

whereast the soldier is required to actively call upon his god so as to be removed from the fray.

Example 10: P.Sallier I (P. BM EA 10185) *Prayer to Thoth (8,2-8,7)*

8,2-8,7

The Chief documents-scribe of the Treasury of Pharaoh (l.p.h) Amenemone says to the scribe Pentaweret. This letter is brought to you in the following in order to say: 'Thoth, place me in Khmun[915], your city sweet to live in, looking after me with bread and beer, guarding my mouth as it speaks.' If only I had Thoth behind me tomorrow! **'Come' they say when I enter in front of the lords, and you go out justified**.

(8,2) *ḥry-sꜣw imn-m-int n pr-ḥḏ n pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥ.w.s ḏd n sš pn-tꜣ-wrt*

r-nty r in.tw n=k sš pn n ḏd

ḥnꜥ **(8,3)** *ḏd ḏḥwty imi-wi mḫmnw pꜣy=k dmit nḏmt ꜥnḫ iw=k irt ḫrt.tw m ꜥḳ ḥr ḥnḳt iw=k sꜣw rꜣ=i mdt*

hnr n=i ḏḥwty m-ḥꜣ=i **(8,4)** *dwꜣ*

mi ḥr=tw iw=i ꜥḳ.kw m-bꜣḥ nbw pr=k mꜣꜥ-ḫrw

(8,4 Instance)

O great Doum-Palm of 60 cubits, the one with nuts in it. There are kernels inside the nuts water being inside the kernels. **The one who takes water (from) a distant place[916], come (to me?) so that you may save me, O silent one, Thoth.** The well is pleasing to[917] a thirsty man (in) a desert; it is sealed to the mouthy one, it is open to the silent one. The silent one came and found the well, the hothead[918]… you are …[919]

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[915] Hermopolis Magna.

[916] Given the following utterance is in the form of an invocation, it seems likely that this means that Thoth is able to find water in a distant place and thus help the devotee.

[917] Whilst the original reads *mi*, it is likely that this is an error. *passim* Gardiner *LEM*, 86a.

[918] The references to the silent one and the hothead is echoed within late New Kingdom wisdom literature, most notably, *The Teaching of Amenemope*. For the access to wisdom literature cf. Lichtheim, M., *Moral Values in Ancient Egypt,* (Universitätsverlag; Freiburg 1997).

[919] The lost group of 8,6 may revolve around *mh* "to care for" as inserted by Gardiner *LEM*, 86 and 86a. However, this section of text appears to be corrupt.

(8,4) *p3 m3m3 ⸱3 n 60 mḥ p3 nty ḳwḳw im=f*

wnn ḫ3nn m-ẖnw ḳwḳw **(8,5)** *iw mw m-ẖnw ḫ3nn*

p3 iṯ3y mw (m) st w3w mi (n=i) šd=k wi p3 grw ḏḥwty

t3 ḫnmt nḏmt n s ibḥw **(8,6)** *ḫ3st*

sw ḫtmw.tw n p3 gm r3=f sw mn.ti n p3 grw

iw p3 grw gm=f t3 ḫnmt p3 šm(m)w tw=k [1 group] *tw*

(8,5 Instance)

Discussion:

This short yet highly poetic prayer to the god Thoth contains two instances of deictic verbs of motion. Having described Thoth as both a well in the desert and a nourishing Doum-Palm, he is then invoked to attend upon the individual in order to save him, utilising the imperative *mi* (*n=i*) (8,5). The individual also adds a caveat to this plea stating that they are the "silent one"- then further elaborating the desirable qualities of the silent one. This passage clearly implies that the god *should* come to their aid, precisely because they are a good person.

mi is also used in the previous line (8,4) but it is placed in the mouth of "the lords", presumably at the time of judgement. In this utterance, the deictic centre is "the lords" projected from the speaker. This passage brings to mind *BD* spell 125 where the divine invite the individual before them for questioning, for example: "'Let him come' they say of me" and "'Come!', so says Thoth."[920]. This is further alluded to with the inclusion of the phrase "and you come forth justified" (*pr=k m3ꜥ-ḫrw*). Both examples from the Book of the Dead and the instance above utilise *mi*, contextually and deictically, it is clear that the lords/judges are the GOAL of the movement. Both instances of the imperative of *iw* are focused upon the GOAL. Specifically, "they" are the GOAL for the individual in the first instance and the individual as the GOAL of the god Thoth in the second instance. These different GOALs are also related to different deictic centres.

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[920] Ritner, R. K., 'Book of the Dead 125 "The Negative Confession"', in W. K. Simpson (ed.) *Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry,* (Yale University Press; New Haven, CT 2003), 267-277.

2.1.5 HYMNIC TRADITION

Example 11: P.Chester Beatty XI (P.BM EA 10691), P. UC 32793 and P.BM EA 10780

A Hymn to Amun

P. BM EA 10780 verso

"**Come to me Amun, the** *X*"

mi n=i imn p3 X

X

Due to the Anaphoric nature of this Hymn only one instance is presented, however, seven lines upon this fragment show the same hieratic form of *mi n=i imn p3 X,* whereby Amun in invoked with the imperative form of *mi* and then given varied epithets. Gardiner notes that the P. Chester Beatty XI copy omits[921] *mi n=i* seen within the Gurob copy[922] (P. BM EA 10780), though he includes it within his translation- as an implied anaphora.

P.Chester Beatty XI- vs.2,7 [923]

(Come to me) Amun, the sweet breeze to the man who is in [captivity. He who calls to] him, 'Come to me, Amun!' when the day dawns, you have released him.

(*mi n=i*) *imn p3 t3w ndm n s* [*nty*] *m* [*ḥn*]*i* [....]*=f mi n=i imn ḥd-t3 iw wḫꜥw=k -sw*

.... ? .... **(Vs. 2,7)**

Whilst this copy does not include the anaphoric phrase as an introduction to each line, the phrase *mi n=i imn* is utilised within the hymn itself. This line of the Hymn shares a great deal of phraseology with a number of themes within other examples within this chapter,

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[921] Whether this means that "Come to me" had been appended to P.BM EA 10780 is unclear. However, as the first preserved lines of the Gurob papyri form an earlier part of the Chester Beatty copy it is always possible that *mi n=i* was included in the first line of the Chester Beatty manuscript though is not preserved.
[922] Gardiner *The Chester Beatty Gift* I, 120 f.4.
[923] Transcription: Gardiner, A. H., *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (Third Series) The Chester Beatty Gift* II: Plates (British Museum Press; London 1935) Pl. 67 and Pl.68. Translation: Gardiner, A. H., *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (Third Series) The Chester Beatty Gift* I: Text (British Museum Press; London 1935), 119-121.

including the motif of the sweet breeze as well as the pairing of call (ꜥš) and release. Elsewhere within the body of the Hymn, the verb *ii/ mi* is also used within vs.2,4 (*mi*) and vs. 2,5 (*ii* and *mi*). In each of these instances, the verb is used as part of an epithet or description of the actions of Amun. Both invocations, allowing for the individual's release, restate the theme of divine movement towards the individual as the GOAL and as the speaker, the deictic centre of these utterances.

Whilst the texts of the Chester Beatty Papyri and the Gurob papyri (split between the British Museum and University College London) overlap in content, the manuscripts do not reproduce exactly the same text. Both papyri groups share similar dates but the find-spots of the two corpora are separated by a great distance[924]. This separation in distance but closeness in textual content suggest heavily that there is an element of common understanding as well as shared hymnic formulae[925].

As a final note on this group of papyri, elsewhere within P.Chester Beatty XI, there is one final example of this rhetorical trope:

<u>P.Chester Beatty XI- Fragment A rt. 9</u>[926]
"Come to me gods, so that you may drive it away."

mi n=i nṯrw dr=tn -st

This is the only instance examined within this chapter in which the invocation is not directed at a singular named deity (some examples do this directly, others through contextual information) but at multiple Gods. What "it" refers to is unclear due to the highly fragmentary nature of this passage. Gardiner includes this fragment with other unplaced fragments as a medical text related to the expulsion of poison[927] due to some

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[924] For the Chester Beatty Papyri see: Pestman, P. W., 'Who were the Owners, in the "Community of Workmen", of the Chester Beatty Papyri?', in R. J. Demarée and J. J. Janssen (eds.) *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina,* (Nederlands Institut voor het Nabije Oosten; Leiden 1982), In relation to the Gurob papyri, it has been suggested that the most likely find-spot for these was somewhere on the Kôm in what is known as the "palace complex", see: Politi *GM* 182,108.

[925] Possibly a reflection of the movement of scribes within the country cf. Winand, J., 'Dialects in Pre-Coptic Egyptian, with a Special Attention to Late Egyptian', *Lingua Aegyptia* 23 (2015), 229-269.

[926] Translation: Gardiner *The Chester Beatty Gift* I, 118-119. Transcription: Gardiner *The Chester Beatty Gift*, II, Pl.66.

[927] Gardiner *The Chester Beatty Gift* I, 118-119.

expressions preserved upon other fragments. This would suggest that "it" is the poison or an illness. Whilst this is possible, there are also a number of phrases present within these fragments which appear more Hymnic in content. Nevertheles, the individual is presented as the GOAL of the movement of the divine characters though the context is unclear.

Example 12: P. Leiden I 350 recto

Recto: Column III

"Chapter 70" First verse-point of III, 16 to first verse-point of III, 18

To him belong the eyes and also the ears, (*verb?* [928]) upon every way of his of him who he loves[929], **the one who hears the supplications of the one who invokes him, who comes from afar to the one who calls to him, in but a moment[930].** He prolongs life and shortens it.

(**III,16**) *ns –sw ir.ty mi ʿnḫ.wy ḥr [iw?] wȝt=f nb n mr.n=f*

sḏm (**III,17**) *snmḥw=n nis n=f ii m wȝy n ʿš n=f m km n ȝt*

sw ḥr sḳȝ ʿḥʿw ḥr- (**III,18**) *ḫbȝ=f*

(**III,16-17 Instance**)

(**III,16**) ... (**III,17**) ...

Discussion:

Though it shares some Middle Egyptian linguistic and stylistic features, this text also illustrates thematic parallels with other New Kingdom hymns such as the Cairo Great Hymn to Amun[931]. The inclusion of this source within this chapter allows for some

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[928] Gardiner suggests that there is a verbal item omitted between the two *ḥr*, within his translation, he suggests "coming". Whilst it is difficult to assess what is the correct verb to be restored to this text, it is clear that something is missing to complete the Middle Egyptian *ḥr*+ infinitive pattern implied here. See: Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42, 29. If we are able to restore a deictic verb to this lacuna (such as *iw*), this would indicate that those on "every way of his" would be moving towards Amun as the GOAL.

[929] This must be understood as an extension of "eyes and ears" in that all those upon the way of the god belong to him.

[930] *m km n ȝt* literally meaning "in the completion of a moment". *Wb* V, 130.1.

[931] Luiselli, M. M., *Der Amun-Re Hymnus des P. Boulaq 17 (P. Kairo CG 58038),* (Harrassowitz; Wiesbaden 2004).

examination of how deictic verbs are utilised in reference to the divine in a hymnic context during this time period[932].

This chapter of the Hymn details the positive characteristics of the god Amun, it begins by equating the divine to the physician and ends with a series of explications at the nature of Amun's powers and a praise of his qualities. Within this passage we see a direct usage of the deictic verb *ii* in relation to Amun, affirming: **"who comes from afar to the one who calls to him, in but a moment."** (rt.III,17). The verbal choice here indicates that the individual who calls to him and "who invokes him" (rt.III,17) is the GOAL of the movement, and is also the lexicalised deictic centre.

Within this passage there is one other consideration that may be made. In reference to the dramatic metaphors of the sweet breeze (*ṯꜣw nḏm* rt.III,20) and a wind/breeze turning (*ṯꜣw ḥr ꜥn* rt.III,19). These metaphors are also present within a number of other sources within this chapter. Whilst it is clear that the sweet breeze is related to the divine in this passage, it is not related in terms of motion.

Example 13: O. Cairo Unnumbered[933]

1-7

The one who is poor (*nmḥw*) calls out to you, Amun!
(Even) the one who is strong seeks you.
He who is (in) Syria (says[934]): 'Come, bring me to Egypt!'

(1) *pꜣ nty nmḥw ꜥš n=k imn*

pꜣ nty wsr **(2)** *wḫꜣ=k*

pꜣ nty (m) ḫꜣ-rw (ḥr-ḏd) mi in –wi r kmt

(Line 2 Instance)

The one who is in the *Duat* (says): 'Rescue me!'

The one who stands before the (Ruler)| l.p.h. (says): 'Give me breath, Amun!'

If only I had Amun behind me tomorrow.

'Come!' they say.

(I) look behind me and I see Amun, his breath permeating my body.

Gladden your servant, O Amun.

Cast it out, every evil.

(2) *p₃ nty m dw₃t* **(3)** *šd-wi* [935]

p₃ nty ꜥḥꜥ m-b₃ḥ p₃ (ḥḳ₃)| ꜥ.w.s i [ḏd]

imi **(4)** *ṯ₃w imn*

ḥnr n=i imn n ḥ₃=i dw₃
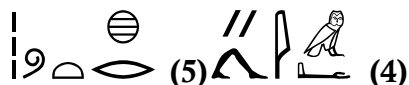
***mi* (5) ḥr tw=w**

nw (=i) ḥ₃=i ptr=i imn p₃y=f **(6)** *ṯ₃w ꜥḳ r ḥt=i*

rš p₃y=k b₃k i imn

ḥ₃ꜥ-sw ḏw nbt

(Line 4-5 Instance)

Discussion:

This short hymn to Amun provides an array of pious and literary allusions; it also shows two clear instances of the deictic verb. The first of these phrases is within line 2 with: **"He who is (in) Syria (says): 'Come, bring me to Egypt!'"**, this brings to mind ex.6 (P. Anastasi IV *Longing for Memphis*) in the way that the first verb ('come' *mi*) indicates movement towards the GOAL of the individual, followed by movement focussing upon the SOURCE (i.e. Syria) with an additional lexicalised information about the GOAL. In this utterance the deictic centre is projected from the speaker to "he who is (in) Syria". The theme of divinely sanctioned safe return from journeys outside Egypt proper is a trope

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[935] Emended from *=i*

within expeditionary texts from the Middle Kingdom onwards[936], and may also be seen within the letters of Dhutmose from the late New Kingdom[937]. The concept of "bringing" reflects this centrality, encoding movement away from the deictic centre[938] (in Syria), with a lexicalised GOAL in the form of Egypt.

The second instance of deictic verb usage is found within line 4-5. Kitchen translates this passage as: "Right early, 'Come!' people say"[939]. This translation follows the verse points as the second verse point of line 4 hangs over part of the *dw3* sign (Gardiner sign N14), suggesting that this should be a new poetical line. Whilst it is good where possible to follow the verse points, since the imply ancient scansion the sentiment of having "god behind you tomorrow" seems a more probable translation for this passage- assuming that the verse-point is only slightly out of place. This sentiment may also be seen within the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, specifically within P. Sallier I *Prayer to Thoth*, where we read a more fleshed out version of this (8,3-8,4 [940]). The two examples use almost identical phrasing within the Egyptian, merely changing the deity involved and preposition used[941]. This again shows clear parallels with *BD* Spell 125, as discussed within ex.10, showing that this allusion is not limited to a single textual source.

Lines 5-6 describes Amun as being close to the individual, giving breath to them "I look behind me and I see Amun, his breath permeating (ˁḳ) my body." Amun is palpable, he can be seen and felt (through his breath). It may also be possible to read this as a representation of the BODY is CONTAINER conceptual metaphor, with the breath of Amun physically inhabiting the individual[942]. This line also calls to mind *The Qadesh Poem* in which Ramesses II states that Amun "He called (to me) from behind me (as if) face to face with your face" (§125[943]). The common lexicon used within this text highlights the

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[936] cf. Enmarch, R., 'Of Spice and Mine: The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor and Middle Kingdom Expedition Inscriptions', in F. Hagen, J. Johnston, W. Monkhouse, K. Piquette, J. Tait and M. Worthington (eds.) *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and Linguistic Approaches,* (Peeters; Leuven 2011), 97-121.

[937] see discussion in ex.6 within this chapter.

[938] Fillmore *Lectures on Deixis,* 82-83 and 91. Cf. example 6 within this chapter.

[939] Kitchen in *Egyptian Stories,* 152.

[940] ex.8 within this chapter.

[941] P.Sallier I *Prayer to Thoth* (8,3-8,4) ex. 10 within this chapter.

[942] Camilla Di-Biase Dyson presented on this matter in reference to metaphor and illness at *Temps et espace en Égypte ancienne/ Time and Space in Ancient Egypt*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 9-11th June 2016.

[943] ex.25 within this chapter.

positive nature of the support of Amun, in that the living who are in distress call to the god and receive his assistance, similarly, when approaching judgement; Amun is also present.

Example 14: O.Gardiner 45 [944]

rt.1-5

Come to me Amun, save [me…]

(rt.1) *mi n=i imn šd* **[-wi…]**

(Line 1 Instance)

[.....] 𓀀𓂝𓌉𓏤𓈖𓏤𓊪𓃭𓈖𓂻

(I am?) a man who stands in the *ḳnbt* [ḥ…]

Their [..?..] to/for the one who […]

Come to me Amun, save [me…]

[…] *p3y* [… *rest lost…*]

(rt.2) *s ῾ḥ῾ m t3 ḳnbt ḥ* […]

(rt.3) […*3*]*y=sn n p3 nty* […]

(rt.4) *mi n=i imn šdy* **[-wi…]**

(rt.5) […] *p3y* […]

(rt.4 Instance)

𓄤𓈖𓏤

[.....] 𓀀𓂝𓇋𓇋𓌉 𓀀𓂻𓈖𓂻 [945]

Discussion:

Though there are only five lines of hieratic inscribed upon this potsherd, there are two clear instances of deictic verb in the form "come" (using the imperative form *mi*), placing the individual as the GOAL of the movement, again due to the inclusion of "me" the individual is also the deictic centre. In both instances within this text, **"come to me**

Amun" is utilised with the stated purpose of saving/rescuing (*šd*) the individual. As the text is fragmentary, it is difficult to piece together the nature of the rest of the composition.

There are two potential routes in which the text may have taken; in the style of the prayers to Amun as Vizier, such as P. Anastasi II, *Prayer of a defendant to Amun* (8,5-9,1) which states "Amun give your ear to one who is in (the) *ḳnbt*"[946]. Or in a more hymnic form as seen within ex.13, i.e. "*x* Says the one who is in *y* "[947], thus producing the meaning in the syle of a refrain along the lines of " 'Come to me Amun, save me' says the one who stands in the *ḳnbt*".

Example 15: O.Gardiner 46

rt.1-6

[Com]e to me Amun, Lord of strength.

Come to me, gladden (my) heart with your successful deed

Come (to me[948]), that you might save (me) from the words of people of dread, (from) the noise of their mouth.

As for the day of assembly, Amun, you are my protector.

(rt.1) [*mi*] *n=i imn nb nḫt*

mi n=i {=k} rš **(rt.2)** *ib(=i) ḥr sp=k mꜥr*

mi (n=i) nḥm=k m **(rt.3)** *rꜣ n rmṯ n ḥryt m ḫrw* **(rt.4)** *rꜣ=w*

ir hrw n dmḏyt **(rt.5)** *iry imn ntk*[949] *pꜣy=i* **(rt.6)** *n[ḫw]=i*

(Instances rt.1-4)

(rt.1) [950]

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[946] Transcription: Gardiner *LEM*, 17. Full translation: Caminos *LEM,* 56-58.

[947] cf. P. Anastasi IV *Supplications to Amun in a year of need*, (ex.7): "those who are in the embrace of their nurses say: 'Give breath Amun'".

[948] Possible implied inclusion due to the repetition in the two previous utterances.

[949] *m tꜣ=k* is likely a corruption of *ntk*.

[950] This line also contains an unusual inclusion of *k* which hangs underneath the end of the first line, it seems possible that this is a scribal error.

[hieroglyphic text]

(rt.2)

[hieroglyphic text] (rt.4) [hieroglyphic text] (rt.3)

Discussion:

The inscription upon this ostracon contains three instances *mi* in reference to the divine, each instance following closely to the previous. This composition aims the individual's supplications at Amun as an intercessory force and as a protector. His role of protector may be related to his role as judge/vizier as discussed within ex.15 or in relation to the day of judgement as within ex.13 (both within this chapter). The interpretation of his role in this istance relies on the understanding of "the day of assembly" and the "people of dread"[951].

The context of *ḥrw n dmḏyt*[952] is unclear, at this time I am aware of this instance and one other, preserved upon the Stela of Intef dating to the First Intermediate Period (Strassburg 345 + Florence 7595)[953]. *dmḏ* may be used in reference to both divine[954] and human[955] gatherings, so it is not immediately clear as in both cases negative accusations are to be avoided and divine protection ensured. Regarding *rmṯ n ḥryt* "people of dread", there are earlier references to *ḥrw* amongst people, notably within P.Prisse (P. BibNat 186-194) 2,9 2,12 6,8 and 6,10[956], though none of the instances within the *Teaching of Ptahhotep* reflect the exact phrasing present within this instance. Given the context of the instances within *Ptahhotep*, *ḥrw* is very much to do with living individuals. As such, combined with the use of *dmḏyt*, I would suggest that this interaction is placed within the human sphere.

Two of the three instances provide reasons for the interaction, either to "save" or to "gladden the heart". Whilst all three instances contain 'come' (as *mi*), two of these (line 1)

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[951] Kitchen in *Egyptian Stories*, 152 translates this as "men of strife".
[952] *Wb* V, 461.13 with *DZA* 31.419.960 which provides this precise instance.
[953] *DZA* 34.419.980 .
also   http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetTextDetails?u=guest&f=0&l=0&db=0&tc=1346   (Accessed 25/04/2016)
[954] *Wb* V, 458.
[955] *Wb* V, 461.12 "Menge von menschen"
[956] *DZA* 27.263.220.

include a lexicalised GOAL in *n=i* also functioning as person deixis to encode the deictic centre.

Example 16: O. Borchardt

rt.1-4

O Amun-Re who turns (to) answer for the *nmḥ* when he is in distress. He causes the *knbt* to go away in one word, when they answer[957] about the *nmḥ*. The *nmḥ* becomes vindicated; the one who carried a "bonus"[958] is grieved[959].

(rt.1) *imn-rꜥ ꜥn wšb n nmḥ iw=f i3d3*

(rt.2) *di=f wn t3 knbt m r3 wꜥ*

wšb=sn ḥr nmḥ

(rt.3) *p3 nmḥ ḫprw m mꜥ3-ḫrw p3 f3 fk3w* **(rt.4)** *snmḥ*

(rt.1 instance)

Discussion:

Within this short text, the individual describes Amun-Re as one who turns - using *ꜥn(n)*, in order to assist the *nmḥ*. The pairing of *ꜥn* and *wšb* may be has previously been translated as "to intercede" or to "return an answer" [960]. Lesko offers the gloss "avenge" for *ꜥn wšb* [961] citing *The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood* which reads: *iw=f ḥr šm r ꜥn wšbt=n* (6,7-7,1) [962] "He was going to turn (to) answer them" or "to avenge". A few lines earlier we may also note, in the speech of the son to his blinded further when enquiring who the culprit was: *ꜥn(=i) n=k wšbt* (6,6) [963] "(so that) I turn for you to answer" suggesting that the son will act

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[957] The judge(s).

[958] *fk3w* is an ambiguous term, translated as "bonus" it is a somewhat euphemistic way of describing a judicial bribe. Vernus *Affairs and Scandals,* 152-153 provides six examples of the use of this term. This term is often linked to texts describing Amun as the Vizier or as Judge within the *Late Egyptian* Miscellanies: P. Bolonga 1094 (2,4-2,7) and it's duplicate in P. Anastasi II (6,5). Vernus also notes the usage of this term within O. CGC 25207, the Decree of Horemheb and within *The Teaching of Amenemope* (21,4).

[959] Literally "to cause to be *nmḥ*".

[960] *Wb* I, 189.4-6 and 372.7-9. For the meaning of "return an answer" see *DZA.21.725.650* where Ramesses II communicates with Hatti.

[961] Lesko *Late Egyptian Dictionary*, I, 68.

[962] Gardiner *LES*, 33.

[963] Ibid.

on the father's behalf. The reading of "avenge" has been put forward by a number of translators including Gardiner[964] and Laisney[965]. In instances of ꜥn wšb where there is contextual information favouring "avenge", such an interpretation appears apt, however, it is clearly a paraphrase of the metaphor "Turn to answer" and may thus be viewed in a similar euphemistic way to the use of sbꜣyt within the inscriptions of Neferabu[966]. Similarly, ꜥn and wšb are often split with a prepositional phrase, suggesting that the two actions are separate. Within O.Borchardt there is a further link between the answer of Amun (rt.1) and the answer of the Judge(s) (rt.2), both of which are described using wšb.

The use of ꜥn(n) "turn" provides a greater understanding of the attentive nature of the divine, if not necessarily fully deictic. If Amun-Re is turning, then the face of the god is subsequently turned towards the nmḥ. Presumably, ꜥn(n) is more powerful for the individual than ii, as it implies that either the god previously had deserted the individual (i.e. turned his back), or that the god has changed what he was doing in order to attend to the individual's needs. ii carries neither implication.

This highly personal and human form of interaction may also be seen within O. IFAO 2181 [967] "give your face…" (rt.7 imi ḥr=k). Posener suggests that this ostracon and O.Borchardt may be written in the same hand[968] and this seems likely as the writing of pꜣ[969] and imn[970] show great similarities[971]. Posener also links this text to P. Anastasi II (8,5-9,10) *Prayer of a defendant to Amun*[972] which provides another example of a highly human style of interaction:"give an ear" (8,5). Each of the instances provide the divine with human attributes, to the extent that we are able to visualise Amun turning his head to reply to the individual, to focus upon them or to move his ear closer so as to listen[973].

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[964] P.D'Orbiney (14,6-7) ꜥn.n=i wšbt Gardiner *LES*, 24a suggests ꜥn=i n=i wšbt "that I may avenge myself"

[965] Laisney *L'Enseignement d'Aménémopé*, 60 with reference to *Amenemope* 4,11 ꜥn n=f wšbt

[966] Turin N.50058 (4) irt n=i sbꜣ ex.17 within chapter 1. And BM EA 589 (8) ir.n=f n=i sbꜣy(t) ex.18 within chapter 1.

[967] Posener *Fs.Ricke* 12, 61-62 and pl. 15b. Also known as O.Wilson , See: Wilson, J. A., 'The Kindly God', *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 49 (1932-33), 150-153

[968] Posener *Fs.Ricke,* 12, 61.

[969] See: O. Borchardt rt.1 and O. IFAO 2181 rt.7. Posener *Fs.Ricke* 12, Pl. 15.

[970] See: O. Borchardt rt.1 and O. IFAO 2181 rt.5. Posener in *Fs.Ricke* 12, Pl. 15.

[971] For the use of pꜣ as a stylistic marker see: Janssen, J. J., 'On Style in Egyptian Handwriting ', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987), 161-167.

[972] Transcription: Gardiner *LEM*, 17. Translation: Caminos *LEM,* 56-58.

[973] Turning/giving an ear to a speech or topic is seen throughout a number of literary traditions, for example: "Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears". Act III, Scene II. Shakespeare, W., *Julius Caesar,* (ed.)

2.1.6 HISTORICAL FICTION

<u>*Example 17*</u>: Tuthmose III in Syria (P.Turin 1940-1941)[974]

Column X+1 – X+3

Page 1

(rt.2) […**came(?)]** **to me!"** Now, he heard the […]

(rt.2) [… *iw(?)*)] *n=i*

ḥr sḏm=f pꜣ […]

(Page 1, rt.2 instance)

 […] (rt.2)[975]

Page 2

<u>Now after a long while,</u> Paser, son of[976] Taaatia answered:
'Allow me to speak, so that you may strengthen your heart, King Menkheperre l.p.h!
Look, Amun-Re King of the Gods, your good father, has come to you, so that he may do for you every matter that is in your heart (*ib*)**.'**
(I) found my[977] heart (*ib*) courageous, my heart (*ḥꜣty*) in joy, all that (I) had done had become manifest.

(rt.1) *ḫr-ir ḫr-sꜣ* **(rt.2)** *ꜣt ꜥꜣyt iw pꜣsr pꜣ (n) tꜣ-ꜥꜣt-iꜣ ḥr wšb*

imi ḏd(=i) n=i iḫ smn=k ib=k nsw mn-ḫpr-rꜥ ꜥ.w.s

(rt.3) *mk imn-rꜥ nsw nṯrw pꜣy=k it nfr iw n=k iry=f n=k ḫrt nb(t) nty im ib=k*

gm(=i) ib=i wmt ḥꜣty=i **(rt.4)** *m ršwt pꜣ i.ir(=i) nb ḫprw*

(Page 2, rt.3 instance)

Spevack, M. (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 1988), 131 though Spevack provides a less metaphorical reading.
[974] Source *xxiv* within section 1.4 of Introduction.
[975] Line provided *in extenso* to allow for further interpretation due to the fragmentary nature of this instance.
[976] *passim* Botti *JEA* 41, 66, f.3.
[977] Tuthmose III.

• ... (rt.3)

• ...

Discussion:

Though the early parts of the P. Turin 1940 are highly fragmentary there is a suggestion of the use of a deictic verb of motion within the early lines. Though the speaker is unnamed, it is likely to be the King- who is the provider of the main part of the narrative.

The root of the verb is lost with only the determinative remaining[978], from this it the verb is to be understood as a verb of motion; as such a form of *iw* is probable. Botti suggests that the trace sign before the determinative is *w* [979], thus taking *iw* as the stative *iw.w*. However, from the photography of this papyrus[980], the trace does not seem diagnostic to this end. If the context were to be understood as an invocation, the imperative *mi* would be expected (as seen within a number of other examples within this chapter), though *mi* normally has a *y* or a dot above the motion determinative, this is not the case. It is clear that there is motion towards the narrator due to the lexicalised GOAL (*n=i*), though at this point it is unclear what context this is in.

The King later finds the enemy "like a bird, pinioned in the grasp of a fowler" (Page 2, rt.1), Paser exhorts the King to be firm, reminding him of the presence of Amun-Re; **(rt.3) Look, Amun-Re King of the Gods, your good father, has come to you, so that he may do for you all the thing that are in your heart** (*ib*)**."** Tuthmose III and his army rally, the King goes on to describe himself as "Montu" (Page 2, rt.4), likening his chariotry as "Seth" and "Ba'al in his moment" (Page 2, rt.4-5). A "rebellious wind[981]" *sbiw n ṯꜣw* (Page 2, rt.6) is raised up containing three forms of the god Montu leading to a decisive victory for the Egyptian forces. This instance, using the verb *iw*, shows clear deictic projection[982] as the speaker (Paser) is not functioning as the deictic centre. Instead Tuthmose III is the centre

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[978] Gardiner Sign List D54.
[979] Botti *JEA* 41, fig.1.
[980] Botti *JEA* 41, Pl. XVI.
[981] Lit. "a rebel of wind" This may be a play on *sbit* "gegemwind" *Wb* IV, 89.1 Though I am discounting the possibility of this as a deviant writing of this lexeme due to the inclusion of the genitive.
[982] Huang *Pragmatics*, 135-136.

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of the utterance, with Amun-Re moving towards the King as the GOAL. The telic nature of the verb "come" is highlighted in this instance, as although the deictic centre is shifted from the speaker, the knowability of the GOAL compared to the SOURCE of the motion is clear.

There are a number of intertextual links between this text and the Qadesh Poem of Ramesses II, including a long quotation[983] placed in the mouth of Tuthmose III. As with the Qadesh inscriptions of Ramesses II, divine presence upon the battlefield is emphasised. However, instead of describing the location of the god in relation to the king (see ex.25), the king is described in relation to the god using a more absolute form of spatial deixis- expressed in the primary cardinal point[984]: "I acted with my hand, south of Amun-Re King of the Gods" (Page 2, rt.5-6) *iw=i irt m ḏrt=i rsy n imn-rˁ nsw-nṯrw*[985], hence, Ramesses places himself *directly* in front of Amun-Re through the use of absolute spatial deixis. In this case, there is deictic projection on the part of the King, placing the divine at the centre and describing his own location in relation to this. The deictic projection applied to Amun-Re is not continued when Tuthmose III describes the positioning of the multiple forms of Montu, who are described as being at the kings left and right (Page 2, rt.7). This passage has been likened by Manassa to the imagery upon the chariot of Tuthmose IV where the god Montu is shown supporting the bow arm of the King in his chariot[986], providing a visual prompt for such divine interaction upon the battlefield.

2.2 Private Monuments

2.2.1 PENITENTIAL STELAE

Example 18: Cairo JE 37463 – Stela of Huy, Viceroy of Kush[987]
Reverse side 1-4

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[983] Manassa *Imagining the Past*, 111-112.
[984] South is the focus of the Egytian compass, as it is from the south that the Nile flows. This is reflected in the lexemes which express left and right, which also express west and east. See: *Wb* I, 30.1-4,7-8 and *Wb* I, 85.11-14.
[985] Given the epithets used, it is clear that this refers to the god and not the battalion of the same name. Manassa *Imagining the Past,* 113-114 suggests that this may also be taken as a battle standard, though given the focus of the narrative on divine interaction during the battle it follows that this is the actual character of Amun-Re rather than a totem.
[986] cf. Carter and Newberry in *The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV,* Pl. X.
[987] For full details of this stela: source *xxvii* in section 1.4 of Introduction.

'**Come in peace (my) lord Nebkheperure.** I see darkness daily[988], which you made. Shine for me, so that I may see you. (And) I will relate your *bȝw* to the fish of the river […lacuna of 1 line[989]…]"

(1) *mi m ḥtp nb* (*=i*) *nb-ḫprw-rˁ*

mȝ=i kkw ḫ[*rt hrw*] **(2)** *n ir.n=k* [990]

sḥḏ n=i mȝ=i -tw

sḏd **(3)** *=i bȝw=k n rmw ḥr itrw*

(4) ….

(Line 1-2 Instance)

Discussion:

Before assessing this inscription, it should be noted that this inscription has been included within this chapter under the heading of "penitential stelae". This is due to the internal coherences of language; this includes the use of phrases such as: "I see darkness" (Reverse 1-2) and "I will relate your *bȝw*" (Reverse 3)-both noted by Luiselli[991]. Furthermore, one can only assume that the text lost within the lacuna would have continued with the lexical themes of personal piety, i.e. pairing "Fish of the river" to the "birds of the sky" in the same manner as seen within the text of Berlin 20377 (ex.20) as observed by Fecht[992].

At this point, there has been no full treatise of this stela as a textual artefact, though its importance has been noted by a number of writers including Vernus who mentions this stela in relation to the origins of personal piety ("this phenomenon is abundantly documented from the Ramesside period, but it had already appeared at the end of Dynasty

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[988] *Passim* Rowe *ASAE* 40, 48 who was able to note a solar disc determinative.

[989] Likely the lacuna contains "and the birds of the sky"- as seen within the inscription of Berlin 20377 (ex.11 in this chapter).

[990] Reading this as a *sḏm.n=f* with the genitival adjective. Gardiner *Egyptian Grammar*, §192 described this construction as "very rare", providing an 18th dynasty example (*Urk* IV, 812.8-9) which also includes the verb *ir(i)*.

[991] Luiselli *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe*, 163 and 327.

[992] Fecht, G., 'The Structural Principle of Ancient Egyptian Elevated Language', in J. C. de Moor and W. G. E. Watson (eds.) *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose,* 42 (Verlag Butzon & Bercker; Kevelear 1993), 69-94, particularly 90-91.

18"[993]) and Morgan who integrates this text into her study into the themes of personal piety[994]. Though Morgan includes a translation of the text inscribed upon this stela, the text is predominantly discussed through the features in which it is lacking such as the motif of sin or guilt or other set phrases associated with the personal piety corpus[995]. There are two important implications associated with this inscription which have not been stated sufficiently clearly; this stela predates other personal piety texts showing similar phraseology, secondly, it is the only text of this kind in which the divine force is that of a deified King rather than a god or goddess. These two elements may indicate some level of cultural and linguistic development within this corpus. The extent to which the king was a 'god' in the same way as other gods has been discussed widely within Egyptology[996]. Ultimately the King is "Superhuman" straddling both human and divine roles. Nevertheless, I am unaware of any parallels in which the King causes an individual to see darkness.

With that being said, we may now move onto the instance of interest within this inscription. In the first column of text on the reverse of this stela, we read the phrase: **"Come in peace (my) lord Nebkheperure."** (Reverse 1). Whilst this shows similarities to a number of other sources presented in this chapter, instead of the individual requesting the attendance of a traditional deity, Huy seeks the assistance of his king. Despite this, given the wording of the following columns (e.g. "I see darkness you have caused"), it appears that Tutankhamun is playing a divine role as he is shown at the same level of the gods depicted on the upper register of the obverse side[997], he is also mentioned in relation to Amun within the inscription[998], thus implying a divine role. This raises the question as to whether Tutankhamun is deceased or alive.

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[993] Vernus, P., *Affairs and Scandals in Ancient Egypt,* (Cornell University Press; Ithaca, NY 2003)146.

[994] Morgan *SAK* 34, 342-344.

[995] Morgan, E.-E. 'Einige Bemerkungen zur Thematik der Persönlichen Frömmigkeit', *Studien zur Altagyptischen Kultur* 34 (2006), 343.

[996] Posener, G., *De la divinité du pharaon,* (Imprimerie Nationale; Paris 1960)see also:Frandsen, P. J., 'Aspects of Kingship in Ancient Egypt', in N. M. Brisch (ed.) *Religion and Power : Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond,* (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; Chicago, IL 2008), 47-73 who discusses the role of the genitive in relation to the power of the King, this may provide the base of potential work upon refrences to the King's *b3w*, as referenced within this inscription. And Silverman, D. P., 'The Nature of Egyptian Kingship', in D. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Kingship,* (Brill; Leiden 1995), 49-92.

[997] Robins, G., *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art,* (Thames & Hudson; London 1994)

[998] "giving praise for your *ka*, O Amun, Lord of [the thrones of the two lands]"(1) is paired with the "royal *ka* of Nebkheperure" they are invoked as a pair saying: *di=sn ʿhʿ nfr* "may *they* give me a happy life" (3).

Rowe provides a list of deified kings[999] including the instance presented here as well as an example from the tomb of Huy in which he is presented as a priest of the deified king[1000] and from the Temple of Tutankhamun at Faras, of the same nature[1001]. Rowe states that this text from this stela provides "further proof that the divine powers of the king were believed to continue after death"[1002]. Griffiths suggests that the title "shows that Huy made the king himself a deity" at Faras[1003], also noting a number of other royals who show elements of deification at this Nubian outpost[1004]. Griffiths states that at Faras "there is no sign that Tutankhamun's name was attacked" [1005] paired with instances of the cartouche of Horemhab suggesting "that the temple was continued in use after his death"[1006].

Deictically, Huy is placed at the deictic centre of this phrase, thus allowing the King to move towards him as the GOAL of movement, phrased in the same manner as peer-peer or human-divine motion. This phrase utilises the imperative form (*mi*), unfortunately, due to the lacuna it is unclear whether Huy received the assistance he desired.

Example 19: Turin N 50042

Lower register 1-5

Giving praise to Shu, kissing the earth to Horakhti:

'I give praise to you when I see your beauty. I adore Re when he sets, the noble god, beloved and merciful, **who hears prayers** (*nḥy*)**, who hears the petitions** (*snmḥ*) **of one who calls to him, who comes (at) the voice of one who pronounces his name'**

By the draftsman Pay.

(1) *rdit dwꜣ n pꜣ šw sn-tꜣ n ḥr-ꜣḫ.ti*

di=i **(2)** *n=k iꜣw mꜣꜣ=i nfrw=k*

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[999] Rowe *ASAE* 40, 37-45.

[1000] Gardiner, A. H. and De Garis Davies, N., *The Tomb of Huy,* (Egypt Exploration Society; London 1926)18 and pl. xiv-xv. See also: Brugsch, H., *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum: altaegyptische Inschriften,* V: Historisch-biographische Inschriften altaegyptischer Denkmaeler (J.C. Hinrichs; Leipzig 1891), 1137-1138.

[1001] Griffith, F. L., 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 8 (1921), 1-18, 65-104

[1002] Rowe *ASAE* 40, 3.

[1003] Griffith *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 8, 93.

[1004] For example: Senwosret III and Ramesses II, Griffith *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 8, 88-89.

[1005] Griffith *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 8, 93.

[1006] Ibid.

dwȝ **(3)** *=i rˁ m ḥtp=f pȝ nṯr špss mry ḥtpy* **(4)** *sḏm nḥy sḏm snmḥ n ˁš n=f* **(5)** *ii (ḥr) ḫrw n dmw rn=f*

in **(6)** *sš-ḳd pȝy*

(Line 4-5 Instance)

(4) [hieroglyphs]

(5) [hieroglyphs]
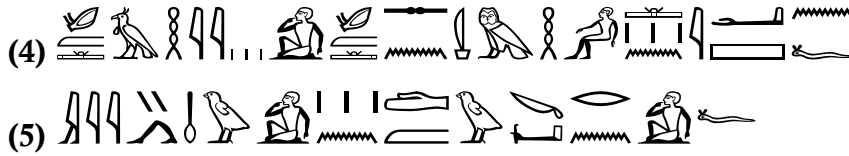
Discussion:

Within this stela the sun god is described as one **"who comes (at) the voice of one who pronounces his name"**, placing the "one who pronounces his name" as the GOAL of the movement and their "voice" as the trigger for this. This also suggests that the "one who pronounces his name" is the deictic centre for the utterance, not necessarily the speaker but *any* of those who call upon the divine, thus making the deictic centre moveable. The use of this phraseology as an epithet for the divine is also seen within P. Leiden I 350 rt. (ex.12) and Berlin 20377 (ex.20). As with a number of the instances gathered within this chapter, there is an element of divine-human call and response, the use of repeated participles referring to the god as "the one who *x*" suggests that these elements are constant elements within the character of the divine, perhaps as an element of presupposition (see section 3.1).

Example 20: Berlin 20377

Upper Register (a- Behind the figure of Amun, lines 1-4)

Amen-Re, Lord of the thrones of the two lands, great god foremost in Karnak**, noble god who hears prayers, who comes at the voice of the** *nmḥ* **and (the) afflicted,** who gives breath to the weak.

(1) *imn-rˁ nb nst tȝwy*
(2) *nṯr ˁȝ* **(3)** *ḫnty ipt-swt*

nṯr šps sḏm nḥt

ii ḥr ḫrw **(4)** *nmḥ ind*

dd ṯȝw n gȝby

(Line 3-4 Instance)

Lower Register (4-12)

You are Amun, the lord of the silent man, who comes at the voice of (the) *nmḥ* **who calls to you, when I am afflicted. You come to save me.**

(4) *ntk imn pꜣ nb n gr*

ii ḥr ḫrw n nmḥ

i.ꜥš n=k iw=i ind.kw

tw **(5)***=k ii.ti šd=k -wi*

(Line 4-5 Instances)

You give breath (to) the weak, you rescue me (as) one who was bound.

You are Amun-Re, Lord of Thebes, who rescues the one who is in the Netherworld. **For you are [merciful**[1007]**] when one calls to you, you are he who comes from afar**.

(5) *di=k ṯꜣw (n) nt(y) gbi šd=k wi wnnt ti(s)*[1008]

ntk imn-rꜥ nb wꜣst šd wnn m ḏwꜣt pꜣ wn

ntk [ḥtp] **(6)** *iw=tw ḥr i ꜥš n=k ntk pꜣ ii m wꜣiw*

(Line 5-6 Instance)

[1007] It is unclear what signs rest in this lacuna, Kitchen (K*RI* III, 654) suggests three horizontal lines as shown, though contextually *ḥtp* makes more sense.

[1008] *tis* meaning "to bind", "to fix" or "to become hard" See: Lesko *Late Egyptian Dictionary*, II, 201.

(6) [hieroglyphs]

Made by the Draughtsman of Amun in the Place of Truth, Nebre- true of voice, son of the Draughtsman in the Place of Truth, Pay […] **in the name of his Lord, Amun, Lord of Thebes, who comes at the voice of the** *nmḥ***.**

(6) *ir n sš-ḳd n imn m st-mꜥ3t nb-rꜥ m3ꜥ-ḥrw s3 sš-ḳd n st-mꜥ3t p3y* […]**(7)** *ḥr rn n nb=f imn nb w3st ii ḥr ḥrw n nmḥ*

(Line 7 Instance)

[hieroglyphs]

Hymns were made in his name, because of the greatness of his might.

He made petitions in my presence, before the whole land[1009].

On behalf of the draughtsman, Nakhtamun – the justified, as he lay ill close to death[1010], he being (under) the *b3w* of Amun, due to his wrongdoing. **I found that the Lord of the Gods had come in the north wind, with sweet breezes in front of him.** He saved the Draughtsman of Amun Nakhtamun, true of voice, son of the Draughtsman of Amun in the Place of Truth, Nebre, true of voice, born of the Lady Pashed, true of voice, He says:

(7) *iw irt n=f dw3w ḥr rn=f n ꜥ3 n t3=f pḥ.ty*

iw irt n=f snmḥw **(8)** *r ḫft ḥr=f m-b3ḥ=i t3 r ḏr=f*

ḥr sš-ḳd nḫt-imn mꜥ3-ḥrw iw=f sḏr mr m-di m(w)t

iw=f b3w n imn ḥr t3=f isft

gm **(9)** *n=i nb nṯrw iw m mḥyt t3w nḏm r-ḥ3t=f*

šd=f sš-ḳd n imn nḫt-imn m3ꜥ-ḥrw s3 sš-ḳd n imn m ipt-swt nb-rꜥ m3ꜥ-ḥrw

ms n **(10)** *nbt p3-šd m3ꜥ-ḥrw ḏd=f*

(Line 8-9 Instance)

(8) [hieroglyphs] **(9)** [hieroglyphs]

[1009] Iterating the hymns made *on behalf of* Nakhtamun and the petitions Nakhtamun made *personally.*

[1010] lit. *mr m-di m(w)t* however, this does not translate well into english idiom.

'Whilst the servant is sure to have acted wrongly, the Lord is sure to be merciful. The Lord of Thebes does not spend all day in anger! If he is angry, in a moment none remains. **The breeze turns back to us in peace. Amun has turned with his winds. As your *Ka* endures, you will be merciful. We[1011] don't again turn back.'**

(10) *ḫr wn mty bȝk=i r irt btȝ ḫr mty nb r ḥtp*

bw iry pȝ nb n wȝst (11) *hrw ḏr=f ḳnd.tw*

ir ḳnd=f m ḳm n ȝt nn sp snyt

swḥwt ꜥnn.ti n=n m ḥtpw (12)

imn ḳdw [1012] *ḥr tȝw=f*

wȝḥ kȝ=k iw=k r ḥtp

bw wḥm=n ꜥnn

(Line 11-12 Instance)

Discussion:

Of the seven instances contained within this inscription there is a certain amount of repetition, in the form of the epithet: **"(one) who comes at the voice of the *nmḥ*"** which appears three times. There are contextual variations between these instances. In the third instance of this phrase, the concept of the divine coming when called is reiterated after the use of the epithet, stating: **"I call to you when I am afflicted and you come to save me."** (Lower 5). This is the only instance within this inscription which also describes the purpose of the divine attention, i.e. in order to "save" (*šd*) the individual. Lower line 6 contains a similar phraseology to this epithet, following a description of the attributes of Amun, it is stated that **"you are [merciful] when one calls to you; you are he who comes from afar."**

[1011] Nebre and Nakhtamun, i.e. the God has turned in a positive was so the individuals will not turn in a negative way.

[1012] Whilst the inscription reads *std*, Kitchen suggests the reading as *kd(w)* suggesting the translation "Amun has turned around, bearing his breezes" See: Kitchen, K. A., *Poetry of Ancient Egypt,* (Paul Åstroms Forlag; Janserad 1999),288-289.

As an extension to the basic concept of divine attention, this particular instance adds a generic SOURCE for the divine movement expressed as a separate lexical item **"from afar"**, this inclusion points to the individual as the deictic centre.

Lower lines 8-9 state that "**I found that the Lord of the Gods had come in the north wind, with sweet breezes before him.**" This shows similar phraseology to that of *Supplications to Amun in a year of need* (P. Anastasi IV[1013]), which reads **"Finding Amun coming in peace, the sweet breezes before him."** (10,3-4). Again, Amun is moving towards the individual (as the deictic centre) with the sweet breezes "in front of him" (*r-ḥꜣt=f*). Based upon the work of Hill[1014], this placement (between the individual and the god) may be seen as an extension of the egocentric element of this movement[1015], strengthening the attentional basis for the use of the verb in this case.

The final examples found within this inscription follow after a description of the state of Nakhtamun and the ends to which Nebre has gone to placate the divine, for example: "Hymns were made… I made petitions" (Lower 7). Following these entreaties, redemption is achieved and it is stated that **"The breeze turns back to us in peace. Amun has turned with his winds. As your Ka endures, you will be merciful. We don't again turn back"** (Lower line 11-12). These lines utilise the verb *ꜥnn* twice (as within the Graffito of Pawah- ex.4), again repeating the concept of a positive turning, i.e. moving around so that the characters are now face-to-face. This turning when paired with the use of "sweet breezes" and the North Wind provides a keen metaphor for the redemption of Nakhtamun. The idea of "turning" is repeated utilising *ꜥnn* twice and *ḳdw* once, emphasising this motion in reference to all characters involved within the inscription (the divine, humans and the breeze).

Each of the examples within this inscription pair the deictic verb with a word for a vocal request for attention; three instances of the phrase "voice of the *nmḥ*", one instance of the verb *ꜥš*, and a single use of the word *nḥt*. In fact, in these cases, it appears that the divine

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[1013] Ex. 7 in this chapter.
[1014] Hill, C., 'Up/down, front/back, left/right: a Contrastive Study of Hausa and English', in J. Weissenborn and W. Klein (ed.) *Here and There: Cross-linguistic Studies on Deixis and Demonstration,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 1982), 13-42, with special reference to his deictic field diagrams on 36.
[1015] For the usage of FRONT in other languages, see: Heine and Kuteva, *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization,* 141-142.

is expected to attend when called by those in need/ the *nmḥ*[1016], there are no direct conditions described for this to occur, other than the implied need for salvation (*šdi*), it is indicated numerous times that the god "comes" when called. Hence, if one who is in need of divine attention (as Nakhtamun clearly was) make petitions *et cetera* as described in Lower lines 7-8, then the divine will come to them and attend, as is iterated in the oath style phraseology of Lower line 12.

In all cases within this text, the telic nature of the verb is clearly present, the location of the god before movement is unknown, whereas the GOAL as the individual is known. Hence, the information required to use "come" is fulfilled.

Example 21: Turin N 50058 [1017]

I called out for breeze, without (it) coming to me!

(6) *iw=i ḥr ꜥš n ṯꜣw nn iw n=i/=f* [1018]

(Line 6 Instance)

…and I called out to my mistress and found she came to me with sweet breezes.

(11) *iw=i ḥr ꜥš n tꜣy=i* **(12)** *ḥnt*

gm(=i) -st ii.ti n=i m ṯꜣw nḏm

(Line 11-12 Instance)

[1016] Seen as those reliant on the divine for protection, based upon David, A., 'The *nmḥ* and the Paradox of the Voiceless in the Eloquent Peasant', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 97 (2011), 73-85, particularly 78.
[1017] A full translation of this text is provided within Chapter 1 ex.17.
[1018] Though the inscription includes both =*i* and =*f* is it clear that both refer to Neferabu- indeed the pronoun usage is varied throughout the text. Kitchen annotates =*f* as an error: K*RI* III, 773. It is possible that the =f may refer to the breeze, so *nn iw=f n=i.*

She turned to me as a merciful one

iw=s ꜥnnw **(14)** *n=i m ḥtpy*

(Line 13-14 Instance)

Discussion:

The first instance of the use of a deictic verb within this text is in line 6 where Neferabu **"called out for breeze, without it coming"**. However, unlike other instances which make use of this topos, in this case despite Neferabu's petitions, the god (via metonym of the breeze[1019]) does not attend. Notwithstanding, there is a sense of presupposition that the divine ought to attend when called, i.e. if Neferabu calls (ꜥš) then he *should* receive assistance. Given the following statements, it appears that Neferabu was not meek enough to deserve redemption- possibly due to his wrongdoing, assumed to be an element of disrespect by Groll[1020]- as when he has been "humble", he is able to receive assistance.

Lines 11-12 show successful petition: **"I called out to my mistress and found she came to me with sweet breezes"**. The choice of the verb form *ii* and the positioning of the breezes before her, indicate clearly that the movement is towards the GOAL- that of Neferabu who also functions as the deictic centre for these utterances. This description is extended in lines 13-14 where Neferabu states that after his punishment; **"She turned to me as a merciful one"**, emphasising a positive implicature. This phrase uses the verb *ꜥnn*, the same verbal choice as the "turning" of the divine within the Pawah graffito and Berlin 20377 (exx.4 and 20). Throughout this inscription the reason for "coming" is not stated directly following the deictic verb, it is by the context and the description of the state of affairs which provides the understanding for the reason for calling[1021].

[1019] See section 3.4 within this chapter.
[1020] Groll LingAeg, 1,143-153.
[1021] This text was discussed in Chapter 1 (ex.6).

2.2.2 TOMB INSCRIPTIONS

<u>Example 22</u>: TT 409 - Samut called Kyky

Text A (South Wall) 7-12

He said: 'Look, I now give to her all of my things, all that (I have) created,

since I know that she is effective on my behalf [1022], and she is uniquely excellent.

She freed me from confrontations[1023], she is lacking in a moment of evil.

She has come, the north wind in front of her, since I called upon her name.

(7) *iw ḏd.n=f mk wi ḥr dit n=s ḫt=i sḫprt(=i) nbt*

iw(=i) rḫ.k **(8)** *w ȝḫ s(y) m ḥr=i mnḫ s wˤ.ti*

iry=s n=i wš m ḥr **(9)** *n ḥr nhy=s[1024] m ȝt ḏwt =s*

ii.ti mḥyt r-ḫȝt=s ḏr **(10)** *ˤš=i ḥr rn=s*

(Line 9-10 Instance)

I was the weak son of her village, a poor man around her town,

when I entered into her power in relation to my things, in exchange for the breath of life.

One of my kin may not divide it!

(10) *ink sȝ n dmi=s šwȝ ḳȝry* **(11)** *n niwt=s*

ˤḳ=i ḥr ḫt=i n wsr=s ḏbȝ ṯȝw n ˤnḫ

bn **(12)** *psš st wˤ n hȝw(=i)*

Discussion:

The preceding instance comes from within one of the long texts (Text A), which details his devotion to the goddess Mut. Having laid out his wishes in the way of his donations to Mut, stating: **"She has come, the north wind before her, sinc I called upon her name."** (9-10). This phrase performs two functions, firstly, it shows divine selection and piety as discussed in the previous chapter. The location of the north wind "in front of her" (*r-ḫȝt=s*)

[1022] Lit. "in my face" *m ḥr=i.*
[1023] Lit. "face to face" *ḥr n ḥr, passim* Negm *The Tomb of Simut called Kyky*, 37 f.5
[1024] Written as *sw.*

also provides deictic information as it places the wind between the divine and Samut-Kyky[1025]. This movement is paired with the theme of calling/petition[1026]. Finally, it may be noted that Kitchen translates this passage as "She comes, the (fresh) North wind before her, when I call upon her name"[1027], choosing to highlight a possible presupposition, in that the divine should attend when called.

Example 23: TT 194 - Djehutiemhab

Text 119 (Scene 52.1)[1028] *also known as "A Dream from Hathor"* [1029]

11-13

You are the one who spoke to me (with) your own mouth (saying):

'I am the beautiful *Hely*[1030], in the [form?[1031]] of Mut,

who has come in order to instruct you:

See your (rightful) place[1032], fix yourself with it,

without travelling north or south'

(11) *mnt(t) i.dd n=i (m) r(ꜣ)=t ds=t*

ink ḫnrii nfrt iw ir[w?…] n mwt

iirt [1033] **(12)** *ii r mtr=k*

ptr st=k imḫ-tw im=s

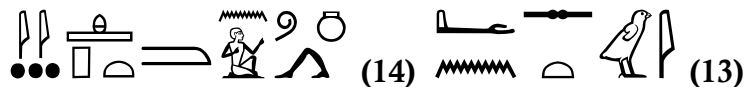*n(n) ḫd n(n) ḫnty*

(Line 11-12 Instance)

[1025] cf. Hill, C., 'Up/down, front/back, left/right: a Contrastive Study of Hausa and English', in J. Weissenborn and W. Klein (eds.) *Here and There: Cross-linguistic Studies on Deixis and Demonstration,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 1982), 13-42.

[1026] See also lines 15-16 "hear (my) petitions" *sdm sprw*.

[1027] *RITA* III, 243.

[1028] Seyfried numberings, Seyfried *Das Grab des Djehutiemhab*, 70.

[1029] K*RI* VII, 153.

[1030] Frood notes that "Hely*"* is also used as a personal (human) name, thus suggesting a greater level of intimacy between the goddess and Djehutiemhab. See: Frood *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt,* 239, n.78.

[1031] Due to a lacuna the full meaning of this line is unclear, though I am inclined to agree with Seyfried *Das Grab des Djehutiemhab,* 72. Who suggests that given what remains of the *ir* eye and possible *twt* determinative, the reading "abbild" or "wesen" is possible. Lesko *Late Egyptian Dictionary* I, 40.

[1032] Djehutiemhab's tomb. *passim* Frood *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt,* 239.

[1033] Reading this as an early writing of the verb *iri* used periphrastically. In proper Late Egyptian one would expect *iir ii r mtr=k*. cf. Junge *Late Egyptian Grammar,* 133.

𓂋𓏤𓏤𓆑𓏏𓄿𓂋𓏏𓂝𓈖𓀜𓀀 **(12)** 𓅱𓏤𓏤𓉻𓏏𓄿𓅱𓏪𓏏𓄿𓅯𓈖𓈖𓂋𓏏𓉐𓊪𓄿𓊪𓏏𓈇𓏤𓏤 **(11)**

I was in a dream.

The land was in silence in the dead of night

and at dawn, my heart rejoiced, I was in joy!

(12) *iw=i m ḳd*

iw tꜣ m **(13)** *sgr m nfrw grḥ*

ḥḏ-tꜣ ib=i ḥꜥw tw=i m ršrš

Discussion:

The instance contained within this text is unusual in that it is placed within the mouth of the divine, specifically, a goddess. It comes from within a long inscription (text 119) identified as a Hymn to Hathor, inscribed upon the northern wall of the chapel[1034] of the tomb of Djehutiemhab (TT 194), paired with another text on the opposite side of a doorway which is framed as the verbal reply of Hathor (text 120).

Following a number of hymnic lines extolling the qualities of the goddess, there follows the description of Djehutiemhab's religious dream. The dream occurs in the depths of the night (*nfrw grḥ*), during which, the goddess- Mut or Hathor[1035] speaks to Djehutiemhab "with your own mouth" (11), stating: **"I am the beautiful *Hely*, in the [form?] of Mut, who comes in order to instruct you:** See your (rightful) place, fix yourself in it, without travelling north or south" (11-12).   The verb of choice in this case is *iw/ii*, thus suggesting that Djehutiemhab is the GOAL of the motion. As this is placed within the speech of the goddess, it shows deictic projection to the individual as the deictic centre and further emphasises the place of the individual as the GOAL of the motion. The importance of the divine attendance is shown in the description of Djehutiemhab's state when waking: "At dawn, my heart rejoiced, I was in joy!" (13).

Despite the lack of word for calling/praying in close proximity to this phrase, early within the inscription it is stated that Djehutiemhab had visited Hathor in order to praise her:

[1034] Corresponding to 16 on the plan of the tomb in: Seyfried *Das Grab des Djehutiemhab,* fig.11.

[1035] Seyfried *Das Grab des Djehutiemhab,* 73 who suggests that the missing figure within the lacuna underneath text 120 may have been Mut.

"[he says: 'I have com]e before you[1036], O lady of the Two Lands, Hathor, great of love" (4) contextually implying that the attention of the goddess is related to Djehutiemhab's piety. The same lexical choices are made within the speech of Djehutiemhab to describe his movement towards the GOAL of being "before" the goddess. These two instance show a shift in the deictic centre and hence the GOAL from the divine to the human- as a reciprocal event.

2.3 Royal Monuments

Example 24: Tutankhamun Restoration stela (CG 34183)

7-9

The land was in distress, the gods were turning away (*mkḫꜣ*) from this land.

If [an army/expedition] was sent to Djahi[1037] to extend the borders of Egypt, no strengthening of them happened.

(7) *wnn* **(8)** *tꜣ m sny mnt nṯrw mkḫꜣ=sn tꜣ pn*

ir hꜣbt [mšꜥ] r ḏꜣh r swsḫ tš kmt

n ḫpr n rwḏt=sn **(9)** *nb*

(Line 7-8 Instances)

If one prayed to god to ask from his arm a thing, he wouldn't come at all. Likewise, if one prayed to any goddess, she wouldn't come at all.

(9) *ir snmḫ=tw n nṯr r nḏ ḫt m-ꜥ=f*

n ii.n=f r sy

ir sšꜣy=tw n nṯrt nb m mitt

n ii.n=s r sy [1038]

(Line 9 Instances)

[1036] In this case, the goddess in the GOAL for Djehutiemhab's movement from and unknown SOURCE.

[1037] The area of Syria-Palestine.

[1038] The writing of nn *sḏm.n=f* is considered to be a graphic artefact writing rather than a *bona* fide form. This is supported by the parallel writings which show *nn* and *n*, as such both instances are translated using *n sḏm.n=f* form *passim* Bennett *JEA* 25, 15.
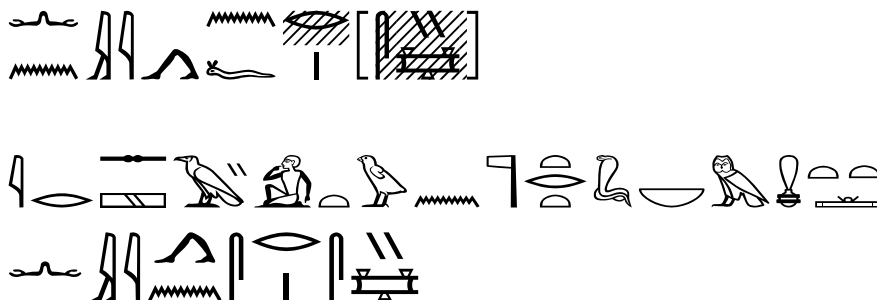
Discussion:

The following instances come within a passage describing the negative state of affairs before the accession of Tutankhamun: "their shrines were decayed, having become mounds of rubble, overgrown with weeds" (7). However, the decay of society is greater with lacking success in military ventures also. Then follows the phrase: "**The land was in distress, the gods were turning away (***mkḥꜣ***) from this land.**"(7-8), the lexical choice of *mkḥꜣ* provides a vivid metaphor for the attention of the divine to Egypt. This particular lexeme has two related meanings, "back of the head"[1039] and the verb "to neglect"[1040], this relationship shows the attentional nature of the verb and thus its deictic qualities. At this time, this example is the only instance utilising *mkḥꜣ* within this context, other examples within this chapter have utilised *ꜥnn* (exx. 4 and 16)[1041] and the more direct *ḫꜣꜥ ḥꜣ* and *ḥꜣ=f r=i* (ex.1). With each of these three formulations it is clear that the focus of the idiom is the attention of the divine via their gaze- something the back of the head is blatantly wanting in.

The text goes on to state that: "**If one prayed to god to ask from his arm a thing[1042], he wouldn't come at all. Likewise, if one prayed to any goddess, she wouldn't come at all.**"(9). There are a number of conclusions that may be drawn from the grammar and the context of this line. Contextually, this passage asserts the decay of the society within the Amarna period; the failure of military expeditions and the physical deterioration of temples is iterated in the same breath as the lack of divine attention- thus suggesting that

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[1039] *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae,* Lemma 77100. See also: *Wb* II, 163.
[1040] Ibid.
[1041] It should be noted that *ꜥn(n)* is not utilised to express contexts which are solely negative as it is also ised positively.
[1042] i.e. asking the god for something that ought to be established. For this understanding of the divine arm cf. section 3.1 in chapter 1.

previously all of this state of affairs was not the norm. Indeed, it presupposes that when one prays to a god, they should assist, just as when an expedition is sent to extend the borders of Egypt, it should be able to do so! This passage within the inscription is the final section of explanation of the state of affairs before the text shifts focus to the transition period and the restoration of the social and religious norms by the King. Baines suggests that this inscription represents a return to "ideal polytheism" in which there is a metaphorical bond of kinship between humanity and the divine[1043]. Hence, whilst the elite were "bound to tend"[1044] to the divine then it also follows that the divine should assist when called upon.

This passage, as well as the description of the state of the country, is highly reminiscent of the 'then-now' structure of a number of utterances within Middle Kingdom Pessimistic laments[1045], including *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All*: "Look, he who had no shade is the owner of shade; (yet) the owners of the shade are in the darkness(?) of storms" (7.13)[1046]. As well as reflecting the literary discourse of the god listening to prayers, for example: "when they weep, he is listening"[1047].

Example 25: The Qadesh Poem of Ramesses II
§ *121-123* [1048]
Now, I made prayers in the furthest of foreign lands
my voice resounding in Southern On.
I found that Amun came when I called him,

(§121) *ist ir=i sm3ꜥw m pḥw ḫ3st*
(§122) *iw ḫrw=i pḫr m iwn-rsy*
(§123) *gm.n=i imn iw ḏr ꜥš=i n=f*
(§ 121-123 Instance)[1049]

[1043] Baines in *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism*, 53.
[1044] Ibid.
[1045] Emnarch, *A World Upturned*, 38 cf.Schenkel, W., 'Schatten', in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.) *Lexikon der Ägyptologie,* (Harrassowitz; Wiesbaden 1984), 535-536.
[1046] Emnarch, *A World Upturned*, 230.
[1047] *Merikare* E 135, Quack *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare,* 197.
[1048] For full context: Chapter 1 ex.26.
[1049] There is little variance between the surviving copies of this text, the transcription presented is a composite of the various copies.

[hieroglyphs] **(121)**

[hieroglyphs] **(122)**

[hieroglyphs] **(123)**

Discussion:

This example provides an instance of a deictic verb placed in the voice of the king-Ramesses II. This instance comes from one of the turning points of the battle- in which Ramesses' heroism is redoubled by the interaction of the god Amun. Two words are used to describe Ramesses' invocation for help, using *šmꜣꜥ* (§121) and *ꜥš* (§123). Having called upon Amun it is stated in the voice of Ramesses that **"I found that Amun came"** (§122), unlike many of the instances within this chapter, this example is one of few in which where the movement is complete, i.e. the invocation is fulfilled. In this way, it is also shows a number of lexical similarities to the inscriptions of Nebre (Berlin 20377, ex.20). Assmann[1050] suggests that the usage of "I found…" is a hallmark of personal piety, though the examples he provides do not appear to fully support his argument[1051]. We are able to demonstrate that the speaker (in this case Ramesses II) is placed at the deictic centre, later emphasised by the phrase "He called (to me) from behind me (as if) face to face with your face"(§125), whilst couched in metaphor in order to show the proximity of the divine, it is most definitely attentional, "face to face" shows keenly the proximity that Ramesses felt to the god at that time with a possible link to the use of "face to face" to mean battle.

Notably elsewhere within the inscriptions, the Prince of Hatti is said to "turn" using *ꜥnn* (*iw=f ḥr ꜥhꜣ ꜥnw* §146). Clearly, this is seen as a negative and cowardly action by the Egyptian narrator, by placing his back to the view of Ramesses.

[1050] Assman, *Oracular desire,* 15, note 16.
[1051] For a full treatment on "finding" a god through *gmi*, see chapter 3 here.

3.0 Results: Divine Attention and Human Conception

In order to assess the linguistic understanding of divine interaction within the collected sources, examples of deictic verbs in relation to the divine were examined. The preceding study allows for a further discussion of the cognitive basis for religious expression during this time, as well as allowing for a broader explanation of the differences between certain verbs of motion.

It was posited that, as with a number of Egyptian concepts, there would be a duality of divine movement, i.e. coming and going as is also present in other languages. However, from the divine instances gathered, it is clear that whilst there is lexical duality, it is presented in a different manner to that which was hypothesised, when the speaker wishes to indicate a lack of divine attention, instead of using any verb indicating movement away from the deictic centre, they describe a negation of movement towards the centre, i.e. "not coming" or describe the god "turning away".

Grammatically, it may be observed that the imperative form of *iw/ii* (*mi*) is used in twenty nine instances (this includes the anaphoric introduction seen within the *Hymn to Amun* preserved in P.UC 32793 and P.BM EA 10780[1052]). This also marks a change in the lexical flexibility in addressing the divine, as instead of directing a prayer or invocation towards the divine as an abstracted force, the individual is able to use the direct address form of the imperative. Of those instances which are not in the imperative form, there are seven examples which utilise the verb *iw/ii* are in the form of an epithet ("who comes…")[1053].

Verb	"Come" *iw/ii* forms	"Come" Imperative *mi*	Negation of "Come"	Turn using *ꜥnn*	Turn using *ḫꜥ ḫꜣ*	Turn using *ḳdw*	Turn using *mkḫꜣ*
Instances	15	29	3	2	1	1	1

TABLE 5: Number of instances of deictic verb usage

[1052] See: ex.9 within this chapter.
[1053] These epithets are predominantly found within the inscription of Berlin 20377 (ex. 20)

When considered through the properties of deixis, there is one feature which is dominant within all instances of the verbs of motion examined within this chapter is that of attention. There are two image schemas which may illustrate the main tropes of these deictic interactions. The first of these is the most prevalent, that of "come", it may be characterised through the source/path/goal image schema of Johnson[1054], whereby the individual is the GOAL of the divine movement along a set path. This movement towards the individual is highly attentional as it will ultimately result in face to face interaction as intimated by Hill[1055]. This is often enhanced by the inclusion of a reason for interaction. The motif of theophany within these examples does not entail a negative aspect of interaction, i.e. the divine came in order to punish, rather in each situation the divine arrive in order to save the individual, to advise them or to otherwise aid them[1056].
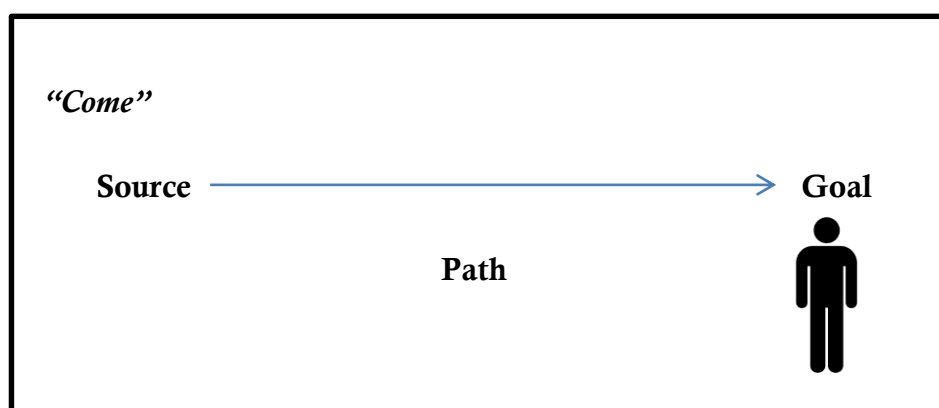
FIG.8: An image schema of successful divine interaction using "come"

The expression of an unfulfilled desire for interaction as described through the negation of "come" shares the same image schema as a successful interaction- there is still a SOURCE and a GOAL, equally the PATH to the individual is still present and is expected to be utilised but remains unfulfilled.

[1054] Johnson, M., *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason,* (University of Chicago Press; Chicago, IL 1987), 28.
[1055] Hill in Weissenborn and Klein, 13-42.
[1056] As this is the case, it may be strongly suggested that the Egyptians merely used a separate lexicon in order to memorialise divine punishment.
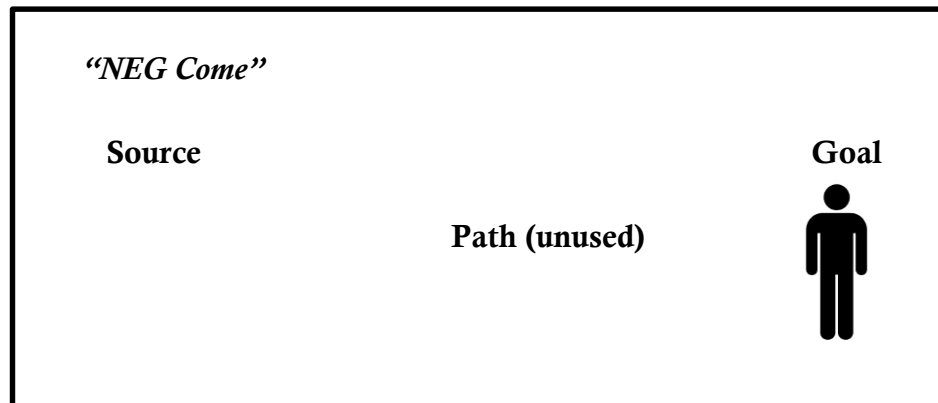
FIG.9: An image schema of an incomplete divine interaction using the negation of "come"

3.1 The god who *ought* to attend

There are two instances in which the text appears to imply that the divine *ought* to attend when the individual is in need- both of these are framed as an incomplete interaction. These are found within Turin 50058 (ex.21), who having calls out for assistance **"without it coming to me!"** and within the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun (ex.24), where it is stated that **"If one prayed to god to ask from his arm thing, he wouldn't come at all. Likewise, if one prayed to any goddess, she wouldn't come at all."** These instances both show elements of presupposition; a reflex of language may be thought of as an element of common ground based upon the context of the utterance, whereby an inference or proposition acts as a pre-condition to the utterance[1057]. Particularly, in the examples quoted above, the presupposition may be described as being based around an aspectual/change of state predicate for example:

> "John has/hasn't *stopped* driving his car"
>
> \>> John has been driving his car (Or John *used to* drive his car)[1058]

[1057] Huang *Pragmatics*, 65.

[1058] >> meaning presupposes, ~>> meaning does not presuppose.

This utterance hinges upon the change of state/aspectual verb "stop", there are a number of aspectual verbs such as: start, finish, carry on, take, leave, enter, come, go and arrive. In the instances mentioned we have a similar "stopping" voiced through a negation.

Utterance: "If one prayed to god to ask from his arm a thing, he ***wouldn't come*** at all. Likewise, if one prayed to any goddess, she ***wouldn't come*** at all."

>>

Presupposition: If one prays then the gods come

The inscription of Tutankhamun repeatedly iterates the previous state of affairs (during the Amarna period) and describes how these situations are being reversed within his reign. Similarly, later within the inscription of Neferabu (ex.21) his pleas to the divine are heeded: **"I called out to my mistress and found her coming to me with sweet breezes,"** (11-12), contextually reinforcing the presupposition that the divine ought to come to his assistance, thus the previous aspectual change to the negative has been reversed. In the same way the number of ways to detail a "turning" may also reflect an aspectual change in one way or another, i.e. the divine turn away from or turn back to the individual.

It may also possible to view the use of the epithets found within Berlin 20377 (ex.20) and P. Leiden I 350 (ex. 12) such as **"who comes from afar to the one who calls to him,"** (P. Leiden I 350, III,17) or **"who comes at the voice of the** *nmḥ***"** (Berlin 20377, line 3) as a form of presupposition. Namely, that by stating that the god is a god who does *x*, then they are the god who does *x* as a matter of habit.

3.2 The god who turns

Though 'go' is not necessarily the antonym of 'come'[1059], it was hypothesised that the divine, when inactive or in a negative mood, would leave the individual, abandoning them

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[1059] See section 1.3 within this chapter.

as is seen in other religions[1060]. However, whilst the equivalent Egyptian verbs from 'come' and 'go' (*iw/ii* and *šm*) are both used deictically in these texts, the gods are not discussed in terms of having 'gone' or 'going'. When divine attention is lacking, the negation of 'come' is preferred. This structure still places the individual at the deictic centre of the utterance as the GOAL, though the utterance focusses upon the unfulfilled nature of the interaction. Nevertheless, the examples presented within this study have highlighted another manner of describing a lack of attention in a deictic manner[1061]. There are six examples from the examples presented which a character is said to have "turned" or "turned their back". There are three lexical variations of this basic metaphor which are able to carry both positive and negative implicature, these are: *ꜥn(n)*[1062], *mkḥ�ꜣ*[1063] and *ḫꜣꜥ ḥꜣ* [1064] -with a single instance found within Berlin 20377 in which *ḳd(w)* is utilised[1065].
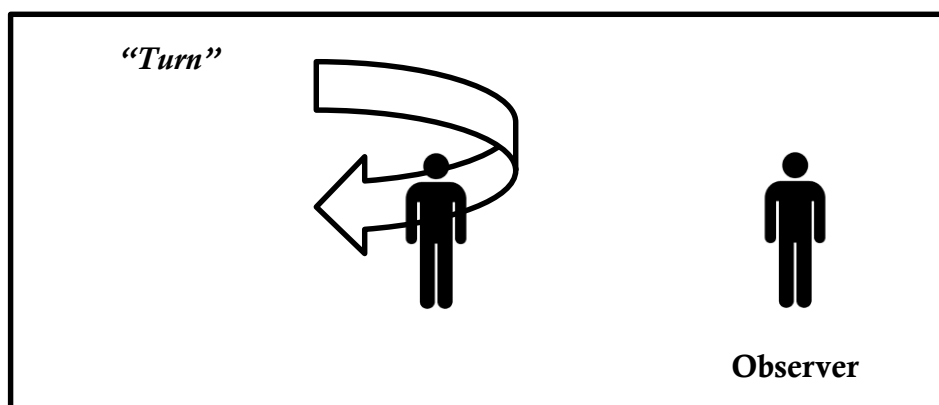
FIG.10: An image schema showing "turn" in relation to the individual

The attentional metaphor of turning is not limited to positive or negative motive[1066]. Within the instances presented within this chapter examples of turning in a negative way

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[1060] For example: *Matthew* 27:46 "And about the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'Eli, Eli, lema sabachthani?' that is, 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?'" *The Holy Bible RSV,* 1056. Note the quotation of the Old Testament, with Jesus quoting the words of David, *Psalm* 22:2-3. *The Holy Bible RSV,* 584.

[1061] Whilst this is not a translational motion, it may only be understood from the point of the observer and is thus deictic.

[1062] *Wb,* I, 188.

[1063] *Wb,* II, 163.

[1064] *Wb,* III, 227 and Caminos *LEM*, 137.

[1065] This restoration is based upon the work of Kitchen *Poetry of Ancient Egypt,* 288-289, *ḳd* is a common Late Egyptian lexeme meaning to turn (the ancestor of the Coptic ⲕⲱⲧⲉ).

[1066] Cf. Di Biase-Dyson, C., 'Metaphor in *The Teaching of Menena.* Between Rhetorical innovation and Tradition', in T. Gillen, S. Polis and J. Winand (ed.) *Proceedings of the Conference '(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt', Feb 6-8, 2013, Liège,* (Presses univeritaires de Liège; Liège Forthcoming), who notes a similar dichotomy with the use of the verb *pnꜥ*.

i.e. being ignorant as well as turning in a positive way, i.e. turning back. Both of these share an attentional nature through face to face interaction- either the "face" of the divine is turning towards the individual in a positive manner or away in a negative manner. For example: **"Turn to us, O Lord of Eternity."** (Pawah graffito line 10, ex.4) and **"my Lord Amun's back is towards me!"** (O.Berlin 11247 rt.4, ex.1). The same lexical items are used to describe human motion[1067], for example, within the Late Egyptian Miscellanies there are a number of examples in which an individual turns (their back) upon writing, responsibility or their profession, for example:

P.Sallier I (P.BM EA10185): *The scribe is not taxed like the peasant* (6,0-6,9)[1068]

6,1-6,2

I am told that you have abandoned writing and whirl round in pleasures, that you have applied yourself to working in the fields and **have turned your back (upon) god's words**

𓀀𓂋𓈖𓏏𓏭 𓆓𓂧𓏏𓅱 𓈖𓏭 𓐍𓐏𓂝𓎡 𓋴𓈙 𓈝𓄿𓂝𓎡 𓅓 𓇋𓄿𓃀𓏤𓅱 **(6,2)**

(6,1) *r-nty ḏd tw n=i ḫ3ᶜ=k sš š3mᶜ=k m i3bw*

di=k ḥr=k (r) b3k **(6,2)** *m sḫt*

ḫ3ᶜ=k ḫ3=k mdw-nṯr

and

P.Anastasi IV (P. BM EA 10249): *The Idle Scribe* (2,4-3,2)

3,2

I will do all these things to him after **he has turned his back** on his office.

𓏭𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤𓇋𓃭𓂋𓏭 𓈖𓆑 𓂜𓈖 𓂋𓂧𓂋𓅱 𓇋𓅱 𓐍𓐏𓂝𓆑 𓐍𓄿𓆑 𓂋 𓇋𓄿𓅱𓏏 **(3,2)**

(3,2) *i.ir=i n=f nn r-ḏrw*

iw ḫ3ᶜ=f ḫ3=f r i3wt(=f)

[1067] See ex.1 particularly.
[1068] Gardiner *LEM*, 83-84. A Copy of this section is also preserved in P. Anstasi V, Gardiner *LEM*, 64-65 and Caminos *LEM,* 247-250. A similar passage may also be found in P. Anastasi V *Reproaches to an idle and incompetent scribe* (6,1-6,2) Gardiner *LEM,* 58 and Caminos *LEM,* 226-229.

The same phraseology is present within texts which date to periods outside the purview of this study, suggesting that whilst there is an increase in the usage of such phrases during the post-Amarna, Ramesside period, the same cognitive reflexes are identifiable. For example; dating to the reign of Tuthmose III, the stela of the scribe of recruits Intef (Chicago OIM 14053), utilises the motif of turning away to illustrate of divine attention when the individual neglects his city, this example utilises *mkḥꜣ* in the same way to the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun (ex.24 within this chapter).

The Stela of Intef (Chicago OIM E 14053)[1069]

…god is father and mother for him who places him in his heart.
(He) turns away from the one who disregards his city …

(9) *nṯr it mwt n rdi −sw* **(10)** *m ib=f*

mkḥꜣ(=f) wny niwt=f

(10)

This attentional formula is also present in post-Ramesside textual sources, such as the so-called "Banishment stela" of Smendes. Dating to year twenty-five of his reign it details the exile of a number of rebels involved within a Theban revolt. Within a section in which the First Prophet of Amen Re, Menkheperre (characterised as the General) praises "the great god", *ꜥn* is used to express a positive turning in order to heal the sick.

Banishment stela (Louvre C.256)[1070]

He turns back to heal the sick, watching over mankind, without him forgetting anyone[1071]

[1069] Photograph: https://oi-idb-static.uchicago.edu/multimedia/2051586/N34321.1920x1200.jpg
(Accessed:29/04/2016) Assmann, *Oracular Desire,* 23 and *ÄHG*, No.75. Galán, J. M., 'Hymns to Amun-Ra and Amun in the Tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11)', in R. Jasnow and K. M. Cooney (eds.) *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan,* (Lockwood Press; Atlanta, GA 2015), 183-196, f.26 suggests that this stela comes from intef's tomb chapel 9TT 164) in Dra Abu el-Naga.
[1070] For full publication of this stela see: von Beckerath, J., 'Die "Stele der Verbannten" im Museum des Louvre', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 20 (1968), 7-36.
[1071] Ritner, R. K., *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period,* (Society of Biblical Literature; Atlanta, GA 2009).

[hieroglyphic text] [1072](14)

(14) *ꜥn sw r snfr mn n ptri r rmṯ nn mḫ=f ḥr nb*

3.3 Divine Physicality

The most notable characteristic of the divine interactions examined within this study is the ultimately humanoid nature of the divine action. This is exemplified in two ways 1) with the use of deictic verbs and phrases in the same manner as human-human interaction and 2) the perceptual and palpable fashion in which the divine interact with the human sphere illustrated through contextual elements.

Considering the differing characteristics of the verbs 'come' and 'go' as discussed within section 1.2, the instances chosen by Gregersen and Depuydt were confined to those in which two human characters were involved. It is clear that an identical lexicon is utilised to describe the movements and attention of the divine as is used concerning human individuals. By using the same deictic verbs in relation to the divine -which contain the same implicature and entailment- an increasingly personal relationship between humans and the divine is emphasised. Namely, when considered in a cognitive manner, a human 'coming' and a god 'coming' are the same; they are both palpable and perceptible within the human sphere- an element of perceptual reasoning *not* conceptual reasoning. No matter whether the gods are conceived as visible and living characters, this is ultimately of no consequence to the individual who requires their assistance, the divine are understood to act as though they were.

As noted, there is a distinct absence of gods "going" or moving away from the individual in a complete manner. Instead, the motif of turning away is preferred. This choice expresses an understanding that the divine character has not abandoned the individual: rather they have neglected to give them attention. This performs two clear functions, firstly, it frames the divine movement in the same lexicon as human-human interaction and secondly, it resists a wholly pessimistic viewpoint, allowing for redemption on the part of the individual, i.e. the divine may also 'turn back'. The same potential for redemption

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[1072] Based upon von Beckerath *RdÉ* 20, 10-11.

is present through the negation of 'coming', there may be a time when the divine may become merciful and will come when called as is expected and presupposed.

Elsewhere in other texts from this period, an element of divine physicality as modelled on human interaction is found. A number of these examples may also contain deictic elements, though have not been examined within this study due to their lack of verbs of motion in relation to the divine. Within O. IFAO 2181 [1073] the divine is implored to "give your face…" *imi ḥr=k*. This phrase is also present within later letters including P.BM EA 10417 (rt.8)[1074]. Emerit references an instance in which the divine is asked to "bend an ear"[1075]. Whilst not utilising a deictic verb of motion, it is clear that these statements utilise the same phraseology as human-human interactions.

3.4 Winds and Breezes

The metonym of winds and breezes broadly meaning the divine is seen in seven examples within this study. Due to its utilisation within prominent examples from the personal piety corpus, it was one aim of this study to assess whether the pairing of a deictic verb and winds/breezes was a set lexical grouping.

ṯȝw is used to describe a number of air-based phenomena including winds, breezes and breath[1076]. Pascal Vernus has examined the phrase "breath of the mouth" within Middle Kingdom texts[1077]. Within the coffin texts corpus, spell 162[1078] the so-called "Song of the Four Winds" describes each wind of the cardinal points in turn. Each wind is given unique characteristics with the individual said to live "by means of it". Three of the winds (north, east and south) are described as the "breath of life" *ṯȝw n ʿnḫ*.

[1073] Posener *Fs. Ricke,* 12, 61-62 and pl. 15b.
[1074] ex.3 within chapter 1.
[1075] Emerit, S., 'Listening to the Gods: Echoes of the Divine in Ancient Egypt', in E. Meyer-Dietrich (ed.) *Laut und Leise: der Gebrauch von Stimme und Klang in historischen Kulturen,* (Transcript; Bielefeld 2011), 61-88, specifically see: 63.
[1076] *Wb* V, 350-353.
[1077] Vernus, P., 'La Formule "Le Souffle de la Bouche" au Moyen Empire', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 28 (1976), 139-145.
[1078] Translation: Faulkner, R. O., *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts,* I (Aris & Phillips; Warminster 1973)140-141. Transcription: De Buck, A., *The Egyptian Coffin Texts,* II (University of Chicago Press; Chicago, IL 1938)389-405.

Shlomit Israeli has examined the use of the phrase *ṯꜣw n ꜥnḫ* within the Medinet Habu war texts of Ramesses III[1079]. Within these inscriptions, the phrase *ṯꜣw n ꜥnḫ* is placed in the mouth of defeated enemies who are pleading with the King as part of their capitulation/surrender. Israeli notes the cyclic nature of pleas within these inscriptions[1080], i.e. that the same lexical items, such as *dbḥ*, are used to describe the petitions of the King to the divine for assistance before the battle and the fallen enemy during their capitulation[1081]. There is also a further explanation of the breath of life found within P.Ebers (854f), as life is intrinsically linked to hearing the breath of life is described as entering into the right ear, death by the left[1082]. The north wind also shows a relationship to the south wind[1083]. Furthermore, Samut-Kyky also describes receiving the breath of life in return for his entering into an agreement with the goddess Mut (Text A, 11)[1084].

Example	Source	Phrase	Words used for breeze/wind	Contextually positive or negative
7	P. Anastasi IV (10,3-10,4)	**…the sweet breezes in front of him.**	*pꜣ ṯꜣw nḏm r-ḥꜣt=f*	Positive
11	P. Chester Beatty XI (vs.2,7)	**…the sweet breeze to the man [who] is in [captivity.]**	*pꜣ ṯꜣw nḏm n s [nty] m [ḫn]i*	Positive
12	P. Leiden I 350 (rt. III, 19)	**The winds turn…**	*ṯꜣw ḥr-ꜥn*	
12	P. Leiden I 350 (rt. III, 20)	**A sweet breeze to he who cries to him**	*ṯꜣw nḏm*	Positive

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[1079] Israeli, S., '*ṯꜣw n ꜥnḫ* ("breath of life") in the Medinet Habu War Texts', in I. Shirun-Grumach (ed.) *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology,* (Harrasowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden 1998), 271-283.

[1080] Israeli in *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology*, 272-273.

[1081] Also of note, within the speech of the defeated enemies they describe life as being "in the arm(s)" m *ꜣ(wy)* of the king and breath in his "grasp" m *ḫfꜥ*. For a full discussion of these passages, see ex.29 within chapter 1.

[1082] Emerit, S., 'Listening to the Gods: Echoes of the Divine in Ancient Egypt', in E. Meyer-Dietrich (ed.) *Laut und Leise: der Gebrauch von Stimme und Klang in historischen Kulturen,* (Transcript; Bielefeld 2011), 61-88, particularly 64-65.

[1083] "For the south wind will be your nurturer and the north wind (*mḥyt*) will be your nurse" *PT* 170d Allen, J. P., *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts,* (Society of Biblical Literature; Atlanta, GA. 20005)

[1084] ex.22 within this chapter.

17	P. Turin 1940-1941 (X+2, 6)	**May you cause that a single rebellious wind comes to me…**	*wꜥ n sbiw n ṯꜣw*	Positive action for the King with negative results for his enemies
20	Berlin 20377 (8-9)	**….came in the north wind, with sweet breezes in front of him**	*iw m mḥyt ṯꜣw nḏm r-ḥꜣt=f*	Positive (x2)
20	Berlin 20377 (11-12)	**The breeze turns back to us in peace.**	*swḥwt ꜥnn.ti n=n m ḥtp*	Positive
		Amun has turned with his winds.[1085]	*imn ḳd(w) ḥr ṯꜣw=f*	Positive
21	Turin 50058 (6)	**…breeze, without it coming to me!**	*ṯꜣw nn iw n=i*	If successful, the *ṯꜣw* would be a positive notion
21	Turin 50058 (11-12)	**I found she came to me with sweet breezes,**	*gm(=i) -st ii.ti n=i m ṯꜣw nḏm*	Positive
22	Tomb of Samut-Kyky (9-10)	**She came, the north wind in front of her…**	*ii.ti mḥyt r-ḥꜣt=s*	Positive

TABLE 5: A summary of the uses of winds and breezes within the gathered corpus

This metonym[1086] appears to functions deictically in two ways. First of all, it may be described in similar ways to that of the divine, i.e. it is able to come and to turn. Secondly, it is described as coming "in front of/before" (*r-ḥꜣt*) the god, based upon the work of Hill[1087], we may conclude that the arrival of winds/breezes in this way is attentional and thus deictic in the same manner as the divine. Within *Thutmose III in Syria*, the King requests that Amun may **"cause that a single rebellious wind[1088] comes to me…"** (X+2,6), within which three elements of the god Montu are hidden. This clearly equates

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[1085] As noted within ex.12 the meaning of this statement is clear whilst the orthographic elements are less so.
[1086] I have classified the winds/breezes as a metonym for the divine due to its dual usage as an addition to the divine (i.e. god coming with winds) but also as a wholesale replacement for a divine character, for example: when individuals call out for the wind rather than directly for the divine. (Turin N 50058).
[1087] Hill in Weissenborn and Klein, 36.
[1088] *Wb* IV, 89.1

the wind with the divine, describing their arrival in terms of "come" utilising *iw*, thus focussing on the GOAL of Tuthmose III in battle. We may also link the representations of the divine as "coming" or "turning" to that of the winds in a sense of palpability, i.e. winds can be felt to come towards an individual or to turn round, but it is difficult to explain where a wind is going.

3.4 Deictic considerations of come and go

At the outset of this study it was suggested that the differences between 'come' and 'go' within Egyptian may be divided based upon the premise of Q-scalar implicature associated with the telic nature of the SOURCE or GOAL (Section 1.3) whereby "come" is semantically stronger as the speaker knows the location of the GOAL (in most cases the GOAL is the individual) - summarised below.

<div style="border:1px solid black">

'Come'

- Movement from an unknown or unseen source
- Utterance is focussed upon the GOAL (Deicitc centre)

'Go'

- Movement from a known or seen source
- Utterance is focussed upon the SOURCE

</div>

As noted above, whilst there is a specific lexicon utilised in relation to the divine, the usage of deictic verbs within these examples confirms with this Q-scalar differential premise based upon the telic nature of the verb. For example within P.Sallier I 6,9-7,9[1089] there is a clear differentiation between the verbs *šm* and *iw/ii* (as *mi*). In the case of the soldier, his SOURCE is known (likely the camp), however, in the case of the divine their SOURCE is unknown and unseen within the narrative- instead, and the GOAL is the focus of the utterance. One cannot help but be reminded of similar examples found within the *Tale of*

[1089] ex.8 within this chapter.

the two Brothers[1090] or within the *Gospel of Matthew*[1091] (5,23-24). The conclusions of this study must add further credence to the suggestions of Depuydt (See Sections 1.2 and 1.3), dividing the equivalent Egyptian verbs for "come" and "go" by a Q-scalar implicature. As observed within the introduction of this chapter, there has been little deictic assessment of religious or pious corpora. It is clear that this method of examination is highly effective in providing deep and qualitative details about the conception of divine interaction during this time period.

3.5 Divine changes and deictic changes

At the outset of this study, a number of pre-Ramesside texts were discussed in which there was usage of deictic verbs. Within these examples, divine movement was not in relation to non-royal individuals; instead, it was aimed at either a royal incipient or Egypt as a whole. The most direct change that may be seen within this study is through the utilisation of the same phrases for divine and human characters. As stated previously, it is not the aim of this study to discuss the origins or development of the themes of personal piety, it is instead the aim of this study is to examine to rhetorical tropes found within corpora of the late New Kingdom. The increase in material evidence from the post-Amarna period allows for a more detailed examination of the use of deictic verbs as well as the cognitive processes behind these phrases. Despite the peak in evidence during this time, the presence of deictic verbs in relation to the divine may be identified in the post-Ramesside period, Frood has shown how concepts of piety and biography survive after the New Kingdom[1092]. The usage of deictics in relation to the divine is still distinct and follows the patterns and conclusions related within here. The presence of these lexical items within texts from the Third Intermediate Period and later may be seen as one area in which this study's methodology may be expanded to, they are included as illustrative examples solely. (A number of instances are also presented within section 3.2 in this chapter).

[1090] For a full discussion see section 1.2 (Deixis in Egyptology).

[1091] *Matthew 5:23-24* "So then, if you are bringing your offering to the altar and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your offering there before the altar, *go* and be reconciled with your brother first, and then *come* back and present your offering" (Italics by Depuydt in *Essays on Egyptian Grammar,* 25.) Also: *The Holy Bible RSV*, 1027.

[1092] Frood, E., 'Sensuous Experience, Performance, and Presence in Third Intermediate Period Biography', in R. Enmarch and V. M. Leper (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Theory and Practice,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2013), 153-184.

Hymns to Amun-Re from the Temple of Amun at el-Hibeh [1093]

The following texts from the Temple of Amun located in the Southern Kharga Oasis at el-Hibeh (Hibis) date to the 27th Dynasty (First Persian Period)- most likely to the reign of Darius I[1094]. The texts inscribed upon the walls of the small open court bridge the gap between Ramesside and Graeco-Roman religion sharing a number of themes seen during the New Kingdom [1095]. Due to this overlap, it is also possible to identify a number of deictic verbs in reference to the divine. Though they do not necessarily conform to the Ramesside model of divine interaction, these instances are certainly clear enough to demark a GOAL schema through the verb *iw/ii*, even though the purpose or motive of the divine is not discussed within most of the instances, they are as follows:

Hymn to the Bas of Amun[1096]

The god "… for whom they rejoice more than the sun, each time **he comes to them**" **(21)**

*ḥꜥꜥ=sn n=f s šw dnw **ii=f n=sn***

"in order to divide the seasons, months, and years **when he comes**"

(23) *r wpt drw ꜣbdw rnpwt **ii=f***

Creator Hymn[1097]

 "The Sole Lord **has come**"

(31) *ii.n nb-wꜥ*

[1093] Klotz, D., *Adoration of the Ram: Five Hymns of Amun-Re from Hibis Temple,* (Yale Egyptological Seminar; New Haven, CT 2006).

[1094] Klotz *Adoration of the Ram*, 2.

[1095] Klotz *Adoration of the Ram*, 2, f.11.

[1096] For a continuous translation of this Hymn see: Klotz *Adoration of the Ram*, 190-195.

[1097] For a continuous translation of this Hymn see: Klotz *Adoration of the Ram*, 210-219.

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Finally, we may also note an instance in which the *iw/ii* is used to express a GOAL oriented phrase that also provides information about the SOURCE via a separate lexical item "that"*pf* , this is further emphasised with the use of the lexical item "this" *pn*.

Great Amun Hymn[1098]

"**(As) you have come from there**,

(so) you have illuminated in here"

(18) *ii.n=k m pfi*

    shḏ.n=k m pn

[1098] For a continuous translation of this Hymn see: Klotz *Adoration of the Ram*, 196-209.

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3.6 Excursus: A note on *bꜣw*

It would appear that the linguistic choices associated with divine interaction are complex and subject specific. During the course of this study, the question was raised as to the level of interaction of the divine in the situations presented when the divine "come" to the individual. Within this discussion the issue of *bꜣw* as presented by Borghouts[1099], where *bꜣw* described a level of divine interaction, the issue of agency is hidden until revealed by human means[1100]. Within the examples presented by Borghouts, the verb used to describe the *bꜣw* is *ḫpr*[1101], which is not a verb of motion. Though it is clear that there is a rhetorical trope which pairs the verb meaning "to become manifest" with *bꜣw*, it is also clear that this is understood in a different manner to that of divine interaction through motion. Within a number of pre-Ramesside texts, a *bꜣw* may also be seen (*mꜣꜣ*). For example, within the inscriptions of Mentuhotep IV at Wadi Hammamat, the second wonder is described using the phrase *mꜣꜣ bꜣw=f* [1102] whereas within *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All* it is stated that "the wrath (*bꜣw*) thereof cannot be seen!" (12,6)[1103]. It is possible that when the interactive divine force is known (i.e. it is a certain god) then their interaction may be framed as motion that may be viewed within the real world- hence utilising a deictic verb of motion showing attentional elements, whereas when the divine force takes the form of an unknown agency, then it is described through the trope of the *bꜣw*.

[1099] Borghouts, J. F., 'Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation (*bꜣw*))', in R. J. Demarée, And Janssen, J.J. (eds.) *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina,* (Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten; Leiden 1982), 1-70.

[1100] Borghouts in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina,* 1-70.

[1101] cf. Roeder, H., ' Die Erfahrung von Ba'u: "Sinuhe" und "Schiffbrüchiger" zwischen dem Erzählen und Lehren der 12. Dynastie', in H. Roeder (ed.) *Das Erzählen in frühen Hochkulturen I: Der Fall Ägypten,* (Fink; Munich 2009), 75-157 with particular reference to 86-87.

[1102] De Buck, A., *Egyptian Readingbook: Exercises and Middle Egyptian Texts,* (Nederlands Instituut voor Het Nabije Oosten; Leiden 1963),78.

[1103] Enmarch, R., *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All,* (Oxford University Press; Oxford 2008),184.

Chapter 3: "Finding" god and the verb *gmi*

1.0   Introduction

A small number of the texts surveyed within this thesis contain phrases describing the "finding" in relation to the divine. Jan Assmann has suggested that the topos of "finding god" is "a hallmark of personal piety"[1104], including this idiom with other phrases of religious expression from the Ramesside period which he deems typical of the corpus, describing this phrasing as a *terminus technicus* for "the personal and direct experience of divine presence"[1105]. Despite this statement, he does not take the opportunity to explore the linguistic reflexes associated with this topos, nor does he assess its prevalence within the personal piety corpus. As with the idiom of the "hand of god", the notion of "finding god" is readily understandable for the modern reader, and indeed there are myriad occurrences of such phraseology within modern reported speech[1106]. "Finding" or having "found god" is also utilised readily within academic literature as shorthand for the measurement of religious conversion within communities[1107], the examination of proposed sub-texts[1108] or as a description of increased religiosity[1109]. The cultural specificity of meaning suggests that the examination of the use of this topos in the Egyptian context of the late New Kingdom is worthwhile.

1.1 The verb *gm(i)*

Any examination of the topos which has been translated as "finding god" within Egyptian is rooted in the interpretation of the highly polyfunctional verb *gm(i)*. In the case of this chapter, examples containing *gm(i)* in direct association to a divine character will be examined.

[1104] Assmann, J., 'Ocular Desire in a time of Darkness. Urban Festivals and Divine Visibility in Ancient Egypt', in A. R. E. Agus and J. Assmann (eds.) *Ocular desire: Sehnsucht des Auges,* (Akademie Verlag; Berlin 1994), 15, note 16. See also: Assmann, J., *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt,* (Cornell University Press; Ithaca, NY 2001), 231 for a further iteration of this proposition.

[1105] Assmann *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 231.

[1106] A basic web search of "found god" yields over 450000 hits (www.google.com search term:%found-god% Accessed:29/04/2016).

[1107] Maruna, S., Wilson, W. and Curran, K., 'Why God Is Often Found Behind Bars: Prison Conversions and the Crisis of Self-Narrative', *Research in Human Development* 3 (2006), 161-184.

[1108] Barsotti, C. M. and Johnston, R. K., *Finding God in the Movies: 33 Films of Reel Faith,* (Baker Books; Grand Rapids, MI 2004).

[1109] Yancey, P., *Finding God in Unexpected Places,* (Moorings; Nashville, TN 1995).

In 1965, Hans Jakob Polotsky described the meaning of *gm(i)* in the following manner, recognising two distinct meanings of the verb; "'to find something in such and such a state', the expression of this state occupying the centre of interest" and "'to find' as a verb of incomplete predication"[1110]. An utterance utilising a verb of incomplete predication represents an incomplete thought, necessitating the use of a complement clause. As a verb of incomplete predication, when we read "I found…", the utterance needs a complement as "I found *x"* in order for the utterance to make sense[1111].

One important way in which *gm(i)* (and other verbs of perception like *rḫ*) differ from most other verbs is their ability to take a direct object followed by a circumstantial augment (e.g "I found him knowing it"[1112]). Most verbs in Egyptian avoid this structure, and prefer to embed an entire clause as the object of the main verb instead. This differs from the "pregnant" use of verb with omitted object (often as an implied or generic object).

The *Wörterbuch* provides three possible readings of *gm(i)*[1113](see below), each based around the concept of discovery, providing the foundation of understanding of two domains of meaning as expressed later by Polotsky.

> **a.** *auffinden, entdecken*
>
> **b.** *antreffen, vorfinden*
>
> **c.** *etw. erkennen, feststellen*

The polyfunctional nature of the verb "to find" is found within a number of languages. Aarts and Arts have examined the complementation to the verbs "find" and "want" within modern English[1114]. As part of this examination, they propose five possible translations of "find" based upon corpora represented in Cobuild, Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English and Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, these are as follows[1115]:

[1110] Polotsky, H. J., *Egyptian Tenses,* (Central Press; Jerusalem 1965), 39.

[1111] Černý-Groll, 370 state that "Verbs of Incomplete predication are verbs which only make sense when they are followed by adverbial adjuncts" providing the verb *ꜥnḫ* + adv as an exemplar of this clause type.

[1112] cf. Gardiner *Egyptian Grammar*, §184-186.

[1113] *Wb* V, 166-169.

[1114] Aarts, J. and Aarts, F., '*Find* and *want*: a corpus-based case study in verb complementation', in B. Aarts and C. F. Meyer (eds.) *The verb in contemporary English: Theory and description,* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 1995), 161-182.

[1115] Aarts and Aarts in *The verb in contemporary English*, 169-170.

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1) *to discover or get by searching or effort*

2) *to discover accidentally, to come across*

3) *to succeed in obtaining or achieving*

4) *to discover (by chance or by experience) that something is the case; to become aware of*

5) *to regard as, to look upon*

<div align="right">After Aarts and Aarts (1995: 169-170)</div>

Within their assessment, Aarts and Aarts note that "in the vast majority of cases the subject of *find* has human reference"[1116], i.e. someone who fulfils the role of "finder", thus suggesting a preference to the use of "find" in English as a verb of incomplete predication.

Pascal Vernus has performed a detailed semantic examination of the verb *gm(i)* [1117]. As part of this, he offers a number of contextual readings which may be divided into two varieties of predication; **concrete**, which details discovery by accident, meeting, coming forward or rediscovery and **cognitive**, which details processes such as figuring out, imagination, invention, recognition, identification and awareness[1118]. At a basic level, Vernus' interpretation of the verb *gm(i)* shares a lot with those of Polotsky, as a basic expression of meeting or contact[1119], whilst also representing a split into two pragmatic domains. On the whole, the translations offered by Vernus reflect closely the proposed translations offered by the *Wörterbuch*[1120], translating two domains of discovery. Vernus' conclusions suggest that *gm(i)* has a propensity for the use of an implicit agent i.e. the "finder"[1121], though this deduction appears to rely heavily upon the instances in which *gm(i)* does not entail a direct meeting or discovery, thus not necessitating a fuller verbalisation of agency.

Vernus also proposes that the differences between the proposed translations of *gm(i)* may be distinguished by the level of intentionality within each specific utterance[1122], as a

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[1116] Aarts and Aarts in *The verb in contemporary English*, 179.
[1117] Vernus, P., 'Le Verbe *gm(j)*: Essai sémantique lexicale', in E. Grossman, S. Polis and J. Winand (eds.) *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian,* (Widmaier Verlag; Hamburg 2012), 387-438.
[1118] Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 387.
[1119] Ibid.
[1120] cf. *Wb* V, 166-169.
[1121] Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 430.
[1122] Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 402 and 410.

manifestation of an "informational hierarchy"[1123]. Thus, the level of intent changes *gm(i)* to mean more than just a meeting. This element falls into the field of pragmatics as this change does not relate a semantic element of the utterance but is instead based upon contextual information. From this standpoint, Vernus concludes that each meaning leads to another, i.e. "find" may lead to "find advantage/find useful", thus leading to the meaning of "take profit" and finally to "positive judgement"[1124].

Vernus also provides a useful method of dividing instances between discovery of a second participant by a first (Type A) and the discovery of a state of affairs about a single participant (Type B)[1125].

> **Type A:** $Participant_1 \neq Participant_2$
>
> **Type B:** $Participant_1 = Participant_2$ [1126]

Collier has also assessed the utilisation of *gm(i)*, his study focuses upon the use of the verb within non-literary Late Egyptian texts[1127] using a methodology based upon cognitive linguistics and pragmatics. From this analysis, he distinguishes two broad forms of "finding", the **perceptual** and **conceptual**, noting that the "conceptual frame is secondary to perceptual frame" [1128]. These may be exemplified in the following ways;

- *Perceptual finding* which expresses a "direct perceptual encounter between the finder and the state of affairs found". This is shown within P. Louvre E.21751, rt.6-7, in which lumps are directly perceived within ointment[1129].
- *Conceptual finding* in which the finder "does not perceive the content of the complement clause directly in the world". This can be understood through the

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[1123] This appears to be a way of explaining the interface of semantics and pragmatics, cf. Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 396
[1124] Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 431. cf. the concepts of grammaticalization by means of repeated inferencing, as noted within section 1.2 chapter 1.
[1125] Despite the framing of these two types in reference to the use of *r* + infinitive, these are useful for division of participants. Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 423.
[1126] Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 423. Hencforth P_1 and P_2.
[1127] Collier in *Egyptian Stories,* 33-46.
[1128] Collier in *Egyptian Stories*, 37.
[1129] Collier in *Egyptian Stories*, 33.

example of P. Geneva D187, vs. 1-4 provided by Collier, in which something is found out about a state of affairs related to the beating of a retainer[1130].

By dividing the meaning of *gm(i)* in a pragmatic manner as opposed to a semantic manner (preferred by Vernus), this approach allows for a number of variant translations of *gm(i)*, without applying a single meaning to a specific semantic form. By allowing for a discussion of the level or perceptual or conceptual discovery in each instance, the verb may be rendered to each situation in the manner of Aarts and Aarts[1131].

In all cases, we are ultimately limited by our own lexicon in the ways in which we are able to translate *gm(i)*. "to find" serves a number of meanings in English (as does "trouver" in French), for example within Collier's examples 6 and 8, "found" expresses both perceptual and conceptual discovery, "found" also expresses a novel discovery and a confirmation of perception. For example:

- Collier example 6[1132] represents an instance of direct perception, **"And we found this god lying at the back of his burial place"** *iw=n gmy p3y nṯr sḏr m pḥ t [3]y=f st-ḳ[r]s(t)* [1133]. When applying the work of Vernus to this instance it is clear that the two participants are separate individuals in the form of Amenpanefer and King Sekhemre-shedtawy Sobekemsaf ($P_1 \neq P_2$).
- Meanwhile, Collier example 8[1134], illustrates a conceptual discovery. Referring to the examination of Painedjem, it is stated that **"He was found to be innocent of the thefts"** *sw gmy wʿb ḥr n3 iṯ3w* [1135]. This "finding" has to be conceptual as "Painedjem is not found or discovered in the sense of a perceptual encounter, nor do the finders (the tribunal) engage in physical finding to pass him innocent"[1136].

We may also find examples in which perceptual and conceptual finding are blurred such as Collier example 11[1137] in which a tomb inspector reports that **"It was found intact"** *sw gmy wḏ3* [1138]. In each of the instances in which an inspector reports on the condition of a

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[1130] Collier in *Egyptian Stories*, 33-34.
[1131] Aarts and Aarts in *The verb in contemporary English*, 169-170.
[1132] P. Leopold II-Amherst, rt. 2,9-10.
[1133] Collier in *Egyptian Stories*, 36.
[1134] P. BM EA 10052,vs 15,18.
[1135] Collier in *Egyptian Stories*, 37.
[1136] Ibid.
[1137] P. Abbott, rt. 2,11 (cf. P.Abbott, rt. 2,18, 3,9 and 3,11 as well as Collier examples 10, 12 and 13 which share a number of phraseological elements).
[1138] Collier in *Egyptian Stories*, 39.

certain tomb, they are not involved in a novel discovery (i.e. discovery of the tomb itself), but instead find something out about the tomb (i.e. it is intact). The inspectors are involved in a perceptual finding through their actions of examining the tomb; they did not directly perceive a robbery but inferred the state of affairs: thus involving a conceptual discovery also. Examples of this nature go some way to confirm the preference for description in the perceptual sense *a priori*.

There are a number of ways of explaining polyfunctionality within any chosen lexicon: these are homonymy (multiple distinct lemmata which share sounds), monosemy (a single lemma described by an overarching concept, also known as semantic generality) and polysemy (a single lemma which has a number of related specific functions[1139]). Grossman and Polis outline these three approaches[1140], but prefer a method of semantic mapping, allowing for more complex connections to be discussed. Whilst Grossman and Polis suggest that those studying cognitive linguistics innately interpret the lexicon in a certain manner and "tend to see polysemy everywhere"[1141], *gm(i)* does appear polysemic based upon their own definition of polysemy, conveying "multiple meanings or sense, which collectively constitute a lexeme"[1142]. Vernus has also examined the utilisation of verbs formed around $\sqrt{gm}$[1143].

1.1 Methodology and Aims

Though Assmann suggests that the phrase "finding god" within post-Amarna sources is a *terminus technicus* for religious experience, he does not provide further discussion of the instances which he notes with this remark. The creation of meaning through the verb *gm(i)* is based upon contextual information rather than semantic elements. The differing domains of meaning are most notably distinguished in the works of Collier and Vernus, as two areas of discovery, the perceptual/concrete and the conceptual/cognitive. While

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[1139] cf. Johnson, M., *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason,* (University of Chicago Press; Chicago, IL 1987), 50-51.

[1140] Grossman, E. and Polis, S., 'Navigating Polyfunctionality in the Lexicon: Semantic Maps and Ancient Egyptian Lexical Semantics', in E. Grossman, S. Polis and J. Winand (eds.) *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian,* (Widmaier Verlag; Hamburg 2012), 175-225.

[1141] Grossman and Polis in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 177.

[1142] Grossman and Polis in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 180.

[1143] Vernus, P., 'La racine $\sqrt{gm}$, notion de 'rencontre, contact avec', et ses radicaux dérivés (*gmḥ, ngmgm* et *gmgm*)', in R. Nyord and K. Ryholt (ed.) *Lotus and Laurel: Studies on Egyptian Language and Religion in Honour of Paul John Frandsen,* (Museum Tusculanum Press; Copehagen 2015), 418-430.

these divisions are highly useful for the interpretation of the general use of *gm(i)*, these studies have not approached the discovery of the divine. The approaches of Collier and Vernus offer different ways of analysing the instances of *gm(i)*. Collier's approach is rooted in the reading of pragmatic factors, whereas Vernus focuses on the assignment of semantic roles. Each approach offers further insight into the complex nature of discovery, they are also complimentary and as such will be used in parallel within this study. This analysis sets out with the following hypothesis concerning the interpretation of "finding god" as modelled by these approaches.

COLLIER

    finding god-perceptual = human like interaction (can be physically found)

        finding god-conceptual = to become religious (change of state)

VERNUS

    finding god-concrete= interaction between two separate participants

    finding god-cognitive= discovery of concept within a sole participant

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If it is the case that the interaction between man and the divine is of a perceptual nature (Collier), then the divine must be understood as active characters within the human sphere. This interpretation would be strengthened considerably if the use of *gmi* to describe divine-human interaction is phrased in the same semantic manner as two human participants (Vernus).

Aarts and Aarts distinguish two levels of lexical analysis, the microscopic and the macroscopic, stating that a microscopic analysis of instances "allows the linguist to deal with the details of language use"[1144]. As there are only a small number of instances referring to "finding god", a close reading of each of these instances in context allows for a full examination of this interaction and how individuals at this time understood what it meant to "find god". Ultimately, this microscopic analysis hinges on two elements of the

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[1144] Aarts and Aarts in *The verb in contemporary English*, 160.

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utterance. The first of these is the sense conveyed through the use of the verb *gmi* in terms of perceptual/conceptual or concrete/cognitive discovery; this is assessed through an examination of the context of the utterance and implicature of the same. The second element of this analysis relates to the distinction between participants whether named or implied. This can be assessed through the utterance itself (semantically in the manner of Vernus) or through contextual elements (pragmatically in the manner of Collier).

Within a number of languages, as a consequence of logic, "find" is often paired with the equivalent of "search/look". This is noted by Vernus who provides a number of examples in which there is also a clear element of searching related to discovery[1145]. Whilst a lexicalised search is not essential for one to "find", it follows that there is a difference between an action in which a participant searches and finds compared to one in which there is a discovery not detailing a search (a novel/unsought-for discovery). Within the following study, elements of searching, or any form of contextual anticipation in relation to the discovery, (for example through calling to the divine/prayer), will also be examined. Within the "personal piety" corpus there is some element of narrative focus upon the divine interaction; this is natural as it is not an everyday occurrence and hence is the reason for memorialisation in a textual artefact. If there is a clear anticipation of the divine discovery, there may be more that can be said about the use of *gmi* within these narratives.

Taking these theoretical suppositions into condiseration, what follows is an example of the use of a discovery using *gm(i)* so as to illustrate the analytical possibilities. This example predates the corpus examined within this study, however, it was chosen due to its familiarity within the study of Egyptian literature. Within *The Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, the sailor relates that when on the island, after hearing a great noise and tumult that he:

(62) **(61)**

"… and I found that it was a serpent coming"[1146]

(61) *gm.n=i ḥf3w* **(62)** *pw iw=f m iit*

[1145] Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian¸* 402-403.
[1146] Blackman *MES*, 43.

As the snake is a real (at least within the fictional world of the story) and interactive character[1147], it is clear that this entails a perceptual discovery based in a concrete predication. The lack of searching suggests that this was a novel discovery; contextually implying that the arrival of the snake was unexpected by the sailor[1148], in a similar way that he previously found figs and grapes upon the island[1149]. Given the implied meaning of this statement and lack of searching, the gloss of "to discover unexpectedly" is certainly appropriate. Despite the lack of antecedent towards the discovery of the snake, it is also clear that this event is a focal point to the narrative.

Throughout the following gathered examples, each instance referring to the individual "finding" the divine will be examined in terms of pragmatic enrichment in order to assess whether the discovery is conceptual or perceptual (Collier). Each instance will also be appraised in a semantic manner, through participant roles, in order to allocate a concrete or a cognitive predication (Vernus). Each instance will be examined in order to evaluate whether the discovery is novel and whether any searching is entailed.

2.0   The Corpus

2.1 Hieratic Sources

2.1.1 GRAFFITI

Example 1: Graffito of Pawah in the tomb of Pairi

24-26

How good it is to follow you, Amun, the lord, **great of seeking him, in finding him.**

(24) *yȝ pȝ šms=k nfr* **(25)** *imn pȝ nb ʿȝ n wḫȝ=f m gm* **(26)** *=f*

(24)

(25)

(26)

[1147] P₁≠P₂ Sailor≠Snake

[1148] There is some level of literary irony within the text, as the Sailor has previously informed the audience that he found the *sšpt mi irt=s* "cucumbers as if made" (*ShS* 50) i.e. cultivated, implying that he was in fact not alone.

[1149] *gm.n=i ḏȝbw irrt im* (*ShS* 47).

Discussion:

The instance contained within this text is the only example gathered within this chapter in which "find" is linked so closely to "search" in relation to the divine[1150]. Whilst these two lexemes are paired within this utterance, it is unclear as to whether this discovery is perceptual/conceptual as the utterance is part of epithetic statements. This is due to the statement's position as an abstract value judgement[1151], that it is a positive thing to search for Amun, which is inherent within the rest of the graffito. Due in part to the poetic nature of this phrase, it has been translated and interpreted in a number of manners, Gardiner reads: "Verily, the worship of thee is good, O Amun, **thou lord great to seek if only he be (?) found.** Turn away fear"[1152] Murnane choose to emphasise the element of searching "O AMUN, **O great lord who can be found by seeking him**, may you drive off fear!"[1153], whilst Assman glosses "How good it is to follow you, Amun; **A lord great to be found for him who seeks him**"[1154]. Each of these interpretations hold the link between *wḫꜣ* and *gm(i)* as a link of activity leading to a positive and pious end. Vernus instead chooses to focus upon *gmi* as a representation of a relationship with the divine: "Ah, être à ton service est bon, **Amon, le grand maître qui mérite d'être sollicité quand on est en relation avec lui!**" [1155] that this phrase "implique une relation dépassent la simple recontre"[1156]. In this way, Vernus envisages a perceptual relationship, though does not amend the text in order to provide such an interpretation. Vernus's version of this passage speaks closely to the interpretation of this text provided by Assmann[1157], who suggests that the whole of the graffito is focussed upon Pawah's desire to see and be in contact with the divine again[1158].

However, the interpretations of Gardiner, Murnane, Assmann and Vernus are (to greater and lesser degrees) paraphrases of the text, which do not follow closely the wording of the text itself. As is often the case this is due to the poetic nature of the original Egyptian,

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[1150] See: Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 402-403.

[1151] Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 431 who notes the development of "find" into "positive judgement".

[1152] Gardiner, A. H., 'The Graffito from the Tomb of Pere', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 14 (1928), 10-11

[1153] Murnane, W. J., *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt,* (Scholars Press; Atlanta, GA 1995), 208.

[1154] Assmann, J., 'Ocular Desire in a time of Darkness. Urban Festivals and Divine Visibility in Ancient Egypt', in A. R. E. Agus and J. Assmann (eds.) *Ocular desire: Sehnsucht des Auges,* (Akademie Verlag; Berlin 1994), 15.

[1155] Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 399.

[1156] Ibid.

[1157] Assmann in *Ocular Desire.*

[1158] For more on the element of visual cues within the application of this topos, see Section 3.1.

which has the flexibility to express the parallel meanings of "seeking" and "finding" without separating the two functions.

2.1.2 LITERARY

Example 2: P.Anastasi IV (P. BM EA 10249) *Supplications to Amun in a year of need* (10,1-10,5)

10,1-10,5

It has come about that the sun does not rise, Peret has come in Shemu, the months come about backwards, the hours are confused. The great call to you, Amun; the small seek you, those who are in the embrace of their nurses (say:) 'Give breath, Amun'. **Finding Amun coming in peace, the sweet breezes in front of him.**

(10,2) *p3 šw ḫprw bn sw wbn*

prt ii.ti m šmw n3 3bdw ḫprw bsnḫw n3 wnwt tḫtḫ

n3 ꜥ3yw **(10,3)** *ꜥš n=k imn*

n3 šriw ḥr wḫ3=k

n3 nty m ḳni n3(y)=sn ḥnmḥ=s(n) ḥr-ḏd [1159] *imi t3w imn*

gm imn (10,4) *iw m ḥtp p3 t3w nḏm r-ḫ3t=f*

(10,3-10,4 Instance)

 (10,3)

 (10,4)

Discussion:

Caminos reads the *gm* as a particle meaning "perhaps/perchance"[1160], thus rendering the passage as: "Perchance Amun will come in peace, the sweet breezes before him." However, this reading appears to be an *ad hoc* solution to allow for a translation which places some uncertainty on the probability of the coming of Amun. No other examples of the use of *gm* as a particle are provided by Caminos. As such, within this instance *gm(i)* is translated as a verb, possibly representing the passive[1161], as *gm(w) imn*, Assmann reads

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[1159] *passim* Gardiner *LEM*,45a
[1160] Caminos *LEM,* 171.
[1161] As a passive *sḏmw=f* which has some survival into Late Egyptian.

this passage in a similar manner; "May Amun be found having come, the sweet brieze [sic] before him"[1162] . Whilst this utterance is placed in a passive voice, it is also apparent that participant$_1$ ≠ participant$_2$, suggesting a concrete predication. This discovery is closely associated to the use of the deictic verb (*iw*) and the position of the winds in front of (*r-ḥȝt=f*) Amun[1163], also marking it as perceptual as the complement can be directly perceived and thus described in palpable terms. Given the conclusions of the previous chapter, it would appear that the interaction and the discovery takes place within the real world and is hence perceptual.

Whilst it is not as closely associated to "find" as within ex.1, there are elements of anticipation preceding the discovery. Following the description of an upturned year, a variety of people are described as needing help from the divine: "The great call to you, Amun; the small seek you," (10,2-10,3) *nȝ ʿȝyw ḥr ʿš n=k imn nȝ šriw ḥr wḫȝ=k*, the text is also prefaced with the phrase "come to me Amun" (10,1) *mi n=i imn*. Following the varied invocations, these individuals, including the individual voicing the prayer, *all* find the divine perceptually.

Example 3: P.Anastasi II (P. BM EA 10243) *Prayer of a defendant to Amun* (8,5-9,1)
8,5-9,1

Amun, give your ear to the one who is alone in the *ḳnbt*, who is a *nmḥ*. He is not powerful, when the *ḳnbt* cheats[1164] him (out of) silver and gold for the scribes of the mat and clothes for the followers. **Finding (that) Amun transforms himself into a Vizier in order to cause that the** *nmḥw* **come forth, finding the** *nmḥ* **vindicated,** poverty surpasses power.

(8,5) *imn imi msḏr=k n* **(8,6)** *wʿty m ḳnbt iw=f nmḥ*

bn mntf wsr iw tȝ ḳnbt ḥr gb=f (m[1165]*) ḥḏ nbw n* **(8,7)** *nȝ sš-n-tmȝ ḥbsw n nȝ šmsw*

gm iry imn ḫpri=f mṯȝt(y) r **(9,1)** *dit pry pȝ nmḥ gm pȝ nmḥw ḫpr mȝʿ(ḫrw*[1166]*) snn nmḥw wsr*

[1162] Assmann *Ocular Desire,* 15.
[1163] Chapter 2, section 3.4.
[1164] *passim* Caminos *LEM,* 57 who notes the use of *gb(i)* with *m* as the act of judicial bribery, citing instances within the *Tale of Horus and Seth* (10,10), O.Gardiner 28 (rt.5) and P.Anastasi I (6,7 and 7,1).
[1165] *passim* Gardiner *LEM,* 17a.
[1166] Gardiner *LEM,* 17 restores this section to read Ma'at due to the inclusion of the feather determinative. However, paired with the previous phrase *dit pry pȝ nmḥ*, it is likely that this section is reiterating the acquittal/vindication of the nmH. cf. Caminos *LEM,* 58.

grḥ

[hieroglyphs] **(9,0)**

[hieroglyphs] **(9,1)**

[hieroglyphs]

Discussion:

Within this short prayer, there are two examples of "finding", each representing a facet of the interaction between Amun and the individual praying. In both cases, Caminos translates *gm* as a particle meaning "perchance"[1167], Lichtheim also renders *gm* as a way of showing uncertainty, using "might"[1168]. However, as previously discussed (ex.2), it seems more likely that this should be rendered as a verbal element. A passive reading would make sense for both instances, or regaring the second instance, possibly as an *r*+infinitive[1169].

The first of these describes the transformation of Amun into the guise of the Vizier. Whilst the role of the vizier could be seen as an abstract concept, there is a preference within the use of the related verb *ḫpr* to enact a perceptual change[1170] which is concrete if not necessarily permanent.

The perceptual discovery is pragmatically supported as following this utterance it is made clear that the reason Amun is transformed into the Vizier is to enact a judgement-something which must take place within the human sphere and thus must be perceived. In semantic terms the narrator takes the P_1 position with Amun taking the P_2 position, thus conforming to Vernus' concrete predication reading of *gm(i)*.

[1167] Caminos *LEM*, 58. For a further discussion of this, see also ex.2 within this chapter.
[1168] *AEL* II, 111.
[1169] The absence of a written preposition in such a construction is not unusual within the corpus of *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, thus allowing for the interpretation.
[1170] cf. Landborg, A., 'The Process and Outcome of *ḫprw* in the Coffin Texts', in T. Lekov and E. Buzov (eds.) *Cult and Belief in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress for Young Egyptologists, 25-27 September 2012, Sofia,* (East West; Sofia 2014), 9-17.

The second instance of *gm(i)* within this text refers to a conceptual discovery, as the individual is found to be vindicated. This refers to a change of state after the previous neglect of the traditional *ḳnbt*, indeed, it has a lot in common with a number of the conceptual judgements discussed by Collier, in which the complement may *not* be directly perceived. This interpretation is further supported on semantic groups as $P_1 = P_2$ (both are the individual).

The inclusion of the two domains of "finding" within the same text is important for this study, as although there is an apparent preference for the perceptual within the Egyptian language, texts which discuss divine interaction do not limit themselves to perceptual discovery. Instead there is a complex level of understanding of the divine who are able to be perceived but also to make a conceptual judgement as characters.

2.2 Private Monuments

2.2.1 PENITENTIAL STELAE

<u>Example 4:</u> Turin N 50058
Line 11-12 [1171]

…and I called out to my mistress, finding she came to me with sweet breezes…

(11) *iw=i ḥr ꜥš n tꜣy=i* **(12)** *ḥnt*

gm=s ii.ti n=i m ṯꜣw nḏm

(Line 11-12 Instance)

 (11)

 (12)
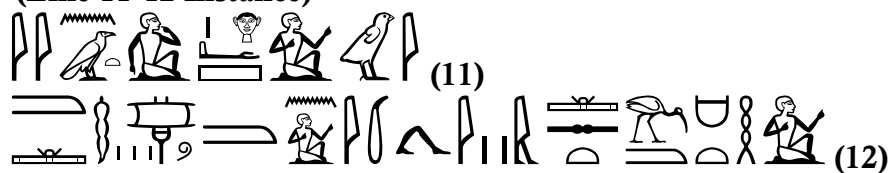
Discussion:

Much like a number of other instances gathered within this chapter, the "finding" is found in close relation to the deictic verb describing the movement of the divine ("coming"), and

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[1171] A full translation of this text is provided within Chapter 1 ex.17. This passage is also the source of discussion within Chapter 2 ex.21.

thus is intricately linked with an ego-centric element of speech and narrative. It is clear again through the complement clause that $P_1 \neq P_2$ in which 1= Neferabu and 2=Meretseger, thus conforming to the model of concrete predication presented by Vernus. In this way, it appears that the "finder" is able to find the "findee" semantically. Pragmatically we also see a discovery in a perceptual sense, as opposed to finding out something *about* a "findee". Elsewhere within the text there are further references to what seems to be a personal and perceptual interaction; two of these features have been discussed within the preceding studies; that of the "hand of god"[1172] and the use of the deictic verb "come"[1173]. Based upon the inclusion of these phrases, it is possible to infer a level of personal interaction centred on Neferabu. The pairing of "finding" and "coming" is of particular note as this is not the only instance in which what is found is a deity "coming"[1174]. In this manner, it may be suitable to gloss *gm(i)* as recognise or realise – representing a concrete predication and hence a perceptual finding. Within this instance there is no verb directly entailing Neferabu's search for Meretseger, instead he calls to her, *ꜥš n tꜣy=i ḥnt* (11-12) [1175].

Example 5: Berlin 20377

8-9 [1176]

 I found that the Lord of the gods came in the north wind, with sweet breezes in front of him.

(8) *ist gm* (9) *.n=i nb nṯrw iw m mḥyt ṯꜣw nḏm r-ḫꜣt=f*

(Line 8-9 Instance)
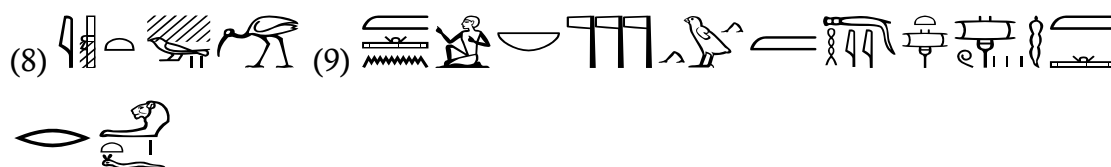
Discussion:

[1172] Chapter 1, ex.17.
[1173] Chapter 2, ex.21.
[1174] See section 3.0 for a summary of these instances.
[1175] See section 3.2 within this chapter.
[1176] A full translation and transliteration of this passage is provided in Chapter 2 ex.20.

Contextually, this instance comes after a description of the condition of Nakhtamun "as he lay ill like death! Him being (under) the *bȝw* of Amun due to his wrongdoing." (8). The phrase relating the discovery of the divine "coming" represents a transition between Nakhtamun's state and his eventual redemption[1177]. Due to this transition it is tempting to interpret this "finding" as a conceptual discovery, thus representing a "quantum shift", this has some element of truth as the state of affairs does change. However, the discovery of the event of "coming" is described as being **"in the north wind, with sweet breezes before him"**. As discussed within the previous chapter[1178], this phrase is inherently linked to the viewpoint of the individual whom is placed at the deictic centre; in this case, the centre is the narrator (Nebre). Given this central role, the placement of the winds **"before him"**, i.e. between the individual and the divine may be seen as an extension of the egocentric element of this movement[1179]. Following this phrase Amun is discussed as an active character[1180], thus also suggesting that $P_1 \neq P_2$ (1= Nebre, 2=Amun). These contextual elements suggest strongly that *gmi* may be read as a perceptual discovery rooted in a concrete predication.

2.2.2 TOMB INSCRIPTIONS

Example 6: TT 409 - Samut called Kyky

Text A (South wall) line 4-6

Then he deliberated with himself (in order to) find a protector. He found Mut in front of the gods. Fate and Fortune in her arm. The span of life anda breath under her control. All that happens is through her command.

 (4) *rḫ sw nṯr m nḫn wḏ.n=f (n=f) kȝw špss **wn.in=f ḥr wȝwȝ=f***

(5) *ḏs=f (r)gm n=f nby gm.n=f mwt m-ḫȝt nṯrw šȝy*

(6) ***rnn(t) m-ꜥ=s*** *ꜥḥꜥ n ꜥnḫ ṯȝw r-ḫt=s ḫprt nb ḥr wḏ=s*

[1177]cf. Borghouts, J. F., 'Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation (*bȝw*))', in R. J. Demarée, And Janssen, J.J. (eds.) *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina,* (Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten; Leiden 1982), 1-70, specifically 34.
[1178] Chapter 2, ex.20.
[1179] See: Hill, C., 'Up/down, front/back, left/right: a Contrastive Study of Hausa and English', in J. Weissenborn and W. Klein (eds.) *Here and There: Cross-linguistic Studies on Deixis and Demonstration,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 1982), 13-42, with special reference to his deictic field diagrams on 36.
[1180] For example: "the lord is disposed to forgive", "His winds come back to us in mercy".

(Lines 4-6 Instance)

(4)

(5)

(6)

I have found her …

(18) *gm=i st n…*

(Line 18 Instance)

Discussion:

There are two related elements of "finding" within this text, and both of these instances refer to finding a protector. The first of these implies the finding of a human protector; it is framed as the result of *wꜣwꜣ=f ḏs=f* [1181]. This lexeme is not included within Vernus' discussion of "searching" in relation to *gmi* [1182]. Though this clearly entails a cognitive element of seeking, it must be said also that in order to "find" a non-divine protector then an element of perception must be involved in order for a two-way relationship to be founded. Vernus notes the link between *gmi* and other verbs entailing knowledge acquisition of cognition such as *rḫ* [1183], in the text preceding the instance presented here it is stated that Mut "knew him as a child" [1184], almost suggesting elements of providence as well as a possible dualism between divine "knowing" and human "finding". This inclusion may be interpreted in two ways, this either suggests a pre-existing relationship between Mut and Samut-kyky before his most recent discovery, opening up either the idea of a *re*discovery or a moment of human realisation associated with *gm(i)*. It may also be

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[1181] Lesko *Late Egyptian Dictionary*, I, 88.
[1182] See: Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 402-403
[1183] Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 417, exx.86-89.
[1184] Negm translates this as "recognised him as a child". Negm *The Tomb of Simut called Kyky*, 40.

interpreted in a way that Mut knew of the relationship before Samut-kyky[1185]. This formation may also be seen as an element of the so-called personal myth, i.e. when devotion to a certain deity is formed, the individual's personal narrative is changed in order to accommodate this element [1186].

Semantically Samut-Kyky and Mut take separate roles of ($P_1 \neq P_2$), thus making this a discovery rooted in concrete predication. However, given the contextual considerations outlined above, it is difficult to establish whether this is a perceptual/conceptual discovery. The driving factors for the two interpretations are as follows; if movement is implied through Mut's place in front of the gods (in terms of physical space) or through the common grouping of "find" and "come" then this may be seen as a perceptual finding. However, if **"He found Mut in front of the gods"** entails a value judgement, as an extended meaning of *gmi*[1187], the discovery must be seen as a conceptual one detailing a change in the state of affairs akin to a religious conversion.

There is also a second instance of *gm(i)* within this text (Line 18) though it does not provide a full description of how the goddess Mut is discovered due to a lacuna, nevertheless, it conforms to a description of human interaction between two participants ($P_1 \neq P_2$).

2.3 Royal Monuments

Example 7: The Qadesh Poem of Ramesses II
§ *123* [1188]

I found that Amun came when I called him,
(§123) *gm.n=i imn iw dr ꜥš=i n=f*

(§ 123 Instance)

 (123)

[1185] cf. *Merikare* E 138 "god knows every name" *iw nṯr rḫ rn nb*. Quack *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare,* 198.

[1186] cf. Maruna, Wilson and Curran, *Research in Human Development* 3, 161-184. Discussed further in section 3.2

[1187] cf. Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 431.

[1188] This section is translated and transliterated in full within Chapter 2 ex.25 and with further context within Chapter 1 ex.26.

Discussion:

The crux of Ramesses II's experience at the battle of Qadesh is delivered within this instance, in much the same way as a number of personal piety inscriptions, where the arrival of the divine signals a shift in fortune.

The discovery is also connected to the deictic verb "come", contextually; there are other deictic elements to the interaction between Ramesses II and the god Amun such as §125 in which Amun "called from behind (as if) face to face". Given the high level of personal interaction within the surrounding text as well as the content of the complement clause, by naming two unique participants, $P_1 \neq P_2$ i.e. Ramesses II≠Amun. Through these participant roles, this is framed as a concrete predication. Elsewhere within the inscriptions, the King also discusses "finding" the enemy, using *gmi*, in a similar manner, whereby $P_1 \neq P_2$. Pragmatically, as Amun is clearly present after the invocation of Ramesses, it would appear that the divine (within the complement) is again, directly perceivable and thus suggests a perceptual discovery. The text does not include any direct verb entailing a search, though it is clear that the prayer of Ramesses II is the cause for the interaction of Amun.

3.0   Results: Perceptual and Conceptual finding

This exploration of the use of the verb $gm(i)$ in relation to the divine aimed to establish how "finding god" functioned as an element of New Kingdom pious rhetoric. From the approaches shown by Vernus and Collier, the meaning of the utterances are reliant upon the context of the verb in order to establish whether the individuals perceived or conceived of "finding god" i.e. whether the content of the complement clause is based upon concrete or cognitive predication.

Within all of the examples gathered here, there are distinct and usually named characters fulfilling the roles of both participants ($P_1 \neq P_2$). The first participant is predominantly in the form of the first or second person pronoun (frequently "I" or "he"), describing the *finder* with the second participant filled by the divine as the *findee*. This semantic element suggests that the discovery described using *gmi* in these instances is one which is perceptual/concrete, as opposed to conceptual/cognitive which is expressed in terms of a single participant in both roles ($P_1 = P_2$). This is expected as the "conceptual frame is secondary to perceptual frame"[1189], thus it is easier linguistically to express the discovery of the divine in terms of human interaction rather than as a conceptual ideal. By explaining the divine in a perceptual manner, the understanding of divine intervention is strengthened substantially. The individuals who utilise this topos envisage not only interactive deities in an abstract sense, but also interactive in a physical sense which is perceived in the human sphere. This level of cognition is further enhanced by the inherent linking of this topos to the phrases representing interaction such as the "hand of god" and deictic verb "come" examined in the previous chapters (see also section 1.3 of Conclusions). The instances gathered within this chapter are summarised in the table below.

Source	Translation	Perceptual (Concrete)	Conceptual (Cognitive)
Ex.1 *Graffito of Pawah*	"the lord, great in his seeking, in his finding."	✕	

[1189] Collier in *Egyptian Stories*, 37.

Ex. 2 *P.Anastasi IV*	"finding Amun coming in peace"	✕	
Ex. 3 *P.Anastasi II*	"Finding (that) Amun Transforms…"	✕	
Ex. 3 *P.Anastasi II*	"finding the *nmḥ* vindicated" **(Non-Divine)**		✕
Ex. 4 *Turin N 50058*	"…finding that she came to me"	✕	
Ex. 5 *Berlin 20377*	"I found that the Lord of the gods came…"	✕	
Ex. 6 *TT 409 (Samut-kyky)*	"in order to find a protector." **(Non-divine)**	✕	
Ex. 6 *TT 409 (Samut-kyky)*	"He found Mut in front of the gods."	✕	
Ex. 7 *The Qadesh Poem*	"I found that Amun came when I called him,"	✕	

TABLE 6: A table showing the interpretation of each instance in terms or perceptual and conceptual discovery.

Within four of the seven instances discussed within this study there is a close pairing between the "finding" and the deictic verb "to come" (See table 7). The inscriptions of P. Anastasi IV (ex.2), Berlin 20377 (ex.5) and Samut-kyky (ex.6) also utilise prepositions (*r-ḥȝt* in the case of P.Anastasi IV and Berlin 20377 and *m-ḥȝt* in the case of Samut-kyky) which relate the location of the deity which is "coming" in a sense of space. As discussed within the previous study (chapter 2, section 3.4), the ego-centric nature of deictic markers

suggests that there is a perceptual element placing the winds in front of the divine (between the individual and the divine) or placing the specific deity in front of others. Di Biase-Dyson has conducted a wider investigation into complex preposition utilising *ḥ3t* [1190]. These complex prepositions are formed using a simple preposition (*r/m/ḥr*) + relational noun (*ḥ3t*), thus describing the location of a noun in relation to another noun[1191]. Generally, these complex prepositions relate nouns in a "spatio-temporal" sense[1192]; though the diachronic study of Di Biase-Dyson shows an increasing level of abstraction during the latter part of the New Kingdom[1193]. Due to the fluid nature of grammaticalization within language, it is difficult to establish whether *r-ḥ3t* is being used to relate a physical location or something more abstract through a more grammaticalized form. This form of language change also accounts for the developing uses of *r-ḥ3t* as well as *m-ḥ3t* and *ḥr-ḥ3t*. This change allows for the development of meanings surrounding the concept of pre-eminence, as an extension of the spatial preposition usage[1194]. *m-ḥ3t* used within this instance may represent spatial dimension, marking a "distinctive front"[1195], though may also be used in more abstract situations to express pre-eminence also[1196]. The question here remains whether *r-ḥ3t* within exx.2 and 5 and *m-ḥ3t* within ex.6 are being used to express a spatio-temporal location or an abstract value judgement (i.e. pre-eminence). The variability of the use of these prepositions is clear, Di Biase-Dyson states in separate instances that the during the New Kingdom, the use of *r-ḥ3t* spatially is rare[1197], also stating that it is rarely used to describe pre-eminence[1198].

The only way through this quagmire of semantic argument is through the use of pragmatics, hoping that through an examination of the context of the use of the preposition we may find out whether it denotes a spatial or abstract relationship. Following the spatial model, the interpretations of Hill[1199] become relevant, allowing for a sense of perceptual discovery to be associated with the finding. However, if *r-ḥ3t* is taken to mean pre-

[1190] Di Biase-Dyson, C., 'A Diachronic Approach to the Syntax and Semantics of Egyptian Spatio-Temporal Expressions with *ḥ3-t* 'front'', in E. Grossman, S. Polis and J. Winand (eds.) *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian,* (Widmaier Verlag; Hamburg 2012), 247-292.
[1191] See: Hopper, P. J. and Traugott, E. C., *Grammaticalization,* (Cambridge University Press; Cambridge 1993).
[1192] Most directly as a BLC (Basic Location Construction).
[1193] Di Biase-Dyson in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 247.
[1194] Di Biase-Dyson in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 264.
[1195] Di Biase-Dyson in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 259-262.
[1196] Di Biase-Dyson in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 263.
[1197] Di Biase-Dyson in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 267.
[1198] Di Biase-Dyson in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 271.
[1199] Hill in *Here and There*, 13-42.

eminence then the lines between conceptual/perceptual discoveries are increasingly blurred.

Elsewhere within the examples discussed within this study there are also extra deictic markers which intimate a perceptual discovery due to their extension of personal interaction. For example, within the Qadesh Poem, shortly after the arrival of Amun within the field of battle, Ramesses II describes his interaction with Amun in the following way: "He called (to me) from behind (as if) face to face with your face" (§125) ꜥš=i n=f n ḥꜣm(=i) ḥr-r-ḥr n ḥr=k . Within most of the examples presented within this chapter, the discovery of the divine is followed by further interaction with the divine and the narrator.

Source	"Find"	"Come"
Ex.1 *Graffito of Pawah*	"…in finding him"	
Ex. 2 *P.Anastasi IV*	"Finding Amun	coming in peace, the sweet breezes before him"
Ex. 3 *P.Anastasi II*	"Finding that Amun transforms…"	
Ex. 4 *Turin N 50058*	"…found that she	came to me with sweet breezes"
Ex. 5 *Berlin 20377*	"I found that the Lord of the gods	came in the north wind, with sweet breezes before him"
Ex. 6 *TT 409 (Samut-kyky)*	"He found Mut in front of the gods"	
Ex. 7 *The Qadesh Poem*	"I found that Amun	came when I called him,"

TABLE 7: Table showing the link between "finding" and "come" within the sources gathered

Assmann is correct to describe this topos as a *terminus technicus* in a broad sense as "finding god" within these sources directly represents a physical interaction between two participants ($P_1 \neq P_2$). However, the topos of "finding god" is utilised sparsely throughout the corpora examined within this thesis and may not truly be seen as a "hallmark of personal piety"[1200]. This lack of ubiquity places this idiom within the same realms as those topoi examined within the previous chapters; as a personal choice of expression which is governed by the usual rules of human communication.

3.1 Visual Cues

Regardless of whether visual contact was ultimately what the individuals envisaged as the result of divine interaction, the use of *gm(i)* within the examples presented above have a clear preference to the perceptual sphere. Going beyond the analysis of the verb *gm(i)* to show a perceptual/conceptual discovery, a number of the texts contain further contextual elements akin to visual cues. For example: within the Graffito of Pawah, there are a number of iterations of Pawah's desire to see the divine, the inscription of Berlin 20377 includes the phrase "let my eyes see his beauty". Assmann also pairs "finding god" to the concept of "seeing the god", suggesting that this phrase also has "a pregnant meaning of participating in the feast" [1201] expressing a desire to see the religious festivals and the processions. However, Assmann's interpretation is based upon his nuanced reading of the Graffito of Pawah (ex.1 within this chapter), whilst there are a few examples in which such an interpretation may be apt, such contexts are not found within all of the examples presented nor is identical phraseology utilised. For example, whilst his royal status shifts expectations somewhat, the interaction between Ramesses II and Amun is very much outside of festival context. This allows for the understanding of a perceptual interaction *outside* of the religious festival.

[1200] Assmann *Oracular Desire,* 15, note 16 and Assmann *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 231
[1201] Assmann *Ocular Desire*, 21.

3.2 Novel discoveries and Searches

There are two instances which "to search/seek" *wḫꜣ* is included; these are the Graffito of Pawah (ex.1) and within *Supplications to Amun in a year of need* from P.Anastasi IV (ex.2). Whilst "search" is not utilised in the other sources examined within this study, all of the sources share a framing mechanism, an antecedent to the discovery. One way which this is represented is through the context of a number the sources as prayers such as P. Anastasi II (ex.3) in which Amun is asked to "give your ear" or more closely to the discovery as seen within Turin 50058 (ex.4) where the invocation is described as a call (ꜥš). Meanwhile, Samut-kyky implies a cognitive element before the divine may be found through the utilisation of the verb *wꜣwꜣ*, meaning to ponder, consider or take counsel[1202].

Source	"Search"?	Other contextual elements
Ex.1 *Graffito of Pawah*	"Seeking" *wḫꜣ*	
Ex. 2 *P. Anastasi IV*	"the small seek you" *šriw wḫꜣ=k*	"the great call to you" *ꜥꜣyw ꜥš n=k* "Come to me Amun" *mi n=i imn*
Ex. 3 *P.Anastasi II*		"Amun, give your ear to the one who is alone in the *ḳnbt*" *imn imi msḏr=k n wꜥ.ty m ḳnbt*
Ex. 4 *Turin N 50058*		"I called out to my mistress" *iw=i ḥr ꜥš n tꜣy=i nbt*
Ex. 5 *Berlin 20377*		Details of the prayers etc. devoted by Nebre to Amun
Ex. 6 *TT 409 (Samut-kyky)*		"He deliberated with himself…"

[1202] *Wb* I, 249-250

		$w \mathring{3} w \mathring{3} = f \ \underline{d}s = f$
Ex. 7 *The Qadesh Poem*		"I prayed…"
		$ir = i \ \check{s}m \mathring{3}w$

TABLE 8: Table showing the actions related to the subsequent "finding"

Vernus suggests that *gmi* is able to express something more than a "novel discovery"[1203], as the reflection of a deeper relationship. Whilst this may be implied contextually, it is not a semantic characteristic based upon application of the verb *gmi*. The novel nature of a discovery does not appear to be the case in relation to any of the interactions alluded to within the above examples was an unexpected discovery, i.e. a surprise. Instead they are anticipated within the structure of the text- either through an invocation to the divine or other rhetorical antecedents. The discovery of the divine thus forms a focal point to the narrative of divine interaction, followed by a positive result[1204]. The most extreme example of this is narrative structure is found within the inscriptions of Samut-kyky; within the long text, Samut-kyky's devotion to Mut is foreshadowed by her knowledge of him as an individual. His discovery of Mut "in front of the gods" is thus the focal point, up to which the earlier text had been an antecedent. The result of this narrative structure is his personal devotion to the goddess and his property donation as a consequence of this. Given the monumentalisation and recording of such texts, it is clear that the interaction with the divine was important to the individuals concerned, and it follows that the narrative structure would indeed follow such a centred arrangement. The concept of self-myth is particularly relevant to this; with each person maintaining and updating their personal imago (idealised elements of the self)[1205], it is possible to view an imagoe centred on divine selection (emphasised by divine interaction). This style of narration is not limited to

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[1203] Vernus in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 399.

[1204] It has been suggested when presenting this research that the divine interaction functions as a metaphor for healing i.e. before the discovery of the divine, the situation is overwhelmingly negative, with the discovery marking a return to the health. Whilst this interpretation is valid concerning those examples which entail the punishment of the *b3w*, this viewpoint is highly influenced by the use of similar topoi within Mesopotamian sources cf. Kinnier-Wilson and Reynolds, *Medical History* 34, 185-198, similarly, it does not fully match other discoveries in which punishment is not contextually relevant.

[1205] McAdams, D. P., *The Stories We Live by: Personal Myths and the Making of the Self,* (The Guildford Press; New York, NY 1993). For further discussion and references see: McAdams *The Stories we Live* by, 315-316 n.9.

ancient sources and may also be seen in modern conversion narrative, in which all events pre and post conversion are shaped around the successful conversion[1206].

[1206] cf. Maruna, S., Wilson, W. and Curran, K., 'Why God Is Often Found Behind Bars: Prison Conversions and the Crisis of Self-Narrative', *Research in Human Development* 3 (2006), 161-184.

Conclusions: The Expression of Divine Attention and Cognition

1.0 Conclusions

This thesis set out with the intention to illuminate the intricacies of linguistic expression related to divine-human interaction during the New Kingdom from the Amarna period to the start of the Third Intermediate period. This intricacy has been explored through three complementary lexicographical studies, informed by the theories of pragmatics and cognitive linguistics. The close reading of sources was undertaken to allow for a full exploration of each topos within a number of textual genres and language registers.

1.1 Methodology

Whilst there has been some attempt to examine religious textual resources[1207]any wider examination of religious sources dealing with divine-human interaction has not been conducted. The reason behind this state of affairs may be multi-faceted, it is likely that it relies upon the concepts of the speaker-hearer relationship which is more obvious within human interaction. Whilst not human-human, sources which detail divine interaction still have multiple characters; they also have an audience to whom the utterances are directed. These sources utilise the same lexicon and linguistic reflexes as non-religious phrasing, as such may be examined in the same manner.

Religious *thought* is of course not limited to religious *texts;* it also appears in daily life which is "permeated"[1208] with these ideas. It does not follow that the populace is entirely focused upon the divine, nor does this mean that Herodotus was correct in his statements that the Egyptians were "religious beyond measure, more than any other people[1209]" or "their religious observances are, one may say, innumerable."[1210] We may make similar enquiries into a number of modern cultures and recognise similar circumstances. Quirke, whilst suspicious of a bias towards written sources [1211] also accepts that words offer a "means by which humans model and construct social life"[1212]. If an understanding of human

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[1207] See: section 1.1 in Introduction.
[1208] cf. Kemp *CAJ* 5, 25-54.
[1209] Herodotus *Histories*, Book 2, Chapter 37, 1.
[1210] Herodotus *Histories*, Book 2, Chapter 37, 3.
[1211] Quirke *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 9.
[1212] Quirke *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 10.

interaction may be understood through linguistic assessment, then so too may religious interaction[1213].

The previous chapters have shown three key factors: 1) the proposed methodology works in relation to religious expression: 2) each of the topoi examined show variation and complexity that has not been previously exposed through available translations and 3) whilst religious expression during this period is highly intricate it conforms to the same linguistic rules and patterns as those expressions explaining human interaction.

1.2 Binary thought and expression

Binary thought (paired concepts) is found frequently within Egyptian thought and material, as discussed by Fecht[1214] and Englund[1215] among others and it is also present within other languages[1216]. Linguistic expression of such a binary system may also be seen within all three of the previous chapters.

Chapter 1 assessed the application of the topos of the "hand/arm of god". Whilst the reading of "hand of god" has been entrenched within previous translations[1217], a fuller examination of this trope shows that two lexemes used, ꜥ(*wy*) "arm(s)" and *ḏrt* "hand". These lexemes are used independently to express differing domains of meaning, with ꜥ(*wy*) expressing distance and abstraction explicating pre-established concepts (showing a particular specialism for concepts relating to time) and *ḏrt* showing proximity and interactive qualities in extraordinary cases. Whilst a number of modern languages do not necessitate the use of two lexemes in terms of metaphor- preferring "hand" for both purposes- the pragmatic and metaphorical fields of ꜥ(*wy*) and *ḏrt* are distinct within the

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[1213] For a discussion on how one may approach the interpretation of religion through textual sources see: Eyre, C. J., 'Source Mining in Egyptian Texts. The Reconstruction of Social and Religious Behaviour in Pharaonic Egypt', in A. Verbovsek, B. Backes and C. Jones (eds.) *Methodik und Didaktik in der Ägyptologie: Herausforderungen eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Paradigmenwechsels in den Altertumswissenschaften,* (Wilhelm Fink; München 2011), 599-615.

[1214] Fecht, G., 'The Structural Principle of Ancient Egyptian Elevated Language', in J. C. de Moor and W. G. E. Watson (eds.) *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose,* 42 (Verlag Butzon & Bercker; Kevelear 1993), 69-94

[1215] Englund, G., 'The Treatment of Opposites in Temple Thinking and Wisdom Literature', in G. Englund (ed.) *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians: Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions,* (Boreas; Uppsala 1989), 77-88.

[1216] Hill, C., 'Up/down, front/back, left/right: a Contrastive Study of Hausa and English', in J. Weissenborn and W. Klein (eds.) *Here and There: Cross-linguistic Studies on Deixis and Demonstration,* (John Benjamins; Amsterdam 1982), 13-42.

[1217] See: Chapter 1, 1.1.

Egyptian mind-set. The origin of these phrases is clearly rooted in human interaction, later utilised to explain the interface between the divine and human sphere.

Chapter 2 utilised the pragmatic tradition of deixis to assess the position of the divine in relation to the individual through an examination of the verbs of motion used in reference to them. Specifically, this was concerned with the utilisation of those deictic verbs used in relation to divine interaction. As deixis is rooted in the perception of the world by the speaker, we are able to see how they understood divine interaction in the terms of movement. It was initially posited that if the divine are able to "come" to an individual then it follows that they may also "go". Whilst this is a logical pairing within many languages, these two verbs are not antonyms within Egyptian; instead they illustrate a telic difference. As such when describing the movement of the divine in relation to the individual a different lexicon is utilised. During this period, *iw/iy* is used to communicate a movement in which the individual is the GOAL in the form of the deictic centre. The understanding of movement is enhanced by the use of compound prepositions such as *r-ḥȝt / m-ḥȝt*, which place other entities (notably winds and breezes) in between the human and divine character further emphasising the egocentric nature of this expression. Movement which focuses on the SOURCE using *šm* is also seen within the same corpora, though not in the same relationship, i.e. divine movement is not codified utilising the individual as a SOURCE. When the divine is inattentive to the needs of the individual, they do not "go". This inattention is categorized as either "turning" *ˁn(n)/ mkḥȝ /ḥȝ* or through a negation of "come". As such, the negative facet of divine interaction is expressed as a rotational rather than translational motion. Notably, the choice of lexeme is *ḥȝ* rather than *sȝ*, thus focussing upon the back rather than the reverse, thus reaffirming the element of human perception and human interaction. This difference suggests an understanding of the divine who *ought* to attend when requested. A number of instances support this understanding, showing a changeable situation in which, whilst inattentive, the gods do "not spend all day in anger!"[1218]. Within the examined instances there is also an element of presupposition related to the divine, in that they are expected to attend when requested with their attendance framed as a constant in the world.

Chapter 3 focused upon the use of the verb *gm(i)* in relation to the divine through phrases associated with "finding god". Whilst Assmann has suggested that the topos of "finding

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[1218] Berlin 20377, 11.

god" is "a hallmark of personal piety"[1219] its use is not in fact as common as this would imply. Nevertheless, the instances available allow for an assessment of the nature of discovery entailed in the use of $gm(i)$. In these examples Participant$_1$ ≠ Participant$_2$ thus ensuring that $gm(i)$ is understood semantically as a marking a concrete predication as opposed to a cognitive one. Contextually, these discoveries also appear to intimate a perceptual discovery, rather than a conceptual one. This is not unsurprising as there is a predisposition for description of more abstract elements within the perceptual frame of reference. This difference means that the interaction between the individual and the divine is understood in real-world terms rather than as the abstract "quantum shift" of the vernacular religious conversion. While there are few examples of this topos which also entail a search, many instances provide an antecedent to the discovery in the form of invocations, prayers or other forms of interaction. Associated with these discoveries are a number of contextual elements which provide further visual elements to the interaction, making the physicality of $gm(i)$ clear.

The linguistic underpinning for each of these topoi may be seen in textual sources predating the late New Kingdom examples gathered within this thesis; their use is also present within wholly human interaction from this period. Each describes divine interaction in the same linguistic and cognitive manner as human interaction. The choice of such visual language provides an almost cinematic focus upon the interaction, each "shot" seen by the audience from the egocentric point of view of the narrator- the individual who is interacting with the divine. This personal dimension of interaction with the divine is not linguistically prominent within pre-Amarna period sources, with similar topoi utilised in relation to humans or to abstract characters (such as Egypt).

1.3 Common Ground, Ubiquity and Cognition

A number of broader considerations may be made regarding the topoi examined within this thesis, allowing for a greater understanding of the cognition behind these phrases. First of all it must be noted that none of the topoi examined within this thesis are ubiquitous; each represents to a reasonable degree a deliberate linguistic choice, whether fully conscious or not[1220]. An understanding of each is required by each member of the potential

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[1219] Assmann *Oracular Desire,* 15, note 16 and Assmann *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 231.
[1220] Sweeney, D., 'Idiolects in the Late Ramesside Letters', *Lingua Aegyptia* 4 (1994), 275-374, 275.

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audience within the "speech community"[1221]. As such, we may treat the linguistic rules enacted, and knowledge required for understanding them, as a reflection of "common ground". This understanding of the divine and their interactions with humanity is built upon the foundations of understanding of human interaction- an element of common ground which all individuals share in order to communicate successfully. The three topoi are not bound finitely to one another, in that for one to be employed within a text, it need not be related to the others. Nevertheless, these topoi are complementary and express the same understanding of an interactive divine. Each trope represents the divine as an accessible and interactive character framed by human-human interactive lexis, with whom interaction is rare but also expected within this world. This interaction is direct, with no intermediary[1222]. As such a number of the sources examined within this thesis employ two[1223] or three[1224] of these linguistic tropes.

What follows are a few religio-sociological considerations of the use of these topoi, in relation to their purpose for the individual. Though focusing on sociological issues surrounding the post-industrial revolution modern church, Thomas Luckmann in *The Invisible Religion*[1225] makes some valid points about the formulation of personal expressions of religiosity[1226]. He suggests that individuals are born into a pre-existing world view and that from this objective system, the individual may then superimpose elements of this world view upon their own subjective reality[1227]. Luckmann concludes that "if an

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[1221] Chomsky, N., *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax,* (MIT Press; Cambridge, MA. 1965)3. Chomsky elaborates on the nature of the ideal speaker-listener in this community stating that they need to be one "who know its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance".
[1222] cf. Podemann Sørensen, J., 'On Intercession', in R. Nyord and K. Ryholt (eds.) *Lotus and Laurel: Studies on Egyptian language and Religion in Honour of Paul John Frandsen,* (Museum Tusculanum Press; Copenhagen 2015), 301-316
[1223] These are as follows:
The Graffito of Pawah Ch.2 ex 4 and Ch. 3 ex.1.
 P.Anastasi IV (P.BM EA 10249) Ch.2 exx.6-7 and Ch.3 ex.2.
P. Anastasi V (P.BM EA 10244) Ch.1 ex.10 and Ch.2 ex.8.
P.Leiden I 350 recto Ch.1 ex.14 and Ch.2 ex.12.
Berlin 20377 Ch.2 ex.20 and Ch.3 ex.5.
TT 194 Ch.1 ex.19 and Ch.2 ex.23.
[1224] These are as follows:
P. Anastasi II (P. BM EA 10243) Ch.1 ex.11, Ch.2 ex.5 and Ch.3 ex.3.
Turin N 50058 Ch.1 ex.17, Ch.2 ex.21 and Ch.3 ex.4.
TT 409 Ch 1. ex.20, Ch.2 ex.22 and Ch.3 ex.6.
Qadesh Poem Ch.1 ex.26, Ch.2 ex.25 and Ch.3 ex.7.
[1225] Luckmann, T., *The Invisible Religion: The Problem of Religion in Modern Society,* (Macmillan Company; London 1967).
[1226] See the chapter titled "Individual Religiosity" Luckmann, *The Invisible Religion,* 69-76.
[1227] Luckmann, *The Invisible Religion,* 69-70.

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individual is born unto a society in which a sacred cosmos forms part of objective reality, the individual will internalize the sacred cosmos in the form of specific religious representations"[1228] and by extension that "these meanings illuminate, for the individual, the routine of everyday life and instil sense into the brute finality of life's crises."[1229]. This reasoning may be applied to the use of the phrase **"tomorrow is upon the arms of the god"** within the *Late Ramesside Letters*, in which the sacred cosmos world view relates the divine control of the future, the internalization of this concept allows for the creation and application of the phrase itself, and finally it provides reassurance for the recipient through "illumination" of the concept. The characteristic usage of this phrase within the *Late Ramesside Letters* may also be explained in this way, as all those involved with letter-writing within this corpus would presumably have shared similar objective world views, thus reinforcing this world view through the application of this phrase within their letters.

We may also make a direct link between this sociological analysis and the linguistic analysis associated with common ground, in so far as the "objective world view" may be seen as one element of shared experience. It may be noted that this understanding is not concerned about how much truth the individual invests in the specific religious representations (in this case the phrase); instead it is focussed on its creation. This interpretation may be extended to other topoi examined within this thesis, in that they have been formed upon a religious "layer" of consciousness[1230], and they then provide illumination for the elements of life which are not easily explained.

All of these instances make the individual "special" in a world surrounded by the divine. They explain their world through a means of personal divine attention in terms of close contact as though the divine were human characters sharing substantially the same lexicon to explain this contact as one would use to describe the meeting and interaction between two fieldworkers or scribes. Within the narrative of these instances, the divine interaction is central. This adds focus to the event[1231], allowing the individual to further establish their personal image and self-myth[1232]. With the new event, the individual's interaction with the

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[1228] Luckmann, *The Invisible Religion,* 71.
[1229] Ibid.
[1230] Luckmann *Invisible Religion*, 71.
[1231] Maruna, S., Wilson, W. and Curran, K., 'Why God Is Often Found Behind Bars: Prison Conversions and the Crisis of Self-Narrative', *Research in Human Development* 3 (2006), 161-184.
[1232] McAdams, D. P., *The Stories We Live by: Personal Myths and the Making of the Self,* (The Guildford Press; New York, NY 1993).

divine, they are able to redefine their self-myth to a different imago- in this case, the individual who is *able* to interact with the divine. This life event is significant and thus is recorded. Haring states that "both prestige and pragmatics, however, result in the belief that something is more important or official when written down"[1233], this statement was made regarding administrative documents but this adage surely applies to religion, as it is a method of display as well, especially a religious event which shapes the external image of the individual.

1.4 Implications and Avenues for Future Research

As stated within the introduction to this thesis, it has often been the case that linguistic studies into the world of religious expression have focussed upon those phrases which appear to be more unusual from the contemporary cultural viewpoint of the modern Egyptologist. However, from the application of the theoretical frameworks utilised here and the results garnered there from, it may be suggested that a treatment of the more (seemingly) mundane phrases within religious literature may also yield greater information about the understanding of the divine at this time. Expansion of the methodologies shown here may also take into account further elements of pragmatics and cognitive linguistics in order to appreciate the underlying understanding of the divine at this time.

In terms of content, there are two areas for which the research adopted in this thesis may be expanded:

1) *Diachronic study*

Whilst the conclusions made within the respectful chapters of this thesis are solid as regards the pietistic rhetoric of the later New Kingdom, a more comprehensive exploration of each topos could be carried out within a wider selection of textual corpora, and over longer spans of time in Egyptian civilisation. A diachronic study of each idiom studied in this thesis could also be undertaken. In a number of instances in this thesis, a few illustrative examples from outside the selected time period have been referenced[1234] in order to highlight some of the potential diachronic trajectories of the modes of religious

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[1233] Haring *JESHO* 46/3, 258.
[1234] Section 3.4 in Chapter 1 and Section 3.5 in Chapter 2.

expression. Particularly, an assessment of the use of these topoi in demotic may be particularly effective. For example: the hand/arm topos is clearly visible within demotic magical texts[1235], as is the use of deictic verbs in relation to the divine[1236], showing much the same issues of translation found within examples of this period. Frood[1237] has shown how pious New Kingdom tropes are retained within post- New Kingdom sources. The expression of *Gottesnähe* is also retained and may be seen within the priestly induction texts of the Karnak priesthood dating to the 21st-23rd Dynasties[1238], these texts employ tropes, such as the god as saviour[1239] and submission to the divine[1240] also found within the Ramesside period, as well as introducing other motifs which express a clear divine presence. A diachronic study of the utilisation of these topoi may also help clarify the state of grammaticalization of compound prepositions, as well as enabling a further understanding of the development in, and use of such phrases.

2) Related expressions

Other related expressions may also be examined (for example; concerning chapter 1, other lexemes utilised to describe divine action, such as "finger" *ḏbꜥ* [1241] "grip" *ḫfꜥ* [1242]), in order to understand the other manners in which divine interaction is understood at this time. Similarly, a wider selection of deictics my also be assessed outside of verbs of motion. While chapter 2 focussed upon spatial deixis, this is not the only facet of language which is related in such an egocentric manner; a study into social deixis in relation to the divine would further illustrate the cognitive understanding of divine interaction at this time. In

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[1235] See: section 3.4 in Chapter 1.

[1236] For example, within the London-Leiden Magico-Medical Papyrus contains a high number of examples which conform to the model of divine invocation whereby the individual takes the role of deictic centre and GOAL of the motion. See: Griffith, F. L. and Thompson, H., *The Leyden Papyrus: An Egyptian Magical Book,* (Dover; New York 1974),29, 55 and 63 "Come to me…". For a full commentary and discussion on some of the finer points of the London-Leiden Magico-Medical Papyrus see: Dieleman, J., *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts an Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE),* (Brill; Leiden 2005).

[1237] Frood in *Ancient Egyptian: Theory and Practice*, 153-184.

[1238] Kruchten, J.-M., *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIIIème dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs a l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon,* (Departement orientalistiek; Leuven 1989).

[1239] For example: *Text 1c* , the individual relates the role of Amun as one who rescues/saves the individual in the thribunal.

[1240] The concept of belonging to the god since before their initiation is repeated frequently, e.g *Text 7*, states "Look, my heart has belonged to you since forever".

[1241] *Wb* V, 562-565.

[1242] *Wb* III, 272-273.

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relation to *gm(i),* further comparison with non-divine instances would also be potentially fruitful.

Beyond the topoi examined within this thesis, there are also a number of other apparently "common" phrases could be investigated using similar methodologies in order to better understand their meaning and use. For each of these topics, both quantitative and qualitative studies would provide a large amount of information. Frandsen (focusing on DOMINATED and DOMINATING genitives)[1243] and Groll (contrasting *pȝ*-A and Ø–A contructions)[1244] have shown how the differing use of the Late Egyptian *pȝ* indicates varied speaker/composer/writer intentions. These approaches may be applied to a number of concepts present within pietistic textual sources of the later New Kingdom which mention a number of concepts in the same manner such as *bȝw* or *nṯr*. It is clear from the work of Groll and Frandsen, as well as from the results produced in this study that many nuances of meaning expressed within the building blocks of language have not been fully explored.

[1243] Frandsen, P. J., 'Aspects of Kingship in Ancient Egypt', in N. M. Brisch (ed.) *Religion and Power : Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond,* (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; Chicago, IL 2008), 47-73.
[1244] Groll, S. I., 'Semiotics, Pragmatics and Structuralism as a means to Determine the Degree of Connectedness between Utterances. I: *pȝ*-A versus Ø–A', *Lingua Aegyptia* 1 (1991), 143-153.

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