Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories

LINGUISTIC, LITERARY AND
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

BY

CAMILLA DI BIASE-DYSON

Foreigners and Egyptians in the
Late Egyptian Stories

Probleme
der Ägyptologie

Herausgegeben von

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und
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For my family:

scholars, teachers, thinkers and dreamers.

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

T. S. Eliot
'Little Gidding', *Four Quartets*

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PREFACE

This thesis comprises a clausal study of four narratives. For the sake of conciseness, the extant clauses and clause fragments have been numbered consecutively with a prefix stipulating the text's name: DP for *The Doomed Prince*, AS for *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, J for *The Taking of Joppa* and W for *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*. The clauses are defined based on the semantic analysis of individual verbs and non-verbal constructions, which is sometimes more fine-grained than Egyptian sentence structure. The numbering system, together with the page/line references of the original manuscripts and the hieroglyphic transcription in A. H. Gardiner's *Late Egyptian Stories* (*LES*) are to be found in the appendix, which presents a transliteration, translation and annotation of each text.

In this study, proper nouns are capitalised and foreign names and toponyms have been written with syllabic orthography. Moreover, Egyptian-specific grammatical forms are capitalised, whereas general linguistic categories are not. Thus, the imperative mood is differentiated from the Imperative form. The labelling conventions adapted from Systemic Functional Linguistics are as follows: Processes are in lower case ('material', for instance), whereas Participants (like 'Actor') are in upper case. Capitalisation has also been used to highlight narratological roles, like 'Hero', for personal names and titles (in translation). 'Character names', even if they are not proper nouns, are also capitalised, thus differentiating the Pharaoh as a character from his role as pharaoh.

Key

///	Lacuna
…	Author's intentional abbreviation of the text in a citation
( )	Translator's addition to orthography and additions for clarity
[ ]	Editor's reconstruction
< >	Editor's or translator's addition
{ }	Editor's or translator's exclusion
[[ ]]	Embedded clause
ꜥ.w.s	ꜥnḫ.w wḏꜣ.w snb.w. In translation: 'l.p.h.', 'may he live, prosper and be healthy'
MS	Manuscript
PN	Personal Name
bold text	Rubric

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Introduction: Aims and Rationale*

This study sets as its focus the representation of the protagonists in a selection of literary texts from the Egyptian Ramesside Period and early Third Intermediate Period (c. 1200–1050 BC) known as the *Late Egyptian Stories*. Primarily, it seeks to develop a method by which literary features like characterisation can be most thoroughly analysed. The contrasting portrayals of foreign and Egyptian characters have been selected as a case study, thereby limiting the Ramesside corpus to the four texts in which inter-ethnic contact occurs: *The Doomed Prince*, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, *The Taking of Joppa* and *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*. The reasons for this choice are twofold. From a text-internal perspective, the interaction of different ethnic groups provides a strong enough contrast to test the methodology more reliably. From a text-external perspective, this interaction comprises one of the most prominent motifs in the Late Egyptian literary corpus. Foreign (particularly Near Eastern) lands, peoples and gods permeate Ramesside and post-Ramesside literature, illustrating a fascination perhaps ignited by the increased contact between Egypt and the Near East at this time.[1] The following work interrogates the way in which this fascination manifested itself in the characterisation of foreigners and raises the possibility that the contrast between foreign characters and their Egyptian counterparts defines their characterisation.

In its engagement with the protagonists of Egyptian literature, this study already presents itself as something rather different from the plot, genre and history-oriented studies which precede it.[2] However, by establishing this new point of departure, this work addresses a key problematic of Egyptian literary studies: given the role of plot progression and literary style, how can we categorise texts whose beginning or end is

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[1] Moers 2001a: 164 argues that Egyptian tales in general, and what he calls *Reiseerzählungen* or 'travel narratives' in particular, demonstrate what Baines 1996b: 377 calls a "universal interest in the exotic".

[2] *Pars pro toto* Assmann 1977, Loprieno 1988a, Moers 2001a, Parkinson 2002, as well as Roeder 2009.

missing or which, due to the condition of the manuscripts, are fragmentary throughout? I would argue that both the focus on protagonists, as well as the method of linguistic and literary analysis I propose below allows the scholar to return to plot, genre and historical context from the point of view of agency (namely, a character's action, even motivation) and in this way perhaps speculate in a more informed manner about the missing fragments of these tales.

Since no model has yet been developed for analysing the protagonists of Egyptian literature, this project establishes a methodology that facilitates discussions of both minute details and general concepts. While literary theory is fundamental to such an enquiry, as many Egyptological studies have noted, I additionally propose that a linguistic approach allows privileged access to the meaning conveyed by literary language, and perhaps also to the (conscious or unconscious) motivation behind particular linguistic choices. For this reason, I have analysed the stories using the infrastructure of Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics. This method of analysis seeks to understand the establishment of meaning in language across a number of strata, from phonemes and lexemes through to a text's context.

As has already become clear, this enquiry seeks to establish a nexus between the still quite disparate areas of Egyptian language and literature in order to understand how they interact. Such an endeavour could therefore be of interest to linguists intrigued by the application of a current linguistic paradigm to the Egyptian language or to scholars of Egyptian literature who would like to 'test their hunches' about a story and its characters by stepping behind the text and observing its mechanics. It may also be of interest to literary specialists, for the purpose of comparing the results of this study with ones based on narratives from different cultures. The study does not seek to test what we know about the Egyptian language itself: the predominant aim of the linguistic approach is to outline the semantic potential of the forms used in each clause throughout the corpus (see appendices). To this end, it applies the results of increasingly sophisticated linguistic and philological works emerging from current Egyptological research. That being said, the texts do occasionally prompt a reassessment of particular forms, due to the way in which they seem to be used. After all, it is often the case that "from the higher and more abstract levels—the discourse, the narrative—alone do we learn about what we mean".[3] In the same way, from a literary perspective, this study

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[3] Lakoff 2000: 160.

relies on current studies of fictionality, though it also suggests ways in which the evocation of past events, religious ideas and genres contributes to our understanding of the literariness of these texts.

This study suggests that Egyptian and foreign characters are differentiated in the narrative at a grammatical level. It applies linguistic theory to test this hypothesis empirically, while taking broader contextual features into consideration, since it is likely that significant changes will occur in the lexicogrammar according to what is being represented (the plot or setting), who is acting (the Agent), where things are happening in the text (the literary context), when (the socio-political context) and why (the purpose of the text). Therefore, we shall see that *internal* (language-based) and *external* (context-based) forces influence characterisation.

1.1.1   *A New Approach*

My approach to the issue under investigation operates on three tiers: a *focus*, a *case study* and a *method*. Of primary import here is to provide an explanation for my focus, an impetus for my case study and (more thoroughly in chapter 2) a justification for my method.

The focus of this research is characterisation in Late Egyptian narratives, which has thus far been afforded little attention by Egyptological scholarship. The questions to be addressed in this discussion are: What is characterisation? What have the approaches to characterisation in Egyptian literature achieved so far, and why is characterisation often neglected? Why is a new study necessary? The focus therefore concerns itself with the *epistemic context* of the enquiry, by which I mean the theoretical conception of characterisation and the appraisal of its worth as a dimension of literary theory.

The case study concerns narratives that involve contact between Egyptian and foreign characters, be they on Egyptian or foreign soil (see also 1.4). The significance of this case study emerges from two concepts central to literature in general: the role of travel (and, by extension, the role of foreign characters) in literature and the use of past events as a reflection of the present. The case study therefore concerns the interrelation between the *literary* and *socio-political context*, and prompts us to consider whether political change affected the way in which foreigners were portrayed.[4]

The first part of the method combines literary analysis with Systemic Functional Linguistics, a paradigm which has never before been applied

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[4] Loprieno 1988a: 69–71.

to an Egyptian text. For this reason, we must ask the following questions: What do these methods lend to the Egyptological enquiry into language and characterisation? What other theoretical approaches are useful? What is the role of genre in the analysis? Does genre help us to understand patterns of change in the representation of foreigners? On the basis of this analysis, the second part of the method establishes a comparison between foreign and Egyptian characters. By using, testing and evaluating different approaches to characterisation, this discussion thus comprises the *theoretical context* of the work. However, before attempting any further explanation, we must define the parameters of the corpus.

1.2   *The Corpus*

The first undertaking for this outline of the corpus is the justification for the choice of these four texts. Subsequent details, such as the texts' corresponding genres and the time period to which their surviving manuscripts belong, then lay the foundation for the successive analysis.

1.2.1   *Texts*

The sources chosen are the four narrative texts from Alan H. Gardiner's collection of *Late Egyptian Stories* in which foreign characters interact with Egyptians, namely, *The Doomed Prince*, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, *The Taking of Joppa* and *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*. The ample scholarly attention afforded these texts to date has rested on their plot structure, literary features and historical value.

These texts in particular were chosen for this more detailed analysis in order to test the impact on characterisation of prominent literary motifs across world literature, such as travel, boundary transgression, foreign encounters, opposition and heroic quests, which appear throughout this corpus. This is based on the hypothesis that characters are brought into sharp relief under these particular circumstances, and will therefore display distinguishing markers when subjected to a detailed semantic analysis. As we shall see, this certainly seems to be the case, although we would also expect that the application of this method to a larger corpus with different sources of contrast would give as clear a depiction of a character as the opposition of Egyptians and foreigners. Fundamentally, a method of this level of detail necessitates a corpus of manageable size, and the four *Late Egyptian Stories* containing these shared themes, which in their current state of preservation amount to a total of over 900 clauses, were

considered to provide a substantial empirical basis for this case study. This being said, the corpus is certainly heterogenous. Perhaps due to a change in the literary register in the early Third Intermediate Period, *The Misfortunes of Wenamun* is written in Late Egyptian, whereas the Ramesside texts are written in so-called *literary Late Egyptian*, which employs Middle Egyptian narrative forms.[5] With regard to plot structure, *Apophis and Seqenenre* is the only narrative in the corpus that does not have boundary transgression as an overt theme, given that it is set in Egypt. It is nonetheless appropriate to this study, since it recounts the unusual situation of foreigners residing and ruling in Egypt and Egyptians being made to feel like strangers in their own home. The device of 'making strange' that allows these narratives to develop thus does not require a change in setting.

An important caveat is that all of these texts are preserved on single manuscripts, all of which are damaged. The conclusions reached about character can therefore be based only on what remains at our disposal. Despite this problem, some characters seem to be 'complete', by which I mean that the episodes in which they appear seem to have finished. Such characters include the Pharaoh and Chief of Naharin in *The Doomed Prince* and Beder and Tjekerbaal in *Wenamun*. We must therefore keep such a factor in mind when comparing them with other less complete characters.

1.2.2 *Text Type: Narrative Literature*

Each text in this corpus can be defined as a narrative, which is a *texteme*[6] that is differentiated linguistically from most other forms of prose on the

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[5] As Winand 1992: 5–9 outlines, some scholars count this as a form of Late Egyptian in their grammars (Erman 1933: 3–4), whereas others restrict the corpus to 20th Dynasty non-literary texts (Černý & Groll 1993: xlix–li, liv–lxvii, Groll 1969: 184, Groll 1975–6: 237–238 and Frandsen 1974: vii). Vernus 1981: 434 regarded the latter conception of a monolithic language as too rigid, though Vernus 1982a: 17–18 and also Satzinger 1976: 2–3 argue that synchronic, diachronic, and genre-focused studies of language are necessary. The generic approach, espoused by Vernus 1982b: 81 and Vernus 1990a: 153–154, shows where *l'égyptien de tradition* encroaches on *néo-égyptien*, which is somewhat similar to the categories espoused by Junge 1985: 28–29, who differentiates *Spätmittelägyptisch* from *Medio-neuägyptisch* (the language of most *Late Egyptian Stories*), *Neuägyptisch* and *Neo-mittelägyptisch*. Winand 1992: 11–13, on the other hand, differentiates not along lines of genre, but rather on *registres d'expression*: *le néo-égyptien complet*, *le néo-égyptien mixte* and *le néo-égyptien partiel*, based on the amount of Late Egyptian forms used.

[6] David 2006: 9 defines a *texteme* as a "subtextual signaled and bounded unit presenting a distinctive system of grammar".

basis of temporally and sequentially-linked narrative clauses.[7] From an Aristotelian perspective, a narrative is a text with a beginning, middle and end,[8] and from a functional perspective, it is the description of an experience.[9] The *narrativity* of the text must also be considered, which, in other words, is what turns a simple action sequence into *literature*, a story with a message.[10] Defining attributes of narrativity include "structural closure, the existence of conflicts, human action and change, the preference of singularity over banality, and especially a high index of intertextuality".[11] Whereas earlier Egyptological discussions of the literary qualities of Egyptian texts were primarily concerned with a text's cultural *function* (or lack thereof),[12] literature has more recently been defined as a text type which manifests *fictionality*, *intertextuality* and *reception*,[13] although the applicability of this tripartite definition to ancient Egyptian literature can certainly be questioned. With respect to *fictionality*, literary texts fulfil criteria of 'structure'[14] and 'texture',[15] which render both real and fictive situations in such a way as to remove them from the realm of the mundane. Content is characteristically fictional, it has been argued, when it concerns boundary crossing,[16] and although the validity of this criterion can be opposed,[17] such criticism does not weaken the concept of fictionality, which is bolstered (as we have seen above with reference to 'structure' and 'texture') by criteria of form and function. Metalinguistic features like names can also be indicators of fictionality, as is total anonymity,[18] although this feature cannot operate alone as a determining characteristic. Another feature of Egyptian literary texts is *intertextuality*,

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[7] Prince 1982: 2, Ronen 1990: 819 and Thornborrow & Coates 2005: 3.

[8] Thornborrow & Coates 2005: 3.

[9] Martin & Plum 1997: 301–302.

[10] Ronen 1990: 819.

[11] Moers 2011: 169, who draws on ideas developed by Prince 1982: 145–161 and 1999: 46–49.

[12] Of which the most influential example in Egyptology is Assmann 1974: 123ff.

[13] Loprieno 1996b: 43 developed this matrix of categories in reaction to studies like Kaplony 1977: 289, in which *Schöne Literatur* is defined as simply "was die Ägypter unter *mdt nfrt* 'Schöne Rede' verstehen".

[14] Loprieno 2003: 31–32 defines 'structure' (or form) as medium as well as style of writing, both physical (i.e. layout) and literary. Blumenthal 1972: 14 also perceives "eine literarische Ambition" in the interweaving of narrated text and reported speech.

[15] Loprieno 1996a: 216 (also Loprieno 2003: 31) defines 'texture' (or content) as the identification of "specific 'genres' and 'forms' that display internal cohesion diatopically and diachronically".

[16] Moers 2001a: 20.

[17] Quack 2003: 154.

[18] Loprieno 1996b: 44.

or referencing, between narrative literary texts and other written genres, be they biographies, historical records or reports.[19] In this case, the literary quality of a narrative in which such genres or textual references are integrated is often manifest by the greater emotional subtlety with which the same subject matter is treated.[20] This factor is notoriously hard to assess, however, given the frequent lack of documents to which such 'referencing' could be attributed. What is available to us here is evidence of *generic intertextuality*, in other words, conscious referencing of other genres or motifs (for which see section 2.2.2.3). *Reception*, or evidence of an audience, is also considered an important literary marker, although in this case we have a corpus of Ramesside literary texts of which only single copies remain, while classic literary texts[21] and contemporary scribal miscellanies were widely transmitted.[22] Given that not all features are easily applicable to every text, I would like to propose a model for Egyptian literature that takes into consideration a number of both text-internal and text-external criteria which, in combination, help us appraise the literary status of a text:

Text-Internal Features	*Text-External Features*
Structure = Form (plot, framing devices, formulae, poetic language, rhetoric)	Function (entertainment, edification, *not* liturgical)
Texture = Content (fictional markers like motifs or intertextuality, themes)	Reception (transmission of texts)

Figure 1.1. Proposed model for defining Egyptian literature.

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[19] Loprieno 1996b: 51–52. Naturally, however, as Quack 2003: 153 points out, the amount of literary material available to us makes the identification of intertextuality in Egyptian texts problematic.

[20] Baines 1982: 37, regarding *The Tale of Sinuhe*. Also Parkinson 2002: 153, referring to Doxey 1998: 29–79.

[21] Baines 1996a: 158 acknowledges, however, that the "apparent cessation of literary creativity in Classical Egyptian [...] created a situation in which the culturally most important works became fossilized and separated from the active composing culture." This is apparent in works like *Sinuhe*, whose Middle Kingdom copies show some (restricted) reworkings of the text in contrast to the New Kingdom copies, in which few attempts were made to adapt the text to reflect the language of the day. See Kahl 1998: 395–399.

[22] Loprieno 1996b: 54–55.

For all the problems with applying literary-theoretical terminology to the ancient corpus, its cautious use at least refines the field of assessment to a few salient particulars. Movements in the opposite direction, which avowedly attempt to define Egyptian literature in a corpus-referential, un-theoretical fashion, result in the development of multitudinous criteria which, for all their detail, essentially adhere to the theoretical framework outlined above without adopting the structures which would make the features comprehensible for scholars outside the field of Egyptology.[23]

1.2.3   *Time Period*

The time period in which these texts were recorded in the versions now available determines our chronological focus. The papyri on which *The Doomed Prince*, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* and *The Taking of Joppa* were written date to the 19th Dynasty[24] and the manuscript of *Wenamun* dates to the Third Intermediate Period.[25] The Ramesside Period, in addition to being a time of great literary creativity, is the theatre for the maintenance but subsequent collapse of both the unified kingdom of Egypt as well as its 'empire' abroad.[26] This fluctuation is perhaps visible in the corpus. The increasing military, economic and political relationships with foreign lands (particularly in the Near East)[27] and the concomitant influx of foreigners throughout this time, as booty and as migrants,[28] may provide an explanation for the noteworthy reference made to the foreign in Egyptian literature from this period.[29]

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[23] Burkard & Thissen 2008a: 28, for instance, define works of Egyptian literature as those with "keine zu enge Zweckbestimmung (wie Theologie, Kult, Grab); keine zu starke 'Ortsbindung' (Tempelinschriften, Stelen vs. Papyri); eine wie immer geartete 'Form'; es müssen Elemente des Fiktiven vorhanden sein; eine besondere Sprache, und sei es fingiert, um eine bestimmte Textsorte vorzuspiegeln; größerer Rezipientenkreis".

[24] Papyrus Harris 500, upon which *The Doomed Prince* and *The Taking of Joppa* are written, dates to the time of Seti I or early Ramesses II, and Papyrus Sallier I, which contains *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, dates to the reign of Merenptah, for which see Gardiner 1932: vii, xiii, ix.

[25] The exact date of the document is as yet unclear. Paleographical studies have dated the text to both Dynasties 21 (Gardiner 1932: xi–xii and Egberts 2001: 495) and 22 (Möller 1910: 29 and Helck 1986: 1215). Winand 2011: 546–549, on the basis of grammar and orthography, dates the text to at least the latter part of Dynasty 21.

[26] Kitchen 1982: 18–24, 50–72 and 215–219.

[27] Moers 2000: 81.

[28] Donadoni 1980: 9.

[29] Schneider 2006: 210–211 discusses the significant influence of foreigners on Egyptian culture, *contra* Valbelle 1990: 198, who claims that Egypt throughout this process remained "maîtresse de ses emprunts".

1.3   *The Epistemology of Characterisation to Date*

The discussion turns now to the concept of characterisation in light of approaches attempted so far in Egyptian literary studies. We shall see that the recent interest in more detailed analytical studies of literary language has not yet resulted in the development of an explicit methodology, which demonstrates the relevance of this study.

1.3.1   *Character and Characterisation*

Characterisation, the particular focus of this research, concerns the process by which the protagonists of a literary work are created.[30] A *character* is "a topic (or 'logical participant') common to a set of propositions predicating of it at least some characteristics generally associated with human beings".[31] Additionally, this 'topic' must be "foregrounded at least once in the narrative rather than relegated to the background and made part of a general context or setting".[32] A character is thus defined by their level of visibility in a text as well as their actions, words or feelings.[33] Their level of dominance in a story (whether they are 'main' or 'secondary') is determined on the basis of their distinctiveness and functionality as well as their appearance at the important points in a narrative that generate its outcome.[34] The 'linguistic correlates' of such features for a main character would then constitute: representation using a wide range of grammatical forms to portray them conducting a variety of different activities in independent (main) clauses at points of episodic change. This investigation concentrates on these features as they pertain to the most distinctive and functional protagonists.

1.3.2   *Approaches to Characterisation in Egyptian Literary Studies*

A review of the prevailing approaches to characterisation in Egyptian fiction reveals a great similarity to trends set by literary theoretical discourse. Means of access to literary protagonists have been predominantly *humanising*, *formalist*, *author-based* or *audience-based*.[35] The insufficient

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[30] Culpeper 2001: 1.
[31] Prince 1982: 71.
[32] Prince 1982: 71.
[33] Prince 1982: 72 and Hochman 1985: 38.
[34] Prince 1982: 72, also Bal 1997: 195–197.
[35] See the categories established by Laird 1997: 282, as well as Culpeper 2001: 9. Since a majority of Egyptological approaches are hybrids of these categories, they will be arranged according to their dominant tendency.

attention granted to characters so far[36] also mirrors the 'parent' school of literary studies. This oversight has been convincingly tied to the influence of both structuralism and poststructuralism,[37] with their focus on issues like plot and message. An interest in the analysis of language to portray characters also parallels recent theoretical trends,[38] though models of analysis have not yet been given sufficient attention.

The first approach to character is *humanising*, in other words, it regards characters as 'individuals', who 'develop' throughout the narrative or have 'motivations' to which we can relate. It asks: "what causes the character to act in this way?"[39] This approach has never been uncritically adopted by Egyptological studies, due to the prevailing view that even the 'main' characters of Egyptian narratives are *static*, as they do not change and grow across a narrative.[40] A more nuanced rendition that emerges in the work of Betsy Bryan and John Baines sees characters' static characteristics as existing in conflict with one another, which makes them rather more human.[41]

The second approach, based on *formalist* narratological studies, sees characters as *types* (or *actants* in the terminology of A. J. Greimas) that are vehicles for the action of the plot,[42] and therefore asks: "what does this action lead to?"[43] This approach is based on Aristotelian poetics, in which the function of characters pertains to their performance of actions. For this reason, an Agent (*pratton*) is mandatory, but a character or personality (*ethos*) is not.[44] The extent to which these types are then developed is contingent on the genre of the narrative. This approach to character, as

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[36] Some of the most recent and comprehensive theoretical discussions of Egyptian literature, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, edited by Antonio Loprieno (1996), and *Definitely: Egyptian literature. Proceedings of the symposion 'Ancient Egyptian literature: history and forms'*, edited by Gerald Moers (1999) do not discuss characterisation. They focus on plot progressions, motifs, literary style, literary quality, and historical context.

[37] Discussed by Bennison 1993: 79.

[38] See, for instance, Bennison 1993.

[39] Culpeper 2001: 9.

[40] Hochman 1985: 133 defines such characters as "highly coherent, significantly symbolic, and transparent in motive". See also Prince 1982: 72–73.

[41] It is in this way that Mizener 1959: 364 conceives of Criseyde in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.

[42] Propp 1968 [1928]: 21, Frye 1957: 171–172, Greimas 1966: 129–130, 134, 172–191 and Bremond 1973: 309–333. Also Baines 1982: 39.

[43] Culpeper 2001: 9.

[44] Aristotle, *Poetics* 50a, trans. Heath 1996: 11–12. Also Chatman 1978: 127 and Nikolajeva 2002: 11.

encapsulated by the work of Jan Assmann and Péter Hubai, has a broad application, as we shall see below, but taken on its own it places literature in a cultural vacuum.

The third way to understand characterisation is as an *internalising* means of *authorial self-expression*, which we could expand to include the author's reactions to his socio-political as well as literary surroundings. In an Egyptian context, we have the problem of anonymous (and probably plural) authorship, but this should not dissuade us from seeking in the characters an expression of individual opinion, as Antonio Loprieno's work indicates.[45]

Characterisation can also be attributed to the *externalising* factor of *audience response*, as is manifest in terms of reception, intertextuality and ideology.[46] In other words, we must take stock of means of transmission, referencing and also historical and political context in order to understand: what in society is leading this character to be represented thus? Given that narratives are inherently social constructs,[47] several scholars, like Richard Parkinson, see it as being natural that characters would act in accordance with social norms or expectations.[48] Loprieno's study, as will be seen below, straddles normative and individual approaches to character. As he has argued, in many cases, characters in *belles-lettres* are 'lifelike' not only because they are a reflection of, but principally because they are a response to, social mores.[49] Illustrative of this fact is that though many might argue that Egyptian characters, like Greek heroes, react to each other only in ways that are socially prescribed, it seems, conversely, that just like the Greek heroes (Achilles, for example),[50] the most interesting Egyptian characters *transgress* social boundaries: the Doomed Prince lies and Wenamun steals. Though different in its perspective to the other three approaches to characterisation, the *audience response* model is, like the others, a *deductive* or 'top down' approach, using prior knowledge about the progress of Egyptian history, society and literature, in addition to the cognitive effect of its changes, to inform a character analysis.[51]

The last, most recent trend is to analyse characters as the *sum of their grammatical parts*, which prompts us to enquire: what does the language

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[45] Particularly Loprieno 1988a.
[46] Laird 1997: 282–283.
[47] Baines 1996b: 339 and Moers 1999: 45, based on Assmann 1974.
[48] Parkinson 2002: 126.
[49] Loprieno 1988a: 96–97.
[50] Knox 1990: 55–56.
[51] Culpeper 2001: 35 and 47.

tell us about this character? An increasing number of Egyptological studies, headed by Michèle Broze and Deborah Sweeney, now tend in this direction. Contrary to the approaches outlined so far, this method is *inductive*, or 'bottom up', using the grammar of texts to understand the impression that the characters make. As shall be established in the forthcoming review and in the chapters to follow, the existing studies have not yet systematically tied the various levels of language to characterisation, instead choosing to focus on general literary, social, or discursive concerns.

Though this study affiliates most with the grammatical approach, it attempts to take into account all approaches to character, since each brings forth pertinent features excluded by other approaches. For instance, Egyptian protagonists are 'types' that perform functional roles in a narrative, but they are frequently made complex by having contradictory qualities. They also reflect both the normative codes of a society as well as an individual's attempt to comment on them. These four deductive and *extrinsic* (context-based) approaches inform and provide a perfect complement to the inductive and *intrinsic* (content-based) method[52] that is principally adopted here, since the external qualities are apparent in the grammar. Characters come thereby to be seen as simultaneously *doing things* in a story as well as *saying something* about the society that created them.

1.3.2.1   *Humanising Approaches to Characterisation*

1.3.2.1a   *Strother Purdy* (*1977*) *"Sinuhe and the Question of Literary Types", Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 104*
Purdy's discussion of the Middle Kingdom *Tale of Sinuhe* most clearly represents the analysis of a character as an 'individual'. In order to explain the contradictory reasons for Sinuhe's flight from Egypt,[53] he asserts that "the writer wished to display Sinuhe's thought in the style of a modern psychological novel, including the small scale confusion and inconsistency of the mind at work under stress in order to describe the large scale mental portrait more accurately".[54] However, Purdy must then grapple with the fact that such verisimilitude is not apparent in other parts of the text. For

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[52] Wellek & Warren 1956: 73–74 and 140.
[53] This is a conundrum which many scholars have attempted to resolve. An overview is supplied by Goedicke 1984: 95–96, and, more recently, Morschauser 2000 and Feder 2003.
[54] Purdy 1977: 116.

instance, the rather puzzling letter by King Senwosret I repeats some of Sinuhe's innermost thoughts, and additionally, neither Sinuhe's foreign wife nor his children accompany him to Egypt where he intends to die.[55] These are "life-situation dead ends".[56] Purdy accounts for this by asserting that: "two stories are involved, along with the two thematic progressions. One is that of Joseph, the naked fugitive who by luck and fortitude rises to wealth and power in a faraway land; the other is that of the Prodigal, the guilty sinner who stole away to pain and obscurity, but who is welcomed back and forgiven nonetheless".[57] Despite sensing that these are only types or motifs (and contradictory ones at that), Purdy attempts to reconcile them to reality by concluding that Sinuhe actually died in exile, and that his homecoming represents his journey to the blessed afterlife.[58] This approach dulls the clear literary qualities of the text by attempting to account for idiosyncrasies that make Sinuhe such an enjoyable figment of the literary imagination.

1.3.2.1b   *Betsy M. Bryan* (*1980*) *"The Hero of the 'Shipwrecked Sailor'"*, Serapis *5*

Bryan's approach to *The Shipwrecked Sailor* likewise seems to regard the protagonist as an 'individual' on the basis of 'audience response'. Given the Sailor's inferior status in relation to the commander to whom he relates his tale, his manner of address could be seen as an infringement of social decorum, since rather than simply reporting, he lectures.[59] Worse still, he does so without a 'moral': he "never recognized the divine intervention in his life, nor after his experience did he value traditional wisdom".[60] The Sailor's ingratitude is shown by the fact that he does not fulfil his promise to the Snake that he would mention him in his town upon his return.[61] Bryan contrasts this with Sinuhe's behaviour in relation to his superiors, and his gratitude at being permitted to return to Egypt.[62] Though problematic in terms of the modern literary and discursive expectations which

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[55] Purdy 1977: 119.
[56] Purdy 1977: 120.
[57] Purdy 1977: 122.
[58] Purdy 1977: 127.
[59] Bryan 1980: 4–5. Baines 1990: 70 suggests instead that by describing the Snake laughing at him, the Sailor is depicting himself ironically, which would provide another level of humour in addition to the irony that the narrator of the tale directs at the audience.
[60] Bryan 1980: 12. Baines 1990: 59 suggests that the fact that the storyteller is a sailor implies that the story is a "tall tale" (in other words, quite unbelievable).
[61] Bryan 1980: 9–10.
[62] Bryan 1980: 10.

it seems to endorse,[63] this paper highlights the importance of patterns of interaction in character analysis (see 2.3.6.3), since how characters react to each other is as important for establishing a reader's impressions as the most detailed description. This interpersonal perspective also raises the social issue of decorum in literature, and how it was (ab)used for the purpose of humour and for creating Anti-Heroes. I shall be returning to a discussion of decorum from a grammatical perspective in my discussion of *The Misfortunes of Wenamun* in section 5.4.

1.3.2.1c   *John Baines* (1982) *"Interpreting Sinuhe",* Journal of Egyptian Archaeology *68*

John Baines' work on *The Tale of Sinuhe* represents a development of Bryan's approach: Sinuhe is seen as an 'individual' whose fate is dependent on his compliance with normative social goals.[64] Sinuhe's motivation is "an important and recurring theme of the text", but since "his attitude to his flight changes necessarily in the course of the text",[65] it is deemed to be "inconsistent".[66] Equally inconsistent are his character traits, which range from vacillating to dominant.[67] Given that Sinuhe's flight from Egypt and the guilt associated therewith are never resolved, Baines comes to the conclusion that "there is no hero or true development".[68] What is emphasised instead is "the protagonist's social identity".[69] Within the ambit of the story, Sinuhe's flight is "self-sufficient", as it ensures his travels abroad so that the story can progress.[70] Nevertheless, by contemplating and adjudicating a character's motivation and guilt, even if it is within the context of the audience's expectations of normative encoding, Baines adopts an approach that is nonetheless based on the contradictions inherent within an 'individual'. Such a means of analysis avoids confronting the reality that "(c)haracters don't have an unconscious, only people do".[71]

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[63] Parkinson 2002: 126, note 13.
[64] Baines 1982: 40–41.
[65] Baines 1982: 39.
[66] Baines 1982: 41.
[67] Baines 1982: 42.
[68] Baines 1982: 41.
[69] Baines 1982: 42.
[70] Baines 1982: 42.
[71] Bal 1997: 121.

1.3.2.2 *Formalist Approaches to Characterisation*

1.3.2.2a *Jan Assmann (1977) "Das ägyptische Zweibrüdermärchen (Papyrus d'Orbiney). Eine Textanalyse auf drei Ebenen am Leitfaden der Einheitsfrage",* Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde *104*
The fairy tale *The Tale of the Two Brothers*, written on Papyrus d'Orbiney, is, by virtue of its genre, an excellent candidate for a narratological analysis that takes account of folkloric motifs.[72] As Assmann's reference to Stith Thompson's universal Motif-Index[73] makes clear, key themes of his study are the story's structure and the *Personenkonstellation* that populates each episode.[74] This approach to a certain extent (though from a literary rather than grammatical perspective) approximates my *textual* level of analysis (see 2.3.3.3), which identifies the character that is thematised at the beginning of each episode. For the purpose of outlining the plot, Assmann draws on the formalist narratological *functions* of Vladimir Propp, though he concedes that not all of his functions correspond to those in the tale.[75] Nonetheless, he ties the motion of the plot in a formalist manner to the actions and reactions of the characters,[76] even when their motivations for conducting them are in focus.[77] Lastly, he discusses relationships between the characters by describing the roles they play in the execution of the main themes of the story: family, work, fecundity and strength. However, even these themes are tied intrinsically to the plot, rather than the characters' exploration, even embodiment, of these themes.[78] By looking at the characters' actions as functions of the plot, rather than as illustrations of character, Assmann's study, albeit with reservations, is symptomatic of formalist approaches to characterisation.

Such an approach is likewise adopted by Péter Hubai (for a detailed discussion of this work, see 3.2.2), who identifies the functional categories in *The Doomed Prince* in order to predict an ending. However, by placing inadequate focus on the protagonists themselves, his analysis does not draw substantial conclusions about the story's outcome.

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[72] Blumenthal 1972: 3.
[73] Assmann 1977: 2.
[74] Assmann 1977: 3–4.
[75] Assmann 1977: 5, 11–12.
[76] Assmann 1977: 7–11.
[77] Assmann 1977: 15–16. These motivations are also tied to the characters' reactions to social norms.
[78] Assmann 1977: 16, 19–21. Bata's superhuman strength, which contrasts with his physical weakness, is a particularly interesting point in view of this study, but is not developed as an idea about character, but as one about theme.

1.3.2.3 *Author-Based Approaches to Characterisation*

1.3.2.3a *Antonio Loprieno* (*1988*) Topos und Mimesis. Zum Ausländer in
der ägyptischen Literatur

By adapting Egyptian literary study to contemporary literary theory, Anto-
nio Loprieno's influential work establishes two main objectives. The first
intention is to categorise Egyptian literary texts, according to their pre-
sentation of foreign characters, within a structuralist framework of *topos*
and *mimesis*. The second is to use foreign characters as a case study to
observe the development of *mimesis* over time.[79] The terminology is Aris-
totelian in origin[80] and was developed in the field of literary criticism
by Erich Auerbach, whose book *Mimesis* was concerned with the repre-
sentation of 'reality' in western literature and thus analysed the breaking
down of hierarchical rules of literary depiction in works dating from the
medieval period to the twentieth century.[81] In Loprieno's interpretation,
topos, which commonly concerns the sorts of cultural stereotypes devel-
oped by the dominant ideology of the elite, is seen as being encapsulated
by instruction texts,[82] whereas *mimesis* is evident in the depictions of
individuals in narrative texts (*belles-lettres*).[83] Perhaps due to the breadth
of the concept, the process of *mimesis* in literature has been interpreted
in various ways,[84] and is increasingly seen as being both *objectifying* and
performative.[85] It is therefore not surprising that Loprieno's interpretation
implies a greater degree of subjectivity in 'representation' than Aristotle's
original conception. The implication is that the artist/author both repre-
sents and *comments* upon their 'reality', providing an 'individual response'

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[79] Loprieno 1988a: 1–4, 7.
[80] Aristotle, *Poetics* 47a–48a in Heath 1996: 3–5. *Mimesis* is translated here as *imitation*.
See also Doležel 1988: 475 and Iser 1993 [1991]: 282.
[81] Auerbach 1953 [1946].
[82] Loprieno 1996b: 45, also Sweeney 2002: 143. In other words, these texts are what Ass-
mann 1996b: 68 defines as *Kulturelle Texte*, namely, those in which "eine Kultur die gültige,
verpflichtende und massgebliche Formulierung ihrer Weltansicht ausgedrückt sieht und
in deren kommunikativer Vergegenwärtigung sie dieses Weltbild und damit sich selbst
bestätigt".
[83] Loprieno 1988a: 16–17.
[84] Ricoeur 1984 [1983]: xi argues that in terms of the plot of a narrative, which he sees
as the *mimesis* of an action (though Aristotle, *Poetics*, 49b, in Heath 1996: 11, categorises
only the plot of *tragedy* in this way), *mimesis* has three senses: "a reference back to the
familiar pre-understanding we have of the order of action; an entry into the realm of
poetic composition; and finally a new configuration by means of this poetic refiguring of
the pre-understood order of action". This issue is also discussed by Iser 1993 [1991]: 289.
[85] Iser 1993 [1991]: 283 and 287.

to the social expectations that are manifest in the *topos*.[86] Therefore, literature will "admit imperfections, but it still articulates the normative attitude, mediating between the ideal and the actual".[87] The distinction, in other words, is between "strictly *authoritative*" and "individually *authorial*" literature,[88] so Loprieno's approach to characterisation in narrative texts predominantly corresponds to the *authorial* perspective.

Following his categorisation of the text types and their styles of representation, Loprieno conducts a diachronic analysis of the use of foreign characters in mimetic (narrative) texts of the Middle and New Kingdoms.[89] In other words, he argues that the political developments of this time, which resulted in an increased familiarity with foreigners, led to an evolution in their portrayal in literature, from *The Tale of Sinuhe*, which dates from the Middle Kingdom, to *The Doomed Prince* from the New Kingdom and *The Misfortunes of Wenamun* from the Third Intermediate Period.[90] Though the historical context of a text is clearly important, as shall be evident also from this study, we should be wary of tracing a pattern of change in representation according to those historical circumstances on the basis of only one text from each period.[91] This problem is increased by the inattention to generic differences. For instance, we can plausibly

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[86] Loprieno 1996b: 45 thus redefines the concept of *mimesis*. In this way he preempts the criticism of the terminology by Buchberger 1989–90: 8, namely, that since *mimesis* applies to art as a whole and *topos* only to rhetoric, the terms pertain to two different epistemological levels. This being said, Vinson 2004: 41–42 observes that Loprieno uses the term *mimesis* in both a "weak, technical sense" (for instance, that some monumental texts had 'mimetic' features because they made specific references to individuals) as well as a "stronger, more specific sense" in the more restricted context of narrative text, pertaining to the thematisation of human subjectivity via the name (*rn*). In only the latter sense does *mimesis* as a term stand in opposition to *topos*.

[87] Parkinson 1995: 76, and also Moers 1999: 45. After all, as Russell 1935: 103 notes, "thought is not free if the profession of certain opinions makes it impossible to earn a living". The fundamentally autocratic nature of ancient Egyptian society is also pointed out by Quack 2004: 358.

[88] Loprieno 1996b: 46.

[89] Loprieno 1988a: 70.

[90] Loprieno 1988a: 41–72. The idea is later expanded in Loprieno 1996b: 40 and 52–53.

[91] Loprieno 1988a: 37–38, note 9, consciously avoids the historical texts *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* and *The Taking of Joppa* on the grounds that they correspond to a "königlicher Diskurs". As I shall demonstrate in chapter 4, it seems that the use of such features as intertextuality and parody (expounded by Loprieno 1996b: 43 and 55) should render them sufficiently *mimetic*. See also Buchberger 1989–90: 27. Antonio Loprieno (personal communication) has noted that *mimesis* essentially operates on a cline. However, the reduction of a cline to dichotomous poles has unfortunately led 'less mimetic texts' such as these to be excluded from the study.

note a change in the presentation of foreigners from *Sinuhe* to *Wenamun*, which are similar, to a certain extent, in style and content, but it is dangerous to insert *The Doomed Prince*, a fairy tale with little overt reference to either the time in which it was set or the political circumstances under which it was written, as a 'halfway point' between them. Loprieno's study would have been enriched by considering the portrayal of the characters within both their literary and historical contexts, as well as by tying these extrinsic forces on characterisation to an intrinsic analysis of literary features, as is noted in the discussion below.

The other issue that warrants scrutiny is Loprieno's methodology, which marks a new wave in Egyptian literary studies by embracing structuralist means of analysis.[92] Loprieno represents the differences in categorisation engendered by *topos* and *mimesis* using "polaren Oppositionspaare",[93] which are considered to construe the "semantischen Merkmale" of a character.[94] The benefit of this analytical method is the clarity with which dominant features of a character can be exposed, which can then be compared with those of other characters. For instance, foreigners in a text corresponding to a *topos* are marked semantically as [+FREMDER], [+VOLK], [-*mꜣꜥ.t*], whereas foreign characters of a *mimetic* text are represented as [+FREMDER], [+*rmṯ*], [+*rn*].[95] This dichotomy also gives way to a series of characteristics, which arranged in a hierarchy, as we see in figure 1.2.[96]

Although the concepts of *topos* and *mimesis* continue to have unabated currency in Egyptological literature as literary and cultural terms, the idea of dichotomous characteristics has not been widely adopted. This is most probably because critical theory has predominantly moved away from structuralist modes of analysis since the late 1980s.[97] One criticism

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[92] Loprieno 1988a: 1. This work was influenced by the structural analysis of Assmann 1973: 9 and 19–20. As Green & Troup 1999: 299 and Macey 2000: 94 and 227–228 establish, the key developments of the paradigm were Claude Lévi-Strauss' claim that the universal structures of the mind were based on binary pairs in opposition, which Jacques Derrida later deconstructed, claiming that they comprised what is absent and what is other.

[93] Loprieno 1988a: 7. This is related to what Bal 1997: 126 calls "*semantic axes*, [which] are pairs of contrary meanings", that are "a means of mapping out the similarities and oppositions between the characters".

[94] Loprieno 1988a: 14.

[95] Loprieno 1988a: 15.

[96] Loprieno 1988a: 44, translation author's own.

[97] As Macey 2000: 332 points out, structuralism maintains some cultural currency because of its emphasis on the centrality of language to human experience, which continues to be a concern. It has become expedient, however, to discover more quantifiable methods of analysis than simply the establishment of dichotomies. For instance, Broze

MIMESIS	*TOPOS*
Name	Characteristic
Mention in foreground	Representation in background
Individual behaviour	Ethnic connotation
Competence of speech	Inadequacy of speech
Human being	Inhuman being

Adapted from Loprieno (1988a: 44).

Figure 1.2. *Mimesis* and *Topos.*

of the method is that the establishment of two contrary points (from a seemingly limitless supply that could arise from a work of literature) is entirely dependent on the ideological standpoint of the analyst[98] and comprises three successively logical moves that inhibit a pluralistic interpretation of a text: "reduction, of an infinitely rich but also chaotic field, to two centres; the articulation of these centres into polar opposites; and the hierarchization of these two into a positive and a negative term".[99] An excellent example of such reductionist tendencies is the association of *mimesis* with literary texts, despite the fact that some literary examples entirely embody ideas normally generated by the *topos*, such as the triumph of *mꜣꜥ.t* over *jsf.t* that we encounter in *Truth and Falsehood*.[100] Therefore,

1996: 225–230 doubts that structuralist cultural oppositions are of any benefit to the study of *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*, since the opposing ideas "ruse/violence" are better construed as forming part of a hierarchy.

[98] Bal 1997: 126–127. Similarly, Culpeper 2001: 49 avoids this type of analysis "because it offers too little guidance on how to identify semes or on how they might cohere".

[99] Bal 1997: 128. For instance, Moers 2005: 226–227 calls into question the opposition [+Ausländer] = [-*rmṯ*], since the term *rmṯ* "immer 'produktiver' (produktiver im Sinne des Exklusionspotentials) genutzt wurde, ohne dass dadurch die Möglichkeit zur unmarkierten Verwendung des Begriffes eingeschränkt worden wäre". Buchberger 1989–90: 7, 19–26 moreover points out that foreigners could also be *rmṯ.w* even before the First Intermediate Period. The tendency of the *topos* to 'dehumanise' foreigners implied by Loprieno's chart (figure 1.2) also runs counter to his representation in Loprieno 1988a: 15 of foreigners in the topos as [+FREMDER], [+VOLK], [-*mꜣꜥ.t*]. Lastly, the attribution of 'names' to the category of *mimesis* is also an overgeneralisation, as noted by Buchberger 1989–90: 28, since personal names are avoided in tales like *The Doomed Prince*, for example.

[100] Vinson 2004: 47–48 clarifies that the humanisation of the divine characters corresponds to *mimesis*, but only in a "weak, formal sense". Real *mimesis*, the thematisation of an individual who "questions or transgresses the basic assumptions of Egypt's elite culture", is not present. Nevertheless, Vinson 2004: 52 points out that 'melodramatic' texts like *Truth and Falsehood* differ from pessimistic literature (the *topos*) because they represent a

the discursive dialectic between society and the individual transcends the boundaries of 'literariness'. However, all this being said, structuralist ideas are of demonstrably great value when adopted in a more nuanced fashion. We see this perhaps in Roland Barthes' idea of *semes*, or characteristics, which, unlike the 'semantic axes' can operate in opposition *within* the same character to make that character more complex.[101] Moreover, when it comes to analysing a character based on a text's language, the foregoing work is illustrative of the strong influence of structuralism on functional linguistics.[102] What has to be problematised is the stark dichotomising of literary concepts without the provision of quantitative support.

   All methodological issues aside, Loprieno's work provides an important starting point for the foregoing research, which likewise uses foreign characters to draw conclusions about Egyptian literature. However, the present work seeks to establish the roles of foreign and Egyptian characters in more detail and establish comparison *between* the two groups. It takes into account not only the broader social context but also the genre and literary context. I therefore suggest that rather than abandoning the terms *topos* and *mimesis* altogether, it would be useful to open up Loprieno's definition of *mimesis* to not only concern the historical and socio-cultural context of the author, but also their literary universe, such as their conception of how a character should act within a certain genre (their reaction to literary *topoi*, in other words). This reconfiguration takes account of the inherent normalising instinct conveyed by much literature,[103] but goes beyond it to account also for its potentially critical elements.[104] Additionally, a more quantifiable analysis of the literature, such as is offered here, will perhaps also allow us to more accurately define whether an ironic voice emerges in a literary text through narration or through the mouths of its characters as well as note whether *mimetic* representation actually differentiated Egyptians from their foreign counterparts. Although it could

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"particular past instance" of this struggle. This would imply that the 'individualising' aspect of *mimesis* also occurs at the level of content, not just of opinion.

   [101]   Barthes 1974 [1970]: 21 and 67–68.

   [102]   This link can be noted in several works from the school of Systemic Functional Linguistics alone. For instance, their indebtedness to the work of Ferdinand de Saussure can be seen in Heyvaert 2003: 75.

   [103]   As Buchberger 1989–90: 9 points out, the literary genre is paradigmatic of 'topos', so it seems that Loprieno has taken the term not so much based on generic properties as on phraseology.

   [104]   Dieleman 2011: 129 argues that Egyptian literature was never 'subversive', though as this study will demonstrate, humour could convey subtle social criticism. Greenblatt 1990: 112 calls this "subversive submission".

be seen as problematic to note an ironic tone in ancient texts without an attempt at exact quantification, it could also be contended that it is inadvisable to read literature of any epoch with the utmost scholarly seriousness.[105]

1.3.2.4 *Audience-Based Approaches to Characterisation*

1.3.2.4a *Peter Seibert* (*1967*) Die Charakteristik. Untersuchungen zu einer altägyptischen Sprechsitte und ihren Ausprägungen in Folklore und Literatur

Seibert focuses on the establishment of 'character types' that appeared in both Egyptian folklore and literature.[106] Types could be personality-based, as in 'the greedy', who appears in the *Maxims of Ptahhotep*,[107] or grounded in ethnicity, such as 'the Asiatic' that emerges in the *Teachings for King Merikare*.[108] Types could also be based on occupation,[109] of which the most prominent literary example is the collection of workers in 'The Satire of the Trades' from the *Teaching of Khety*, whose qualities are distorted in order to be compared unflatteringly to those of the scribe. In this case, character types are created as part of a polemic, though they nonetheless represent a particular Egyptian *Sitz im Leben*.[110] In fact, such 'typologising' of human beings is also evident in non-literary works,[111] which suggests a general tendency towards human taxonomy in Egyptian writing that would probably have affected the creation of literary characters.

Seibert's method of analysis is also interesting: he attempts to conduct a synchronic analysis of the 'semantic-linguistic' features of each text,[112] categorised according to genre.[113] Seibert also attempts to organise the text types thematically in order to understand which character types, or

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[105] For this standpoint, see also Guglielmi 1979: 70.

[106] Seibert 1967: 25.

[107] Seibert 1967: 72.

[108] Seibert 1967: 90.

[109] Seibert 1967: 12.

[110] Seibert 1967: 14.

[111] Otto 1975: 904–905 shows that definition of people according to *bjꜣ.t* 'temperament' is manifest in biographies and wisdom texts from the Old Kingdom onwards, and can be equated with other typologies, such as types of foreign peoples (in onomastica, for example). The types are usually rendered by participles of verbs or adjectives, such as *spd ḥr* '(lit.) sharp of face, attentive', and are based around such Egyptian conceptions as the heart as the domain of consciousness, the mouth as the organ of interpersonal relationships and the tread as an expression of one's behaviour.

[112] Seibert 1967: 26, 29.

[113] Seibert 1967: 29. However, Seibert argues that a formal linguistic analysis is not necessary for an understanding of the semantic features of a text.

'motifs' as he calls them, apply to the people described in them.[114] He lastly attempts a double historical analysis, noting the (diachronic) development in the motifs over time as well as the possible historical circumstances that engendered them.[115] In terms of subject matter as well as approach, Seibert's work is a clear predecessor to Loprieno's historical analysis of *topos* and *mimesis*, though Seibert questions the extent to which authorial individuality applies, given that the audience/readers of these texts may have been familiar with (and perhaps even expecting) these conventions.[116] Seibert's work is therefore ahead of its time in its analysis of reception and intertextuality in Egyptian literature, and is notable also for its rejection of the structuralist and formalist models that had an impact upon later works.[117] Though not explicitly tied to narrative texts, Seibert's work provides an important starting-point for analyses of characterisation, since it isolates a series of types bound not to function but to audience response. The combined impact of literary and normalising social conventions on characterisation is an issue that continues to resonate and will be considered in this study.

1.3.2.4b   *Ursula Verhoeven (1996) "Ein historischer Sitz im Leben für die Erzählung von Horus und Seth des Papyrus Chester Beatty I", in M. Schade-Busch (Ed.)*, Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag

Verhoeven's article is one of the most recent works that draws on the external world of the original audience/readership (*Sitz im Leben*) to analyse characters in literature, although her particular emphasis is on the plot. She argues that the tale *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* reflects the accession of Ramesses V, which apparently took place around the time the manuscript was written.[118] Since Ramesses V's genealogy corresponds to the Horus myth,[119] Verhoeven argues that the story may have been enacted in a series of festivals at the time of his accession.[120] Even

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[114] Seibert 1967: 26.
[115] Seibert 1967: 27 and 29.
[116] Seibert 1967: 28. Wilson 1971: 81 criticises this viewpoint, since satire generally comprises "short, pithy statements, presented as absolute truth, offered in a crisp and picturesque exaggeration…the satirist constructs this form of characterization, not because Egyptian literary figures invented it, but because brevity is the soul of wit". However, this does not take into account the commonality of representation across texts and genres, which suggests that a motif of some kind was in existence.
[117] These formalist models are discussed by Vinson 2004: 41.
[118] Verhoeven 1996: 363. This idea seems to be based on Assmann 1999b: 3.
[119] As Verhoeven 1996: 358 shows, Ramesses V was the son of the previous king and he was succeeded by his uncle.
[120] Verhoeven 1996: 363.

if such an idea is valid, considerations about the *Sitz im Leben* should be secondary to conclusions about the text's composition and should not exclude other contexts of use, given the text's clearly otherworldly qualities.[121] The story's irony in particular has led some scholars to see the humour overriding any potential historical circumstances.[122] Indeed, if Ramesses V's accession is actually being alluded to, it seems clear that the story is hardly a candidate for enactment at the highest echelons of society.[123] For Verhoeven's audience-oriented interpretation of the story and its characters to be plausible, their connection to historical persons should be considered as a popular, humorous interpretation of the political circumstances of the day, transposed into the mythical sphere.

Verhoeven also engages with the grammatical approach by integrating her historical conclusions with a discussion of the power structures visible in the character's discourse.[124] The earlier parts of *Horus and Seth* show Seth using dominating language, such as the Third Future, Nominal Sentences beginning with 'I' and Imperatives,[125] compared to Horus' less assertive, *passive* mode of speech. Horus' growth as a Hero then becomes a central theme of the story: after beginning as a childlike figure who lets Isis fight on his behalf,[126] his stature as a character grows as he fulfils various tests. He then grows more assertive and rejects Isis' intervention.[127] This part of Verhoeven's study, with its focus on speech patterns, corresponds to the *interpersonal* level of language in Systemic Functional Grammar, the model used in this study (see 2.3.3.2). The conclusions reached by such an analysis are valuable, though within the Systemic Functional paradigm, these interpersonal conclusions are considered in light of other grammatical features that also have a bearing on characterisation, such as the appearance of each character at points in the text that bear narrative markers (an approach Michèle Broze applies to this text, see 1.3.2.5a) and

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[121] Baines 1999b: 38–39.

[122] Junge 1994: 89 and 99, discussed by Verhoeven 1996: 351. As Ginsberg 1983: 3 says in relation to Ovid: "disposition often satisfies less the demands of verisimilitude and consistency than those of literary parody".

[123] Quack 2009b: 299–301 is also critical of a historical reading of the text, on the basis that the texts with which it occurs on the surviving manuscript, such as love poems, are for entertainment.

[124] Verhoeven 1996: 349, note 313, refers to the analysis by Broze 1996, discussed below.

[125] Verhoeven 1996: 349 assents, however, that these forms are not only characteristic of Seth.

[126] Junge 1994: 86–87, Verhoeven 1996: 349–350, Sweeney 2002: 161.

[127] Junge 1994: 97 and Verhoeven 1996: 350. However, Théodoridès 1992: 10, proposes that Horus is portrayed as an adult from the beginning.

the categories of actions being undertaken by each character (see 2.3.3.1), which shall be a component of this study.

1.3.2.4c   *Richard Parkinson* (*2002*) Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection

In his brief overview of the dominant ideas concerning characters in Egyptian literature, Richard Parkinson concludes that: "characterization is never a process of describing real people, but of mobilizing rhetorical and cultural (stereo)types within an intertextual field of reference . . . Such intertextual signs are now largely obscured, and can easily be misread".[128] Parkinson therefore advocates the assessment of character with respect to cultural and social aspects rather than psychological ones, since "characters act not because of psychological motivation . . . but due to the requirements of the text".[129] He criticises Baines' conclusions about the 'inconsistencies' in Sinuhe's behaviour, seeing them as resulting "from a modern viewpoint".[130] He frames his explanation in exclusively social terms: "Sinuhe's expected character as an ideal 'follower' is undermined and challenged by the emplotment of his life, raising questions of the nature of social and individual identity; the choice of biography as a framing genre embodies and shapes these concerns".[131] Therefore, the genre throws into sharp relief the expectations of society and the question of whether Sinuhe can live up to them. Parkinson thus draws on the idea forwarded by Loprieno, that characters are conduits for social expectations and for reactions to them, but he also explores the extent to which the manifestation of social expectations in a narrative is conditioned by the genre being used, which is investigated in the study to follow.

1.3.2.4d   *Steve Vinson* (*2004*) *"The Accent's on Evil: Ancient Egyptian 'Melodrama' and the Problem of Genre"*, Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt *41*

Steve Vinson discusses characterisation in Egyptian literature as it is based in the social ideals manifest in texts of different genres. He argues for a deductive analysis of genres that makes reference to more 'universal' categories, which are based on features of plot and characterisation within Egyptian literary texts.[132] His point of departure is the presence of the

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[128] Parkinson 2002: 125–126.
[129] Parkinson 2002: 125.
[130] Parkinson 2002: 125–126.
[131] Parkinson 2002: 153.
[132] Vinson 2004: 33.

Villain type in some narratives. Although *The Eloquent Peasant*, *Truth and Falsehood* and the legend of Osarsiph from Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* (courtesy of Flavius Josephus)[133] pertain to demonstrably different 'genres' (on grounds of literary form), they all convey the successful battle of good (in Egyptian terms, *mꜣꜥ.t*) over evil (*jsf.t*).[134] This struggle is conveniently both the defining feature of the apparently 'universal' genre 'melodrama', in which unchanging characters embody the archetypes of 'good' and 'evil',[135] as well as the ideological focus of the Egyptian *Sinnwelt*, namely, "the mutual exclusivity of *mꜣꜥ.t* and *jsf.t*, and the absolute superiority of *mꜣꜥ.t* over its opposite".[136] A Villain's misdemeanours and subsequent defeat in melodrama thus narrativises this struggle for 'cosmic' (or universal) *mꜣꜥ.t*,[137] which can be compared to the plots of *Reiseerzählungen*,[138] which allegedly "narrativize 'social' *mꜣꜥ.t*".[139]

Though Vinson advances a compelling case for deductive analyses of Egyptian literature, inductive methods of generic categorisation prove to be inescapable, particularly since Vinson's primary source of comparison with 'melodrama', the *Reiseerzählung*, if it is indeed a generic category, is an inductively-established one. In other words, it is based on thematic and formal features within the literature itself (first person narration, for instance).[140] For this reason it is an inadequate comparison, since the texts categorized by Vinson as 'melodramas' do not have the kinds of formal

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[133] The legend of Osarsiph, which Flavius Josephus (*Against Apion*, 232–251, trans. Whiston 1998: 943–945) copied from Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*, tells of the rebellion against the Egyptian King Amenophis by the priest Osarsiph, the lepers and the Hyksos. The rulership of the Hyksos is characterised by lawlessness and the prohibition of worship of the gods, which represents a more extreme representation of Hyksos rule than what we see in *Apophis and Seqenenre*. However, I take issue with the inclusion of a story that forms part of a historical document in what is otherwise a literary discussion, particularly since it is likely that Josephus (*Against Apion*, 230, trans. Whiston 1998: 943) deems the contents 'fabulous' only because Osarsiph is likened to Moses, which would mean that the Jews are being represented disparagingly. Thus, it is possible that Manetho recorded the legend in good faith.

[134] Vinson 2004: 46–47.

[135] Vinson 2004: 46–47, 52, based on Roche 1998: 250. Vinson 2004: 52 ties this lack of characterisation to the characters being portrayed as "'fragments' of a larger picture, not as 'details' with their own identities and complexities".

[136] Vinson 2004: 50.

[137] Vinson 2004: 51–52.

[138] Blumenthal 1982 and Moers 2001a. This generic category shall be a subject of discussion in the following chapter.

[139] Vinson 2004: 53.

[140] As per Moers 2001a: 102–105. Despite this, I feel that *The Tale of Woe* is not sufficiently similar in terms of structure and style to be considered generically cognate. See also the comments to this effect by Fischer-Elfert 2004: 414 and Schipper 2005: 294–296.

similarities that allow them to be categorised as a 'genre'.[141] Vinson can only make a case for this categorisation by eschewing formal definitions of genre altogether[142] and adopting one proposed by Tzvetan Todorov, which is based on "common historically-anchored discursive features",[143] in this case the exploration of 'cosmic' *mȝꜥ.t*.[144] I would contend that this model is not sufficiently descriptive in terms of form or content to be adequate.[145] For instance, if we followed the logic endorsed by this model and took *Reiseerzählungen* as texts that merely explored "ideas about the dichotomy between Egypt and the outside world",[146] we must also include texts Moers excluded from the category, such as the so-called 'historical narratives' and *The Doomed Prince*. As Vinson later clarifies, 'melodrama' is more profitably categorised as a *mode*,[147] though *Truth and False-hood* could be considered a legitimate "genre or sub-genre" of narrative.[148] Given this state of affairs, we can conclude that deductive models are perhaps best applied as thematic 'trimmings' once inductive methods have been used to trace generic (or modal) outlines. This idea will be explored later in our discussion about genre in this chapter (see 1.5.3). Vinson has thus attempted to establish a thematic link between a group of narratives through plot and characterisation and tied them to social ideas manifest in the broader textual record, ideas which will be built upon (albeit from a different methodological angle) in this study.

1.3.2.5   *The Grammatical Approach to Character*

The focus of literary study has most recently fallen on the language used to create works of literature. One of the fields of interest has been the role of

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[141] Vinson 2004: 54.

[142] Vinson 2004: 46.

[143] Todorov 1990 [1978]: 18. See also the commentary by Ricoeur 1985 [1984]: 161, note 2: "If it is objected that individual works transgress all categorization, it nonetheless remains true that 'transgression, to exist as such, requires a law that would be, precisely, transgressed'. This law depends on a certain codification of preexisting discursive properties, that is, in the institutionalizing of certain 'transformations that certain speech acts undergo in order to produce a certain literary genre'".

[144] Vinson 2004: 54.

[145] However, it is interesting that in his discussion of the "discursive possibilities" that condition the choice of genre, Todorov 1990 [1978]: 10 cites as an example: "everyone knows that one must not send a personal letter in the place of an official report, and that the two are not written in the same way". Therefore, though he does not overtly say as much, Todorov's categorisation is based on *form* and *content*.

[146] Vinson 2004: 54.

[147] Fowler 1982: 106–107.

[148] Vinson 2004: 54.

language in establishing literary characters, with various methods of study being applied. The benefits of this 'new wave' are manifest: the studies are quantifiable, and hence more easily argued, questioned and tested.

1.3.2.5a *Michèle Broze* (*1996*) Mythe et roman en Égypte ancienne. Les aventures d'Horus et Seth dans le Papyrus Chester Beatty I

In part of her study of *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*, Michèle Broze conducts a detailed analysis of the narrative's language. By focusing on how the characters' actions are framed by narrative forms, she presents the choice of these forms as being *motivated*.[149] For instance, the unbalanced allocation of narrative forms to Seth rather than Horus presents him as the dominant character early on,[150] which Broze sees as lending suspense to the narrative.[151] The increase in Horus' power in the second half of the text is corroborated by an increased use of narrative *wn.jn≠f ḥr sḏm* forms.[152]

Broze reaches similar conclusions in her analysis of the narrative forms in *The Doomed Prince*. The *wn.jn≠f ḥr sḏm* forms are apparently reserved for "des actes susceptibles d'entraîner ou de contrer la réalisation du destin du prince". Even when the *sḏm pw jr.n≠f* introduces events necessary to the story, the *wn.jn≠f ḥr sḏm* form gives them reality.[153] Additionally, the main episodes are marked by the rubricised "phases de transition" *ḫr jr m-ḫt nꜣ hrw.w swꜣ ḥr nn* "Now, after the days had elapsed concerning this". By illustrating the specific usage of these different narrative forms, Broze indicates that they were by no means interchangeable.[154] Interestingly, however, Broze does not mention the use of the forms marked with *ꜥḥꜥ.n*, which seem to be used in a similar manner to those marked with *wn.jn*.[155]

Broze's approach therefore engages with what Systemic Functional Linguistics calls the *textual* Metafunction in order to analyse character development (see 2.3.3.3). As with Verhoeven's approach above, this analysis does not take sufficient account of the complementary patterns of interaction between characters and the argument structure of the verb forms, which are key elements of the analysis to follow.

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[149] Broze 1996: 197, 211.

[150] Broze 1996: 172.

[151] Broze 1996: 173.

[152] Broze 1996: 173, 205 and 211. Incidentally, the first attestation of the *wn.jn* form for Horus coincides with the first occurrence of his name being spelled with Gardiner Sign N31 (the road) instead of Gardiner Sign A17 (the child, though with a uraeus), for which see Broze 1996: 127 and 154.

[153] Broze 1996: 162.

[154] Broze 1996: 164, *contra* Satzinger 1976: 266, note 8.

[155] This shall be discussed more in detail in chapter 3, see for instance clauses DP008, DP013, DP039, DP207 and DP233.

1.3.2.5b   *Tom Hare* (*2000*) "*The Supplementarity of Agency in* The
Eloquent Peasant", Lingua Aegyptia *8*

Tom Hare seeks to understand the way in which literary theory and
language enhances our understanding of *The Eloquent Peasant*. To this
end, he focuses on the *supplementarity of agency*, namely, the way that
action and agency in the story are overshadowed by language (dialogue
between the peasant and his superiors), rhetoric (the peasant's speeches)
and writing (the means of recording the peasant's discourses).[156] In other
words, 'talking' supplements 'doing' in the story.[157] He sees supplementarity
in the differential between the words and actions in the tale, particularly
the opposition between a character doing something themselves and
having things done in response to their words (through the use of the
causative *rdj*). The latter appear predominantly with reference to actors
of a high social status,[158] as we see in this corpus. This study applies some
similar methods, but in a more detailed fashion. For instance, we can
assess the relationship between talking and doing and between causing
and doing, as well as the significance of names in characterisation[159] to
supplement our analysis of a character's patterns of agency.

1.3.2.5c   *Deborah Sweeney* (*2002*) "*Gender and Conversational Tactics in*
The Contendings of Horus and Seth", Journal of Egyptian Archaeology *88*

Sweeney uses pragmatic and syntactic methods to establish whether the
characters of *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* are differentiated along
lines of gender. Her work therefore influences this study of character,
which observes representation along lines of personal power and how this
is impacted by ethnicity, gender or social status. Sweeney's methodology
diverges from that proposed here, being based predominantly on prag-
matics, which operates at a broader discursive, rather than clausal, level.
Nonetheless, similarities persist, since, by relating gender to pragmatic
choices,[160] the forms are located within a linguistic system.

   Sweeney first analyses the number of speech turns in *Horus and Seth*
and notes whether their setting is public, private or epistolary in order to
determine the impact of gender. She particularly seeks to understand the
extent to which women were allowed to speak in public.[161] I would wonder,
however, whether a text with humorous elements would reflect existing

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[156] Hare 2000: 2.
[157] Hare 2000: 3.
[158] Hare 2000: 2, note 3.
[159] Hare 2000: 3–4.
[160] Sweeney 2002: 141.
[161] Sweeney 2002: 146–147 acknowledges that differentiating public from private set-
tings can be difficult.

social mores, since a homosexual act, which is believed to have existed outside accepted social conventions,[162] also appears in the text.[163] Therefore, a woman talking out of turn could just as easily be a *fictional* feature as an indication of real and distinctly feminine procedures of negotiation in the outside world. After all, forms of negotiation are presented as being character-specific. The goddess Neith's authority is emphasised through her use of the Imperative and Conjunctive forms,[164] as well as threats.[165] Isis' methods of negotiation are perhaps more 'feminine': by presenting herself as vulnerable, she encourages her interlocutors to show generosity (though she also offers a commodity).[166] The male characters' mode of negotiating is different again, and involves insults, stalling and stressing their own importance.[167] As we saw in Verhoeven's study (1.3.2.4b), characteristic speech behaviour is represented in the verb patterns chosen. The Third Future is used in threats, promises and "fixing procedure in the future", though Sweeney does not consider the potential *modal* capabilities of the Third Future (see 2.3.4.2).[168] For instance, it seems to me that threats and promises correspond neither to inevitability nor obligation: they convey the *volition* of the speaker, which is often represented

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[162] Parkinson 1995: 61–62.

[163] The 7th Century BC Brooklyn Mythological Handbook also portrays gods engaging in antisocial behaviour, in this case extreme violence, for which see Quack 2008: 9. On such grounds, von Lieven 2007: 293–294, note 1568 and Quack 2009b: 308 argue that the representation of such behaviour does not justifiably classify *Horus and Seth* as a parody or burlesque. What supports this claim somewhat is that some of the behaviour that the homosexual scene between Horus and Seth, taken by many as deviant and therefore humorous, is documented in other text-types, such as in the Magical Papyrus pLeiden I 348, Spell 4, Recto 2, 9–3, 3: *rs.n sw sn=f sth ḥr bnbn=f*, translated by K. Stegbauer in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* as "als sein (i.e. Horus') Bruder Seth ihn weckte, durch seine Ejakulation". It must be noted, though, that Borghouts 1978: 30 translates it as: "His brother Seth kept watch over him, because he lay stretched down (?)". Even if we were to take this spell as reflecting a well-known mythical motif, and even if this would demonstrate that the motif were not a criterion for literature, the petty in-fighting amongst the gods portrayed through lively discourse in the narrative text cements the story's categorisation as literature, even if with a mythical background, cf. von Lieven 2007: 293–294, note 1568. A similar issue will be discussed in reference to *Wenamun* in chapter 5. Fundamentally, the issue of humour in texts is not resolvable, being based as it is on personal definitions of what is literary, what is socially appropriate and what is humorous. One can address it only in relation to *formal* features that may express humour, such as emphasis, repetition and exaggeration, for which see Guglielmi 1979: 72, or to note whether there is a deviation from the reader's expectations, as discussed in Guglielmi 1979: 76.

[164] Sweeney 2002: 150.

[165] Sweeney 2002: 151.

[166] Sweeney 2002: 154.

[167] Sweeney 2002: 148–149, 154.

[168] Sweeney 2002: 155, in line with Frandsen 1974: 41–42, Vernus 1990b: 11, Neveu 1996: 93, and, to a certain extent, Junge 2005: 124, sees it as the "objective future", in which "a given future event will inevitably happen or is obliged to happen".

by the Third Future.[169] This is emphasised by the fact that the most frequent users of the Third Future, Seth, Isis and Nemty,[170] are the key negotiators of the story, a correlation not noted by Sweeney.[171]

Sweeney concludes that "(t)he situations in which the protagonists of *The Contendings* find themselves, their already established characters, and the topics about which they speak obviously influence the way in which they are depicted speaking".[172] Some of the differences do not represent gender alone but also power.[173] Therefore, this study represents a leap in the direction of using grammar as a tool for the study of characterisation, an approach which shall be further developed in the foregoing work.

1.3.2.5d   *Deborah Sweeney (2003) "Gender and Request Formulation in Late Egyptian Literary Narratives", in M. Hasitzka, J. Diethart and G. Dembski (Eds.)*, Das Alte Ägypten und seine Nachbarn. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Helmut Satzinger mit Beiträgen zur Ägyptologie, Koptologie, Nubiologie und Afrikanistik

In this work, Sweeney draws on her previous study to assess the impact of gender on requests across the Late Egyptian narratives. Her findings reveal that women make up just over twenty percent of the characters in these narratives and make twenty percent of requests.[174] Of those requests, women make over twenty percent of direct requests (with the Imperative), but only one negative request.[175] In indirect requests, Sweeney sees a preference by male speakers towards future forms, whereas female speakers favour more oblique request forms, like questions and conditional forms.[176] However, the data is not abundant, and two thirds of women's requests (nine in total) are future forms, the other three being oblique. The male characters likewise use oblique questions three times, only *relatively* less (given that they make a total of thirty-one requests). Women thus rarely appear to have been in a position to prohibit another character from doing something and often use more veiled means of making demands of their male counterparts. However, the use of the literary genre again

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[169] Satzinger 2003: 245–246.
[170] Sweeney 2002: 156.
[171] Sweeney 2002: 160 provides a clear example of the Third Future as a modal form: *jw⸗j <r> šsp tꜣ jꜣw.t n wsjr*, "I *ought* to receive the office of Osiris", Papyrus Chester Beatty I, 4, 5, in *LES* 41, 14–15.
[172] Sweeney 2002: 161.
[173] Sweeney 2002: 161–162.
[174] Sweeney 2003: 135.
[175] Sweeney 2003: 142.
[176] Sweeney 2003: 149–150.

emphasises the necessity for correlation with mundane sources in order to determine the viability of the data for social commentary, which Sweeney refers to as part of a greater study.[177] The study is notable not only for its detailed analysis of distribution patterns of grammatical forms, but also for the use of comparison between characters as a means of understanding characterisation, an approach which has also been employed in the analysis to follow.

1.3.3   *Why Is a Study of Characterisation Important?*

We can see that, to this point, Egyptian literary studies have interrogated the external forces on the characterisation of Egyptian literary protagonists (extrinsic analyses). The last decade has seen a development of intrinsic approaches to characterisation that considers internal forces like language,[178] though several gaps remain. The first is that no study to date has made characterisation its sole focus. Characterisation has been simply a by-product of literary and linguistic analyses that focus on plot, genre or message. The second is that the application of methodology, though thorough, has been *ad hoc*, using Egyptological grammatical categories and applying them fairly loosely (if at all) to external analytical models, including literary theory and pragmatics. The analysis presented here takes the characterisation of foreigners and Egyptians as a primary focus (though naturally using plot as a 'motivating' force) and also advocates using a paradigm such as Systemic Functional Linguistics as a more explicitly theoretical framework, which, as I will argue, can be made applicable to Egyptian language and literature (see 2.3.2). Additionally, we shall see that a combination of both intrinsic (text-internal) and extrinsic (context-oriented) methods of analysis presents us with the most complete picture of characterisation.

1.4   *The Foreign Dimension as a Case Study*

Before moving on to the more technical side of the methodology in section 1.5, we will outline here two main arguments: firstly, why literary renderings of interactions between Egyptians and foreigners were chosen as the case study and secondly, why it is important for a study of characterisation to understand what underlies this dominant motif in the literature.

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[177]   Sweeney 2003: 132.
[178]   Wellek & Warren 1956: 140.

Having already mentioned the preponderance of foreign features in Ramesside texts, the following discussion explores the closely interconnected socio-cultural and literary explanations for this phenomenon. We shall note that the changing socio-political circumstances and the alteration in cultural consciousness that accompanied them most probably influenced the literary motifs used. Despite this basis, we shall see that literary foreign lands are complete abstractions of the originals, devised with particular literary purposes (ontological or allegorical) in mind.

1.4.1   The World according to . . . Characterisation in Its Socio-Cultural Context

This section explores the impact of social factors like hierarchy, political ideology and religious ideas on Egyptian literature, with a focus on the characterisation of foreigners and Egyptians. As such, the approach is broadly New-Historicist, seeking to account for how a literary text was written on the basis of the environment in which it was produced.[179] Despite the nebulous record of these texts' inception and transmission, our understanding of the texts and their intended message can be enriched with reference to the broader social context in which these texts were composed and used.

1.4.1.1   The Social Context: Hierarchy and Characterisation

Within a social context, notable factors that may impact upon characterisation in literature include literacy (who wrote literature?), access to literature (for whom was literature written?), ethnicity and gender. These sociolinguistic issues can be addressed with reference to a discussion of the *register* of a text, which in Systemic Functional Linguistics is called the 'context of situation'.[180] It is defined according to three 'register variables' which correspond to the categories of lexicogrammar:[181] *field*, what the language is being used to talk about (in this case, the narration of a story), *tenor*, the relationship between the interlocutors (a one-sided discourse between the author/narrator and the reader/audience), and *mode*, the

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[179] Greenblatt 2000: 30 explains the movement of New Historicism thus: "We wanted . . . to show in compressed form the ways in which elements of lived experience enter into literature, the ways in which everyday institutions and bodies get recorded. And we wanted, conversely, to show in compressed form the ways in which poetry, drama, and prose fiction play themselves out in the everyday world."

[180] Eggins 2004: 9, also Hudson 1996: 46.

[181] Eggins 2004: 110–112 demonstrates that *field* is associated with ideational meaning, *tenor* is associated with interpersonal meaning and *mode* is associated with textual meaning. Thus, the link between the language and context is by no means arbitrary.

role the language is playing in the interaction (establishing a sequence of events for the purpose of entertainment and edification).[182] The most salient issue in a socio-political context is tenor: who is speaking to whom and with what authority.

1.4.1.1a *Who Wrote Literature?*

Since literary texts rarely reveal authorship,[183] it is impossible to determine how many voices are to be taken into account,[184] or whether the story was originally written down or changed across generations of oral storytelling before being committed to writing.[185] Nevertheless, given our understanding of the restricted number of literate persons in ancient Egypt,[186] we can surmise that the authors (and reproducers)[187] of such

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[182] Eggins 2004: 9. In an Egyptological context, see Goldwasser 1990: 228–230, Goldwasser 1991: 130, 140 and Goldwasser 2001: 130 and note 33.

[183] Derchain 1996: 84.

[184] This uncertainty is well expressed by Greenblatt 1990: 112 in relation to a plan for a column by Dürer: "The production and consumption of such works are not unitary to begin with; they always involve a multiplicity of interests, however well organized, for the crucial reason that art is social and hence presumes more than one consciousness".

[185] Derchain 1996: 83. As Morenz 1996: 32 notes, "Die ägyptische Literatur stand im Spannungsfeld zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit". Moers 2009: 332 also notes the extent to which case studies, such as a close study of the various manuscripts of *The Teachings of Ptahhotep*, allow for perhaps the most exact estimation of the so-called 'authorial' re-workings of a text over time. Quirke 2004 29–36 also emphasises the need to consider multiple authorship on the basis that texts were often not simply copied, but creatively reworked. Spalinger 2007: 143 argues that jumps in the plot and ties between episodes through the use of framing forms are indicative of the *non-oral* basis of *The Tale of the Two Brothers*. I would argue on the contrary that framing forms would be useful precisely in the oral domain of literary reception in order to smooth over jumps in the plot. The issue, however, is not an easily resolvable one.

[186] Baines & Eyre 1983: 67–68, also Baines 1983: 584 estimate that a maximum of one percent of the population were literate in the Old Kingdom, a figure they do not see as increasing in the New Kingdom. The dramatic increase in graffiti, particularly non-official *Besuchergraffiti*, in sites across Egypt that can be dated to the New Kingdom, for which see Peden 2001: 290, may perhaps counteract this claim. Lesko 1990: 657–658 also criticises the figure and the assumption about its lack of growth over time. He also highlights the need for a functional definition of 'literacy' and questions how large a vocabulary was required for a person to be categorised thus. Baines 1988: 208 acknowledges the presence of 'limited literacy', such as the ability to carve signs without being able to read them fluently. People with such a literacy level seem to have been used for the religious erasures and replacements made in tombs and temples during and after the Amarna Period. The most telling cases of this, according to Der Manuelian 1999: 294, are where components of words are shown to have been obliterated, such as the *mn* sign combination that forms part of the name of the god Amun (*jmn*—Gardiner Signs Y5 + N35), even when they occur in different words. Janssen 1992: 82–91, seconded by Quack 2006: 95, indeed, suggests that a limited level of literacy may have been demonstrated by about forty percent of the population of Deir el-Medina, amongst which women should be included.

[187] The quality of reproduction (on the basis of grammatical and orthographic differences), may suggest whether the scribes were copying from a manuscript or from memory. Either possibility implies a significant degree of education.

works were elite men, with occupations such as *sẖꜣ.w* 'scribe' or *rḫ.w-ꜣḫ.wt* 'savant'.[188] We could conclude from this that the elite Egyptian male voice (and therefore viewpoint) is being recorded, which we should bear in mind when we consider the depictions of 'others' like women and foreigners.[189] This being said, literature is considered to be 'differentiated' from other forms of discourse in society, as it frequently permits points of view different to the monologising official record.[190]

This study hinges on the idea that authors, however many there were over time, created literary characters in such a way as to have a particular effect on the audience. Of course, the study cannot identify authorial 'intention': the focus on the use or even 'choice' of individual verb forms is rather intended to facilitate reflection on the general effect conveyed by a series of grammatical patterns. Though each copyist may have made their own amendments (which is not confirmable in the case of single manuscripts), 'authorial intent' should nonetheless be borne in mind. In fact, as this study demonstrates, by appraising characterisation through a systematic, language-based method, clearer ideas about this intent come to light.

1.4.1.1b   *For Whom Did They Write? 'The Audience'*

The limited literacy that we expect existed in Egyptian society precipitates the question: for whom was literature written? Simply the educated scribes who could read it?[191] The answer is based on whether we assume the stories were read privately or aloud. Most scholars hypothesise that the latter was the case, which would have facilitated a broader environment of reception and transmission.[192] The stylistic features indeed seem to be indicative of the potentially *performative* qualities of these manuscripts: the narrative forms and Sequentials/Non-Initial Main Sentences (NIMS), which are punctuated with dialogue, give the overall impression of someone regulating the flow of the text in order to sustain interest. Additionally, in terms of subject matter, the representation of both foreigners and Egyptians in these narratives predominantly as members of the elite may illustrate the high status of the texts' authors,

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[188] Fischer-Elfert 2003: 119, Smith 2003: 188.
[189] Meskell 2002: 9.
[190] Greenblatt 1990: 112 perceives, in literary or artistic objects representing historical events, a "complex interplay of three forces: the artist's intention, genre, and the historical situation".
[191] Blumenthal 1972: 11.
[192] For instance Blumenthal 1972: 16 and Morenz 1996: 38 and 43.

though this by no means precludes a less exalted (possibly oral) context of composition: the portrayal of the ruling class is a common feature of folk literature worldwide.[193]

The alternate view is that the presence of clear intertextuality between texts "was not simply limited to the accuracy of quotation, word for word, but extended to displaying at the same time a reasonable degree of understanding of their content and an awareness of their co-text or intra-textual context",[194] as we see in the allusion to Djedefhor in Papyrus Anastasi I.[195] Such a factor suggests "that there was an inner-circle practice of critical discourse about what one was reading and writing or reproducing or creating",[196] which indicates a scholarly environment of composition and transmission.[197] However, this consideration does not undermine the potentially oral basis of these tales.

1.4.1.1c   *Ethnicity and Hierarchy: The Relativity of 'Near' and 'Far'*

When we compare *Realpolitik* with literature, it is interesting to note that despite the Egyptians having foreign contact on every side—Nubia, Libya, the Near East and Mesopotamia[198]—almost all foreigners from literature in Egyptian narratives are Near Eastern, coming from the Levant (Syria and Palestine), Mitanni and Cyprus.[199] Perhaps this region was considered to be sufficiently distant without exceeding the experience of the Egyptian writer.[200] The same could be said of the social standing of these foreigners: by consistently portraying foreigners as powerful landowners, we could conclude, on a literal level, that rulers of foreign lands would have been the sort of Near Easterners with which an elite Egyptian male in New Kingdom times would have been most familiar (through being an ambassador or even a courtier).[201] From a literary perspective, moreover,

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[193] Tatar 1981: 85–86.

[194] Fischer-Elfert 2003: 120.

[195] Papyrus Anastasi I 10, 9–11, 2, in Fischer-Elfert 1986: 95–97. The issue of transmission and reception is discussed in Parkinson 2002: 52 and Fischer-Elfert 2003: 121–122.

[196] Fischer-Elfert 2003: 120.

[197] Fischer-Elfert 2003: 136, also Blumenthal 1972: 11.

[198] O'Connor and Quirke 2003: 3–4.

[199] Quirke 1990: 94, Blumenthal 1972: 11–12.

[200] For instance, Schneider 2006: 212 gives the example of Papyrus Anastasi II 1, 2 (though he records it as 1, 3–4), in *LEM* 12, 8, which describes the Ramesside Residence at Qantir as lying "zwischen Palästina (*ḏȝhy*) und Ägypten (*tȝ-mrj*)".

[201] In the context of the Egyptian court, Egyptian officials would have been in contact not only with elite foreigners coming as visiting rulers or emissaries but also with foreign princes who lived within the Egyptian court. For a thorough discussion of this phenomenon, see Schneider 2006: 203 and 209–210, who argues that the status of these

if foreigners were to play antagonistic roles, it would be reasonable to
portray them as being of an equal, if not superior standing to their Egyp-
tian counterparts. Though their use may have prompted consideration of
ethnic issues,[202] they seem to have been primarily constructed for literary,
rather than for cultural reasons, as the following chapters shall discuss in
detail.

We can see this differentiation even in the depiction of other elites:
ethnicity or rank does not generate a stock character that pertains to par-
ticular ideas. This study indicates quite the opposite, that characters can
transcend the roles expected of them by society. Even a role imbued with
fixed ideas, like the Egyptian king, changes from text to text,[203] or even, as
occurs within the Papyrus Westcar story cycle, within a single text.[204] The
social background that is represented in the language of the text could
therefore be seen as "realised, but individualised",[205] or even, as I suggest
later, critically appraised.

1.4.1.1d   *Another 'Other': Characterisation and the 'Woman Question'*[206]

We can also debate the influence of social ideas on characterisation
within the context of the portrayal of women in Ramesside literature. A
majority of scholars see women (with the exception of the Princess of
Naharin) as having predominantly marginal, negative roles.[207] Moers
associates women with the *Gefahrenkategorie* (*Wasser-Krokodil*) 'danger
category (water-crocodile)' that the Hero encounters on his journey.[208]
Baines takes an only slightly more moderate stance when he classifies

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individuals was considered far more significant than their ethnicity, as manifest in the
textual evidence and funerary culture. In this way we can also perceive the influx of other
foreign elites in later times, such as Nubians in the 25th Dynasty, as being a cause for their
appearance in Demotic literature, for example. In fact, as Quack 2009a: 23–24 demon-
strates, Demotic literature made frequent use of the travel motif, thereby incorporating a
range of foreign lands and characters.

[202] Hall 1991: 165, in reference to Barth 1969: 10, defines ethnicity as "a process by which
a group conceptualises its difference from others in order to heighten its own sense of
community and belongingness". See also Helck 1964: 104, Liverani 1990: 34, Köhler 2002:
510, Smith 2003: 6 and Schneider 2006: 204–205.

[203] See Culpeper 2001: 61.

[204] Gilula 1991: 125–127 and Lepper 2006: 387–388.

[205] Lepper 2006: 387–388.

[206] A term used in Victorian times to categorise discussion about woman's nature and
societal role, as discussed by Thompson 1999: 1.

[207] The assertion by Helck 1987: 221–222, that Egyptian women in literature are "immer
böse" leads him to conclude that the positive portrayal of the Princess of Naharin makes
her "ganz unägyptisch". For the negative portrayal of female characters see also Blumen-
thal 1993: 190–195 and 201, Parkinson 1999: 67 and Moers 2001a: 211.

[208] Moers 2001a: 212.

female characters as "evil seductresses, wives, mothers, or combinations of those".[209] It is possible that these representations reflected impressions of women held by the dominant class, namely, the writers of such narratives. As stipulated above, if writing is a male province, then *written* literature is a male method of expression.[210] This is particularly evident in the nomination of female characters, who, when not named, are always presented in terms of the dominant male as 'PN's wife', as we see in *The Taking of Joppa*, or 'PN's daughter', as in *The Doomed Prince*. The subordinate relationship that women held towards male characters is also present at the level of *interaction*: it seems to be the case that "an exchange between two individuals is relevant to the dynamics of the plot only if one of the characters is male".[211]

On the other hand, however, the three women in *Wenamun* contrast with the other three negative female roles in the *Late Egyptian Stories*[212] and indicate that "even in fiction women can play a normal part".[213] This 'normal part' should not be seen only as the province of marginal characters, since at least two (the Princess and Hatiba) have the potential to be significant in missing parts of the text.[214] Therefore, I would urge caution before applying stereotypes based in the structuralist tradition about characterisation (man—good, rational; woman—bad, irrational). Nevertheless, we must wonder, when women and foreigners are portrayed in antagonistic roles, whether the author's own impressions had a role to play.[215]

Issues of gender and ethnicity do not occur in isolation: "In ancient Egypt, people were not just male or female, but also differed in age, occupation, social standing, location, and ethnic origin".[216] After all, almost all the women represented in this corpus belong to the ruling class: as rulers (Tantamun and Hatiba) or as wives and daughters of rulers (the wife of the Rebel of Joppa, the Princess of Naharin). Only Tennut is of servile status. Though this factor, as discussed in relation to foreigners,

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[209] Baines 1999a: 226.
[210] Cameron 1985: 146 thus equates "high language" with "*male* language".
[211] Teysseire 1998: 50.
[212] The women in question are the wife of Anubis and the wife of Bata from *The Tale of the Two Brothers* and the wife of Truth from *Truth and Falsehood*.
[213] Baines 1999a: 227, also Blumenthal 1993: 190 and Vinson 2008: 311–312.
[214] Though Tantamun and Tennut from *Wenamun* are marginal, I think that seeing Hatiba as likewise marginal (as per Vinson 2008: 313) is selling her short, given that she is cut off, perhaps mid-sentence.
[215] Sweeney 2006: 441.
[216] Sweeney 2006: 433.

could reflect the author's experience, it is more likely to reflect the kinds of stories Egyptian authors wanted to write, since travel abroad warranted meeting with the rulers of the land and their families.

1.4.1.2   *The Ideological Context: Geography, Cosmology and Alterity*

Even if foreigners feature in narratives in order to make a cultural point, we should not assume that their depiction in a narrative was ideologically untainted.[217] Fundamentally, elite Egyptian conceptions of ethnicity and alterity would have been affected by state ideology, which, from a geographical point of view, represents foreign lands as *ḫ3s.t*, a lexeme written by means of a logogram depicting a desert mountain ridge beyond the Nile Valley.[218] As a classifier, this hieroglyph may imply that foreigners "lay beyond the ideal environmental and human order, i.e. the Egyptian Nile Valley and its inhabitants, and hence were on the frontier between order and chaos".[219] Terms like *ḫ3s.tïw* 'foreigners' rarely appear in a social context, as they belong to this realm of state ideology.[220] Another ideological viewpoint is based in cosmology; that every living thing—foreign peoples included—is expected to act in accordance with "the hierarchical position assigned them in the cosmos, the created order often referred to as the personification, *Maat*".[221] This order is perpetually maintained by the Pharaoh, the apex of the cosmic hierarchy.[222] Naturally, unless we subscribe to a Durkheimian understanding of religion as shaping the collective consciousness,[223] we don't have to see these ideas as pervasively influencing the portrayal of foreigners in anything other than ideological texts. However, since official dogma surfaces in texts like *The Taking of Joppa*, we must decide the extent to which the narrative is reproducing or commenting on the ideological motifs of 'otherness'. Are these ideas manifest in characterisation, where foreign and Egyptian char-

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[217] Raible 2009: 69 argues that literature is important for the "diskursiven Etablierung von Wissens-Schemata".

[218] Gardiner Sign N25, Gardiner 1957: 488.

[219] O'Connor and Quirke 2003: 13, citing O'Connor 2003: 174. See also page 175, figure 9:12.

[220] Schneider 2006: 203. However, on page 213 he slightly modifies his reading of the term to refer to a person who is 'unacculturated'. This is manifest in the delivery of *ḫ3s.tïw* that is described in Papyrus Gurob 2, 6, in Gardiner 1948: 14, 11–12.

[221] O'Connor and Quirke 2003: 11. The concepts of *m3ˤ.t* and *jsf.t* are discussed by Assmann 2003 [1996]: 127–128, also 446, note 21, Smith 2003: 171, Allen 2003: 29–30, O'Connor 1983: 189, and Cline & O'Connor 2003: 127.

[222] O'Connor and Quirke 2003: 11, 13.

[223] Durkheim 1995 [1912]: 239.

acters are pitched against each other? Is this antithesis featured in the language?

1.4.1.3   *The Religious Context: 'Personal Piety'*

In addition to the state-based ideological platform, characterisation in the Ramesside narratives may also have been informed by community-based religious ideas. Though different in genre, the texts in this corpus commonly represent the gods as agents that are responsible for the outcome of events, though they are occasionally simply the stationary objects of worship, as we see in *Apophis and Seqenenre*. However, this feature does not differentiate the Ramesside corpus from earlier narratives, where divine intervention is also a theme.[224] Sinuhe is guided abroad by "the hand of (a) god" and the Shipwrecked Sailor encounters a god in the form of a magnificently elaborate snake. A fundamental difference, however, is that the gods of Middle Kingdom tales are anonymous,[225] whereas the gods of Ramesside tales are named. Additionally, the relationship with the god in these later texts is more personal, particularly if we compare it to the relationship with god espoused in the wisdom texts.[226] We can most probably link this shift to a change in 'decorum' not only in a literary context but across the entire socio-religious sphere. The movement, commonly entitled 'Personal Piety', pervades Ramesside culture, "from royal to private monuments, from literature to art and religious institutions".[227] Its fundamental tenet is "a more personal conception of deity, of gods intervening in life and history, manifesting a personal will, intention and purpose".[228] Individuals, including rulers, could therefore be helped, even saved, by the god, as occurs to Ramesses II at Kadesh,[229] the scribes of the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*[230] and the Prince in *The Doomed Prince*. An understanding of these socio-cultural factors takes us already some way towards understanding why Egyptian authors were writing about foreign and Egyptian characters in the way that they did.

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[224] Loprieno 1988a: 91 and Luiselli 2007: 181.
[225] Assmann 1992: 380 and Luiselli 2007: 168.
[226] Luiselli 2007: 166.
[227] Assmann 1989: 69.
[228] Assmann 1989: 69, also Assmann 1997a: 26–29.
[229] Ockinga 1987: 39–40 and Assmann 1997a: 37–38.
[230] Fecht 1965: 10–11.

1.4.2   *Marking the Frontier: Literature and the Demarcation of Fictional Space*

The other important dimension of the focus on foreigners in literature, in addition to the exterior ideological pressures placed on Egyptian writers, concerns why these writers *chose* to set their fictional narratives in foreign lands.[231] We could see this choice as a correlate of the socio-political discussion, assuming that writers were more exposed to foreign ideas and travel at this time than in previous epochs.[232] However, the choice seems to have been more motivated than that, since foreign lands, like the past, had semiotic power in the creation of literary landscape, establishing as a trope[233] a distant 'over there' for the development of the narrative and for the purpose of reflection and commentary.

1.4.2.1   *The Role of Travel and Foreign Landscape in Egyptian Narratives*

In order to understand why foreigners were used in Egyptian narratives as counterparts to Egyptians, we must seek to explain why foreign locales were chosen. Though specific parts of Syria-Palestine have been chosen as settings for the *Late Egyptian Stories*,[234] they lack detailed descriptions[235] and thus attain a sense of remoteness without specificity.[236] Fascinatingly, this fuzziness of location is contrasted by a great attention to social organisation,[237] making the fictional space difficult to interpret. Is the 'author' creating an Egypt-abroad[238] or a deliberate fictional 'foreign

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[231] Naturally, in some cases, boundary crossing of a different kind was represented, such as the residence of foreigners on Egyptian soil. The purpose of this motif, as it appears in *Apophis and Seqenenre*, for instance, will be dealt with further on.

[232] Baines 1982: 33, note 14, links this interest with the increasing importance of Egyptian foreign policy.

[233] Hestetun 2008: 43.

[234] Kitchen 1969: 88. Barocas 1978: 200 offers an explanation for the choice of Asia as a locale in light of *The Tale of Sinuhe*: "Nella tradizione egiziana l'Asia era il luogo classico del nemico, al di là del deserto c'è l'Asiatico … Perché il racconto di Sinuhe raggiungesse il massimo di efficacia occorreva che il protagonista fosse collocato nelle peggiori condizioni possibili; la scelta dell'Asia ha quindi un senso preciso". (Author's translation: "In the Egyptian tradition, Asia was the classic domain of the enemy, the Asiatic was on the other side of the desert … To ensure that the tale of Sinuhe was most effective, the protagonist was placed in the worst possible conditions; the choice of Asia had therefore a very precise meaning".)

[235] Loprieno 2003: 45.

[236] Blumenthal 1972: 12, Hollis 1990: 44.

[237] Blumenthal 1972: 12.

[238] Barocas 1978: 192 argues that the author of *Sinuhe* is attempting to show the hero to be "in condizione di poter fare in Asia ciò che avrebbe fatto se fosse rimasto in Egitto"

space'? At any rate, a geographical or social conceptualisation of foreign lands may have been *post-perceptual* for some Egyptians, "bringing to mind that which has been previously perceived", but for a majority it would have been "*aperceptual*, calling to mind something that has never been seen before.[239] The *Reisemotiv*, commonly encapsulated in the Egyptian protagonist's travels to foreign lands[240] (or through fictional landscapes)[241] should therefore be seen as illustrating a general conception of *Grenzüberschreitung*, or 'boundary transgression', which appears throughout world literature.[242] Though most visible in stories that recount travel abroad, Manfred Frank sees *Grenzüberschreitung* as forming part of a quest-structure that underlies all narrative discourse: the cycle of leaving and returning, where the point of origin is man's actual destination.[243] Travelling is therefore "the metaphorical detour man and thought have to take" in order to realise this.[244] As briefly discussed above, Gerald Moers used the dominance of the *Reisemotiv* to propose the presence of the so-called *Reiseerzählung*, or 'travel narrative' genre, which included *Sinuhe*, *Wenamun* and *The Tale of Woe*.[245] Some aspects of the category perhaps warrant reconsideration. For instance, the argument that these texts relate *personal* journeys of exploration and discovery must be used with great caution,[246] particularly since it invokes a humanising interpretation of character (see 1.3.2). Also, the generic dissimilarity of the texts from

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(Author's translation: "in condition to be able to do in Asia that which he would have done had he remained in Egypt"). The only deficiencies of exile, Barocas 1978: 197–198 notes, are distance from the sovereign and a lack of a proper burial, as Baines 1982: 37, note 29 also notes. Such an idea runs counter to Moers 1999: 53, who links the transgression of social mores with the crossing of geographical boundaries.

[239] Maitre 1983: 13, in an Egyptological context, see Barocas 1978: 196.

[240] This is particularly true for most of the tales analysed here: *The Doomed Prince*, *The Taking of Joppa* and *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*. Additionally, as will be discussed in section 2.2.1.3, *The Two Brothers* takes place in part in a foreign country. However, given that there are no accompanying foreign characters, the text has been excluded from this study. See 2.2.1.3.

[241] Tales not discussed in this study appear in this context, such as *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* and *Truth and Falsehood*.

[242] Iser 1983: 500.

[243] Frank 1979: 42–44.

[244] Frank 1979: 44, Moers 1999: 51, note 47. See also Baines 1990: 64.

[245] Moers 2001a: 41–42, then, does not include the narratives with supernatural elements and third-person narration, such as *The Doomed Prince* or *The Two Brothers*, in which travel is a central motif. Nor does he include the more 'historical' of the narratives, such as *The Taking of Joppa*.

[246] Fischer-Elfert 2004: 414. He also points out that in some cases, like *The Tale of Woe*, a return is not even guaranteed, which calls into question that story's classification as a *Reiseerzählung*. One might underplay this criticism by establishing that, given the state of

each other also calls the type into question: in the most extreme case one could even differentiate the two narrative texts from each other: *Sinuhe* being similar to an autobiography and *Wenamun* to an administrative report.[247] At the very least, *The Tale of Woe* is a generic anomaly on account of being a lament in epistolary form.[248] We could also counter that the *Reisemotiv* is hardly a criterion for a generic category, since texts outside this group, as the corpus here shows, use the motif as a symbol for adventure.[249] Although this criticism calls into question the comparability of the texts on generic grounds, it does not nullify the importance of the boundary-transgression motif, which pervades the texts under discussion.

Literary texts are also often distinguished by their frequent reference to earlier eras, despite the fact that they simultaneously manifest the conventions of their socio-political *Zeitgeist*.[250] Situating narratives in the past establishes "distance from the established order"[251] in a similar manner to foreign landscapes. Such distance facilitates commentary, perhaps on the political system of the day,[252] on the changing relationship with foreign lands,[253] or even on the "problematic interface of cultural and individual identity".[254]

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preservation of the manuscripts under discussion, the criterion of return is impossible to confirm in any case and should not keep us from defining generic categories.

[247] Quack 2003: 152–153.

[248] Schipper 2005: 294–296.

[249] Fischer-Elfert 2005: 228 also acknowledges the fictionalising power of the *Grenzüberschreitung* motif. This is most probably based on the fact that, as Posener 1956: 90 states: "Pour un peuple sédentaire comme les Égyptiens, l'aventure était à l'étranger". The prevalence of the motif in literature however also suggests, as Eyre 1999: 236 and Meskell 2002: 50 point out, that being out of place was a dominant concern in Egyptian society.

[250] Hestetun 2008: 44 rightly claims that "as cultural representations, literary texts bear the stamp of their cultural-historical moment". From an Egyptological standpoint, see Loprieno 1996b: 52–53.

[251] Baines 1996b: 374.

[252] McDowell 1992: 104–105 suggests that the focus on difficult times prior to the (postulated) date of composition throws the latter into sharp relief, as we may be seeing in the reflection of the Second Intermediate Period in *Apophis and Seqenenre*.

[253] Loprieno 1988a: 69.

[254] Moers 1999: 58. The role of travel in self-discovery in Egyptian narratives is apparent in Moers 1999: 53–54, Moers 2001b: 294 and Galán 2005: 14–15. In fact, as Moers 1999: 52 asserts, the individual concerns dealt with in these texts complement their use of first-person narration, which is "exclusively used for travel narratives" of the New Kingdom in order to create a "more subjective and individual world which subtends of the realistic character of these texts".

1.4.2.2   *The Semiotics of Landscape*

In *La pensée et l'écriture*, Antonio Loprieno explores the role of foreign lands in literature, interpreting them as a semiotic "signe littéraire"[255] that illustrates the changing interaction between Egypt and foreign lands. This focus on external influences is thus in line with his study *Topos und Mimesis*, discussed above (1.3.2.3a). The evolving cultural organisation of space and implicit hierarchies in literary texts[256] are noted in the changing use of the classifiers 'foreign land' (*ḫꜣs.t*) (⌣, Gardiner Sign N25) and 'urban site' (*nʿ.t*) (⊗, Gardiner Sign O49).[257] The classifiers used in (normative)[258] autobiographical works of the Old Kingdom[259] manifest a dichotomous *géographie horizontale*:[260] 'urbanised' Egypt versus 'non urbanised' foreign lands.[261] Middle Kingdom literature, in line with a redefinition of the periphery,[262] manifests a *géographie centripète*,[263] in which the protagonist leaves the centre (Egypt) for the periphery, but returns after a liminal experience on the frontier.[264]

Ramesside literature, by contrast, follows a *géographie centrifuge*, which moves *away* from the centre, apparently having been influenced by a changing national identity.[265] However, *The Taking of Joppa* implicitly involves travel *in both directions*, since Djehuty's 'victory note' home suggests an imminent return. Additionally, the ending of *The Doomed Prince* manuscript is damaged, so we do not know whether the Prince returned to Egypt or not. However, this latter example is generically very similar to *The Two Brothers*, which is categorised as demonstrating the centripetal *géographie du fantastique*,[266] so perhaps the two should be categorised together in this fashion. We should also question whether the geography

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[255] Loprieno 2001: 7 and 58.

[256] Loprieno 2001: 59.

[257] Loprieno 2001: 61. The preference for the term *classifier* over *determinative* is most recently discussed from a functional and typological perspective by Lincke 2011 and Kammerzell in press.

[258] Loprieno 2001: 63.

[259] Loprieno 2001: 60, especially note 24, takes them as a form of proto-literature. Such a viewpoint has its critics. Quirke 1990: 93 argues for "far greater a role for oral literature and epistolary form, perhaps also for religious texts and hymns" to be given to analyses of early Egyptian 'literature'.

[260] Loprieno 2001: 64.

[261] Loprieno 2001: 8 and 59.

[262] Loprieno 2001: 70 and 72.

[263] Loprieno 2001: 8 and 67.

[264] Loprieno 2001: 8 and 67–68.

[265] Loprieno 2001: 75, and particularly note 54.

[266] Loprieno 2001: 76.

of Ramesside literature becomes less specific and whether the periphery is no longer subjugated as a frontier.[267] I would argue that these issues are predicated by genre. As a case in point, the setting of a historical narrative like *The Taking of Joppa* is both specific and hierarchically marked (by being a zone of conflict), whereas the landscape of a fairy tale like *The Doomed Prince* is both vague and not hierarchically marked. The landscape is also said to be fictitious, since the distance from Thebes to Avaris in *Apophis and Seqenenre* or from Egypt to Naharin in *The Doomed Prince* is shortened.[268] However, the Egyptian characters in *Apophis and Seqenenre* are astonished that the Theban hippopotami are heard in Avaris, and although there is little 'narrative time' devoted to travel abroad in *The Doomed Prince*,[269] by stating the Prince's methods of survival, the tale allows for the Prince's movement through space and time.

After the collapse of the New Kingdom, literature presented a *géographie fragmentaire*.[270] Whereas in Ramesside (and Middle Kingdom) tales foreign lands were assigned the 'foreign land' classifier, the cities in *Wenamun* are classified with both the 'foreign land' and the 'town' sign that was previously reserved for Egyptian cities.[271] The nomination of place is therefore subjective:[272] the literary space of the author 'Egyptianises' these foreign lands,[273] since Egypt's now divided condition results in it no longer being hierarchically marked.[274] Such an interpretation does not adequately take into account the grouping of classifiers in hieratic during this period, which can be shown particularly in relation to the classification of foreign toponyms.[275] Moreover, even if the classifiers were intended for deliberate effect, it would be going too far to see these towns as 'centres' and Egypt as the 'periphery',[276] since Wenamun and Wermai demonstrate a longing to return to their home (the Egyptian Nile Valley) that is similar to Sinuhe's. However, Loprieno's categorisation of space as 'subjective' is fitting, particularly given these tales' composition in the first person. Toponymy becomes *personalised*, Egypt is *pꜣ n.tï jmn jm* "the place where

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[267] Loprieno 2001: 8 and 74–75.
[268] Loprieno 2001: 75.
[269] Liverani 1972: 411 argues that this befits the time span in a 'folktale'.
[270] Loprieno 2001: 76–81.
[271] Loprieno 2001: 8–9 and 78.
[272] Loprieno 2001: 81.
[273] Loprieno 2001: 9 and 78–79.
[274] Loprieno 2001: 79.
[275] Spalinger 2008: 163–164.
[276] Loprieno 2001: 9 and 78–79.

Amun is", Byblos is the place "where I am", Tanis (or Lower Egypt) is "the place where Smendes and Tantamun are" and Thebes (or Upper Egypt) is "where the high priest of Amun is".[277] Therefore, in his discussion of the evolution of the presentation of space in Egyptian literature, Loprieno cleverly ties geographical 'signs' to the social context of Egyptian authors. A more detailed discussion, however, shows that the categories rarely match the sources, and that different interpretations can be offered by observing the texts' genres, as we see in the study to follow.

On the grounds of the results of previous studies as well as an investigation of this corpus, I propose that the "fictionalization of the foreign" in literature,[278] namely, the removal from an everyday place and time, was not unequivocally for the purpose of representing the shifting political sands, though this could naturally have been a factor. We should rather expand the semiotic potential of landscape further and see transferral abroad as the establishment of 'allegorical space' in order for complex moral and cultural ideas to be explored. This is, for instance, the most probable explanation for the use of Naharin as a setting at the time of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty in *The Doomed Prince*, rather than "because it perfectly suited the fantastic tenor of the events",[279] or that it allowed comment on the Egyptian relationship with Naharin during the 18th Dynasty.[280]

1.4.2.3   *The Role of Foreign Characters*

Naturally, a direct consequence of the Egyptian Hero's 'boundary transgression' is that he moves into someone else's space.[281] Beyond being a necessary part of the foreign landscape, foreign characters fulfil a specific narrative role. Many provide an opposing force to the Egyptian character, forcing them to reassess their motivation or challenging their ingenuity.[282] They can also be helpful, but their hierarchical position is nevertheless often superior to the Hero's, on grounds of being local, as well as having

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[277] Egberts 1998: 99.

[278] Eyre 1996: 415.

[279] Loprieno 2003: 44 states that, compared to the more realistic *Tale of Sinuhe*, it "has neither the richness of topographical details nor the cathartic psychological function".

[280] Helck 1987: 219.

[281] Thus, from the perspective of the inhabitants of the lands in which most of these stories take place, it is the *Egyptian* who is the foreigner. In this study, however, we use the term 'foreigner' to reflect the perspective of Egyptian authors and audiences.

[282] Loprieno 1988a: 63 and 65 and Moers 2001a: 72–77.

a higher status.[283] I would not go so far as to see literature (and literary reworkings of historical events, as we might be seeing in *The Taking of Joppa*, for instance) as thematising the individual to the extent that we "see individuals struggling to reconcile the universal claims of Egypt's societal demands with their own subjective aspirations and limitations".[284] Nevertheless, these narratives certainly awaken us to the author's opinions of institutions and customs through the more veiled conduit of struggle by an individual with an antagonistic 'other', frequently a foreign 'other'. Thus, *comparison* is a key tenet of this methodology, taking into how these foreign characters appear in contrast to and in conversation with the Egyptian characters.

1.4.3   *Consequences and Reconsiderations*

The socio-political context of a literary work cannot be underestimated as an influence when considering the characterisation of literary protagonists of different cultures.[285] Social, ethnic or gender-based hierarchies naturally come to bear on the way in which characters are represented. From the perspective of writing literature, this external context affects the choice of motif, since, even in a semiotic sense, comment is best established from an 'other-place'. These ideas coincide well with literature's ontological requirement of 'boundary-transgression', of which travel abroad is the most tangible manifestation.

Though the Egyptological discourse has provided fertile commentary on these topics, a conundrum remains unresolved. When a work of literature reflects a *Zeitgeist*, to what extent are social norms being represented and to what extent is an 'authorial' comment being made on them? In terms of the role of foreign lands and characters within this study, I agree with Moers that the foreign lands in which these stories occur provide 'fictional space', but I would render the concept in more functional terms as 'allegorical space' or 'metaphorical space', since "metaphor is the rhetorical process by which discourse unleashes the power that certain fictions have to redescribe reality".[286] As such, metaphor is a means of establishing

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283 The exception is *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, but in this case, both the foreign character and the Egyptian character are rulers of Egypt. It therefore makes sense that Apophis should feel at home enough to comport himself as he is presented doing.

284 Vinson 2004: 52.

285 Wellek & Warren 1956: 73, Clark 1990: 16 and Lichtheim 1976: 197.

286 Ricoeur 1978 [1975]: 7. This process is described by Ricoeur 1978 [1975]: 189 as follows: "the expression first functions literally... Subsequently, it functions iconically, by

mimesis.[287] Thus, even if, as Buchberger says, literature in general is a *topos* rather than *mimesis* (by nature of being a social construction, used to reaffirm, or at least not to challenge the status of the ruling class),[288] it is still meaningful to see literature as a type of writing that mediates between both social constructions and the representation of the authors' ideas and surroundings. Moreover, we should see a cline as existing from those texts which most encapsulate normative ideas, such as *The Doomed Prince* and *Truth and Falsehood*,[289] to texts in which personal reactions to surroundings are at their most marked, such as *Wenamun*. Through metaphor, both ends of the cline can be seen to provide reinterpretations of the world, from idealisation (the *topos*) to commentary (*mimesis*) and explore everything from mortality to politics within a context which (by virtue of being eventually written down, in scribal schools or by scribes) is otherwise elite and normative.

Exactly how the external context and internal ideas of Egyptian authors are manifested in the characters of the stories they write is the topic of the next section. For the purposes of understanding characterisation as it is built clause by clause, I implement a Systemic Functional Linguistic framework, and then 'repackage' my conclusions in light of literary concerns, in order to note their significance.

1.5   *A Multidisciplinary Approach to Character Analysis*

Although a more detailed outline of the analytical method of this enquiry forms the focus of the following chapter, it is useful at this point to outline the importance of adopting a methodology that, in addition to the more general historical and cultural perspectives outlined above, integrates a range of literary and linguistic theories. Here we will outline how such an approach can be applied as a mode of analysis.

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indirectly designating another, similar situation". This iconic representation then "harbours the power to elaborate, to extend the parallel structure". Additionally, Ricoeur 1978 [1975]: 253 renders the always problematic term 'reality' as follows: "We cannot say what reality is, only what it seems like to us". In sum, as I suggested above, it is the subjective representation of the world around the author.

[287] Ricoeur 1978 [1975]: 7 and 244–245.
[288] Buchberger 1989–90: 9
[289] Vinson 2004: 47–48.

1.5.1   *Systemic Functional Linguistics and Other Linguistic Approaches*

Given this study's emphasis on understanding the portrayal of characters at the level of a text's grammar, I propose using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), which is a meaning-oriented paradigm well suited to textual analysis. Such an approach relies on patterns of meaning created from the level of phonemes or graphemes through to the broader context of genre though the scope of this study extends only from lexis to context. Within this scope, the role of salient forms in construing meaning in texts of particular genres is particularly taken into consideration. Such a focus touches on the analytical methods of Discourse Analysis (DA).[290]

Where profitable, I shall also draw on other branches of linguistics in order to acquire particular perspectives on the data. For instance, ideas from pragmatics, sociolinguistics and Conversation Analysis (CA) are applied when discursive and social conventions are in question, as we shall see particularly in our discussion of *Wenamun*.[291] Additionally, when we take an idea like authorial intent into consideration in our discussion of characterisation (irrespective of the potential for multiple authorship), we can also draw on cognitive approaches to language.[292] After all, we have noted that the author may have been responding in a literary manner to socio-political conditions or to a changing idea of self. For example, Jonathan Culpeper has cleverly tied foregrounding theory, which concerns the analysis of elements of language that achieve salience by deviating from a linguistic norm,[293] to behavioural attribution theories, which seek to determine causation for behaviour patterns, in life as in literary texts.[294] An understanding of human motivation through the use of cognitive psychology could certainly make characterisation more coherent,[295] though

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[290] Martin 2000: 66–67 explains the interrelation between Discourse Analysis and awareness of genre: "If genres are treated as patterns of meaning, then to make grammar analysis relevant to genre we need to deploy a grammar that focuses on meaning".

[291] Levinson 1983: 53 lengthily but carefully defines *pragmatics* thus: "we can compute out of sequences of utterances, taken together with background assumptions about language usage, highly detailed inferences about the nature of the assumptions participants are making, and the purposes for which utterances are being used . . . pragmatics can be taken to be the description of this ability". The contextual angle of this paradigm is therefore language-oriented. *Sociolinguistics*, as noted by Hudson 1996: 1, is the paradigm that fits where pragmatics does not, in comprehending the social context of an utterance.

[292] See Loprieno 1988a: 4.

[293] Culpeper 2001: 129.

[294] Culpeper 2001: 153–154. We should naturally use such ideas with great caution for texts such as ours, which come from both a different culture and time.

[295] Culpeper 2001: 47.

the usefulness of such speculations has been questioned.[296] On a more tangible level, social, political and historical context can be seen to have a dominant role in explaining the behaviour of characters,[297] by demonstrating the way in which this context builds up for both authors and audiences particular *schemata* or *expectancies* pertaining to each character.[298]

Linguistic study (in whatever guise) supplies a means of testing ideas that we have about a narrative.[299] Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), with its concentration on genre, has been a favoured analytical tool for works written in English. Its premise is *motivated selection*: that an author consciously or unconsciously chooses forms from an array of possibilities in order to establish a particular meaning.[300] This study engages with SFL with reference to *Stylistics*, an analytical method that applies the meaning-making model of Systemic Functional Linguistics to the language of narrative texts in order to understand their structure, form and protagonists.[301] As we shall see, this method provides a means of organising the data in order to systematically note how patterns of meaning emerge in Participant roles, modality and so on. Therefore, characterisation, which is apparent, as I later argue, in description, action and speech,[302] should be acknowledged as a *considered* element of literary creation, which should be of interest to the literary scholar.[303]

1.5.2 *Literary Theory*

Engagement with literary theory not only facilitates a thorough engagement with cognate Egyptological studies; it is also fundamental to this research. The term 'literary theory' comprises a range of different theories used to study literary texts, from *narratology*, the theory of narrative inspired by structuralism[304] through to *genre theory*. This study applies a suite of different approaches in recognition of the methods' inherent

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[296] Nikolajeva 2002: 9.
[297] Culpeper 2001: 154.
[298] Culpeper 2001: 63–111 and 149–153.
[299] Harvey 1965: 209–210.
[300] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 23–24 suggest that these 'possibilities' are part of a *system network* from which a speaker or writer chooses in their construal of meaning. Such ideas, however, extend beyond linguistic paradigms into literary theory and semiotics: Eco 2005 [2002]: 252 also sees grammar and meaning as interacting, since concepts are defined by "a network of actions".
[301] Culpeper 2001: 164.
[302] Ginsberg 1983: 3.
[303] Chatman 1978: 113.
[304] Ronen 1990: 817.

strengths and weaknesses. For instance, though narratology is extremely useful for noting the connection between character roles and grammatical forms,[305] as we come to see in our discussion of *The Doomed Prince* in chapter 3, the impression we obtain of characters is quite superficial. After all, "structuralism tends toward a thorough desubstantiation of character in literature even when structuralist critics discuss the issue of character",[306] since critics using this method are predominantly attentive to the way in which the character moves the plot forward. Genre theory, on the other hand, is fundamental for noting the potential of generic typology, as well as for categorising the 'intertextual' referencing of different genres or motifs, such as we see with the 'historical narrative' *Apophis and Seqenenre*.

1.5.3   *Using Genre*

Genre is the fundamental basis for this linguistic and literary analysis. It is used not only to establish comparison between characters within stories (as will be explained below), but also across stories, based on the types of characters a particular genre requires. As such, text type forms the ordering principle of the work, the three chapters presenting data analysis all being representative of particular types. We must therefore explain genre as a construct, and elucidate its role in this investigation.

1.5.3.1   *What Is Genre?*

Defining genre has long been a problem in Egyptian literary studies, as in other scholarly fields. A commonly accepted definition relates to the differentiation of particular features or 'sub-groups' of the three main categories of literature, namely lyric, drama and narrative. Such sub-groups could be things like tragedy or elegy, but are tied to cultural context.[307] The problem with Egyptian texts, however, is that the Egyptians rarely defined textual categories in titles or colophons.[308] In pharaonic times, what could be called 'categories' of wisdom texts appear in the record:

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[305] As Todorov 1990 [1978]: 5 remarks, "Formalist studies of literature have the merit (and this is how they establish the science of poetics) of being structures of the literary system, of the system of the work. Literature is thus a *system*, a language that attracts attention to itself through its systematicity alone, a language that becomes autotelic".

[306] Hochman 1985: 24.

[307] Gymnich & Neumann 2007: 31–32.

[308] Parkinson 2002: 108.

sbꜣ.yt 'teachings',[309] *md.wt* 'words/discourses' together with *ṯs.w* 'sayings'.[310] However, a word referring to 'tale', namely *sḏj*, is only attested from the Graeco-Roman Period.[311] The modern establishment of ancient genres is therefore laden with subjective interpretation.[312] The most common standpoint among Egyptological scholars is that "genres have circumscribed existences culturally",[313] and must therefore be considered as products of their cultural, historical and literary context.[314] Generic categories are therefore seen as both historicist and inductive,[315] although this common approach has not resulted in a unified understanding of literary typology. Although *emic*, culturally-relevant categories should be acknowledged as an ideal, it seems unwise to dismiss deductive, *etic* categorisation out of hand. The basis of etic categories in 'universal genres',[316] or at least particular text 'types' that share characteristic traits,[317] allows Egyptologists explanatory power in the literary theoretical domain. After all, genres are "designed to serve the explanatory purpose of critical thought, not the other way around".[318] In other words, if we are honest with ourselves, genres are predominantly heuristic categories. To temper this pragmatism, it is clear that our engagement with 'universal categories' should only be done while drawing on clear formal signals from the texts themselves, using the latter to build up the categories, while acknowledging the comparative possibilities offered by the former.[319]

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[309] An example of which being *The Teaching of Amenemhet*, Papyrus Sallier II = pBM EA 10182 1,1, a recent translation of which has been done by Peter Dils in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*.

[310] Both appear, for instance in *The Admonitions of Khakheperreseneb*, Writing Board BM EA 5645, translated by Peter Dils in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*.

[311] For which we can cite the *First Tale of Setna Khaemwase*, Papyrus Cairo CG 30646 VI, 20, to be found in Günter Vittmann's translation in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*. For the word *sḏj*, see Erichsen 1954: 482.

[312] The main proponent is Rosmarin 1985: 24–26. Roche 1998: 9 argues of the *pragmatic* approach that "its merits pass with every change in opinion".

[313] Fowler 1982: 132.

[314] Fowler 1982: 258–259.

[315] A point made by Vinson 2004: 44, with reference to Roche 1998: 3–4, who severely criticises historicist approaches for being "of little pragmatic use: genre definitions have no transhistorical validity". Roche 1998: 7–8 also questions inductive approaches to genre, since "in selecting the examples (of a particular genre), we are already presupposing what the elements of the genre are, for otherwise we would not know which examples to select. Thus, a purely inductive approach appears impossible."

[316] Vinson 2004: 53, based on Roche 1998: 10.

[317] Fowler 1982: 38.

[318] Rosmarin 1985: 25, cited in Vinson 2004: 53.

[319] Problems with deductive categorisations of Egyptian literature come to the fore in an unpublished dissertation by Teysseire 1998: 11, who draws on the schema in C. Scott

The means of analysis can be quite fine-grained. In a recent study, Henrike Simon made a case for the applicability of the *Mehr-Ebenen-Modell* developed by Marion Gymnich and Birgit Neumann,[320] which identifies four dimensions in the assessment of a genre: textual (which is based on text-internal criteria), individual-cognitive (which pertains to audience, particularly reception), cultural-historical (which relates to changing generic patterns over time, but also to chosen themes on a synchronic level) and functional (which corresponds to a text's use, or *Sitz im Leben*).[321] Although the categories are extremely plausible on the whole, I am not sure that cultural and historical elements should be conflated to form a single 'level'. This is particularly the case if the term 'historical' is taken not just to mean reference within the text to a particular historical context but also genuine historical development of a generic style (*diachrony*). If the latter is the case, I would argue that the 'historical' level exists on a higher plane of existence than the three others, since it affects all levels without itself being able to be categorised.[322]

As we can see, genre studies today (as with literary studies in general, for which revisit, for example, figure 1.1) attempt to take into consideration formal (structural, rhetorical, thematic), functional and reception-based dimensions.[323] This being said, narrative texts are considered by Egyptology as being primarily of entertainment value on functional grounds,[324] and reception, effectively non-existent for this corpus, is also not seen as being particularly diagnostic for identifying genre.[325] In consequence, we revert (as shall be discussed in section 2.2) to the fundamentals of the text itself, namely content and form, in our definition of generic categories. Those used for the purpose of this study are 'fairy tale', 'historical narrative'

Littleton (1965) "A Two-Dimensional Scheme for the Representation of Narratives", *Journal of American Folklore* 78(307): 21–27, which divides narratives into *fabulous stories*, *myths and mythical narratives*, *history* and *sacred history*. No explicit criteria are applied to substantiate these classifications, which seem to be based variously on theme, plot and character. Teysseire 1998: 41 even admits that the stories defy even her adopted classification system, and require further distinction based on their degree of "historical plausibility", which seems to be an unqualifiable categorisation.

[320] Gymnich & Neumann 2007: 34f.

[321] Simon 2011: 553–567. The functional level is seen as a superordinate category.

[322] This conflation of 'historical' factors has its basis in Gymnich & Neumann 2007: 38–45.

[323] Frow 2006: 67 and Fowler 1982: 106–107.

[324] Assmann 1999b: 3 and especially Assmann 1996b: 70–72 and 77–78 defines the functional categories of Egyptian literary genres: *Wissensliteratur* (reference works), *Bildungsliteratur* (didactic works, 'cultural texts'), *Rezitationsliteratur* (cultic works) and *Unterhaltungsliteratur* (works for enjoyment). The latter category is relevant here.

[325] Assmann 1996b: 80.

and 'travel narrative'. The conceptual basis of this categorisation is that although any one text can comprise several genres,[326] texts are commonly classified by their *dominant genre*.[327] Further classification comes in the form of *modes*, which are "qualifications or modifications of particular genres", that "specify thematic features and certain forms and modalities of speech, but not the formal structures or even the semiotic medium through which the text is to be realised".[328] These factors therefore influence the content and focus, as we see here in the terms '*historical* narrative' and *travel* narrative' Lastly, we must consider *inclusions* of or references to other genres or motifs,[329] which are invoked for parody or commentary, such as an administrative report, a military report, or a political text. Fundamentally, any kind of generic categorisation is going to be a matter of what Gérard Genette so rightly calls "choosing between drawbacks",[330] so it would not be surprising if these categorisations attracted criticism. For instance, fairy tales are also narratives, but this is not apparent in the term. Similarly, the term 'narrative' in the terms 'historical narrative' and 'travel narrative' implies rather different things, since the former type is *heterodiegetic* (third person narration) and the latter *homodiegetic* (first person narration).[331] However, terminology, when discussed in detail and with empirical support, has its value, if only for the reason that it constrains the scholar to classify and qualify concepts. Thus, with respect to the stories under investigation in this study, we can outline the following broadly generic categorisations (elaborated in figure 1.3 below), which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Text Title	Genre + Mode	Included Genre
The Doomed Prince	Fairy tale	
Apophis and Seqenenre	Historical narrative	Political text
The Taking of Joppa	Historical narrative	Military report
The Misfortunes of Wenamun	Travel narrative	Administrative report

Figure 1.3. A model for genres in the corpus.

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[326] Baines 2003: 5.
[327] Parkinson 1996: 309 coins this term to describe a genre which is "dominant in the creation of the text's meaning".
[328] Frow 2006: 65, 67, see also Fowler 1982: 106–107.
[329] Fowler 1982: 179–181, also Parkinson 1996: 308.
[330] Genette 1980 [1972]: 263.
[331] Genette 1980 [1972]: 245.

1.5.3.2 *The Role of Genre*

Genre is important for the categorisation and analysis of a text and for defining a text's *Sitz in der Literatur*.[332] More specifically, genre affects the way people are characterised by their speech and action, so analysis of its categories plays an important part of this study's approach to the representation of literary characters and their narrative roles.[333] For instance, we shall see that character development is not as fundamental to fairy tales as to more realistic stories. The focus of our enquiry into characterisation will thus shift according to the genre under consideration. Whereas the study of fairy tales requires an understanding of narratological conventions, such as a character's role in the action, we could argue that historical narratives and even travel narratives have elements of irony which require an understanding of the audience's expectations of the genre being referenced. In this study, we also attempt to consider how these differences in characterisation are conditioned by the formal constraints of the text's genre. We must acknowledge, however, that having only one or two texts per genre limits the scope able to be reached for this analysis.

1.5.4 *Comparison*

Fundamentally, comparison between characters is a key method of analysis: "So much of what we are can only be defined in terms of our relations with other people; indeed … other people must exist if only to show us what we ourselves are not".[334] This idea is particularly germane in a literary context, which is a contrived medium of expression. Therefore, studying the characters not only of their own accord but also in comparison with their interlocutors, particularly their 'ethnic counterpart', will enrich this study, since we will see that characters of similar status or functions but different ethnicities often contrast each other.[335] In other words, the

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[332] Assmann 1974: 126.

[333] Bal 1997: 124 and Culpeper 2001: 87, also Ginsberg 1983: 4. From an Egyptological angle, see Vinson 2004: 33.

[334] Harvey 1965: 52. Also, Comaroff & Comaroff 1992: 235–263 discuss the definition of the 'other' in relation to the self. From an Egyptological (but not strictly literary) perspective, see Poo 2005: 4, 10.

[335] Hochman 1985: 5657 points out that in the *Iliad*, "Achilles and Hector may be seen as a matched pair of heroic figures, posed in postures of contrast with regard to the link between their male prowess and their relationships to their mothers". He then points out, however, that: "Homer surely did not 'mean' us to read his characters in such terms. Yet there is no reason for us not to assume that he possessed such insights as are reflected in

'other' mirrors and defines the self.[336] As Hochman argues in his study of character, *conflict* is most suggestive when it comes to characterisation: "in literature we are engaged in the dynamic life of the characters and . . . what makes them meaningful for us is the kinds of conflict they embody and experience and the way those conflicts are articulated in the work".[337] Conflict therefore provides a dialectical means of unearthing the salient characteristics of a protagonist, a feature that is most evident at the *interpersonal* level of the language (see 2.3.3.2).

1.6   *Overview and Perspectives*

The study of characterisation in ancient Egyptian literature has long been an overlooked and underdeveloped field of enquiry. Few studies have focused exclusively on characters, and methods have been predominantly extrinsic (located outside the text), testing characters' motivation and cognition, their narrative function and their embodiment of authorial opinion or socio-cultural norms. Interest in intrinsic (internal) methods of understanding characterisation, such as the language used to depict protagonists, has only developed in the past decade, though never with the expressed intention of understanding characterisation, or, more importantly, of developing a clear methodology with which to analyse it. We shall see that both approaches are important.

Chapter 2, which further elaborates the methodology being employed for this study, will contribute to establishing a means of analysis that allows characterisation to be studied qualitatively and quantitatively. Systemic Functional Linguistics enables the analyst to observe grammatical patterns pertaining to a protagonist's actions and interactions with other characters at a clausal level. This method has facilitated the analysis of grammatical patterns pertaining to particular characters, which has clarified the role of genre and literary motifs in characterisation—specifically the creation of particular sorts of contrasts between Egyptian and foreign characters.

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my reading, even if he had no conception of a unifying principle, or 'soul', not to speak of a comprehensive psychology, for his characters". Such a viewpoint is pertinent for this study, particularly in view of the similarities between the Homeric epics and the Egyptian corpus, such as their probable origin in the oral tradition, and the possibility (though Hochman does not mention this) of several authors.

336 Loprieno 1988a: 83 and Moers 2000: 83.
337 Hochman 1985: 50.

As we can see in chapter 3, in the fairy tale *The Doomed Prince*, the active Prince fulfils the Hero role, but by accepting his fate, he relinquishes personal power when he travels abroad. This power, manifested, for instance, in the ability to command, is transferred to the Chief of Naharin, his Opponent, and the Princess of Naharin, his Prize and Helper.

In the 'historical narratives' *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* and *The Taking of Joppa* that are analysed in chapter 4, we can note a greater tension between normative attitudes and parodic commentary. Foreign rulers appear in antagonistic positions toward the Egyptian state, but with different results. *Apophis and Seqenenre* provides a contrast to the *topos* of Egyptian historical inscriptions of this time by contrasting a strong foreign ruler with a weak Egyptian one. The comic qualities of *Joppa*, on the other hand, emerge in individual details, since the contrast of the Egyptian Hero Djehuty with the naïve Rebel of Joppa corresponds to the Egyptian ideological *Weltanschauung*.

Lastly, in the 'travel narrative' *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*, engaged with in chapter 5, the Egyptian emissary Wenamun is forced to confront a series of antagonistic foreign rulers as part of his 'quest' to obtain Lebanese timber. His Anti-Hero status is manifest in the contradiction between his deeds and his words, as well as his discursive style. In this way, it becomes clear that the hostility of the foreign rulers is not simply a gratuitous narratological exigency, or even just a reflection of the historical context, but a reaction to Wenamun's use of hypothetical modal forms, which contrast with their own more exact propositional styles.

As is discussed in chapter 6, Findings and Discussion, and chapter 7, Conclusion, the study's significance emerges from the development of a method of literary analysis which draws on the action, interaction, textual prominence and naming of characters in order to draw well-motivated conclusions about their characterisation. These conclusions are the more precise for being based on the grammar of the texts.

Additionally, the methodological apparatus and subsequent results proffered by this work can also be seen to have broader ramifications for Egyptian literary studies. In terms of the methodology, these four texts provide us with a particularly good test case for studies of characterisation in general. These texts derive their particularity through the interaction of the hero with a foreigner, usually a foreign ruler, on the basis of travel, trade or conquest. It is argued that this interaction, often most particularly because it guarantees a conflict situation, brings the qualities of each other into sharp relief, providing excellent data for comparison, but such oppositions would be found between humans and gods, between children

and adults or between 'good' and 'bad' people, making the method easily transferrable to future studies.

In terms of the results produced, I argue that a better understanding of characterisation perhaps also draws the scholar closer to estimating the purpose of literature in Egyptian society. As is apparent from Egyptian as well as world literature, boundary transgression is a theme explored frequently by human beings in texts of fundamental spiritual importance in addition to those intended solely for entertainment. The four texts here provide testament to this focus on boundary transgression, with their themes of travel, of borders and divisions, of encounters with foreign elements, which, as I shall argue throughout this work, are fundamental to identity formation in a culture. Although it is of course necessary to engage with the historical and cultural bases of these motifs, the role of the protagonists in coming to terms with their surroundings will naturally be emphasised here. These characters are, after all, the mouthpieces of these important cultural ideas, and their interactions with each other create the discursive dialectic with which the reader/spectator can become involved, either at the level of pure entertainment, of ironic laughter or even of social criticism.

In terms of results at the broader discursive level, it can be said that this book uses characterisation and its techniques as a case study for a linguistic-literary approach to the problematics of ancient literature. We enable better understanding by moving towards methodologies that consider whole physical (in this case, *linguistic*) cultural processes of writing literature. Whereas recent approaches to literary analysis (Parkinson 2002 and 2009) have employed material philology with a focus on reader response and even performativity, this work supplies a *linguistic* philology that focuses on writing style and literary effect.

METHODOLOGY

2.1 *Introduction*

The review of Egyptological approaches to characterisation undertaken in chapter 1 affirms the need for a method by which characterisation can be analysed more comprehensively. This study draws on the increasing number of Egyptological works that apply linguistic theory to textual analysis. However, it also attempts to traverse new territory by proposing a method which uses Systemic Functional Linguistics to analyse characterisation in narratives at a clausal level from a comparative perspective. The fundamentals of the method will be outlined in this chapter, together with a discussion of the relevant literary features of each text and the use of socio-cultural context. In the three successive chapters, this approach is applied to texts from a range of literary genres, in order to note the changes in characterisation across text types. First however, it is expedient to outline my approach and focus, as well as the aims of the project, the paradigms that shaped the method, assumptions about the method and how this project's aims have been fulfilled by using these paradigms.

2.1.1 *Approach*

The approach is three-pronged, having a literary, a linguistic and a historical perspective. The first observes characters in the context of a narrative's genre, with reference to earlier Egyptological approaches and the second assesses the portrayal of characters from the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics. The third considers this portrayal in light of the surrounding context. The first two approaches in particular are closely connected: the linguistic approach takes account of the generic features established by a literary study, since it sees language use as dependent on a text's literary and situational context.[1]

The interrogation of data (through the prism of formal and functional grammatical ideas, as shall be discussed below) is *qualitative*, given that

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[1] Eggins 2004: 9.

it seeks to isolate important features through description and comparison and to evaluate them in terms of the context in which they appear. However, it is also *quantitative*, since the number of forms used generates the patterns upon which I shall base my conclusions.

2.1.2   *Focus*

As discussed in detail in the previous chapter, this investigation of characterisation focuses on the Egyptian protagonist's encounter with foreigners as a result of their travel abroad and the contrasting representations that arise from such a situation. *Comparison* through juxtaposition with other characters is therefore fundamental,[2] since in this way "one learns to distinguish and establish the nature and character of individual things".[3] This method is appropriate to literary study in particular because narratives, as *contrived* texts, create their own points of reference, in which every textual feature is significant only relative to another.[4]

2.1.3   *Aims of the Enquiry*

Since verisimilitude is an unrealistic expectation of most literary characters,[5] this study uses comparison to understand how the character is portrayed in contrast to other characters, particularly those of different ethnicities, in terms of their portrayal as *agents*,[6] their *interactions* (establishing relations of power)[7] and their *development* (in terms of portrayal, not personality) throughout the text. The actions of a character and the focus placed on them in each clause are important indications of their changing roles, and the way in which they speak manifests the power relations they create. I investigate how these representations correlate with the narrative roles adopted by characters within particular genres.

2.1.4   *The Paradigms Shaping the Method*

To best address these aims, two paradigms combine to form the method and establish different perspectives. The literary paradigm, genre theory, as discussed in chapter 1, is used for the purpose of shaping a method

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[2] Docherty 1983: 14.
[3] Poo 2002: 448, also Poo 2005: 12.
[4] Doležel 1988: 481 discusses this factor in terms of "possible worlds" in literature.
[5] Chatman 1978: 113–114.
[6] Docherty 1983: 54.
[7] Simpson 2004: 26–30 and Toolan 1998: 115–117.

of enquiry: it helps us to generate taxonomies of genres and motifs sympathetic to the patterns inherent in the literary texts, which can then be more closely scrutinised by using the second, linguistic, paradigm. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is the key method of analysis because of its particular applicability to literary studies. The method of literary analysis known as Stylistics uses SFL to interrogate the way in which language in literature builds plot, setting and characterisation, has been productively used to study texts written in other languages, showing the extent to which grammatically-based character analysis has become a legitimate method of qualitative research. The Systemic Functional paradigm establishes three syntactic domains—*Transitivity*, *Mood* and *Theme*—as the axes of meaning in language, which are concerns already widely, but heretofore separately studied in analyses of Egyptian language. Therefore, although the SFL paradigm is based on English grammar,[8] we shall demonstrate later in the chapter how its categories apply to Egyptian. By using this framework in concert with formal Egyptian grammatical categories, we will be able to:

1) emphasise the *meaning potential* of these categories in the context of the Egyptian language and
2) *combine* these categories in the analysis of whole Egyptian texts in order to reach conclusions about meaning and, within the literary spectrum, characterisation in Egyptian literature.

2.1.5   *Using the Paradigms to Fulfil the Aims of the Project*

The detail required of this analysis necessitates, in my opinion, that the texts be studied character by character across all stories rather than simply according to the Metafunctional levels isolated in a Systemic Functional analysis (specifically, *Transitivity, Mood* and *Theme*).[9] After all, the levels of analysis are interrelated and driven by the context of the story. On the other hand, the assessment of each level *across* different text types is also important, as it allows us to compare semantic differences in characterisation across stories and to qualify what each level has to offer. The comparable perspectives offered by the examination of every character on every language level establish this study as a *content analysis*,

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8 Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 4.
9 The favouring of a structure based on characters rather than on different levels of analysis is also encountered in the approach to Virgil's *Aeneid* by Paschalis 1997: xvii.

which takes the entirety of each text into consideration for the purposes of in-depth study and comparison. The result of such a content-based analysis is a perspective that is at once general and particular. At the general level, I will note how Egyptians and foreigners are characterised across the text as a whole and what their narrative role is, in other words, how they contribute to the plot. In addition, by establishing the representation of a character clause by clause, we begin to get a sense of their development throughout the text in a quantifiable and less subjective manner, allowing us to move beyond description to analysis.[10]

2.2   *A Generic Typology*

The principal focus of the literary approach to characterisation in Egyptian literature is the role of *genre* in establishing and developing characters. In order to conduct this study, we must identify the 'genres' in this small corpus,[11] though debate about their categorisation continues. As discussed in 1.3.2, we have to mediate between *deductive* (theory-driven)[12] and *inductive* (data-driven) approaches. The latter could be improved (and perhaps become more comparable) by standardising the criteria for categorisation. Though generally eschewing generic categories,[13] Elke Blumenthal defines the literary corpus based on subject matter,[14] whereas Jan Assmann categorises it in terms of both audience reception and content.[15] The various criteria thus group the narratives differently. Perhaps the most convincing and all-encompassing approach to generic

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[10] Ullmann 1964: 23.

[11] It must be noted that the size of the corpus means that these interpretations can only be preliminary.

[12] Blumenthal 1972: 10, for instance, disagrees with the *ad hoc* (deductive) insertion of the *Late Egyptian Stories* into narrow literary categories, such as novels, novellas, farces, anecdotes, sagas or legends.

[13] Blumenthal 1970: 11 responds to the deductive categories by moving to the other extreme and labelling the whole Ramesside corpus *Unterhaltungsliteratur*, or 'entertainment literature'.

[14] Blumenthal 1972: 10 and 12 regards *Apophis and Seqenenre, Joppa* and *Wenamun* as being based on historical material and *Astarte, Horus and Seth* and *The Two Brothers* as using mythological material. However, *Truth and Falsehood, The Doomed Prince* and *A Ghost Story* belong to neither category, and many stories have elements of both. For instance, *The Two Brothers* and *The Doomed Prince* are similar both in terms of style (narrative forms, etc.) as well as content (containing both deities and mythical beings).

[15] Assmann 1992: 380–382 defines *Sinuhe, The Shipwrecked Sailor, Wenamun, The Doomed Prince* and *Truth and Falsehood,* as 'didactic narratives', *Horus and Seth* as a 'mythological tale' and *Neferkare and Sisene* (also *Apophis and Seqenenre* and *Joppa*?) as 'tales of kings'.

categorisation to date, as I outlined in section 1.5.3, is Henrike Simon's four level approach, which integrates formal and functional criteria.[16] Although I attempt to incorporate as many of these levels as possible, some are certainly more informative than others for this study. Thus, form and content take centre stage.[17] Another perspective worth bearing in mind is Gymnich and Neumann's literary application of Jackendoff's cognitive semantic categorisation model, in which *necessity conditions* (the mandatory features of a category) are distinguished from *typicality conditions* (the number of which determine how close the text comes to fulfilling the generic prototype).[18] Naturally, where very few texts actually bear generic resemblance, as here, it is difficult to distinguish what is mandatory from what is typical. However, studies with a broader textual basis should certainly consider the distinction.

I argue in the course of this work that the four narrative texts in this corpus correspond to the three sub-categories of *fairy tale, historical narrative* and *travel narrative*. One issue that may be raised in relation to these terms is that whereas the term *fairy tale* is a universal (etic) category, the terms *historical narrative* and *travel narrative* are inherent to Egyptology.[19] Although the applicability of the fairy tale category has been called into question in recent times,[20] the motifs, the restricted criteria of plot development and the focus on message outlined in the general literature provide, in my opinion, an informative model with which selected Egyptian texts can be analysed. The other two sub-categories of narrative

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[16] Simon 2011: 553.

[17] Such an approach is advocated by Baines 1996b: 372–373 and 1999a: 233 as well as Vinson 2004: 33. Ruttkowski 1968: 23 also comprehends genres, as comprising form, *Gestalt* and content, *Inhalt*.

[18] Gymnich & Neumann 2007: 37, with reference to Jackendoff 1983: 121.

[19] Interestingly, the term *travel narrative*, introduced by Moers 2001, has been accused by Dieleman 2003: 243 of being an etic category, although the point was not further substantiated.

[20] Moers 2001: 40 argues for the use of the term 'so genannte Märchen' to describe fairy tales like *The Doomed Prince*, a viewpoint which Simon 2003: 72–73 and 95 extends upon substantially. The fundamental claim is that the terminology is anachronistic, having been invented by scholars during the Romantic period. I agree that the terminology is anachronistic, although I would contend that literary terminology is almost always newer than the corpus it describes, and therefore that it should only be used when accompanied by a thorough justification for its choice. I would also challenge the suggestion by Simon 2003: 129–130 that a story like *The Doomed Prince* corresponds better to an adventure story in the manner of medieval courtly novels. This establishment of generic similarity extends no further than some shared motifs (which Simon 2003: 72 and 2009: 385 rightly does not see as a substantial basis for generic categorisation) and does not take stock of the important *moral* dimension of both this story and fairy tales in general, for which see Tatar 1981: 86.

draw on the themes of other genres, like historical monumental texts and travel reports.[21] They thus encapsulate different *modes* of the narrative genre,[22] in addition to which they are formally quite distinct. Examples of these categories inside and outside the corpus will be discussed below and ideas about characterisation in these text types will be explored.

The representation of protagonists in each genre will be discussed in light of relevant literary theoretical models. Though it is not my intention to structure my analysis along lines of one theory for each genre, some kinds of stories (and characters) lend themselves to particular kinds of analysis. I will thus attempt to highlight the theoretical approach most pertinent to an analysis of characterisation for each text but also provide a number of interpretive perspectives. The drawbacks of each approach are noted, although it can be demonstrated that their careful use yields fresh perspectives and helps establish standards by which the characters of these ancient texts can be appraised and compared with characters from other genres or cultures.

2.2.1   *The Fairy Tale*

2.2.1.1   *Content*

Often referred to by the German term *Märchen*, fairy tales are "nearly always fictional in intent", a feature by which they are differentiated from legends.[23] Fairy tales can be seen as a type of folktale,[24] though one category does not presuppose the other.[25] In a fairy tale, the rules of physical reality are broken.[26] Plausibility is based on 'internal validity' rather

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[21] Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 321 discusses such a process in the context of novels, but the idea is apt in this case also: "All these genres may not only enter the novel as one of its essential structural components, but may also determine the form of the novel as a whole".

[22] Frow 2006: 67 and Fowler 1982: 106–107.

[23] Thompson 1984b [1972]: 409 and Lefebvre 1949: 126.

[24] Tatar 1981: 77. As Taylor 1965: 37 points out, "(1) folklore is, in many cultures, indistinguishable from literature; (2) literature contains elements borrowed from folklore; and (3) writers have imitated folklore". From an Egyptological viewpoint, see Spalinger 2007: 138.

[25] Dundes, in Propp 1968 [1928]: xiv, notes that Propp's *Morfológija skázki* ('Morphology of the Tale') is mistranslated as *Morphology of the Folktale*, though it focuses on fairy tales. See Propp 1968 [1928]: 19 and Propp 1984 [1982]: 70. However, Thompson 1977: 273 also conflates the two concepts.

[26] Loprieno 1996b: 44. For instance, in *The Doomed Prince*, there are gods (such as the Hathors), animals with anthropomorphic qualities (the ability to talk, have vendettas, get drunk), as well as a mythical creature *pꜣ nḫt* ('The Strong One'), who has been defined as a spirit, a water-spirit, and a giant. Hubai 1992: 293 sees *pꜣ nḫt* as a water animal, given that

than 'external reality', so magic and animism are not considered unusual.[27] Despite this, these tales often induce in the reader "a compelling sense of identification with its personae, an unquestioning assent to the justness of its narrative process".[28] The lack of descriptive detail common to the genre,[29] this "construction of a selectively depicted and yet coherent universe"[30] may bring about this 'psychological accessibility'. What is key to this outcome, though, is that fairy tales choose as themes "the aspects of our existence which threaten us most … but which also endow our existence with some of its deepest meaning".[31] As will be discussed below, fairy tales also gain 'psychological accessibility' by using recognisable *motifs*, such as 'the quest', 'the contest'[32] and the journey from "the dissolution of one nuclear family to the formation of a new one".[33] These motifs, however, do not inherently define the genre.[34]

2.2.1.2 *Form*

Stylistically, the narrator of the fairy tale sustains the focus of the narrative in the third person.[35] This form is inherently objectivising, and affords the narrator a "privileged status"[36] and closeness to the action that allows

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no earthly crocodile could fight a demon for three months. His conclusion undermines the clearly mythical qualities of the tale: this same crocodile can talk with the Prince. Even human characters can have extraordinary powers: the Prince can jump 70 cubits. Although I acknowledge that the concept of the 'supernatural' varies greatly according to culture and epoch, I would nonetheless contend that the subject matter dealt with in this tale varies greatly from that of the other texts of this corpus. We must remember also that this category is not established on the grounds of this factor alone: linguistic devices and plot features work in combination with characters and motifs to establish this category, all the more noteworthy because the same qualities are demonstrated by other texts, such as *The Two Brothers*.

[27] Olrik 1965: 138–139, Maitre 1983: 68–69 and 111–113 and Doležel 1988: 481. Maitre 1983: 118 argues that the idea of *mimesis*, discussed in the last chapter, does not account for the imaginary, since the world being represented may not be real. Irrespective of the fantastical nature of the setting, it is the world of the author that is commonly being represented.

[28] Metzger 1981: 8.

[29] Olrik 1965: 138.

[30] Metzger 1981: 8. Maitre 1983: 75 discusses 'possible non-actual worlds' in works of fantasy.

[31] Bettelheim 1981: 11–12, also Tatar 1981: 76.

[32] See Lesko 1986: 100 for a discussion of the Egyptian tales using these motifs.

[33] Tatar 1981: 86.

[34] As pointed out by Simon 2003: 72 and 86.

[35] Genette 1980 [1972]: 245 defines narratives told by a third person narrator outside the exegesis that comprises the story as *heterodiegetic*.

[36] Baines 1982: 35, but also Wellek & Warren 1956: 222–223.

different viewpoints to emerge via 'omniscient' narration or dialogue. This degree of omniscience is perhaps what ensures the emotional participation of the addressee.[37]

As exponents of folk literature, fairy tales are commonly believed to be "orally transmitted literature".[38] The use of verse-points in *The Doomed Prince* certainly suggests that the tale was written down to be read aloud.[39] This may also be supported by the use of Late Egyptian forms, such as *jr ntf* 'as for him', which appears predominantly in court proceedings as well as in tales.[40] On the other hand, one of the features of Late Egyptian writing generally was the incorporation of *spoken* formulae,[41] so this quality does not single-handedly advocate oral transmission, nor can it be taken as a marker for the fairy tale genre. It is difficult to speculate further on this issue, given that the tale is preserved on a single manuscript.

2.2.1.3   *Examples*

The Doomed Prince is the fairy tale analysed in this research, due to its clear references to foreign characters, though, as will be seen later, the alterity of these characters is not as marked as in other genres. The many similarities between *The Doomed Prince* and *The Two Brothers*, such as the Hero's travel abroad, the role of Pre as a Saviour, the predictions of the Hathors, the interweaving of the mundane and the divine and the escape from death, tempt the scholar to study them as companion texts. However, the only character that could be considered 'foreign' in *The Two Brothers* is the wife of the Hero Bata. I have excluded *The Two Brothers* from my study, since I disagree with the arguments in favour of her foreign quality. Lise Manniche claims that: "Although created by Re-Harakhty and fashioned by Khnum, the girl is of foreign origin—her lock of hair is described as being 'tribute from another country' ".[42] However, the fact that Bata's Wife was fashioned in the Valley of Pine,[43] a location somewhere in the Levant,

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[37] Suhr 1999: 126.

[38] Utley 1965: 13.

[39] Hubai 1992: 291, note 59, and 299. Blumenthal 1972: 14 argues that the intertextual referencing between texts renders it likely that the texts had a literary basis, rather than simply being orally conveyed.

[40] Černý 1942: 338.

[41] Junge 2005: 17.

[42] Manniche 1975: 33.

[43] Helck 1987: 221, similarly, regards Bata's wife as "das böse Mädchen aus dem Libanon".

does not imply that she was foreign.[44] Manniche emphasises the girl's foreign origin in order to establish a possible association with Kiya, a wife of Akhenaten.[45] The two women apparently share the rare epithet, *tꜣ šps.t*, which Manniche suggests was assumed upon entry to the royal harem.[46] However, Kiya's link to this title, and evidence for her foreign background in general, is questionable,[47] and several features pertaining to Bata's wife, such as her divine birth,[48] as well as her almost proverbial wickedness,[49] paralleled as it is by the wickedness of the wife of Anubis, "would not fit into an attempt to provide so precise an historical setting".[50] Characteristics pertaining to Bata's wife more plausibly allude to the goddess Hathor, whose connection with the Levant appears in her title 'Mistress of Byblos'.[51] I therefore see the character as having distinct divine elements, although I do not go so far as to wholly equate this character with the deity, unlike Kurt Sethe[52] and Susan Tower Hollis.[53] The clear Hathorial allusion

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[44] The hypothesis that that the Valley of Pine is in Syria (see, for instance, Gardiner 1933: 128) is supported by the *Kadesh Poem* of Ramesses II § 35, K*RI* II 14, 6–10. Compare this with Hollis 1990: 136, who regards it as "an Otherworld location".

[45] Manniche 1975: 34.

[46] Manniche 1975: 34. On these grounds, one would think that a more plausible connection could be made to Seti II's mother Isinofret, who also bore the designation *šps.t*, since the extant manuscript dates to Seti II's reign. See Hollis 1990: 144 and Manniche 1975: 36, note 13.

[47] In fact, the wine label that Manniche 1975: 34 argues attests to Kiya's foreign origin contains only *šps.t kj///*. If this indeed refers to Kiya, then the appearance of this rare title as *tꜣ šps.t <n> n-h-r-n* (with no name following) on the funerary cone of the wab priest Bengay could point to her being Mitannian. However, Helck 2001: 43–45 points out that *kj///* is more likely to be the Mitannian princess that Amenhotep III married in the 10th year of his reign, Kir-gi-pa. This would explain the label dating to Year 11 and the title on the funerary cone being so self explanatory that it did not require the accompaniment of a name. Moreover, since the only title attributed to Kiya with any certainty is *ḥ(j)m.t nsw.t* 'King's Wife', it seems improbable that she was foreign.

[48] See *LES* 21, 4–6, mentioned in Manniche 1975: 34. Lesko 1986: 100 claims that this feature would apply with difficulty to Kiya even in the Amarna Period, let alone after that family was vilified.

[49] Lesko 1986: 101 expresses surprise at this wickedness, given Bata's wife's divine ancestry, but the tendencies to violence and deception exhibited by the goddesses Hathor and Isis easily override this point, as Wettengel 2003: 214 points out.

[50] Lesko 1986: 100.

[51] Wettengel 2003: 126–127 says that given Bata's wife's violent death, it is difficult to tell whether the girl is human or divine. Wettengel 2003: 213–214, 215 also posits a connection with the goddess Nut.

[52] Sethe 1912: 35.

[53] Hollis 1990: 135–139, 142 argues for the association with Hathor on grounds of common paternity (Pre), a title, travel to Egypt from abroad, destructive tendencies, beauty, an affiliation with the Lebanon, the loss of a lock of hair and a connection with the Egyptian kingship as wife and mother. The latter is taken by von Sydow 1965: 235–236 as a universal folktale motif, and is therefore not definitively connected to Hathor.

undermine claims pertaining to the character's 'foreignness', although the motif of her arriving from abroad can nevertheless be seen as a reference to the arrival of foreign princesses into Egypt that are documented in the historical records.[54] The mythical qualities of the Wife of Bata thus render *The Two Brothers* unsuitable for this analysis.

2.2.1.4   *Characterisation*

The anonymity of characters in *The Doomed Prince* is characteristic of fairy tales and folk literature in general,[55] since anonymity projects characters into the realm of the imaginary.[56] The inclusion of a name is contingent neither on ethnicity nor status, though its explicit use, particularly when other main characters are anonymous, may place focus on that character, as is perhaps the case with Anubis and Bata in *The Two Brothers*. The use of titles or epithets instead of names perhaps conveys the importance of social status in these tales.

In line with the general scarcity of detail, there is little description of either character or setting in fairy tales.[57] The lack of detail suggests that the characters' actions are the focus, driving the plot towards an exploration of the Ramesside *Zeitgeist*, with its emphasis on religious and moral ideas.[58] A functional grammatical analysis of a character's action and speech is thus useful for revealing dominant character traits, particularly when comparing Egyptian and foreign characters. In fairy tales in particular, this linguistic analysis lays bare the construction of character 'types' that fulfil the exigencies of the plot, which, as we shall see in chapter 3, is well supported at a literary level by a narratological approach.[59]

2.2.2   *The Historical Narrative*

2.2.2.1   *Content*

The historical narrative, so named by Antonio Loprieno[60] "revisits, in a fictive way, past historical periods or figures",[61] and has therefore been

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[54] Wettengel 2003: 127, 213, 222. Also Manniche 1975: 34.
[55] Thompson 1984a [1972]: 366, Posener 1971: 242, Blumenthal 1993: 194, note 52.
[56] Loprieno 1996b: 44, Moers 2001a: 89 and Hollis 1990: 135.
[57] Docherty 1983: 12.
[58] The idea of the "god guided heart", discussed in Assmann 2003 [1996]: 230, seems to be a fundamental undercurrent of Ramesside literature.
[59] Propp 1968 [1928]: xix–xxi. His approach is based on a corpus of Eastern European folktales.
[60] Loprieno 1996a: 52.
[61] Posener 1971: 242, Layton 2003: 211.

equated by some scholars with the *legend*.[62] Beyond this feature, however, the generic similarity between the two texts under analysis is limited on grounds of content: *Joppa* recounts an expedition abroad, whereas the tale of *Apophis and Seqenenre* documents an exchange between the Hyksos ruler and his Egyptian counterpart. The latter is almost certainly ironic in bent, and it is possible (but not as certain) that the former was also humorous. Regardless of this, Anthony Spalinger suggests that these texts comprise a 'sub-genre'[63] of 'military narratives' or 'warfare literature' together with some contemporary monumental texts.[64] Naturally, even if these narratives are similar in content to the pharaonic records, they are stylistically (as well as thematically and functionally) different,[65] and have varying degrees of fictionality.[66] It is thus more likely that these narratives reference 'historical' genres, which goes some way towards explaining the differences in content.

2.2.2.2 *Form*

These narratives, like fairy tales, are recounted in the third person by a narrator, with the dialogue between characters appearing as reported speech.[67] The use of the third person allows the author/s to establish space, perhaps even 'ironic space', between the narrator and the characters within the story.[68] Therefore, these texts are formally related to the historical documents whose motifs they make use of, such as the historical narrative reflected in the plot of *Apophis and Seqenenre*, which follows the correspondence between two rulers, and the military report reflected by *The Taking of Joppa*, which traces the sequence of events leading to a successful siege.[69]

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[62] Thompson 1984b [1972]: 409. Boggs 1984 [1972]: 1141 uses Thompson's Motif-Index to classify this type further as B 400, B being 'Prose Narrative', and 400 being 'Legend', with B 433 representing the 'Secular Hero'.

[63] Spalinger 2002: 365 uses the term, though in Spalinger 2002: 348, see also note 9, he emphasises that "I am not proposing a genre".

[64] Spalinger 2002: 347.

[65] Spalinger 2002: 364.

[66] Loprieno 1996b: 52, also Korostovtsev 1977: 324.

[67] Brunner 1975: 353.

[68] Simpson 2004: 28.

[69] *Apophis and Seqenenre* is commonly represented as referring to the *Konigsnovelle* genre, for which see Blumenthal 1972: 10–11, Jansen-Winkeln 1993 and Loprieno 1996b: 52. Kitchen 1987: 639 doubts the suitability of this generic categorisation, as does Quack 2010c: 223 and Quack 2012: 282–283, who seeks to establish this group of texts as an expression of cultural understanding which has as its basis the infallible decision-making of the Egyptian king. In section 4.2.3.1, I take decision making as a particularly salient motif of the historical narrative genre. As Quack 2012: 285 goes on to show, in Demotic

2.2.2.3 *Intertextuality and Parody*

Given the reflection of motifs from other text types within these two tales, intertextuality must be borne in mind.[70] The 'pre-postmodern' understanding of such a concept appears in the idea of the *citation* (*Zitat*), which Hellmut Brunner identified on the basis of corresponding keywords (*Stichwörter*) between two texts.[71] Brunner's method identifies an adoption of the sense of passages without requiring them to be quoted literally.[72] In reference to these two texts, only *Joppa* is similar enough to a report to possibly be citing a specific text, although the text is most probably simply drawing on a general *topos*.[73] Moers calls this *generic intertextuality*, "a form of intertextuality which draws on literary forms rather than on contents".[74] This exploration of motifs common to military texts outside the "purported contextual frame",[75] namely, stelae and temple walls, has been seen as an indicator of the texts' fictionality.[76] Whether or not this is the case, what is clearer is that these references help to establish humorous elements, perhaps even *parody*, since the expectations of the course of the text incited by the motifs are undermined by parts of the story (see 4.2.4).[77]

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texts like *Amasis and the Sailor*, the king's decision can have negative consequences for him. Beylage 2002: 554–555 treads the middle ground, saying that although the term *Königsnovelle* is infelicitous, the term *Novelle* is nonetheless appropriate for a series of texts bearing a fairly similar plot structure. As shall be discussed in more detail in section 4.2.3.1, given the disputed nature of the terminology, it would thus perhaps be more fitting to regard the features as pertaining to historical narratives more generally.

[70] Loprieno 1996b: 51–52, Loprieno 2001: 54 and Moers 2001a: 106f., especially note 359.

[71] Brunner 1979: 107 and 167 and Brunner 1986b: 1415 identifies a citation through the use of at least two keywords from the source text that have the same general sense, though the number of necessary keywords (given the specificity or rarity of a word or the length of a citation) is difficult to determine.

[72] Brunner 1979: 171.

[73] Guglielmi 1984: 350–351.

[74] Moers 1999: 53, especially note 59. Pfister 1985: 54 calls such a form "system-referential".

[75] Loprieno 1996b: 51.

[76] Loprieno 1996b: 52. Moers 2001a: 151 underplays its significance. I could add here that the Papyrus Sallier III copy of the Kadesh record provides a notable counterexample.

[77] Rose 1993: 51 claims that parody is "ambivalently dependent upon the object of its criticism for its own reception...This ambivalence may entail not only a mixture of criticism and sympathy for the parodied text, but also the creative expansion of it into something new".

2.2.2.4   *Examples*

The examples to be dealt with in this study are *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* and *The Taking of Joppa*. I have chosen to exclude pTurin 1940–1941, a fragment from what seems to be a fictional episode from a military expedition to Syria undertaken by King Menkheperre Thutmose III,[78] which dates to the 20th Dynasty.[79] The text seems to have entered the literary canon from the historical *topos* in a similar manner to *Joppa*, given that it was written in Late Egyptian, with a similar discursive style. However, the fragmentary nature of the text, especially the part in which foreigners are mentioned, makes a functional analysis almost impossible, so we make reference to the text only in relation to *Joppa* in chapter 4.

Another possible example of a 'historical narrative' is Papyrus Louvre N3136, which refers to campaigns in Libya, and most probably dates to the reign of Ramesses III or IV.[80] It takes the style of a military diary, and is understood as a narrative on the grounds of its verse-points,[81] its grammatical forms[82] and its 'singularity' as a document.[83] I would argue that, given these features, this text could more plausibly be a military 'daybook'[84] or a scribal model for a monumental text. It shall therefore also be excluded from this analysis.

2.2.2.5   *Characterisation*

Given the link to past events in these texts,[85] we could consider the 'historical characters' that inhabit them as being more defined than the anonymous protagonists of the fairy tales. After all, historical documents give us a better sense of the 'real' person behind a character because their names "contain and promise fixed, coherent personalities. To say

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[78] Botti 1955: 64. Spalinger 2002: 348 also regards the fragment as literature, but pulls short of advocating "the appealing idea" that it forms part, with *The Taking of Joppa*, of "one lengthy literary composition", as suggested by Quirke 1996b: 273.

[79] Botti 1955: 65.

[80] Spalinger 2002: 359–362 dates it thus on grounds both of palaeography and content. It contains references to foreign peoples, such as the *plst* and the *ḥꜣsꜣ*, who we otherwise see only in the Medinet Habu texts of Ramesses III.

[81] Spalinger 2002: 359, 364.

[82] Spalinger 2002: 362 says that "the colloquial nature of the latter negative construction (Circumstantial *bw.pw=f sḏm*) would not have been appropriate" for a temple wall.

[83] Spalinger 2002: 362.

[84] Redford 1986: 97.

[85] Layton 2003: 211.

a name is to totalize an existence".[86] However, historical characters are not portrayals of real people, but rather characters bearing their name that are projected into the realm of the imaginary.[87] Thus, it is probably significant that Djehuty is named and his counterpart the Ruler of Joppa is not. Where the relationship is perhaps more equal, as is the case with Apophis and Seqenenre, both characters are named. As we shall see in chapter 4, the comparison between name and characterisation through action and interaction can result in a humorous dissonance, and for this reason we must integrate theories of humour into our data analysis. In line with their function as reflections of official genres, the foreigners are created as Opponents of the Egyptian Heroes, though this characterisation may also be humorous in intent.

2.2.3   *The Travel Narrative*

2.2.3.1   *Content*

The travel account relates, in a narrative fashion, a protagonist's travel abroad, but always from a personal perspective. Though it may well refer, as is perhaps the case with *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*, to historical material, this genre is substantially different, as we shall see, from the historical narrative.[88] Gerald Moers introduced the term *Reiseerzählung* 'travel narrative'[89] to group together *The Tale of Sinuhe, Wenamun*, and the letter of Wermai known as *The Tale of Woe*[90] on the grounds that they provide "literary treatments of the travelling-abroad motif".[91] A key feature is the transgressing of geographical boundaries, which can be seen as a transgression of social boundaries, particularly in the case of Sinuhe, whose flight is tantamount to a rejection of his social roles in Egypt.[92] This generic category has already been subjected to criticism from several quarters, on the grounds that the texts so categorised are too generically diverse.[93] The formal features outlined, however, though not fitting all

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[86] Bersani 1970: 3. On the other hand, as Docherty 1983: 51 points out, a change of name may alter a reader's opinion of a character, as well as establish that character's 'acceptance of' or 'revolt against' the authority which gave it that name.

[87] Doležel 1988: 477 and 482.

[88] As Blumenthal 1972: 12 notes, *Wenamun* may well refer to 'historical' material, but is stylistically very different from the other texts classified in this way.

[89] Moers 1990–7a: 872–876 also classifies such tales as 'epics'.

[90] Moers 2001a: 41–42.

[91] Moers 1999: 51, referring to Frank 1979: 42–44.

[92] Moers 1999: 53. See also the discussion of leaving and returning home in Ostracon Oriental Institute 12074, cited in Guglielmi 1983: 151.

[93] Quack 2003: 152–153, Fischer-Elfert 2004: 414 and Schipper 2005: 294–296.

texts, are informative for the text under analysis here and will therefore be adopted.

2.2.3.2   *Form*

Unlike the other texts discussed in this study, travel narratives are *homodiegetic*,[94] or *Ich-Erzählungen*.[95] In other words, they are narrated in the first person.[96] The protagonist/narrator subjectively recounts their activities rather than providing an objective description,[97] though they can also present multiple viewpoints "through dialogue, artifices such as epistolary form, or more arbitrary devices".[98] For instance, Wenamun's status as narrator can be separated from his status as a protagonist when he narrates events about which he could have had no knowledge or personal experience, like Tjekerbaal's encounter with the ecstatic Page, his counsel with the angry *Tjeker*,[99] or his collapse into tears. This feature highlights the literariness of the text while demonstrating the efficacy of the personal mode of narration for relaying events and noting emotional reactions.[100] Such an individual perspective ensures the travel narrative's status as "the formal expression of the more individual quest structure which is underlying narratives in general and travel-narratives in particular".[101] This element also ensures far more complexity in the discourse, with a variety of voices (manifest in the pronouns) giving a number of perspectives. As stated above, though not all of Moers' texts seem to correspond to the formal and thematic categories expected of a *Reiseerzählung* (see 1.4.2.1), *Wenamun* is an excellent example of a genre that encompasses the style of a personal recount with the mode of travel.[102]

In addition to this, the early framing structure of the tale follows a 'report' style, as is apparent by the official-sounding heading: *ḥ3.t-sp 5 3bd*

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[94]   Genette 1980 [1972]: 245.
[95]   Wellek & Warren 1956: 222, Moers 2001a: 104. Moers 1999: 52 excludes *The Eloquent Peasant* from the category of travel narratives on these grounds.
[96]   However, *The Shipwrecked Sailor* is told in the first person, and includes another story in the first person, all within a third person framework (a tale within a tale within a tale).
[97]   Suhr 1999: 94 and Galán 2005: 164. I would thus question the assumption by Baines 1999a: 217 that the first person narration presents the character in an "apparently detached way" because Wenamun, unlike Sinuhe, does not meditate on his own motivations. We could argue, conversely, that the fact that Wenamun is so involved that he doesn't step back to comment makes his narration *less* detached.
[98]   Baines 1982: 35.
[99]   Brunner 1986a: 82, but particularly Baines 1999a: 217 and Galán 2005: 164.
[100]   Baines 1999a: 216.
[101]   Moers 1999: 52.
[102]   Schipper 2005: 284.

4 šmw sw 16 hrw n wḏ "Year 5, 4th month of summer, day 16: the day of departing" (*LES* 61, 1). However, this style appears only in the early part of the text, and the first person narration that follows it without being introduced by a framing device like *r-ḏd* 'saying' is then sustained throughout the text. By comparison, official tomb robbery trial reports from the late Ramesside Period, following the date, switch back and forth between first and third person narration with the use of framing devices.[103] This factor, as well as the animated dialogue and poetic quality of the descriptions,[104] suggests that the text is a rather free interpretation of the *Expeditionsbericht* or travel report style,[105] by including features of the genre without applying them consistently. This element could be compared to the mixed style of *Sinuhe*, which integrates the formulaic elements of official biographical texts, hymns and letters into the personal recount of a lifetime spent abroad.

2.2.3.3 *Examples*

Of the texts cited that belong to this group, *Wenamun* is the only clear Late Egyptian example that involves travel abroad. Even if we were to include *The Tale of Woe*, which is written as a letter, in the *category*, Wermai has been banished to the fringes of Egyptian society in an oasis,[106] rather than in a foreign land, and can therefore perhaps more accurately be depicted as a social rather than cultural outsider. Although *Wenamun* is linguistically different to and historically later than the other texts, the quality of data that it provides on characterisation, particularly in the context of foreign interaction abroad, guarantees its place in this study.

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[103] An excellent case in point is Papyrus Abbott 4, 11, 4, 16 and 4, 17, in *TR* plate II. The form *r-ḏd* is used to introduce the first person narration and *ḫr jr* guides the reader back to the third person narration. This issue is discussed in Jay 2008: 143–145 and is also explored in more detail here in chapter 5. Similarly, non-fictional texts of considerable poetic quality, like the Demotic Papyrus Rylands 9, bear the framing device *ḏd·f*, accompanied by animated dialogue (Papyrus Rylands 9, 1, in Vittmann 1998: 116–117), as do biographies throughout the pharaonic period. The key, as Moers 2011: 168 points out, is "to differentiate this diffuse narrativeness of the Egyptian textual world between individual cases". Naturally the existence of framing forms does not ensure the literariness of a text.

[104] Posener 1971: 244, also Blumenthal 1972: 11. For an excellent overview of opinions concerning the fictionality of *Wenamun*, see Moers 2001a: 44–49. In short, despite some vacillations, for which see, for instance, Quack 2009a: 193, the text is now almost universally recognised as a work of literature.

[105] Blumenthal 1972: 11, *contra* Quack 2003: 153.

[106] Moers 1999: 56.

2.2.3.4 *Characterisation*

Due to the first person narrative style, tales of this kind are more expressive of personality than the other genres discussed here. The dialogue in *Wenamun* represents the foreigners as powerful discursive opponents of the Egyptian protagonist, as their actions and words were often intended to humble and restrict him. The social expectations of the foreigners and Wenamun, according to their status or role, and their reactions when these are not met, are particularly illustrative of their characters.

The diversity of representation and mood in the text means that the theoretical approaches used have to be more nuanced. Genre theory is useful for noting and classifying included genres, as well as for establishing their role in characterisation, when cautiously compared with the characteristics of the Egyptian data. However, to appraise the discursive dynamics in the narrative texts, such as the communicative expectations of the characters and their consequent reactions to each other, we must move beyond literary theory into pragmatics and socio-linguistics.

2.2.4 *Conclusion*

This outline of some of the types of literary works produced during the Ramesside Period forms a foundation for our study of characterisation. Given that language is a conduit for social norms and expectations, an understanding of the literary context, which includes the form and content of these texts, informs the linguistic study. In the chapters to follow, I shall demonstrate the interaction of these two parts in a character analysis. In particular I will demonstrate that modes of narration, patterns of discourse and levels of description are clarified by studies of a clause's argument structure and by insights into the mood and modality of statements characters make towards each other. I further integrate both levels of analysis by illustrating the extent to which a text's genre (and the intertextual referencing of other genres or motifs) affects the language used, and, in turn, the portrayal of the characters.

2.3 *Systemic Functional Linguistics*

The second component of this research comprises analysing these four narratives using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL or Systemics). I take this interdisciplinary step on the basis of the theory's analytical potential, namely, its ability to express more precisely the meanings inherent

in each text. I hope particularly to be able to compare the clauses that portray Egyptian and foreign characters more systematically.

This study is not proposing new perspectives on the features or functions of the Egyptian language itself, since transitivity, mood, modality and thematisation (analytical categories called Transitivity, Mood and Theme in SFL) are features of the Egyptian language that have already been thoroughly, if separately, analysed. What Systemic Functional Linguistics adds is the *combination* of these features in analysis, and the *application* of the findings to whole texts for the purpose of assessing meaning. By analysing the representation of characters in literary texts, this study demonstrates the applicability of linguistics to literary studies.

Before elaborating further how this analysis is applied, it is necessary to establish the basic terminological and theoretical tenets of Systemic Functional Linguistics, as well as the significant morphosyntactic features of the Late Egyptian language stage upon which semantic ideas can be built in order to appropriately apply the terminology.[107]

2.3.1   *A Definition of Systemic Functional Linguistics*

2.3.1.1   *What Is a 'Functional Grammar'?*

A grammar that is functional is distinguished from a formal, cognitive, theory like Transformational Grammar (TG)[108] by its focus on language as social interaction.[109] It analyses how language is used and how it is structured for use.[110] Though form (the phonological, lexical and grammatical characteristics of linguistic units) is fundamental in determining syntactic function,[111] a functional grammar attempts to transcend the linguistic unit and understand its semantic potential. After all, knowing simply that a character is the 'subject' of a clause does not help us clearly establish their role in the clause and what action they are performing.[112] Systemic Functional Grammar provides this descriptive framework.

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[107] Lemaréchal 1989: 14.
[108] Leech 1983: 46 and Crystal 1997: 394–396.
[109] Crystal 1997: 161. It is van Leeuwen 2002 [1996]: 302 who explains that Halliday takes a grammar "to be a 'meaning potential' ('what *can* be said') rather than a set of rules ('what *must* be said')". However, these language theories should not, in my opinion, be regarded as mutually exclusive. Scholars should intend to take account as much as possible of the impact of cognitive, linguistic and social factors on language use.
[110] Halliday 1971: 331, Eggins 2004: 3.
[111] Crystal 1997: 155.
[112] Hafemann 2006: 352–353 demonstrates the importance of semantic categories by showing cases in which syntax is similar but function is different, and where the syntax differs but function is identical.

2.3.1.2   *What Does 'Systemic' Mean?*

A functional grammar that is *systemic* places emphasis on language as a system of hierarchically-ordered choices from which the user consciously or unconsciously picks in order to make meaning.[113] As a result, "systemic grammar is concerned to establish a network of systems and relationships . . . which will account for all the semantically relevant choices in the language as a whole".[114] An assumption that drives my analysis of Egyptian data from a functional, as well as formal, perspective is that the Egyptian language is *systemic*, i.e. that it operates as part of a system of distinct linguistic choices. Egyptological linguistics has long recognised the Egyptian language as a system,[115] and we might even say that the contrived nature of *literary* language renders it particularly systemic.[116]

2.3.1.3   *What Is Systemic Functional Grammar?*

Systemic Functional Grammar is focused on the meaning conveyed by language to satisfy human communicative needs,[117] and is thus semantically based.[118] Language is conceived as fulfilling different *functions*: for relating and making sense of human experience, for creating and acting out interpersonal relationships and for organising information.[119] These three types of meaning, or *Metafunctions*, have been respectively labelled *ideational, interpersonal* and *textual*. This meaning at a clausal level relates both 'upwards' to the register variables, *field, tenor* and *mode*[120]

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[113]   Simpson 2004: 22. This idea emerged from the Prague School, which formed the basis of today's functional grammars. Such ideas were also applied in literary contexts, for which see Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 281.

[114]   Crystal 1997: 379. Toolan 1988: 112 defines a system as a "systematic account of all the principles governing choices of words and sequences of words within a language, with the additional requirement that the account is attentive to the meanings that speakers associate with these choices".

[115]   Groll 1969: 184, Junge 1978: 95 and Winand 1994b: 349.

[116]   After all, as Blumenthal 1972: 9 pointed out, based on Hintze 1950: 2–3, who studied the language of the whole corpus, the *Late Egyptian Stories* corpus was assembled on the basis of broad stylistic similarities and linguistic homogeneity. With the exception of *Wenamun*, they serve as examples of literary Late Egyptian, for which see Černý & Groll 1993: lv and lvii–lxiv.

[117]   Eggins 2004: 1–2.

[118]   Butler 2003: 44–46, 368, Eggins 2004: 2.

[119]   Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 29.

[120]   Eggins 2004: 90 elucidates the three variables of register, otherwise known as the "context of situation in text": *field* is "what the language is being used to talk about", *tenor* is "the role relationships between the interactants" and *mode* is "the role language is playing in the interaction". We can thus see a clear link between field (content) and the ideational

and 'downwards' to lexicogrammatical patterns (Transitivity, Mood and Theme).[121] The interrelations between these levels are depicted in figure 2.1 below.

Given the semantic basis of the Systemic Functional paradigm, the terms 'grammar' or 'lexicogrammar' do not merely denote the formal categories of a language, but imply a "meaning-oriented functional description of
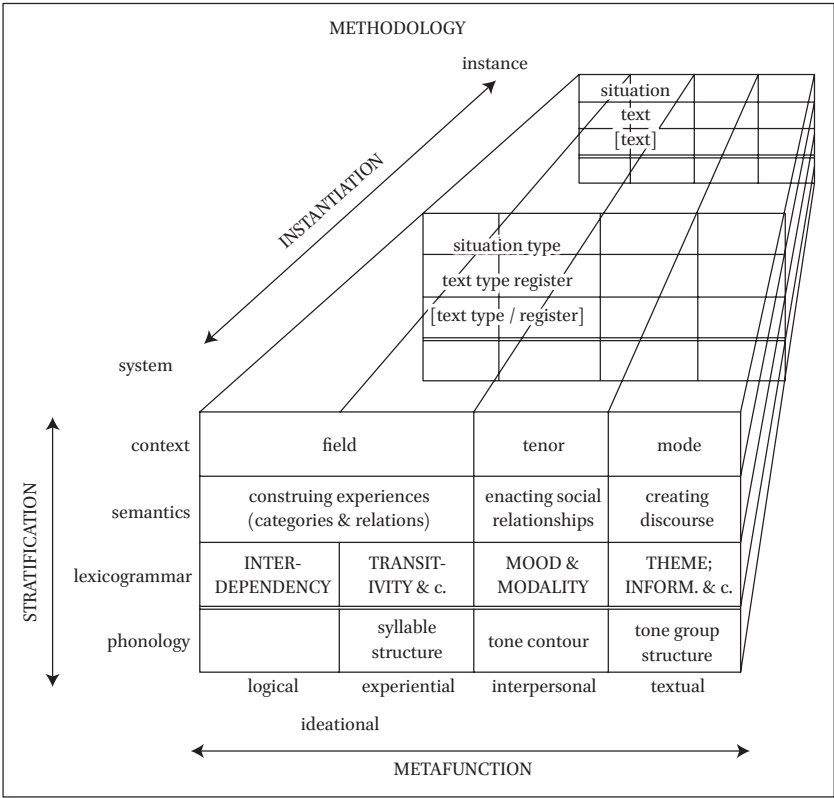
From Butt & O'Toole (2003: 16), appendix 2.

Figure 2.1. The dimensions of language.

Metafunction, tenor (role relationships) and the interpersonal Metafunction and mode (language patterns) and the textual Metafunction.
    [121] Eggins 2004: 111–112, also Butt & O'Toole 2003: 16.

the language".[122] This reconfiguration of the term 'grammar' blurs the lines between form and meaning.[123] Halliday avoids classifying linguistic phenomena into syntactic, semantic and pragmatic types[124] because he sees "the totality of choices available . . . as constituting a lexicogrammatical 'meaning potential' ".[125] Consequently, the "higher levels of linguistic analysis imply a certain lack of precision in coping with the 'lower' levels", which make it difficult to reduce "functional observations to formally clean paradigms".[126] Although this study also analyses language from a semantic angle, it distinguishes between the formal 'grammar' of the text and its semantic implications and seeks to understand the role of the former in the latter. This being said, verb forms in SFL are not defined purely on semantic grounds (what *kind* they are).[127] Formal features like transitivity (argument structure) and morphology are also significant. However, a verb's formal qualities are often distributed across Metafunctions. Ellipsis is visible at the textual level and polarity, finiteness, modality and tense are at the interpersonal level.[128] Voice, aspect and event type appear at the experiential level.[129] Thus, it is important to correlate the systemic analysis with a formal analysis, as shall be demonstrated below.

2.3.2 *Applying Systemics to Egyptian*

This study analyses texts written in a dead language with a theory based on modern English.[130] However, in his defence of its applicability, Michael Halliday points out that "the theory is not anglocentric; the description of English is".[131] Thus, the theory should be transferable to any language if proper attention is given to language-internal features,[132] as has been done with languages like French[133] and Japanese.[134] Naturally, this study

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[122] Toolan 1988: 112. See also Butler 2003: 368, Halliday 1994: xix and 109 and Halliday 1978: 128ff.

[123] Butler 2003: 368, based on Halliday 1994: xix and Halliday 1978: 128ff.

[124] Butler 2003: 178, 218.

[125] Butler 2003: 218.

[126] Loprieno 1986b: 257–258.

[127] Toolan 1998: 76–85.

[128] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 337–344. English and Ancient Egyptian concepts of tense, finiteness and modality are not comparable.

[129] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 182 and 349–350.

[130] Butler 2003: 160–161 claims that this is because "typological adequacy" was not established as one of the central goals of the theory.

[131] Halliday 1996: 33.

[132] Matthiessen 1995: 60, in Butler 2003: 160.

[133] Caffarel 2004: 77.

[134] Tatsuki 2008: 178.

will not be able to establish a description of the system of lexicogrammatical choices available to the Late Egyptian speaker/writer. It is rather more relevant to ensure that certain fundamentals of a linguistic system exist in Late Egyptian that facilitate its application to this theoretical paradigm. These include noting, at a general level, whether Late Egyptian is hierarchical, and at a clausal level, whether it explicitly marks an Agent, whether it has defined grammatical units, and whether it has means of establishing prominence. Lastly, at an extra-clausal level, it involves determining whether Late Egyptian has methods of establishing cohesion between clauses and across texts.

2.3.2.1   *A Rank Scale*

Firstly, Systemic Functional Linguistics constructs a system of language on the basis of a hierarchical organisation of *constituents*, or functional components, within a *rank scale*: each step in the hierarchy is a rank, from sentence to clause complex, clause complex to clause, clause to phrase, phrase to word, word to morpheme, and so on, to smaller units of meaning.[135] Although the boundaries of sentences and clauses can be difficult to define in Egyptian,[136] this does not disqualify their existence as units in a rank scale.

2.3.2.2   *Inside the Clause: Primary Systems*

2.3.2.2a   *Explicit Signals of Agent or of Medium*
An *Agent* is the external cause of the Process ('I' in "I'm going to send a great flood").[137] In the transitive model of language, discussed below, the Agent is the Actor and the 'great flood' is the Goal. When the clause is intransitive, this Goal, 'the great flood' could be seen as the *Medium* through which the Process is actualised (as in "the great flood spread").[138] The Medium is the focus of an ergative model, in which the Process extends beyond the Actor.[139]

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[135] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 9 explain that although the idea of system is universal, what qualifies as belonging to a particular rank may differ for each language. See Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 31–32, Butt, Fahey, Feez, Spinks & Yallop 2000: 37–38 and Crystal 1997: 84.

[136] Callender 1986: 72.

[137] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 285.

[138] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 284.

[139] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 287.

Egyptian, like English, adheres to the transitive (or 'nominative-accusative')[140] model of language. Antonio Loprieno has argued for the presence also of elements of 'ergative-absolutive' coding,[141] which means that a formal parallel (like having the same case) exists between the *object* of a *transitive* verb and the *subject* of an *intransitive* one'.[142] However, Chris Reintges laid this possibility to rest by citing examples in which suffix pronouns operate as the *subject* of *transitive* infinitives: *m wd.t꞊f tw* 'in *his* placing of you', and as the *object* of infinitives with an implicit agent: *wd̠ n rd.t꞊f m ḫȝ.tï-ˁ* 'an order for placing *him* as major'.[143] We can note, therefore, that agency is tied in Egyptian, as in English, to a transitive model of language.

2.3.2.2b   *Explicit Signals of a Grammatical Unit*

Clauses are key grammatical units in ancient Egyptian, as we see from the use of clausal markers like conjunctions[144] and particles, such as the Late Egyptian circumstantial converter *jw*, the relative converter *n.tï*[145] and the temporal converter *wnn*.[146] Even in the absence of a copula verb, the yoking of noun groups, in what Egyptologists call Adverbial and Nominal Sentences and what is known in Systemics as *relational clauses*, is extremely common in Egyptian,[147] as we see in this corpus: *ṯsm pȝï* 'It (is) a grey-hound' (*LES* 2, 5). Therefore, given the often explicit markers of a clause, we can engage in a clausal analysis using SFL with some confidence.

2.3.2.2c   *Signals of Prominence*

The explicit indication of prominence is established in Late Egyptian grammar by the use either of a preceding particle *jr* + Subject, or by an unmarked noun, which is often followed by the Subject as a resumptive pronoun.[148] In the *Late Egyptian Stories*, the form is often used to mark

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140 Loprieno 1995: 83. The idea of 'nominative-accusative' relates to the presence in a clause of an Actor and a Goal, which, as described below, are the basis of *Transitivity* in Systemic Functional Linguistics.

141 Loprieno 1995: 84.

142 Crystal 1997: 2.

143 Reintges 1998: 459–460, italics author's own. Additionally, the use of the pronominal clitic/dependent pronoun in *nfr sw* sentences is tied to the fact that it provides an "overt subject", since suffix pronouns are only appropriate as subjects in finite verb constructions.

144 Junge 2005: 223–225.

145 Junge 2005: 195.

146 Junge 2005: 270–272.

147 Junge 2005: 162–175.

148 Junge 2005: 250–251, Loprieno 1988b: 46.

changes of discourse topic, thereby "functioning as a paragraph initial signal".[149]

To clarify the terminology of prominence used in this study, the words 'topic' or 'topicalisation' are not used in the sense rendered by Loprieno[150] or Borghouts,[151] whereby the 'topic', like the Theme, is the 'point of departure of the clause', and can therefore be applied as much to unmarked Nominal Sentences as to marked forms. As Satzinger argues, 'topicalisation' should be reserved for "phenomena like the frontal exposition, be it with *jr* or without", therefore, instances of a *marked* Theme, which allows 'thematisation' to be used for all instances in which an expression operates as the Theme of a sentence, marked or otherwise.[152] For instance, in *The Doomed Prince*, we have: *jstw jr 3 ꜣbd].w n hrw.w r nꜣ* 'as for the 3 whole months up to this (moment)' (*LES* 4, 6). 'Focalisation' is then reserved for "utterances with rhematic expressions that are raised in a particular way, *viz.* the Cleft Sentence constructions with *jn*".[153] Another way of marking the Rheme is with the Emphatic Form, in which the verbal form is followed by an emphasised adverbial predicate that is translated using a 'cleft'.[154] An example can be drawn from *Wenamun*, in which the clause [*jw j-jr]ꜣf nw hꜣb nꜣj m-mn.t* can be translated as 'while that he spent time was to send (a message) to me daily' (*LES* 64, 15–65, 1).

2.3.2.3 *Beyond the Clause: Cohesion*

Significant evidence of *cohesion* across clauses exists for Late Egyptian. The three texts in the corpus written in literary Late Egyptian (in other words, all except *Wenamun*) contain a variety of textual bonds, such as *ꜥḥꜥ.n* and *wn.jn*, both of which link consecutive events.[155] Since such discourse markers do not form part of the system of Late Egyptian proper (belonging instead to the latest phase of Middle Egyptian), we see other

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[149] Callender 1986: 72 and Loprieno 1988b: 47.

[150] Loprieno 1988b: 41–42.

[151] Borghouts 1986: 45. However, despite his definition, instances of marked prominence emerge.

[152] Satzinger 1991: 295–296 and Junge 1989: 69, 78–79 and note 28, also Malaise & Winand 1999: 667 and Eyre 1994: 128–129.

[153] Satzinger 1991: 295. Likewise, Malaise & Winand 1999: 667, see 'rhematisation' as the formal marking of the Rheme, whereas 'focalisation' emphasises the Rheme.

[154] Junge 1989: 14. However, despite this form's formal qualities (which may lead it to be analysed as a relational form, see below) the semantic characteristics should be the dominant feature.

[155] Černý & Groll 1993: lviii–lix.

strategies at work in Late Egyptian texts, like the parenthetical marker *ḥr jr* 'now', temporal expressions (supplying dates) or circumstantial emphatic forms to show simultaneous action. We can therefore conclude that a system existed for Egyptian that was hierarchical and deliberate, and therefore *systemic*, in and across clauses. Nonetheless, we must be extremely careful to let the language inform the linguistic categories.

2.3.2.4   *Key Features of the Egyptian Verbal System*

One of the most significant features of the Late Egyptian verbal system is that it is syntactically varied, since it is a transitional point between the predominantly synthetic structures of Earlier Egyptian and the analytic structures that become increasingly predominant in Later Egyptian.[156] Inflected verb-initial forms (such as the Preterite and the Prospective) exist beside periphrastic subject-initial forms (such as the First Present and Third Future). Subject-Initial forms are syntactically pseudo-verbal, since tense, mood and agreement are lodged in an auxiliary verb, while the lexical verb (which conveys the action) follows as a complement (often after a preposition).[157] Moreover, the *jw≠f ḥr sḏm* form can be taken either as a subordinate First Present Circumstantial clause, or as a Non-Initial Main Sentence (NIMS).[158] For the purposes of analysis, I have adopted the convention that a clause is a NIMS when a clear narrative progression is manifest across clauses,[159] and a Present Circumstantial when the clause is parenthetical or elaborative.

2.3.3   *The Metafunctions*

The Metafunctions comprise the three basic requirements of language that are manifest predominantly at a clausal level.[160] Although, as we shall

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[156]   Loprieno 1988b: 32, Schenkel 1990: 128 and Eyre 1994: 120 use the terms *synthetic* and *analytic* respectively, which have since fallen out of use in typological studies of language due to their limited descriptive power.

[157]   Junge 2005: 111–113. Johnson 1978: 3–5 presents an interesting interpretation based on transformational grammar. Although now dated, her study presents an interpretation for the difference between the two forms based on deep and surface structure.

[158]   Junge 2005: 207–209, based on Junge 1986, where the ineffectiveness of determining the NIMS based on the *tm* negative is argued.

[159]   Borghouts 1979: 17 discusses the sequential possibilities of the NIMS.

[160]   Assmann 1999a: 60–69 demonstrates the extent to which these three Metafunctions can be more broadly applied to concepts pertaining to Egyptian texts, in this case, hymns. The ideational level is appropriated as "das kognitive (informative) Element des Hymnus", the interpersonal is "das interpersonelle Element" and the textual level is represented in

see, this approach relies on a fairly detailed labelling system which allows the analyst to interpret distinct *functions* in the clause, by which we can "understand how small-scale choices are co-ordinated to make the larger social meanings we call genre".[161]

2.3.3.1   *Ideational*

As a representation of human experience,[162] an *ideational* analysis establishes 'Who did what to whom?' Its focus is therefore on Transitivity,[163] which in Systemic Functional Linguistics refers not only to verbs in which the patient (the direct object) is maximally affected. In a more expanded sense, Transitivity refers to the way different domains of experience are represented through different verb types (here called *Processes*), which in turn require different *Participants* (subjects, objects, etc.).[164] The argument structure of the whole clause is thus taken into consideration, rather than simply the transitivity of the verb. The Processes and their associated Participants shall be explained here with reference to Egyptian examples, in order to show that many of the patterns already derived for English fit well with Egyptian verbs. Naturally, *language-internal* reasons for characterising Process forms are necessary: we must be able to establish a syntactic argument for each category, which represents a different facet of human experience, as can be seen in figure 2.2 below. These Processes can be broadly grouped according to 'doing' (which encompasses mental and behavioural processes), 'sensing' or 'projecting' (under which mental and verbal processes are grouped) and 'being' (which includes existential and relational processes). Also apparent at the ideational level, but across Process types, are *Circumstances*, which are otherwise known as adverbials or Adjuncts.[165]

"das performative Element". The Metafunctions therefore encapsulate the ideas of meaning, speaker roles and pragmatic context within this corpus and demonstrate the descriptive capacity of these categories in a functional context.

[161]   Martin 2000: 70.

[162]   Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 59.

[163]   Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 62, Simpson 2004: 22.

[164]   Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 170, Simpson 2004: 22, Toolan 1988: 234.

[165]   Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 262–263. Possible Circumstances: Extent (of time and place), Location (time and place), Manner (means, quality), Angle, Role, Accompaniment, Cause, Contingency and Matter.
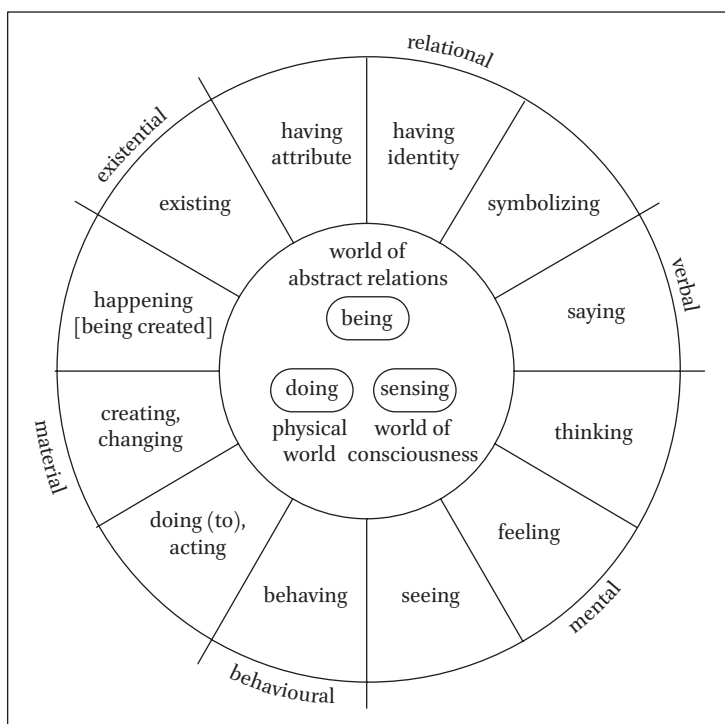
From Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 172), fig. 5.2.

Figure 2.2. Process types in English.

2.3.3.1a *'Doing' Processes*

Material clauses indicate 'doing' and 'happening'.[166] The Participants comprise the *Actor* (the *logical Subject* and 'doer' of the action),[167] the *Goal* (that which is 'done to'), the *Beneficiary* (the thing to which something is given or for whom something is done) and the *Range*, a noun group that defines and completes the verb group.[168] As we see in the following examples from *The Doomed Prince*, when only the Actor is a Participant, the clause represents 'happening' and is intransitive: *wn.jn pꜣ sḏm-ꜥš ḥr šm* "then the servant (Actor) went" (DP035, *LES* 2, 7). Where a Goal is impacted upon, 'doing' is represented and the clause is transitive:[169] *jw≠tw*

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166 Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 179–197.
167 Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 56 differentiate psychological, grammatical and logical Subjects.
168 Eggins 2004: 216–223.
169 Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 180.

ḥr ḏꜣy.t≤f r pꜣ rwd.t jꜣb.t "one (Actor) ferried him (Goal) to the eastern shore" (DP054, *LES* 2, 16).

Behavioural clauses indicate physiological and psychological behaviour. They therefore combine features of mental and material clauses, since the Participant, the *Behaver*, is typically a conscious being, like a Senser (in mental clauses), but the Process, the *Behaviour*, is more like 'doing' (a material Process).[170] Unlike material clauses, the Goal is not acted upon— only a *Range* may provide an extension or elaboration of the process: 'he watched *the television*'.[171] An interesting example, which sits on the border between a behavioural and material process, comes from *The Doomed Prince*. The verb *msy* 'to bear' certainly reflects a physiological act, and therefore a behavioural Process, but as a transitive verb, and in this case, one in the passive voice, it could be seen as requiring a Goal, as in: *bw.pwy msy n≤f sꜣ ṯꜣy* "a son (Goal) had not been born to him (Beneficiary)" (DP001, *LES* 1, 1). However, the interrelation between 'to bear' and 'son' is not what we expect from a material clause: here, the son, by explicating or qualifying the process of bearing, should rather be identified as a *Range*.[172]

2.3.3.1b   *'Sensing' Processes*

Mental clauses indicate conscious experience, such as thinking and wanting.[173] The Participants include the *Senser*, the human or human-like figure that is "endowed with consciousness", and the *Phenomenon*, that which is felt, wanted or perceived.[174] Examples of this type of transitive verb appear frequently in the *Tomb Robbery Papyri*: *bw.pw≤j ptr (j)ḫ.t nb.t* "I (Senser) did not see anything (Phenomenon)".[175]

Verbal clauses portray speaking, and therefore frequently project other clauses.[176] The speaking Participant is the *Sayer*, the *Receiver* is the one to whom the saying is directed, the *Verbiage* is the class or content of what is said and the *Target* is the entity targeted by the process of saying (which makes it somewhat like a Goal).[177] A good—albeit reconstructed— example of these terms comes from *The Doomed Prince*: [*ḥm≤f ꜥ.w.s. ḥr*

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[170] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 250.

[171] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 251.

[172] For a take on the same issue from the perspective of French, see Caffarel 2004: 101.

[173] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 197–210.

[174] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 201, 203.

[175] Papyrus BM 10052, 4, 12–13, in *TR* plate XXVII.

[176] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 255. Mental clauses can also project clauses that define what is being thought about, just like verbal clauses project what is being said.

[177] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 252, 255–256.

dbḥ] *n≠f šrj m-ꜥ nṯr.w n hꜣw≠f* "[His Majesty, l.p.h. (Sayer), requested] for himself (Verbiage)[178] a boy (Target) from the gods of his district (Receiver)" (DP002, *LES* 1, 2).

2.3.3.1c *'Being' Processes*

Existential clauses establish the existence of a sole Participant, the *Existent*.[179] This is matched by the Egyptian Existential Sentence, which is constructed with the verb *wn* 'to be', followed by a noun and an adverbial.[180] We can see this in *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre: jw nn wn nb* "there not being a lord (Existent)" (AS003, *LES* 85, 4). Winand has recently argued for *wn* to be regarded as *presence* rather than existence in a time or place because a thing's existence could not be asserted on an ontological level in Egyptian.[181] This may be so, although I wonder then what the verb *ḥpr* 'to come into being/existence' would mean, if it did not in some way express the development of an ontological status.

Relational clauses correspond to Egyptian Non-Verbal Nominal and Adverbial Sentences, all of which contain a nominal phrase followed by a nominal or adverbial phrase, by which means two entities are equated or described by being placed in apposition to each other.[182] *Relational identifying* clauses, which correspond to Nominal Non-Verbal Sentences, establish relations of identity between two Participants, the *Identified* or *Token* and the *Identifier* or *Value*.[183] This semantic relationship of identification is more visible in the French term—*la prédication de classe*.[184] *Relational attributive* clauses indicate relations of attribution (in other words, the establishment of qualities) between two Participants, the *Carrier* and the *Attribute*.[185] We see this in a clause from *Wenamun: jw≠f mjn <m> tꜣy≠k mr*(.*yt*) "he being moored <in> your harbour" (W285, *LES* 69, 12). *Relational attributive circumstantial* clauses then occur when one Participant is a Circumstance, an example of which comes from *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre: jw wr jppy ꜥ.w.s. m ḥw.t-wꜥr*(.*t*) "the

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[178] If this cannot strictly be considered Verbiage, we would do better to borrow the term Beneficiary from the material Process.

[179] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 256–259.

[180] Junge 2005: 172–173.

[181] Winand 2011: 550.

[182] Junge 2005: 111, 166. For a discussion of the relational semantics of these forms, see particularly Winand 2006: 154 and 158.

[183] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 227.

[184] Vernus 1994b: 325.

[185] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 219.

Chief Apophis (Carrier), l.p.h., (being) in Avaris (Attribute:Circumstance)"
(AS007, *LES* 85, 6).

Causative constructions precede other Processes, and change the
pattern of agency. The person causing the action to occur is the *Initiator*,
and they cause the other Participants, like the Actor and Goal, to be
secondary to the action that is taking place, since they have no control
over the predicated verb form (the causative).[186] This form is common in
the *Late Egyptian Stories*, such as *The Misfortunes of Wenamun: dj≠j pḥ≠w r
km.t* "I (Initiator) caused that they (Actor-Secondary) reach Egypt" (W390,
LES 73, 1).

2.3.3.2   *Interpersonal*

The second function of language is *interpersonal*, which concerns how
an event (the verbal action) is going to happen and when. The clause,
from an interpersonal perspective, is an exchange, "a transaction between
speaker and listener" (for which the Subject is responsible),[187] and is con-
cerned with the mood and modality of the clause.[188] This is quite different
from the expression of content that is more evident at the level of Tran-
sitivity. From an interpersonal perspective, the speaker is commenting
on the speech act, expressing their attitudes and evaluations (*modality*).
To take the categories literally, a proposition that is regarded as *realis*
is expressed using the indicative mood and one that is considered *irrea-
lis* uses non-indicative moods such as the imperative and subjunctive,[189]
though, as we shall see in section 2.3.4.2, context is more important than
verb forms when determining mood in Late Egyptian. The interpersonal
Metafunction also articulates interpersonal relations through the speak-
er's chosen communication role of informing, questioning, persuading or
demanding.[190]

The interpersonal Metafunction in the standard SFL paradigm (for
English) concerns the *Subject* (namely, the *grammatical subject*, which is
predicated by the verbal action),[191] the *Finite* (the conjugated part of the

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[186]   Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 299–300. Eggins 2004: 224 refers to the Initiator as
the Agent, whereas Halliday sees the Agent as the ergative equivalent of both the Initiator
in causative clauses and the Actor in classic material clauses.
[187]   Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 59.
[188]   Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 106.
[189]   Černý & Groll 1993: 162–163 for Late Egyptian, also Uljas 2007: 14–15 for Earlier
Egyptian.
[190]   Halliday 1971: 333.
[191]   Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 56.

verb that conveys mood, tense, modality and polarity), the *Predicator* (the infinitive part of the verb that conveys the action), *Complements* (non-essential Participants of the ideational level, like Goals) and *Adjuncts* (the Circumstances of the ideational level).[192] Also present at this level are *Conjunctive Adjuncts* (conjunctions) and *Vocative Adjuncts* (which call someone's attention).[193] Periphrasis (a feature of analytic Late Egyptian verb forms)[194] displays a similar separation to what we see in English between the Finite and the Predicator. The Subject and Finite form part of the proposition, known as the *Mood Block*, whereas the Predicator, Complements and Adjuncts fit into the *Residue*.[195]

2.3.3.2a *'Finiteness' in Late Egyptian*

Unlike English, upon which SFL is based,[196] the term 'finiteness' is to be used with caution in Ancient Egyptian. Finiteness means that the verb is fully inflected and functions as the main verb of an independent clause, being marked for person, tense or aspect and mood.[197] In Earlier Egyptian, given the great number of nominalised verb forms, "finiteness and non-finiteness are only the extremes on a continuous scale of dependency ... [so] we have to deal with a considerable number of intermediate states".[198] In Late Egyptian, we still have the bare infinitives and participial forms that are clearly non-finite[199] and verb forms (like the Preterite and Prospective) that show finiteness. However, even here, auxiliary verbs often form the conjugation base, like *dj/jmj* for causation and[200] *tm* for negation.[201] The auxiliary *jr*, first associated with verbs of three or more radicals and negative forms, is employed more widely over time.[202] Aspect can be conveyed through the use of *ḥpr* 'become', *wḥm* 'repeat' and the verbs of

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[192] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 115–125.

[193] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 126–134. Other Adjuncts common to English, which are included in the Mood Block, are not found in Egyptian: *Mood Adjuncts* (which indicate the probability of an event) and *Comment Adjuncts* (which indicate the speaker's viewpoint).

[194] Junge 2005: 95–96. For a discussion of the so-called *analytic* tendencies in the Egyptian language, see Schenkel 1990: 95–96.

[195] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 113–114.

[196] Butler 2003: 486–487.

[197] Payne 1997: 306.

[198] Kammerzell 2008: prov. 11.

[199] Loprieno 1995: 86–87.

[200] Junge 2005: 144–147.

[201] Junge 2005: 85–86.

[202] Junge 2005: 95–96. The use of *jr* 'doing' as an auxiliary also seems to appear in the Middle Egyptian narrative verb form *sḏm pw jr.n=f* (lit. "It was a hearing that he did"), which appears in *The Doomed Prince*. See Allen 2000: 168–169 concerning this form.

posture ꜥḥꜥ 'stand up', sḏr 'lie down' and ḥms 'sit down'. This latter group often conveys an inchoative Aktionsart, in other words, the beginning of an action.[203] Modality, on the other hand, is established by means of lexemes such as *jb, mr* and *rḫ*, as we see in section 2.3.4.2 below.[204] The converter *wn* also begins to play a role in establishing temporal relationships.[205] The verbal meaning is then conveyed by the infinitive forms that follow.[206]

In addition, the 'pseudo-verbal clauses' (like the First Present or Third Future), given the total lack of a conjugated verb, have a more intermediate status in terms of finiteness. In First Present clauses that follow the circumstantial converter *jw*, the distinction between 'more finite' (Non-Initial Main Sentence) and 'less finite' (Circumstantial Present) forms is based on discourse factors and not syntactic ones.

This problem of categorisation is not limited to ancient languages such as Egyptian. Finiteness as a concept has in recent times been subjected to much scrutiny, leaving typological linguists to conclude that finiteness can exist at different levels: at the syntactic level, with regard to the interpretation of a sentence construction (known as *semantic finiteness*) and at the morphological level, which takes in the formal properties of the construction (*morphological finiteness*).[207] In our case, the former conforms roughly to the verbal forms and the latter to the pseudo-verbal forms.

2.3.3.3   *Textual*

The *textual* Metafunction expresses the flow of information about a topic, dividing a clause into *Theme* (the point of departure[208] and *psychological subject*,[209] in other words, 'given information') and *Rheme* ('new information').[210] This Metafunction is "concerned with the creation of text", namely, through the way in which information is organised in a clause.[211] The Theme can be further subdivided. The first element to bear a function (as a Participant, Circumstance or Process) at the ideational

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[203] Kruchten 1982 and Winand 2006: 168.
[204] Satzinger 2003: 249–251, Polis 2009: 173.
[205] Schenkel 1990: 101–104 and Winand 2006: 167.
[206] Junge 2005: 83–85 and 95–96.
[207] Maas 2004: 361.
[208] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 58.
[209] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 56.
[210] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 64–65, 93.
[211] Halliday 1971: 334.

level is the *topical Theme*.[212] An element like a Conjunctive Adjunct, which precedes the topical Theme is a *textual Theme* and a vocative like *yꜣ*, which precedes the topical Theme is an *interpersonal Theme*.[213] In *Apophis and Seqenenre*, the clause AS011 provides an example of the textual theme *ꜥḥꜥ.n* being followed by the topical theme *nsw: ꜥḥꜥ.n nsw jppy ꜥ.w.s. ḥr jr n≠f swtḫ m nb* 'Then King Apophis, l.p.h., made for himself Seth as lord' (*LES* 85, 8).

The terminology put forward by a Metafunctional analysis is particularly useful for elaborating semantic features that traditional terminology does not offer. For instance, the word 'Subject' is used here in a very specific sense: it is the element that predicates the action in a clause, whereas the 'Actor' represents the 'doer' in a clause. Definitions of functions are in this way made clear: they can be derived from a corpus of Systemic Functional literature and can be 'replicated' by future studies. Although different linguistic theories form part of the interpretive process, SFL demonstrates its value as the primary method of analysis.

2.3.4   *Egyptological Approaches to the Metafunctions*

These categories of language description seem, at first glance, to be foreign to Egyptian philological scholarship. However, all three levels of analysis are key features of Egyptian language studies, though not always from within the framework of functional linguistics. This goes some way to showing the extent to which Systemic Functional categories correspond to *language-internal* features of Late Egyptian, thereby establishing a basis upon which a linguistic study based on semantics can be built.

2.3.4.1   *Transitivity*

Substantial research has been undertaken regarding the semantic properties of Egyptian verbs. Early categorisations of verbs, manifest in the *Wörterbuch*, consider meaning rather than grammatical potential[214] and are therefore not sufficiently based on language-internal properties.[215]

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[212] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 79.
[213] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 79, 81.
[214] *Wb.* VI 201, 203–206, 215–216, 220–221, list such combinations of verbs as: "leben: bestehen und vergehen" (living: existing and passing), "sprechen und denken" (speaking and thinking) and "sehen und hören" (seeing and hearing).
[215] Hafemann 2001: 154 shows that these categories are not based on the Egyptian language.

As yet few lexicographical studies have concerned themselves with the transitivity (or rather, arguments) of verb forms.[216]

  Sarah Israelit Groll, however, classifies Late Egyptian intransitive verbs according to their syntactic relationships.[217] She concludes, as does Edward F. Wente in his study of 'verbs of motion',[218] that intransitive verbs can be formally distinguished from transitive verbs by being manifest in the First Present, whereas transitive verbs appear in the Preterite form.[219] However, she ties the formal perspective to semantic properties. For instance, intransitive verb groups like verbs of motion, the verb *mwt* 'to die',[220] and adjectival verbs expressing a quality (like *snb* 'to be healthy'), appear in both Stative and *ḥr* + Infinitive forms of the First Present.[221] The semantic variability of verbs that are tied to one form, like the connection of posture verbs with the Stative form, is also illustrated: such forms can portray progressive 'tense' through the use of adverbs like *dy* 'here'.[222] Other verb groups never appear in the Stative, such as verbs of perception, non-conclusive verbs, such as *ꜥm* 'to understand', and verbs of speaking[223] as well as verbs denoting an emotional state.[224] The focus is therefore on the formal capabilities of transitive and intransitive verbs.

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[216] *Wb.* I iv–xvi does not mention transitivity (or indeed most verbal features) in the introduction. It appears in the *Wörterbuch* only when a verb is both transitive and intransitive (*Wb.* I 10) as we see also in Hannig 1995: 8 and Faulkner 1962: 3 (for an example with *ꜣm*). Lesko 2002 and 2004 does not mention it, whereas Junge 2005: 321–361 discusses the transitivity of the verbs in his word list.

[217] Groll 1969: 185. Some of these forms correspond to the Systemic Functional conception of Process types: verbs of motion (and also posture) comprise one part of material Processes, verbs of quality are relational, perception verbs (and perhaps also non-conclusive verbs) are mental, verbs conveying an emotional state are behavioural, speaking verbs are verbal. Interestingly, the category of existential verbs has been omitted.

[218] Wente 1969: 3–4, 12–13 shows that where 'verbs of motion' use the *sḏm=f* form, they are emphatic, through Wente 1969: 13 points out that the verb *jw* 'to come' can be non-emphatic. Winand 1994b: 350 sees Wente's study as a rare attempt at a semantic analysis of the Egyptian language, though he admits that verbs of motion have ceased to be considered as an entirely homogenous group.

[219] Groll 1969: 185. Both past and present tense are manifest in these forms.

[220] Groll 1969: 186 distinguishes between the present perfect and the present continuous, but the former example is missing the Preposition *ḥr*, and therefore could also be read as a Stative.

[221] Groll 1969: 188. Vernus 1984: 172–173 argues for the homogeneity of 'verbes de qualité', but like Groll, Malaise & Winand 1999: 198 regard verbs of motion, quality and those belonging to neither category as behaving in a similar fashion.

[222] Groll 1969: 186–187. It is confusing that Groll uses both the terms 'progressive' and 'continuous', which are taken by most linguists as being interchangeable, for which see Crystal 1997: 310.

[223] Groll 1969: 188.

[224] Junge 2005: 83.

Jean Winand enhances this balance between morpho-syntax and semantics by arguing not only for a closer analysis of the verb forms but for a clear link to a syntactical analysis. Therefore, modality, tense, voice and aspect are realised both through their morphology as well as through elements exterior to the verb, such as adverbs and auxiliaries (in the case of modality), deixis (in the case of tense), arguments/Participants (in the case of voice) and arguments and circumstances (in the case of aspect).[225] Aspect, Winand's particular focus, which refers to the semantic quality of a process' temporality, is also realised at a lexical level in *Aktionsart*,[226] the temporal feature inherent to the verb itself.[227] He incorporates this as part of his greater analysis of Egyptian verbs, based on their *Aktionsart*, valency,[228] interaction with arguments (transitivity)[229] and the semantic quality of the arguments (Participant roles).[230] This approach emphasises the dialectical relationship that exists between the lexicon and grammar.[231] Loprieno recognises the connection between *Aktionsart* and an ideational level of analysis in his early attempt to connect Egyptological linguistics to semantic ideas.[232] He argues for a variety of perspectives to be used to assess the meaning of a clause: the activity of the verb,[233] its perfectivity, which in Late Egyptian occurred also in the comparison between the perfective Sequential/NIMS and the imperfective Conjunctive.[234]

Ingelore Hafemann also focuses on the interplay (*Zusammenspiel*) between semantics and syntax with reference to Egyptian locomotive

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[225] Winand 1994b: 351.

[226] Winand 1994b: 351, 353. Aspect, as discussed by Winand 1994b: 360, is manifest at two levels: it is realised at the level of proposition (in *Aktionsart* and in the form of the arguments) and at the level of the statement (in the grammatical aspect and in the possible circumstances).

[227] Malaise & Winand 1999: 205–206 and 208.

[228] The idea of valency, namely, what Crystal 1997: 407 sees as the number of syntactic elements (subject, direct object, etc.) that a verb can take in a given situation, is expanded in Winand 1999: 262–264, 267–268.

[229] Winand 1994b: 357 discusses transitivity within the more general conception of *diathèse*.

[230] Winand 1994b: 356. In this way, Winand 1994b: 350 presents aspect as being linked to semantic categories, but he is attempting to transcend the idea launched by Loprieno 1986a: 162, that semantic qualities of aspect comprise merely an opposition between action and state.

[231] Winand 1999: 259.

[232] Loprieno 1986b: 261 says that "the easiest way of getting in touch with *Aktionsart* features is to analyse the government of verbal forms and their syntactic/pragmatic restrictions". See also Crystal 1997: 29.

[233] Winand 2000: 404 and 408–409. On page 409, he argues that "ce sont les procès téliques qui font avancer l'action".

[234] Winand 2000: 406–407.

verbs.[235] She argues that, in addition to the syntactic focus on valency,[236] the morphosyntactic and semantic qualities of the Participants should also be included in verbal classification.[237] To do this, Hafemann applies Fillmore's Case Grammar,[238] which analyses the "semantically relevant syntactic relationships involving nouns and the structures that contain them", called "case relationships".[239] However, linguists abandoned this paradigm in the 1970s due to the difficulties in formalizing this conception of linguistic structure, making the terminology, as well as references to 'deep' and 'surface structure',[240] of limited use.[241] In more recent times, however, Hafemann has applied functional categories with more contemporary currency, based on those proposed for German by Jörg Meibauer and colleagues.[242] Irrespective of the framework being used, Hafemann's focus on identifying the semantic relations between verbs and their arguments/Participants,[243] as well as 'internal' semantic and aspectual characteristics,[244] is key to a functional approach to language. In advocating the importance of a semantic focus for the analysis of grammatical forms, she concedes that semantic ideas correspond to a broad spectrum of syntactic structures, which necessitates a methodological approach that takes into account the range of a word's possible meanings.[245]

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[235] Hafemann 2001: 163–205. The verbal categories established by Hafemann 2001: 159–160 are *Zustandsverben* (state verbs), *Vorgangsverben* (process verbs) and *Tätigkeitsverben* (activity verbs), which include *Handlungsverben* (action verbs), *Fortbewegungsverben* (locomotive verbs), *active Kommunikationsverben* (communication verbs) and *zielgerichtete Handlungen* (objective-driven actions), as well as *Verursachungsverben* (causative verbs).

[236] Hafemann 2001: 163–164, referring to Winand 2003: 289.

[237] Hafemann 2001: 156, Hafemann 2006: 349 maintains that "Die Schnittstelle zwischen Syntax und Semantik bildet die Argumentstruktur".

[238] Hafemann 2001: 156–157.

[239] Fillmore 1968: 5. The 'cases' Fillmore 1968: 24–25 isolates are: Agentive, Instrumental, Dative (which Crystal 1997: 143 says was later called Experiencer, as in Hafemann 2001: 157), Factitive (which Crystal 1997: 332 says was later termed Result but Hafemann 2001: 157 calls Patiens), Locative and Objective.

[240] Hafemann 2001: 157, as in Fillmore 1968: 21.

[241] Crystal 1997: 54. Moreover, the emphasis given to the semantic meaning of the verbs covered in the so-called 'deep structure', in Hafemann 2001: 158, is dealt with here under Systemic Transitivity.

[242] The categories used by Hafemann 2006: 352 are Agentiv/Agens, Force, Experiencer, Objektiv/Thema, Patiens, Instrument, Lokativ, Source/Path/Goal and Possessor, though Geilfuss-Wolfgang 2002: 151, to whom she is ostensibly referring, splits Source/Path/Goal into Quelle and Ziel, and also adds Rezipient, but omits Force and Lokativ. For the theoretical foundations of the work, see Meibauer & Steinbach 2002: 3 and 12–13.

[243] Hafemann 2001: 157, 164.

[244] Hafemann 2001: 159.

[245] Hafemann 2001: 162–163, 207.

The semantically-oriented studies undertaken to this point have greatly contributed to our understanding of the relationship between meaning and form in the Egyptian language and thereby help to build a foundation for this work.

2.3.4.2 *Mood and Modality*

Mood refers to "the degree of reality which the speaker is willing to assign to his statements, the degree to which it can be expected, or desired, or merely recognised as possible".[246] Though a crucial feature of the language, mood is not overtly morphosyntactically marked in Egyptian, or rather, even if morphologically distinct, the context of the form is crucial in determining its meaning.[247] Likewise, there are myriad means of expressing "epistemic modalities, that is, those that concern the degree of certainty attributed to the event reported".[248] Modal adverbs are not used[249] and modal verb forms are not clearly defined, since the 'modal' Prospective *sḏm=f* can be both a subjunctive[250] and a future form.[251] Moreover, the argument taken by the verb often has an impact. When the Subject is a first person pronoun, the Prospective conveys a *volitive* future,[252] connected to permission, prohibition or obligation (*deontic* modality, in other words),[253] when it is a second person pronoun, its meaning is *optative*[254] and when it is a third person pronoun, it conveys *jussive* quality as well as probability (or *epistemic* modality).[255]

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[246] Junge 2005: 118.

[247] Polis 2009: 52–53. Although the Imperative is morphologically distinct, Polis 2009: 47–48 points out that its meaning is not always purely jussive. The determination of the Prospective as 'optative', as we see in Černý & Groll 1993: 162, as Polis 2009: 46 points out, is based on the Coptic incarnation of the form.

[248] Satzinger 2003: 245, also Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 146–150, as well as Palmer 2001: 8.

[249] Satzinger 2003: 245.

[250] Jansen-Winkeln 1995: 52–53 and 60 and Winand 2000: 413, who argues that: "Dans la narration, le subjonctif peut être employé en position non autonome, pour marquer le but ou la conséquence, ou derrière une préposition-conjonction".

[251] Vernus 1990b: 16, Junge 2005: 137, 138.

[252] Junge 2005: 138, though Polis 2009: 168 renders volition as fitting within a broader semantic domain of *engagement*, which limits the cases in Late Egyptian of pure volition. Loprieno 1986b: 266 emphasises the importance of grammatical person on modality: "Modal forms can be expected to occur mostly in the 1st and in the 2nd person, which are the normal addresses of an 'emotive' or a 'conative' modal feature and the most topical, referential persons within the discourse".

[253] Crystal 1997: 109, Vernus 1990b: 16 and 26, Winand 1992: 214, Junge 2005: 137 and David 2006: 12. For a discussion of deontic modality, see Palmer 2001: 70.

[254] Polis 2009: 240.

[255] Polis 2009: 235–236. See also Palmer 2001: 24–25.

However, the Third Future can also convey volitive meaning in the first person (where the speaker and agent are identical): 'I will say' > 'I want to say' (*jw≠j r ḏd*). In the second or third person (where the speaker and agent are not identical) the meaning is *jussive:*[256] 'you will say' > 'you are to say' (*jw≠k r ḏd*) and 'he will say' > 'he is to say' (*jw≠f r ḏd*).[257] The cline in modality depending on the Subject[258] demonstrates how modality rarely has a firm syntactic basis,[259] and is substantially reliant on co-text and context.[260]

Possibility, permission and obligation are also expressed by the Middle Egyptian Aorist, Circumstantial, imperfective (noun clauses), imperfective participles and relative form (attributive clauses), as well as the Contingent forms.[261] Additionally, in Late Egyptian, the Conjunctive *mtw≠f sḏm* extends sentences which "request and predict, express desires and intentions" by following the Imperative, Causative Imperative, Prospective, Third Future, Negative Aorist, Terminative and the 'Not yet' form.[262] Though commonly believed to adopt the predicative qualities of the preceding verb form,[263] the Conjunctive is often used in a conditional (or at least modal) fashion.[264] When it follows the Non-Initial Main Sentence, to which it is paradigmatically related,[265] the Conjunctive can portray habitual

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[256] Crystal 1997: 209 links this quality to commands.

[257] For this see especially Satzinger 2003: 245–246. Additionally, Vernus 1990b: 9 and 25 and Junge 2005: 262, referring to Papyrus BM 10052, 8, 21–23, present the *deontic* meaning of the Third Future (linked to obligation) as occurring irrespective of person, though it is used especially with third person pronouns.

[258] Junge 2005: 124 and Polis 2006: 236, with examples 239–240.

[259] Junge 1978: 102–103. Although this conclusion is based on Middle Egyptian, the conclusion is equally applicable to Late Egyptian.

[260] Polis 2006: 324 and Polis 2009: 274. This context can be quite specific: as Polis 2009: 118 points out, uncertainty is relayed via the Third Future in interrogative propositions.

[261] Satzinger 2003: 246.

[262] Loprieno 1990: 7, Winand 1992: 442–443 and Junge 2005: 149, 232–234, 236–237.

[263] Borghouts 1979: 15.

[264] Sauneron 1962: 59 draws conclusions about the conditional quality of the Conjunctive based on assessing examples that follow the negative Imperative (Prohibitive) in wisdom texts. Borghouts 1979: 16, note 15, is skeptical, noting that the passages could be just as easily be rendered by 'and that' rather than implying a consequence or intention. However, Sauneron 1962: 63 demonstrates that often the thing being prohibited is not in the clause following the Prohibitive, but in the one following the Conjunctive, so intention is more likely to be implied than sequence or thematic linkage.

[265] Loprieno 1995: 95–96 sees the Conjunctive as the modal counterpart of the temporal *jw≠f ḥr sḏm* and Borghouts 1979: 15–17 clarifies this further by stipulating that though it is semantically 'additive', the Conjunctive's focus is elaborative rather than chronological. On the other hand, however, Borghouts 1979: 19–20 supplies some examples of the Conjunctive being used in a sequential fashion. As Polis 2009: 428 shows, the Conjunctive

action[266] or express a modal quality that Winand calls *inférentiel*[267] or *médiaphorique*.[268] By expressing "the speaker's attitude towards the reality of the facts sequentially fixed with regard to the SP [Starting Point: the necessary preceding verb]",[269] the form implies the speaker's indirect reference to a proposition[270] and was therefore chosen to attain distance from the event in question.[271] The Conjunctive is tied to incomplete action (*inaccompli*),[272] which also helps clarify why it appears so often after future forms.[273]

In the Late Egyptian Emphatic Form, the verb, in the form of *j-sḏm=f* (by now limited to a small set of verbs) or the periphrastic *j-jr=f sḏm* that replaced it, is followed by an emphasised adverbial form.[274] The modal qualities of these forms have long been recognised: they are regarded as "emphatic correlates" of the Prospective, Third Future and Imperative.[275] They therefore often convey modal properties like will, injunction,

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can be either *épistémique* or *médiaphorique*, values which reveal two different cognitive processes.

[266] Wente 1962: 306, Borghouts 1979: 20–21 and Winand 2001: 301, 306 and 308.

[267] Winand 2001: 313–316, though it is clear that not all examples convey such meaning. The example from Papyrus Mayer B 1, for example, conveys neither habitual nor hypothetical action. Winand 2001: 316 suggests that it conveys the speaker's surprise, but it seems that the Conjunctive is being used here, as in some of its uses with other verbal forms, to extend the qualities of the preceding form.

[268] Hagège 1995: 15–16 coins this term to express situations when a speaker "n'assume pas son propos, c'est-à-dire renvoie (*-phore*) de manière non immédiate (*média-*)", by which he means that the proposition is "médiat entre lui-même e*t* son énonciation".

[269] Borghouts 1979: 17.

[270] Winand 2000: 414. However, the nature of this sequencing, Winand 2000: 426 explains, is based on semantic and cognitive grounds. See also Winand 2001: 320.

[271] Winand 2001: 316–319, also 321, but also Borghouts 1979: 22. This distance is on the grounds, Winand 2000: 407 argues, that the form's "veracité n'est pleinement garantie". The importance seems to lie, therefore, also with the pragmatic factors of the utterance.

[272] Winand 2001: 324.

[273] Borghouts 1979: 20 sees the connection between Conjunctive and Future forms as being that "futural events are not (yet) surveyable in an (objective) chronological setting".

[274] Winand 1992: 283–285 and Cassonnet 2000: 235–236. As Junge 1989: 11–12 explains, the 'Polotskyan' paradigm saw these forms as Adverbial Non-Verbal Sentences, in which the nominalised verb form was the 'Subject' and the following emphasised adverbial form the 'Predicate'. However, scholars like Vernus 1997: 32 have argued that this paradigm does not recognise the structure of focalisation, that it is reductionist and that it confuses syntactic etymology with synchronic function. Vernus 1997: 33–34 and Cassonnet 2000: 10 demonstrate that the verb form has tense, aspect and mood, and should therefore not be regarded as "nominal".

[275] Winand 1992: 274–276, Vernus 1997: 37 and Cassonnet 2000: 212–215 and 229–230.

obligation, wish and possibility,[276] or even, at a broader (external) level, a speaker's impression of their proposition.[277] However, we must also take diachrony into account, since in the early Ramesside Period, modality was syntactically liked to *j-sḏm-f*, but when it was merged with the (previously non-modal) *j-jr-f sḏm* in the 20th Dynasty,[278] the modal properties of this periphrastic Emphatic Form became determined based only on context. The Emphatic Form expresses causation, concurrent action,[279] even conditions,[280] so its semantic possibilities are based on what is being prioritised in the clause complex (the co-text), as well as the wider context.[281] Priority is often based on context,[282] though when several adverbials and circumstantial clauses follow the Emphatic Form, it has been argued that emphasis usually falls on the adverbial not closely bound to the preceding verbal form,[283] a feature not abundantly manifest in this corpus. In addition to verbal forms that can manifest 'modality', modal auxiliary verbs, which are usually followed by the Infinitive or the Prospective, are also used in Egyptian: *ȝb* 'to wish', *jb* 'heart' > with suffix pronoun, 'to want to', *mr* 'to love/desire', *wḫȝ* 'to want to', *rḫ* 'to be able to'.[284] We see this in *Apophis and Seqenenre*: *jb-f r* [*hȝb*] *md.t thȝ.w <n> nsw sḳnn-rꜥ* "his (Apophis') wish was to [send] an offensive message <to> King Seqenenre" (*LES* 86, 2).

Egyptian modality can also be appraised from a pragmatic perspective. Sami Uljas studies complement clauses of Earlier Egyptian in order to isolate the conditions in which *opinion* about a proposition is conveyed.[285] He

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[276] Cassonnet 2000: 218 and 223 notes that will, injunction, obligation and wish are present in the form *j-sḏm-f*, whereas the form *j-jr-f sḏm* conveys will, injunction and obligation, as well as possibility (through periphrasis of the verb *rḫ*). See also Polis 2009: 328.

[277] Winand 1992: 275 and Cassonnet 1994: 37 and 48. Therefore, *contra* Nims 1968: 162, *j-sḏm-f* forms cannot be limited to designating customary action.

[278] Winand 1992: 282–285 and Cassonnet 1994: 218.

[279] Junge 1989: 53 and Uljas 2007: 355 propose using 'when' or 'whenever', but as Junge points out, their use requires the following circumstantial emphasised element to be presented as an independent (main) clause. The translation therefore has little correlation to the original form.

[280] Cassonnet 2000: 6. Widmer 1999: 177–179 shows that this became increasingly apparent in Demotic.

[281] Cassonnet 1994: 38, 47 and 52.

[282] Polotsky 1957: 110, note 1. In recent times, Cassonnet 2001: 49–58 has concluded that circumstantial forms can follow the emphasised element, some of which are emphasised and some of which are not emphasised. Context is naturally the determining consideration.

[283] Junge 1974: 38, followed by Vittmann 1977: 29.

[284] Satzinger 2003: 249–251, Polis 2009: 173.

[285] Uljas 2007: 18–19.

concludes that "asserted complements", towards which speakers express commitment, are introduced by the realis operators *n.tt/wnt*, whereas "non-asserted complements" use the bare *sḏm=f* forms.[286] Modality is also conveyed through the Emphatic *mrr=f* and 'Future'/Subjunctive *sḏm=f*.[287] However, the theory is restricted to Earlier Egyptian, when 'complementisers' like *n.tt* and *wnt* were still used,[288] in order to organise complement clauses based on modality,[289] a focus which restricts the theory's broader application. Additionally, this model has been countered, amongst others, by Helmut Satzinger, who argues that for the majority of forms in Earlier Egyptian, *syntactic* features determine whether *n.tt* or *wnt* are used or not. The only forms in which pragmatics play a role in the formation of object clauses are the Perfect and the Aorist.[290] And even then, in the cases where the choice is possible, in the Perfect, the use of *n.tt* or *wnt* is restricted to certain verbs[291] and in the Aorist there seem to be diachronic factors at work.[292]

As in many languages, 'modal' forms and their manner of usage must be taken as two different things in Late Egyptian,[293] since both mood and modality must be traced beyond a verb's form in the co-text and context, such as auxiliaries and arguments.

2.3.4.3 *Theme*

Theme has received more attention from Egyptologists than the other levels of meaning, due to its applicability to a general semantic approach to language.[294] However, we must remember that there are two unmarked Late Egyptian forms, one subject-initial and the other verb-initial.[295] The unmarked Rheme in either case is the Predicate and the Theme is the Subject,[296] since the Theme must be both the point of departure of the clause and the 'given' information.[297] This content-based approach

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[286] Uljas 2007: 24.
[287] Uljas 2007: 339–340.
[288] Kammerzell & Peust 2002: 304–305, Uljas 2007: 343.
[289] Uljas 2007: 341.
[290] Satzinger 2010: 23–27.
[291] Satzinger 2010: 29.
[292] Satzinger 2010: 31.
[293] Junge 1978: 95.
[294] Loprieno 1986b and Satzinger 1991.
[295] Satzinger 1991: 294, Loprieno 1988b: 41 and Schenkel 1990: 129.
[296] Vernus 1991: 334.
[297] Junge 1989: 43–44, also David 2006: 9. From a Coptic perspective, see Shisha-Halevy 1986: 70–71.

precludes an analysis of the other side of the textual Metafunction—that of *information flow*—what actually comes first in the clause.[298] Nonetheless, motivated prominence, or 'foregrounding',[299] can be established. As mentioned in the discussion of prominence in Egyptian clauses in section 2.3.2.2c, the Theme is marked ('topicalised')[300] through 'frontal extraposition' with the particle *jr*.[301] The Rheme is marked ('focalised')[302] through the use of Nominal (Non-Verbal) and Cleft Sentences,[303] as well as with Emphatic Forms *j-sḏm꞊f* and *j-jr꞊f sḏm*.[304] Less marked than 'topicalisation' is 'thematisation', where emphasis is placed on an otherwise unmarked Theme. In this case, the emphasised element can be placed at the head of the clause (anaphora), as in *tꜣ꞊n pḥ.n sw* "Our land, we have reached it"[305] or at the end of the clause (cataphora).[306]

Therefore, there is a clear foundation of Egyptological research for every aspect of this study: ideational, interpersonal and textual Meta-functions, which are manifest in Transitivity, Mood and Theme. We will now expand on these advances in two ways: firstly, by combining these interrelated units in order to conduct a Metafunctional analysis and secondly, by applying this analysis to whole texts in order to draw *literary* conclusions.

2.3.5   *The Link between Syntax and Semantics*

Egyptologists like Pascal Vernus, Jean Winand and Ingelore Hafemann have attempted to rectify the lack of focus on the semantic dimension of the Egyptian language[307] and thereby counter the prevailing opinion that "il existe une *indépendance* relativement grande de la syntaxe vis-à-vis de

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[298] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 64–65.
[299] Halliday 1971: 339–340.
[300] Junge 1989: 44–45.
[301] Vernus 1991: 335 defines the marked Theme as the Predicate, second Participant or Circumstance, which makes the Rheme the Subject or Circumstance. See also Malaise & Winand 1999: 670 and Junge 2005: 250–265.
[302] Junge 1989: 44–45.
[303] Vernus 1991: 336–339, Neveu 1994: 192 and Malaise & Winand 1999: 673–679. Ritter 1994: 246 suggests that the *jn* (or *m*) that often precedes Cleft Sentences could be seen as a case marker that designates the Agent. The terminology makes sense, but I would not go so far as to call the Egyptian Cleft Sentence a 'copular construction' (as in Ritter 1994: 248), despite the need for equivalent descriptive terms across languages.
[304] Vernus 1991: 339, Cassonnet 1994: 35, Malaise & Winand 1999: 679–682 and Casson-net 2001: 45.
[305] Malaise & Winand 1999: 668.
[306] Malaise & Winand 1999: 672.
[307] Vernus 1990b: v–vi, Winand 1994b: 349 and Hafemann 2001: 162.

la sémantique, ou plutôt une sujétion de la sémantique à la syntaxe".[308] Vernus argues for the "unraveling of the intricate systems of values that match the no less intricate systems of morphosyntactic patterns. More generally, it could help to set up a '*sémantique de la syntaxe*', which remains a task of paramount importance".[309] Significantly, the theory that he espouses in order to take this approach is very similar in its functional focus to Systemic Functional Linguistics.[310] The three grammatical 'points of view' that the linguist Claude Hagège expounds are *morphosyntaxique* (which corresponds to Halliday's interpersonal Metafunction), *sémantico-référentiel* (the ideational Metafunction) and *énonciatif-hiérarchique* (the textual Metafunction). The connection between Metafunctions/points of view is also emphasised: "Les règles de construction des énoncés ne sont pas indépendantes du sens qu'ils expriment, ni des choix qui organisent l'information".[311] The functional categories corresponding to these levels are also identical.[312] There is some difference in the isolation of the Processes,[313] but the focus on the valency of verbs and their orientation to Participants is similar.[314] We can conclude from this that these approaches have shared origins—in the Prague School of Roman Jakobson.[315] Vernus has thus come some way in proposing a semantically-based system of grammatical analysis, which attempts to "explain the impact that it [a text] makes: why it means what it does, and why it gives the particular impression that it does".[316] However, despite such headway, to the best of my knowledge, no Egyptian text has yet been subjected to a functional analysis in the manner Vernus proposes.

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[308] Winand 1994b: 349.

[309] Vernus 1990b: vii.

[310] Vernus 1990b: vii.

[311] Hagège 1985: 213.

[312] Hagège 1985: 208–209 makes this clear by stating: "Souvent, en effet (mais non toujours, cependant), le mot fonctionnant comme *sujet* du point de vue 1 est aussi celui qui représente, du point de vue 2, le *participant*, et, du point de vue 3, le *thème*. La même correspondance existera donc, symétriquement, entre le *prédicat* (point de vue 1), le *procès* (2) et le *rhème* (3)." (Italics author's own.)

[313] Hagège 1985: 214 outlines the key terms. We could see *équatif* as relational identifying, *attributif* as relational attributive, *situatif* as relational attributive circumstantial and *existentiel* as existential. *Descriptif* is perhaps similar to behavioural, and *actif* seems to encapsulate material, verbal and mental clauses. The variant taxonomy may be due to fundamental differences between English and French verbs.

[314] Lemaréchal 1989: 14–15.

[315] Jakobson 1987: 66–68, 71.

[316] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 658.

Although useful for determining the tense, aspect, mood and voice of a verb, formal grammatical terminology does not explore a verb's transitive potential (who is involved?) or its intended meaning (what type of action/state does it convey?). Systemics has established a functional terminology for this very purpose, which correlates with the formal categories, as we can see in figure 2.3 below. For instance, Antonio Loprieno, the only Egyptological linguist to attempt to apply Systemic Functional categories to the Egyptian language so far, makes some salient points about why a functional analysis supersedes syntax. In regard to tense and mood, "a [+PAST] or [+MOD] feature is not necessarily conveyed by a synthetic modification of the verbal form, but also by analytic procedures such as the insertion of a lexeme, which may lead to a summing up of interpersonal features (e.g. *mk* [+MOD] *ḥꜣb.n=j* [+PAST])".[317] Similarly, the Passive appears in the co-text, based on an absent Actor and prominent Goal.[318]

All this being noted, when analysing a full-length prose work, it is nonetheless clear that a syntactic analysis is necessary in order to interpret the intended meaning. Halliday himself argued that "A Discourse Analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text".[319] Syntactic analysis tells us how the text was written; namely, which forms are chosen in which situations, and there-
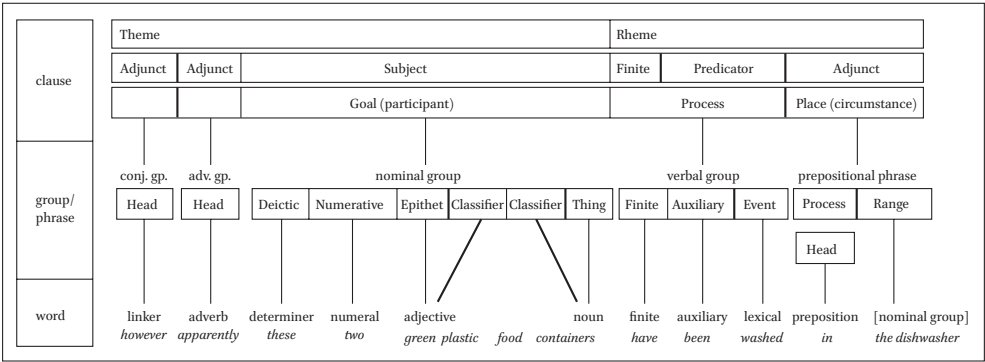
From Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 54), fig. 2.10.

Figure 2.3. The link between formal and functional grammatical categories in English.

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[317] Loprieno 1986b: 261, referring to Gardiner 1957: 330.
[318] Loprieno 1986b: 265.
[319] Halliday 1994: xvi.

fore which forms are *omitted*,[320] what grammatical functions the chosen forms fulfil, as well as how the text was structured overall. This can also help us with comparisons across different works. The role of Systemics is complementary, helping to "establish certain regular patterns, on a comparative basis, in the form of differences which appear significant over a broad canvas".[321] A Systemic Functional analysis, therefore, "is not an interpretation of that text; it is an explanation",[322] which enunciates why particular forms may have been used and not others.

Therefore, we can see that in textual study we must analyse form in order to understand the meaning potential of the content[323] and, from the other side, be open to the semantic potential of different syntactic configurations, which many linguistic studies still avoid.[324] Functional terminology allows the semantic level of the language to be accessed in a systematic manner and thus complements a formal grammatical analysis of the texts.

2.3.6 *The Stylistic Domain: Tying Narrative to a Linguistic Analysis*

The employment of the Systemic Functional paradigm in studies of modern Western literature, a field of analysis known as Stylistics,[325] was developed in part by the founder of Systemics, Michael Halliday[326] and

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[320] Fairclough 2002 [1992]: 44 notes that Systemic Functional analysis is concerned as much with what is *omitted* from texts as what is included. I would concur, particularly in view of a consciously-written, closed corpus like a series of literary texts. I would nonetheless stress that the absence of evidence is not the evidence of absence—particularly in cases in which the texts bear substantial lacunae.

[321] Halliday 1971: 358.

[322] Halliday & Hasan 1976: 372.

[323] Leech 1983: 46 stresses the interdependence between formalism and functionalism, whereas Fairclough 2002 [1992]: 46 reaches back to the Saussurean underpinnings of functional grammar and explains their connection in semiotic terms: "the signifier (form) and signified (content) constitute a dialectical and hence inseparable unity in the sign, so that one-sided attention to the signified is blind to the essential material side of meaning, and one-sided attention to the signifier (as in much linguistics) is blind to the essential meaningfulness of forms".

[324] Winand 1994b: 349. To this end, this study relies on well-attested aspects of Egyptian language, such as the semantic equivalence of Preterite and First Present + Infinitive forms, for which see Groll 1975–6: 238 and 245–246.

[325] Simpson 2004: 75. Naturally, however, as Ullmann 1964: 3–5 points out, the term has been in use by German literary scholars since the 19th Century and is taken by Ullmann 1964: 10–23 as a "parallel science to linguistics" that focuses on the stylistics of sounds, words and syntax, but is used to discuss stylistic devices. 'Stylistics' is now used for a related but more specific field of enquiry.

[326] Halliday 1971 comprises a close grammatical study of William Golding's *The Inheritors*, which is considered to be one of the earliest exponents of the 'stylistic method'.

thus understandably draws on the idea that "individual genres of lit-
erature . . . are in part defined by special and recurrent configurations of
transitivity".[327] This focus on grammar as a means of uncovering the nar-
rative, textual and also communicative devices used in literary texts, as
we shall see, can be effectively applied to Egyptian literary texts, and in
so doing addresses the issue of ancient writing methods, a topic isolated
as important, but heretofore not addressed in great detail.[328]

2.3.6.1   *Stylistics as an Analytical Tool for Characterisation*

Paul Simpson's method of stylistic analysis, or "narrative description", is
broken into six overlapping units, all of which tie categories from SFL
to literary concerns. The first three units lie in the extra-textual realm
of context: *textual medium* is the physical channel of communication (in
this case papyrus), the *sociolinguistic code* is the "historical, cultural and
linguistic setting which frames a narrative" and *intertextuality* refers to
"allusion" to other texts.[329] As is discussed in section 2.4, the grammati-
cal analyses within the coming chapters will be considered in light of the
social, historical and literary contexts of each tale to form well-rounded
conclusions about characterisation.

The other three units lie within the textual realm. The first level of anal-
ysis, to be equated with the Systemic dimension of Transitivity (ideational
analysis), is *characterisation 1: actions and events*, "how the development
of character precipitates and intersects with the actions and events of a
story"[330] by attributing semantic processes like 'doing', 'thinking' and 'say-
ing' to particular characters and narrators. The second level, partly cor-
responding to Mood (interpersonal analysis), is called *characterisation
2: point of view*. It "explores the relationship between mode of narration
(first, second or third person) and a character or narrator's 'point of view'
(perspective)".[331] Lastly, *textual structure*, the Systemic Metafunction
Theme (textual analysis), "accounts for the way individual narrative units

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Simpson 2004: 75 argues that: "By using narrative discourse as a test site for a particular
model of language, it [Halliday's study] illustrates the usefulness of stylistic analysis as a
way of exploring both literature *and* language".

[327] Simpson 2004: 120.

[328] Baines 2009: 27, with reference to *Wenamun*, makes a case for the importance of
understanding communicative strategy in particular in Egyptian literary texts.

[329] Simpson 2004: 20–21.

[330] This idea is also apparent in earlier 'stylistic' studies, such as Ullmann 1964: 6.

[331] Simpson 2004: 20–21.

are arranged and organised in a story".[332] Though Simpson's categories of analysis approximate those of SFL within the literary dimension, they are not as closely tied to categories of the language, particularly 'categorisation 2', which does not sufficiently account for mood and modality. Thus, though this work operates with the same perspective as Stylistics, because they focus more on distinct features of the language, the categories of SFL shall be adhered to. The development of stylistic studies demonstrates that the application of Systemic Functional categories to narrative texts can help us understand characterisation at grammatical and contextual levels.

2.3.6.2   *Ideational Analysis. Character as Actor*

One of the key features we seek to understand in a character is their role in the narrative. In functional terms, this corresponds to the way in which a character is "the sum of his parts or functions in the plot".[333] This factor is particularly appropriate for an analysis of Egyptian literature, where few, if any, indications of the cognitive processes of the characters are given. On the other hand, we could argue that even so, characters are more than 'functions' of the plot,[334] being created to narrativise the human struggle or to satirise people or society.

This focus on character and incident[335] corresponds, in Systemic Functionalism, to the analysis of Transitivity in narrative,[336] which is the Metafunctional level of *ideation*. The key to such an analysis is the concept of *style as choice*: why, when there are many ways to describe an event, is one type of structure preferred to another?[337] What kind of action/state is being expressed? Does the quality of the action differ according to whether it is being described in narration (external representation)[338]

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[332] Simpson 2004: 20–21.
[333] Docherty 1983: 54, and see also Bal 1997: 197–201.
[334] Propp 1968 [1928]: 21.
[335] This perspective is encapsulated most memorably in the *bon mot* by James 1888: 392–393, "What is character but the determination of incident? What is incident but the illustration of character?"
[336] Simpson 2004: 74, Toolan 1998: 75–104.
[337] Toolan 1988: 113 and Simpson 2004: 22–26. Simpson refers to the *experiential* level of the language when most Systemic Functional scholars refer to the *ideational* level. To clarify, the *ideational* Metafunction is composed of both *experiential* and *logical* categories. The former concerns meaning within the clause, and the latter concerns meaning between clauses. For more detail regarding this matter, see Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 29 and Eggins 2004: 206.
[338] Nikolajeva 2002: 182.

or in dialogue? A character may be influential in a course of events or detached from it altogether as a passive observer of the events that unfold around them.[339] For the purpose of clarity, the focus rests on clauses where the character is a principal Participant, and thus the main 'doer' in a clause.[340] This being said, though many characters are Actors, many do not bear much consideration in terms of characterisation,[341] so this analysis focuses primarily on the main human characters.

The insights yielded by an ideational analysis, however, can be enriched also with reference to other models of linguistic study. For instance, when analysing the Sayer in a verbal clause, this issue gains most meaning from the perspective of Conversation Analysis (CA),[342] a methodology linked to pragmatics. Most salient here is the issue of *turn-taking*, which monitors how discourse shifts between interlocutors turn by turn.[343] It presupposes that the ideal mode of discourse is for an orderly transition between interlocutors, who 'take their turn' at a *transition relevance place* (TRP).[344] Occasions on which this does not occur, or when the conversation is monopolised by one speaker, can be particularly illuminating in terms of characterisation, as we shall see in the discussion of *Wenamun* in chapter 5.

The revelatory powers of such a study illustrate why we should not undermine the importance of a character study in Egyptian texts. Characters, however 'functional', are drawn, coloured, and vivified by the prose, and their representation and interaction is thus an important feature of a literary analysis, and a point of significant interest for the reader, even when not strictly relevant to plot progression.[345]

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[339] Simpson 2004: 74–75, as well as Toolan 1988: 112.

[340] In relational attributive possessive and relational identifying possessive clauses, the Possession rather than the Possessor is the principal Participant in the Transitivity analysis. Though the character who is the Possessor has no *linguistic agency* they have what van Leeuwen 2002 [1996]: 302–303 calls *sociological agency*: they are the focus of the clause as a Possessor. See the analysis of *Wenamun* in section 5.3.1.

[341] Chatman 1978: 127 and Bal 1997: 195.

[342] Levinson 1983: 294 favours the methodology developed by Conversation Analysis (CA) over that of Discourse Analysis (DA) for the study of the pragmatics of conversation on the grounds that CA is based on inductive study of data whereas DA deductively applies linguistic theory to more limited data: "Conversation is not a structural product in the same way that a sentence is—it is rather the outcome of the interaction of two or more independent, goal-directed individuals, with often divergent interests".

[343] Levinson 1983: 297 defines *turns* as "syntactic units (sentences, clauses, noun phrases and so on) identified as turn-units in part by prosodic, and especially intonational, means".

[344] Levinson 1983: 297, also O'Barr 1984: 268–269 and Herman 1991: 101.

[345] Toolan 1988: 97.

2.3.6.3 *Interpersonal Analysis. Character as Interlocutor*

The discourse engaged in by the speaking characters, which are often the most developed,[346] provides another key to their characterisation.[347] A character's speech can be seen as autonomous, both verbally and semantically.[348] The use of particular moods may indicate their status,[349] and direct speech can establish them as "an independent individual, speaking on their own behalf in fully their own terms".[350] Characters (naturally by means of the authors who speak through them)[351] thus establish power relations primarily through their discourse.[352] We should therefore be aware of the people to whom a character speaks, the form, content and outcome of their discourse, and whether what they say corresponds to what they are portrayed as doing.[353] In the following discussion, we shall see that the content of speech acts and their level of directness, as well as *subjective* forms of narration, are particularly productive means of analysing characters.

2.3.6.3a *Mood in Discourse*

The manner in which a message is conveyed as well as the message itself is significant for understanding characterisation via the power relations that characters establish with each other.[354] Most particularly, the use (or avoidance) of the imperative mood has been a focal point for stylisticians and discourse analysts: "The effect of realizing a command by an imperative is quite different to realizing it through an alternative mood".[355] Less 'direct' speech acts combine the *discourse semantic meaning* of a command with the *grammatical meaning* of the declarative ('giving information') or

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[346] The role of interaction in characterisation is discussed by Hochman 1985: 145.

[347] Ullmann 1964: 94–120 discusses this in the context of the 19th century French novel.

[348] Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 315.

[349] Simpson 2004: 88, in reference to Burton 1980: 70.

[350] Toolan 1998: 116.

[351] Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 292, 324 shows that the characters and the author's intentions are being expressed together, so the discourse is *double voiced*.

[352] Parkinson 2000: 27–28, referring to Sinfield 1992: 35, claims that: "The idea of discourse as a negotiation of social power, and of language as 'continuous with the power structures that sustain the social order' runs through Egyptian official and literary texts". Parkinson makes reference to the hymns of Senwosret III, studied by Derchain 1987: 26–28 to exemplify the use of language for normative purposes.

[353] Nikolajeva 2002: 239–240, also Herman 1991: 98.

[354] Burton 1980: 70.

[355] Martin & Rose 2007: 229. Systemicists like Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 627–635 regard these less congruent interpersonal forms as 'metaphorical'.

the interrogative ('demanding information'). In this way, the semantics and grammar are in tension with one another in the construal of meaning, which is often a mark of the speaker's lower status. Other Egyptological studies have remarked on these methods,[356] though they have not yet been widely applied to Egyptian textual study.

2.3.6.3b   *Reported Speech in Late Egyptian*

The level of directness of a speech act can also be a key to characterisation. Outside the Narrator's Representation of Action,[357] several methods of representing the speech (and thought) of characters exist. A scale exists between Direct Speech, which comprises a reporting clause + "reported clause" ('She said, "I will come here tomorrow"') and Indirect Speech, in which speech is amalgamated into the reported prose ('She said that she would go there the following day').[358] I have recently attempted to reconsider the categories that apply to Late Egyptian speech forms in response to those proposed by Carsten Peust, who sees indirect speech as visible only when a single pronoun is changed[359] and does not acknowledge the use of indirect speech proper, which involves total pronominal change.[360] My categorisation comprises a cline from *direct speech*, which is used in almost all instances of discourse reported by the narrator, to *nested direct speech, indirect speech with some pronominal modification* and *indirect speech proper*.[361]

Nested direct speech, which occurs when a prior speech act is embedded as direct speech inside the current (and equally direct) speech act,[362] is

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[356] Sweeney 2001: 29.

[357] Simpson 2004: 81.

[358] Simpson 2004: 32 lists several other forms, which exist in English, but do not appear in Egyptian, such as Free Direct Speech (FDS), Free Indirect Speech (FIS)/*style indirect libre*/indirect interior monologue and Narrative Report of Speech (NRS).

[359] Peust 1996: 55, Kammerzell & Peust 2002: 308 and Peust 2005: 77.

[360] Peust 1996: 46, note 178, Kammerzell & Peust 2002: 317 and 2005: 77, 89. Peust 1996: 52–53 and note 191 argues that *total* pronominal change to relate to the narrative context outside the quotation is only apparent in object clauses with non-communicative verbs. Peust 2005: 93 seems to base this on the supposedly 'real' nature of clauses following communicative verbs versus the 'fictive' nature of object clauses. Naturally, object clauses can be differentiated from indirect speech proper, see Sweeney 1986: 338, 351, Sweeney 1990: 944, Frandsen 1974: 18 and Černý & Groll 1993: 330–331. However, Sweeney 1986: 341–342, 345–350, particularly 348–349, suggests that it can be difficult to distinguish the forms in cases where *r-ḏd* can be a verbal form or a complementiser.

[361] Di Biase-Dyson 2008a: 47. Although my study includes sources from a range of genres, the results from the narratives shall be the focal point here.

[362] Peust 1996: 59–60 approaches the idea with the term "multiple embedding", but his examples range from direct speech to nested direct speech and clear examples of pronominal change.

by far the most common form of reporting speech acts in narrative texts. It appears in *Apophis and Seqenenre* (*LES* 87, 10–13), *Khonsuemheb* (*LES* 92, 6), *The Two Brothers* (*LES* 14, 5–7.), *Wenamun* (*LES* 75, 6–9), as well, perhaps, as *Neferkare and Sisene*.[363] We can equate direct speech with some pronominal modification with Peust's *Indirekte Rede mit Personal-anpassung* (IRP)[364] and Deborah Sweeney's *involvement category*.[365] It appears when an independent verb form (usually an Imperative) is matched with a pronoun that compels it to be read as indirect. It is very common in the *Late Ramesside Letters* and only appears in later, more colloquial, narratives.[366] For example, in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*, Horus tells his mother Isis: *j-ꜥš n ḥmt=ṯ sfḫ jm=j jnk ḥr sꜣ ꜣs.t* "Call to your harpoon (lit. copper): 'Disengage' from me, I am Horus, son of Isis" (*LES* 49, 1–3).[367] As for cases of indirect speech proper, in *The Doomed Prince*, the Pharaoh asks the gods for a son, and consequently, *jw=sn ḥr wḏ dj msy.tw n=f* "they commanded to cause that (one) be born to him" (*LES* 1, 3).[368]

These different levels of discursive directness can provide keys to characterisation. For instance, the use of nested direct speech explains to us why a Messenger can issue a directive (in the imperative mood) to the Theban Chief Seqenenre in *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*—he is merely citing *verbatim* the message of his lord Apophis, as we shall see in chapter 4.

2.3.6.3c *Mode of Narration and Point of View*

In addition to the representation of speech acts, we should also observe the role of narration in characterisation. *Erzählung* (narration) and *Rede* (dialogue) are subdivided on stylistic grounds, because narration is descriptive and dialogue more 'subjective'.[369] They thus lend themselves to particular levels of analysis: narration to Transitivity and Theme and

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[363] Papyrus Chassinat I, x+4–5, in Posener 1957: 129–130. However, this may be indirect speech.

[364] Peust 1996: 7, 70.

[365] Sweeney 1990: 955.

[366] Gardiner 1932: x dates Papyrus Chester Beatty I paleographically to the reign of Ramesses V, and Winand 2011: 546–549 has most recently (and convincingly) dated Papyrus Moscow 120, on the basis of orthography and grammar, to the latter part of Dynasty 21.

[367] In *LES* 49, 5–7, the fact that 'me' refers to Horus, not Isis, is manifest by her response, calling to the harpoons: *sfḫ jm=f* 'Disengage from *him*'.

[368] However, this could also be direct speech, since the pronouns give no indication.

[369] Hintze 1950: 3–4.

speech to Transitivity and Mood. Therefore, the *mode of narration* only has interpersonal importance when the narrator is also a protagonist, which engenders a style of narrative called the *Ich-Erzählung*, which we encountered in section 2.2.3.2 above.[370] This *character-bound focalization*[371] colours the way both the narrator/protagonist and the other characters are represented, because in addition to representing an authorial voice, the narration now represents the ideas of the character,[372] a multiplicity of voices that Mikhail Bakhtin calls *heteroglossia*.[373] In our corpus, such focalisation is only visible in *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*.

2.3.6.4   *Textual Analysis: Character as Focus*

In addition to the representation of a character's actions and interactions, their thematisation in clauses can be indicative of their importance for the narrative. This factor is particularly significant in two instances. The first is when they are the unmarked Theme of a clause that happens to start an episode. In this case, the character follows a narrative form or a fronted temporal clause and in this way indicates that their actions are predominantly driving the plot. The second instance is when a character is topicalised as the *marked* Theme in a clause, often for the purpose of drawing attention to a particular attribute pertaining to that character. Such a focus has been successfully adopted in a series of Egyptological studies, amongst which we can cite: Jan Assmann's analysis of *The Tale of the Two Brothers* (section 1.3.2.2a),[374] Michèle Broze's study of *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (see section 1.3.2.5a),[375] Thomas Ritter's outline of the structure of early 18th Dynasty autobiographical texts,[376] Jean Winand's outline of narratological structures,[377] Anja Wieder's discussion of the formal basis of Egyptian literary works[378] and Jacqueline Jay's analysis of the framing devices of a range of literary works from the Middle Kingdom to the Graeco-Roman Period.[379]

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[370] Wellek & Warren 1956: 222.
[371] Bal 1997: 148.
[372] Wellek & Warren 1956: 222.
[373] Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 418.
[374] Assmann 1977.
[375] Broze 1996.
[376] Ritter 1995. On pages 158–160, Ritter outlines the formal qualities of text structuring.
[377] Winand 2000.
[378] Wieder 2007.
[379] Jay 2008.

2.3.6.5   *Lexical Analysis: Character as Sign*

Although lexical items must be differentiated from grammar,[380] in the SFL paradigm, both are "mechanisms for the realisation of choices in meaning", and are therefore to be analysed as component units of lexicogrammar.[381] A lexical analysis, which illustrates how characters are named and designated, therefore complements the grammatical study. The terms used for each character, be they proper names, epithets, descriptions, or simply pronouns, in a semiotic sense, are *signifiers* that combine with the author's idea of the character to make a *sign*. Naming, "the simplest form of characterisation",[382] is deictic,[383] and thus allows the author to comment directly on the character to his audience.[384] It often manifests a character's qualities[385] as well as the power structure in which they exist.[386]

2.3.6.6   *Character in the Clause and across Clauses*

To draw this analysis together, tracking changing Participant roles and their corresponding Processes helps us qualify the portrayal and development of foreign, compared to Egyptian, characters. We can better understand their degree of activity through the Processes, and an investigation of the associated Participant types clarifies their role in the action at hand. The interpersonal relationships between characters emphasise relations of power and a character's centrality is cemented by being made a frequent Theme. Grammatical dominance is thus apparent across strata and across Metafunctions, occurring when a character is mapped in the most prominent grammatical function (as Subject) in the most prominent semantic role in active clauses (as Agent) in the most prominent position in a clause (as Theme). We can then explore the way in which different characters appear across Metafunctions from a comparative angle and interpret this together with the lexical characteristics pertaining to each protagonist. To what extent does it coincide with or contradict grammatical factors?

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[380] This is on the grounds, as Kress 1976: 72, 74–75 stipulates, that "lexical relations do not depend on lexical categories". See also Butler 2003: 177.

[381] Butler 2003: 177.

[382] Wellek & Warren 1956: 219.

[383] Chatman 1978: 131 explains this as meaning that a name points someone out as definite.

[384] Suhr 1999: 124. See also Culpeper 2001: 229–231.

[385] Toolan 1988: 101.

[386] Parkinson 2000: 28, note 14 shows that this is particularly apparent in the Middle Kingdom tale *The Eloquent Peasant*, in which the Peasant addresses Rensi as 'High Steward', whereas the narrator refers to him by name.

Therefore, the interest of this study lies not only in seeing how each character is portrayed in *each* circumstance, but also how they are portrayed across the whole text.[387] My fundamental interest is in *patterns*: If we look at the portrayal of a character across a text, what kinds of patterns arise in the Transitivity or in the Mood? Is there a nexus between their status as a character and their level of activity? How does their activity and power compare to that of other characters?

2.3.6.7   *Character in Context: Literary and Socio-Political Universes*

Furthermore, as I demonstrated in my discussion of the literary part of this chapter, to be truly effective, a study of characters (particularly foreign and Egyptian characters) in Egyptian literature needs to establish the grammatical forms and semantic structures within the context of the genre of each work.[388] Genre,[389] with its *literary* concerns of fictionality, intertextuality and parody helps determine the complexity, dynamism and authenticity of its characters. How well they need to be developed depends on the type of story being told,[390] as well as the message intended by it. Thus, the characterisation of protagonists, as reflected in the grammatical forms, is affected by the genre of a work. The study is therefore textual, but also *intertextual*, in that it seeks to understand the connection of the texts under analysis with the *universe of discourse* that surrounds these texts and how they adopt and re-interpret literary genres.[391] This nexus between literary and social context and language is a key feature of a Systemic Functional analysis, as we can note in figure 2.4.

Additionally, the linguistic analysis of each text is accompanied by a discussion of its socio-political and historical context, since Systemic Functional Linguistics is "oriented to studying the relationship between the texture of texts and their social contexts".[392] To assess the importance of the social context, we engage with pragmatics (tied to the assumptions of the interlocutors)[393] and sociolinguistics (tied to the social situation).[394]

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[387] This is an attempt to see the characterisation as one that is *developmental* rather than *static*, as discussed in Wellek & Warren 1956: 219.

[388] Butler 2003: 44.

[389] Eggins 2004: 75–84.

[390] Nikolajeva 2002: 283.

[391] Fairclough 2002 [1992]: 25.

[392] Fairclough 2002 [1992]: 44.

[393] Levinson 1983: 53.

[394] Hudson 1996: 1.
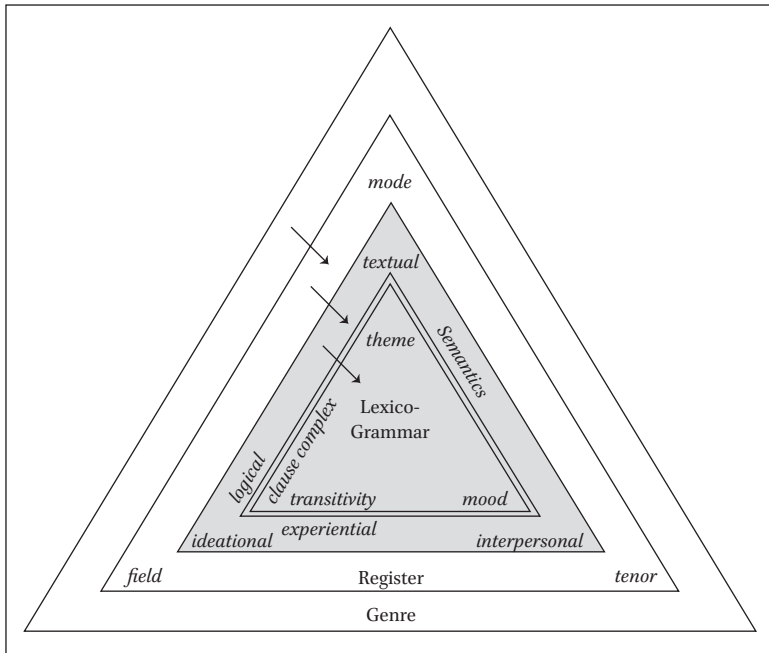
From Eggins (2004: 112), fig. 4.10.

Figure 2.4. Context, semantics and lexicogrammar.

A concept frequently applied by both fields is the sociologist Erving Goffman's idea of *face*, which refers to the maintenance of dignity or self-respect.[395] It has prominently influenced Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson's Politeness Theory, which argues that *face* motivates language use: *positive face* represents a human's wish for their wants to be desirable to others, and *negative face* conveys their wish for their actions to be unimpeded by others.[396] Anything threatening face is therefore seen as a *face-threatening act* (FTA). The hearer's face is threatened by orders, requests, threats, criticism and disagreement, and the speaker's is threatened by thanks, unwilling promises and offers, apologies and

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[395] Goffman 1967: 5 defines *face* as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact".

[396] Brown & Levinson 1987: 61–64. However, Hudson 1996: 114 argues that some of these terms are misleading, instead preferring to see *positive face* as *solidarity-face* and *negative face* as *power-face*.

confessions.[397] Strategies of interaction are ranked according to the amount of face-threat:

> *bald-on-record* (such as a direct command)
> *positive politeness* (which emphasises the speaker's solidarity with the hearer)
> *negative politeness* (which indicates respect for the hearer's freedom of action) and
> *off-record* (a hint to prompt action rather than an imposition).[398]

The choice of interpersonal strategy is based on sociological variables like the social distance between speaker and hearer, the relative power of the hearer over the speaker and the ranking of the imposition being proposed.[399] However, since recent studies have shown that the criterion of social distance only has an effect on language when the speaker and hearer have equal power,[400] the variables affecting an FTA should not be seen as additive but as separate concerns.[401] Also, though this theory is not ethnographically precise, when social relations are taken into consideration, intercultural research has tentatively approved the 'universal' applicability of *face-work*.[402]

Face-threat is also linked to H. P. Grice's Cooperative Principle, which presumes that "there is a working assumption by conversationalists of the rational and efficient nature of talk".[403] It operates on a framework of maxims:

> *Quality*: to make a contribution that is true, that has adequate evidence
> *Quantity*: to make a contribution as informative as required
> *Relation*: to be relevant

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[397] Brown & Levinson 1987: 65–68. Culpeper 2001: 240 specifies that sarcasm, name-calling and snubs are particularly common FTAs.

[398] Brown & Levinson 1987: 68–71. However, Holtgraves & Yang 1990: 720 and 722 have argued for hints to be considered as less polite than *negative politeness*.

[399] Brown & Levinson 1987: 74–78. Culpeper 2001: 242 argues that the model doesn't sufficiently consider the rights and obligations of the interactants, though see Brown & Levinson 1987: 77. These variables are connected to the *pragmatic scales* proposed by Leech 1983: 123, such as the 'cost-benefit scale', the 'optionality scale' and the 'indirectness scale'.

[400] Holtgraves & Yang 1990: 720 and 725–727.

[401] Holtgraves & Yang 1990: 725 provide evidence against the additive nature, or 'weightiness' of the variables originally conceived by Brown & Levinson 1987: 76.

[402] For instance, Holtgraves & Yang 1990: 727, as originally proposed by Brown & Levinson 1987: 12–13, 61–62.

[403] Grice 1975: 45.

Manner: to be lucid in one's manner of speaking, avoiding obscurity, ambiguity, prolixity and lack of order.[404]

Naturally, such investigative methods are bound to conversational behaviour in the 'real world', and their application to literary characters would be to a certain extent 'humanising', given that they render a character's behaviour and speech in the *manner* of 'real people'.[405] This caveat should not discourage us from using these methods, but it should warn us from reading too much into a text and from taking its discursive patterns as an instance of 'pure *mimesis*', since literary language is not always a mirror of social norms.[406]

These perspectives offer us an insight into how the different levels of language operate. By conducting a clausal analysis, we are effectively *segmenting* the text in order to describe and analyse the lexicogrammar. Having reached our conclusions about characters at the clausal level, we then *repackage* the text in its social and literary context in order to assess the kinds of messages the text is making. In this way, we move not only from the lexical and clausal level to the higher levels of context, but we also ascend from description to analysis.

2.3.6.8 *How It All Works: A Demonstration*

In order to both qualify and quantify the data set, I established a database in Microsoft Access. Given that this is, to the best of my knowledge, the first Systemic Functional analysis of an Egyptian text, I designed the database based on the applicable functional terminology. The database also contains a parallel analysis of the grammatical forms of each clause, substantially following the terminology established in Friedrich Junge's *Late Egyptian Grammar* (2nd Edition 2005). Whereas the Metafunctional

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[404] Grice 1975: 45–46. Leech 1983: 132 expands Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP) to include a Politeness Principle (PP), with maxims such as tact, generosity, modesty, approbation, agreement and sympathy. The PP, Leech 1983: 80 argues, explains "*why* people are often so indirect in conveying what they mean". Brown & Levinson 1987: 4–5 resist this framework because they think a larger number of maxims undermines the possibility of noting counter-examples (in other words, *everything* fits into a category). Also, politeness is socially controlled, whereas assumptions about cooperative behaviour are less culturally-specific. Politeness, in other words, cannot be presumed, and can, moreover, be subsumed under concerns of *face*. In this way, as Leech 1983: 10 admits, his work in pragmatics is more 'abstract', and excludes "specific 'local' conditions on language use", which are the focus of *socio-pragmatics*.

[405] Bennison 1993: 80.

[406] Ullmann 1964: 25.

LES 5, 11	*MS* 6, 13	*Clause Type: Independent* (*projected*)	*Analysis*	*nn*	*jw*	*=j*	*r*	*wnm*
			Linguistic gloss	NEG	FUT	=1s(F)	:FUT	eat:INF
			Experiential			Actor		Process: material
			Interpersonal: declarative mood	Negative Polarity		Subject	Finite: future +	Predicator
				Mood Block			Residue	
			Textual	textual Theme	textual Theme	topical Theme	Rheme	
			Translation	I will not eat				

Figure 2.5. A sample metafunctional analysis.

analysis is crucial primarily for the ideational and textual analysis, the formal categories are a mandatory component of the interpersonal analysis. The following clause from *The Doomed Prince* (DP 138) in figure 2.5 exemplifies the kinds of semantic features that are revealed by a Meta-functional analysis.[407]

These semantic conclusions are based on the formal analysis. The form is an independent Negative Third Future *nn jw⸗f r sḏm* and we can see that the negation and future tense appear at the interpersonal level. This analysis elucidates the Participant roles and verb forms: the Princess is the Actor in a material clause, though the great significance of this factor is only apparent in context, as we shall see in section 3.4.1.6. We also see that a majority of the sentence comprises the proposition, which falls within the Mood Block, so the clause is concise and clear. The Princess also takes a dominant grammatical role by being simultaneously Actor, Subject and topical Theme.

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[407] For a discussion of the benefits of functional analysis, see Martin 2000: 66. One factor insufficiently able to be represented in the table (particularly in the linguistic gloss and the interpersonal analysis) is the extent to which the future sense is conveyed across the entire *jw=j r wnm* construction instead of being embedded in a single morpheme, as was more typical of Egyptian in its earlier, more fusional phase. For a discussion of the descriptive method used for such cases, and a thorough introduction to linguistic glossing in general, see Di Biase-Dyson, Kammerzell & Werning 2009: 349.

One thing of which we need to be aware is that Egyptian sentences often transcend a single clause, as we see in Egyptian Balanced Sentences, Emphatic Sentences (especially where emphasis falls on a whole Circumstantial Clause), Cleft Sentences, Pseudo-Cleft Sentences and relative clauses. The analysis undertaken here must thus be called *ideational* (clause-complex-based) rather than simply *experiential* (clause-based).[408] That being said, the language of these texts is predominantly analysed on a clausal basis. We must also consider that this ancient corpus is incomplete, so we can only draw conclusions from the whole clauses that are available to us.

2.4   *The Role of the World Outside the Text: New Historicism*

The final element of the method, which connects to both literature and language, is an analysis of the socio-political and literary context of the texts in the corpus. This perspective is indebted to the strain of literary analysis known as New Historicism or Cultural Poetics,[409] which places as its focus the socio-cultural context of literary works. This critical approach is to a certain extent 'anthropological' in scope, seeking to account for both the contextual circumstances underlying a work of art and its autonomous status as a formal aesthetic structure.[410] For this reason, in addition to the historical basis, a New Historicist analysis takes constructed discourse, particularly rhetoric, into consideration,[411] demonstrating the applicability of such an approach to a detailed language study.

In Egyptological literary studies, the approach has been successfully adopted by Richard Parkinson, who has used investigations of Middle Kingdom society, particularly *literate* and *literary* society, to engage with the finer shades of socio-cultural meaning latent in Middle Egyptian literary works.[412] To my knowledge, the same has not yet been done for Late

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[408] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 309–310.
[409] Greenblatt 1990: 164 has expressed his objections to being connected with the term 'Historicism'. Pieters 2000: 23–24 quite convincingly argues, however, that the objection is based on a monolithic conception of the historicist tradition. He differentiates the teleological philosophy of Hegel and his adherents from the objectivist-reconstructionist work of Leopold von Ranke, showing that it is predominantly from the former school that New Historians seek to distance themselves. The rejection out of hand of 'Historicism' is therefore taken to be unnecessary.
[410] Pieters 2000: 37.
[411] Pieters 2000: 31.
[412] Parkinson 2002: 20–21.

Egyptian writings. Despite the evident lack, a detailed New Historicist approach to this corpus is not the intention of this work, most particularly because this analytical school, for all its interpretive merits, is not overtly interested in method. This distinguishes it markedly from the foregoing work, whose aim is to outline a language-based method of literary analysis. The role of the broader context, however, is by no means to be underestimated, since an engagement with this 'outer' dimension of the text affects the interpretation of its content.

The analysis from the perspective of Cultural Poetics, as shall be evident from the next three chapters, shall be split into two points: the socio-historical context and the (inter-)cultural context. The first element concerns itself particularly with the potential significance of the time period being evoked, the role it plays in the portrayal of the characters and in the message of the work more generally. The second element investigates the use of foreign elements in each story, which includes everything from foreign places and names to languages and religions. The aim is not to uncover a 'historical reality' behind the works,[413] or even to understand the recording and codification of historical knowledge. Of primary interest here is to note each story's references to the outside world in an attempt to understand the intent behind the reference, to note its impact on the story and particularly its impact on characterisation. What we are dealing with is not a series of 'historical fragments' but rather some 'historical figments' of the cultural imagination.

It is precisely in this acknowledgment of historical imagination that we come to terms with the interpretive power of *mimesis*, which extends beyond the verisimilitude of a particular character to the literary representation of the 'world' in which they would have lived. Unlike Auerbach's work on mimesis, however, which concerns itself with 'the representation of reality' as a broad concept that is condensed in and exemplified by well-selected textual excerpts, we wish to synthesise an overview of the 'world outside the text' with the close study of entire texts.[414] I would argue that it is precisely linguistic study that provides the necessary epistemological bridge to allow this. For instance, language is analysed in its social context in both Stylistics (described in section 2.3.6.1) and pragmatics (discussed

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[413] Indeed, I regard such attempts, where the literary text is used to explain historical circumstances, to be the exact opposite of the aims of this study, in which the environment in which the text is written influences the way in which the story is told.

[414] Auerbach's method, which generally eschewed close reading, is discussed in Greenblatt 2000: 40.

in section 2.3.6.7), where discursive principles are contingent on social power. By taking the results of these analyses in association with each other, we may perhaps come closer to understanding the representation of human characters and their universe.

2.5 *Conclusion*

In this chapter, I have firstly outlined the parameters of this study, establishing the different genres into which the narratives can be categorised, according to their form and content. Secondly, I have attempted to show the benefits of using Systemic Functional Linguistics in order to conduct a stylistic study of these texts, outlining the ways in which Transitivity, Mood and Theme as well as lexical features[415] can be profitably applied to explore characterisation in narratives.[416] Although Egyptological studies have engaged with these levels of the language, they have neither been amalgamated into a meaning-oriented synthesis nor have they been applied to whole Egyptian texts. Therefore, this investigation seeks to develop a linguistic apparatus for *literary* purposes. Using Systemic Functional grammar to inform a grammatical analysis helps us establish a terminology with which we can more precisely note elements of language that contribute to characterisation, as well as compare the patterns they form across the narrative and across the corpus, as we shall see in the following three chapters.

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[415] Docherty 1983: 50–51.

[416] Toolan 1988: 115 astutely remarks: "The reward for analysing character portrayals in relation to this semantic grammar should be clear. We rapidly obtain a preliminary picture of who is agentive, who is affected (for whatever reason: they may be passive, or powerless, or just lazy), whether characters are doers or thinkers, whether instruments and forces dominate in the world represented, and so on". Therefore Transitivity analysis reveals much in the description of characters: "their dispositions, ability to control things and infer causal connections, or their powerlessness".

CHARACTERISATION IN *THE DOOMED PRINCE*

3.1   *Introduction*

This chapter compares the portrayal of foreign and Egyptian characters in the Ramesside fairy tale, *The Doomed Prince*. The only preserved manuscript of the story follows *The Taking of Joppa* on the verso of Papyrus Harris 500, which dates to the earlier part of the reign of Ramesses II.[1] Characterisation has not been a focus of earlier studies of the tale, presumably because fairy tale characters fit distinctive narrative 'types' and are therefore not considered to be worthy of analysis. We shall see, however, that a Systemic Functional analysis of the text reveals further insights into these quite stereotypical characters. Comparison between foreigners and their Egyptian counterparts in particular helps uncover patterns of differentiation and development. Primarily, we can see that although the Prince is a thematic focus and constant Actor throughout the narrative, he loses interpersonal power once he arrives in Naharin. On the other hand, his future wife, the Princess of Naharin, gains 'grammatical visibility' upon her marriage to become an Actor who fights against her husband's fate. The characters' changing grammatical, and hence, narrative, roles can be tied to the theme of fate: since the Prince has travelled to a new home abroad and embraced his fate, his new wife must become increasingly active in her attempt to prevent it.

3.2   *Literary Approaches to the Text*

The plot progression of *The Doomed Prince* demonstrates a homogeneity that clearly marks it as a fairy tale.[2] For this reason, scholars have principally

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[1] Möller 1920: 42–43, followed by Gardiner 1932: ix, dates the manuscript on the basis of its palaeography, though, as we shall see in section 3.7, the dating of the text itself is controversial. Compare Brunner-Traut 1982: 1110 with Helck 1987: 219.

[2] Propp 1968 [1928]: 20. However, Honti 1945: 69–70 sees the Naharin episode as an insertion from a *conte populaire* (particularly a *conte de fées*) into a *légende superstitieuse*, since the Naharin episode does not concern the main theme of the tale, the Prince and his

approached the text from the perspective of Formalist narratology,[3] using Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index*[4] and Vladimir Propp's narrative *Morphology*.[5] As we discussed in chapter 1, this approach focuses almost exclusively on the development of the plot, and in the case of *The Doomed Prince*, the predictability of the narrative sequence has been used to make hypotheses about the missing ending and, consequently, the role of fate in the tale. As a result, assumptions have been made about the Prince's character which are not substantiated by the language of the text. This is also a problem we encounter regarding the characterisation of protagonists like Apophis and Seqenenre in chapter 4. A linguistic analysis, which focuses on the role of language in characterisation, allows us to more substantially interpret the progression and theme of the tale. Additionally, a meaning-based approach to grammar like Systemic Functional Linguistics helps clarify the interrelation between the language that is used to describe a character and that character's narrative function. It also addresses, to an extent, one of the main criticisms levelled at the Formalist method: its "lack of an account of the formal procedures describing the passage from surface linguistic units to deep-structure units of the narrative *langue*".[6] Before addressing the limits of a purely Formalist approach, it is important to outline the benefits it brings to a study of fairy tales. For instance, its focus on the sequence of the plot forms the basis for the discussion to follow about the main characters' parallel fates and how they are manifested in the language.

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fate. Hubai 1992: 286–287, however, shows that the Prince's actions in Naharin perfectly comply with features of fairy tales.

[3] Although Propp 1984 [1946]: 67 objects to being seen as a Formalist, his work on in fairy tales in historical perspective (in which this opinion is expressed) emerged later than the more influential and decidedly formalist *Morphology* (Propp 1968 [1928]). Moreover, both works explore universal motifs. For instance, Propp 1984 [1946]: 116–117 contends that "the fairy tale synthesizes two series of motifs, the initiation cycle and the cycle of the journey to the netherworld", which intersects with the cycle of dynastic succession. See Pavel 1988: 601. From an Egyptological perspective, Spalinger 2006: 132 has downplayed the identification of Propp as a Formalist, despite the fact that the *Morphology* is then argued as being "too abstract for historical or cultural analysis". Moers 2011: 166, note 1 has also noted this contradiction. Even Spalinger 2006: 134 admits that Propp's reason for denying his affiliation with the Formalist movement was most probably due to its proscription by Trotsky (see 1984 [1946]: 101), and therefore may have little to do with the universality of his Morphology.

[4] Brunner-Traut 1982: 1107.
[5] Hubai 1992: 288–289.
[6] Ronen 1990: 827.

3.2.1   *Stith Thompson's* Motif-Index

Emma Brunner-Traut employs Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*[7] to establish the 'fairy tale' nature of the plot and consequently to draw conclusions about the outcome of the tale. Thompson's motifs, presented as being widespread throughout world literature,[8] are categorised by subject matter and labelled alphanumerically.[9] Brunner-Traut presents the following sequence of motifs as being applicable to *The Doomed Prince*:

1. T ('Sex') 548.1: Child born in answer to prayer,[10]
2. M ('Ordaining the Future') 301.12: Three fates prophecy at child's birth,[11]
3. M 341.2.4: Prophecy: threefold death,[12]
4. M 341.2.21: Prophecy: death from snakebite,[13]
5. M 341.2.24: Prophecy: death by alligator/crocodile,[14]
6. M 372: Confinement in tower to avoid fulfilment of prophecy[15] and
7. H ('Tests') 331.1.2: Suitor contest (for which bride is offered as a prize): riding to fourth storey of tower.[16]

These motifs, among others,[17] are taken as confirming the fairy tale-like quality of the tale. Brunner-Traut concludes from this that the Prince

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[7] Brunner-Traut 1982: 1107–1108.

[8] Thompson 1984a [1972]: 366.

[9] Brunner-Traut 1982: 1107, 1111.

[10] Thompson 1955d: 398, although Brunner-Traut 1982: 1107 writes it as T584. This motif is closely connected to T510, 'Miraculous conception', Thompson 1955d: 390.

[11] Thompson 1955d: 48. This motif is connected to Motifs M340, 'Unfavourable prophecies' and N120, 'Determination of luck or fate', Thompson 1955d: 53 and 83, and more loosely to A189.7, 'Deity ascertains destiny of baby (and inscribes it on his forehead)' and A196.2, 'Decree of gods irrevocable', Thompson 1955a: 99–100. It is also linked to Z71.1, 'Formulistic number 3', as well as Z234, 'Destined Hero', in Thompson 1955d: 553 and 565.

[12] Thompson 1955d: 55.

[13] Thompson 1955d: 57.

[14] Thompson 1955d: 57. It is not certain whether they fulfil Motif N110, 'Luck and fate personified', of which N is the area 'Chance and Fate', Thompson 1955d: 81.

[15] Thompson 1955d: 64.

[16] Thompson 1955b: 402, which is similar to H335: 'Tasks assigned suitors, bride as Prize for accomplishment', Thompson 1955b: 405 and T68, 'Princess offered as a Prize', Thompson 1955d: 343.

[17] Other relevant motifs not so connected to the Prince's fate include a demon (Motif F420, where F is 'Marvels', Thompson 1955b: 88–99), a talking dog and reptile (Motifs B211.1.7 and B211.6, where B is 'Animals', Thompson 1955a: 397 and 399) and an animal

must then have been able to overcome his fate in a manner apparently befitting the genre.[18] As we shall see, however, such an assumption attributes qualities either of extraordinary goodness or of heroic agency to the Prince, which this analysis suggests are not entirely borne out by the language. The Hero's acceptance of fate, which is not addressed as a motif, perhaps intimates that this tale will not develop in the manner Brunner-Traut projects.

3.2.2   *Vladimir Propp's* Morphology

Péter Hubai, like Brunner-Traut, uses a Formalist framework to predict the tale's outcome, though he rather makes use of Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale*.[19] Propp's study focuses on "the functions of the characters" and the "distribution of their roles".[20] To clarify, a *function* is "an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action",[21] which occurs in a specific sequence with other functions.[22] These functions are assigned to character roles (*spheres of action*) such as Villain/Opponent, Donor, Helper, Princess, Princess' Father and Hero.[23] Although characters can assume several roles and several characters can take on the same role,[24] these categories nonetheless imply that the actions undertaken by characters in tales were extremely consistent.

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discovering alcohol and becoming inebriated (Motif B299.3, Thompson 1955a: 422). In addition, the Prince's 70-cubit leap to the Princess' window to gain her hand appears in the 'prodigious jump' motif (Motifs F684 and F1071, Thompson 1955b: 195 and 270). The achievement could also be Motifs R111, 'Rescue of captive maiden', or R161, 'Lover rescues his lady', where R is 'Captives and Fugitives', Thompson 1955d: 276 and 285. Lastly, the number 'seven' (pertaining to the 70 cubits) is perhaps reflected in the Motif Z71.5, Thompson 1955d: 554–555.

[18]   Brunner-Traut 1982: 1108. Brunner-Traut 1982: 1109–1110 also emphasises the personal qualities of the Prince that should have ensured a good ending in a fairy tale. Galán 2005: 119 outlines three qualities which allow the Prince to prosper: physical strength, awesome (royal) presence and divine protection.

[19]   Hubai 1992: 287–289.

[20]   Tatar 1981: 82.

[21]   Propp 1968 [1928]: 21.

[22]   Propp 1968 [1928]: 21–23.

[23]   Tatar 1981: 82, but from a recent narratological perspective, see Bal 1997: 197–202.

[24]   Tatar 1981: 82–83, referring to Propp 1968 [1928]: 20–21. It is for this reason that Bal 1997: 203, based on Greimas 1966: 172–191, refers to characters as *actants* rather than *persons*.

Hubai has demonstrated the extent to which Propp's functions follow the sequence of the tale: The Prince, our Hero,[25] who has been debarred from a normal life on account of his fate,[26] becomes aware of his lack of freedom[27] and decides to leave home.[28] Having travelled far,[29] he encounters and is tested by the Donor (also the Father of the Princess).[30] The Prince's success in the task of leaping up to the Princess' window[31] guarantees him (after more threats and interrogations) the Princess as a Helper.[32] The usefulness of the Helper means that the Hero has little role to play, though he continues to be active, "since his intentions create the axis of the narrative".[33] The Helper helps the Hero fight the Villain,[34] which comes in the form of the Prince's three Fates, the Crocodile, the Snake and the Dog.[35] We expect this function (the 'fight') to be trebled, since each

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[25] The Prince seems to be both a 'victimized Hero' and a 'seeker Hero'. As the former, he is under threat, and his 'lack' is the focus of the narrative, as in Propp 1968 [1928]: 50. However, he is not banished or injured. By being active in his decision to leave, he is more like the latter, Propp 1968 [1928]: 36.

[26] This corresponds to what Propp 1968 [1928]: 26–27 calls Function II, 'An interdiction is addressed to the Hero', albeit indirectly, as Hubai 1992: 288 states, since a house is built in the desert in order to prevent the Prince from leaving. Function VIIIa, 'One member of a family either lacks something or desires to have something', in Propp 1968 [1928]: 35–36, is rather fulfilled here.

[27] Propp 1968 [1928]: 36–37. Function IX, 'Misfortune or lack is made known'.

[28] Propp 1968 [1928]: 38. Function X, 'The Seeker agrees to or decides upon counteraction', followed by Propp 1968 [1928]: 39: Function XI, 'The Hero leaves home'.

[29] Liverani 1972: 404, 407–409 suggests inserting an extra motif: 'The Hero travels through the desert on a chariot to a foreign land', which was a popular *topos* in Late Bronze Age Near Eastern literature.

[30] Propp 1968 [1928]: 39–42. Function XII, 'The Hero is tested, interrogated, attacked, etc. by the Donor, which prepares the way for his receiving either a Magical Agent or Helper'. The Chief of Naharin, by setting the suitor-contest with his daughter as the Prize, is clearly the Donor, Propp 1968 [1928]: 84.

[31] Propp 1968 [1928]: 42–43. Function XIII, 'The Hero reacts to the actions of the future Donor'. Interestingly, the task of 'Kissing a Princess at a window' is attributed to Function XX, 'A difficult task is proposed to the Hero', which usually occurs upon the Hero's homecoming, see Propp 1968 [1928]: 61.

[32] Propp 1968 [1928]: 43–50. Function XIV, 'The Hero acquires the use of a Magical Agent/Helper'. The Princess thereby fulfils the roles of Princess: 'a personage who has been sought out' (Propp 1968 [1928]: 84), as well as 'Helper', although she fights the Prince's fates without herself possessing magical powers (Propp 1968 [1928]: 50). Her role as a potential Helper/Prize explains her lack of ideational prominence early on, see 3.3.1.2.

[33] Propp 1968 [1928]: 50.

[34] Propp 1968 [1928]: 51–52. Function XVI, 'The Hero and the Villain join in direct combat'.

[35] Based on the tale's purported oral basis, Hubai 1992: 291, note 59, 292 and 299 argues that the story was originally differently arranged, in order to have been able to be easily recited from memory. However, by connecting episodes like the crocodile's first appearance in the town with his capture of the Prince later in the tale, the story's suspense is

animal must be separately overcome,[36] though the lack of ending makes the outcome uncertain.[37] Based on the tale's fulfillment of this structure, Hubai concludes that the outcome, if not a happy ending, at least ensures the liquidation of the Hero's initial 'lack'.[38]

Hubai points out that the earliest parts of this tale have no motifs that can be associated with Propp's 'functions',[39] though he does not draw conclusions about their role in the text. However, events such as the Pharaoh's wish for a child, the child's birth and fate[40] and the Pharaoh's consequent fear of his child's imminent death[41] appear in a Proppian framework as 'motivations' rather than 'functions'. In other words, they are less definite events that provide impetus for the action.[42] Hubai also does not consider the role of the Syrian Princes, who in Proppian terms provide 'notification' of the suitor quest, which is an auxiliary element that connects functions.[43] This role is also taken on by the Hathors, who deliver the prophecy. A more significant gap in the Proppian approach to the story is its Hero-centrism, which casts no light on the assertiveness of the Princess.[44] Though Hubai notes the parallel circumstances of the Egyptian Prince and Princess of Naharin, his rigid application of the functions and his focus on the theme of fate leads him to overlook the Princess' role in the story.

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annulled. The reconstruction also lacks logic, since the Prince is only captured by the Crocodile when he is fleeing the Dog. Also, the Prince's capture so late in the story is contingent on the wife's absence, following an episode precipitated by her extreme watchfulness. Reducing its suspense and complexity would in my opinion make it far *less* fit for recital.

[36] Propp 1968 [1928]: 74–75. Olrik 1965: 132–133 regards such a progression as fulfilling not only the 'Law of Repetition', but also 'The Law of Three'.

[37] It is impossible to tell whether, as in Propp 1968 [1928]: 53, the tale proceeds to Function XVIII, 'The Villain is defeated', or Function XIX, in which 'The initial misfortune or lack is liquidated', as in Propp 1968 [1928]: 53–55. Nor do we know whether the Hero returns home, or whether he encounters further adventures, as represented by Functions XX–XXXI, in Propp 1968 [1928]: 55–65 and Hubai 1992: 290.

[38] Dundes 1965: 208 and Hubai 1992: 290. However, Hubai concludes that such an event occurs upon the Prince's return to Egypt, which is not certain.

[39] Hubai 1992: 288. However, Bremond and Verrier 1982: 76–78 show that this was the case with Propp's own corpus as well.

[40] Propp 1968 [1928]: 78.

[41] Propp 1968 [1928]: 76.

[42] Propp 1968 [1928]: 75.

[43] Propp 1968 [1928]: 72.

[44] Olrik 1965: 139, on the other hand, claims that in these instances of companionship, the formal protagonist is always male, despite the fact that "the actual interest frequently lies with the woman". In addition to this, scenes that turn the focus away from the action of the Hero, by being unusual, convey a sense of foreboding, as Manniche 1981 says of the Dog, who is described as following the Prince.

While this Formalist approach is easily applicable to the tale, we can see that it does not significantly enrich our understanding of characterisation. Propp's functions ignore character portrayal and development and note character interaction only if it advances the plot.[45] Even the less rigid Formalist structure proposed by A. J. Greimas, which combines Propp's functions with functional grammatical categories,[46] has been accused of being too reductive.[47] Thompson's motif-based approach gives more attention to character traits, but has no interest in sequencing and development. Unfortunately, Egyptological studies have adopted both approaches without attempting to address their inherent problems. A Systemic Functional analysis considers the applicability of these motifs and functions from the perspective of character description (narrative roles), character development (changing roles in reaction to changes in the plot) and character interaction (how they exercise power over others). In so doing, it substantiates the grammatically-manifest structural features which are outlined by the Formalist approach, such as the parallel stories of the Prince and Princess, but also attempts to transcend its reductionist analytical tendencies by presenting content and message as the motivation for form. In this way, assumptions made about the story and its characters can be empirically assessed.

3.2.3 *Plot Parallels*

Many of the circumstances concerning the two children and their fathers early in the text operate in parallel. These parallels are often marked by lexical and grammatical recurrences and frequently correspond to Propp's functions, which emphasises their importance to the tale. Hubai has noted some parallels,[48] though he does not discuss the *reason* for creating them, their impact on characterisation, or the significance of ethnicity, given that they concern two family groups from different countries. The story of the Princess of Naharin only emerges once the emancipated Prince arrives in Naharin, thereby shifting the focus from the Egyptian royal family to

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[45] Propp 1968 [1928]: 20–21 takes no additional interest in "*who* does it and *how* it is done", because such concerns do not influence the progression of the plot.

[46] Greimas 1966: 129–130, 134, 172–191 uses opposing functional categories that he calls *actants: destinateur/destinataire, agent/patient* and *adjutant/opposant*: Sender/Receiver, Subject/Object and Helper/Antagonist. See Culpeper 2001: 50 and Nikolajeva 2002: 11 for recent appraisals of this framework. The relationship between character roles and functional roles in language was also developed by Bremond 1973: 309–333.

[47] Culpeper 2001: 50.

[48] Hubai 1992: 297–298.

Naharin's ruling family, and establishing temporal and thematic equivalence between the two stories. This narrative convention, it will be argued here, brings the tale's dominant message into sharp relief—that fate runs across ethnic lines. Additionally, the similarities and differences of the characters' reactions to comparable circumstances contribute to their characterisation, as shall be demonstrated by this analysis.

1) The rulers lack sons.[49]

jr ntf ḥr[.tw] wꜥ n nsw bw.pwy msy n≠f sꜣ ṯꜣy

As for *him*, [it has been] said, (namely) a king, a son had not been born to him. (DP001, *LES* 1, 1).

jstw bw.pwy msy n pꜣ wr n n-h-r-n ḥrw wꜥ n šrj.t s.t-ḥ(j)m.t

Now, (none) had been born to the Chief of Naharin except for one daughter, a female. (DP061, *LES* 3, 4).[50]

Whereas the Chief of Naharin must be content with a female child, the Egyptian king gains a son by a miraculous birth—a common fairy tale motif.[51]

2) The children bear a fate.

jy pw jr.n nꜣ n ḥw.t-ḥr.w r šꜣ n≠f šꜣy jw≠sn ḥr ḏ[d] m(w)t≠f n pꜣ msḥ m-rꜣ-pw pꜣ ḥfꜣ.w mj.tit pꜣ jw

The Hathors came in order to determine fate for him, and sa[id] "He will die on account of the crocodile, or the snake, or even the dog." (DP009–DP012, *LES* 1, 5–6).[52]

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[49] Hubai 1992: 297 sees this as two separate points: both children emerge from royal or princely households, and both parents are sterile. However, the Chief of Naharin *does* have a child, and in the case of the Egyptian ruler, all that is known is that he has no *son*.

[50] Although the form is almost identical to DP001, a 'negative Subject' 'none' is necessary here for the clause to make sense. The particle *jstw* 'now' marks the clause as a parenthetical note, Junge 2005: 325.

[51] Motifs T510: 'Miraculous conception', T548.1: 'Child born in answer to prayer' (Thompson 1955d: 390, 398).

[52] This translation reads *m(w)t* as Prospective, but it could be a Prospective Emphatic Form, as suggested by Winand 1992: 277, § 436 and Cassonnet 2000: 219, "it is because of the crocodile that he will die".

jw⸗f ḥr dj jn.tw šrj.w nb n wr.w nb n pꜣ tꜣ n ḫ-r jw⸗f ḥr ḏd n⸗sn jr pꜣ n.tï jw⸗f r pḥ pꜣ sšd n tꜣy⸗j šrj.t jw⸗s n⸗f r ḥ(j)m.t

He (the Chief) caused all the sons of all the chiefs of the land of Syria to be brought, and he said to them "As for the one who will reach the window of my daughter, she will be a wife for him." (DP064–DP067, *LES* 3, 7–8).[53]

The fates of the children perhaps differ according to their circumstances. The boy's miraculous birth may render it necessary that the gods determine his future. The animal identities of some of the Fates may be significant: crocodiles are often seen as "agents of retribution"[54] and snakes are frequently connected with the concept of fortune (*rnn.t*) via the snake goddess Renenutet.[55] The girl's birth is by no means miraculous: she is the only child of a ruler who presumably wanted a boy, so her fate is to be subject to her father's will.

3) The rulers restrict their children, in order to delay their inevitable meeting with fate.

wn.jn ḥm⸗f ꜥ.w.s. ḥr dj ḳd[.tw n⸗f wꜥ n pr] n jnr ḥr ḫꜣs.t jw⸗f ꜥpr m r(m)t̠.w m (j)ḫt nb nfr n pr-nsw ꜥ.w.s. jw nn pr pꜣ d̠rd r-bl

Then His Majesty, l.p.h., caused a house of stone to be made for him in the hills, which was equipped with personnel and with every good thing of the palace, l.p.h., since the child was not allowed to go outside. (DP018–DP020, *LES* 1, 9–11).[56]

jstw ḳd n⸗s wꜥ n pr jw pꜣy⸗f sšd m wꜣ 70 n{ꜥ} mḥ r pꜣ jwtn

Now, a house had been built for her, whose window was 70 cubits distant from the ground (DP062–DP063, *LES* 3, 5).

In the Naharin story, this parallel precedes the second, since the Princess' restriction forms part of the Chief's plan for her fate. As we shall note in section 3.8.2.2, both houses lend a fantastical element, since houses in Egypt were, for the most part, built of mud brick rather than stone,[57] and

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[53] DP066 is taken by Satzinger 1976: 198 as being the dative expression *jw⸗f n⸗f* "es soll ihm gehören". In other words, it represents both modality and possession, whereas Winand 1996: 128 and 132 sees this as a Future III regardless.

[54] Eyre 1976: 113, also Baines 1994: 38, 43.

[55] Baines 1994: 37, 43, referring to Broekhuis 1971: 88–95.

[56] As Polis 2009: 256 points out, the Negative Circumstantial Prospective form carries a "valeur d'interdiction", although the Pharaoh does not appear as a subject.

[57] Arnold 2000: 246.

a house with a window 70 cubits off the ground would have been considered a forbidding height by an Egyptian audience whose houses, to the best of our knowledge, were commonly built with one to four storeys.[58]

4) The children assert their independence and need to fulfil their fate.

jw⸗f ḥr hȝb n pȝy⸗f jt m ḏd . . . tw⸗j wḏ.kw n pȝ šȝy jmj ḫȝ⸗ṭ.tw⸗j jry⸗j n ḫȝ.tï⸗j j-jr.t pȝ nṯr jr pȝ n.tï m jb⸗f

He sent (a message) to his father, saying . . . "I am committed to the fate. Let me be released so that I may act according to my will until the god does that which is in his heart." (DP045–DP050, *LES* 2, 12–14).

jw⸗s ḥr ⸗rk nṯr m ḏd wȝḥ pȝ-r⸗-ḥr-ȝḫ.tï mtw⸗tw nḥm⸗f m-dj⸗j nn jw⸗j r wnm nn jw⸗j r swr jw⸗j r m(w)t m tȝ wnw.t

She swore (by) god, saying: "As Pre-Horakhty endures, should (Some)one take him away from me, I will not eat, I will not drink, and I will die at once!" (DP134–DP140, *LES* 5, 10–12)

The children challenge their lot by invoking gods in different ways,[59] altering the argument structure and content with respect to their audience. The gods decree the Prince's fate, so he argues with his father with reference to the will of the god, whereas the Princess' father determines her fate, so she invokes the god in her threats, using a classic Ramesside oath formula.[60] The context of their fathers' attitudes is also significant. Whereas the Pharaoh had so far acquiesced to the Prince's requests, the Chief of Naharin attempted to block the Princess' desired course of action.

5) The kings grant their children independence.

wn.jn⸗tw ḥr nḥb n⸗f w⸗ n wrry.t ⸗pr.tj [m] ḫ⸗.w nb n r⸗-⸗-ḫ t . . . jw⸗tw ḥr dȝy.t⸗f r pȝ rwḏ.t jȝb.t jw⸗tw ḥr ḏd n⸗f jḫ šm⸗k n ȝb⸗k

Thereupon (Some)one harnessed a chariot for him, equipped [with] all weapons of combat . . . (Some)one ferried him to the eastern shore and (Some)one said to him: "May you go according to your will" (DP051–DP056, *LES* 2, 14–3, 1).

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[58] Arnold 2000: 100.
[59] Hubai 1992: 298.
[60] Junge 2005: 290. The formula comprises an oath in the Prospective and the Conjunctive, followed by threats in the Future III describing the consequences (actions and result) of non-compliance.

wn.jn pꜣ[y⸗s jt ḥr dj jn].tw pꜣ [šrj m-bꜣḥ]⸗f [ḥnꜥ tꜣ]y⸗f šrj.t . . . jw⸗f ḥr ḏd n⸗f j-ḏd n⸗j kj⸗k
ptr tw⸗k m-dj⸗j m šrj{.t} . . . wn.jn⸗f ḥr dj n⸗f tꜣy⸗f šrj(.t) r ḥ(j)m.t

Then her [father caused that] the [boy be brought before] him [with] his daughter . . . and he said to him: "Talk to me (about) yourself. Look, you are a son to me." . . . Then he gave him his daughter for a wife (DP155–DP170, *LES* 6, 1–8).

These parallel stories of the Doomed Prince and the Princess comprise the first part of the narrative, establishing their characters, their encounter and their union. The second part of the tale, in which Hero and Heroine begin their battle together and apart against fate, naturally dispenses with this parallelism. On the other hand, the motif of 'saving' at the end of the first half (when the Prince leaps up to the Princess' window) is resurrected in the second half, when the roles are reversed and the Princess saves the Prince.[61] The contrast between the two royal families, complete with rulers, children and servants, thereby creates 'ethnic parallels'.[62]

3.3 *Character Portrayal and Development: The Individuals*

The character parallels explored above can only take us so far, elucidating roles that characters undertake in the development of the narrative. To move beyond this literary framework, we will demonstrate the ways in which Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) illuminates the representation and development of foreign and Egyptian characters at a clausal level—with reference to the clause numbering system established in the appendices. Firstly, the characters' changing portrayal throughout is assessed from an *ideational* perspective. We shall take into consideration both narrated and spoken clauses in which a main character is the principal Participant (the 'doer' of an action). The changing focus given to these characters will also be observed with reference to the *textual* Metafunction, which notes when a character is a Theme in the clause, particularly at key points of episodic change or when topicalised. The characters' interaction with other characters and the way they develop relations of power is analysed from within the *interpersonal* Metafunction, which concerns the mood and modality of the verbs in the discourse. Lastly, these grammatical features are compared with the *lexical* features of the characters,

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[61] Hubai 1992: 298.
[62] Olrik 1965: 134–135 devised a 'Law of Contrast', which deemed that characters in folktales must in some way provide contrast to each other.

which is all the more interesting given that the characters are unnamed. The lexicogrammatical features of each character shall be compared with those of their 'ethnic parallel', as well as other characters with which they interact, illustrating the ways in which the characters change their patterns of activity and speech across the trajectory of the narrative.

3.3.1   *Ideational Analysis*

3.3.1.1   *The Doomed Prince*

The Prince is active from the outset, befitting his status as a Hero, though in the narration and in his own words his activity is in a state of flux and occasionally stops altogether. Material clauses outnumber any other Process type in which the Prince appears as a principal Participant, taking up 43 out of 72 clauses (60%). As we shall see, his actions plot out the principal events of the narrative. In the first instance, the declaration of his fate has tangible ramifications; he is confined to his house (parallel three, for which see 3.2.3), which is borne out in material clauses: he cannot *pr* 'go forth'; he can only *ṯs* 'go up' to his roof (DP020, DP022, *LES* 1, 11 and 2, 2). Frustrated by his situation, he writes to his father (DP042, *LES* 2, 11) and emphasises his lack of freedom (parallel four). Although the Actor in a material clause, his statement *jw mj-nꜣ ḥms.kw* "that I stay here" (DP045, *LES* 2, 12) uses a Stative that conveys his *static* situation. The consequence of his release, however, makes him an unrestrained Actor that can, in his words, *jry⸗j n ḫꜣ.ti⸗j* "act according to my will" (DP048, *LES* 2, 13).

Having had his wish for freedom granted (parallel five), most verbs relating to the Prince's activity relate to his movement through space. Once told to *šm* 'go' (DP056, *LES* 3, 1), he *ḥd* 'went northward', *ꜥnḫ* 'lived', *spr* 'arrived' in Naharin and *sn* 'passed by' the Syrian Princes (DP058–DP060, DP070, *LES* 3, 2–3 and 3, 10).[63] In the Syrian Princes' discourse with the Prince, he is presented as *jy* 'coming' (DP079, *LES* 3, 15) and *jy n⸗j m wꜥr* 'taking himself off, fleeing' (DP085–DP086, *LES* 4, 2–3). After this, the Prince stipulates his wish for further action, wanting to *šm* 'go' and *py* 'leap up' the tower of the Princess (DP101–DP102, *LES* 4, 10). Since the Prince is injured, however, (DP100, *LES* 4, 9), he is now stationary for the second time, a state marked through another material Process using

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[63] It is interesting, although perhaps for the meaning of the clause not significant, that the Prince in DP060 arrives at the *Chief* of Naharin rather than Naharin. Rather than signifying that the man is the destination, we could take the text to mean that the Prince arrived at (the territory of) the Ruler.

another verb of posture: whereas in his house he was *ḥms* 'sitting', now he must *ˁḥˁ* 'stand' and watch the passing scene (DP105, *LES* 4, 11).

This second bout of *ennui* over, the Prince competes, *jy* 'coming', *py* 'leaping up' and *pḥ* 'reaching' the Princess' window (DP109–112, *LES* 4, 14–15). This feat of 'reaching', as well as his having 'come in flight', which are reported to the Chief of Naharin (DP118, DP124, *LES* 5, 2 and 5, 5), evoke the Chief's desire that he *šm≠f n≠f* 'take himself off' or *šm* 'go (back)' (DP128, DP131, *LES* 5, 8 and 5, 9).[64] The Chief then having been convinced otherwise, the Prince is allowed to *jy* 'come' before the Chief and recount his 'flight' (DP156, DP168–DP169, *LES* 6, 2 and 6, 8). The Prince is shown as acting alone when securing the hand of the Princess—once she has asserted herself, the Prince now has nothing more to do. The marriage having taken place, the Prince's *jy* 'coming' to Naharin by *ḫt* 'moving away' from Egypt (DP185–DP187, *LES* 7, 1–2) are reiterated, by way of introducing the Prince's third (and final, in the extant text) period of stillness: the calm before the storm. As with the last two cases, the material Process used to represent this is a posture verb, *sḏr* 'lying'. He then sleeps, and it seems significant that he is *not* an Actor here: "sleep *took possession* of his body" (DP199–DP200, *LES* 7, 11–12).

After his wife saves him from snakebite while he sleeps, the Prince becomes active again. He offers thanks to Pre (DP218–DP220, *LES* 8, 5–6) then *pr r swtwt* 'goes out to stroll' (DP222–223, *LES* 8, 8). This is the first time the verb *pr* has been used since the Prince was banned from doing so as a child, which seems to serve as a code for the audience that his fate is about to strike. Sure enough, the Prince must flee from his dog, with a series of frantic action verbs: he *sḥsḥ* 'ran', *spr* 'arrived' at the lake, *hꜣ* 'descended' and *wˁr* 'fled' (DP229–DP232, *LES* 8, 10–13). The Crocodile then seems to be asking him to *swḥ* 'help' and *ḫdb* 'kill' the Demon (DP244–DP245, *LES* 9, 3),[65] but the Prince is no longer acting of his own

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[64] In DP128, the Prince is a Secondary Actor of a causative material clause. As such, he is implicated in the event of the clause, but is being *acted through*: he is not the one who brings about the action (in this case, the Mitannian Servant) and thus has the dubious honour of being the focus of a clause in which he has no power to act. Additionally, the use of the *dativus ethicus n≠k* after *šm* highlights the immediacy of the action, as Winand 2003: 292 stipulates.

[65] The translation of the word *nḫt* 'strong' with 'demon' follows Lichtheim 1976: 202–203. It is the most plausible of several proposed translations (for which see the appendix note relating to DP191) by drawing on the sense of 'violence' also conveyed by *nḫt*. Cf. Vittmann 1995: 6–7.

volition. Though the text breaks here, it seems that Fate has begun to act on the Prince, grammatically and actually.

Compared to this array of material clauses, the Prince is rarely an Initiator in causative clauses, appearing thus only twice. However, the first instance is particularly revelatory. The Princess, having heard about the Prince's fate, proposes a resolution: *jmj dj꞊tw ḫ{t}<d>b pꜣ jw n.tï m-sꜣ꞊k* "Ensure that (Some)one causes to kill the dog that is in your following" (DP176–DP177, *LES* 6, 13). At an ideational level, this is an extremely indirect way of demanding something be done, since it uses a string of three 'verbs': two causatives (*jmj* and *dj*) plus the material Process (*ḫdb* 'to kill'). Moreover, although the Prince is clearly the implied Initiator of the Imperative, the Secondary Actor *꞊tw* is unspecified. Lastly, by being applied to causative verbs, both the implied Initiator and the Secondary Actor are removed from the verbal action of killing. The killer is thus invisible and anonymous. By removing agency from the Prince, the Princess seems to attempt to remove him from culpability regarding this deed in an effort not to upset him. The Prince's angry reaction, despite her precautions, comprises his second instance as Initiator. Unlike her, he attributes the act of killing the Dog more closely to himself by making himself the Initiator in a causative material clause: *nn jw꞊j r dj ḫdb pꜣy꞊j jw*, "I will not cause to kill my dog" (DP180, *LES* 6, 14), though by using a causative he nonetheless softens the action's impact: he will not personally kill his dog, even hypothetically. He also replaces *pꜣ jw* 'the dog' with the possessive *pꜣy꞊j jw* 'my dog', which increases the emotional pull of his statement by making him more grammatically involved.

The Prince is a Behaver in a behavioural clause on five occasions: being *msy* 'born' (DP008) (*LES* 1, 5), being predestined to *m(w)t* 'die' (DP012, *LES* 1, 6), when his body *tn* 'matures' (DP041, *LES* 2, 10), when his feet make him *šn* 'suffer' (DP100, *LES* 4, 9) and when he *nw* 'watches' the Princes leaping up to the Princess' tower (DP106, *LES* 4, 12). All occasions coincide, if we consult the material clause analysis above, with situations in which he is inactive or unconscious. We can say the same of the two (perhaps three) occasions in which the Prince is a Senser in a mental clause: he *gmḥ* 'catches sight of' the Dog and *ptr* 'sees' the Crocodile when in captivity or under duress (DP023, DP246, [DP247], *LES* 2, 2 and 9, 3–4).[66]

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[66] Barns 1972: 163 regards *ptr* here as being used to describe the threats with which the character being spoken to is about to be confronted with. The same applies to W363–W365 (*LES* 72, 3–4).

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples (Clause Nos.)	Total 72
material (m)	Actor	DP020, DP022, DP042, **DP045**, **DP048**, **DP056**, DP058, DP059, DP060, DP070, **DP079**, **DP085**, **DP086**, **DP101**, **(DP102)**, DP105, DP109, (DP110), DP111, DP112, **DP118**, **DP124**, **DP131**, **DP132**, DP156, **DP168**–**(DP169)**, *DP181*, DP185, (DP187), DP198, DP199, DP218, (DP219), (DP220), DP222, (DP223), DP229, DP230, DP231, DP232, **DP244**, **(DP245)**	43
causative (c)	Initiator	**DP176** (m, 2 causatives), **DP180** (m)	2
behavioural (b)	Behaver	DP008, **DP012**, DP041, **DP100**, (DP106)	5
mental (me)	Senser	DP023, **DP246**	2
verbal (v)	Sayer	DP026, DP033, (DP043), DP080, DP090, DP099, **DP161**, DP163, DP173, DP178	10
existential (e)	Existent		0
relational identifying (ri)	Token	**DP081**, **DP121**, **DP123**, **DP162**, **DP164**	5
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier	DP021, **DP046**, **DP174**	3
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier	DP146, DP190	2
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor		0
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute: Possessor *not principal*		0
unknown (u)			0

Key (for clause numbers throughout chapter): normal script—narration, bold script—dialogue, *italic script*—periphrasis, [square brackets]—reconstruction, (parentheses)—Participant not present in embedded or non-finite clause.

Figure 3.1. Ideational analysis: The Doomed Prince.

Verb Type		Verb	Examples
Being in a posture:	sitting	*ḥms*	DP045
	standing	*ʿḥʿ*	DP105
	lying	*sḏr*	DP199
Doing/acting		*jr*	DP048, DP198 (foll. *ḥms*)
Helping		*swh*	DP244
Leaping up		*py*	DP102, DP110, DP111
Killing		*ḥdb*	DP245 (?)
Living/surviving		*ʿnḫ*	DP059
Making offerings		*wdn*	DP218
Moving through space:	arriving	*spr*	DP060, DP230
	passing by	*sn*	DP070
	coming	*jy/jw*	DP079, DP085, DP109, DP124, DP132, DP156, DP168, DP185 (with *jr*)
	reaching	*pḥ*	DP112, DP118
	fleeing	*wʿr*	DP086, DP169, DP232
	running	*šḫšḫ*	DP229
	going forth	*pr*	DP020, DP222
	going up	*ṯs*	DP022
	going	*šm*	DP056, DP101, DP131
	going north	*ḫd*	DP058
	moving away	*ḫt*	DP187
	walking about	*swtwt*	DP223
	going down	*hꜣ*	DP231
Honouring a deity:	praising	*dwꜣ*	DP219
	exalting	*sḳꜣ*	DP220
Rearing		*sḫpr*	DP181
Sending		*hꜣb*	DP042

Figure 3.2. Material clause types: The Doomed Prince.[67]

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[67] The tabulation of the different verb types that can be identified as material Processes shall only be undertaken for characters with a wide range of forms, such as the Prince and Princess in this chapter.

More frequently, the Prince is the Sayer in verbal clauses, towards the Servant (DP026, DP033, *LES* 2, 3 and 2, 6), his father the Pharaoh (DP043, *LES* 2, 12) and the Syrian Princes (DP080, DP090, DP099, *LES* 3, 16; 4, 5 and 4, 9). When told to speak by the Chief of Naharin, he addresses him (DP161, DP163, *LES* 6, 5 and 6, 6), and, after his marriage, talks with his wife (DP173, DP178, *LES* 6, 11 and 6, 13).

The Prince is also dominantly represented in relational clauses. The five relational identifying clauses that make him the Token are all related to kinship, based around whose son the Prince is. Significantly, four relate to the Prince's false identity as a chariot-warrior's son or as one of the Syrian Princes (DP081, DP121, DP123, DP164, *LES* 3, 16; 5, 4 and 6, 6), and the remaining one relates to his assumed identity as the new son-in-law of the Chief of Naharin (DP162, *LES* 6, 5).[68] The Chief here is giving the Prince ideational power, by equating him as a Token with a member of his family, and representing himself as only a Circumstance (in italics): "you are a son *to me*". In relational attributive clauses, the Prince is shown as being older (DP021, *LES* 2, 1), and in his own words, he decisively describes himself with the Stative forms as *wḏ.kw* 'committed' to his fate (DP046, DP174, *LES* 2, 12 and 6, 11). As a Carrier in relational attributive circumstantial clauses, he is located in 'his place' and in a town near a lake (DP146, DP190, *LES* 5, 14 and 7, 4) at times in which his life is about to be threatened. The setting in space thus sets an ominous tone.

In sum, the sheer amount of activity undertaken by the Prince helps mark him out as a fairy tale Hero, and we can note the extent to which these Transitivity patterns fit Propp's functions. The Hero's fight for freedom, travel, testing and victory are all present, though we can also see subtleties in the Prince that functions would not pick up, such as his state of flux between inertia and activity, his moments of reflection and the creation of his false identity.

3.3.1.2   *The Princess of Naharin*

Similar subtleties can be noted in the presentation of the Princess of Naharin, whose patterns of Transitivity are to be considered in light of what we have discovered so far about her 'counterpart', the Doomed Prince. Observation of merely the numbers of clauses already reveals some insights.

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[68]   The use of the *m* of predication also establishes a connection of identification, Allen 2000: 112–113.

Naturally, coming into the tale as late as she does,[69] it makes sense that the Princess appears in fewer clauses than the Prince. Regardless, even relative to the 25 clauses in which she appears as principal Participant, the Princess appears in fewer material clauses than the Prince (11, amounting to 44%). Her unassuming entry into the tale is also of some interest. To return then to parallel one (see 3.2.3), the circumstances of the Princess' existence are narrated thus: "Now, (none) had been born to the Chief of Naharin except for one daughter, a female" (DP061, *LES* 3, 4).[70] By being a Circumstance of a passive behavioural clause, she is grammatically insignificant,[71] in addition to being the last Participant in the clause. This syntax has semantic implications, expressing that her birth had little role in abating her father's 'lack of a son', in comparison to the Egyptian Pharaoh. This appearance, which presumably coincides with traditional views on female children, thus establishes her difference in status to the Prince at her point of entry into the story.

  However, the Princess' status changes dramatically in the narrative, which is evident at the ideational level of the language. Rather than listing the Processes by category, then, we must note the order in which they appear. For instance, her first appearance as a principal Participant (in italics) is as the Token/Identified in a relational identifying clause. This follows a topicalised noun phrase plus an embedded clause: *jr pꜣ n.tï jw⸗f r pḥ pꜣ sšd n tꜣy⸗j šrj.t jw⸗s n⸗f r ḥ(j)m.t*, "As for the one who will reach the window of my daughter, *she* will be a wife for him" (DP066–DP067, *LES* 3, 8). Given that the window is the Goal of the embedded clause,[72] there is a lack of congruence when the Princess follows in the independent clause. The topicalisation of the lucky Syrian Prince also diverts focus from the Princess, who is the grammatical and logical Subject of the clause.[73] The impression we have of her status is not improved by being only *identified*

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  [69] According to Propp 1968 [1928]: 84 such as situation is unusual, since the Princess, like the Prince, is often introduced in the initial phase of the narrative.

  [70] Like clause DP061, DP062 is prefaced with *jstw* 'now', which points out the parenthetical nature of these clauses (for which see Junge 2005: 325): this is background, perhaps secondary in importance but complementary to the Prince's story.

  [71] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 493–494 define the role of a Circumstance as having a "hypotactic extending" relationship with the independent clause.

  [72] The window, rather than the Princess, appears as the Goal several other times in the tale, in reference to the contest: in the words of the Syrian Princes (DP097, *LES* 4, 7), the narrator (DP112, *LES* 4, 15) and the Chief's Messenger (DP118, *LES* 5, 2).

  [73] To summarise ideas covered in chapter 2, Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 55–57 present the 'grammatical Subject', which predicates the action, as the 'Subject' and the 'logical Subject', the 'doer of an action', as the 'Actor'.

as a wife (*r ḥ(j)m.t*), rather than being active. We could therefore see isomorphism or correspondence between grammar and characterisation here. The Princess' inaction and lack of presence in these clauses differentiates her from the Prince, who is a Behaver in a behavioural clause when his fate is decreed: "he will die" (DP012, *LES* 1, 6).

In her restrictive location, however, the Princess finally begins to emerge as a character on her own terms, though she does not yet appear as an Actor. In the clause: "the attention of the daughter of the Chief of Naharin was upon him (the Prince)", her *attention*, or 'face' (*ḥr*), is the Carrier in a relational attributive circumstantial clause (DP107, *LES* 4, 12). Though dominant in the clause, her inability to act is clear in the grammar: the relational clause conveys a sense of stasis[74] and her only voluntary manoeuvre so far is enacted only by an *attribute* of herself (her attention, *ḥr*), which undermines the deliberateness of her action and her level of physical involvement.[75]

The Prince then attempts the suitor test and, reaching her window, secures her release. From this point on, the Princess begins to act: by kissing (*sn*) and embracing (*ḳnj*) the Prince, she becomes an Actor in a material clause (DP113–DP114, *LES* 4, 16). Her ensuing assertion of independence has thus been set in motion by the Prince's actions. Following her father's attempt to be rid of the Prince, as an Actor in a material clause, she threatens not to eat or drink (DP138–139, *LES* 5, 11). Consequently, as the Carrier in a relational attributive clause, she declares she will 'be dead' (DP151, *LES* 5, 15) and, as an Actor, that she will not *jry wnw.t ꜥnḫ.kw* 'spend an hour alive' without her betrothed (DP152, *LES* 5, 16).

After her marriage, her activity only increases in her attempt to save her husband from his fate, an idea that fits well with Stith Thompson's motif 'Wife who saves her husband's life'.[76] Her husband's refusal to have his dog killed only strengthens her resolve: she begins to *sꜣw* 'guard' him (DP183, *LES* 6, 15), then to *mḥ* 'fill' bowls with intoxicating substances and to *ḥms* 'sit' by her sleeping husband to bait the Snake (DP201–DP202, DP205, *LES* 7, 13 and 7, 15). She then wakes her husband (DP213, *LES* 8, 3). This initiative, however, is incongruous with her speech, since she attributes the Prince's salvation to the god Pre, whom she makes the Actor

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[74] Simpson 2004: 122.

[75] As Kennedy 1982: 93 points out, by making an attribute or body part an Actor, or rather, a Processor, "we are made aware of a lack of physical involvement and deliberate action".

[76] Motif R152, Thompson 1955d: 283.

of the two material clauses (DP216–DP217, *LES* 8, 4–5). The motive for this is uncertain. It is possible that she believes that the god inspired and effected her action, to the extent that Pre is designated as the arbiter of Fate, but otherwise she might simply be representing her own actions with regard to the god's greater plan in order to make her husband more vigilant. Nonetheless, her role as a 'Saviour' is clear, and calls to mind the similarly active 'saving' role that Ihweret assumes on behalf of her husband Naneferkaptah in the Demotic *First Tale of Setna Khaemwase*.[77] Crucially, the Princess' last extant mention in the tale refers to her *nn pr* 'not being able to go out' with the Prince (DP224, *LES* 8, 9).[78] This use of the Negative Prospective could most certainly be seen as a marked form before a significant event, which raises the suspense of what then *is* going to happen.[79]

The ominous quality of this last material clause is all the clearer because of an earlier description of the Princess as an Initiator in a causative material clause: she would not *dj prₓf r-bl wꜥ*, 'allow that he go outside alone' (DP184, *LES* 6, 16),[80] echoing the Pharaoh's earlier role. Also as an Initiator in her 'saving' capacity, she causes that the Snake she incapacitated be killed (DP212, *LES* 8, 2). Her motivation, it seems, is her love for the Prince, which endears her to the audience. As an Actor in a material clause, she *ḥr mḥ jmₓf* 'took hold of him' (DP133, *LES* 5, 9),[81] which explains her extreme reactions to situations in which the Prince's life is in danger. As a Behaver in a behavioural clause, she threatens to die in response to her father's threats (DP140, *LES* 5, 12); when attempting to bait the Snake, she does not *nmꜥ* 'sleep' (DP206, *LES* 7, 15).

In her two assertions of independence from her father, the Princess swears by god as a Sayer in a verbal clause (DP134–DP135, DP147, with the contents, 'what she said', being reported in DP143, *LES* 5, 10; 5, 13 and 5, 14). From the point of view of Conversation Analysis, which assesses the

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[77] Vinson 2008: 333–334 furthermore suggests a similarity between Ihweret and the saving role of the goddess Isis in the Osiris myth. If a similar link were to be made between the Princess and Isis in this tale, *The Doomed Prince*—which is of course by no means certain—the role of Seth in the Osirian myth could also be seen as being represented by the three animal Fates.

[78] This is, of course, if we accept the reconstruction before the break in the text that Gardiner 1932: 8a, 8, 7 b–c suggests.

[79] Jean Winand (personal communication).

[80] This causative material clause is not a causative Infinitive, since the negative form is a First Present plus Subjunctive: *jw bn {sw}<st> ḥr dj prₓf r-bl wꜥ* "she not allowing that he go outside alone".

[81] Another possibility would be to see it as a mental clause, 'she trusted in him'.

'turns' taken by speakers in discourse,[82] it seems significant that though the Prince is the one being told to go by the Messenger, it is the Princess who responds, allowing the Prince no right of reply as the legitimate winner of the contest. The establishment of parallel four, the assertion of independence (for which see section 3.2.3), thus clearly takes precedence over real-world discursive conventions. The Prince's absence at this point correlates well with his slipping interpersonal power, which we shall investigate in 3.4.1.9. Lastly, the Princess' verbal assertiveness in her role as Saviour-Wife is evident in how she tells her husband what to do (DP175, DP215, *LES* 6, 12 and 8, 4).

To conclude with a comparison of the royal children, we can see that the Prince, being Egyptian royalty and male, has significant ideational presence throughout the Tale, which befits his role as Hero. Despite being represented throughout the tale by material clauses, in his supplication of his father, he uses passive forms and Statives to represent his inactivity, with active verbs only being used on condition of release. His activity then increases dramatically, and he frequently appears as an Actor, as well as a Sayer, in his interaction with other characters. At times, however, the Princess of Naharin is active in the Prince's stead, such as when he is asked to leave Naharin, or when men or animals attempt to kill him. Such instances may be indications of fluctuations in the 'heroic' qualities of the Prince,[83] or at least illustrations of the Prince's acceptance of his fate.

The Princess of Naharin, on the other hand, has no ideational power until her moment of release by the Prince (DP113, DP114, *LES* 4, 16): to this point she is mostly a Goal and Circumstance in passive or stative clauses. In narratological terms, she is the Object/Prize given by the Donor/Sender.[84] The seemingly 'parallel' fate she shares with the Prince thus serves to contrast with his power, though the differentiating factor seems to be gender rather than ethnicity. After her rescue, her role changes and she becomes an active Participant, and gains similar ideational power to the Prince until the break in the text. In her demand for release, rather than presenting herself as inactive, as the Prince did, she pitches action for action, conditions against consequences. The majority of her Processes

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[82] Levinson 1983: 297 defines *turns* as "syntactic units identified as turn-units in part by prosodic, and especially intonational, means".

[83] The undermining of an Egyptian Hero's heroic qualities is more clearly visible in tales like *Sinuhe*, for which see Baines 1982: 39. However, such an interpretation could also be plausible here.

[84] The Object is naturally less grammatically active in the story, as Bal 1997: 199 discusses.

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples	Total 25
material (m)	Actor	DP113, DP114, DP133, **DP138, DP139, DP152,** DP183, DP201, DP202, DP205, DP213, DP224	12
causative (c)	Initiator	DP184 (m), DP212 (m)	2
behavioural (b)	Behaver	DP140, DP206	2
mental (me)	Senser		0
verbal (v)	Sayer	DP134, (DP135), (DP143), DP147, DP175, DP215	6
existential (e)	Existent		0
relational identifying (ri)	Token	**DP066**	1
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier	**DP151**	1
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier	DP107	1
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor		0
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute: Possessor *not principal*		0
unknown (u)			0

Figure 3.3. Ideational analysis: The Princess of Naharin.

Verb Type		Verb	Examples
Being in a posture:	sitting	*ḥms*	DP205
Consuming:	eating drinking	*wnm* *swr*	DP138 DP139
Filling (a vessel)		*mḥ*	DP201, DP202
Going out		*pr*	DP224
Guarding		*sꜣw*	DP183
Being affectionate:	kissing hugging	*sn* *ḳnj*	DP113 DP114
Spending (time)		*jr*	DP152
Waking (a person)		*nhs*	DP213

Figure 3.4. Material clause types: The Princess of Naharin.

are material and verbal; comparatively speaking, the Princess *talks* more than her husband, whereas he *does* more. She is represented more in behavioural and causative clauses, whereas he is more often described in relational clauses. Her action, however, is almost exclusively geared towards her attempt to save her husband from his fate. Her role as Thompson's 'Saviour-Wife', or Propp's 'Helper', manifest as it is in the grammar, is therefore fundamental to her characterisation, though she personally repudiates it by attributing the Prince's salvation to the god Pre. Through contrast, the ideational analysis of these characters reveals their status and salient character traits, as well as the associated narrative roles.

3.3.1.3 *The Pharaoh*

Both the Pharaoh and the Chief of Naharin are dominant forces in the lives of their children, and are therefore portrayed as having significant presence at the ideational level of the language until forced to relinquish paternal control. The Pharaoh first appears as part of a topicalised noun phrase, 'as for him', qualified by the noun phrase *wꜥ n nsw* 'a king'. Though a marked Theme (which we shall discuss in the textual analysis), the Pharaoh appears only as the Beneficiary of the following behavioural clause: *bw.pwy msy n=f sꜣ ṯꜣy*, "a son had not been born to *him*" (DP001, *LES* 1, 1), which seems to indicate his lack of control over the circumstance. He is an Actor in a material clause only at the time of his son's conception, when he *jw=f ḥr sḏr ḥnꜥ tꜣy=f ḥ(j)m.t*, "lay with his wife" (DP005, *LES* 1, 3).

Though not present when the Hathors deliver their prophecy, having been the Receiver of the news (DP015, *LES* 1, 8), he reacts as a Behaver in a behavioural clause, *ḥm=f ꜥ.w.s. ḥr ḫpr*, "His Majesty transformed" (DP016, *LES* 1, 9)[85] and as a Carrier of a relational attributive clause, *jw jb=f dw r ꜥꜣ.t wr.t*, "his *heart* was very much saddened" (DP017, *LES* 1, 9).

In reaction to this circumstance, the Pharaoh becomes an Initiator in a causative material clause, causing a house to be built in which the Prince can live, apart from the world (DP018, *LES* 1, 9). His power over his child's movements is then manifest when the Prince demands of him: *jmj ḫꜣꜥ.tw=j* "Let me be released" (DP047, *LES* 2, 13). The Pharaoh in this case is the

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[85] Polis 2009: 163 takes *ḫpr* as an aspectual auxiliary: "sa Majesté V. F.S. *se mit à avoir le cœur très affligé*" (italics author's own). I would, however, persist in taking this as a separate clause, given that the reference to the heart is made in a separate clause: *jw jb=f dw r ꜥꜣ.t wr.t* "his heart being very much saddened". We can conclude similarly in the case of AS055, in which Seqenenre is likewise *ḫpr*, the qualification for which occurs in the subsequent clause: *jw bw rḫ=f ꜥn [smj].w* "he not being able to respond". One would not in this case translate "he began to not be able to respond".

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples	Total 7
material (m)	Actor	DP005	1
causative (c)	Initiator	DP018 (m), **DP047** (m)	2
behavioural (b)	Behaver	DP016	1
mental (me)	Senser		0
verbal (v)	Sayer	DP002, DP037	2
existential (e)	Existent		0
relational identifying (ri)	Token		0
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier	DP017	1
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier		0
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor		0
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute:Possessor *not principal*		0
unknown (u)			0

Figure 3.5. Ideational analysis: The Pharaoh.

(implied) Initiator of the causative material clause and the Prince is the Secondary Goal.[86]

The Pharaoh's early control in the text is also shown when, as a Sayer in a verbal clause, he asks the gods for a child (DP002, *LES* 1, 2) and grants the Prince a greyhound (DP037, *LES* 2, 7).[87] Once the Prince has demanded freedom, however, the Pharaoh's acquiescence is shown by actions rather than words. The scene jumps suddenly from the Prince's plea to an anonymous '(Some)one' preparing for the Prince's departure (DP051, DP053–DP055, *LES* 2, 14–3, 1). The Pharaoh's power, once his son *ḥr tn m ḥꜥ.t⸗f nb*,

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[86] He is a Goal because the clause is passive and Secondary because the Pharaoh, as (missing) Initiator, takes the main predicative role in the sentence. The Prince's inactivity and restriction is clearly conveyed in this manner.

[87] The specificity of the term *ṯsm* 'greyhound' over *jw* 'dog' is currently being treated by a dissertation project by Beverley Miles (personal communication).

"matured in his whole body" (DP041, *LES* 2, 10), has diminished, and his acquiescence, even at the textual level, is taken for granted.

Although occasionally portrayed as an Actor in a material clause, the Pharaoh's common portrayal as Initiator of causative material clauses, as well as Sayer and Receiver of verbal clauses, indicates his frequent distance from the action. His actions and words are commonly conveyed to his child via a Messenger, perhaps in line with his elevated position as Pharaoh. His emotional reaction to his son's fate, on the other hand, provides us with a deviation from this distance.

3.3.1.4 *The Chief of Naharin*

The Chief of Naharin's entry into the narrative is not topicalised like the Pharaoh's, but he is portrayed similarly as a (non-)Beneficiary of a birth in a behavioural clause: *bw.pwy msy n pꜣ wr n n-h-r-n ḥrw wꜥ n šrj.t s.t-ḥ(j)m.t*, "(none) had been born to the Chief of Naharin except for one daughter" (DP061, *LES* 3, 4), which highlights his lack of control over the circumstance. Interestingly, unlike the Pharaoh, the Chief is not grammatically involved in restricting his child by causing her house to be built (DP062, *LES* 3, 5). However, he soon gains ideational momentum, dominating the clauses in which he features. The Chief first appears as an Actor in the words of the Syrian Princes, when they are discussing the conditions of the contest: [*jw꞊f r*] *dj.t꞊s n꞊f r* [*ḥ(j)m.t*], "[he will] give her to him (the winning Prince) for [a wife]" (DP097, *LES* 4, 7), thereby presenting the Princess as the Goal, both literally and figuratively. When he gets wind that, in the course of this contest, his daughter has been rescued by an Egyptian soldier's son, the Ruler exclaims at the ridiculousness of the idea that he should *dj* 'give' his daughter to such a person (DP127, *LES* 5, 7). However, when the Chief acquiesces, he *ḳnj* 'embraces' and *sn* 'kisses' the Prince (DP158–DP159, *LES* 6, 4), echoing his daughter's behaviour. Having heard the Prince's (fictitious) life story, he gives the Prince the Princess' hand as well as property as a dowry (DP170–DP171, *LES* 6, 8–9). His actions are therefore predominantly tied to *giving*, which fits the narrative role of Donor.

The Chief first appears as the Initiator in a causative material clause when he begins the contest for his daughter's hand and causes that the Syrian Princes come to Naharin (DP064, *LES* 3, 7). His control over his servants is also manifest in these clauses, when he causes people to go and kill the Prince (DP144–DP145, *LES* 5, 13–14),[88] and, after that episode,

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[88] Like the '(Some)one' the Princess wants to kill the Dog, violent acts in this tale, like killing the Prince and killing the Snake, are always carried out by anonymous hands.

when he causes "that the boy be brought before him with his daughter" (DP155, *LES* 6, 1).

The emotional reactions of the Chief, like those of the Pharaoh, are incredibly important, as they orient his future action. Hearing about the lowly birth of the Egyptian 'pretender', he *ḥr ḳnd r ꜥꜣ.t wr.t* "became greatly angered" as a Behaver in a behavioural clause (DP125, *LES* 5, 6). However, when the Prince comes before him, the Chief is impressed by his worth, which is expressed idiomatically as a material clause with an abstract Actor: [*t*]*ꜣy⸗f šfy.t ḥr ꜥ*[*ḳ*] *m pꜣ wr* "his (the Prince's) worth impressed the Chief". The Circumstance (not the Actor!) of this abstract action is therefore here a human Senser (DP157, *LES* 6, 3).

The Chief is also frequently a Sayer in verbal clauses, setting the contest rules (DP065, *LES* 3, 8), discussing the victor (DP119–DP120, *LES* 5, 3), commanding his removal (DP126, *LES* 5, 7), and, finally, showing an interest in him (DP160, *LES* 6, 4). In this encounter with the Prince, the Chief holds the ideational upper hand, since he dominates as the principal Participant in the (narrated) clauses,[89] though one could say that he comes to favour the Prince against his better judgment, given that he believes the made-up story.

The rulers of Egypt and Naharin take a similarly active role in their children's fates, appearing as principal Participants in most of the clauses in which they appear. Though both are Actors in material clauses and Sayers in verbal clauses, the Pharaoh is far less active and verbal than the Chief. However both are frequently Initiators in causative material clauses.[90] Such roles confer on them simultaneous agency and distance, which expresses their penchant for dealing with their children via 'remote control', through messengers, which could be tied to the protocol surrounding their position[91] or to the fact that they did not have time for interpersonal relations. Additionally, the Pharaoh receives notification of significant events like the Hathors' prophecy via a Messenger, and he grants his son's request for freedom without being involved at all. Similarly, the Chief of Naharin hears about the winner of the suitor contest,

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[89] He is dominant in seven clauses, compared to the Prince's two.

[90] Hare 2000: 2, note 3 sees a pattern in the allocation of the causative to characters of higher status within *The Eloquent Peasant*, a point which is valid here.

[91] Chris Eyre (personal communication) sees this as encapsulating the dichotomous nature of the king, who has things done for him, but is simultaneously active. The Chief of Naharin is also so portrayed.

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples	Total 15
material (m)	Actor	**DP097**, **DP127**, DP158, DP159, DP170, DP171	6
causative (c)	Initiator	DP064 (m), DP144 (m), DP155 (m)	3
behavioural (b)	Behaver	DP125	1
mental (me)	Senser		0
verbal (v)	Sayer	DP065, DP119, (DP120), DP126, DP160	5
existential (e)	Existent		0
relational identifying (ri)	Token		0
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier		0
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier		0
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor		0
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute:Possessor *not principal*		0
unknown (u)			0

Figure 3.6. Ideational analysis: The Chief of Naharin.

and about his daughter's pleas for clemency via a messenger. Both rulers also appear in behavioural clauses, in which they react with shock and anger to situations that bring about their loss of control. Under these circumstances, both attempt to regain command, but for the purposes of the narrative, they must relinquish their power. The Transitivity reveals both rulers relinquishing their power under different circumstances. The Pharaoh loses control once his adult son asserts his independence. However, unlike the Pharaoh, the Chief has an active role in his daughter's life even after she is of marriageable age and has fulfilled her father's conditions for betrothal. He sees fit not only to devise a contest by which a suitor can be selected, but also to intervene once the Doomed Prince wins

it until he is satisfied with the suitability of the Prince for his daughter. At this point, his role changes from Opponent to Donor.[92] This change in authority is manifest by the fact that both rulers dominate grammatically as Actors in active clauses until they relinquish power, at which point they disappear from the narrative altogether.

3.3.1.5   *The Syrian Princes*

The Princes, like other foreign characters, are introduced to the story in a hurried manner, in order to fill in the 'foreign' background of the Prince's place of arrival. They appear as a Secondary Goal in a passive causative material clause: *jw⸗f ḥr dj jn.tw šrj.w nb n wr.w nb n pꜣ tꜣ n ḫ-r*, "he (the Chief) caused all the sons of all the chiefs of the land of Syria to be brought" (DP064, *LES* 3, 7).

However, the Syrian Princes then appear as Principal Participants in a large number of clauses,[93] which is surprising given their negligible role in the narrative: in Propp's terms, as discussed above, they seem to have no function beyond the auxiliary role of 'notification' (of the Hero's challenge).[94] However, they appear in clause clusters, performing a series of activities as Actors in material clauses. The main series relates to the contest to determine who will *pḥ* 'reach' the window (DP067, DP098, *LES* 3, 8 and 4, 7). To this end, they spend time, *šm* 'going' and *py* 'leaping up' to the window of the Princess of Naharin (DP095–DP096, DP098, DP103–DP104, *LES* 4, 6; 4, 7 and 4, 10–11). Another large cluster of material clauses occurs when the Prince arrives in Naharin—the Princes help him and show him affection (DP071–DP077, DP087, DP088, *LES* 3, 11–14 and 4, 3). Their situation, *jw⸗sn m pꜣ⟨y⟩⸗sn sḥr.w tn.w hrw* "they being (engaged) in their everyday tasks" (DP069, *LES* 3, 10) and being *dj̈* 'here' in Naharin (DP094, 4, 6) is expressed by their being Carriers of relational attributive circumstantial clauses. Naturally, in conversation with the Prince, they also appear as Sayers in two verbal clauses (DP078, DP093, *LES* 3, 15 and 4, 5).

What is striking about the Princes is their solidarity, even towards the Egyptian Prince who comes among them and also becomes a suitor. They express an interest in his origins *jw⸗sn ḥr ḏd n⸗f m sḥr.w n sḏd.w*, "as a practice of conversation" (DP078) and then react emotionally to the Prince's

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[92] See Bal 1997: 201–202 for a discussion of this narrative role.

[93] The Princes appear as Principal Participants in 22 clauses, compared to the Princess of Naharin's 25. 18 of these are as Actors in material clauses.

[94] Propp 1968 [1928]: 72.

false history. They briefly commandeer the action as principal Participants, demonstrating their ability and intention to act. However, they are introduced in a way that shows them to be adjunct characters, and, from the time that the Doomed Prince wins the contest, they disappear.

3.3.1.6   *The Messengers and Servants*

Since both rulers deal with their children from a distance, the Egyptian and Mitannian Messengers correspond directly and frequently with the two main characters. The servants of the Egyptian royal family, both the Courtiers and the Prince's personal Servant, are recorded as being beside the Prince as Carriers in relational attributive circumstantial (embedded) clauses (DP014, DP027, *LES* 1, 8 and 2, 4). Consequent to a servant's nearness is their communicative potential: the Egyptian Servants appear as a Senser in a mental clause when they hear the Prince's fate (DP013, *LES* 1, 7), then as a Sayer in a verbal clause (DP015, *LES* 1, 8), when they relate what they hear. Similarly, the Doomed Prince's Servant and '(Some)one' (a Messenger of the Pharaoh) are Sayers in verbal clauses (DP031, DP036 DP055, *LES* 2, 5; 2, 7 and 3, 1). Servants are expected not only to communicate but also to act, usually on behalf of their master. The Doomed Prince's Servant is an Actor in a material clause (DP035, *LES* 2, 7) as is '(Some)one' (DP051, DP054, *LES* 2, 14 and 2, 16). Servants are not only portrayed as doing, but also as causing. On two occasions is the Doomed Prince's Servant commanded to cause something to be done, making him the implied Initiator in an Imperative causative material clause (DP034, DP038, *LES* 2, 6 and 2, 8), and on another occasion, '(Some)one' is an Initiator in a causative material clause (DP039, *LES* 2, 9). Lastly, '(Some)one' appears as an Initiator in a causative relational attributive circumstantial clause, in which the Doomed Prince's Servant also appears as a Secondary Carrier (DP053, *LES* 2, 15).

The Mitannian Messengers do not have the same variety of description as their Egyptian counterparts. The Egyptians, for instance, appear in a number of relational attributive clauses that stipulate their whereabouts, which do not appear in relation to the Mitannians. The Mitannians also do not appear in any mental clauses, but appear in a similar number of verbal clauses to the Egyptians (DP116–DP117, DP122, DP130, DP142, *LES* 5, 1–2; 5, 4; 5, 8 and 5, 12).[95] Like the Egyptians, the Mitannian servants

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[95] Egyptian and Mitannian servants appear in a roughly equal number of clauses (15 and 14 respectively), Egyptians are in 4 verbal clauses and Mitannians in 5.

are frequently depicted as doing (usually subsequently to telling or being told): indeed, compared to the Egyptians' three, the Mitannians appear in six instances as Actors in material clauses.[96] They act on behalf of the Chief of Naharin (the Initiator) as Secondary Actor in a causative material clause (DP144, *LES* 5, 13), but only appear once (unlike the Egyptians' three times) as the implied Initiator in an Imperative causative material clause (DP128, *LES* 5, 8). The Egyptian Messengers are portrayed as causing more and are described in more detail, and the Mitannian Messengers are represented as doing more. However, the activity of both, in verbal clauses (reporting to their masters) and material clauses (doing on behalf of their masters), is motivated by a superior entity.

3.3.1.7   *The Gods*

Although they are not human protagonists, given the emphasis on the divine role in the fate of the Doomed Prince, the Transitivity patterns used to characterise the gods are of interest. For instance, the 'gods of the area' grant the Pharaoh's wish for a son as a Sayer in a verbal clause (DP003, *LES* 1, 3). The Hathors are equally active (and directive), arriving to divine the Prince's fate as an Actor in two material clauses (DP009–DP010, *LES* 1, 5–6) then as a Sayer in a verbal clause (DP011, *LES* 1, 6). Lastly, the potential for action of the Prince's god, Pre-Horakhty, is intimated by his appearance as an Actor in material clauses. This action is first suggested by the Prince (DP049, *LES* 2, 13), then actualised (according to the Princess), by present and future action (DP216–DP217, *LES* 8, 4–5). The god is therefore presented in an active role, as saving the Prince, or bringing the Prince's fate upon him. In sum, the power attributed to gods in the Ramesside age is clearly expressed by their representation in this narrative text.

3.3.1.8   *The Animal Fates*

We must also look briefly at the activities of the Opponents, the animal Fates. The Dog is not shown as acting, since the only material clause in which he appears says that he *ḥr tȝ dp.w-rʾ* 'acquired speech', which is verbal in sense and is followed by a verbal clause (DP226–DP227, *LES* 8, 10–11). He is mostly described in relational attributive circumstantial clauses that locate him (dangerously) near the Prince (DP057, DP177,

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[96] DP115, DP129, DP137, DP141, DP145, DP149 and DP153, *LES* 5, 1; 5, 8; 5, 11; 5, 12; 5, 14; 5, 15 and 5, 16.

DP225, *LES* 3, 1; 6, 13 and 8, 9) and in relational identifying clauses that identify him as a puppy and then, in the Dog's own words, as the Prince's Fate (DP182, DP228, *LES* 6, 15 and 8, 11). The Snake has no speaking role, appearing only in a series of material (DP203, DP204, DP208, DP211, *LES* 7, 14; 7, 16 and 8, 1) and behavioural clauses (DP209–DP210, *LES* 8, 1), as he attempts to *pr* 'come forth' and *psḥ* 'bite' the Prince, but ends up drinking, getting drunk, sleeping and turning over.[97] The Crocodile has a more significant speaking role. Having been described as *ḫpr* 'appearing', then doing something (the verb is missing) and *jṯ* 'carrying off' the Prince (DP189, DP233–DP234, *LES* 7, 3 and 8, 13–14), he describes himself as *jw* 'coming' after the Prince, *ꜥḥꜣ* 'fighting' with the Demon then *ḫꜣꜥ* 'letting go' of the Prince (DP239–DP241, *LES* 8, 16–9, 1). As Initiator, he does not allow the Demon to go forth from the water (DP193, *LES* 7, 6) and in relational identifying clauses, he is the Prince's Fate (DP188, DP237, *LES* 7, 2 and 8, 15). The animal Fates thus act upon the Prince in different ways: the Dog has an impact on account of its proximity to the Prince, the Snake on account of its behaviour and the Crocodile on the basis of its persuasive powers. However, their actions are often (but not always) thwarted by the actions of the Prince and his vigilant wife.

3.3.2 *Textual Analysis*

The textual analysis discusses characterisation from the perspective of the characters' prominence *across* the text. We shall particularly note which character is the Theme associated with clauses that mark the beginning of episodes, in order to determine who is prominent in the progression of the tale. We shall also observe which characters are *marked* as Themes through topicalisation at specific points in the text. The way in which characters are made the focus of a clause can display some further nuances of characterisation.

3.3.2.1 *Themes across 'Episodes'*

Following the introductory clause of the narrative with *jr ntf*, the narrative is divided into paragraphs or 'episodes' by overtly marking the passing of time. For this, the form *ḫr jr m-ḫt hrw.w ḳn.w swꜣ ḥr nn* "Now, after many

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97 Kruchten 1982: 41 and Winand 2006: 332 translate the posture verb *sḏr* in DP210 as giving an inchoative sense to the following verb: "il se commença à se retourner". However, that the snake actually lost consciousness makes more sense in this passage, given that he is at this point able to be killed.

days had elapsed from this" or similar is used.[98] The fact that these forms are the only rubricised elements in the text[99] gives these markers significance: these "phases de transition...sont comme autant de marches que le prince et le lecteur gravissent une à une et qui semblent mener inexorablement à l'accomplissement du destin".[100] The link to the theme of fate seems to be evident here: of the ten main paragraphs into which these forms divide the extant text, the Prince is the Theme of seven of the clauses following the markers, the others being taken by the Pharaoh, the Syrian Princes, and an unknown.[101]

Within this structure of time passing, individual episodes within it are marked using the Middle Egyptian narrative form *sḏm pw jr.n=f*,[102] which in this story conveys the physical entrance of crucial characters onto the location set for the episode.[103] The temporal quality of this form is "accompli non extensif", which marks "un simple point sur la ligne du temps, qui met un terme à la situation antérieure de manière assez sèche, et qui permet à la narration de rebondir sur cette nouvelle base".[104] Three of these forms introduce the Prince (DP060, DP070, DP230, *LES* 3, 3; 3, 10 and 8, 12), and the other three introduce the Hathors (DP009, *LES* 1, 5), the Snake (DP203, *LES* 7, 14) and an unknown (DP249, *LES* 9, 5). The discourse analyst J. R. Martin calls such thematisation at the 'paragraph' or 'episode' level (such as we see with the Prince) *hyper-Theme*. The Prince's textual predominance at the episodic level also makes him a *macro-Theme*, the Theme at the broader level of the text.[105] A textual analysis of the main events in the text, like the ideational analysis above, thus reveals the key place assigned to the Doomed Prince, which corresponds well with his role as a Hero.[106] Despite the sustained focus, the interpersonal level of the language, assessed below, conveys a fluctuation in his power. In addition, given the budding activity of his wife in the

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[98] The form is discussed by Hintze 1950: 14–21.

[99] Gardiner 1932: vii, 1.

[100] Broze 1996: 164.

[101] The characters are legitimate Themes, since the clauses following *ḫr jr m-ḫt* are First Present (Subject initial), except for DP249, *LES* 9, 5.

[102] Westendorf 1959: 155 sees this as an Emphatic Form.

[103] I am a little wary of the argument that the verbs that appear in these narrative forms are organised in a parallel manner (for which see Wieder 2007: 152), since when we consider the three pairs, one pair does not match: a-b-c][c'-b-a (*jy-spr-sn*][*pr-spr-jy*). See Figure 3.7.

[104] Broze 1996: 162, note 15.

[105] Martin 1992: 437.

[106] Prince 1982: 72 defines a main character as one whose appearance in the narrative corresponds to "strategically important points, like the beginning or end of various sequences".

Clause	Primary Episodic Marker	Secondary Marker	Character (Theme)
DP001	*jr ntf ḥr[.tw] wꜥ n nsw*		Pharaoh, then Prince
DP009		*jy pw jr.n nꜣ n ḥw.t-ḥr.w*	Hathors
DP021	*ḥr jr m-ḫt pꜣ ḫrd ꜥꜣy*		Prince
DP040	*ḥr jr m-ḫt nꜣ hrw.w swꜣ ḥr nn*		Prince
DP060		*spr pw [jr.n]=f*	Prince
DP068	*ḥr jr m-ḫt hrw.w ḳn.w swꜣ <ḥr> nn*		Syrian Princes
DP070		*sn pw jr.n pꜣ ḫrd*	Prince
DP089	*[ḥr jr m-ḫt hrw.w ḳn.w swꜣ ḥr] nn*		Prince
DP108	*ḥr jr m-ḫt <hrw.w ḳn.w> swꜣ ḥr nn*		Prince
DP172	*ḥr jr m-ḫt <hrw.w ḳn.w> swꜣ ḥr nn*		Prince
DP197	*ḥr jr m-ḫt hrw.w [swꜣ] ḥr nn*		Prince
DP203		*pr pw jr.n wꜥ [n ḥfꜣ.w]*	Snake
DP221	*ḥr jr m[-ḫt hrw.w swꜣ ḥr nn]*		Prince
DP230		*spr pw jr.n=f*	Prince
DP248	*ḥr jr m-ḫt tꜣ-ḥd 2 n hrw ḫpr*		?
DP249		*jy pw jr.n ///*	?

Key: **bold**—rubrics, grey highlighting—episodic formula.

Figure 3.7. Textual analysis: Episodes in *The Doomed Prince.*

second half of the text, it is also interesting that she only appears as an Actor *within* episodes initiated by the Prince. In fact, the rarity of initial forms being used for foreigners in general is notable, perhaps because foreign characters rarely initiate, but rather react to, significant events. As residents of the land in which the Prince arrives, the events happen to them, not on account of them.

3.3.2.2   *Themes within 'Episodes'*

The situation *within* these broader episodes paints a rather different picture, but corresponds to the increase in the Prince's action after his release that is manifest at the ideational level. The narrative forms beginning with

ꜥḥꜥ.n, sparsely used, seem to be thematic, marking events concerning the Prince's inexorable progression towards his fate: his birth (DP008), his fate being heard about (DP013), the Servant bringing the Dog (DP039), the Princess laying the trap for the Snake (DP207) and the attack of the Crocodile (DP233). Although these clauses focus on the Prince, no events described happen on account of his own agency.[107]

The narrative form ꜥḥꜥ.n is accompanied in the text by the form wn.jn, with which it bears semantic resemblance.[108] The difference between the two, at least as pertains to their use in this text, is that ꜥḥꜥ.n forms seem to sit lower in the narrative hierarchy than clauses initiated by wn.jn,[109] which link events sequentially within episodes. Admittedly, this relationship is only demonstrated in one instance, namely clauses DP013–015, in which a clause with ꜥḥꜥ.n which sets the context (the Courtiers hear of the Fate) is followed by a clause with wn.jn that describes the subsequent action (the Courtiers report on what they heard). It thus seems to be likely that the two forms exist on slightly different narrative levels: "la forme wn.jn.f ḥr sḏm permet d'articuler le récit en phases distinctes, en introduisant un fait nouveau … Le fait énoncé au ꜥḥꜥ.n.f ḥr sḏm, au contraire, trouve ses racines, ses motivations, dans le contexte explicite".[110] In other words, and to add to Broze's idea, whereas wn.jn is used to present a new occurrence, ꜥḥꜥ.n introduces events that provide a natural progression from the previous event and draws attention to their thematic value.

The wn.jn≠f ḥr sḏm forms are superordinate to the Sequential/NIMS clauses which follow them.[111] We can see this by the fact that early on, the Prince's actions are manifest only by Sequential/NIMS forms (following DP022 and DP041), whereas the Pharaoh and his staff (DP015, DP016, DP018, DP035, DP037, DP051) and the Syrian Princes (DP071) use the wn.jn≠f form. Only once the Prince begins to take initiative, choosing to attempt the 'suitor test' with the other Princes (DP109) is the wn.jn≠f form used in conjunction with him.[112] The form then expresses the activities of the Prince (DP156, DP173, DP198, DP199, DP218, DP222), but also those of the Chief of Naharin and his staff (DP115, DP119, DP125, DP126, DP141, DP155, DP170), as well as the Princess, when she begins to intervene in his fate (DP175, DP201, DP212, DP213). The form also represents the actions of

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[107]   Wieder 2007: 153.
[108]   Satzinger 1976: 266, § 1.2.1.3, note 8 argues that the forms are interchangeable, but as a more in-depth analysis reveals, the case may be more subtle than this.
[109]   Wieder 2007: 154.
[110]   Broze 1996: 201.
[111]   Compare with Wieder 2007: 154.
[112]   Broze 1996: 163.

Clause	Internal Marker	Character (Theme)
DP008	*ʿḥʿ.n msy wʿ n sꜣ ṯꜣy*	Prince
DP013	*ʿḥʿ.n sḏm nꜣ n r(m)ṯ.w*	Courtiers
DP015	*wn.jn⸗sn ḥr wḥm⸗sn n ḥm⸗f ʿ.w.s.*	Courtiers
DP016	*wn.jn ḥm⸗f ʿ.w.s. ḥr ḫpr*	Pharaoh
DP018	*wn.jn ḥm⸗f ʿ.w.s. ḥr dj ḳd[.tw n⸗f wʿ n pr]*	Pharaoh
DP035	*wn.jn pꜣ sḏm-ꜥš ḥr šm*	Servant
DP037	*wn.jn ḥm⸗f ʿ.w.s. ḥr ḏd*	Pharaoh
DP039	*ʿḥʿ.n{n}⸗tw ḥr <dj> jt.tw n⸗f pꜣ ṯsm*	(Some)one/Servant
DP051	*wn.jn⸗tw ḥr nḥb n⸗f wʿ n wrry.t*	(Some)one/Servant
DP071	*wn.jn⸗sn ḥr jt pꜣ ẖrd r pꜣy⸗sn pr*	Syrian Princes
DP109	*wn.jn pꜣ ẖrd ḥr jy*	Prince
DP115	*wn.jn⸗tw{⸗f}ḥr šm*	(Some)one/Mitannian Messenger
DP119	*wn.jn pꜣ wr ḥr nḏnḏ⸗f*	Chief of Naharin
DP125	*wn.jn pꜣ wr n n-h-r-n ḥr ḳnd r ꜥꜣ.t wr.t*	Chief of Naharin
DP126	*wn.jn⸗f ḥr ḏd*	Chief of Naharin
DP141	*wn.jn pꜣ wpw.tï ḥr šm*	Mitannian Messenger
DP155	*wn.jn pꜣ[y⸗s jt ḥr dj jn].tw pꜣ [šrj m-bꜣḥ]⸗f*	Chief of Naharin
DP156	*wn.jn pꜣ [šrj ḥr jy m-bꜣḥ]⸗f*	Prince
DP170	*wn.jn⸗f ḥr dj n⸗f tꜣy⸗f šrj(.t) r ḥ(j)m.t*	Chief of Naharin
DP173	*wn.jn pꜣ šrj ḥr ḏd n tꜣy⸗f ḥ(j)m.t*	Prince
DP175	*wn.jn⸗s ḥr ḏd n⸗f*	Princess of Naharin
DP198	*wn.jn pꜣ šrj ḥr ḥms ḥr jr hrw-nfr*	Prince
DP199	*wn.jn pꜣ šrj ḥr sḏr ḥr pꜣy⸗f ḥtʿ*	Prince
DP201	*wn.jn tꜣy⸗f ḥ(j)m.t ḥr mḥ wʿ [n gꜣy {n}<m> jrp]*	Princess of Naharin
DP207	*ʿḥʿ.n nꜣ n [gꜣy] [ḥꜣ]ʿ n pꜣ ḫꜣ.w*	
DP210	*wn.jn⸗f ḥr sḏr*	Snake
DP212	*wn[.jn tꜣy⸗f ḥ(j)m.t ḥr dj jry].tw⸗f m fdḳ.w*	Princess of Naharin
DP213	*wn.jn⸗s{n} ḥr nhs pꜣy⸗s hꜣy ///*	Princess of Naharin
DP218	*[wn.jn⸗f ḥr] wdn n pꜣ-[rʿ]*	Prince
DP222	*wn.jn pꜣ šrj ḥr pr*	Prince
DP226	*wn.jn pꜣy⸗f jw ḥr tꜣ dp.w-rʾ*	Dog
DP229	*[wn].jn⸗f ḥr sḥsḥ r-ḥꜣ[.t]⸗f*	Prince
DP233	*ʿḥʿ.n /// [s]w pꜣ msḥ*	Crocodile

Key: grey highlighting—*ʿḥʿ.n* form.

Figure 3.8. Textual analysis: Themes within episodes in *The Doomed Prince*.

some of the Prince's Opponents, the Snake (DP210) and the Dog (DP226). Like the ideational analysis, the textual analysis of the discourse markers within each episode indicate a significant change in the grammar once the Prince takes control of his destiny.

3.3.2.3   *Topicalisation*

On occasion, characters are marked as Themes through the topicalised clauses, in which case the character (an anticipatory noun) is introduced by *jr* 'as for'. This unusual order ensures that the anticipatory nouns are introduced as something familiar or as something that the following sentence will discuss,[113] punctuating transitions in discourse from one phase of activity to another.[114] It is noteworthy that almost all topicalised anticipatory nouns in this text (the protases) are not reflected in their respective independent clause (the apodoses).[115] This thematic strategy creates a perturbation in the grammar, which is perhaps a way of introducing characters while also establishing limitations and conditions for their existence.

   There are a number of examples that illustrate this marking procedure. The Pharaoh is the Theme as part of a topicalised noun phrase: *jr ntf* 'as for him', which is qualified by another noun phrase, *wꜥ n nsw* 'a king' (DP001, *LES* 1, 1). Though marked, the king has little bearing on the Transitivity of the subsequent material clause. As the Beneficiary ('to *him*'), the Pharaoh is portrayed as *not* being the recipient of a child.[116] All necessary information, focusing on the unborn son, appears in the Rheme, which comprises the independent clause. Placing the Pharaoh as Theme of the first clause establishes him as the pivot of the early part of the tale, though he has little bearing on the narrative once he has 'set in motion' the circumstances under which the tale can take place: a son has been requested and granted, albeit with ramifications. On the other hand, the unborn child's appearance as the Subject of the following clause emphasises his *potential* for importance.

   The Syrian Princes are presented as a Theme by way of the topicalised element *pꜣ* that is elaborated by an embedded clause and then recurs in the independent clause that forms the Rheme: *jr pꜣ n.tï jw≠f r pḥ pꜣ sšd n tꜣy≠j šrj.t jw≠s n≠f r ḥ(j)m.t* "As for *the one* who will reach the window of my daughter, she will be a wife for *him*" (DP066–DP067, *LES* 3, 8). However, they have little

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[113] Junge 2005: 251.
[114] Martin 2000: 69.
[115] Junge 2005: 254 suggests that in such cases the protasis may merely allow the apodosis to be uttered.
[116] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 251.

bearing on the independent clause, since the Princess' appearance as the principal Participant demonstrates her budding prominence. Nonetheless, the topicalisation of the winning Syrian Prince (the Beneficiary:Client)[117] diverts the focus from her. The Princes are also topicalised in DP097 (*LES* 4, 7), but again they are marked as the Theme without having any role in the Rheme, which is this time commandeered by the Chief.

The Prince, like the Pharaoh, is topicalised with *jstw* 'now'. First to be noted is that the particle *jstw* marks either an element of the sub-plot or an important element that accompanies the narrative discourse.[118] However, unlike others of its kind, the actions of the Prince are being topicalised rather than the Prince himself: "since the day of arrival of the child from the land of Egypt" (lit. that the child…did) (DP185–DP186, *LES* 7, 1). This clause returns the focus, recently commandeered by the Princess of Naharin (DP175–DP184, *LES* 6, 12–16), to the Doomed Prince, though directly following this, the focus comes to rest, somewhat ominously, on the Crocodile (DP188, *LES* 7, 2).

The Doomed Prince is therefore prominent across the text, both in the way in which he initiates episodes, as well as the way in which topicalisation is used to draw the focus back to him. His increasing agency upon his release from his father, which is visible at the ideational level, is coupled with the use of *wn.jn≈f ḥr sḏm* forms. Though these forms are used also in reference to the Saviour-Princess within episodes, she never appears as a hyper-Theme or as a marked Theme. The interpersonal analysis to follow shall explore the ways in which conclusions about character *interaction* fit with the conclusions of these last two analyses, which were concerned with character *representation*.

3.4   *Character Interaction*

3.4.1   *Interpersonal Analysis*

A character's means of interaction with other characters is as fundamental to their characterisation as their representation and development.[119] The best means to access this information in the grammar is at the *interpersonal* level of language, which focuses on the mood and modality of

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[117]   The Beneficiary:Client label reflects the person on whose behalf something is done, whereas the more common form, the Beneficiary:Recipient reflects the person to whom something is given. See Eggins 2004: 220–221.
[118]   Ritter 1995: 159.
[119]   This potential within the interpersonal Metafunction is noted by Kennedy 1982: 94.

spoken propositions between pairs of speakers in order to establish the tenor of a conversation, in other words, the power relations established by the interlocutors.[120] The relevant grammatical forms are strengthened by co-text (who says what to whom) and by frequency (how often). The sociolinguistic implications of the choice of mood depending on the interlocutor[121] will also be explored here, albeit with the understanding that fictional characters need not be beholden to the kind of decorum expected of people in everyday life.

3.4.1.1   *The Doomed Prince and the Pharaoh*

In his assertion of independence, the Prince uses the Emphatic Form with the interrogative particle *jḥ*[122] to pose a rhetorical question to his father: *jy jḥ jw mj-nꜣ ḥms.kw* "Why has (it) occurred that I stay here?" (DP044–DP045, *LES* 2, 12). The Causative Imperative that follows, *jmj ḫꜣꜥ.tw⸗j*, "Let me be released", is jussive in sense, since the Prince wants to be given permission.[123] Then, the explicatory Prospective *jry⸗j n ḥꜣ.tï⸗j*, "so that I may act according to my will" (DP047–DP048, *LES* 2, 13) demonstrates the Prince's ability. By contrast, the following Terminative form, *j-jr.t pꜣ nṯr jr pꜣ n.tï m jb⸗f* "until the god does that which is in his heart." (DP049–DP050, *LES* 2, 13–14) has relative future sense,[124] and underlines the *certainty* (epistemic modality)[125] of the Prince's life being taken by the god.

3.4.1.2   *The Doomed Prince and the Servants*

During his captivity (DP028–DP030, *LES* 2, 4–5), the Doomed Prince uses an interrogative to ask his Servant about a greyhound and then mobilises the Causative Imperative to demand that (Some)one be brought to him (DP034, *LES* 2, 6). The Pharaoh then repeats this command to the Servant when he acquiesces to the Prince's demand, which is the only marked mood attributed to him in the tale (DP038, *LES* 2, 8). The interrogative indicates the Prince's youth and *naïveté*, whereas the Imperative demonstrates his status.

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[120] Eggins 2004: 99–102, Butt, Fahey, Feez, Spinks & Yallop 2000: 182–183 as well as Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 593.

[121] Hudson 1996: 107.

[122] Junge 2005: 167.

[123] For a description of the jussive, which forms part of the deontic modal system, see Palmer 2001: 81.

[124] Junge 2005: 228.

[125] Palmer 2001: 86.

In contrast, having prepared the Prince for his journey, a Servant says to him: *jḥ šm⸗k n ꞽb⸗k*, "May you go according to your will" (DP056, *LES* 3, 1). The Servant's volition is emphasised by the use of the particle, or rather bound morpheme *jḥ*, which by this time was linked exclusively to the Prospective.[126] It also marks his subordination to the Prince, since this form is what we could call a *mood metaphor* for the Imperative.[127] In other words, by using this form, the Servant requests without commanding, and thereby establishes a situation which Systemic Functional Linguistics would argue "creates greater social distance between speaker and addressee".[128] This is an excellent example of what Brown and Levinson call *negative politeness*, which was discussed in the previous chapter (see 2.3.6.7).[129]

A similar form is used when the Mitannian Messenger asks the Doomed Prince to leave Naharin. He implements an optative construction formed with *jḥ* plus a Prospective: *jḥ šm⸗k r pꜣ n.tï jw.n⸗k jm{⸗j}* "May you go back to the place where you came from!" (DP131–DP132, *LES* 5, 9). This use of a mood metaphor, which seemingly establishes the Prince's departure as a probability (contingent on his volition) rather than a certainty,[130] changes what is otherwise extremely similar to the Chief's command shortly before in the Imperative, *jmj šm⸗f n⸗f ꜥn*, "Make him take himself off again!" (DP128).

3.4.1.3   *The Doomed Prince and the Syrian Princes*

The Syrian Princes, in their questions to the Doomed Prince, show that they are of a suitable rank to address the Prince with an interrogative that

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[126] Winand 1992: 222 suggests that this particle, being now linked exclusively to the Prospective (cf. Vernus 1990b: 103 and 106 for Middle Egyptian) seems to form "une unité morphologique" with the Prospective. Cf. Vernus 1990b: 25. Sweeney 2001: 49 analyses the use of this construction from a discourse analytical perspective and argues that in the *Late Ramesside Letters* the form *jḥ sḏm⸗k* is used only once to address a superior and is commonly used between equals and to subordinates. However, this is not the case in *The Doomed Prince*, nor is it the case in Papyrus Turin 1940–1941, 2, 2, in Botti 1955: figure 2, when an official addresses King Thutmose III: *jḥ smnḫ⸗k jb⸗k* "Steady your heart! (lit. may you make your heart effective)", as Sweeney 2003: 144, note 71 admits. Frandsen 1974: 26, on the other hand points out that the *jḥ sḏm⸗f* form is more direct than the Prospective alone, since it implies that the interlocutor can perform the task.

[127] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 631, 637.

[128] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 631, also 632, show that the realisation of the Imperative as a "metaphor of mood" allows "the semantic system of speech function to be further elaborated in delicacy".

[129] Brown & Levinson 1987: 129.

[130] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 618, 627, 631–633.

demands information (DP079, *LES* 3, 15). The use of the vocative *pꜣ šrj nfr* 'handsome boy' also places the discussants on a more friendly footing.[131] Similarly, the Prince, having responded to their request and told his story, asks the Princes about their own situation, again using the interrogative mood with the vocative *šrj.w* 'boys' (DP091–DP092, *LES* 4, 5). Having been told about the contest, the Prince responds by using the modal 'wish' particle *ḫl*:[132] *ḫl* [*bn*] *tw⸗j ḥr šn rd.wï⸗j* "Would that I did [not] suffer (on account of) my feet!" (DP100–DP101, *LES* 4, 9)[133] which gives the First Present form a hypothetical, even conditional, quality. The use, from both sides, of the vocative plus interrogative between the Syrian Princes and the Egyptian Prince perhaps suggests their equal rank,[134] which would substantiate their high level of self-motivated activity at the ideational level.

Mood	Grammatical Form	Examples	Addressee
Imperative	Causative Imperative	DP034	Servant
		DP047	Pharaoh
Interrogative	*jḫ* + Pseudo-Cleft Sentence	DP028	Servant
		DP091	Syrian Princes
	Emphatic Form + *jḫ*	DP044	Pharaoh
Subjunctive	Prospective	DP048	Pharaoh
Declarative Modal	Future III	DP180	Princess of Naharin
Vocative	*ḥr mk*	DP046	Pharaoh
	šrj.w	DP092	Syrian Princes
Mood particle	*ḫl*	DP100	Syrian Princes

Figure 3.9. Interpersonal analysis: The Doomed Prince.

[131] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 134.

[132] Junge 2005: 341, 343 and Lesko 2002: 295, 318. Lesko 2002: 319 connects the particle (written as *ḫl* (*ḥnr*) and *hꜣ*) with the verb *ḥnr* 'to wish/lack'.

[133] The translation of the clause, like that of both Hintze 1952: 178 and Junge 2005: 267, follows Wolf 1932: 71 by inserting *bn* into the lacuna and by reading *šn* as 'suffering on account of ', which is usually classified with 🐦 (Gardiner Sign G37), rather than its homonym 'recite/enchant' which normally bears the classifier 🧎 (Gardiner Sign A2) we see here.

[134] Eyre 2007: 223 suggests that, given the Prince's arrival in a chariot with a retainer, his purported status would have been considered to be high enough for the Syrian Princes. Though their kind ministrations and question *precede* the Prince's story, their attentions do not stop after they hear it.

3.4.1.4 *The Chief of Naharin and His Servants*

The Chief of Naharin uses the interrogative to acquire information and also as a rhetorical device. Firstly, he asks his Messenger about the victor of the contest (DP121, *LES* 5, 4), but having heard about the Egyptian 'chariot-warrior's son' (DP118, DP123–DP124, *LES* 5, 2 and 5, 4–5), he asks: *jn-j*[*w*] *j-dj≠j t3y≠j šrj.t n p3 wˤr n km.t* "So I shall give my daughter to the *fugitive* from Egypt?" (DP127, *LES* 5, 7). This question, an Emphatic Form[135] that uses the interrogative particle *jn-jw*,[136] is clearly rhetorical[137] and ironic in tone, judging by the juxtaposition of the *obligation* to perform an expected action ('I shall give my daughter') with the emphatic designation of the Prince as a 'fugitive'. The statement also has a sense of *irrealis*, perhaps linked to its (relative) future tense,[138] which betrays the Chief's impression that this situation will never occur. In sum, this is a statement of impressive rhetorical force, providing a clear demarcation of status between Mitannian royalty and Egyptian fugitives.[139] The Chief then responds by issuing a *bald-on-record* command[140] in the Imperative to order his Servant to take immediate action (DP128 *LES* 5, 8).

Likewise, the Chief's intentions regarding his daughter are made clear in his address to the Syrian Princes, which has been discussed in section 3.3.1.4: *jw≠s n≠f r ḥ(j)m.t*, "she will be a wife for him" (DP066, *LES* 3, 8). This form, perhaps a Middle Egyptian *jw* Sentence with future intent (analogous to the Third Future),[141] is modal, inasmuch as it emphasises the definiteness with which the Chief regards his daughter's fate. This certainty is emphasised in the Third Future form which the Syrian Princes use to reiterate the Chief's words (DP097, *LES* 4, 7).

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[135] Kruchten 2005: 49–52 and Polis 2009: 245, on the basis of a re-assessment of Möller's hieratic facsimile, suggest reading the passage as the sole example of the form *jn-j*[*w*] *j-dj≠j t3y≠j šrj.t n p3 wˤr n km.t*, translated by Polis as "suis-je vraiment en train de donner ma fille à ce fuyard d'Égypte?" However, this reading is not absolutely clear in the hieratic, and the form itself is problematic to translate, placing it in the present tense, with no clear modality. It is perhaps more possible that the form is a Future III *jw≠j r dj*.

[136] Junge 2005: 193.

[137] Sweeney 1991: 323 defines rhetorical questions as questions that either remain unanswered or which have answers predetermined by the asker.

[138] Junge 2005: 129–130. It does not follow, however, that the meaning is modal, although it is possible.

[139] Sweeney 1991: 324, also 331 exemplifies the power embodied by the asker of a rhetorical question: they "reverse the normal preconditions of asking questions" as part of a power play with the addressee.

[140] Brown & Levinson 1987: 94–95.

[141] Winand 1996: 128.

3.4.1.5   *The Chief of Naharin Sizes Up the Doomed Prince*

Up to the point of meeting, the Chief has spoken ill of the Prince and has made attempts to be rid of him, whereas the Prince has not defended himself. The following episode, in which the Chief summons the Prince, is thus a turning point. The Chief sustains interpersonal dominance, using the Imperative towards the Prince to ask him about himself (DP161, *LES* 6, 5). However, the Prince's 'story' that follows (DP164–DP169, *LES* 6, 6–8) undermines this dominance by exhibiting, at an extra-clausal (rather than interpersonal) level, the power of misinformation that the Prince holds over the Chief and the Syrian Princes by misleading them about his identity. The Prince's lie about his identity establishes a "bond of complicity" between the character and the audience against another character, which keeps the audience on the Prince's side.[142] It is perhaps ironic that the Prince constructs a new identity abroad (in itself a literary motif)[143] that is based on one of the most predictable narrative motifs, fleeing a 'wicked stepmother'.[144] Additionally, the parallelism of the First Present forms, as well as what could be assonance and alliteration in *mw.t* and *m(w)t* and *jt* and *jr* make the passage sound not only poetic,[145] but also fable-like and well rehearsed (DP081–DP083 and DP164–DP166):

> *jnk šrj n wˁ n sn[n] n pꜣ tꜣ n km.t*
> *jw tꜣy≡j mw.t ḥr m(w)t*
> *jw pꜣy≡j jt ḥr jr n≡f k.t ḥ(j)m.t*
>
> I am the son of a chariot-warrior from the land of Egypt,
> my mother died,
> and my father took for himself another wife

That the Mitannians wholeheartedly believe such a lie almost seems a joke at their expense: they fall for such a *cliché*! The Prince's need for a

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[142] Parkinson 2002: 155 uses this term to describe the occasion in which Sinuhe lies to Ammunenshi that he does not know the cause of king Amenemhat's death and then informs the reader: "I spoke in untruth".

[143] Motifs K1810, 'Deception by disguise' and K1816.0.3, 'Menial disguise of princess' lover', where K is the area 'Deceptions', Thompson 1955c: 428 and 433.

[144] Motif S31, 'Cruel stepmother', Thompson 1955d: 300. In an Egyptological context, Eyre 2007: 243 argues that the stereotype of the evil stepmother also had a social basis: marriage and endowment contracts drawn up illustrate that stepmothers could be seen as a threat to the livelihood of the late wife's children.

[145] Burkard 1996: 456 presents an analysis of these stylistic devices, though Lichtheim 1973: 11 also discusses how "symmetrically structured speech" evokes an oratorical style.

Mood	Grammatical Form	Examples	Addressee
Imperative	Imperative	DP161	Prince
	Causative Imperative	DP128	Messenger
Interrogative	Nominal Sentence (elided)	DP121	Messenger
	Emphatic Form	DP127	Messenger
Declarative Modal	Future III	DP066	Syrian Princes
Vocative	*ptr*	DP162	Prince

Figure 3.10. Interpersonal analysis: The Chief of Naharin.

new identity is therefore made clear by his tacit acceptance of the consequences associated with being demoted in status.[146] In so doing, he deliberately makes rank an issue.

3.4.1.6 *The Princess of Naharin versus Her Father*

By comparison, the Princess' means of asserting her rights against her father deal less with definite circumstances (which are perhaps a ruler's privilege) and more with contingent ones. The interlocutor is significant here—as the ideational analysis indicates, the Chief and Princess never actually talk *to* each other, since the Messenger acts as mediator. This mode of assertion differs somewhat from the Prince's, which is conveyed by a letter, but the *distance* implied by both these communications highlights the isolation of the principal characters from the world of the living. Nevertheless, the directness of the letter format which the Prince uses towards his father reveals a status in relation to the parent that we do not see in the Princess' addresses to hers. The modality in her oath formula[147] expresses probability and conditionality: the modal Prospective, *wȝḥ p3-rʿ-ḥr-3ḫ.tï*, "As Pre-Horakhty endures" (DP136, *LES* 5, 10), is followed by the Conjunctive that establishes a (non-explicit) condition, *mtw≠tw nḥm≠f m-dj≠j*, "should (Some)one take him away from me" (DP137, *LES* 5, 11).[148]

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[146] Tatar 1981: 85–86 argues that the conflict between classes is a common feature of fairy tales.

[147] Junge 2005: 141, 290–291.

[148] Given this form's unusual behaviour in this 'oath' context, Hintze 1952: 273 calls it *'elliptischer' Konjunktiv*.

The consequences of the condition appear in modal Third Future forms like *nn jw≠j r wnm*, "I will not eat" (DP138–DP140, *LES* 5, 11–12).[149] Her second series of threats also employ the modal Prospective and Conjunctive, as well as a First Present form indicating her state of 'being dead' which may be analogous to the Third Future,[150] to reinforce the consequences of killing her betrothed (DP148–DP152, *LES* 5, 14–16).[151] These forms, emphasising potential situations and their consequences, are highly charged persuasive devices. We could say that the Princess' reliance on contingency does not significantly distinguish her from the Prince, since these forms are more appropriate for this situation than an Imperative.[152] However, her use of non-explicit commands seems to illustrate her lower status in relation to her parent and her desperation in trying to achieve a positive outcome that we do not see in the Prince's fight for independence.

3.4.1.7   *The Prince, The Princess and The Fight against Fate*

The fate of the Prince seems to be the fundamental concern of the conversations between husband and wife, which emphasises its thematic quality in the narrative. Having heard about her husband's fate (DP174, *LES* 6, 11), the Princess' reply (DP176–177, *LES* 6, 13), as discussed in the ideational analysis, is complex. Significantly, this is the first (and only, to the best of our knowledge) time in which the Princess uses the Imperative, and she directs it at her husband. By couching the 'action' of the command ('killing the dog') in *two sets* of causatives, an Imperative and a Subjunctive, she is clearly downplaying the impact of a powerful statement for fear of upsetting her husband: *jmj dj≠tw ẖ{t}<d>b pꜣ jw* "Ensure that (Some)one causes to kill the dog".[153]

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[149]   See Junge 2005: 137 for the modal Future III.
[150]   Winand 1996: 135.
[151]   Polis 2009: 122 enunciates the contrast between the forms well: "la modalité implicite d'intention véhiculée par le future III pourriat s'opposer à la modalité explicite de promesse propre au subjonctif".
[152]   Friedrich Junge (personal communication).
[153]   This suggestion runs counter to the suggestion by Sweeney 2008: 196, that the Princess' use of the 'straightforward' Causative Imperative (compared to a more oblique request form) gives the impression that she does not understand the Prince's feelings for his dog. I instead see the use of several Causative forms as suggesting more elaborate precautions. The use of the causative to achieve distance is also discussed in general linguistics, for which see Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 130–132.

Mood	Grammatical Form	Examples	Addressee
Imperative	Causative Imperative	DP176	Prince
Declarative Modal	Prospective	DP136, DP148, DP150, DP152	Messenger/Pre
	Future III	DP138, DP139, DP140	Messenger/Pre
		DP217	Prince
	Conjunctive after Prospective	DP137, DP149	Messenger/Pre
Vocative	*ptr*	DP216	Prince

Figure 3.11. Interpersonal analysis: The Princess of Naharin.

Unfortunately, the beginning of the Prince's response to this command is lost (DP179, *LES* 6, 14).[154] Nonetheless, it is clear that he reacts with more agency and emotion than his wife. He echoes her command, but changes it interpersonally: the negated Future III, *nn jw꞊j r dj ḫdb p3y꞊j jw* "I will not cause to kill my dog", makes the event more definite (DP180, *LES* 6, 14).

3.4.1.8   *The Power of the Gods*

Early in the tale, the Hathors determine the fate of the Doomed Prince before members of the Egyptian court (DP012. *LES* 1, 6). Even if these goddesses have no control over this fate,[155] they certainly have the authority of decree over their audience (DP013–DP015, *LES* 1, 7–8). The modal Prospective with which the prophecy is delivered conveys a certainty that the Pharaoh can only grieve about (DP016–017, *LES* 1, 9). Other characters also acknowledge this divine power. Having saved the Prince's life, the Princess emphasises to her husband the power of the god by using the modal Third Future to indicate the certainty of Pre's action on his behalf: *jw꞊f r s[3w꞊k]*, "He *will* guard you" (DP217, *LES* 8, 5).

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[154] Gardiner 1932: 6a, 7, 7b–c comments on the lacuna. The space is apparently insufficient for *m-jr* 'do not!', but no other suggestions are made.

[155] Hubai 1992: 280.

3.4.1.9   *Conclusions: Power and Mood*

3.4.1.9a   *The Distribution of the Imperative*

By assessing the distribution of the imperative mood, we attain a sense of the power relations between characters in the story.[156] Of the six Imperatives used, the Prince uses two in order to gain some control over his fate through his father: one is an indirect request via a servant, and the other is a direct command in writing (DP034, DP047, *LES* 2, 6 and 2, 13). The Egyptian king's compliance with his son's request for a greyhound is represented by the only Imperative attributed to him (DP038, *LES* 2, 8).

The power of command then moves squarely to the residents of the foreign land to which the Prince travels: the Chief of Naharin and his daughter. One of the Chief's two Imperatives relates to his attempts to be rid of the Egyptian Prince (DP128, *LES* 5, 8), and the other concerns his interrogation (but also acceptance) of his future son-in-law (DP161, *LES* 6, 5). The Imperative used by the Princess of Naharin, ordering him to have his dog killed (DP176, *LES* 6, 13), perhaps suggests that her marriage increased her personal power. This development is significant particularly in relation to her husband, who in the extant text does not address her in this manner.

Despite the incomplete state of the text, the interpersonal analysis seems to suggest that when the Prince goes abroad, he gives himself over to fate: he has no more right to command.[157] It is certainly noteworthy (and a little humorous) that the Prince's relinquishment of his power seems to be intentional: by changing his identity, and hence his rank, the Prince deliberately places himself in an inferior position in a foreign court and robs himself of any claim to good treatment. Perhaps, by accepting his fate, he allows circumstances to take their course.[158] His maintenance of the ruse, however, affords him the power of subterfuge, which he holds over everyone in this new world, including his wife.[159]

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[156] I have avoided including imperative particles such as *ptr* and *mk*, which are not literal orders and serve only to call a person's attention.

[157] Unfortunately, his reply in DP179, *LES* 6, 14 is damaged.

[158] On the other hand, it is possible that the Doomed Prince's secret identity, like Sinuhe's flight, was, as Baines 1982: 42 regarded it, "self-sufficient"—not requiring a motive.

[159] On these grounds, I would not qualify the Prince, together with Sinuhe and Wenamun, as one of the *Pseudo-Helden*: "die in dialektischer Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ausland dargestellt werden und ihre 'psychologische' Schwäche durch eine 'ideologische' Kraft kompensieren", as Loprieno 1988a: 70 proposes. The Prince is not shown as having a psychological weakness: he has a fate.

A striking feature of the Imperative in this text is that five out of six are the Causative Imperative *jmj*, which is followed by a Prospective that is either passive (DP034, DP038, DP047) or active (DP128, DP176). These causatives, from the perspective of Transitivity, mark the speaker as a 'non-doer', though in this text they are aimed at characters of various ranks. Therefore, it is unlikely that they are intended to be less forceful, in light of the addressee.

3.4.1.9b   *The Distribution of the Interrogative*

Interrogative forms can have a significant role in determining power relations. Where a social superior uses the interrogative, "the answerer is being tested in some way",[160] though, on the other hand, if the questioner is addressing a superior, then "he is either requesting authoritative confirmation or asking for information he does not possess from someone who does possess that information and, indeed, has the power to withhold it".[161] We see both of these features at work in the text, though other patterns also occur. For instance, the Prince asks three out of the six questions in the tale to learn about his world and surroundings. The first question, what the animal on the road is (DP028, *LES* 2, 4.), establishes the unusual situation (by power standards) of the young and ignorant Prince asking his Servant for information. The second, what he is doing restricted at home (DP044, *LES* 2, 12), exercises rhetorical power over the Pharaoh, and the third, what the Syrian Princes are doing (DP091, *LES* 4, 5), establishes camaraderie. All three questions use the interrogative particle *jḥ*, and unlike the Prince's Imperatives, are asked both in Egypt and abroad. The interrogatives used by other characters concern the Doomed Prince. The Syrian Princes ask him where he comes from (DP079, *LES* 3, 15, using *tnw*), and the Chief of Naharin asks which suitor has won the contest (DP121, *LES* 5, 4, using *nïm*), and (rhetorically) whether such a 'fugitive from Egypt' ought to be given to his daughter (DP127, *LES* 5, 7, using *jn-jw*).[162] These interrogative patterns of exchange have been taken by Loprieno as a step in the development of *mimesis*: whereas in *The Tale of Sinuhe*, Sinuhe investigates foreigners, the foreigners in *The Doomed Prince* ask about the Egyptian, apparently because "Ägypter-Sein ist nicht

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[160] Kennedy 1982: 95.
[161] Kennedy 1982: 95.
[162] Silverman 1980: 116 states that *jn-jw* is an interrogative form used in literary texts, which is usually directly followed by a suffix pronoun (as part of the First Present). Silverman does not account for its use with the Emphatic Form.

mehr 'selbstverständlich' ".[163] Since the Prince *exchanges* questions with the Syrian Princes, it seems that curiosity existed on both sides. Nonetheless, it does seem to be the case that the Egyptian is portrayed through the questions of the foreigners as an ethnic outsider.[164] This would perhaps convey to the audience that similar interest in the strange and new would have been as apparent abroad as in Egypt.[165]

3.4.1.9c   *The Distribution of the 'Modal Future' Forms*

The Servants in the tale use an 'optative' Prospective construction with the particle (by now a bound morpheme) *jḥ* to establish a mood metaphor (in other words, a polite version) of the Imperative (DP056, DP131, *LES* 3, 1 and 5, 9). The link between the status of the speaker and choice of modal form is indicated in one instance by the Chief's command being repeated almost *verbatim*, with the exception of a change of mood.[166] The modal Prospective is also used by the Princess in her address to her father to swear by Pre (DP136, DP148, *LES* 5, 10 and 5, 14) and to threaten (DP137, DP149, *LES* 5, 11 and 5, 15.), which makes her discourse more like the address of the Servants towards the Doomed Prince than the commands of the Prince, the Pharaoh and the Chief. The Prince's use of declaratives and Imperatives make his request for freedom far more straightforward than the contingencies of the Princess'.[167] Perhaps on this basis we can argue for a connection between propositional *explicitness* and power. Despite this, the consequences that the Princess threatens in the Prospective and Third Future are fatally clear. Like the Prince, she is taking her life into her own hands.[168] The only other use of modal declaratives is by the Crocodile, who uses the Third Future, Conjunctive and Prospective to make a deal with the Prince (DP241, DP244, DP246, *LES* 9, 1 and 9, 3). His reasons for doing so are unfortunately cryptic, given that the text breaks here.

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[163] Loprieno 1988a: 62–63.
[164] Loprieno 1988a: 64, in reference to *The Prophecy of Neferti*, 29–33, for which references are given in Loprieno 1988a: 27, note 17.
[165] Loprieno 1988a: 64, mentioned in Blumenthal 1993: 201 and Baines 1996b: 374.
[166] Compare DP128 with DP131–DP132, *LES* 5, 8–9.
[167] Martin 1995: 51.
[168] Sweeney 2008: 201, note 105 points out that in the *Late Egyptian Stories*, only women (the Princess of Naharin and the Wife of Anubis) threaten suicide as a means of gaining control. The use of the Negative Prospective to show that she will not live conveys, as Polis 2009: 250–251 says, "une forte nuance épistémique d'impossibilite".

3.4.1.9d   *The Vocative*

The use of the exclamatory particles *mk* and *ptr* represent an assertive call for the attention of an addressee and to elicit their participation in the exchange.[169] The Prince uses *ḥr mk* 'now, look' early on in his plea to the Pharaoh (DP046, *LES* 2, 12), whereas *ptr* 'look' is used by the Chief of Naharin, the Princess and the Crocodile to address the Prince. The Chief uses it in his speech of acceptance of the Prince into his family (DP162, *LES* 6, 5), the Princess uses it to call attention to the merciful actions of Pre (DP216, *LES* 8, 4), and the Crocodile uses it to announce that he will release the Prince (DP241, *LES* 9, 1). All are used to exercise their power over the Prince by alerting him that a merciful action has been done on his behalf. The Prince, once abroad, uses the less assertive *šrj.w* 'boys' within the clause to mark familiarity with the Syrian Princes rather than demand their attention, as they had done with him (DP079, DP092, *LES* 3, 15 and 4, 5).

An interpersonal analysis thus illustrates the dynamic nature of power: the distribution of Imperatives, interrogative forms, modal forms and vocatives illustrates the Prince's loss of power abroad, which contrasts with the increase in his wife's. With command resting also with the Chief, we can see this power as being in part reliant on the hierarchy inherent in the setting, though it is also dependant on changing gender roles and on the Prince's acceptance of his fate.

3.5   *Power and the Lexicon: Titles, Ethnicity, Rank and Gender*

In addition to grammatical features, lexical features like names and titles can give the reader a clear indication of portrayal and development, as well as the power that a character holds.[170] In this case, a protagonist's anonymity, a common feature of folk tales,[171] makes us reliant on their titles and epithets, which makes the issue of hierarchy even more apparent. For instance, the Pharaoh embodies the kingship as a character, whereas the Prince re-conceptualises himself in Naharin as a chariot-warrior's son. For the purposes of this study, I shall assess the words used to introduce and describe corresponding pairs of characters to note the impact of ethnicity, gender and social status on their characterisation.

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[169] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 134.
[170] Toolan 1988: 101.
[171] Baines 1990: 58.

3.5.1   *The Prince and Princess*

The Doomed Prince is introduced as a potential, then an actual *s3 t3y* 'male son' for the Pharaoh (DP001, DP008, *LES* 1, 1 and 1, 5), who had requested for himself a *šrj* (DP002, *LES* 1, 2), a boy.[172] The Prince is then predominantly designated as *ẖrd* 'child'[173] in the first half of the text (see figure 3.12, *LES* 1, 8; 1, 11–2; 1; 2, 6; 2, 10; 3, 11; 3, 13; 4, 11; 4, 14 and 7, 1). Upon his arrival in Naharin, however, the term used for the Prince changes to *šrj*, perhaps to indicate his growth as well as to mark his gender as distinct from the Princess, who is a *šrj.t*, as discussed below. The Prince is described as *p3 šrj nfr* 'the handsome boy' by the Syrian Princes (DP079, *LES* 3, 15) and as *p3 šrj* for the remainder of the text (see [DP155], [DP156],[174] DP173, DP190, DP198, DP199, DP204, DP222, DP236, *LES* 6, 1–3; 6, 11; 7, 4; 7, 10–11; 7, 14; 8, 8 and 8, 15). The only recurrence of *p3 ẖrd* (DP186, *LES* 7, 1) refers retrospectively to the arrival of the Prince abroad in *earlier* times, prior to meeting the Princess. The data therefore makes both the growth of the Prince as well as his gender.

 The Prince's independence as a character is manifest not only in his having never been portrayed as the Pharaoh's son, but also in his creation of a false identity, which presents him not (as the Chief of Naharin would like) as the *šrj nïm m n3 n wr.w* "the son of which of the chiefs?" (DP121, *LES* 5, 4), but rather as the *šrj n wʿ n snn n p3 t3 n km.t* "the son of a chariot-warrior from the land of Egypt" (DP081, DP123, DP164, *LES* 3, 16; 5, 4 and 6, 6).[175] It seems significant that the Prince picks an ignominious title for his 'father': a *snn* is of a similar rank to a *wʿw*, or 'infantryman', and therefore is not an official rank.[176] This may explain why the Chief of Naharin regards him rather blackly as *p3 wʿr n km.t* 'the fugitive from Egypt' (DP127, *LES* 5, 7),[177] a term used also to describe fugitive Egyptians in both

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[172] *Wb.* IV 526.
[173] See *Wb.* III 396–398.
[174] DP155 and DP156 are Gardiner's restorations.
[175] The term is abridged in DP123. The title appears in the *Kadesh Poem* of Ramesses II, Papyrus Sallier III, 2, 2; 7, 1 and 8, 6, in K*RI* II 33, 5; 64, 4 and 81, 12.
[176] Chevereau 1994: 189 and *Wb.* III 459. Helck 1982: 132 suggests a Near Eastern origin for the title.
[177] Cruz-Uribe 1986: 19 suggests that the Chief of Naharin required more incentive than the Prince's fictional status to be as angry as he was about his daughter's impending marriage. He suggests that the Chief misunderstood the word *snn*, thinking it was a geminated nominal form of *sn* 'to pass by', which in Coptic takes on the pejorative 'vagrant', though I see such a complicated (and anachronistic) suggestion as unnecessary.

Title/Epithet	Clause
s3 t3y	DP001
wʿ n s3 t3y	DP008
p3 ẖrd	DP014, DP020, DP021, DP033, DP041, DP070, DP071, DP074, DP105, DP109, DP186 (retrospectively)
šrj	DP002
p3 šrj nfr	**DP079**
p3 šrj	[DP155], [DP156], DP173, DP190, DP198, DP199, DP204, DP222, DP236
šrj n wʿ n snn	**DP081**, **DP123**, **DP164**
šrj nïm m n3 n wr.w	**DP121**
p3 wʿr n km.t	**DP127**
p3y⸗s h3y	DP183, DP213

Figure 3.12. Lexical analysis: The Doomed Prince.

literary[178] and political texts.[179] Having set his relationship with the Chief to rights, and gaining the hand of the Princess, he then becomes *p3y⸗s h3y* 'her husband' (DP183, DP213, *LES* 6, 15 and 8, 3). This is the only occasion in which he is portrayed as being possessed by someone else, which serves as another indication of his loss of power abroad. The Prince's growth, as well as his loss of independence, is therefore reflected lexically throughout the narrative.

The Princess of Naharin, on the other hand, appears throughout the text as a *šrj.t*, which denotes a *female* child: 'girl' or 'daughter',[180] depending on the context. Unlike the Prince, the Princess does not 'grow' lexically in the text. However, she changes in *ownership*, which establishes a significant gender-based difference in her identity compared to her more autonomous future husband. She is introduced by *wʿ n šrj.t* 'one daughter',

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[178] *The Tale of Sinuhe*, line 149–150, in Papyrus Berlin 3022, Ostracon Ashmolean Museum 1945.40, in Koch 1990: 54, 5–6.

[179] An international agreement concerning fugitives appears on the Karnak Stela bearing the peace treaty between Ramesses II and the Hittite ruler Hattusil III, lines 21–25, in K*RI* II 229, 3–11.

[180] *Wb.* IV 527.

in relation to a discussion of the Chief's progeny (and in comparison with the Egyptian king). This term is accompanied by an appositional emphasis on her gender *s.t-ḥ(j)m.t*, a 'female' (DP061, *LES* 3, 4). She also occurs as a potential *ḥ(j)m.t* 'wife' (DP066, DP097, DP170, *LES* 3, 8; 4, 7 and 6, 8.), which nominates her as the *potential* property of another male. She is simultaneously shown as the actual property of her father through the continued use of either the indirect genitive,[181] *t3 šrj.t n p3 wr n n-h-r-n* 'the daughter of the Chief of Naharin' (DP098, DP107, DP112, *LES* 4, 7; 4, 12 and 4, 15), or through the use of possessive articles,[182] such as *t3y₌j šrj.t* 'my daughter' (DP067, DP127, *LES* 3, 8 and 5, 7) *t3y₌k šrj.t* 'your daughter' (DP118, *LES* 5, 2) and *t3y₌f šrj.t* 'his daughter' (DP155, DP170, *LES* 6, 1 and 6, 8). Similar designations of foreign princesses appear in contemporary 'historical' texts.[183] On only two occasions is the term *t3 šrj.t* used without a stipulation of ownership, thus taking on the meaning 'the girl' (DP133, DP147, *LES* 5, 9 and 5, 14): in the instances she asserts herself against her father. Following her marriage, the Princess changes into *t3y₌f ḥ(j)m.t* 'his wife' (DP173, DP190, DP201, DP205, DP212 and DP224, *LES* 6, 11; 7, 4; 7, 12; 7, 15; 8, 2 and 8, 9).

The relative autonomy of the Prince's presentation in the lexicon mirrors the conclusions of the ideational and interpersonal analysis: the Prince is independent in his movements, and only loses power and autonomy in the foreign land due to his assumed demotion in status and marriage. No substantial ethnic differentiation appears in the terminology to describe the main characters, as it does with the rulers below. More visible here is the differentiation in gender. The Prince's gender is only marked when he moves to Naharin and comes into contact with the Princess. The Princess, on the other hand, is always marked as feminine, in addition to which she is for the most part the possession of a male, being represented autonomously on only two occasions. The focus on their gender[184] is apparent in

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[181] Junge 2005: 63.

[182] Junge 2005: 53.

[183] The Hittite princess appears as *s3.t₌f wr.t* 'his eldest daughter' in the 'Marriage Stela' of Ramesses II, Abu Simbel, line 32, in K*RI* II 247, 1 and 4, and *s3.t p3 wr ꜥ3 n ḫt3* 'the daughter of the Great Chief of Hatti', in line 39, in K*RI* II 250, 7. Her name is never mentioned, although later in the text, she is supplied with an Egyptian name, followed by the title *s3.t p3 wr ꜥ3 n ḫt3 s3.t t3 wr.t ꜥ3.t n ḫt3* 'the daughter of the Great Chief of Hatti, and daughter of the Great Queen of Hatti' on the 'Marriage Stela' at Amarah West, line x+28 and Elephantine, line x+6, in K*RI* II 254, 14–255, 2.

[184] Cases of apposition in relation to the king (DP001, *LES* 1, 1) or the stepmother (DP083, DP124, *LES* 4, 1 and 5, 5 respectively) are indicative not of gender but of role.

Title/Epithet	Clause
wꜥ n šrj.t	DP061
s.t-ḥ(j)m.t	DP061
ḥ(j)m.t	**DP066, DP097**, DP170
tꜣy⸗j šrj.t	**DP067, DP127**
tꜣ šrj.t n pꜣ wr n n-h-r-n	**DP098**, DP107, DP112
tꜣy⸗k šrj.t	**DP118**
tꜣ šrj.t	DP133, DP147
tꜣy⸗f šrj.t	DP155, DP170
tꜣy⸗f ḥ(j)m.t	DP173, DP190, DP201, DP205, DP212, DP224

Figure 3.13. Lexical analysis: The Princess of Naharin.

their introduction to the narrative through apposition:[185] the Prince's *sꜣ tꜣy* (DP001, DP008, *LES* 1, 1 and 1, 5) complements the Princess' *šrj.t s.t-ḥ(j)m.t* (DP061, *LES* 3, 4).

3.5.2 *The Pharaoh and the Chief*

Although the rulers seem to frequently hold grammatical and actual power, they are clearly differentiated on a lexical level. The king is explicitly designated as *nsw* (DP001, *LES* 1, 1) and as *ḥm⸗f ꜥnḫ(.w) wḏꜣ(.w) snb(.w)* (DP002, DP015, DP016, DP018, DP036, DP037, *LES* 1, 2; 1, 8–9 and 2, 7), which are terms commonly applied to Egyptian kings, though not part of the royal titulary.[186] The first term is translated in English as 'king', which can refer to the king of Egypt (specifically of Upper Egypt) as well as certain gods.[187] It designates the bearer as a "Träger der unveränderlichen Institution des Königsamtes",[188] and therefore refers to the *holder* of the office.[189] The second term, 'His Majesty' is commonly used for Egyptian

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[185] Hintze 1950: 127–129.
[186] Blumenthal 1970: 22, referring to Sethe 1911.
[187] *Wb.* II 325, 327–328.
[188] Barta 1980: 478, also Blumenthal 1970: 23 and Windus-Staginsky 2006: 241.
[189] Goedicke 1960: 89–90.

kings[190] to designate the king as a *person*,[191] and is frequently accompanied (as here) by the blessing 'may he live, prosper and be healthy'.[192] Therefore, *nsw* is used to represent aspects of the *Kontinuität* (continuity) of kingship, in reference to living and dead pharaohs, whereas *ḥm* represents the *Einmaligkeit* (single instance) of rulership, and hence refers to the living pharaoh. This idea is apparent grammatically, since *nsw* commonly appears in 'static' and *ḥm* in 'dynamic' sentences, which meant that *nsw* is used in a *beschreibenden* (descriptive) context and *ḥm* in an *erzählenden* (narrative) one.[193] The proposed meaning of *nsw* corresponds well to its use in this narrative, though the single instance is in itself insufficient evidence. In any case, these terms are exclusive to the Pharaoh, which explains why it is unnecessary to stipulate his kingdom: the King of Egypt is, after all, the only *nsw* 'King' in the world. On only one occasion, when the Prince writes to him, does the Pharaoh appear as *pꜣy⸗f jt* 'his father' (DP042, *LES* 2, 11).

The king's nomenclature provides a contrast to the title *pꜣ wr n n-h-r-n* 'the Chief of Naharin' (DP060, DP061, DP125, *LES* 3, 3–4 and 5, 6), or simply *pꜣ wr* 'the Chief' (DP119, DP157, *LES* 5, 3 and 6, 3). The generality of the term *wr*, which applied to chiefs of any foreign land during the New Kingdom,[194] necessitates the stipulation of his kingdom. This could be seen either as an ethnic differentiation from the Pharaoh, or a hierarchical differentiation, given that foreign rulers are not so much 'other' as just another part of the Egyptian ideological *Weltbild*, in which foreign lands and their rulers were considered the domain of the Pharaoh.[195] Another interesting feature is that he is as frequently called *pꜣy⸗s jt* 'her father' as he is named as the Chief (DP116, DP142, DP144, DP154, DP155, *LES* 5, 1; 5, 12–13 and 6, 1). This suggests that his role as father and ruler are equally important in the narrative but dependent on the situation: on his own, he is presented as the Chief, whereas in his interactions (albeit indirect) with his daughter, he is her father.

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[190] *Wb.* III 91. Blumenthal 1970: 56, note A7, refers to Spiegel 1939, who sees the meaning of *ḥm* as coming from *Leiblichkeit*, 'physicality'.

[191] Goedicke 1960: 86–87, 89–90.

[192] *Wb.* I 196.

[193] Blumenthal 1970: 23, sustained by Windus-Staginsky 2006: 245.

[194] *Wb.* I 329, as can be seen in the *Kadesh Bulletin* of Ramesses II, Abu Simbel, K*RI* II 104, 16.

[195] Bresciani 1997 [1990]: 221, Poo 2005: 134 and Vernus 1994a: 49.

More hierarchical lexical choices therefore undermine the *grammatical* parity evident in the depiction of the two rulers.[196] The respective prestige of their titles emphasises their differing status: whereas the Pharaoh is *the* king, the Chief is just another chief, a slant that can be attributed to the Egyptian perspective of the text. Added to this is the respective proportion of official and familial appellations: the Pharaoh is rarely portrayed in a paternal role, whereas the Chief of Naharin is often presented in this manner.

3.5.3   *The Syrian Princes*

The Syrian Princes are introduced as *šrj.w nb n wr.w nb n pꜢ tꜢ n ḫ-r* "all the sons of all the chiefs of the land of Syria" (DP064, *LES* 3, 7).[197] They also appear as *nꜢ n ẖrd.w* (DP090, *LES* 4, 5) and *nꜢ n ẖ[r]d.w n nꜢ wr.w* "the boys of the chiefs" (DP110, *LES* 4, 14). Like the Princess of Naharin, they are often (but not always) referred to in association with their parentage. Unlike the designations of the Prince, behind which there seems to be a system, the terms *šrj.w* and *ẖrd.w* are used interchangeably in relation to the Princes. The Prince calls the Syrian Princes *šrj.w* as they do him (DP092, *LES* 4, 5), and the winner of the contest for the Princess' hand is, in the words of the Chief and then of the Syrian Princes, *pꜢ n.tï jw≠f r pḥ pꜢ sšd n tꜢy≠j šrj.t* "the one who will reach the window of my daughter" (DP066–DP067, DP097–DP098, *LES* 3, 8 and 4, 7).

3.5.4   *The Messengers*

The servants of the Egyptian royal family are *nꜢ n r(m)ṯ.w n.tï r-gs pꜢ ẖrd* "the people who were beside the child" (DP013–DP014, *LES* 1, 7–8) and *pꜢy≠f sḏm-ꜥš n.tï r-gs≠f* "his (the Prince's) Servant who was beside him" (DP026–DP027, DP035, *LES* 2, 3–4 and 2, 7). The terms describing them are thus enriched by embedded clauses that indicate their proximity to their masters. When the Prince leaves Egypt, *wꜥ n sḏm-ꜥš* 'a servant' turns into a *šms.w* 'retainer' for him (DP053, DP077, *LES* 2, 15 and 3, 14). The Mitannian Messenger is *pꜢ wp.wtï* (DP141, *LES* 5, 12), and agents of the

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[196] Sykes 1985: 85 claims that such a lack of congruency between grammar and lexical features undermines the equality implied in a proposition, as she noted in the lexical differentiation between "black females" and "white women", despite the fact that the proposition was noting the equal intelligence of the two groups.

[197] The term *šrj* is also used by the Chief in reference to the winning Syrian Prince in DP121, *LES* 5, 4.

Chief are called *r(m)t* 'people', like in the Egyptian court (DP144, *LES* 5, 13). Most Servants, however, are nominated only by the indefinite pronoun *=tw*, granting them a sort of 'double anonymity', which guarantees them a lexically lower standing than the other characters.

3.6   *The Motifs Revisited: Narratology and Characterisation*

To return to ideas and models introduced early in this chapter, we can note that an awareness of narratological motifs can shed considerable light on characterisation techniques, particularly when considered in light of the conclusions of a linguistic analysis. The Prince's status as a Hero, for instance, is underscored. Although this study has established that the Prince loses power at an interpersonal level in Naharin, the Prince also withholds information from those more powerful than him, which at a broader textual level makes a comment on his own power. He *deliberately* poses as someone of a lower social standing, in itself a common motif,[198] which gives rise to other motifs, such as the Princess being forbidden (by her deceived father) from marrying someone of low standing.[199] The Chief's initial reaction can be contrasted with that of the Syrian Princes, who, similarly deceived, treat their guest with great courtesy and also curiosity.[200] The disparity between the Prince's actual situation and interpersonal power could also be considered as an authorial wink, showing the Prince as being in *control* of his loss of power, a factor corroborated by his interpersonal, textual and lexical independence. Moreover, the introduction of an ill-intentioned *jy-msy* 'stepmother',[201] who allegedly prompted his flight abroad, may also, as suggested above, be an ironic comment on the gullibility of the foreign characters.

Additionally, we can go beyond the advances made by more Hero-centric earlier analyses of this tale and discuss *where* motifs apply to the Princess, in order to understand the dynamics of her characterisation. Salient

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[198] Motifs K1810, 'Deception by disguise' and K1816.0.3, 'Menial disguise of princess' lover', where K is the area 'Deceptions', Thompson 1955c: 428 and 433.

[199] Motifs P41, 'Princess cannot be married to someone of low caste, though he passes suitor test', T50.2, 'King unwilling to marry his daughter to a man not her equal', and T55.1, 'Princess declares her love for lowly Hero', Thompson 1955d: 150, 339 and 341.

[200] Motifs P324.1, 'Host treats guest with food and everything possible' and P324.2, 'Guests fed before being questioned', Thompson 1955d: 166.

[201] Motif S31, 'Cruel stepmother', Thompson 1955d: 300.

motifs include her confinement in a tower to establish the suitor-contest,[202] her skill in pleading[203] and her oaths by god,[204] which save the Prince from certain death at the hands of the Chief's men.[205] Also significant are her roles as 'adviser' to her husband[206] and as his Saviour,[207] though she attributes his salvation to Pre. These new roles correspond well with her increased interpersonal power, demonstrated by the linguistic analysis (in 3.4.1.6 and 3.4.1.7). What is evident from such an overview is the great extent to which these narratological motifs and sequences, which appear in the literature of many different cultures, are supported by language.

3.7   *The Role of the Past in the Tale: Evoking the 'Golden Age'*

To complete and substantiate the Systemic Functional analysis of *The Doomed Prince*, we shall move from the lexicogrammatical study to a contextual analysis, in which it shall be argued that the historical references made in the course of the story reflect the past without implying a distinct date of composition. Though the 'golden age' of the 18th Dynasty, with its increasing sphere of influence abroad, is evoked, elements pertaining to the Ramesside Period appear throughout. Although it is possible that the tale draws on older motifs, this manuscript presents either a copy of a Ramesside text, or at least a substantial Ramesside reworking of a text. In this way, the tale achieves the distance from reality required of a fairy tale by referencing an earlier age, in this case, the 18th Dynasty. The fairy tale qualities of distant temporal setting and focus on a moral (which will be discussed in 3.8.3)[208] fit well with the outcome of the Metafunctional analysis, which also illuminates features befitting a fairy tale, from parallel plot lines through to the interaction of character types. On the other hand, more literal understandings of the historical reference have a clear

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[202] Motifs M372, 'Confinement in tower to avoid fulfillment of prophecy', R41.2, 'Captivity in tower' and T50.1, 'Girl carefully guarded from suitors', Thompson 1955d: 64, 273 and 339.

[203] Motif J1111.1.1, where J is the area 'The Wise and the Foolish', Thompson 1955c: 71.

[204] Motifs M110, 'Taking of vows and oaths', and M119.2, 'Swearing by gods', Thompson 1955d: 30–31.

[205] Motif N831, Thompson 1955d: 136.

[206] Motifs J155.4 and J1112, Thompson 1955c: 23 and 72. See also T299.2, 'Wife gives wise warning to husband', Thompson 1955: 375. Such a motif is also alluded to in Pieper 1935: 43.

[207] Motif R152, Thompson 1955d: 283.

[208] Tatar 1981: 86.

impact on characterisation, as they evoke historical attributes that are not manifest in the grammar.

The references made to Naharin clearly date the setting of the story to the 18th Dynasty, since by the time the manuscript in question was produced, sometime between the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II,[209] the kingdom of Mitanni had disappeared.[210] However, though a story of this type could easily have belonged to a folk tradition,[211] it does not necessarily follow that it emerged in the time it was set, as Wolfgang Helck argues. He dates it to the Amarna Period,[212] when Mitanni was still " 'das' asiatische Großreich",[213] which he bases on indications in the text of a 'chariot-warrior' mentality that existed in Egypt and the Levant during the 18th Dynasty on account of extensive contact with Naharin.[214] Though the redating of the narrative is still accepted by some scholars,[215] the extent to which the Hurrian chariot-warrior culture permeated Egypt has been widely disputed,[216] and its appearance in the narrative does not have evidentiary support.[217] In fact, the text's message, content and structure are similar to *The Two Brothers*,[218] which suggests a similar date of composition—or at least a similar process of reception.[219]

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[209] Gardiner 1932: ix.
[210] See Loprieno 1988a: 61, especially note 7, in response to Helck 1987: 218. Also Astour 2001: 422–423.
[211] Helck 1987: 218.
[212] Helck 1987: 218.
[213] Helck 1987: 219.
[214] Helck 1987: 219. The connection between Egypt and Naharin during the 18th Dynasty, the time in which the story is most likely *set*, is manifest, for instance, in the Gebel Barkal Stela of Thutmose III, *Urk.* IV 1231, 5; 1232, 6; 1232, 11; 1233, 1. See Helck 1955–8.
[215] Wente 2003: 75.
[216] Assmann 2003 [1996]: 255.
[217] Helck 1987: 219 claims that the Prince riding in a chariot abroad, claiming to be the son of a chariot-warrior (*snn*), guaranteed his acceptance by the Syrian Princes, who saw him as belonging to the same Hurrian equestrian (*Maryannu*) class as them. However, these boys are not the "Kinder der Fürsten Naharinas", as Helck 1987: 220 claims—they are from *ḫ-r* 'Syria' (*LES* 3, 7) and are not labelled as *Maryannu*. In addition, the Prince's alter ego establishes him in a low rank of military hierarchy, for which see Chevereau 1994: 189, which could hardly be seen as matching the rank of a *Maryannu*.
[218] Helck 1987: 225. The role of fate is notable, as is the arbitrating role of Pre-Horakhty in both tales, for which compare *The Two Brothers* (*LES* 15, 11–13) with *The Doomed Prince* (*LES* 5, 10–12). The narrative format of the former is also similar, using forms like *wn.jn*, (*LES* 17, 6), and *ḫr jr m-ḫt hrw.w ḳn.w sw3 ḥr nn* (*LES* 18, 10).
[219] Manniche 1975: 34–35. The current manuscript of *The Two Brothers* dates to the reign of Seti II (Gardiner 1932: ix). The reception of older and foreign motifs, however, requires more consideration in future. Spalinger (1997: 144), on the grounds of the characters' freedom of movement in a foreign space, concludes that *The Two Brothers* was set at a time when the Levant was outside of Hittite control. He concludes that "a date at the

Additionally, far from reflecting the ideals of a bygone age, *The Doomed Prince*, at least in the form in which it was committed to writing, seems to reflect ideas widely expressed at least during the Ramesside Period, such as a personal connection with a god, which is often linked to a particular fate.[220] This analysis, in combination with the lexicogrammatical study, therefore helps us to adjudicate other scholars' estimations of the historical context of the story and its role. The belief that literary works reflected real historical situations[221] can elucidate their "politically supportive tendencies",[222] but also elicit literal readings[223] that do not, in my opinion, bear in mind the text's genre.[224] In this case, the Systemic Functional analysis has made manifest the extent to which the protagonists embodied character types that make no reference to historical reality.[225]

3.8 *The Role of the Foreign in the Tale*

The setting of *The Doomed Prince* achieves a 'double distance' by being located not only in the past, but also abroad, in Naharin. However, despite

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end of the 18th Dynasty seems secure if, of course, we take these scraps of information as 'truth'". He further confuses the issue by arguing that this date refers to both the 'setting' of the tale and the 'transmission' of the narrative from the Near East. This presumably necessitates a date of composition around the time in which the sole manuscript remains: early-mid 19th Dynasty, which would, however, contradict both Spalinger's (2007: 138) statement that surviving manuscripts should not be used to date the text and also the statement (Spalinger 2007: 145) that the errors in this manuscript show the use of a bad copy. To make the matter even more complicated, Spalinger ties this copy first to Innena (the scribe who wrote it out) then to Seti II (whose name appears on the manuscript), using the line of argument of Verhoeven (1996) that political exigencies (i.e. Seti II's succession) may have catalysed the copying out or even writing of the text (Spalinger 2007: 145–147). So is Innena copying or reworking the tale? And if he reworked it (allegedly in the Crown Prince's favour), why would he have chosen a foreign story that in part vilifies the future king (the character of Anubis) and champions the goodness of his younger brother (Bata)? Should this, then, not rather be seen as a text not for Crown Prince Seti-Merenptah but for his younger brother Khaemwaset II?

[220] See, for instance, Assmann 1997a: 18–20 and Fischer-Elfert 1997: 22–23, as well as Ockinga 1987.

[221] Moers 1999: 43. This kind of textual analysis was exemplified by Posener 1956: 16 and has been more recently applied by Verhoeven 1996, which seems to have a basis in Assmann 1974, for which see Assmann 1999b: 3.

[222] For this story, see particularly Helck 1987: 223–224 and Assmann 1999b: 9. See also comments on Verhoeven 1996 by Baines 1999b: 38–39. In addition, it would seem that the more historically-oriented texts in this corpus (chapter 4) would be more appropriate for such a study.

[223] Moers 1999: 44, in relation to Helck 1987.

[224] Hubai 1992: 285 and 286.

[225] Loprieno 1996b: 44.

some potentially 'foreign' features, little effort is made to establish Naha-
rin as 'foreign',[226] most probably because specificity is not necessary for
this fairy tale to achieve its objectives. The theme expounded here, with
reference to the foreign land seems to be that fate must be accepted, irre-
spective of ethnicity, rank or gender. On the other hand, given that the
text is fictitious, Naharin was *deliberately* chosen as the setting for the nar-
rative.[227] Consequently, the creation of foreign characters must be seen as
meaningful. Their function as contrasts to Egyptians can also be noted at
the grammatical level.

3.8.1   *The 'Foreignness' of the Characters*

Very few features distinguish the foreign characters from the Egyptians.
In fairy tales, there is no consciousness of cultural or language difference,
since Egyptians understand the speech of foreigners in the same way
that they understand the speech of gods and animals.[228] This lowering of
cultural boundaries, as we shall see, facilitates the exploration of moral
issues.

3.8.1.1   *The Princess of Naharin as a Foreigner*

The Princess' active role in saving her husband, as was discussed in chap-
ter 1, distinguishes her from the predominantly unflattering portrayal of

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[226] If we compare *The Doomed Prince* (*LES* 1, 1) with *The Taking of Joppa* on the same
papyrus (*LES* 82, 11), we see that the setting of the former is not only 'fictional' but 'imagi-
nary'. See Loprieno 1996b: 44.

[227] Whereas this study takes foreign elements as a distancing device in the narrative,
Spalinger 2007: 143 and 147–150 (also Spalinger 2002: 127) sees in the Ramesside stories
The Two Brothers and *The Doomed Prince* older, foreign folktale roots. My first problem
with this theory is that it takes Egyptian stories as the beneficiaries of foreign transmitted
elements, despite the fact that the Egyptian examples would be amongst the earliest of
these motifs. Secondly, Spalinger's model (2007: 142) for a foreign basis—transmission by
mercenaries—is then contradicted by later arguments, such as that features of the text
prove the "non-oral nature of the Egyptian narrative" and the "non-folkloric nature of the
story" (2007: 143). He then concludes that the stories are "native Egyptian pastiches of
foreign folktales" (Spalinger 2007: 153) without speculating on how non-oral transmission
could have occurred. Nevertheless, Liverani 1972: 403–404 demonstrates that the motif of
a hero alone, with minimal equipment, adventuring in the desert, was "un *topos* letterario
ben preciso" in the Near East at least two centuries before our copy of *The Doomed Prince*,
appearing in the story of Idrimi from Alalakh. Liverani does not speculate on the origin of
the motif, though, and does not comment on the role of genre in shaping it, since Idrimi's
story is a royal historical text. It is possible then that there is no link, only a similar use of
universal themes.

[228] Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 7.

Egyptian women in literature and thus apparently renders her as "ganz unägyptisch".[229] However, as I discuss at length in chapter 5, both Egyptian and foreign women in *Wenamun* are portrayed positively,[230] and, like the Princess, are Helpers to the Hero. We thus cannot take her representation in such a role as being an indication of 'foreignness'.

The Princess' personal power has also been attributed to the dominance of women in the *Maryannu* culture,[231] which apparently influenced Egyptian society.[232] As discussed above, the influence of this culture on Egypt has been called into question, and it seems more likely that the influence wielded by New Kingdom Egyptian queens, which mirrors that of their Near Eastern counterparts,[233] was due to internal political circumstances. In the eyes of an Egyptian audience, therefore, it is unlikely that the Princess' power would have been seen as foreign and unusual. It is more likely that the Princess' augmentation in prominence is the result of her marriage, which is manifest in the presentation of Egyptian women outside literary genres.[234] Thus, though the Princess' strength and "positive Frauenrolle" could be couched in real terms, and thus be seen as an indication of *mimesis*,[235] the crucial factor being missed from this perspective is that her increasing strength is crucial to her narrative role in the fairy tale.

Another factor involved in determining the ethnic qualities of the Princess is her appeal to the god Pre-Horakhty (DP136, DP148, *LES* 5, 10 and 5, 14). Her reason for supplicating an Egyptian god seems not to be based on personal choice, but because of Pre-Horakhty being the Prince's god (in DP216, *LES* 8, 4, she calls Pre *pȝy⸗k nṯr* '*your* god').[236] Another way to approach this situation is to regard her ethnicity as immaterial, and to see Pre as the universal arbiter of fate who has a dominant role in the fates of

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[229] Helck 1987: 221.

[230] Blumenthal 1993: 190, 201, also Lesko 1986: 101.

[231] Helck 1987: 224 also attempts to use this idea as evidence for his dating of the text, but considering the emphasis placed on the restoration of personal freedom during the Ramesside Period, the argument is tenuous.

[232] Helck 1987: 222. The idea is mentioned by Blumenthal 1993: 192–193, but no opinion is given on it.

[233] See the letter from Tušratta of Mitanni to Queen Tiye (EA 26), in Moran 1992: 84, and from the Hittite Queen Puduhepa to Ramesses II (KUB III 24 + 59 and KUB III 40), in Edel 1994: 138–139 and 146–147.

[234] Blumenthal 1993: 183–184.

[235] Loprieno 1988a: 63, note 11.

[236] The term *pȝ nṯr* 'the god' of DP049, *LES* 2, 13, proves to be Pre, by the prince's prayers to him, in DP218, *LES* 8, 5. Hubai 1992: 296 doubts the reconstruction of *pȝ-[rꜥ]*, although he does not propose an alternate reading.

both protagonists. This *universalising* quality of religion, which transcends ethnicity, contrasts with *Apophis and Seqenenre, The Taking of Joppa*, and even *Wenamun*, in which, as we shall see in the following chapters, ethnicity is drawn along religious lines, based on the foreign rulers' depiction as worshippers of Seth-Baal.

Therefore, in terms of both her personal power, and her choice of worship, the Princess of Naharin is not distinguished along ethnic lines. Her characterisation outlines the crucial role she plays in the narrative and perhaps also allows the author/s to comment metaphorically on the universality of human experience.

3.8.1.2   *The Chief of Naharin as a Foreigner*

The Chief of Naharin is characterised as having little concern for ethnicity, since he asks the sons of the rulers of neighbouring states to compete for his daughter's hand (*LES* 3, 7). His horror at the outcome of the suitor contest seems to be due not to the ethnicity of the winner,[237] but to his assumed status. It is possible (though it hardly seems likely) that the Chief is differentiated from an Egyptian ruler on the grounds that he succumbs to his daughter's supposedly unequal marriage, since the Egyptian historical record suggests that Egyptian pharaohs rarely (if ever) let their daughters marry foreign princes,[238] let alone poor foreigners. We should ascribe this factor, like the Princess' dominance, to the exigencies of the tale.[239] Moreover, the Chief's regard for rank,[240] far from being the preserve of foreign rulers, was a dominant concern in Egyptian soci-

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[237] Spalinger 2006: 123.

[238] In the historical record, this attitude is manifest in the Amarna Letter EA 4, in which Kadašman-Enlil reflects on Amenhotep III's comment that "(f)rom time immemorial no daughter of the king of Egypt is given to anyone", Moran 1992: 8–9. However, in note 1, Moran states that this letter cannot be traced with certainty to the correspondence between Kadašman-Enlil and Amenhotep III. Schipper 2002: 90–92 regards the (in my opinion, rhetorically-charged!) statement of Amenhotep III as reflecting a law that was maintained throughout Egyptian history. Based on this, he doubts that Solomon was married to an Egyptian princess (as established in 1 Kings 3, 1 of *The Holy Bible*) and underplays evidence brought forth by Jansen-Winkeln 2000: 26 (based on KBo I 23: in Edel 1994: 167) that Ramesses II had signed a contract guaranteeing that he would send his daughter (the child of his Hittite bride) to the Hittite kingdom. The inscription, with its reference to a weather-god, is certainly strange. However, that it represents merely an 'exception' (Schipper 2002: 95) based on the mixed ethnicity of the child seems a weak argument in view of the fact that Amenhotep III's *alleged* comment is the only counterevidence Schipper can draw on.

[239] Tatar 1981: 85–86.

[240] Loprieno 1988a: 63.

ety.[241] Thus, both the Chief's resistance to the Prince and his subsequent acquiescence should be considered as necessary features of his role as an Opponent, rather than as ethnic distinctions.

We can conclude, therefore, that *The Doomed Prince* does not indicate a 'sympathetic' portrait of foreigners: it is hardly a portrait of foreigners at all, let alone an indication of increasing cognisance and recognition of foreign culture,[242] or a stepping stone in the development of *mimesis*[243] that was encapsulated by a new way of depicting foreign characters.[244] On the other hand, their 'foreignness' enhances their narrative role and emphasises their universality.

3.8.2   *The 'Foreignness' of the Landscape*

In fairy tales, "(e)verything superfluous is suppressed and only the essential stands out".[245] The translocation of the Prince to a landscape completely lacking in differentiating features[246] could therefore be seen as a *metaphorical* creation of the Egyptian court abroad.[247] This establishment of 'pseudo-space' could be expressed as a "non-mimetic semantics of fictionality", which creates "possible worlds".[248] Within such a theory, "(t)he actual world participates in the formation of fictional worlds by providing models of its structure".[249] Despite this referencing, the incompleteness of fictional worlds is also "an important factor of their aesthetic efficiency",[250] allowing the details of characters and setting that emerge to be seen as

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[241] Inter-class marriages seem to have been uncommon. An excellent example of a marriage that is both inter-racial and inter-class is that of the foreign servant Ameniu with the blind niece of Sabastet, the barber of Thutmose III, in *Urk*. IV 1369, 4–16. The paucity of such matches is perhaps tied to the fact that Egypt was not overtly a meritocracy. The career of Senenmut, the chief steward of Hatshepsut, is a rare example, for which see Dorman 2001: 265.

[242] Baines 1996b: 374.

[243] Loprieno 1988a: 61.

[244] Loprieno 1988a: 63–64. Loprieno admits, however, that this point is difficult to substantiate without an ending to the tale. See also Blumenthal 1993: 201.

[245] Olrik 1965: 138.

[246] Hubai 1992: 296, referring to the German edition of Erman 1978 [1923]: 161.

[247] Parkinson 2002: 157 sees this idea as being apparent in the depiction of Retenu in *Sinuhe*, which seems to be "a substitute for Egypt, just as the superficially Egyptianised Ammunenshi is for Senwosret: the place and its Chief are correlatives for Sinuhe's uncertain status".

[248] Doležel 1988: 481.

[249] Doležel 1988: 485.

[250] Doležel 1988: 486.

symbolic.[251] The creation of such a space devoid of cultural markers, like the lack of historical specificity, does not reflect changing intercultural ideas,[252] but rather serves the exigencies of the fairy tale genre, which creates distance for the purpose of exploring ideas, in this case, the theme of 'fate', a consuming issue in Egyptian thought.[253] Texts like this fit awkwardly in a study of *mimesis*: they are "less likely to be a direct mirror of social expectations" and "more likely to address the individual concerns of Egyptians".[254]

3.8.2.1   *Naharin*

From Egypt, the clear (though unacknowledged) setting of the early part of the tale, the Hero travels to Naharin. This particular location does not seem to be important, since the only explicitly foreign feature supplied is its name, though its choice, as mentioned in the historical discussion, most probably illustrates an attempt to consciously archaise by portraying Egyptian contact with a kingdom with which Egypt had had much to do in times past (see section 3.7). Moreover, by being *Near Eastern*, like all other Ramesside tales incorporating travel abroad,[255] the setting reflects a certain familiarity with this region. It may have been considered distant *enough*, able to concurrently 'make strange' and 'make familiar'.[256]

3.8.2.2   *The Tower of the Princess of Naharin*

Despite the generality of the landscape, the high tower of the Princess has been interpreted as a Mesopotamian feature,[257] which has led to suggestions that the tale had foreign origins.[258] Although we needn't take

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251 Doležel 1988: 487. I would question, however, the negligible role given to the reader in constructing (what they see of) the fictional world of a text. Doležel 1988: 490 seems to expect that the world 'exists' once created by the author via the narrator.

252 Loprieno 2001: 86–87.

253 Baines 1996b: 374.

254 Loprieno 2003: 33.

255 Quirke 1990: 94.

256 This is even more starkly evident in the context of *Sinuhe*, for which see Moers 2011: 172–174.

257 Hölscher 1910: 56–64 and Nelson & Hölscher 1929: 10, which influenced the conclusions of Haeny 1967: 76, Kitchen 1969: 91, Dodson 2000: 144 and Nicholson & Shaw 1995: 177. I thank Edmund Meltzer for the last two references.

258 Redford 1990: 828, note 41, postulates that "(t)he entire tale might be taken as an Egyptian re-working of the Levantine myth: the image of the princess in the window of the tower which the hero finally reaches…is but a 'euhemerization' of the 'lady-at-the-window' motif of the myth of the dying god".

the association so far, the motif of the 'woman at the window' (usually of a tower), is at any rate predominant in Near Eastern decorative arts[259] and mythology,[260] as well as in biblical stories, such as that of Jezebel in 2 Kings 9, 30–33.[261] Such an influence from the Near East may have even been felt within Egyptian architecture itself: although tower structures like Medinet Habu may have been Egyptian in conception,[262] the gateway with its 'women's room' has been seen as Semitic in origin.[263] More recent studies have established that the description of the tower cannot be associated with actual Levantine models,[264] though this does not undermine the transmission of the motif itself. An alternative view, that the use of the archetypal number seven in the seventy-cubit height of the Princess' tower confirms its folkloric quality,[265] also does not undermine the likelihood of the 'woman at the window' motif being referred to.

In relation to the other architectural feature, the Egyptian Prince's stone house, it is unlikely that it was a foreign element. It is more likely that stone, which was not a mundane building material in Egypt,[266] symbolises the tomb-like qualities of the house that the Pharaoh built to shield his son from life.[267] Both structures are therefore more likely to be 'fantastic' rather than strictly 'foreign', though the author may also have employed the Near Eastern 'woman at the window' motif to emphasise the foreign qualities of the Princess and her tower.

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[259] Herbig 1927: 919–920, 922 claims that this motif appeared in decorative arts from Cyprus, Enkomi and Nimrud, which apparently indicate that the motif spread from Phoenicia to other parts of the Near East. Its specificity seems to indicate the existence of a conceptual framework around the motif. Examples of the use of this motif in the decorative arts from Samaria, Khorsabad and Nimrud appear in Beach 1993: 94 and Albenda 1994: 60. The latter examples, however, significantly postdate the story and the examples Herbig cites are also for the most part much later. The appearance of the motif on a Cypriot vase of Late Mycenean design mentioned by Herbig 1927: 919 may provide a rare contemporary link.

[260] Herbig 1927: 918, 921, also Beach 1993: 100 and Redford 1990: 828, note 41. This Levantine myth and motif seem to emerge in Greek mythology, as later recorded in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIV, lines 733–768, trans. Innes 1955: 331, as well as in Greek popular culture, as seen in Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria*, line 785, trans. Henderson 2000: 554–555.

[261] *The Holy Bible*. See also Haeny 1967: 76 and Beach 1993: 101.

[262] Haeny 1967: 76. Also, Brunner 1953: 254–255 describes an Assyrian relief that depicts an Egyptian tower structure under siege.

[263] Haeny 1967: 73, 75–78.

[264] Simon 2009: 394–395, also note 56.

[265] Olrik 1965: 133, Thompson 1955d: 554–555.

[266] Arnold 2000: 246.

[267] Hubai 1992: 297, also suggested in Galán 2005: 131.

3.8.2.3 *The Lake*

The lake in Naharin by which the Prince lives and may meet his fate emphasises the role of water as a 'foreign' body, designed to test the Hero and perhaps develop him through catharsis: "Wasser bildet in seiner Grenzlosigkeit einen natürlichen Gegensatz zur festländischen oder insulären Begrenztheit" as well as "einer potentiellen Gefährdung".[268] The water is thus symbolic of the danger inherent in the Prince's fight against fate in his adopted land.

    We can see that despite the fact that neither Naharin, nor its inhabitants, are specifically 'made foreign', their 'foreignness' is of great significance to the Prince's loss of power. Naharin itself is used as the landscape in which the Prince confronts his fate. It becomes a foreign 'home', with a hierarchy with which he can identify. The inhabitants of Naharin, through their actions, then serve as a conduit for the message of the universal power of fate.

3.8.3 *Delivering the Message: The Role of Fate in Characterisation*

Therefore, the Metafunctional analysis of the story demonstrates the way in which character types were created to fulfil distinct narrative roles, and the study of temporal and spatial setting has illustrated the story's scant attention to detail in order to provide distance from reality. The reason for both the narrative roles and the metaphorical distance forms the crux of the following discussion. In *The Doomed Prince*, as in most fairy tales, "the essential topic is, as always, an event which requires a courageous meeting of one's fate",[269] which explains why several works have been dedicated to understanding its role in the story. Given the lack of an attested ending, many scholars have attempted to propose various endings for the story that suit their approach to the role of fate. Though heretofore unacknowledged, it is clear that such conclusions have an impact on the characterisation of the protagonists, in particular that of the Prince himself, a problem which we will also see in relation to the 'historical narratives' in the next chapter. A linguistic and literary approach to the texts, however, allows us to more systematically evaluate these suggestions, and perhaps more judiciously predict an ending.

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[268] Moers 2001a: 192–193.
[269] Bettelheim 1981: 16. With respect to this tale, see Posener 1971: 241, also Sainte Fare Garnot 1950: 230 and Honti 1945: 70 and 72.

Before we discuss the role of fate in the story, we must overview it as a concept. In the Egyptian conception, *šꜣy* 'fate' holds a number of meanings. In a 'passive' sense, it refers to the *Bestimmung*, or 'assignation' of a fate (by a god, for instance), and can be taken in this sense to refer either to a lifetime[270] or to the time and means of death,[271] as we see in this tale.[272] It can also be taken as an *active* participle, "ce qui détermine (la vie)", which we can see in the animal Fates' identification as the Prince's *šꜣy*.[273] This differentiation between active and passive senses of *šꜣy* could be also tied to its qualities as either "rigide, basée sur l'idée que celui-ci est inéluctable", or "souple, fondée sur la croyance à la possibilité ... de retarder l'accomplissement du destin".[274]

The missing ending of the tale has undermined definite conclusions on the role of fate, since whether the Prince lives or dies predicates the message or 'moral' of the story.[275] Some scholars argue for a 'happy' ending on the basis that Egyptian thought had no belief in an inescapable fate, and that therefore, the righteousness of the Prince would be sufficient to allow him to overcome difficulty, presumably because such behaviour pleased the god.[276] A god's power over fate is emphasised,[277] though it is disputed whether he could remove the fate completely.[278] On the basis that it is a fairy tale,[279] others argue that, even if killed, the Hero would be revived—a compromise which ensures both a happy ending and preserves the moral of the power of fate.[280] However, on the grounds that Fate struck in other

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[270] See *The Misfortunes of Wenamun, LES* 70, 3.

[271] Morenz & Müller 1960: 24, Quaegebeur 1975: 123 and Miosi 1982: 93.

[272] Morenz & Müller 1960: 19–20, reflected also in Hubai 1992: 281. Quaegebeur 1975: 126 sees 'death' as the negative counterpart to the meaning 'lifetime'.

[273] Quaegebeur 1975: 123, also Baines 1994: 43.

[274] Sainte Fare Garnot 1950: 233. This latter conception of fate is apparent in the analysis of fate in *The Doomed Prince* by Hubai 1992: 279, as well as Eyre 1976: 105, who points out that the three 'fates' "take on the concrete forms of a specific snake, a specific dog, and a specific crocodile", and therefore, once killed, are a fate avoided.

[275] Hermann 1954: 951 presents the tale as a narrative illustration for an ethical or philosophical truth, which Hubai 1992: 287 believes stands in a natural opposition to the 'happy ending' of a fairy tale.

[276] Lichtheim 1976: 200, Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 287, Brunner-Traut 1982: 1110.

[277] Morenz & Müller 1960: 20. Spiegelberg 1922: 70–71 and Brunner-Traut 1982: 1110 mention the Strassbourg Ramesside ostracon that says that "Horus jenen Mann rettet, dessen Schicksal (bereits) hinter ihm steht". Taken in this light, the tale seems to accord with the Ramesside concept of personal piety, which is also emphasised by the Princess of Naharin's reference to divine power over individual fate.

[278] Brunner-Traut 1982: 1110 argues this viewpoint.

[279] Pieper 1935: 43.

[280] See Hermann 1934: 324–325, Hermann 1954: 951, Sainte Fare Garnot 1950: 232, Brunner-Traut 1982: 1110 and Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 288. On the other hand, Posener

stories, such as *The Two Brothers*,[281] and given that both of these stories overtly avoid making moral judgments about the characters,[282] several scholars argue that despite the conduct of the Prince, he was killed by his Dog.

Other scholars move away from assumptions about Egyptian literary genres and religious concepts and attempt to take the characters' reactions to the Prince's fate into consideration when attempting to appraise the role of fate in the story. This more measured approach shall be considered in the context of the conclusions reached so far. For instance, Sainte Fare Garnot sees the Prince's approach to his death as being "une acceptation nullement passive".[283] In other words, he wants to escape his restrictive environment and embrace his fate (*LES* 2, 12).[284] However, this study has shown that the Prince is characterised by both activity and passivity: he refuses to kill his dog, seems amenable to the deal-making of the Crocodile (though the outcome is missing)[285] and sleeps while his wife saves him. The reactions of the Pharaoh and the Princess of Naharin, on the other hand, reflect a denial "non de l'existence du destin...mais du caractère absolu de son pouvoir".[286] This outlook is certainly reflected by their actions, which are centred on warding off the Prince's fate.

If we consider the results of the Metafunctional and literary analysis, in which the Prince in both action and word accepts his fate, and in which

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1953: 107 and 1971: 242 uses a much later 'parallel' from Diodorus Siculus to establish a favourable ending. We must be careful in establishing such a parallel, however, since Menes' salvation from a dog by a crocodile serves an aetiological purpose, and therefore does not necessarily have the same basis. Moreover, this ending does not explain how the dog and crocodile fates are overcome.

[281] Spiegelberg 1929: 87, Manniche 1981 and Brednich 1964: 15. In *The Two Brothers*, a similar prophecy was delivered by the Hathors to Bata's wife and fulfilled.

[282] Cf. Brunner-Traut 1982: 1109, who states that even with the precedent of *The Two Brothers*, this ending would not apply to *The Doomed Prince* because the bad end of the wife of Bata was in keeping with her character. Hubai 1992: 299, on the other hand, who claims that this fairy tale "moralisiert nicht", doubts whether the Prince's exemplary conduct could have preserved him from his fate.

[283] Sainte Fare Garnot 1950: 235–236.

[284] Galán 2005: 127 makes an interesting connection between the Prince's acceptance of his fate and the harpers' songs (popular at the time), which were incidentally also written on the verso of Papyrus Harris 500. They urge the hearer to "follow your heart as long as you live", for which see Lichtheim 1973: 196.

[285] Hubai 1992: 293 points out the strangeness of the Prince making deals with the Crocodile (his Fate) against a Demon that has no claim upon his life. However, the Prince's response is not preserved, so we can not draw conclusions from this event.

[286] Sainte Fare Garnot 1950: 235–236.

no moral judgment is made about him *deserving* a better fate,[287] it seems more likely that the Prince succumbs, at least initially, to his fate. It is then not outside the realms of possibility, given the character analysis conducted here, that an action by the Princess of Naharin, in her role as 'Saviour' would either ward off fate permanently, or re-vivify the dead Prince. Perhaps in this way, we see an evocation of the Osirian legend, as it was to become more completely immortalised in later literature, in which, having been slain by Seth, an inert Osiris is resuscitated by his energetic spouse Isis, albeit never sufficiently for him to be able to leave the realm of the dead.[288] This analysis, for instance, suggests that it is probably not through the agency of the Prince himself that there is an ending that in some way guarantees his ongoing welfare. We must therefore reckon with the activities of other agents in our reconstruction of the course of events. We should also consider the role of the characters as mouthpieces for the story's 'moral', which, in light of their actions and reactions, appears to address the inescapability of mortality and the power of love.[289] Therefore, a linguistic method of literary analysis, which focuses on characterisation, and thereby the *ways and means* in which they move through the story, can provide us with insights into the outcome of a story and its message.

3.9   *Conclusion*

In conclusion, the application of Systemic Functional Grammar to *The Doomed Prince* helps us to understand more about the foreign and Egyptian characters than has previously been garnered, despite the restrictions on characterisation that the fairy tale genre imposes.[290] By analysing each clause type and a character's prominence within it, we can more confidently establish the portrayal, development and social power of each

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[287]   As Brunner-Traut 1982: 1109–1110 assumes.
[288]   Posener 1953: 107, note 6.
[289]   It seems probable that the engagement with the issue of mortality is intended to be humorous. After all, since humans are bound to die, the king's reaction to the reminder that his child is mortal is represented in a manner so extreme as to be almost ironic. This was presumably not lost on the tale's audience.
[290]   Propp 1968 [1928]: 113 claims that: "The canon changes but these changes are very rarely the product of personal artistic creation. It can be established that the creator of a tale rarely invents; he receives his material from his surroundings or from current realities and adapts them to a tale".

protagonist. This method pays close attention to the apparent pairing of principal characters on ethnic and generational grounds, and assesses the extent to which similarities between these characters existed below the text's surface. The conclusions gained at the grammatical level prove useful both for noting narrative roles, as well as for understanding the role of foreign lands and characters in the narrative.

The ideational and interpersonal Metafunctions, as well as lexical features, reveal the way that characters' features change across the text. Although always the textual focus of the narrative, the Egyptian Prince's interpersonal power diminishes when he goes abroad and embraces his liberty and his fate. Additionally, though always ideationally visible, the Prince's levels of activity fluctuate both before his release by his father and also once married to the Princess. Further complexities also emerge. Although lacking the power to command, the Prince withholds information, which at a broader textual level shows his control over his situation. He deliberately relinquishes his identity and places himself in a position of lesser social power in order to be able to embrace his fate unshackled by his past.[291]

On the other hand, the Princess of Naharin's grammatical visibility dramatically increases upon her betrothal, both ideationally and interpersonally, which perhaps suggests that gender, rather than ethnicity, has a role in her representation. As a Saviour-Wife, she becomes an active agent against her husband's fate, while advocating the superior role of the gods (and the personal god) in the Prince's fate.

The two rulers have ideational dominance, though their varying positions in the hierarchy are manifest at the lexical level. This being said, the interpersonal analysis reveals the power that the foreign Chief, like his daughter, holds over the Prince as he settles into his new home abroad.

Though neither Naharin, nor its inhabitants, are 'made foreign', their 'foreignness' is deliberate, and of great significance to the Prince's loss of power. Naharin in this fictional text is the foreign but familiar landscape in which the Prince takes his place within the hierarchy as he faces his fate.

In short, many of the linguistic features of *The Doomed Prince*, from the description of the characters to the landscape, furnish, as Moers argues of *The Two Brothers*, "an Egyptological proof for the truth for

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[291] Galán 2005: 119 suggests that the Prince changes his identity "to free himself of his circumstances acquired at birth", but his open acceptance of his fate in DP046 seems to contradict this.

the transhistorically and transculturally aimed axioms of structuralist narratology".[292] This idea is only underscored by the foregoing study. However, this study has also shown that we can move beyond universals. A detailed analysis of the different grammatical Metafunctions at a clausal level reveals heretofore-unseen nuances of meaning within the trajectory of character development across the narrative, which allows an insight into the portrayal of characters in a Ramesside fairy tale.

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[292] Moers 2011: 167.

CHARACTERISATION IN *THE QUARREL OF APOPHIS AND SEQENENRE* AND *THE TAKING OF JOPPA*

4.1   *Introduction*

This chapter investigates the representation of the protagonists of two 'historical' narratives from the *Late Egyptian Stories* and suggests that a study of characterisation based on language helps us draw some better-founded conclusions about very fragmentary texts. *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, written on Papyrus Sallier I, dates to the reign of Merenptah.[1] Given that the scribe of the only surviving manuscript, Pentaweret, stopped the story mid-sentence to commence writing an "instruction in letter-writing", we could presume that this text was copied out as part of a scribal exercise.[2] *The Taking of Joppa* precedes *The Doomed Prince* on the verso of Papyrus Harris 500. Since the outermost part of the scroll is damaged, the beginning of the tale is lost.[3] Nevertheless, by making reference to literary theory, particularly genre theory, and historical context, the following grammatical analysis increases our predictive power about the missing parts of the text by isolating patterns of representation for opposing character pairs, which supply us with clearer ideas about their role in the plot. For instance, the static portrayal of Seqenenre against the dynamic representation of Apophis in *Apophis and Seqenenre* suggests that the tale parodies the monumental historical texts of the day, since the foreign Opponent contends with an inactive Egyptian Anti-Hero. On the other hand, the superficial characterisation of both Djehuty and the Rebel in *The Taking of Joppa* suggests that this text lay closer to the *topos* encapsulated by the military report genre on which it was based, though it also seemed to contain humorous elements which distanced it from what we would expect in an official version.

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[1] Gardiner 1932: xiii.
[2] Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 40. It is curious that the last part of the remaining text is repeated on the verso only to stop at the same place.
[3] Gardiner 1932: ix.

4.2   *Approaches to the Texts:*
History versus Literature in Historical Narratives

Four main features characterise these texts as historical narratives: reference to recognisable historical content, displacement from this historical context, referencing of royal monumental texts, and lastly, comment on both the referenced style and perhaps also the historical (or contemporary political) context.

4.2.1   *Historical Content*

The historical narrative can be differentiated from other narratives because it "revisits, in a fictive way, past historical periods or figures".[4] The texts under analysis vividly recall the domination of Northern Egypt by the Asiatic 'Hyksos' during the Second Intermediate Period and the northern campaigns conducted during the reign of Menkheperre Thutmose III. Both texts also include features usually pertaining to distinct types of royal historical texts: *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* documents an interaction between a Hyksos ruler and his Egyptian counterpart, whereas *The Taking of Joppa* recounts a military expedition.

4.2.2   *Historical Displacement*

The surviving manuscripts of *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* and *The Taking of Joppa* belong to the Ramesside Period, long after the times in which they were set. Even if these single extant copies are not the earliest manuscripts,[5] both are written in literary Late Egyptian, which is used in texts only from the end of the 18th Dynasty.[6] This is significant indication that even if the content has been transmitted from the time of the historical events themselves, its synthesis as a tale in this form has occurred only in the recent past. Despite this, their clear historical setting

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[4] Layton 2003: 211, also Posener 1971: 242 and Korostovtsev 1977: 322–324. Pieper 1935: 24–25 regards both texts as *Heldensage* (Hero-saga), a sub-category of *historische Sagen*, whereas Brunner-Traut 1980: 1126 only refers to *Joppa* as a *Sage*. Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 324 sees *Apophis and Seqenenre* as a fairy tale. Given this contention, we turn here to neutral terminology like 'historical narratives', which suits both texts. Loprieno 1988a: 37, note 9 classifies the two together as types of *königlicher Diskurs*.

[5] Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 40 and Gardiner 1932: xiii.

[6] Junge 2005: 17.

has frequently led them to be invoked as evidence for historical events,[7] though this tendency has become less popular.[8]

4.2.3 *Generic Intertextuality*

These historical narratives make reference not only to past events, but also to Egyptian styles of historical writing: *Apophis and Seqenenre* references royal historical texts, such as those we see inscribed on stelae of the New Kingdom, and *The Taking of Joppa* follows the format of a military report.[9] These texts therefore display *generic intertextuality*, otherwise known as *Systemreferenz*, in which the motifs and occasionally stylistic devices of other genres, rather than a specific work, are referenced.[10] This style of referencing is evident also in literature of the Middle Kingdom.[11]

4.2.3.1 *Historical texts and the so-called* Königsnovelle

The *Königsnovelle* is a generic term limited to the field of Egyptology which defines the literary arrangement of motifs relating to the exploits of an Egyptian king, particularly his historically momentous decision, irrespective of the opinions of his counsel. Other features are his inspiration (usually by divine means) and his manifest correctness in acting.[12] Loprieno, rather than defining the *Königsnovelle* as a genre, took it as "a 'characteristic' in Seibert's sense, i.e. as a horizontal, diastratic set of formal patterns governing the entire spectrum of Egyptian writing" that represent the king's experience.[13] However, by tying a definition only to motifs, a general definition of the text type has been avoided,[14] which has resulted in

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[7] See von Beckerath 1964: 188.

[8] Loprieno 1996b: 40, Moers 1999: 43–45.

[9] Blumenthal 1972: 10–11. As Gnirs 2008: 366 rightly points out, we can only correctly analyse the historical narratives with reference to the monumental record that was being simultaneously produced, and to which it was most likely responding.

[10] Pfister 1985: 53–56, Loprieno 1996b: 51 and Moers 1999: 53, especially note 59.

[11] Morenz 2000: 53.

[12] Hermann 1938: 15–19, Gundlach 1977: 218 and Osing 1980: 556. Loprieno 1996c: 286 claims that the popularity of the *Königsnovelle* format is linked to the fact that the king's role exists "between a reality which was political, functional and situation-bound and a fiction which was literary, mythical, and situation-abstract".

[13] Loprieno 1996c: 294–295. In the Third Intermediate Period, when royal power had collapsed, this textual form comes to be adopted also by private persons, for which see Jansen-Winkeln 1993: 115–116, Hermann 1938: 11 and Gundlach 1977: 217.

[14] Jansen-Winkeln 1993: 102. See also Lundh 2002: 10.

confusion about which texts are to be included or excluded.[15] Karl Jansen-Winkeln in contrast defines four main features of the *Königsnovelle*:

1) the *theme*—a memorable deed of the protagonist (usually the king)
2) the *publication*—the document's manifestation for public display
3) the *form*—a report rather than a speech
4) the *function*—royal propaganda.[16]

The problem with this approach is that the defining criteria may prove to be a Procrustean bed. Literature with propagandistic themes, such as *The Prophecy of Neferti*, does not comply on grounds of form and publication. Moreover, royal texts written as speeches, like Merenptah's 'Israel Stela', do not comply on grounds of form.[17] Despite the exclusions, even the texts included do not demonstrate a particular unity.[18] Beylage attempts to simplify the definition somewhat by restricting the concept to a plot outline of a more generic *Novelle*-format: contentment, crisis, a spontaneous reaction by the hero, a more considered reaction and then a series of events that resolve the crisis.[19] This definition, however, only leads us to conclude that the *Königsnovelle* is indeed a narrative, and is therefore not particularly informative. Additionally, the 'fictionality' or 'veracity' of the contents can also not be taken as a decisive factor.[20] In light of this, the approach taken here is to abandon the terminology altogether and to refer instead to royal historical texts. Historical texts in general combine a narrative format with historical content.[21] In an Egyptian context, 'historical texts' or 'historical narratives' (the focus here) are often differentiated from 'rhetorical texts' or eulogies and military reports, which we shall discuss in section 4.2.3.2. In historical texts, the protagonist is usually either the pharaoh or an official and their story is recorded in a monumental context: on temple walls (for the former), tomb walls (for the latter), stelae, statues and so on. Structurally, many begin with an outline of the temporal setting before moving on to the action.[22] Thematically, what

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[15]   Jansen-Winkeln 1993: 104.
[16]   Jansen-Winkeln 1993: 107–108. More recently, Hofmann 2004: 326–329 limited these categories to theme, function and form, of which form, the combination of speech and narrative, is seen as the most important.
[17]   See Jansen-Winkeln 1993: 108–109.
[18]   Quack 2010c: 223.
[19]   Beylage 2002: 555.
[20]   Kitchen 1987: 639, discussed by Jansen-Winkeln 1993: 112–113.
[21]   White 1999: 3.
[22]   Spalinger 2010: 121.

binds them is that all deal with the prompt and measured action of an individual under pressure: we could indeed take the motif of 'decision making' as being a key element. The historical genre, and the 'decision making' motif in particular, permeated literature in surprising, perhaps even humorous ways, as we see in *Apophis and Seqenenre*.

4.2.3.2   *Military Reportage*

Military reports are categorised as records of campaigns undertaken by pharaohs and their officials,[23] often comprising the planning of a military strategy and its execution, which results in an Egyptian victory. The narratives differ from the historical narratives mentioned in the last section inasmuch as they are result-oriented, and not particularly involved in the depiction of a character or in their interactions. The appearance of these features in the narrative trajectory of *The Taking of Joppa* means that it is often seen as a literary extension of this military genre, which was predominant in the historical records of the New Kingdom, when Egyptian military ambition was at its peak.[24]

4.2.4   *Parody?*

Reference to these genres of historical writing seems to have been made in order to comment on, even *parody* the original style. I should point out that this does not mean that the entire genre is being parodied, but rather that motifs which are characteristic of that genre are referenced to humorous effect. The literary theorist Walter Nash realises this tension schematically as the intersection of two planes: expression and content. The *source expression* E(s), the style observed from a particular genre, such as a historical text, is used to create the ironically-inclined *derived expression* E(d). Since the content is displaced from what we would normally expect of the genre, *displacing content* C(disp) intersects with the derived expression as can be seen in figure 4.1.[25]

This framework could be seen as corresponding to *Apophis and Seqenenre*, in which *displacing content* in the form of Apophis' ludicrous demand as well as Seqenenre's reaction to a threat results in a 'deviation'

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[23] Spalinger 2002: 347–348.
[24] Eyre 1996: 422.
[25] Nash 1985: 87–88. Rose 1993: 30, 32–33, 52 likewise sees in parody the development of a "comic incongruity" between what she calls the "target text" and its parody. Rose 1993: 37–38 outlines the kinds of changes made to a text to alter its coherence.
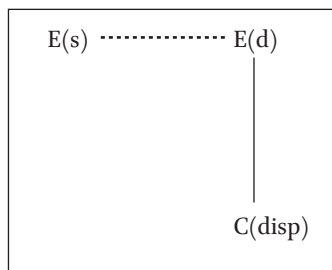
Adapted from Nash (1985: 88).

Figure 4.1. Schematic diagram of *Style Parody.*

from what we would expect from a historical text, in which foreign antag-
onists attacked Egyptian interests, which prompted rapid decision mak-
ing on the side of the Egyptian pharaoh.[26] As shall be elaborated below,
this displacement is also apparent in the characterisation of Apophis and
Seqenenre. By understanding what was expected of the genre and what
comprised an *Abweichung* or 'deviation' from it, we can appreciate the
humour of the text.[27]

The ironic qualities in *The Taking of Joppa* are less marked, given that
it is unlikely that an Egyptian audience would have considered a gen-
eral besieging Joppa instead of the king as comical.[28] Indeed, the "strong
arm of Pharaoh" was seen as a metaphor for Egyptian dominance abroad,
and does not relate to the qualities of the pharaoh.[29] We could see such
a representation as an interpretation of a military report, which com-
monly conveys "an ideological statement of the relationship between
king and god, and a political statement of the king's superior fitness as
an authority figure over his army and advisors".[30] However, since military
autobiographies emphasise the actions of brave men on behalf of their
rulers,[31] perhaps *The Taking of Joppa* is also a historical text. The behaviour

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[26] Blumenthal 1972: 10–11 and Fischer-Elfert 2003: 135. Rose 1993: 51 claims that parody
is "ambivalently dependent upon the object of its criticism for its own reception . . . This
ambivalence may entail not only a mixture of criticism and sympathy for the parodied
text, but also the creative expansion of it into something new". In terms of the Egyptian
literary canon, see Loprieno 1996b: 55.

[27] Guglielmi 1979: 72–73, 75.

[28] Cf. Blumenthal 1972: 10–11.

[29] Görg 1986: 325.

[30] Eyre 1996: 427–428, with reference to Ockinga 1987: 48.

[31] Gnirs 1996: 204 defines this as a *Handlungsbiographie* ('action based biography'). See
also Gnirs 2001: 186–187.
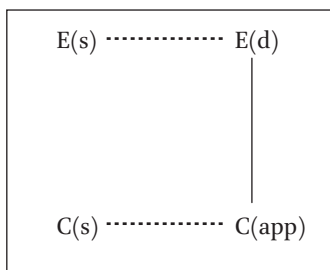
Adapted from Nash (1985: 91).

Figure 4.2. Schematic diagram of *Style-and-Content Parody.*

of Djehuty and the Rebel of Joppa within this format could, however, be taken as at times humorous or at least surprising.[32] If, then, we were to see this tale as being a parody at all, it would not work in the same way as *Apophis and Seqenenre.* Rather than being a *style parody*, where the content is displaced from our expectations of the genre, this tale would better fit the term *style-and-content parody*, whereby the *source-content* C(s) yields to an *apposed content* C(app), "a theme resembling . . . or at least not generically different from, those of the source material",[33] as represented in figure 4.2.

The method encapsulated by this form of parody is to "father a likely subject onto the victim (in this case, a historical record), and then bring out its absurdity with an irreverent simulation of his style".[34] What can occasionally be unclear in these cases is whether the *object* of the parody is the genre itself or whether, by using the historical content allegorically, it parodies the social circumstances in which it was written.[35] However, as with many cases of intertextual irony in literature, the possibility of double meanings does not prevent less cognisant readers from enjoying the text,[36] though they must in any case be aware of the distinct cultural underpinnings of the humour.[37]

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[32] Eyre 1996: 432.

[33] Nash 1985: 91.

[34] Nash 1985: 92.

[35] Theodor Adorno refers to the *allegorischer Tiefblick* as a means of making language expressive precisely because of its failure to say the unsayable. See Foster 2007: 79.

[36] Eco 2005 [2002]: 220.

[37] Guglielmi 1992: 154 and Houlihan 2001: viii.

4.2.5   *Problem: Losing the Plot*

Our conclusions about the genre and generic referencing of these nar-
ratives have a decisive impact on the way in which we understand their
characters. Since some scholars have not acknowledged the humorous
references in these two texts, their reading of the texts along historical or
religious lines has affected their conclusions about the course of the plot,
and consequently also how the characters behave in order for the plot to
progress. In the analysis to follow, I argue that significant features pertain-
ing to the characters have been overlooked in the quest for missing plot
lines. Though the beginning of *Joppa* could have included some incite-
ment by the foreign foe that resulted in the sortie, the postulated endings
for *Apophis and Seqenenre* have ranged from historical battles and cosmic
duels to witty verbal sparring.

4.2.5.1   *Historical Beginnings and Endings*

Some scholars have used the historical circumstances to which these stories
refer, and the personalities connected with them, in order to understand
the outcome of the narrative, as if this literature mirrors events that alleg-
edly took place.[38] On the grounds of this assumption, Apophis' seemingly
ridiculous demands in *Apophis and Seqenenre* were seen by the Thebans
in Southern Egypt as political code for a threat on their territory,[39] which
resulted in a conflict from which the Egyptians could begin to reclaim
the North of Egypt from the Hyksos.[40] This assumption presumably gave
rise to the modern title *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*. Given that
no quarrel between them is recorded in the text, the title may be a mis-

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[38] Iser 1993 [1991]: x. Doležel 1988: 476, who sees this outlook towards reality as a
search for *mimesis*.

[39] Erman 1923: 216, note 1 and Griffiths 1967: 96 suggest that the letter was Apophis'
means of asserting his right to the canal, since the hippopotami were apparently crying
out for their lord.

[40] Habachi 1972: 50, Kaplony-Heckel 1982–5: 525, note d and Spalinger 2002: 330
acknowledge that the text is a historical source, but Goedicke 1986: 34 goes further by
claiming that "it is impossible to delineate between historical report and its literary
transformation". Goedicke 1986: 24 takes the story so literally that he seeks to re-read
db.w 'hippopotami' as *dbj* 'army' (despite deviant orthography, compare *Wb*. V 433 with
Wb. V 562) on the grounds that "hippopotami are indeed not notorious for making noise".
However, it is no more likely for hippopotami to bellow than it would be for a Delta
dweller to hear noise emanating from Thebes. As Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 285 notes,
the fantastic is precisely what makes the story fictitious.

nomer.[41] *The Taking of Joppa* is assumed to reflect a genuine attack on that city[42] since Joppa seems to appear in Thutmose III's topographical lists.[43] However probable this may be, given that a siege is the outcome, it nevertheless seems to be the case that the earliest remaining part of the text does not portray the Rebel of Joppa in an offensive role, which would supply a *casus belli*.[44] Perhaps such an instance was once in the now lost earlier part of the text. In any case, the influence of the historical content also leads to the assumption that since these texts make reference to genres of texts that portray historical events, they must perforce reflect the kind of event sequence typical of those genres. Naturally, monumental texts (even when historical circumstances dictate otherwise)[45] portray a victorious Egyptian king. However, we should not uncritically use these circumstances to supply missing fragments of these literary texts.

4.2.5.2   *Cosmic Conflict*

In the appraisal of the outcome of *Apophis and Seqenenre*, further speculations have been made. Some scholars argue, for instance, that Apophis' bizarre request has a religious basis: that the Seth-worshipping Apophis was distressed by the death-cries of hippopotami (manifestations of the god Seth) as they were harpooned in Thebes.[46] The story therefore moves from the sphere of the fabulous tale to that of a religious saga and requires a cosmic, rather than military, dispute to ensue, in order to demonstrate Amun-Re's superiority over Seth.[47] However, the passage in question seems to relate, rather than to the preservation of the hippopotami, instead to their *removal* from the lake in which they lived (AS050–AS053, *LES* 87,

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[41] Despite this, the title will be maintained for the sake of consistency, since Gardiner's titles (as well as abbreviated versions) are used throughout.

[42] Goedicke 1968: 229–230 and Wente 2003: 72.

[43] See Simons 1937: 112 and 117, 123–124 and 127–128. However, this does not indicate, as Erman 1923: 216 supposes, that the siege was a legitimate historical episode.

[44] Whereas I am tempted to see this as indicating the literary quality of the text, Valbelle 1990: 186 on the other hand takes it as a legitimate historical episode and determines that Djehuty apparently killed the prince of Joppa during a festival on neutral ground. Given this, she expresses amazement that such an act, involving a real historical personage, would be included in the popular canon. I would contend that this interpretation goes beyond the explicative capacities of the text.

[45] Kitchen 1982: 62.

[46] Säve-Soderbergh 1953: 43–45, followed by Griffiths 1967: 96, Brunner 1975: 353 and Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 323–324.

[47] Pieper 1935: 26, Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 42 and Brunner 1975: 353. Cf. the cosmic interpretation of Hofmann 1981: 19.

11–13). Additionally, what is not being considered is that the comic factor should discourage us from taking these passages seriously. For instance, Seqenenre is so surprised by the request that he cannot reply. Had it been a cosmic challenge, he would presumably have risen to the occasion.

4.2.5.3   *The 'Battle of Wits': Intercultural Parallels*

The humorous nature of the extant text, and most particularly the extraordinary demand posed by Apophis, has led some scholars to use Near Eastern parallels (albeit from later periods) to reconstruct the conflict as being resolved by something like a "battle of wits" between the two rulers.[48] Although the motif of outwitting an opponent certainly features in other Ramesside texts, such as *Truth and Falsehood*,[49] as well as *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*,[50] the context (namely, correspondence between two rulers) is different and this possibility is also not intimated by the inertia of Seqenenre and his court. On the other hand, this does not mean that a counteraction by Seqenenre, in however languid a manner, could not be taken as a legitimate response.

4.2.5.4   *Ramifications for Characterisation*

Naturally, as we saw in chapter 3, such assumptions lead to particular conclusions about the characterisation of these historical or, in Mieke Bal's sense, 'referential' characters.[51] Given the awe and respect shown towards pharaohs in monumental texts, some scholars do not differentiate along generic lines and see royal dignity as fair game in these bawdier literary renderings.[52] The nocturnal visits of King Neferkare (Pepi II) to the house of the General Sisene, regarded by most scholars as a depiction

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[48] See Maspero 1889: xxix–xxxi, who shows that hearing animals from far away was often considered as one of the challenges. See also Redford 1970: 37–38, Habachi 1972: 50 and Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 324.

[49] Meltzer 1992: 327.

[50] Sweeney 2002: 144.

[51] Bal 1997: 121 classifies historical characters as 'referential' "because of their obvious slots in a frame of reference". These characters "act according to the pattern that we are familiar with from other sources. Or not."

[52] Goedicke 1986: 18, 28–29, 32–33 compares the foreign Apophis, who cannot launch an attack without his Courtiers writing a letter for him, with Seqenenre, who allegedly fulfills the criteria of a royal hero by staying silent and planning an attack against the Hyksos. Given the lacunae, this is impossible to prove, but thus far Seqenenre shows little of the 'superiority' we would expect of an Egyptian ruler that would make such an interpretation plausible.

of a homosexual tryst, in the tale of *Neferkare and Sisene* are in all prob-ability illustrative of this somewhat less reverent mode of depiction.[53] In fact, often, as we see in *Apophis and Seqenenre*, "the fallibility of the king provides the spring for the plot".[54] The subject matter has also led scholars to assume that Apophis' characterisation leaned towards *topos*, in contrast to the commonly mimetic presentation of foreigners in narra-tive texts.[55] Though this text naturally makes reference to the *topos* of the antagonistic foreigner that is the mainstay of the historical genres, a close analysis of the foreign ruler reveals that he too is being characterised for humorous purposes, particularly to provoke the Egyptian Hero. They thus encourage us to return to the narratological 'types' that were explored in the previous chapter, such as the Subject/Hero and Opponent/Villain, but now we shall also encounter the Anti-Hero, who plays a significant role in humorous texts.[56]

Many assumptions about these stories and the characters that inhabit them undermine some tendencies that both texts show towards humour.[57] The linguistic analysis below, which pays particular attention to the char-acters' actions and words, suggests the stories' humorous intent and per-haps gives us some clue as to how they progressed. Though in *The Taking of Joppa* it is likely that some provocation occurred in order for the Egyp-tian troops to travel north, the humorous nature of the text may be relayed in subtle details. In *Apophis and Seqenenre*, it is at least possible to con-clude that the Egyptian court's incompetence was a key feature until the end of the story, or that an accidental manoeuvre by Seqenenre led to his 'victory'.[58] What the grammatical analysis will also show is that humour is not only apparent at the contextual, literary level, which concerns our expectations of the genre and to what extent they are met, but also at the grammatical level, through the characterisation.[59]

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[53] van de Walle 1969: 14 and Houlihan 2001: 8. Parkinson 1995: 72 highlights the subtle parodic elements of the tale, which may have been referencing royal texts.

[54] Eyre 1996: 428. Quack 2010b: 6 acknowledges the less dominant role often adopted by kings in Egyptian tales, but stresses that they seem to be held to a higher moral standard than gods in literature. In my opinion, however, even if the lack of authority of a past king is outlined in a lightly humorous manner, this fact neither undermines his moral standing, nor shows a complete lack of belief in the divinity of the ruling king.

[55] Loprieno 1988a: 37–38, note 9.

[56] Bal 1997: 131–132 and 197–202.

[57] Fischer-Elfert 2003: 135.

[58] These ideas have been explored in Di Biase-Dyson 2008b and Di Biase-Dyson in press.

[59] Bal 1997: 124.

4.3   The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre:
Character Portrayal and Development

4.3.1   *Ideational Analysis*

In order to assess the portrayal of the protagonists in each clause and to track their development across the text, we shall look at passages containing both narrated description of the characters as well as dialogue. This analysis demonstrates that at least at the ideational level, the vision we have of historical characters and the activities in which they were engaged, is being undermined.[60]

4.3.1.1   *Seqenenre*

Whereas in monumental texts the agency of the king first and foremost is expected, as we discussed in section 4.2.3.1, the king does not play a predominant role in literary texts.[61] To this end, the lack of attention warranted Seqenenre early on underscores the literary nature of the text. What becomes evident from the interpersonal analysis, however, is that it is not just that Seqenenre is not *predominant*; it's that his role is not *dominant*. He makes fewer appearances than his Hyksos counterpart, at least in what remains of the text, and he is presented as a passive character. If nothing else, the number and manner of his appearances are indicative of the early tenor of the text and the power relations inherent therein, as we shall note in the interpersonal analysis below. Even if the story changes for the better for him, what remains is not indicative of this.

Seqenenre is introduced early on as a Carrier in a relational attributive clause to specify his role: "he was ruler, l.p.h., of the Southern City" (AS005, *LES* 85, 5). He then appears in the Hyksos Courtiers' discussion as an Actor in a material clause that describes his piety. The verb form has negative polarity[62] and is not active, but what is being shown (to shift for a moment to the interpersonal dimension) is the ruler's *intent: nn ḥn⸗f* [*sw*] "He *will not submit* [himself]" to any god bar Amun-Re (AS035, *LES* 87, 1). Much later, he states his *future* willingness to *jr* 'do', and therefore be an Actor (in however submissive, ironic or strategic a manner) at Apophis' request (AS065, *LES* 88, 6).

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    60   Bal 1997: 118.
    61   This is certainly also the case in *The Doomed Prince,* as we saw in chapter 3 and will be evident also in *Wenamun* in chapter 5. Additionally, we see this tendency in Demotic literature like pVandier and the Inaros-Petubastis cycle, for which see Quack 2009a: 22.
    62   For a discussion of which, see Winand 2000: 414.

Therefore, Seqenenre is only described as an Actor in the words of others to describe his religious inclinations and in his own words to present him as a future Actor. He is therefore never shown as actually acting. Therefore, the story may well be setting up for a complete change of character, but it has established a clear motif of utter inaction (voluntary or otherwise) before doing so. This could be compared with Kamose, the Hero of his own narrative, who on his First Kamose Stela is portrayed as demonstrating the kind of kingly zeal we expect by declaring: *jb⸗j r nḥm km.t ḥw ꜥꜣm.w* "my desire is to save Egypt and smite the Asiatics".[63]

As a ruler, Seqenenre occasionally appears as an Initiator of causative material clauses: ensuring that the Hyksos Emissary is tended to (AS063, *LES* 88, 3), or (like Apophis in AS021, *LES* 86, 5), causing his Courtiers to come before him (AS071, *LES* 88, 11). He is also depicted as a *future* Initiator who will seemingly succumb to Apophis' request that he remove the hippopotami from a lake in Thebes (AS050, *LES* 87, 11).

More frequently, Seqenenre is a Sayer, *ḏd* 'speaking' to the Envoy (AS042, AS057, *LES* 87, 7 and 87, 15) and *wḥm* 'repeating' to his Officials (AS072, *LES* 88, 13). When confronted with Apophis' request, he is a Behaver in two behavioural clauses: he is *sgꜣ* 'stupefied' and *ḫpr* 'transformed' (AS054, AS055, *LES* 87, 13–14).[64] He is then an Actor in a material clause: *jw bw rḫ⸗f ꜥn [smj] n pꜣ wpw.tï n nsw jppy ꜥ.w.s.* "he not being able to to respond (lit. return [a comment]) to the envoy of King Apophis, l.p.h." (AS056, *LES* 87, 14). However, *rḫ* 'to know' is cognate to 'to have the ability to', and thus conveys modality by establishing a semantic relationship of *conation*, 'trying and succeeding'[65] with the second verb *ꜥn* 'to return'. Although *rḫ* is modal (rather than depicting a mental state) and *ꜥn* conveys a material Process, the overall feel is actually *verbal*—what is being said is that Seqenenre is not able to respond. Thus, even where an action is represented, it is *internal* and *unexecuted*.

Seqenenre's silence may humorously mark his loss for words and consequent lack of personal power, which runs contrary to the characterisation of the official Rensi in *The Eloquent Peasant*,[66] who uses silence to control the Peasant and force him to speak. It may also be humorously referencing the Egyptian ideal of the 'silent man' (*gr*) of Egyptian wisdom

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[63] Carnarvon Tablet (First Kamose Stela), 4–5, in Gardiner 1916: 102. For *ḥw* to be read, the *t* must be considered as a gap-filling stroke, which Gardiner suggests in note c.

[64] We could take *ḫpr* as an auxiliary, for which see Junge 2005: 84 and Polis 2009: 163, but it is followed by another clause beginning with *jw* rather than an Infinitive.

[65] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 501–502 and 621.

[66] Parkinson 2000: 37.

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples (Clause Nos.)	Total 13
material (m)	Actor	**AS035**, AS056, **AS065**	3
causative (c)	Initiator	**AS050** (m), AS063 (m), AS071 (v)	3
behavioural (b)	Behaver	AS054, AS055	2
mental (me)	Senser		0
verbal (v)	Sayer	AS042, AS057, AS072	3
existential (e)	Existent		0
relational identifying (ri)	Token		0
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier	AS005	1
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier		0
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor		0
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute:Possessor *not principal*		0
unknown (u)		AS032	1

Key (for clause numbers throughout chapter): normal script—narration, bold script—dialogue, *italic script*—periphrasis, [square brackets]—reconstruction, (parentheses)—Participant not present in embedded or non-finite clauses.

Figure 4.3. Ideational analysis: Seqenenre.

Verb Type	Verb	Examples
Doing/acting	*jr*	AS065
Returning	*ꜥn*	AS056
Submitting	*hn*	AS035

Figure 4.4. Material clause types: Seqenenre.

literature, whose silence demonstrates his self control.[67] This same trait marks Seqenenre not as a strong character, as some suspect,[68] but as a weak one. In this way, the Egyptian writer could be subversive *within* the normative social boundaries set by language,[69] which could be seen as a feature of *mimesis.*

4.3.1.2   *Apophis*

Apophis is portrayed as the central character in the tale at the ideational level. In his 17 appearances as the principal Participant in the clause, he is an Actor in a material clause in 11 of them,[70] which emphasises his high level of activity. He is introduced to the tale, however, as the Carrier in a relational attributive circumstantial clause, *jw wr jppy ꜥ.w.s. m ḥw.t-wꜥr(.t)* "the Chief Apophis, l.p.h., being in Avaris" (AS007, *LES* 85, 6). His placement in Avaris at the beginning of the tale helps to make geographical distance a feature of this narrative, though, unlike the similar nomination of Seqenenre above, Apophis is shown to be only 'in' Avaris, not the ruler of that city, which may be a barb about his legitimacy. Additionally, this clause is dependent, following the independent relational attributive circumstantial clause *jꜣd.t {n}<m> dmj {rꜥ}<ꜥ>m.w* "misery was in the city of the <Asia>tics" (AS006, *LES* 85, 6). These clauses establish him in Avaris as both a foreign ruler and as the Opponent for the story to follow. He is again the Carrier in a relational attributive circumstantial clause when the Envoy returns to Avaris from his mission in the South (AS070, *LES* 88, 9).

From early in the tale, however, Apophis is predominantly represented as an Actor in material clauses that set the scene, giving particulars about his activities: what he does (*jr*), whom he *bꜣk* 'worships', what he *ḳd* 'builds' and when he *ḥꜥ* 'appears' (AS011-AS015, *LES* 85, 8–12). The latter, the verb *ḥꜥ* 'appearing', in reference to Apophis rising every day to worship the god

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[67] Assmann 1984: 195–196 argues that in the context of wisdom texts, silence had a positive connotation of self-restraint, whereas outside this context it could imply negative ideas like feebleness or awe, as we see here. In Old and Middle Kingdom wisdom texts, Brunner-Traut 1984: 761 claims, the silent man represents '*das Muster an Tugend*'. See *The Teaching of a Man for his Son*, 15, 6, in Fischer-Elfert 1999: 163–165 and Helck 1984: 66–67, and *The Maxims of Ptahhotep*, 264–266, in Junge 2003: 28, 195 and Žába 1956: 36–37, 83. Assmann 2003 [1996]: 235 argues that in the Ramesside Period, silence became a symbol of piety, as demonstrated by *The Teaching of Amenemope*, 22, 8 and 23, 11, in Laisney 2007: 196 and 201–202, and Lange 1925: 110, 113–114. However, it seems to remain a means of demonstrating self-control.

[68] See Goedicke 1986: 30, 33.

[69] Sinfield 1992: 35.

[70] AS011, AS012, AS014, AS015, AS019, AS038, AS048, AS058, AS062, AS073, AS076.

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples	Total 19
material (m)	Actor	AS011, AS012, AS014, AS015, AS019, AS038 **(AS048), AS058, AS062,** AS073, AS076	11
causative (c)	Initiator	AS016 (m), AS021 (v)	2
behavioural (b)	Behaver		0
mental (me)	Senser		0
verbal (v)	Sayer	**AS049, AS066**	2
existential (e)	Existent		0
relational identifying (ri)	Token	**AS047**	1
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier		0
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier	AS007, AS070	2
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor		0
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute:Possessor *not principal*		0
unknown (u)		**AS027**	1

Figure 4.5. Ideational analysis: Apophis.

Verb Type	Verb	Examples
Appearing	$ḫ^ꜥ$	AS015
Building	$ḳd$	AS014
Doing/acting	jr	AS011
Investigating	$sḏm-mḏ.t$	AS058
Sending	$h3b$	AS019 (foll. *jb-f r*), AS038, AS048, AS062, AS073, AS076
Serving	$b3k$	AS012

Figure 4.6. Material clause types: Apophis.

Seth, could be taken as a "sly antithetical parallel" of the rising of the sun god Re.[71] The story begins to move when Apophis decides to antagonise his indigenous southern counterpart, Seqenenre. His heart is the Actor in a material clause: *jb=f r [h3b] md.t th3.w* "his heart was set on [sending] an offensive message" (AS019, *LES* 86, 2). On most subsequent occasions, up to the break in the text, he is described as 'sending' to Seqenenre (AS38, AS048, AS062, AS073, AS076, *LES* 87, 3; 87, 10; 88, 3; 88, 15 and 89, 3). Only when Seqenenre seeks clarification from the Envoy does he specify that Apophis is *sḏm-md.t* 'conducting an investigation' (AS058, *LES* 87, 16). Apophis is also an Initiator of a causative material clause when he causes a sacrifice to be made to Seth (AS016, *LES* 85, 12), and an Initiator of a causative verbal clause when he causes his officials to be summoned (AS21, *LES* 86, 5), in order to hatch a plot against Seqenenre.

In the Envoy's address, he introduces Apophis as a Token in a relational identifying clause (AS047, *LES* 87, 10), and then specifies him as a Sayer in a verbal clause as he relays its contents (AS049, *LES* 87, 10). When Seqenenre responds to the message, he also presents Apophis as a Sayer in a verbal clause (AS066, *LES* 88, 6). The text's Transitivity patterns in the extant text do not introduce any cases of direct speech by Apophis, showing the focus placed on depicting him as active rather than verbal.

Therefore, both rulers are identified as Doers, Initiators and Sayers. However, the type of action undertaken and its relative frequency fundamentally affects their characterisation. Both are Initiators because they are Rulers: they cause others to perform actions for them. Both are Sayers, but whereas one ruler commands, the other responds (or does not). Both are Actors, but whereas one ruler does, the other does not do.[72]

4.3.1.3   *The Hyksos Courtiers*

Although many of the clauses presenting the Hyksos Courtiers are damaged, these characters appear as Actors in a material clause when they carry garlands to the temple of Seth (AS017, *LES* 86, 1). Apophis' counsellors also advise Apophis as Sayers in verbal clauses (AS039, *LES* 87, 4).

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[71] Spalinger 2010: 123.
[72] Paulet 2007: 128 also notes a "déséquilibre entre la description des protagonistes et les initiatives prises par ceux-ci", and therefore states that whereas Seqenenre has a higher level of *déscription*, Apophis has a higher level of *activité*. The detailed analysis offered by this study substantiates this statement.

4.3.1.4   *The Hyksos Envoy*

The Envoy of Apophis, in his nine extant appearances, appears exclusively
as an Actor in material clauses (AS040, AS043, AS044, AS068, AS069, *LES*
87, 5; 87, 8–9 and 88, 8–9) and a Sayer in verbal clauses (AS046, AS060,
AS067, *LES* 87, 9; 88, 2 and 88, 7). His high level of activity is illustrated by
the frequency with which he appears as principal Participant, a grammati-
cal feature that is in line with his narrative role as an envoy.

4.3.1.5   *The Egyptian Courtiers*

These characters have little role to play in the extant text. We could postu-
late that they come into their own later, if the comportment of their foreign
counterparts is anything to go by, but this may not be the case. The Egyp-
tian Courtiers appear as Behaver in a behavioural clause (they are silent)[73]
and Sensers in a mental clause (they do not know how to answer): *ꜥḥꜥ.n≤sn
gr.w m-rʾ-wꜥ m ꜣ.t ꜥꜣ nn rḫ≤sn ḥr wšb n≤f m nfr m-rʾ-pw bjn*[74] "Then they were
silent unanimously (lit. 'as one mouth') for a long moment. They were not
able to reply to him, whether for good or bad." (AS074, AS075, *LES* 89, 1
and 89, 3).[75] This calls to mind a passage from a historical text, Ramesses
II's *Kadesh Bulletin: jw bw rḫ nꜣy≤j jm.ïw-rʾ ḫꜣs.wt ḥnꜥ nꜣy≤j wr.w ḏd n≤n st
jw.w* "my overseers of foreign lands and my chiefs not being able to say to
us that they had come".[76] While in the monumental text the ineptitude
of the counsel contrasts with the relentless activity of Ramesses II, the
inactivity of the officials in this story echoes, most probably in a comi-
cal fashion, the reaction of their ruler. Their immobility and silence thus
seems to be a necessary part of their characterisation, contrasting with the

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[73]   Though in English, 'to be silent' would qualify as a relational attributive clause, it is
an adjective verb in Egyptian, as in Lesko 2004: 190–191, and should therefore most prob-
ably qualify as a verb similar to 'to be angry'.

[74]   A *ḥr* comes between *rḫ≤sn* and *wšb* in the recto version, but this is taken as an error
by Gardiner 1932: 89a, 3, 3b.

[75]   This example is a rare occurrence of the *ꜥḥꜥ.n≤f* + Stative, which only occurs one other
time in the *Late Egyptian Stories*, in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (*LES* 38, 1). Broze
1996: 190 suggests that the form's association in both cases with the verb *gr* 'to be silent'
suggests that it may have been a citation from another text (and therefore a grammatical
remnant from Middle Egyptian?). However, Broze 1996: 196–197 claims that the Stative
in both cases represents a deliberate choice, reflecting a lack of ability to speak (by the
Egyptian Courtiers on the one hand and by the Lord-to-the-limit on the other). To see
such an archaic form as a motivated grammatical choice, however, somewhat undermines
its use as a citation, unless we suspect that the citation's original context was similarly
motivated.

[76]   *Kadesh Bulletin* L1 and L2, §§65–67, in *KRI* II 115, 6–14.

activity and speech of the Hyksos Courtiers and Envoy. This possibility is perhaps substantiated by the fact that their silence is not followed directly by ideas or action, since a new episode describing Apophis' activity in the North follows, directly before the lacuna.

4.3.1.6　*The Gods*

The gods have a surprisingly minor role in the Transitivity of this story, considering the emphasis placed on worship in the text. Seth is only a Goal (AS011, *LES* 85, 8), a Circumstance (AS012, *LES* 85, 9) and a Beneficiary (AS016, *LES* 85, 12) of material clauses. It is possible that Amun-Re features prominently in or near AS034 (*LES* 87, 1), of which only "with him as protector" remains, but the passage is too damaged to comment on. He also appears as a Circumstance (AS035, *LES* 87, 1). The gods' minor grammatical roles are most probably attributable to the focus of the story being *worship* (by a ruler), rather than the illustration of divine power on a character's behalf, which we see in *The Doomed Prince* and *Wenamun.*

4.3.2　*Textual Analysis*

The textual analysis takes the changing patterns of character prominence at certain points in the text into consideration. First, the marking of a character as a Theme through topicalisation will be analysed. Following this, we will take account of the prominence of particular characters at turning points in the text. The textual analysis in this case provides substantial support for the conclusions reached about Seqenenre and Apophis in the ideational analysis.

4.3.2.1　*Topicalisation*

Seqenenre is (perhaps significantly) introduced first to the narrative using the *jstw* formula: *jstw r꞊f jr nsw* PN *sw*…"Now, as for King PN, he…" (AS005, *LES* 85, 5). In this way, Seqenenre is made the marked Theme and also the Subject of the independent clause, following the topicaliser *jr* 'as for'[77] as *sw*. However, this form does not initiate an episode but rather establishes the state of affairs *while* Seqenenre was who and where he was (AS006–AS010, *LES* 85, 6–8).

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[77]　Malaise & Winand 1999: 670 and Junge 2005: 250–265.

Apophis is introduced in a less advantageous manner than his counterpart: he is identified as the reason for the distress in Avaris (AS007, *LES* 85, 6). Following this, the temporal marker *ꜥḥ*.*n* (AS011, *LES* 85, 8) initiates a series of clauses that mark a thematic progression, delineating Apophis' religious proclivities. The action of the story only starts, however, with a second use of the *jstw r=f jr nsw* PN form, in which Apophis is effectively 'reintroduced' as the *agent provocateur*: "his heart was set on [sending] an offensive message" to the Chief of the Southern City (AS019, *LES* 86, 2). Though the form is almost identical to Seqenenre's introduction, it is his *heart*, rather than his whole person, that is the Subject of the clause. Both rulers are similarly grammatically marked at the beginning, but it is only once Apophis is introduced that the action begins, which mirrors his level of activity at the ideational level.

4.3.2.2   *Themes Across 'Episodes'*

The cases in which Apophis is a 'marked Theme' in the manner discussed above are frequently accompanied by a significant textual landmark in which he plays a role. The *ḫr jr m-ḫt hrw.w ḳn.w swꜣ ḥr-sꜣ nn* "Now, after many days had elapsed after this" formula, followed by *wn.jn*, as we often see in *The Doomed Prince*, propels Apophis' wish into action: he seeks counsel (AS020–AS021, *LES* 86, 4–5). The next *ḫr jr m-ḫt* form plus *wn.jn* marks the next significant event, when the inflammatory message is expedited (AS037–AS038, *LES* 87, 2–3). Before the break in the tale, following another *wn.jn* form, Apophis is busy sending something else (AS076, *LES* 89, 3).

A *ḫr jr* form, which does not form part of the formula, then introduces the mission of the Hyksos Envoy (AS040, *LES* 87, 5). Without a compound preposition following it, *jr* then takes on a temporal sense: "Now, *when* the envoy of King Apophis, l.p.h., reached the Chief of the Southern City". Following this, no further significant textual markers are used, since *wn.jn* and *ꜥḥ*.*n* (both corresponding to 'then') establish sequences of events within episodes rather than initiating episodes. Seqenenre frequently appears in association with these minor markers as he deals with the Hyksos envoy and his officials (AS054, AS057, AS063, AS071, *LES* 87, 13; 87, 15; 88, 3 and 88, 11). Therefore, at least at this stage of the story, the thematic analysis supplies results corresponding to the ideational analysis. Apophis is textually dominant as an episode initiator whereas Seqenenre appears as a partaker. Seqenenre's appearance in the story before Apophis could suggest his projected Hero status, but the text gives no other indication of this possibility.

Clause	Primary Episodic Marker	Secondary Marker	Character (Theme)
AS001	*ḫpr swt*		
AS002		*wn.jn*	land of Egypt
AS011		*ʿḥʿ.n*	Apophis
AS020	*ḫr [j]r m-[ḫt] hrw.w ḳn.w sꜣ ḫr-sꜣ {wt} nn*		
AS021		*wn.jn*	Apophis
AS032		*wn.jn*	Seqenenre
AS037	*ḫr [j]r m-ḫt hrw.w ḳn.w sꜣ ḫr-sꜣ {wt} nn*		
AS038		*wn.jn*	Apophis
AS040	*ḫr jr*		Envoy
AS041		*wn.jn*	"(Some)one"/Courtier
AS042		*wn.jn*	"(Some)one"/Seqenenre
AS046		*wn.jn*	Envoy
AS054		*wn.jn*	Seqenenre
AS057		*wn.jn*	Seqenenre
AS060		*wn.jn*	Envoy
AS063		[*wn.jn*]	Seqenenre
AS068		[*wn.jn*]	Envoy
AS071		*ʿḥʿ.n*	Seqenenre
AS074		*ʿḥʿ.n*	Courtiers
AS076		*wn.jn*	Apophis

Key: **Bold**—rubrics.

Figure 4.7. Textual analysis: *Apophis and Seqenenre.*

4.4   The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre:
Character Interaction

4.4.1   *Interpersonal Analysis*

In the interpersonal analysis, we shall focus on the speaking characters, and the tenor and structure of their discourse. The state of the text means that we gain only an incomplete picture of the interpersonal landscape, particularly because, in addition to the text being prematurely truncated, the utterances of the two rulers are riddled with lacunae. Much of Apophis' potential discourse is missing. It is possible that he speaks between clauses AS023, AS027, AS028, AS036 (*LES* 86, 7–10; 86, 11–87, 1) or following AS076 (*LES* 89, 3), in which he is noted (before the break in the text) as sending something. On the other hand, many of Seqenenre's discursive turns are still intact, which allows him to be rounded out a little more as a character. It is difficult, given the lacunae, to tell whether this is due to the state of preservation of the text, or whether it is in fact a distinct method of characterisation, presenting Apophis as a 'doer' and Seqenenre as a 'talker'.

4.4.1.1   *Apophis and His Courtiers*

No part of the extant text shows Apophis addressing his Courtiers; we have only their discourse, which is marred by lacunae. They seem, therefore, to be the first characters to speak in the tale, giving their ruler advice that seems to continue (perhaps uninterrupted) from clauses AS027 to AS036 (*LES* 86, 10–87, 1). Wente's reconstruction projects "[demand that there be a withdrawal from the] lagoon of hippopotamuses"[78] (AS028, *LES* 86, 11), which would imply that the officials are using an Imperative towards their superior. It is impossible to tell whether this is the case.

Many have taken the assertiveness of Apophis' Courtiers as indicating either the ruler's inadequate knowledge of Egyptian[79] or his general ineptitude.[80] The former assumption can be discounted since Apophis 'sent' a message of some sort to someone at the end of the manuscript without a meeting being mentioned. With regard to the latter, although we can conclude that Apophis' meeting with his Courtiers was strategic, it is not certain that his need for advice was intended to be ironic. It perhaps

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[78] Wente 2003: 70.
[79] Fischer-Elfert 2003: 134.
[80] Goedicke 1986: 33.

provides a contrast to the more self-motivated royal heroes of historical texts, who either pay no heed to their counsel, in the case of Thutmose III prior to the battle of Megiddo,[81] or whose counsel has failed in supplying correct intelligence, in the case of Ramesses II at Kadesh.[82] Evidence at any rate is scarce and does not shed light on 'foreignness' as a factor in the decision-making process. It is probable that Apophis' characterisation through his relations with his staff is not supposed to compare unfavorably with Seqenenre's,[83] since when Seqenenre asks help of his Courtiers, they seem unable to give it (AS074-AS075, *LES* 89, 1 and 89, 3). However, this latter 'exchange' is not relayed in direct speech and is hence not revealing from an interpersonal perspective.

4.4.1.2   *Apophis and Seqenenre*

Before Apophis addresses Seqenenre in his letter, the narrator mentions his intention to cause trouble by using the form *jb⸗f r* + Infinitive, 'his heart (mind) is towards PN' (AS019, *LES* 86, 2), which operates like a modal auxiliary,[84] conveying that the protagonist *wants* something.[85] The fact that no actual motivation is given highlights the humorous quality of the text and provides a catalyst for the action, rather than demonstrating darker political undertones. Apophis' Envoy then visits Seqenenre and conveys the message. Though the Envoy is talking, he seems to be reporting Apophis' speech verbatim (AS050–AS052, *LES* 87, 11–12). His speech begins with an Imperative: *jmj tw r[wj].tw ḥr tꜣ ḥn(.t) db.w* "Cause there to be a removal from the hippopotamus lake", followed by an elaborating embedded clause,[86] *n.tï m pꜣ wbn n nʾ.t* "which is on the East of the City", and an explanatory dependent clause, *pꜣ-wn bn st <ḥr> dj jw.t n⸗j tꜣ ḳd m hrw m grḥ* "because they do not allow sleep to come to me by day or by night". This is perhaps followed by the Envoy's own explanation for this request: *jw ḥrw <m> m[s]dr nʾ.t⸗f* "the noise being <in> the ear of his city" (AS053, *LES* 87, 13). This pattern fulfils what I have called *nested direct speech*,[87] in which Apophis' discourse is reproduced inside the Envoy's in the following manner:

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[81] Annals of Thutmose III, §§18–46 in *Urk*. IV 649, 3–651, 13.
[82] *Kadesh Bulletin*, §§54–73, in K*RI* II 113, 1–117, 9.
[83] Goedicke 1986: 32–33.
[84] Satzinger 2003: 250.
[85] *Wb*. I 60, Sweeney 2003: 146–147.
[86] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 428.
[87] See section 2.3.6.3b and also Di Biase-Dyson 2008a: 49–54.

Clause	AS046	(AS047	AS049	[AS050	AS052]	AS053)
Character	Narrator	Envoy		Apophis		Envoy

Figure 4.8. *Nested Direct Speech* by the Envoy of Apophis.

Mood	Grammatical Form	Examples	Addressee
Imperative	Causative Imperative	AS050	Seqenenre (via Envoy)

Figure 4.9. Interpersonal analysis: Apophis.

Such a reading suggests that Apophis' speech is directed not at the Envoy (which would involve different personal deixis)[88] but via him to Seqenenre himself, making the speech act more like a human telegram.[89] This factor may explain why the Envoy is in the interesting interpersonal situation of using an Imperative towards a superior and a stranger. We can conclude that Apophis felt himself to be powerful enough to not only make demands of his southern counterpart but to make them as cryptic as possible.[90]

4.4.1.3   *Seqenenre and the Hyksos Envoy*

Seqenenre becomes an interlocutor when the Envoy of Apophis comes to report his master's demand. His speech is dominated by interrogatives. For instance, he uses two Emphatic *sḏm=f* Forms. The first a passive form,[91] which emphasises an interrogative *ḥr jḥ* 'why?' and effectively establishes

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[88] Peust 1996: 60, on the other hand, renders Apophis' message as indirect speech, for which a pronoun must be altered in translation. See Peust 1996: 88, with pronominal change in italics: "König Apophis ist es, der dir die Nachricht schickt, du sollest mit dem Kanal der Nilpferde ein Ende machen lassen, der in der 'Quelle der Stadt' liegt, denn indem ihr Lärm seiner Stadt im Ohr liege, liessen sie Tag und Nacht keinen Schlaf zu *ihm* einkehren" (lit. 'to *me*').

[89] The parenthetical nature of the statement was also hypothesised by Lefebvre 1949: 135, note 19 and Säve-Soderbergh 1953: 43, note 3.

[90] Lakoff 2000: 136 demonstrates that ambiguous discourse can be seen as a kind of power play.

[91] Junge 2005: 101. Emphatic Forms are used with verbs of motion and commonly accompany the interrogative, which is discussed by Groll 1969: 190 and Wente 1969: 5.

his superiority over the Envoy.[92] The second is an active form: [*ḥ*]*ꜣb⸗k <r>*
jḫ r nꜣ.ït rs.ït pḥ{wï}⸗k wj <m> nꜣ mšꜥ.w ḥr jḫ "Why have you been sent to
the Southern City? Why have you reached me <on> these travels?" (AS0-
43–AS045, *LES* 87, 8–9)

Following the Envoy's delivery of the message, Seqenenre speaks again
(AS058, *LES* 87, 16).[93] Rather than offer a reply, he seeks more informa-
tion by employing an interrogative, again via the Emphatic Form, though
in this case the interrogative is unmarked and conveys the impression of
being rhetorical.[94] This would suggest the Chief's incredulousness at the
demand, and may be a method of intimidation:[95] *jstw j-jr pꜣy⸗k nb ꜥ.w.s.*
{ḥr} sḏm-m[*d.t*] *ḥr /// [db.w [...] m pꜣ*[*ï*], "Now, it is (the case) that your
lord, l.p.h., is conducting an investigation on account of /// [the hippopot-
ami] [...] because of *this*?" (AS058, *LES* 87, 16) By demanding information
that would justify this request, Seqenenre may be attempting to discomfit
the Envoy.[96] Unfortunately, the incomplete state of the clause means that
we cannot verify our conclusions.

However, the Envoy's response[97] suggests that he is not put off. Though
the response is fragmentary, the remains of clauses AS061–AS062 (*LES*
88, 2–3) /// [*nꜣ*] [*m*]*d.wt j-hꜣb⸗f* {*n*} *wj ḥr⸗sn* "[the] [ma]tter which he sent
to me concerning them", show that he is reaffirming his message. Even if
the lacuna does not contain an Imperative like 'implement',[98] the Envoy
is asserting his right to present his case.

Seqenenre acquiesces in AS065-AS067 (*LES* 88, 6–7), telling the Envoy
to tell his lord: *jr pꜣ n.tï nb jw⸗k ḥr ḏd n⸗f jw⸗j jr⸗f kꜣ⸗k* [*n⸗f*] "'As for every-
thing that you have said to him, I will do it'. (Thus) you will say [to him]".
This clause complex could be an example of 'involvement category',[99] but
this would only be the case if *⸗f* and *⸗j* were referring to the same person.

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[92] Kennedy 1982: 95 claims that where a social superior uses the interrogative, "the
answerer is being tested in some way".

[93] The use of *ḥr* before *sḏm-md.t* must be superfluous, for which see Gardiner 1932:
87a, 2, 7b.

[94] Sweeney 1991: 323.

[95] Sweeney 1991: 324, also 331.

[96] Whether he is using this rhetorical question to mock, as Cassonnet 2000: 192 sug-
gests, is less certain.

[97] That this is the Envoy talking relies on the reconstruction by Gardiner 1932: 88, 2.
If we assume this is Seqenenre talking to his Courtiers, then the *n⸗j* (here amended to {*n*}
wj) works well.

[98] Wente 2003: 71 does not supply the Egyptian word, which uses the classifier Gar-
diner Sign A24.

[99] Sweeney 1990: 955, note 31. Involvement category occurs, Sweeney 1990: 975, also
952, claims, under the following conditions: "If a reported remark (level 2) mentions the

Mood	Grammatical Form	Examples	Addressee
Interrogative	Emphatic Form + *jḫ*	AS043, AS045	Envoy
	Emphatic Form	AS058	Envoy
Declarative Modal	Prospective	AS067	Envoy
	Future III	AS065	Apophis (via Envoy)

Figure 4.10. Interpersonal analysis: Seqenenre.

It rather seems to be another example of *nested direct speech*, of which the first part is Seqenenre addressing himself directly to Apophis (just like Apophis was directly addressing Seqenenre before), via the Envoy. Thus, 'you' is Apophis, 'him' is the Envoy and 'I' is Seqenenre.[100] Seqenenre then addresses himself to the Envoy, using the Prospective, a modal form which emphasises his obligation:[101] 'you' (the Envoy) 'will say to him' (Apophis). It may be significant that Seqenenre is not shown as using the Imperative here: his request is more indirect and polite.[102] Though this could be seen as representing Seqenenre's heroic prescience[103] for the amusement of the Egyptian audience,[104] this point is impossible to prove without knowing Seqenenre's subsequent actions. It is also possible that the Egyptians would have found an Egyptian king less in control of his country than a foreign ruler quite humorous. Seqenenre at least *seems* amenable to Apophis' request, and unlikely to partake of the 'quarrel' that forms part of the (seemingly erroneous) title.

The Mood analysis therefore corroborates our conclusions from the Transitivity analysis. With Seqenenre we are fortunate to have a synergy between the ideational, textual and interpersonal levels of analysis, since what he does (or doesn't do) and what he says seamlessly represent someone who is inactive, who receives rather than gives demands, and

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hearer or speaker of the current conversation (level 1), the pronouns are adjusted so that they fit the current context".

[100] Another interpretation is that 'him' (in *ḏd n⸗f*) refers to Seqenenre, i.e. the words to be spoken by the Envoy to Apophis and the *jw⸗j jr⸗f* are the words of Seqenenre quoted in direct speech by the Envoy.

[101] If we read this as a Subjunctive, 'May you say ...' the conversation could continue.

[102] Culpeper 2001: 249.

[103] Goedicke 1986: 30, 33 claims that he "intends to move his mercenaries, as requested, but ... he intends to move them against Apophis".

[104] Goedicke 1986: 34 and 154.

who asks questions rather than makes statements. All of these oppose the characterisation of Apophis, who is consummately active, makes decisions and issues commands.

4.5   *Power and the Lexicon: Titles, Ethnicity and Rank*

The lexical features of this text are particularly interesting, and have stimulated the interest of many scholars who have attempted to reconstruct the historical-political circumstances associated therewith. After all, naming is not only "the simplest form of characterisation",[105] because, in a historical context, a character's names and titles have political implications. What is fascinating here is that although the names conjure up images of departed heroes, the titles ironically correspond to the kinds of roles so clearly brought forth in the grammar.[106]

4.5.1   *Seqenenre*

Seqenenre begins the text by being twice named *nsw sḳnn-rˁ ˁ.w.s* 'King Seqenenre, l.p.h.'. However, in both of these instances, it appears necessary to clarify his role. In the first instance, *nsw* is followed by *ḥḳꜣ ˁ.w.s. n nʾ.t rs.it* 'Ruler, l.p.h. of the Southern City (Thebes)' (AS005, *LES* 85, 5).[107] In the second instance, the title [*pꜣ*] *wr n nʾ.t rs.it* 'the Chief of the Southern City' follows (AS019, *LES* 86, 2), which comes to be used, with some orthographical variations,[108] both (presumably) by Hyksos officials (AS032, *LES* 86, 13) and by the narrator (AS038, AS040, AS041, AS054, AS057, [AS063],

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[105]   Wellek & Warren 1956: 219.

[106]   Docherty 1983: 51.

[107]   Lorton 1974: 27–29 demonstrates that both Egyptian and Hyksos rulers used *ḥḳꜣ* in the Second Intermediate Period, so the word should not be considered as a differentiating feature here. On the other hand, in the New Kingdom, *ḥḳꜣ* was exclusively used to refer to Egyptians, for which see Sethe 1910: 85. The use of the term 'the Southern City' for Thebes is discussed by Sethe 1914: 34, note 3 and Wente 2003: 69, note 2.

[108]   In AS038, the preposition *ḥr* seems to have been written in the wrong place, as we would expect a *ḥr* to follow *rs.it* here. However, interestingly, *ḥr* is also included before *rs.it* in the subsequent three mentions of the title (AS040, AS041 and AS054) *without* the *ḥr* being required subsequently. The last two mentions of the name (AS057 and AS071), *both* when being followed by *ḥr*, are written without the intervening *ḥr*. It may be noteworthy that the spelling aberration occurs only in the title of the Chief, and not in the name of the city itself. Goedicke 1963: 93 instead takes the use of *ḥr* as deliberate, making him a '*Fürst des Südens*', in which the South is a political entity. Understandably, in the historical record, the Theban rulers have control over the South in general, but the literal translation of Seqenenre's title (incorrect or otherwise) is simply 'Chief of the City in the South'.

Title/Epithet	Clause
nsw sḵnn-rꜥ ꜥ.w.s.	AS005, AS019
ḥḵꜣ ꜥ.w.s. n nꜣ.t rs.it	AS005
pꜣ] wr n nꜣ.t rs.it	AS019, **AS032**, AS038, AS040, AS041, AS054, AS057, [AS063], AS071

Figure 4.11. Lexical analysis: Seqenenre.

AS071, *LES* 87, 3 and 87, 5; 87, 7; 87, 13; 87, 15; 88, 3 and 88, 11). In AS042 (*LES* 87, 7), he is referred to as *=tw* '(Some)one', which is also used to designate kings in monumental texts.[109]

Since the historical Seqenenre does not seem to have successfully expelled the Hyksos, the use of *nsw* is unlikely to refer to an actual change in status, either historically or in the story.[110] Despite this, he appears as *nsw bj.t* 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt' in the autobiography of Ahmose, son of Ibana,[111] on various monuments[112] and on his sarcophagus.[113] Thus, it seems that *nsw* could be used when someone was king, even if not of all Egypt.[114] As shall be discussed below, the use of several titles at once should also not be considered problematic, even if historical connotations are being drawn,[115] though in this case they are most probably a literary feature, used to set the two characters in relation to each other.

4.5.2   *Apophis*

Apophis, conversely, is first introduced as the *wr jppy ꜥ.w.s.* 'Chief Apophis, l.p.h.' (AS007, *LES* 85, 6), but on almost every subsequent occasion is *nsw jppy ꜥ.w.s.* 'King Apophis, l.p.h.' (AS011, AS014, AS019, AS021, AS038, AS073, AS076, *LES* 85, 8; 85, 10; 86, 2; 86, 5; 87, 3; 88, 15 and 89, 3). In the mouths of others, the situation changes a little. Apophis' Courtiers address

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[109] Hannig 1995: 919.
[110] Goedicke 1986: 6.
[111] Lichtheim 1976: 12.
[112] von Beckerath 1964: 294 mentions an architrave from Deir el-Ballas.
[113] von Beckerath 1964: 295, Cairo CG 61001.
[114] Lorton 1974: 18 nonetheless sees it as a political title. The title was also used for kinglets in the Piankhy Stela (Quack, personal communication).
[115] Goedicke 1986: 16 claims that Seqenenre could not hold both titles simultaneously since *nsw* was reserved for sole monarchs. However, von Beckerath 1964: 294–295 shows that this was not the case.

him as [*j*]*ty ꜥ.w.s* [*nb≠n*] 'Sovereign, l.p.h., [our lord]' (AS027, *LES* 86, 10)[116] and the Hyksos Envoy, like the narrator, refers to him as *nsw jppy ꜥ.w.s.* (AS047, *LES* 87, 10).[117] In his response, Seqenenre refers to Apophis as *p3y≠k nb ꜥ.w.s.* 'your lord, l.p.h.' (AS058, *LES* 87, 16), a term which empha- sises Apophis' role as lord and master.[118]

Apophis, like Seqenenre, is referred to as *nsw bj.t* in some historical records.[119] Therefore, historical precedent exists for this title, though one cannot help but conclude that both word choice and juxtaposition in the story establish a particular power relationship. Whereas in other narrative texts in this corpus *wr* is commonly used for foreign rulers and *ḥḳ3* or *nsw* for Egyptian rulers, our two rulers are *introduced* according to this protocol,[120] but are played out bearing the *opposing* title: though Seqenenre is introduced as a *nsw*, he spends the majority of the text as merely a *wr*, whereas Apophis is introduced as a *wr* and is thereafter described extensively as a *nsw*.[121]

Therefore, even if this change has a historical basis,[122] it is more likely that the Ramesside author (whether aware of a historical precedent

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[116] Windus-Staginsky 2006: 245 shows that even as early as the Old Kingdom, the term *jty* was used predominantly for the king but also for some private persons to describe them as 'Herrscher' or 'Patron' respectively, cf. Goedicke 1960: 49ff. and Lorton 1974: 7. Lorton 1973: 12 claims that following the Middle Kingdom, the address [*j*]*ty nb≠j/n* 'my/our Sov- ereign' was popular. It is likely what appears in this text.

[117] As discussed in 3.5.2 and with reference to Windus-Staginsky 2006: 241, this title was used in reference to the holder of the office of *Egyptian* kingship.

[118] Windus-Staginsky 2006: 244. See also Lorton 1974: 13, 18.

[119] von Beckerath 1964: 273 shows that it was used with the *nsw bj.t* name *3-wsr-rꜥ* on the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus. As Goedicke 1986: 35 says, however, "Only Apophis among the so-called Hyksos rulers is attested with the designation *nswt* and this only in conjunction with the prenomen *3-wsr-rꜥ*".

[120] We see this naming system in the Carnarvon Tablet (First Kamose Stela), for which see Gardiner 1916: 97–98: Kamose has full titulary, including *nsw bj.t* (line 1) and simply *nsw* (line 2), whereas the rulers in Avaris and Kush are both entitled *wr* (line 3).

[121] This conclusion was first reached by Osing 1987: 34–35, note 8.

[122] This argument is based on the assumption that the Ramesside authors had access of some kind to earlier records, such as the Second Kamose Stela at Karnak. Habachi 1972: 47 shows that although the First Stela was reused in Amenhotep III's Third Pylon, the Second Stela was reused in the foundation of the statue at the entrance of the Hypostyle Hall and so may have been visible until at least the reign of Ramesses II if not Ramesses IV, namely, the period of this narrative's composition. However, Habachi 1972: 45–46, as well as Kapl- ony-Heckel 1982–5: 527 and Lundh 2002: 16–17, see the Second Stela as "a continuation of another stela, as yet undiscovered", since the existing stelae are of different sizes and thus probably not sequential. Since the latter part of the text of the First Stela is no longer attested, this theory is impossible to prove. At any rate, in the First Stela, Apophis' letter to the Ruler of Kush shows that he considered himself, the Ruler of Kush and Kamose as *ḥḳ3.w* 'rulers' (lines 19–21, in Hammad 1955: 206–207 and Habachi 1972: 39), though

Title/Epithet	Clause
wr jppy ꜥ.w.s.	AS007
nsw jppy ꜥ.w.s.	AS011, AS014, AS019, AS021, AS038, **AS047**, AS073, AS076
[*j*]*ty ꜥ.w.s.* [*nb≥n*]	**AS027**
pꜣyꜣk nb ꜥ.w.s.	**AS058**

Figure 4.12. Lexical analysis: Apophis.

or not) was capitalising on the differential titles for the purpose of irony, particularly when we take into account the historical importance of these persons.[123] Thus, the names evoke the rulers of times past, while their titles *systematically* portray a different reality, which corresponds to their behaviour and speech: the illegitimate Apophis acts like a *nsw* and the legitimate Seqenenre behaves like a more subservient *wr* (which Kamose had refused to be in his Second Stela).[124] The accompanying *ꜥnḥ.w wḏꜣ.w snb.w* that accompanies almost every title for both rulers could thus also be seen as ironic, given the context. The subversion of the norm, manifest in the titles, like the Ramesside papyri depicting animals in human roles or acting contrary to their normal nature,[125] facilitates ironic characterisation,[126] which may have been to comment, not only on the historical genre, but on the political systems of times past or present.

Kamose had earlier complained to Apophis that *rꜣ≥k ḥns(.w) m jr≥k wj m wr jw≥k m ḥkꜣ* "Your utterance is ungenerous in your making me a chief, you being a ruler" (line 1, Second Kamose Stela, 1, in Hammad 1955: 205 Habachi 1972: 32, also Störk 1981: 63). After his victory over the Hyksos, Kamose refers to *himself* as *ḥkꜣ* and *ḥm≥f* 'His Majesty' (line 36, in Habachi 1972: 44).

[123] Paulet 2007: 121–122 has argued that the titles *wr n nꜣ.t rs.it* and *wr* were never used to refer to Seqenenre and Apophis respectively in texts of the Second Intermediate Period, and concludes that they were used to familiarise the Ramesside audience with the relative political positions of the two rulers. However, as we have noted, *wr* refers to *both* rulers in the Second Kamose Stela. Even if we were to consider the author of the narrative to be ignorant of this stela, we still cannot regard these titles as a sort of explicative 'gloss', since this does not explain why the title *nsw* (which was *also* used in contemporary texts to describe both rulers) likewise appears, and why it was used in the story at this point.

[124] See Di Biase-Dyson 2008b and Spalinger 2010: 124.

[125] van de Walle 1969: 18–19, Peck 1978: 144–147, Houlihan 2001: 65 and Flores 2004: 233.

[126] The idea of a topsy-turvy world is a feature of the *carnivalesque* literary mode, discussed at length by Bakhtin 1968 [1965]: 11.

4.6   *The Role of the Past in the Tale*

Despite the fact that this tale is fictional, and in all probability "devoid of any historical fact",[127] Egyptian history has clearly been mined to provide the subject matter. Though the story may attempt to humorously expose the ineptitude of the 17th Dynasty Theban Princes, it is more probable that the past comments on the political system of the day.

4.6.1   *Resurrecting the Second Intermediate Period*

Apophis and Seqenenre reflects a period in which Egypt was ruled as two independent states. The 15th 'Hyksos' Dynasty resided in the North while the 17th 'Theban' Dynasty held the South.[128] Archaeological evidence sets the Hyksos Delta capital Avaris in Tell el-Dab'a[129] and textual evidence suggests that the territory of the foreign rulers extended south to Middle Egypt.[130] *Apophis and Seqenenre* evokes a situation also encountered in the Carnarvon Tablet, in which the Thebans were tributary to the Hyksos rulers.[131] However, contrary to both the tale and the historical text, it is not clear that a tense relationship existed between the Hyksos and the southerners prior to the conflict in the time of Kamose,[132] so there is little indication that "the land of Egypt was in misery" (AS002, *LES* 85, 4).

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[127] Fischer-Elfert 2003: 135.

[128] Habachi 1972: 52.

[129] Bietak 1970: 16 notes that a temple and mortuary precinct from the Hyksos era were found in *Grabungsstelle* A/II, Level E, which, he remarks, is corroborated by Syro-Palestinian Middle Bronze I and II/i ceramic ware (see Bietak 1970: 36, 41).

[130] The Carnarvon tablet (line 5) states that the Hyksos held Lower Egypt as far as Cusae, Gardiner 1916: 103, Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 46 and Habachi 1972: 48. In the Second Stela (lines 16–17), Kamose quotes Apophis as saying: "I am the lord, there is not my peer as far as *ḫnm.w* and the Estate of Hathor (*pr-ḥw.t-ḥr.w*) brings tribute to Avaris in the two rivers", in Habachi 1972: 38. Another reading is adopted by Ryholt 1997: 136, following Smith & Smith 1976: 57–58: "I am a sovereign without rival as far as Hermopolis, even to Pathyris, for (my) intention is to keep control of Avaris between the two rivers".

[131] Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 39, Goedicke 1963: 93–94 and Stadelmann 1965b: 69. The Carnarvon tablet (line 4) claims that Egypt is "wasted through servitude of the Setyu (Asiatics)" (see Gardiner 1916: 98–99, Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 46 and Habachi 1972: 48). In *Apophis and Seqenenre*, clauses AS008-AS010: *jw ḫrp.w n=f p3 t3 r-ḏr=f ḥr b3k.w=sn mḥ m-mj.tït ḥr (j)ḫ.t nb nfr n t3-mḥ.{y}<w>* the land in its entirety being subjected to him (Apophis), bearing their taxes in full and additionally bearing all the good produce of Lower Egypt" (*LES* 85, 7–8). The fact that Apophis refers to the Ruler of Kush as 'my son' in his letter that was copied onto the Second Kamose Stela (line 20) is taken by Stadelmann 1965b: 68 as indicating that Kush was similarly subject.

[132] In the Carnarvon tablet (line 6), Kamose's courtiers assure him that they are supplied with goods and grazing land, in Gardiner 1916: 103, Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 46 and Habachi 1972: 48.

The Egyptians identify the Hyksos as *ꜥꜣm.w* 'Asiatics' in their documents,[133] which is supported by the Syro-Palestinian ceramics in Second Intermediate Period strata.[134] It seems that peoples, perhaps Amorites, began coming to Egypt from Syria and Canaan in large numbers during the 12th Dynasty.[135] This acculturated Asiatic population may have gained power in the 14th Dynasty,[136] though the Canaanite connection became more pronounced in the 15th Dynasty, when Northern Egypt seems to have become controlled by newly-arrived Asiatic rulers.[137] This change is manifest in the ceramic culture, seals and settlement patterns, not to mention this Dynasty's adoption of the title *ḥḳꜣ ḫꜣs.wt* 'rulers of the foreign lands', which had been previously used by Egyptians as a designation for Canaanite chiefs.[138] However, this title was rarely used together with the Egyptian royal titles that they also adopted.[139] Despite this apparent attempt at 'Egyptianisation', some scholars take the continued use of Levantine ceramics as an indication of cultural pride and of sustained contact with the Levant and the Aegean,[140] which makes the Egyptian titles seem like "a public relations exercise".[141]

4.6.2   *Resurrecting Apophis and Seqenenre*

Apophis (*jppy*) was most probably the fifth of the six Hyksos pharaohs that comprised the 15th Dynasty, which dated from approximately 1550 to 1590 BC. According to the Turin Canon, his reign lasted forty years.[142] Docu-

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[133] The Carnarvon Tablet (First Kamose Stela), line 3, in Gardiner 1916: 98–99 says "one prince (*wr*) is in Avaris and another is in Kush and I sit united with an *ꜥꜣm.w* and a *nḥsy*". The Speos Artemidos inscription, lines 37–38, in Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 37, note 3 and Gardiner 1946: 47–48 says that "the Asiatics were in Avaris of the North Land". For the term *ꜥꜣm.w*, see *Wb.* I 167: "das asiatische Nachbarvölker der Ägypter; Asiat; Semit". Though Ryholt 1997: 126 raises objections to the authority with which some scholars identify the Hyksos, he does not provide a more suitable alternative.

[134] Heinsohn 1993: 207 also Haring 2005: 171.

[135] Bietak 1994: 23.

[136] Ryholt 1997: 5. However, no direct evidence ascertains this: Quirke 2001: 261 can only show the dramatic increase of the Near Eastern population in Egypt at the end of the Middle Kingdom.

[137] Säve-Soderbergh 1951: 56, von Beckerath 1964: 123–126.

[138] Ryholt 1997: 303 and Bietak 1994: 23. For a discussion of this title, see von Beckerath 1964: 279, referring to the scarab Fraser Cat. no. 180. Also Säve-Soderbergh 1951: 56.

[139] Ryholt 1997: 123 presents only one example: a doorjamb bearing the name of *skr-ḥr*.

[140] Haring 2005: 171.

[141] Haring 2005: 172.

[142] Ryholt 1997: 201.

ments bearing his throne name appear on a limestone block in Gebelein,[143] an alabaster vase from the tomb of King Amenhotep I,[144] Papyrus Rhind, numerous scarabs and Kamose's Karnak stelae.[145]

Seqenenre (*sḳnn-rꜥ*) was the fourteenth king of the 17th Dynasty,[146] which was based in Thebes[147] or nearby Deir el-Ballas[148] contemporane-ously with the reign of Apophis.[149] His mummy is indicative of death by a blow to the head at between thirty and forty years of age. The weapon, an axe, has long been identified as non-Egyptian,[150] on which basis scholars believe that he died in conflict with the Hyksos.[151] For this reason, he is commonly regarded as the initiator of the so-called wars of liberation.[152] However, his mortal remains aside, no sources mention Seqenenre's interaction with the Hyksos rulers.[153] In his autobiography, Ahmose son of Ibana records that his father, Baba son of Reonet, was a soldier under Seqenenre,[154] though no particular conflict is described. Seqenenre's son, Ahmose, on the other hand, is known to have successfully expelled the Hyksos, a feat attempted by his predecessor Kamose, whose relation to Ahmose remains obscure.[155] In sum, scholars seem to either superimpose the swashbuckling heroics of Kamose and Ahmose onto the narrative, or use the circular logic that this story provides an indication of conflict with the Hyksos, for which reason the text should be read literally.[156] Even if we take Seqenenre's mummy as substantive evidence, his grisly end could hardly be considered an appropriate end to a humorous tale.[157]

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[143] Säve-Soderbergh 1951: 63.

[144] Säve-Soderbergh 1951: 69.

[145] von Beckerath 1971: 352.

[146] Vandersleyen 1984: 864.

[147] Ryholt 1997: 174 bases his conclusion on the presence of the basis of its royal necrop-olis, as well as references in the Carnarvon Tablet (line 2) to Kamose, 'the victorious king within Thebes', for which see Gardiner 1916: 98.

[148] Polz 1998: 225–226, 229–230. One would wonder, however, what of the Theban Princes' monuments could be discovered if an excavation of the city of Thebes were possible.

[149] von Beckerath 1964: 128.

[150] Bietak 1994: 28 and Quirke 2001: 264.

[151] Polz 1998: 220.

[152] Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 323.

[153] Ryholt 1997: 176–177. In fact, as Brunner 1975: 353 points out, Kamose's stela presents the situation upon that pharaoh's accession as peaceful, rather than as coming on the heels of conflict during the reign of Seqenenre, though such a depiction may be for rhetorical effect.

[154] Lichtheim 1976: 12.

[155] Vandersleyen 1984: 865.

[156] Labib 1936: 35.

[157] Nevertheless, Labib 1936: 36 sees *Heldentod* as being part of the story's outcome.

A cursory survey of the historical background thus emphasises its loose connection to this story: Thebes is emphasised as pre-eminent in the narrative, when it may not have been the Residence at the time.[158] Additionally, Seqenenre is presented as a contender in the wars against the Hyksos for which little evidence exists. This *pseudepigraphy*, combined with the rather extraordinary turn of events in the part of the tale that remains, emphasises the narrative's status as a literary creation.[159] Historical features see to have been evoked for the purpose of parody, perhaps of Ramesside political structures or religious ideas, since religious affiliation is emphasised in the story as a source of inter-cultural antagonism, when, as we shall see below, it may not have been so significant at the time. The prominence of ideas pertaining to personal piety thus seems to express the Ramesside *Zeitgeist*.

4.7   *The Role of the Foreign in the Tale*

4.7.1   *The 'Foreignness' of the Characters: Apophis as a ḥḳꜣ ḫꜣs.wt*

Unlike the other texts in the corpus, this narrative lacks indications of 'foreignness': it takes place in Egypt and the foreign Opponent is a (relatively) acculturated ruler. However, Apophis' foreign nature is alluded to by his introduction as a *wr* 'chief', which, as was discussed above, commonly referred to foreign leaders, at least in times when Egypt was unified. In addition, the historical genre also required the foreigner to be an Opponent, which Apophis may be expressing by his extreme activity, as I have suggested, or through the stupidity or belligerence that other scholars link to his ethnicity.[160] These characteristics could be associated with his worship of the god Seth,[161] which, as we shall now see, is established as the most 'foreign' and offensive part of Apophis' character.

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[158] Bietak 1994: 27 and Polz 1998: 225–226, 229–230.
[159] Loprieno 1996c: 286. This idea is seconded also by Parkinson 2002: 90, although the fictionalising power of pseudepigraphy must be approached with some caution with reference to Ancient Egypt, since, as Quack 2004: 359 points out, the lauding of the authors of past 'teachings' in Papyrus Chester Beatty IV verso seems to indicate that they were believed to be genuine.
[160] Goedicke 1986: 33.
[161] Goedicke 1986: 10. It is possible, as Goedicke 1986: 33 asserts, that "religious affiliation was also for the Egyptians a reflection of character traits. Adherence to Sutekh was synonymous with instability, lawlessness, egoism and intemperence (sic)".

4.7.2   *Worship as an Index of Ethnicity*

Apophis and his court's affiliation with Seth could be seen as the only indication of their alterity. Historically, the Hyksos' worship of Seth is suggested by dedications made to him that appear on monument fragments, such as the inscription on an offering slab bearing Apophis' Horus name (*sḥtp-tȝ.wi*), which states that "his father Seth, lord of Avaris" had "set all foreign countries under his feet".[162] However, the archaeological record does not support the exclusive worship of Seth by the Hyksos, who dedicated items to a range of Egyptian gods, including a vessel that Apophis dedicated to Re.[163] Re also appeared in the royal names of many Hyksos rulers.[164]

On the other hand, the archaeological and textual record supports claims that many Egyptian temples and tombs were looted at this time.[165] The devastation incurred by such sacrilege is supported by 17th Dynasty rulers' recorded attempts to restore temples at Abydos, Coptos and Medamud,[166] and explains why successive Egyptian generations would regard the Hyksos as blasphemous foreigners.[167] The offence encountered in the narrative could be tied to the exclusivity of the worship of Seth, to the means by which he was worshipped, or simply to the choice of Seth in the first place. Though exclusivity seems to be a focus,[168] the worship

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[162] Cairo CG 23073, in Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 39, 44, Labib 1936: 29–30 and von Beckerath 1964: 128. Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 39, note 2, see this as rhetorical, and not indicative of a Hyksos empire.

[163] Ryholt 1997: 149, note 542, BM EA 32069.

[164] Säve-Soderbergh 1951: 64, note 8 and 65 and Säve-Soderbergh 1953: 45.

[165] For instance, Ryholt 1997: 146–148 cites the presence in Avaris of the pyramidion of the 13th Dynasty King Aya and the 'mane sphinxes' of Amenemhet that most probably came from his mortuary temple at Dahshur as evidence for looting in the 15th Dynasty. Textual documentation of such events appeared only later, such as the Speos Artemidos inscription, lines 38–39, in Gardiner 1946: 48 also Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 55: "I have raised up what was dismembered, (even) from the first time when the Asiatics were in Avaris of the North Land, (with) roving hordes in the midst of them overthrowing what had been made". Nonetheless, Ryholt 1997: 147–148 argues that this was most probably for political, rather than religious reasons: to stop the enemy encroaching when they were defeated in the South. Stolen goods could also have been taken as trophies, decorations or tradeable objects.

[166] Ryholt 1997: 146.

[167] Bietak 1994: 24 rightly points out that Egyptians frequently usurped the monuments of preceding generations. However, the Hyksos blasphemy was judged far more harshly on account of their having been foreigners, given that their usurpations remained in collective consciousness long enough to have been recorded by the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (*Against Apion*, 75–79, trans. Whiston 1998: 932), who copied his account from Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*.

[168] Assmann 1996a: 96.

of Amun-Re by the Thebans is shown in parallel: the Hyksos worshipped Seth and no other (AS011-AS012, *LES* 85, 8–9), just like the Thebans worshipped Amun-Re and no other (AS035, *LES* 87, 1). This parallelism could be seen as a simplifying device that sets the religious preference of Apophis against that of Seqenenre, thereby characterising them effectively as 'monotheists', or it could be a means of commenting on the Hyksos Courtiers, who conceived of worship in these very restricted terms. In this case, the portrayal of Seqenenre exclusively worshipping Amun-Re would therefore be an authorial wink at the expense of the Hyksos. It is even possible that the worship of Seth in the manner of Pre-Horakhty is supposed to be seen as offensive.[169] If this is the case, then it is also possible that Seth is being portrayed as a 'non-Egyptian' god, a god of foreign antagonists, as we see also in some monumental texts.[170]

Though predominantly connected with the southern town of Ombos (*nwb.t*), Seth was associated with foreign lands from at least the Middle Kingdom.[171] By the New Kingdom at the latest, Seth came to be equated with the Semitic god Baal,[172] perhaps based on a shared attribute as a storm god[173] or on Seth's connection to foreign lands: he was similarly connected to the Libyan god Ash and the Hittite god Teshub.[174] Seth's link with the Hyksos may thus have been due to a link with Baal, though an equally plausible argument is that the Hyksos began to worship Seth because he was the god of Avaris from at least the 14th Dynasty on.[175] Since his cult

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[169] Goedicke 1986: 13–14, 33 states that the offering of wreaths is established as a practice usually performed for Pre-Horakhty, and therefore that its application to Seth is sacrilegious.

[170] For instance, the Merenptah 'Israel Stela' (Cairo version), line 11, in K*RI* IV 15, 11, attributes the devastation of the *Tjehenu* to the fact that *ḥꜣꜥ swtḥ ḥꜣf r pꜣyꜥsn wr* "Seth turned his back on their chief".

[171] Kees 1922: 97. On the other hand, te Velde 1977 [1967]: 117 thinks that the association may have been mythical: "ordering by locality required him, the mythical disturber of the peace, to be venerated on the verge of the cosmos".

[172] Stadelmann 1965a: 53, note 1 argues for the cultic association to date from the First Intermediate Period, though he supplies no direct substantive evidence for this. Ryholt 1997: 150 argues that it only dates from the New Kingdom, which is corroborated by the evidence in Stadelmann 1965a: 47, note 2.

[173] Zandee 1963: 148–149.

[174] See te Velde 1977 [1967]: 120, also Zandee 1963: 148.

[175] However, the principal source of evidence, Statue Cairo CG 538, in Helck 1983: 48, number 66, can be variously interpreted. Traces seem to reveal that it belonged to King Nehesy (who Ryholt 1997: 94, among others, sees as a 14th Dynasty king of Canaanite descent) and it bears a dedication to 'Seth lord of Avaris'. Bietak 1990: 11–12 (also Bietak 1994: 45) concludes from this (in addition to the existence of a cylinder seal bearing a Levantine weather god), that a separate cult of 'Seth of Avaris' was already linked with a Canaanite god in the 14th Dynasty. Ryholt 1997: 150, note 545, on the other hand, claims

was based in the new capital, the geographical circumstances ensured his veneration aside from ethnic ties.[176]

Therefore, it was perfectly reasonable, given the historical background, for the Ramesside authors to associate the Hyksos ruler with the Egyptian god Seth. Having said this, it is intriguing that Seth was simultaneously presented as the god of the foreign Opponents both here and in *The Taking of Joppa*, as we shall see below, at the very time that he was a particularly popular member of the Egyptian pantheon.[177]

4.7.3   *Worship as an Index of Political Affiliation*

Seth's prominent position in the pantheon during the Ramesside period leads us perhaps to another interpretation besides his usage as an index of foreign identity. Links by Apophis with the god Seth could be an ironic reference to the 19th 'Ramesside' Dynasty, who promoted Seth in consequence of his being a god of the Eastern Delta, their place of origin.[178] This preference is manifest in the 400-Year Stela, possibly erected by Ramesses II, seemingly in order to acclaim Seth-great-of-strength in his 400th year of rule, a year perhaps referencing the introduction of the Seth cult to the Delta. The worshippers depicted are Pa-Ramessu and Seti, members of the Ramesside family,[179] which seems to indicate this dynasty's patronage

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that the statue dates to the 12th Dynasty (on the rather questionable grounds that no other royal statues exist from the 14th Dynasty) and was usurped by Nehesy, which would provide an even earlier dating for the cult of Seth in the Delta. However, neither of these assumptions should be based on this statue, since its inscription (in Borchardt 1925: 87–88) suggests that it originally belonged to Nehesy and was later usurped by Merenptah of the 19th Dynasty, whose masons left few traces of the original inscription on the statue. The dedication to Seth seems to date, therefore, to the Ramesside Period. A better source of evidence may be the temple to Seth at Avaris. However, it too is anachronistic, dating to the late 18th Dynasty with an orientation that Bietak 1975: 193 suggests was based on an earlier Hyksos structure. As Paulet 2007: 124 notes, however, we could question whether the original structure (if it existed) would unquestionably have had the same purpose.

[176] von Beckerath 1964: 163 and Ryholt 1997: 150.

[177] See te Velde 1977 [1967]: 129–133. Seth's association with Baal and that god's connection to storms and aggressive behaviour was by the time of the New Kingdom so strong that it affected the classification of the Egyptian language: the group of classifiers representing Seth (Gardiner Signs C7, E20 and E21) was used at this time not only as the predominant classifier for the god Baal but also in reference to weather, whereas in the Middle Kingdom it had been associated predominantly with negative qualities, as Allon 2007: 18–20 illustrates.

[178] Habachi 1972: 64.

[179] *KRI* II 287, 8–11. Exactly to which Seti and Ramesses these names belong has long been a matter of contention. Sethe 1930: 86–88, as well as Helck 1966: 236–237 and Loprieno 1996c: 292, see them as the first two pharaohs of the 19th Dynasty, Ramesses I and Seti I. Stadelmann 1965a: 52 and Goedicke 1966: 24 object, since this would mean

of the cult across generations.[180] The religious connections of the Rames-side Dynasty with Seth in the Delta region are further substantiated by a barque stand of Seth, Lord of Avaris, built by Seti I, which may have belonged to a temple to Seth in Avaris.[181] The emphasis on religion in this narrative, and in particular its connection to northern and southern Egypt, which goes unmentioned in the texts that describe conflict with the Hyksos, has led to speculation that the story alludes to Theban resis-tance against the Ramesside kings, who originated from and resided in the North-Eastern Delta.[182] In this way, the Ramesside pharaohs are likened to the Hyksos as a means for the scribes in the southern administrative centre to hint at dissent, since the kingship had been tied to Thebes only a few generations before. In this way, a text that could be portraying a foreign *topos* turns into an ironic *mimesis*. What stands in the way of such an interpretation is that the only surviving copy of the tale was found in Memphis, not Thebes,[183] and that on this manuscript the tale is directly followed by a normative scribal text.[184] However, the postulated find-spot of the manuscript says little about the place of the text's composition and the reference to the northern pharaohs could have been sufficiently veiled as to not be considered to be an act of treason.

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that kings were being represented as commoners after their death. Stadelmann 1965a: 56 instead sees the viziers as the father and grandfather of Ramesses I, whereas Goedicke 1966: 36 concludes that Seti was a vizier of Ramesses II. More recently, Quack 2002: 46 argued that Pa-Ramessu is Ramesses II and the vizier Seti may have been Seti I before his coronation, which may indicate that the manufacture of the stela was initiated by him and not his son.

[180] Redford 1970: 28, Bietak 1990: 11, 14. It is less likely that a Ramesside king would be commemorating the raising of Avaris to the main city of the Hyksos in Egypt, as suggested by Stadelmann 1965a: 51 and Redford 1970: 30.

[181] Habachi 1972: 64–65 suggests that this temple was built near Seti I's palace, since a faience doorway bearing Seti's name was found at Piramesse (Qantir). Bietak 1990: 12–14 follows Papyrus Anastasi II and IV in locating the temple south of that city and links it to a temple foundation in Tell el-Dab'a that was used without interruption throughout the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom. See Papyrus Anastasi II, 1, 4, in *LEM* 12, 11–12 and Papyrus Anastasi IV, 6, 4, in *LEM* 40, 16–41, 1.

[182] Otto 1969: 334: "Gerade auch die thebanischen Könige, unter denen der Kampf gegen die Hyksosherrschaft geführt würde…lassen in ihren Berichten nichts von einem religiösen Gegensatz erkennen". Also Brunner 1975: 353. Assmann 1997b: 28–29, followed by Maciejewski 2009: 163–168 and Spalinger 2010: 121 suggests seeing in the Theban oppo-sition to the Hyksos the cultural memory of the Amarna Period in addition to references to the Ramesside pharaohs. Even if such a reading allows us to better explain the motif of religious opposition, no substantial evidence exists to support such a claim, and moreover, a dual focus rather undermines the potentially political thrust of the commentary.

[183] Quirke 1996a: 391.

[184] Papyrus Sallier I, 3, 4ff., in *LEM* 79, 5ff.

4.8   *Conclusion*

This story therefore leads us to see the *mimetic* side of a popular *topos*.[185] The foreign Opponent is portrayed as active and commanding, which establishes an excellent contrast to his gormless indigenous counterpart. By current narratological definition, the Hero is designated as being thus on grounds of *qualification* (by his appearance, psychology, motivation, past), *distribution* (he occurs frequently in the story and at important points), *independence, function* (he makes decisions and acts) and *relations* (he maintains relations with the largest number of characters). This may prove useful here, particularly because it follows that the Anti-Hero meets all these criteria except *function*. Seqenenre's passivity and dependence on his Courtiers makes him the ideal candidate for Anti-Hero status, who, for the purpose of humour, is shown as not undertaking the measures required of him as king not only by society at large,[186] but also by the story in which he allegedly stars.[187] This may be for the purposes of ridiculing a king who in the historical consciousness had been under the thumb of blasphemous foreign rulers. It could also be referring to the plight of the Theban administrators, who were expected to *kow-tow* to the demands of the Ramesside dynasts that came, via missives, from the Delta.[188] It could also simply be an entertaining tale that draws on the riddle motif and uses historical figures as its characters, but this would, I feel, be underestimating the text.

This combination of parody at a historical, generic and possibly political level could be tied to Bakhtin's idea of the *Carnival*, in which "alongside direct representation—laughing at living reality—there flourish parody and travesty of all high genres and of lofty models embodied in national myth. The 'absolute past' of gods, demigods and heroes is here … brought low, represented on a plane equal with contemporary life, in an everyday environment, in the low language of contemporaneity".[189]

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[185] Junge 1994: 100 regards a similar situation (albeit in a mythical context) as occurring in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*.

[186] Bryan 1980: 3 comes to a similar conclusion regarding the protagonist of *The Shipwrecked Sailor*, for which see section 1.3.2.1b.

[187] Bal 1997: 132, also Meltzer 1992: 327.

[188] Simpson 1996: 439 makes a similar case for the use of history in *The Eloquent Peasant*: "setting the scene in a remote earlier period and placing the complaints against the bureaucracy in the mouth of an outsider (oasis dweller) are literary artifices still serving as reproaches to the government, but reproaches for which the author could not expect retaliation, since it is not the contemporary regime *per se* that is accused".

[189] Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 21. Assmann 1999b: 12 discusses this in an Egyptian context. Although I agree with this story's connections with the idea of the *Carnival*, we must be

Given the contents of Papyrus Sallier I—a collection of different texts, in which *Apophis and Seqenenre* is truncated to make way for a model letter—we can hardly see this papyrus as forming part of an archive.[190] We can only conclude that its contents (our story included) extended beyond such a *private* domain into the *public* domain, as a school text, perhaps. Thus, our copy of *Apophis and Seqenenre* emerges from a 'normative' context, despite its content being seemingly 'carnivalesque'. This could very well lie in the *oral* (and perhaps even folk) basis of the work, from which emerged bellelettristic versions of historical events (and historical genres). These later versions, created by the educated class, reconfigured the *Carnival*: literature had come to provide a sanctioned context for spirited social commentary not only by commoners, but by the elite as well.[191]

Our conclusions about the story and its characters are also useful for predicting the narrative's trajectory. Some of the historical circumstances do not seem to have been conducive to literary adaptation, particularly if we take as evidence the state of Seqenenre's mummy. One wonders whether a narrative of this kind would have ended in an Egyptian defeat—from the perspective of the grammar it is not out of the question, but would the text have entered the scribal canon if it had ended in this way?[192] It also does not seem likely that the story resulted in a 'cosmic' battle between Seth and Amun-Re. Contrary to *The Doomed Prince* and even (as we shall see below) *The Taking of Joppa*, the gods are not represented in *active* roles in the extant part of the story, but rather as the stationary focus of a ruler's worship. With respect to the 'battle of wits', we have at least one willing participant in Apophis, even if the ideational analysis manifests Seqenenre's inactivity. Though it is possible that the Egyptian court's incompetence was played out to the end, the narrative would not develop based merely on this circumstance. To sustain the humour of the piece, if we are not prepared to see Seqenenre leaping to the (witty) offensive, one possibility would be that an accidental action by him appears to

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wary of Bakhtin's dialectic between elite/normative and popular/carnival literature/parody, which is similar to a Marxist dichotomy, though Bakhtin was manifestly not a Marxist. See also Nikolajeva 2002: 15.

[190] Quirke 1996a: 383 and 386.

[191] Bakhtin 1968 [1965]: 14. Guglielmi 1992: 158–159 differentiates this generalised political humour, which would have been read with an *entspannte Einstellung*, from the scorn and *Schadenfreude* warned against in *The Teaching of Amenemope*.

[192] Nonetheless, physical anthropologists like ten Berge and van de Groot 2002: 232 correlate the state of the mummy directly with the story, seeing it as an indication of the wars of liberation.

Apophis to be a legitimate response, which results in his discomfiture.[193] After all, could *mimesis* be so powerful as to allow a foreigner to 'win' in an Egyptian tale? There seems to be a universal consensus that Seqenenre emerged as the victor of the tale,[194] but if we follow the grammatical cues, this would only happen in an unexpected or surprising manner. We can see therefore that empirical analysis can have some impact on our understanding of the characterisation of the protagonists.

4.9   The Taking of Joppa: *Character Portrayal and Development*

In contrast to *Apophis and Seqenenre*, our assumptions about the character roles in *The Taking of Joppa* are not based on irony to the same extent. Though some of the circumstances in which the characters find themselves are humorous, their actions and words, from the little that remains of the text, nonetheless restrict the two leads, Djehuty and the Rebel of Joppa, to the more *topos*-oriented narrative roles of Hero and Villain/Opponent.

Before we move further into an analysis of the portrayal of characters through their actions, it would be advisable to outline the 'sequence of events' that seems to be taking place, given the fragmentary nature of the beginning of the text. The Egyptian general Djehuty and the Rebel of Joppa appear to be having a meeting in Djehuty's camp outside the Canaanite town of Joppa. We suggest this given that Djehuty proposes to have the horses *sꜥḳ* 'driven in' (J009, *LES* 82, 6) and that someone *pr* 'went forth' to talk to the Charioteer from Joppa (J057, *LES* 84, 3).[195] Moreover, the camp is clearly outside Joppa, since in the Egyptians' plans to besiege it, they talk about entering *into* the town (J052, *LES* 84, 1). The Rebel has arrived, accompanied by *Maryannu* warriors and their horses, and the meeting seems to be amicable. Provisions are being allocated

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[193] As Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 403 observes, "Stupidity (incomprehension) in the novel is always polemical: it interacts dialogically with an intelligence (a lofty pseudo intelligence) with which it polemicizes and whose mask it tears away". Thus, even if Seqenenre stays 'stupid', his stupidity can unravel Apophis' 'intelligence'.

[194] Maspero 1889: xxxi, Säve-Soderbergh 1951: 67 and Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 323. The latter claims: "Daß Sekenenrê der gefeierte Held unsere Geschichte war, steht außer Zweifel … ägyptisches Geschichtsdenken kann keine andere Wahrheit preisen, als dass ein Ägypter die Feinde überwunden hat".

[195] See Goedicke 1968: 230, note 3.

(J004, *LES* 82, 3), perhaps from the Egyptians to the *Maryannu*.[196] At this point, it seems that the *Maryannu* are drunk (J006, *LES* 82, 4), which was most probably part of Djehuty's stratagem to debilitate them. Djehuty then proceeds to make some kind of pledge to the Rebel (J008, *LES* 82, 5), and seems to be giving himself up to him.[197] At this point, another part of Djehuty's plot comes into play, as he arranges to have the horses of the *Maryannu* brought into the Egyptian camp (J009, *LES* 82, 6), by which means he was presumably taking secret possession of them.[198] The Charioteer of the Rebel (perhaps also a *Maryannu*) is then told to take the news of Djehuty's 'desertion' to the Mistress of Joppa (J060–J065, *LES* 84, 4–6). From this point, Djehuty's stratagem comes into play as he incapacitates the Rebel (J026–J043, *LES* 83, 1–10) and smuggles his troops into Joppa to besiege the city (J044–J076, *LES* 83, 11–84, 12). The end of the tale is complete, proven by the presence of a colophon.[199] We can test these suppositions about the roles of Djehuty and the Rebel in the ideational analysis to follow.

4.9.1   *Ideational Analysis*

The incompleteness of *The Taking of Joppa* means that we cannot gather a significant amount of data to test hypotheses about the prominence of characters. Consequently, the distribution patterns of particular characteristics and actions may not represent authorial intent for the text as a whole. Additionally, the sheer number of characters compromises the amount of data available for even the most prominent characters. We can nonetheless test the extent to which our ideas about characters are viable based on a close grammatical analysis.

4.9.1.1   *Djehuty*

When the text begins, Djehuty is purportedly in the middle of a conversation with his adversary, the Rebel of Joppa. He is a Sayer in a verbal clause (J007, *LES* 82, 5), a role in which he also appears when he attacks the

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[196] Clause J003 has the phrase 'of/to Djehuty'. If this clause represents reported speech, the speaker is the Rebel of Joppa, which would suggest that Djehuty and his army are obtaining provisions. However, it seems more likely that this phrase forms part of the narration and that the recipients of the provisions are the *Maryannu*/troops of Joppa. Goedicke 1968: 231, note 1, suggests that Joppa had been besieged for some time and food was running low, which explains the offer of food.

[197] Goedicke 1968: 231.

[198] Goedicke 1968: 231.

[199] J086 (*LES* 85, 2): *jw(w)⸗s pw nfr* "It has come out well".

Rebel (J030, *LES* 83, 3), and when, mission accomplished, he writes home to the Pharaoh (J079, *LES* 84, 14).

Djehuty is also an Actor in a series of material clauses surrounding his attack on the Rebel. He seems to acquiesce to the Rebel's request to *jn* 'bring' the baton to him (J025–J027, *LES* 83, 1),[200] but instead, he *ꜥḥꜥ* 'stands up' (J029, *LES* 83, 3) and attacks him, *fꜣ* 'lifting', *ḥw* 'striking', *dj* 'placing' and *mḥ* 'grabbing' (J034, J035, J038, J040, *LES* 83, 6; 83, 8 and 83, 9). Subsequently, he is able to *sḏr* 'rest' (J077, *LES* 84, 13) and *hꜣb* 'send a

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples	Total 18
material (m)	Actor	**J025**, J026, J027, J029, J034, J035, J038, J040, J077, J078	10
causative (c)	Initiator	(J042) (m), J044 (m), (J045) (m), J046 (m)	4
behavioural (b)	Behaver		0
mental (me)	Senser		0
verbal (v)	Sayer	J007, (J030), (J079)	3
existential (e)	Existent		0
relational identifying (ri)	Token		0
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier		
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier		0
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor		0
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute:Possessor *not principal*		0
unknown (u)		**J008**	1

Figure 4.13. Ideational analysis: Djehuty.

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[200] It seems that the Rebel is addressing Djehuty in J025, but Djehuty may be addressing the Rebel.

Verb Type		Verb	Examples
Being in a posture:	standing	ꜥḥꜥ	J029
	lying	sḏr	J077
Bringing		jn	J025, J027
Doing/acting		jr	J026
Seizing		mḥ	J040
Lifting		fꜣ	J034
Placing		dj	J038
Sending		hꜣb	J077
Striking		ḥw	J035

Figure 4.14. Material clause types: Djehuty.

message' to the King (J078, *LES* 84, 13). It seems very likely that Djehuty attacks the Rebel with the very baton the latter wished to see, which would add an element of almost slapstick humour to the interaction.

His plot against the Rebel and his city also takes shape as he appears in a string of causative material clauses as their Initiator, causing things to be brought and made and causing the soldiers to descend into baskets in preparation for the siege (J042 and J044–J046, *LES* 83, 9 and 83, 11–12). As Actor, Initiator and Sayer throughout the text, Djehuty appears as a classic Hero who not only does but also *plans*.

4.9.1.2   *The Rebel of Joppa*

The Rebel of Joppa appears as the principal Participant in 8 clauses, significantly less than Djehuty's 18 instances. This may be because (as we see in *Apophis and Seqenenre*, as well as more canonical examples of the military-historical genre, like the Great Karnak Inscription of Merenptah),[201] the Opponent occupies the earlier part of the narrative in his plot to undermine

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[201] Great Karnak Inscription of Merenptah, line 13, in K*RI* IV 3, 15–16. Translated in Manassa 2003: 156–157, "[One came in order to say to His Majesty in year 5, second month of] Shomu to the effect that: 'The wretched chief of the enemies of Rebu, Merey, son of Dedy, has descended upon the foreign land of Tjehenu together with his bowmen'".

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples	Total 8
material (m)	Actor	J036, (J037)	2
causative (c)	Initiator	**J009** (m), **J010** (m, elided)	2
behavioural (b)	Behaver		0
mental (me)	Senser	J019, J031	2
verbal (v)	Sayer	J018, **J059**	2
existential (e)	Existent		0
relational identifying (ri)	Token		0
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier		0
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier		0
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor		0
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute:Possessor *not principal*		0
unknown (u)			0

Figure 4.15. Ideational analysis: The Rebel of Joppa.

the Egyptian Hero. In fact, 3 of these 8 clauses present him as the implied Participant of Imperative clauses that are perhaps all spoken by Djehuty. Two are causative material clauses, when he is told to cause the team to be *sꜥḳ* 'driven in' and *dj* 'given' fodder (J009–J010, *LES* 82, 6–7) and one is a mental clause, when he is told to *j-nw* 'look' (J031, *LES* 83, 3). Thus, he is merely the recipient and *potential* executor of Djehuty's commands.

The Rebel appears as an Actor in two material clauses (J036–J037, *LES* 83, 7), though even here, the actions, *hꜣy* 'falling' and *m jr gbgb.t* 'being made prostrate' are involuntary, being the consequence of Djehuty's attack upon him. When he expresses his desire to see Menkheperre's baton, his heart is the Senser of a mental clause, *jb⸗j r ptr* (J019, *LES* 82, 11).

He is also a Sayer in two verbal clauses (J018 and J059, *LES* 82, 11 and 84, 4), though the second case is a report of speech *apparently* made by the Rebel, but actually forming part of the Egyptian army's dissemination

of misinformation to the Rebel's Charioteer. The Rebel, although a prin-
cipal Participant, only shows self-engendered action when he asks to see
the baton, a request that makes him beholden to Djehuty. On all other
occasions, he receives commands, responds to another's actions on him
and is reported to have said things he never said. In short, he is com-
pletely ineffectual. We could draw a comparison here with the rendition of
Menkheperre's campaigns on Papyrus Turin 1940–1941, which represents
the foreign enemies in a manner characteristic of monumental military
documents. They appear as direct objects: *jw mnṯw nb wꜣs.t ḥr sksk[≠sn]*
"Montu, lord of Thebes, destroying them",[202] and as inactive subjects of
the First Present with a Stative: *jw≠f gbgb* "he being prostrate".[203]

4.9.1.3   *King Menkheperre*

King Menkheperre, an absent Actor in what remains of the text, is distinc-
tive at the level of Transitivity because of his passivity. Although he is pres-
ent 6 times as a principal Participant in the narrative, in the places where
he seems to be an Actor in material clauses, his *kꜣ* (J022, *LES* 82, 13) is part
of an oath and his *ḥpš tnr* 'strong arm' or 'mighty power' (J076, *LES* 84,
12) undertakes the action on his behalf, which is a term also used in con-
temporary monumental texts.[204] His absence from the action is thereby
highlighted.[205] Menkheperre is also a Token in a relational identifying
clause (when he is established as the son of Sakhmet in J032, *LES* 83, 4),
and then the missing Participant in Prospective and Causative Impera-
tive clauses when Djehuty sends him commands after his victory: in a
behavioural clause (J080, *LES* 84, 14) and in a causative material clause
(J082, *LES* 84, 16). Djehuty's commands illustrate only the king's *potential*
for action. He appears only once as an Actor in a material clause (J084,
LES 85, 1), when the siege has been won. In this case, the King is at home,
filling his warehouse with the spoils of battle. However, the verbal form is
Prospective, 'that you may fill', so the modality again indicates *potential*,
not real action. In this way, the king is illustrated as a passive and distant

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[202] Papyrus Turin 1940–1941, 2, 8, and also 2, 10, in Botti 1955: figure 2.
[203] Papyrus Turin 1940–1941, 1, 9, in Botti 1955: figure 1. Similar terminology appears
in the record of Ramesses III's First Libyan War at Medinet Habu, *KRI* V 10, 9–10 and 14,
4–5.
[204] The Seti I Stela from Amarah West, lines 9–10, in *KRI* I 103, 9, describe the *ḥpš* of
the pharaoh.
[205] It is difficult to say, as Fischer-Elfert 2003: 135 suggests, whether "the king is
represented by means of his 'baton', which serves as a sort of royal mascot during the
expedition", given the scarcity of evidence.

Participant, who is the beneficiary of Djehuty's activities. Moreover, given that all of these clauses bar one (J076) form part of Djehuty's discourse, Menkheperre is effectively a 'ghost' Participant, like Herihor in *Wenamun* (see 5.3.1.6).

4.9.1.4   *The Egyptian Troops*

The Egyptian troops frequently occur as principal Participants but fundamentally as Actors in material clauses (J052–J054, J056, J072–J075 and J083, *LES* 84, 1–2; 84, 9–11 and 85, 1). This is tied to their role as 'doers' on behalf of the Egyptian king and his general. Amongst the Egyptian troops, we encounter one member (or more) of the Egyptian military corps, nominated merely as '(Some)one', who acts in a facilitating role for Djehuty and the troops. As an Actor in material clauses, a person comes to report to Djehuty once the job of moving the horses inside is done (J016–J017, *LES* 82, 10),[206] helps Djehuty tether the Rebel of Joppa (J043, *LES* 83, 10) and prepares the troops for the siege (J047–J049, *LES* 83, 13–14). In J050 (*LES* 83, 15), an unnamed Participant is an Initiator of a causative material clause as they order the soldiers to carry their companions hidden in the baskets, a situation which provides a humorous mental image.[207] Then, as a Sayer in a verbal clause, a person gives the troops their orders (J051, *LES* 83, 16). The order itself demonstrates that the Sayer intends to participate in the siege: once ꞊tn 'you' (i.e. the troops) enter and release the other troops from the baskets (J052–J053), ꞊n 'we' (i.e. the whole army) would capture the town (J054 and J056).[208] Again as Actor and Sayer, an unnamed Agent acts as an Envoy, spreading a false report to the Charioteer of the Rebel of Joppa (J057–J058, *LES* 84, 3).

4.9.1.5   *The Troops of Joppa*

By comparison, the role of the troops of Joppa in the remaining narrative is negligible. They appear only once as Actors in a material clause when the Charioteer announces the false news that "*We* have seized Djehuty" (J070, *LES* 84, 8). Given that this is not even the case, their active role is even more negligible. The difference from the original

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[206] It is also possible, however, that this is a *Maryannu*, but it is more likely that an Egyptian would have reported to Djehuty.

[207] As suggested also by Blumenthal 1972: 12.

[208] Gardiner 1932: 84a, 2, 9b sees this as a writing of ꞊tn, but given the clear writing of ꞊tn in the same line, we should see ꞊n as deliberate. This portrays the soldiers in a more cooperative light.

message is rather interesting, since the Egyptians told the Charioteer that the Rebel had informed them: "That Seth has given Djehuty <to> us is with his wife and his children" (J063, *LES* 84, 5). The Charioteer's interpretation gives a sense of agency to the Rebel and troops of Joppa that the message of the Egyptians (posing as the Rebel) did not convey. '(Some)one', possibly a soldier, also opens the gateway to Joppa for the Egyptians (J071, *LES* 84, 8).

The *Maryannu*, who form part of the Rebel's forces, are Secondary Actors when a command is given to them (J009–J010, *LES* 82, 6–7) and Actors when they carry it out (J013–J014, *LES* 82, 8–9). Notably, the Rebel gives the command at Djehuty's request, not based on his own will.

Amongst the troops, the Charioteer of the Rebel of Joppa has a more significant role. He is ordered by the Egyptians to go and report to the Rebel in material and verbal clauses (J060–J061 and J065, *LES* 84, 4 and 84, 6).[209] He is then an Actor in a material clause and the implied Sayer of two non-finite verbal clauses as he follows those instructions (J067–J069, *LES* 84, 7–8), thereby illustrating the cooperation expected of a servant, but perhaps also the gullibility of a foreigner for believing the word of enemy Egyptians.

4.9.1.6   *The Wife of the Rebel of Joppa*

The Rebel's Wife appears as the (implied) Senser in mental clauses, being told to *ndm-jb* 'rejoice' and *ptr* 'behold' (J062 and J064, *LES* 84, 5). She is thus exclusively in a 'receiving' role, which highlights her lack of status and significance in the tale. She is not shown as acting or speaking of her own accord.[210]

4.9.1.7   *Amun and Seth*

These gods are portrayed as active agents on behalf of their respective 'sides'. For the Egyptians, Amun is twice an Actor in material clauses: giving Menkheperre something, perhaps strength (J033, *LES* 83, 5),[211] as well as the town of Joppa (J081, *LES* 84, 15). Seth is likewise an Actor in a

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[209] Although the *-k* is inserted by Gardiner 1932: 84a, 2, 12b, a subject is mandatory following the Prospective *k3*.

[210] Hare 2000: 4 shows the Eloquent Peasant's wife Merit being marginalised as a character in a different manner: although she acts (by baking and brewing for her husband) she never speaks.

[211] Gardiner 1932: 83a, 1, 13a–b suggests *ḫpš-f* 'his power'.

material clause (J063, *LES* 84, 5) when he is reported to have given Djehuty and his family to the town of Joppa, at least in the rumour that the Egyptians spread.

In conclusion, the action sequences of this tale present a *topos*-oriented characterisation: the foreigners weak and helpless (not to mention gullible) and the Egyptians active and strategic, perhaps embodying the *ḫpš tnr* of Menkheperre in his absence.

4.9.2   *Textual Analysis*

Given the fragmentary nature of the text, it is difficult to draw strong conclusions from the interaction of the characters with the textual structure. The perspective of which character is thematised at key points of the narrative is therefore only helpful to an extent. The presentation of characters as overt Themes, in contrast to other texts in this corpus, is not apparent in the remaining text.

4.9.2.1   *Themes Across 'Episodes'*

The textual analysis of the characters attached to major episodic changes in the narrative is not particularly illuminating in terms of character, other than to illustrate Djehuty's strategic mode of operation. Two *ḥr jr* 'now' sequences legitimately mark episodic shift, or at least narrative progression (J006 and J018, *LES* 82, 4 and 82, 11). Following the first *ḥr jr*, it seems that the *Maryannu* (?) are drunk, which shows the completion of the first phase of Djehuty's plot (incapacitating the *Maryannu*, followed by the sequestering of their horses). Following the second *ḥr jr*, the second phase of the plot comes into action: the Rebel of Joppa requests to see Menkheperre's baton, which results in him being beaten and tethered. The next stage in the plot begins with the third marker *wn.jn* (J067, *LES* 84, 7), when the Charioteer travels to Joppa to spread the false report. Between these three markers, dialogue and Non-Initial Main Sentences appear almost exclusively, which mark the concatenation of events as they spiral towards the inevitable siege. Following this, the conclusion is summed up by an Emphatic Form: *sḏr ḏḥw.tï jw hꜣbꜣf r km.t n nsw mn-ḫpr-rꜥ ꜥ.w.s. pꜣyꜣf nb* "That Djehuty rested was only upon having sent (a message) to Egypt to King Menkheperre, l.p.h., his lord" (J077–J078, *LES* 84, 13). The Themes of the episodic markers are therefore not very significant for character development: the Transitivity patterns of the Non-Initial Main Sentences that occur between the markers (as seen in the ideational analysis above) are far more indicative. This textual patterning, combined with the high

Clause	Marker	Character (Theme)
J006	*ḫr jr ḥr-sꜣ wnw.t≤st tḫ*	*Maryannu* (?)
J018	*ḫr jr*	Rebel
J067	*wn.jn*	Charioteer
J086	*jw≤s pw nfr*	

Figure 4.16. Textual analysis: *The Taking of Joppa.*

quantity of material clauses at the ideational level, shows the extent to which the action of the plot dominates this tale.

4.10   *The Taking of Joppa: Character Interaction*

4.10.1   *Interpersonal Analysis*

The interpersonal analysis, which concerns itself with the dialogue, though at times difficult to interpret on account of lacunae, nevertheless presents Djehuty in control of both the action and the information. By contrast, the Rebel and his men emerge as both powerless and gullible, thereby confirming the construction, on a variety of discursive and textual levels, of a *topos* that conforms to monumental historical genres.

4.10.1.1   *Djehuty Addresses the Rebel of Joppa*

The earliest extant instance of discourse is most probably an Imperative, which has been restored by Gardiner as: *jm[j dj.tw n]≤f [ꜥḳ.w] /// tꜣ jwꜥy.t pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥ.w.s ///* "[Ensure that provisions are given to him] /// the troops of the Pharaoh, l.p.h. ///" (J004, *LES* 82, 3).[212] The identification of the speaker is unclear: is Djehuty directing an official to give provisions to the Rebel of Joppa[213] or are the *Maryannu* instructing Djehuty?[214] Perhaps the Rebel is commanding that provisions be brought to the Egyptian camp. The preceding fragment, *n ḏḥw.ty* (J003, *LES* 82, 3), could be 'of Djehuty' or 'to Djehuty',[215] and so is inconclusive.

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[212] See also Gardiner 1932: 82a, 1, 2c. Gardiner 1932: 82a, 1, 2d inserts '100' between *ꜥḳ.w* and *tꜣ*, but one might suggest inserting instead an *m* or *n*, reading 'for', 'of' or 'from'. Wente 2003: 73 reads 'soldiers' instead of 'loaves/provisions', which would give *jwꜥy.t* the meaning of 'garrison' rather than troops and would not explain the ensuing intoxication.

[213] Goedicke 1968: 230.

[214] Wente 2003: 73.

[215] Gardiner 1932: 82a, 1, 2b claims that the preceding fragment does not correspond to *ḏd* 'to say'. Wente 2003: 73 nonetheless inserts 'replied'.

Djehuty's subsequent address to the Rebel of Joppa is truncated. Given the remaining contents: /// *wj ḥnꜤ ḥ(j)m.t ḫrd.w <n> pꜣy≠k dmj n ḥꜤ.w≠k* "/// myself together with wife and children <to> your town for yourself" (J008, *LES* 82, 5), it seems to be a promise that he would desert and bring his family to Joppa in order to become the Rebel's vassal.[216] The missing verb was hence most probably modal, conveying his intention: 'I will X'.

Djehuty then uses the Imperative, followed by the Conjunctive, towards the Rebel (J009–J010, *LES* 82, 6–7),[217] in order to have the horses moved.[218] He uses the Imperative towards the Rebel again when he is about to attack him (J031, *LES* 83, 3). Given that no extant cases of the Imperative come from the Rebel towards Djehuty, power again seems to lie on Djehuty's side.

Djehuty then issues a warning to the Rebel about leaving his horses outside by using what seems to be a modal Third Future form: *m-rʾ=-pw jr wꜤ n Ꜥ-p-r sn* /// "otherwise one of the *Apiru* will pass by ///" (J011, *LES* 82, 7).[219] This statement suggests Djehuty's knowledge of the situation (perhaps superior, by implication, to the Rebel's own) as well as his remarkable persuasive skills.

Despite the enormous interpretive difficulties wreaked by the lacunae in the text, Djehuty's portrayal using modal forms and the Imperative indicates his significant power over the Rebel of Joppa on a negotiating level, despite the fact that he *seems* to be handing himself over to the Rebel. Thus the narrator indicates Djehuty's control over the situation despite the content of what he says.

4.10.1.2   *The Rebel of Joppa Addresses Djehuty*

As mentioned above, it is possible that the speaker in J004 (*LES* 82, 3) is the Rebel of Joppa. In this case, it would be the only instance of him

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[216] Goedicke 1968: 231.

[217] Polis 2009: 412 reads this in a causative fashion, which makes sense in this context.

[218] Hintze 1952: 182–183 sees the double command as amplifying the impact of the Imperative.

[219] Gardiner 1930: 220–228, Junge 2005: 96 and 123 and Winand 1996: 117, take *jr* + noun phrase + Infinitive as a form of the Third Future, in which the *r* is not used and *jr* replaces *jw*. Earlier on, Winand 1992: 501 presents it as a periphrastic Prospective form, which is not discussed elsewhere. Junge 2005: 50, note 1, argues that the periphrastic Preterite *jr≠f sḏm* was introduced only in Demotic, but he does not claim the same of the Prospective. Junge 2001: 145 reads *sn* as the noun *snn* (chariot-warrior) which results in: "otherwise one of the Ꜥ-p-r makes the chariot-warriors ///". For this to be the case, the *jr* would be a Preterite or Prospective, though in either case we would expect it to be written ⟿ 𓏛 rather than just ⟿ (Gardiner Sign D4) in this time period, for which see Winand 1992: 194–195 and 212.

issuing an Imperative. As seen above, however, the majority of scholars attribute the speaker (whoever he is) to be commanding things to be done for the troops of Joppa, rather than the Egyptians. In our first known case of the Rebel speaking, he says to Djehuty, *jb꞊j r ptr tꜣ ꜥwn.t ꜥꜣ.t n nsw mn-ḫpr-rꜥ ꜥ.w.s.* "My heart is set on seeing the great baton of King Menkheperre" (J019, *LES* 82, 11). This *jb꞊j r* + Infinitive, 'my heart is towards (something)' form is an indirect request,[220] with *jb* operating as a 'modal auxiliary'.[221] The same form is used in *Apophis and Seqenenre* (AS019, *LES* 86, 2), though that instance is narrated rather than spoken. By being spoken, it is more significantly *not* the Imperative, acting as a mood metaphor for a more direct command.

It is difficult to tell what happens next at an interpersonal level. Gardiner takes clauses J020-J021 (*LES* 82, 12) as an extension of the Rebel's wish to see the baton by the reconstruction of a relative converter. Though it seems almost certain that the Rebel is speaking at this time,[222] Gardiner's reconstruction of the missing text does not seem likely.[223] At this point, the Rebel takes the unusual step of swearing by Menkheperre's *kꜣ* and making a promise to Djehuty,[224] which, if the name supplied does not refer to the baton,[225] most probably refers to a concubine being offered up for Djehuty's use.[226]

What is clear is that in J025 the Rebel uses the Conjunctive, which has modality: "and you shall bring it <to> me".[227] Though it is clear that the Rebel wishes to see the baton, there is much speculation as to his motive,

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[220] *Wb.* I 60, Sweeney 2003: 146–147 and Sweeney 2008: 197.

[221] Satzinger 2003: 250.

[222] Although we could entertain the possibility that the gap contains *ḏḥw.ty ḥr ḏd n꞊f* 'Djehuty said to him', followed in J021-J023 by Djehuty pronouncing the name of the baton, the little space available forces one to conclude that the *wn.jn* or *jw* normally proceeding it would thus be missing, cf. Goedicke 1968: 219. At this point, Djehuty uses the modal Prospective and Third Future to swear by Menkheperre's *kꜣ* and make a promise to the Rebel. The insurmountable problem with this interpretation is that clauses J024–J025 are clearly being spoken by the Rebel of Joppa, since they are followed by Djehuty's action on his behalf in J026–J027.

[223] Junge 2005: 206 claims that the relative conversion of a Nominal Sentence with *n.ti* is rare.

[224] This is a rare, perhaps unique feature, according to Goedicke 1968: 225–226.

[225] Junge 2001: 145 reconstructs the name as "Astarte ist vollkommen".

[226] Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 183, Wente 2003: 73 and Sweeney 2003: 153. Although it is the most reasonable suggestion, the fact of why a concubine from Joppa would bear a name with Egyptian elements has never been discussed. Less convincing is the suggestion by Goedicke 1968: 219 and 225 that the name belongs to the wife of the Rebel of Joppa, particularly on account of the space available.

[227] Winand 2001: 294.

whether it is through fear or awe of the object,[228] or through a wish to ingratiate himself with the Egyptians.[229] The Rebel's request in clauses J024-J025 (*LES* 83, 1) seems to be then heeded as Djehuty undertakes tasks on his behalf in J026-J027 (*LES* 83, 1). The Rebel of Joppa is thus shown in the surviving text as having little interlocutory power—either of command or of negotiation.

4.10.1.3   *The Egyptian Troops Form Plans*

In the formation of the plot, '(Some)one' (Djehuty, or one of his senior officers) addresses the Egyptian troops with a type of indirect request: *wn(n)⸗tn ḥr ꜥḳ r pꜣ dmj jw⸗tn ḥr wn nꜣy⸗tn jr.ïw mtw⸗n mḥ m r(m)ṯ.w nb* "When you enter into the town, you will uncover your companions and we shall seize all the people" (J052–J053, *LES* 84, 1).[230] The form *wnn⸗f ḥr sḏm* is an Emphatic *sḏm⸗f* followed by 'adverbial specification' as *ḥr* + Infinitive. It expresses 'when/if' as part of a Closed Complex.[231] The Circumstantial First Present then exists in a temporal relationship to the clause with *wnn*. Its semantic independence and future sense make it more like the 'Middle Egyptian *jw* Sentence',[232] which most probably has a connection to the Third Future.[233] The hypothetical consequences of this action follow in the Conjunctive, which takes on a sense of futurity

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[228] Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 324.

[229] Pieper 1935: 27. Goedicke 1968: 231, with reference to Goedicke 1961: 154, presents the interchange as a misunderstanding. When the officer comes to tell Djehuty of the success of the seizure, the Rebel misunderstands, thinks they are talking about a mace and wants to see it, at which point he gets crowned by Djehuty's stick: "And so the rebel of Joppa found that what he thought was a mace (ꜥwn) was actually a deceit (ꜥwn) leading to his seizure (ꜥwn)". However, Goedicke does not explain why an officer would mention the robbery of the horses in the Rebel's hearing. Additionally, the triple meaning is not made manifest in the narrative because ꜥwn is not used in connection with anything but the baton. However, the suggestion made by Guglielmi 1996: 494, note 189, that ꜥwn is a pun for 'deceit' or 'robber', works as a sly clue from the narrator to the audience that the Rebel will get more than just the ꜥwn.t he asked for.

[230] Kruchten 1994: 97 and Junge 2005: 273 show that *wnn* can be written as *wn*. For indirect requests, see Sweeney 2003: 146.

[231] Vernus 1981: 85–89 and Junge 2005: 271. Though Junge calls this form either a 'Closed Complex' or a 'Balanced Sentence', 'Closed Complex' is more appropriate here than 'Balanced Sentence', given that only one of the two forms is nominal. Another possibility is to see *wn(n)⸗tn ḥr ꜥḳ* as a Middle Egyptian future form: "You will enter the town and uncover . . .", though the lack of temporality in such a translation is not appealing.

[232] Junge 2005: 271. Depuydt 2000: 136–138 sees these "Late Egyptian Sentences with Two Subordinate Clauses but No Main Clause" as hybrid forms, which demonstrate the language stage's transitional quality.

[233] In fact, Gardiner 1932: 84a, 2, 8a presumes that the *ḥr* is actually an *r*, which would make the form a Third Future (and independent clause).

(J054–J056, *LES* 84, 2).[234] This semantic characteristic of the Closed Complex has pragmatic salience in this context, being popularly used in letters between equals and to subordinates, but not to superiors.[235]

4.10.1.4   *A Plot Afoot: The Egyptian Envoy and the Charioteer of Joppa*

When the final part of the plot against Joppa is being executed, in order to ensure that the gates of Joppa are open, we are faced with a very interesting exchange in which there are many layers of discourse. I would regard the following passage as a case of *double nested direct speech*,[236] which would be represented as follows:

Clause	J057–J058	(J059	[J060–J061	(J062–J064)	J065])
Character	Narrator	Envoy	Rebel	Charioteer	Rebel/ Envoy

Figure 4.17. *Nested Direct Speech* by the Egyptian Troops.

J057–J058 <u>Narrator</u>: *jw꞊tw ḥr pr r ḏd n pꜣ ktn n pꜣ ḫr.w n y-p-w*
and (Some)one went forth in order to say to the Charioteer of the Rebel of Joppa:
J059 <u>Egyptian Envoy</u>: *ḫr꞊f {nꜣ}<m> pꜣy꞊k nb*
'He says, namely, your lord:
J060–J061 <u>Rebel of Joppa</u>: *j-šm ḏd n tꜣy꞊k ḥnw.t*
"Go and say to your mistress:
J062–J064 <u>Charioteer (or the Rebel, via the Charioteer)</u>: *nḏm-jb<꞊t> j-dj <n>꞊n swt[ḫ] ḏḥw.tï ḥnꜥ ḥ(j)m.t꞊f ẖrd.w꞊f ptr ḥꜣ.t bꜣk.w꞊sn*
'May <you> rejoice! That Seth has given Djehuty <to> us is with his wife and his children. Behold the first (of) their tribute!'
J065 <u>Rebel or Envoy</u>: *kꜣ<꞊k> n꞊s r pꜣï 200 n tẖbs.t*
(So) <you> should say to her concerning these 200 baskets" (*LES* 84, 3–6).[237]

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[234] See Borghouts 1979: 18 regarding this form.
[235] Sweeney 2001: 50, note 31 and Sweeney 2003: 145, note 74.
[236] Junge 2001: 146, on the other hand, in his translation of *LES* 84, 4, changes the possessive pronouns from the visible ꞊*k* 'your' to ꞊*f* 'his' on the grounds that it is indirect speech. Peust 1996: 71 argues for it to be an example of pronominal change, albeit with the Imperative, though his translation (Peust 1996: 94) seems to be the same as the one proposed here.
[237] Gardiner 1932: 84a, 2, 12b inserts ꞊*k*, but Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 183 suggests ꞊*f*, in which case J065 is not reported speech and belongs to the narrative.

What is here presented is an elaborate ruse based around small discursive fragments that are conveyed together as if they extended from one protagonist to the next. The Egyptian speaker uses the Prospective and the Imperative to address the Charioteer, and through him, the wife of the Rebel, by pretending to convey a direct message from the Rebel (J062 and following). The message is congruent: such forms are what we would expect of a ruler. With the following modal Prospective (J065), the Egyptian Envoy (who may still have been speaking as 'the Rebel') conveys to the foreign Charioteer his obligation. The use of the word 'us', which may refer to the city's population or to the ruling family, also seems to reflect the 'Rebel's 'voice'. The Egyptians thus present a clear picture of what they think the Rebel should be like, which (perhaps humorously) his *actual* characterisation doesn't measure up to. This feature parallels the representation of Seqenenre in *Apophis and Seqenenre*.

4.10.1.5   Post Hoc: *Djehuty Addresses King Menkheperre*

Djehuty writes to Menkheperre at the end of his campaign with phrases that mirror almost exactly the phraseology of the message to the wife of the Rebel of Joppa just described, which again underscores the literary nature of this text. The Prospective form, which also bears some resemblance to the words of Paser to Menkheperre in Papyrus Turin 1940–1941,[238] forms part of a polite request which, embellished with explanations, befits someone of lower rank:[239] *nḏm-jb≥k* "May you rejoice!"[240] This is followed not by an Emphatic Form, as above, but by a Preterite form outlining the donation of the other enemy (here Joppa) by the other patron god (here Amun): *dj n≥k jmn p3y≥k jt nfr p3 ḫr.w n [y]-p-w* "Amun, your good father, has given to you the Rebel of Joppa" (J080-J081, *LES* 84, 14–15). This statement, as the one above, is embellished by a prepositional phrase that emphasises what else is to be gained: his people and his town. The similarity to the passage in section 4.10.1.4 continues: Djehuty's use of the Causative Imperative *jmj jw r(m)ṯ.w* "Make people come" (J082, *LES* 84, 16) is also followed by a Prospective form, "that you may fill the estate of your father", which conveys the

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[238] Papyrus Turin 1940–1941, 2, 2, in Botti 1955: figure 2: *jḥ smnḫ≥k jb≥k* "May you steady your heart". A similar idea appears in the *Kadesh Poem* of Ramesses II, § 128, in K*RI* II 44, 9.

[239] Sweeney 2003: 155.

[240] See Hintze 1952: 193, in reference to clause J062. The use of the suffix pronoun ≥k in this case (J080) makes the Prospective more likely than an Imperative.

purpose of the command (J084, *LES* 85, 1). This parallelism in the missives could be regarded as an authorial wink to the audience about the course of events rather than simply an exercise in formulaic writing. It should thus be seen as a conscious literary feature that helps this text transcend its generic precedents.

It therefore becomes clear that an interpersonal analysis reveals the contrived nature of the dialogue, which serves to highlight the extent to which the Egyptians controlled sources of information even on the side of the enemy.

Mood	Grammatical Form	Examples	Addressee
Imperative	Imperative	J031	Rebel
	Causative Imperative	J009	Rebel
		J082	Menkheperre
Subjunctive	Prospective	J080 and J084	Menkheperre
Declarative Modal	Prospective	J022	Rebel *(or Rebel to Djehuty)*
	Future III	J011	Rebel
	Conjunctive after Imperative	J010	Rebel

Figure 4.18. Interpersonal analysis: Djehuty.

Mood	Grammatical Form	Examples	Addressee
Imperative	Imperative	J060 and J061	Charioteer *(NOTE: the Speaker quoted is actually not the Rebel)*
	Causative Imperative	J004	Servant (?)
Declarative Modal	*jbꜣj r sḏm*	J019	Djehuty
	Conjunctive after Prospective (?)	J025	Djehuty

Figure 4.19. Interpersonal analysis: The Rebel of Joppa.

4.11   *Power and the Lexicon: Titles, Ethnicity and Rank*

Djehuty (*dḥw.ti*) is referred to by his proper name on all occasions in the
text (J003, J007, J017, J018, J063, J070, J077, *LES* 82, 3; 82, 5; 82, 10–11; 84, 5;
84, 8 and 84, 13). In sharp contrast to him, the ruler of Joppa is not named.
In both the words of the narrator and of Djehuty, he is referred to as *pꜣ
ḫr.w n y-p-w* 'the *Rebel* of Joppa' (J007, J018, J031, J035, J042, J081, *LES* 82,
5; 82, 11 (both reconstructed); 83, 3; 83, 6; 83, 9 and 84, 15),[241] an appel-
lation normally reserved for monumental inscriptions to illustrate enemy
status.[242] The word *ḫr.w* could also be taken in a retrospective sense (that
he is already fallen), or in a magical sense (that his downfall might take
place).[243] Therefore, unlike in our fairy tale *The Doomed Prince*, the Rebel's
anonymity is not a mark of fictionality but a political statement. Even in
unequal situations, such as with Apophis and Seqenenre, both characters
are named, and are hence established as "fixed, coherent personalities".[244]
What we have here is the establishment of a clear *type*: the foreigner *topos*
becomes the narrative Opponent. On only one occasion is the Rebel of
Joppa designated differently. In reference to his Charioteer he is *pꜣy≠k nb*
'your lord' (J059, *LES* 84, 4), just like his wife is *tꜣy≠k ḥnw.t* and *tꜣy≠f ḥnw.t*
'your mistress' and 'his mistress' (J061 and J068, *LES* 84, 4 and 84, 8).

The Egyptian king, by contrast, is named *nsw mn-ḫpr-rꜥ ꜥ.w.s.* 'King
Menkheperre, l.p.h.' and supplied with the epithets *pꜣ mꜣj ḥsꜣ sꜣ sḫm.t* 'the
fierce lion, son of Sakhmet' (J032, *LES* 83, 4). When he is mentioned in
relation to Djehuty, the King, like the Rebel, bears the epithet *pꜣy≠f nb* 'his
lord' (J078, *LES* 82, 3). We can conclude that the lexical features of the
tale correspond to the 'foreigner *versus* Egyptian' *topos* that is also visible
at the other levels of the language.

4.12   *The Role of the Past in the Tale*

We could draw a number of conclusions about the role of the Thutmoside
era from Ramesside literature like *The Taking of Joppa*. The campaigns
of the great 'empire-builder' Thutmose III could have been resurrected
as a cultural memory at a moment in which the Ramesside king of the

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[241] In J042, he is referred to as *pꜣy ḫr.w*, '*this* Rebel'.
[242] *Wb*. III 321.
[243] Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 324–325.
[244] Bersani 1970: 3.

time (Seti I or Ramesses II) wished to retrieve Levantine territory.[245] Men-
kheperre's negligible role in the story does not undermine this, since this
remoteness also features in monumental texts.[246] We could consider the
story of Djehuty's exploits as a legend of times past that had acquired
the status of a folktale,[247] though this does not necessarily mean that the
events recorded here actually occurred in the past.[248] Alternatively, the
text could be a comment about the Ramesside kings or the state of their
empire. However, since this story was written down in a time of great mil-
itarisation, reflecting another such period, it is difficult to note the poten-
tial for critical commentary, at least in a text as fragmentary as this.

4.12.1   *Resurrecting the* Aufstieg zur Weltmacht

The General and Overseer of northern foreign lands Djehuty is documented
in the historical record by the inscribed items from his now unknown
tomb,[249] although it is perhaps noteworthy that the writing of his name
on objects belonging to him is different from that in this narrative ($ḏḥw.tj$
rather than $ḏḥw.ti$).[250] His fame as a military hero seems legitimate: the
inscription on the Darmstadt dagger records him as holding such titles
as 'confidant of the Lord of the Two Lands', 'royal scribe', 'overseer of the
foreign lands', and 'royal retainer in every foreign land'.[251] He seems to
have been installed in the Levant to maintain surveillance over the politi-
cal situation, as well as to ensure the flow of tribute from vassal states to
Egypt, as is made clear by the inscription on his 'scribal' statue,[252] which
was found in Syria,[253] perhaps in connection with the temple of Hathor,
the Mistress of Byblos.[254]

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[245] Junge 2001: 144.

[246] An excellent example of this is the Second Beth-Shan Stela of Seti I, lines 16–17, in
K*RI* I 16, 13–14.

[247] Thompson 1984b [1972]: 408–409 defines a folktale as a traditional narrative that is
transmitted from person to person in either oral or written form.

[248] Erman 1923: 216.

[249] *Urk.* IV 999–1002, in Sethe 1906–9. Also Eggebrecht 1987: 120–121, 340–345, Yoyotte
1981: 46 and Junge 2001: 143–144. Most recently, Burkard & Thissen 2008b: 65 mention
that Djehuty's tomb was recently believed to be TT 11, but the opinion now is that he was
buried in Saqqara.

[250] Quack 2010a: 108.

[251] *Urk.* IV 1001, 9 and 14.

[252] Yoyotte 1981: 47–48.

[253] Yoyotte 1981: 41.

[254] Yoyotte 1981: 45–46 surmises this based on the fact that her epithets seem to appear
in the inscription on the back column.

On the other hand, we have no evidence that Djehuty besieged Joppa. In fact, we have no record of a siege at Joppa at all during the reign of Thutmose III. However, given that Joppa appears in Thutmose III's topographical lists on the sixth and seventh pylons at Karnak,[255] a conflict of some sort of the area seems to have occurred. We can therefore understand why, in the cultural consciousness of the Egyptians, the ruler of a captured city would have been denoted as a *ḫr.w* 'fallen one, rebel', even in literature.[256]

4.13   *The Role of the Foreign in the Tale*

As with *The Doomed Prince*, which appears on the same papyrus,[257] the foreign features of land and people in *The Taking of Joppa* are restricted to the names of foreign people and places. However, what differentiates the 'local colour' here from that in *The Doomed Prince* is that these features are placed in a negative, rather than neutral light: the town is set to be besieged, the *Maryannu* and citizens of Joppa are the enemy and the *Apiru* are to be avoided at all costs.[258] Therefore, these references, in this particular generic context, create a sort of *topos*, which is supported by our other levels of analysis.

4.13.1   *The 'Foreignness' of the Characters:* Maryannu *and* Apiru

The *Maryannu* are not characterised in a negative manner in the tale, but are classed (seemingly) as being in the employ of the Rebel of Joppa (J001 and J009, *LES* 82, 1 and 82, 6).[259] Their status as elite charioteers[260] lends authenticity to the tale, since they seem to have historically given support

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[255] *Y-p<-w>* appears in List I as number 62, in Simons 1937: 112 and 117, in List II as number 16, in Simons 1937: 123–124 and in the Ptolemaic copy List V as number 13, in Simons 1937: 127–128. See also Maspero 1889: XXXII and Junge 2001: 143–144.

[256] Goedicke 1968: 230.

[257] Junge 2001: 144.

[258] On a grammatical level, the *Apiru* are Actors in a material clause: they 'pass by' (J011, *LES* 82, 7), perhaps in order to steal the horses. At any rate, their appearance in a clause with *m-rʾ-pw* 'otherwise' means that they are part of a cautionary message. The suggestion by Goedicke 1968: 231, that Djehuty is telling the Rebel of Joppa to unharness the horses on the grounds that "without fodder the animals would be easily surpassed in fighting value by any of his mercenaries", seems unlikely.

[259] See also Hoch 1994: 136–137.

[260] Helck 1980b: 1190.

to enemies of Egypt across the Levant and were consequently often recorded as being captives of war.[261] It appears that they were Syrian.[262]

The *Apiru*, or *Habiru*, who appear only briefly in the text (J011, *LES* 82, 7), are a people about whom little is known.[263] In the Amarna letters, they are often represented as a group on the fringes of society,[264] who were hired out as slaves or mercenaries.[265] Consequent to their support of rulers across the Levant, they were portrayed as enemies of the Egyptian king, as we see on the Second Beth-Shan Stela of Seti I,[266] and frequently appeared on captive lists[267] and lists of temple resources[268] as future servants of the Egyptian state.[269] In literature, they appear, unfortunately without context, in Papyrus Turin 1940–1941, which concerns Thutmose III's exploits in Asia.[270] Nonetheless, it is quite clear that their role as Opponents is a recognisable motif across a series of genres, both historical and literary.

Given the negligible role of both groups in the remaining tale, it is possible that they were included principally to lend historical authenticity. If we think their inclusion is more deliberate, we could consider it a fundamental part of the foreigner stereotype that both groups were incapacitated before they had a chance to act against the Egyptian army.

4.13.2   *The 'Foreignness' of the Landscape*

As in *The Doomed Prince*, the foreign qualities of the locale are limited to its name: no particular features of the landscape are noted, though we should presume that the city was walled (in the manner of most Levantine cities),

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[261] Papyrus Harris I, 31, 8, in Erichsen 1933: 36, 14, provides a list of temple assets.

[262] Papyrus Hermitage (also Leningrad and Petersburg) 1116A vs. 76, in *AEO* I 190* and Helck 1980b: 1191, note 2, where they are described as *nꜣ n m-r-y-n n ḏꜣhy* 'the *Maryannu* of Syria'.

[263] Giveon 1977: 954 thinks that the term is both geographic and ethnic, whereas Hoch 1994: 62 argues that the term was social, given that the Wadi Hammamat inscription 12 refers to them as *ꜥ-p-r n nꜣ pḏ.tyw ꜥnw* '*Apiru* of the *Anu* bowmen'.

[264] As shall be discussed further below, the *Apiru* are portrayed in the Amarna Letters as nomads and mercenaries, who took land at will: EA 67, EA 77, EA 82 and EA 83, in Moran 1992: 137, 148, 152, 153.

[265] Moran 1992: 392–393 and Giveon 1977: 953. Their role is made apparent in EA 185 and 186, Moran 1992: 265–268.

[266] Second Beth-Shan Stela of Seti I, line 10, in *KRI* I 16, 9.

[267] See, for instance, the captive list of Amenhotep II, *Urk.* IV 1309, 1.

[268] Papyrus Harris I, 31, 8, in Erichsen 1933: 36, 14.

[269] In Papyrus Leiden I, 348, vs. 6, 5–6, in *LEM* 134, 1–2, these peoples are occupied with the transportation of stone for a temple. They also appear as stonemasons in a Wadi Hammamat inscription of Ramesses IV, in Giveon 1977: 953.

[270] Papyrus Turin 1940–1941, 1, 9 in Botti 1955: figure 1.

since the gates to the city were opened to the Egyptian troops (J071, *LES* 84, 8). Having been most probably conquered in the first of Thutmose III's sixteen campaigns,[271] Joppa (*y-p-w*) was subsequently used by the Egyptians during the 18th and 19th Dynasties as a centre for personnel and grain storage as well as a chariot depot.[272] Its strategic importance around the time that this story was written is perhaps demonstrated by the remains of a gateway dedicated to Ramesses II in this area.[273] Quite contemporaneously, however, Joppa is described in the satirical Papyrus Anastasi I as unsafe for Egyptian envoys on account of its fields, its vineyards and its women.[274] Joppa was thus most probably the setting of a tale that emerged from the oral tradition. It therefore most probably had little to do with a conscious decision to 'send' a Hero abroad as part of the 'boundary transgression' visible in fairy tales.

4.13.3   *Worship as an Index of Ethnicity*

As in *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, Seth is nominated in this tale as the god of the Asiatics, which is illustrative of the impact of ideas popular during the Ramesside Period, like 'Personal Piety', even on literature that probably formed part of an earlier oral tradition. 'Othering' of characters here seems to necessitate the assigning of 'other' gods, so Seth, most probably in connection with Baal, or in his guise as god of the foreign lands, is presented as being well-disposed towards Joppa,[275] at least according to the Egyptians. After all, Seth only emerges in the manufactured discourse of the Egyptian Envoy, though the fact that the Charioteer regards it as legitimate also indicates the consciously literary nature of this text.

4.14   *Conclusion*

We can see, in conclusion, that a closer analysis of the characters of *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* and *The Taking of Joppa* tests our

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[271] Junge 2001: 143.

[272] Helck 1980a: 269 and Redford 1992: 207, seen in Amarna Letter EA 294, in Moran 1992: 336–337.

[273] Helck 1980a: 269.

[274] Papyrus Anastasi I, 25, 2–3, in Fischer-Elfert 1992: 144–145. Discussed by Helck 1980a: 269 and Junge 2001: 144. Gardiner 1911: 1* dates this papyrus to the reign of Seti II.

[275] Junge 2001: 146, note 2, 11b: "als dem Joppe günstig gesinnten ägyptischen Gott". Also te Velde 1977 [1967]: 120.

assumptions about these very fragmentary 'historical narratives', which use historical features, as well as historical genres, to create a fictional work. Characterisation, as manifest in the actions and words of the characters, as well as textual markers and names, lead us to question conclusions that scholars have made not only about the characters, but about the way in which their actions fill in the 'gaps' in the texts. Although both historical narratives were excluded from Loprieno's study of *topos* and *mimesis*, it seems to be the case that, when subjected to a close grammatical analysis, these two texts actually provide a different dimension to these opposing concepts, since they construct foreign characters while making conscious reference to official genres. The tension created by what Stephen Greenblatt calls "the interlocking pressures of history on genre and of generic conventions on historical representation"[276] is precisely what makes these stories and their characters so interesting: the characterisation here mediates between generic referencing and the text's message.

In *Apophis and Seqenenre*, the ideational, textual, interpersonal and lexical analyses lead us to conclude that Seqenenre is probably too inactive to play out the role of the active king of a real historical text, or indeed to attack the Hyksos in the manner expected (based on later records of other kings like Kamose) to have been enacted by Prince Seqenenre. On the other hand, Apophis displays the drive and activity befitting a foreign Opponent, albeit while making demands that seem ridiculous. Therefore, historical assumptions about the ending, which rely on the reference to the historical genre, seem unlikely. Given the categorisation, an Egyptian victory is most likely to have been secured based on a spontaneous or uncalculated action on Seqenenre's part.

A completely different characterisation of the foreigners and Egyptians is visible in *The Taking of Joppa*. Like in the military reports it mimics, the 'Rebel of Joppa' is characterised in name and activity as a hopeless foreign foe. However, in his speech, the Rebel shows no belligerence towards Djehuty, and demonstrates interest in Egyptian traditions. Like Apophis, he also shows desire and intent for things to be done for him, which to an extent further distinguishes him from the foreign antagonists of monumental texts.[277]

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276 Greenblatt 1990: 111.
277 If we use the Merenptah 'Israel Stela' (Cairo version), line 14, in *KRI* IV 16, 4–8, as an example, Merey, one of the few named enemies of Egypt whose activities are described at length (though with little detail), 'attacked' Egypt and 'did wrong' without any particular motive being attributed to him.

Therefore, there seems to be more *mimesis* in the characterisation within *Apophis and Seqenenre*, where a known *topos*, the quick decision-making of an Egyptian king under threat, is being referenced and subverted. The extent to which the culturally-sanctioned *topos* is being undermined in *The Taking of Joppa* is less certain. *Joppa* may even have an element of 'royalist advocacy', or at least provide a reflection of past political history,[278] which was cemented in the folk tradition. Only the slapstick situations and some of the dialogue, by being either surprising or consciously literary, lead us to conclude that this text was *not* normative, and hence, not a real representation of the *topos*.[279] Both stories thus exhibit a more palpable tension between *topos* and *mimesis* than other texts in the corpus.

This cline of *topos* and *mimesis* could also be seen as interacting with the different shades of parody achieved in literary texts, which can be established at a generic or simply situational level. Both stories, as this study has shown, are reliant to a significant extent on characterisation through action and speech. To point outwards, this parody could, like earlier texts in the canon,[280] be oriented towards social commentary, in line with Bakhtin's idea of the *Carnival*, in which powerful figures were ridiculed in a sanctioned context.[281] This quality might be based on an underlying oral tradition but also appears in contemporary 'touches', such as the religious focus and perhaps also references to contemporary politics.[282] A focus on characters, which moves from their grammatical conception through to their genre-bound narrative roles, therefore is of use for attempting to reconstruct the missing parts of the texts and it also gives an analytical angle to the ongoing discussion about the purpose and message of these literary texts.

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[278] Simpson 1996: 438–439.
[279] Junge 2001: 145, note 1, 4a says that it demonstrates "ein Spiel mit Text- und Sprachebenen". On the other hand, Guglielmi 1992: 159 sees the method of hiding the troops in baskets to bring them into the city as being a source of the humour in this story.
[280] Gnirs 2000: 127.
[281] Bakhtin 1968 [1965]: 10 and Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 23. From an Egyptological perspective, see Guglielmi 1992: 168.
[282] Moers 2001a: 133 does not seem to see parody as a mechanism for irony, but this is perhaps because he does not include historical texts within his parameters of enquiry, which can, as I have argued here, provide illustrations of intertextual referencing and humour.

CHARACTERISATION IN *THE MISFORTUNES OF WENAMUN*

5.1   *Introduction*

To complete the enquiry into the characterisation of foreigners and Egyptians in Ramesside narratives, this chapter compares the characterisation of Wenamun with the host of benefactors and antagonists whom he encounters in the course of his mission to the Lebanon. A Systemic Functional analysis, with its focus on the distinguishing actions and speech patterns of each character, illustrates the subtlety with which each protagonist was portrayed. The interpersonal analysis in particular demonstrates the ways in which Wenamun invokes the ire of the foreign rulers by his manner of speaking. We consider the conclusions from this analysis in light of pragmatics and sociolinguistics in order to clarify the impact of dialogic and social contexts on each character's discourse and reactions.[1] By applying such a linguistic method, we can thus more quantitatively and qualitatively assess characterisation in this narrative and appraise the conclusions made by other scholars about its language, humour and intent.

   Papyrus Moscow 120, upon which *The Misfortunes of Wenamun* is written, has been palaeographically dated to the 21st[2] or the 22nd Dynasty.[3] Though few comparable 22nd Dynasty texts exist, the grammatical and orthographic features of the manuscript represent a departure from forms used in 20th Dynasty texts.[4] We can thus surmise that the text was probably composed at the end of the 21st Dynasty or beginning of the 22nd Dynasty. Therefore, as with other stories in this corpus, it is probable that some time had passed since the lifetimes of the historical characters to

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[1]   Pragmatics studies the relation of language to its users and interpreters, for which see Levinson 1983: 53, whereas sociolinguistics is focused on the social context of an utterance, as noted by Hudson 1996: 1.

[2]   Gardiner 1932: xi–xii and Egberts 2001: 495.

[3]   Möller 1910: 29 and Helck 1986: 1215.

[4]   Winand 2011: 546–549 refers to the use of the 1st person Stative *.tw*, as well as the use of the *š3ˁ.t=f sḏm* Terminative.

which the story refers.[5] The story is incomplete, although intriguingly, several more lines would have fit on the second page of the papyrus to continue or conclude the tale.[6]

5.2   *Approaches to the Text: Report versus Literature*

5.2.1   *Features of a Travel Report*

Some distinct features of *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*, such as content, format, layout and language have been considered as corresponding so closely to the format of a travel report that scholars, even until recently, have insisted that the narrative is, or was originally, a report, despite its manifest literary features.[7] Report-like content appears, such as dates, lists of products and references to known historical characters, such as Herihor, Smendes and Tantamun.[8] The format presents the dates using the Infinitive in the manner of military reports[9] and the *Tomb Robbery Papyri*[10] and gives summations at the end of episodes. However, as even this small

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[5]   Baines 1999a: 211 argues that the story probably dated to just after the reign of Smendes, who "is neither mentioned as king nor given a salient or particularly respectful treatment". See also Eyre 1999: 236.

[6]   Graefe 2002: 73 claims that *sḏr n⸗k* could comprise the end of the tale, but this does not account for the prepositional phrase *n⸗k* that seems to follow *sḏr*. This could only feasibly appear with a verb of motion. Winand 2011: 541, note 3 argues that a possible explanation for the storage of an incomplete text like this was that the text was a copy and that the scribe copied only to the end of the page containing the Byblos episode, which may have been the section of the text he wanted. The state of the manuscript without an ending also leads us to see it as a copy, for which see Scheepers 1992: 359.

[7]   Scheepers 1992: 360 and 362 and also Leclant 1968: 9 regard the text as a literary version of an original report. Helck 1986: 1216 notes, however, that realism does not detract from the fictionality of the text. Likewise, Baines 1999a: 209, note 2 sees this text as "so much a unity that I find this (i.e. Scheepers' interpretation) very unlikely". I might also add that a lack of internal consistency emphasises the lack of a 'real' precedent. If Wenamun successfully robs the *Tjeker* in the harbour of Tyre, then why does he meet Tjekerbaal empty-handed? Naturally, however, we must remark that the striking similarity to later texts of a documentary nature like Papyrus Rylands 9 does emphasise its place on the border of literature and history, as pointed out in relation to the latter papyrus by Vittmann 1998: IX.

[8]   That Tjekerbaal was a historical character is unlikely, given that his name appears only on an arrowhead of questionable authenticity. As Mazza 1987: 191–200 makes clear, neither the paleography nor the typology of the arrowhead can be exclusively dated to the 11th century. The inscription itself, *ḥs skrbꜥl mlk ꜥmr* 'freccia di Zakarbaʾal re di Amurru' is also suspect, since Amurru was not a name for a discrete geo-political entity at this time.

[9]   *Urk.* IV 647–8, also Redford 1986: 264.

[10]   For instance, see Papyrus Abbott 4, 11–12, in *TR* plate II. For a discussion of this, see Winand 2011: 545.

corpus makes evident, Egyptian literary texts often referred to historical figures[11] and assumed the generic qualities of non-literary texts.[12] The layout, including the text's arrangement and its inscription on vertical fibres, as well as the use of the Late Egyptian language, has also been claimed to render it report-like,[13] even though the written text does not correspond to administrative texts any more than it does to narratives, being recorded on several separate sheets of papyrus and written across the narrow side of the *recto*, not the *verso*.[14] As for the language, discounting *Wenamun* as literature on the grounds that it is the only tale to use Late Egyptian proper does not allow for the late composition date. In fact, using language to classify a text's genre is rather dangerous, since the development of a language has often occurred precisely when the vernacular filters through to genres of higher registers, as the works of Dante or Chaucer reveal.[15] After all, we would hardly deny the literary status of *La Divina Commedia* or *The Canterbury Tales*. *Wenamun* should therefore be considered as an Egyptian narrative that transcends the literary register,[16] being 'written as if spoken' but marked for literary style.[17]

5.2.2   *Generic Intertextuality as Parody?*

The reference made to features of the report genre, such as official-sounding dates at the beginning of the narrative, could be tongue-in-cheek,

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[11] Fowler 1982: 179–181 calls this 'inclusion'. The co-occurrence of such historical inclusions together with a manuscript date that significantly post-dates it can also be seen as a clear indication of the literariness of the text. See for this Winand 2011: 548.

[12] This overt reference to the report genre at the beginning of the tale bears similarities to *The Tale of Woe* (Papyrus Moscow 127), in Caminos 1977: 11, where the letter format is clearly used (translation by Caminos): "Copy of the letter sent by the god's father of the temple at On (*jwnw*), Wermai, son of Huy". Caminos 1977: 65 makes a case for the text to be regarded as literary on the basis that Wermai "fails to close his letter with a word of farewell, thus deviating from the accustomed practice of this day". See also Galán 2005: 143.

[13] Černý 1977 [1952]: 22, noted also by Goldwasser 1990: 206.

[14] Baines 1999a: 233.

[15] Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 273, see also 321 calls the use of non-literary language in literature "a heteroglossia consciously opposed to this literary language. It was parodic, and aimed sharply and polemically against the official languages of its given time. It was heteroglossia that had been dialogized".

[16] Baines 1999a: 216.

[17] Goldwasser 1990: 207 and Ritner 2003: 219. Baines 1999a: 223, for instance, points out that when Wenamun 'composes' a stela text for Tjekerbaal, he uses all the consciously literary forms in his power: regular metre and linguistic 'archaisms' like *ḥnꜥ* 'together with' and synthetic verb forms. A more formal register is being referred to, heightening both the text's literary complexity and potentially an ironic authorial voice.

particularly since this formal style is quickly dispensed with (without even the customary linking form ḏd≠f 'he says') in favour of highly personal first-person narration. Such 'code switching' forms part of the voice of the protagonist Wenamun; given the seriousness with which he tells his story, the potential humour in such a switch could be seen as coming from the author/s. This presence of an ironic authorial voice,[18] in addition to that of the protagonist/narrator, corresponds to Michail Bakhtin's idea of literary *heteroglossia*.[19]

Given the extent to which the authorial voice could be seen as 'undermining' what seems to be a serious report, it is important for us to determine the *scope* and *intent* of the comic elements in the story and the way in which they interact with the genre. As we shall see, these elements have a notable impact on the way we understand the characters. If the ironic voice established by the author is so topic-focused and pervasive that it determines the style of the text, as is perhaps the case with *Apophis and Seqenenre*, then *Wenamun* (in content and form) is either a *parody* of the report genre,[20] or possibly a *satire* of the conflict between dogma and reality in society more generally.[21] Other scholars like Schipper have underplayed the ironic qualities of the text in favour of seeing it as a religious-political reflection of the post-Ramesside *Sitz im Leben*,[22] an approach which is certainly possible, though in the absence of conclusive historical evidence it nevertheless remains hypothetical.[23] Moreover, given that Schipper also regards *Wenamun* as a work of literature, the efforts made to justify the sound historical basis of the work seem to be contradictory.[24]

The middle ground is that the ironic commentary in *Wenamun* is angled at various ideas rather than being focused on a single topic,[25]

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[18] Baines 1999a: 211–212.
[19] Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 418.
[20] Blumenthal 1972: 11.
[21] Eyre 1999: 252, also Suhr 1999: 117. Fowler 1982: 110 demonstrates the difference between parody and satire: parody is the mimicry of a *genre* (for the purposes of humour). It can be satirical, but does not have to be so. To be satirical, a work must have "a radical moral stance", so satire is linked to *message*.
[22] Schipper 2005: 1: "Die Erzählung des Wenamun ist … nicht zufällig, sondern bewusst an der Grenze von historischem Bericht und fiktiv-imaginärem Literaturwerk angesiedelt, wobei es sich weniger um einen fiktionalen als vielmehr um einen religiös-politischen Situation handelt". The approach is similar to the study of *Horus and Seth* by Verhoeven 1996: 357–359.
[23] Simon 2007: 115.
[24] Simon 2007: 115–116.
[25] Baines 1999a: 230.

which contrasts with the serious ideological argument underneath.[26] However plausible this latter perspective may be, it is nonetheless also possible to see the irony of the story as being distanced from social and political events, as well as other literary genres: in other words, as plot-based, situational comedy. *Wenamun* would thus count as an example of the *Schelmenroman*, a story documenting a rogue's misadventures, made manifest by the way in which just as the Hero's situation improves, things begin to go horribly (but comically) wrong.[27] The message of the tale, and, concomitantly, the role of humour in the tale, is more difficult to gauge due to the missing ending. Though it seems clear that Wenamun lived to return to Egypt and tell his tale,[28] we have no other indications about the means by which he attained this end.

On the other hand, by approaching this issue from the more quantifiable study of character analysis, such as the linguistic methodology proposed here, we can better understand the parameters of the comic elements of the text, particularly within the scope of the genre. For instance, if a character like Wenamun is constructed in a way that *consistently* subverts our assumptions about the protagonists of the travel report genre, then the situational irony is indeed parody. In my view, insufficient reference is made to the report genre for this to be the case. On the other hand, Wenamun's characterisation, that shows him saying one thing and doing another, localises irony within *him*, the 'Hero'. This factor could be a feature of the *Reiseerzählung* genre, in which protagonist/narrator is the focaliser. As for the message of the tale, it is possible also that statements made in all seriousness by the Hero in reference to events may, by their context, be interpreted in a satirical manner.

5.2.3 *Travel as Discovery in the* Reiseerzählung?

Gerald Moers regards the reference to travel in texts like *Wenamun* as an indication of the text's literariness, since travel mirrors the underlying quest structure of narrative discourse.[29] The journey abroad therefore symbolises a personal journey and encounter with the unknown,[30] a focus tangibly realised in the first person narration.[31] This *allegorical*

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[26] Baines 1999a: 232.
[27] Osing 1987: 39.
[28] Hornung 1995: 64, Baines 1999a: 215, Eyre 1999: 252 and Schipper 2005: 265.
[29] Moers 1999: 51, referring to Frank 1979: 44.
[30] Blumenthal 1982: 65 and Moers 1999: 52.
[31] Moers 2001a: 104.

conceptualisation of travel in *Wenamun*[32] suggests that the irony is situational, and leads towards the character's self-realisation.[33] In this conception, the formal features of the report genre are merely a clever framing device, rather than a driving force for the story as a whole. However, seeing the travel motif as symbolic and geared towards self-exploration undermines some of the characters' most prominent characteristics, and disregards the important fact that they do *not* seem to improve in the course of the narrative.

5.3   *Character Portrayal and Development: The Individuals*

5.3.1   *Ideational Analysis*

In order to assess the ways in which the protagonists of *Wenamun* are portrayed across the text, we must engage with the kinds of actions undertaken by the characters via an ideational analysis. Though the text has been already subjected to close grammatical study, Winand's (1987) concordance and grammatical analysis makes no interpretive deductions, and Schipper's (2005) tripartite linguistic methodology[34] is descriptive without being analytical.[35] Our analysis focuses on the Processes used when a main character[36] is the principal Participant in a clause, except in possessive clauses, where Possessors have no *linguistic agency* but rather *sociological agency*.[37] We shall note where they occur and whether they

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[32] Moers 1999: 54 and Moers 2001a: 192–195 and 201 sees the motif of travel by boat as particularly significant, on the grounds that firstly, Wenamun's travels mimic Amun-Re's nightly travels in the sky; secondly, Wenamun's search for a new boat is analogous to Amun's need for wood for a new boat; and lastly, the motif of travel over water is "more dangerous and burdened with guilt than travelling by land".

[33] Suhr 1999: 117, however, doubts this interpretation, saying that the story's theme is "eine krasse Illustration des veränderten Status der Ägypter in Ausland, nicht eine in der Rückschau vorgenommene Interpretation durch das erzählende Ich".

[34] Schipper 2005: 234–235.

[35] The first level, "sprachliche Gestalt des Textes . . . 'Oberflächenstruktur'" is essentially a list of the grammatical forms used (Schipper 2005: 238–260), the second level "die Ebene der Inhalte und der Thematik . . . 'Tiefenstruktur'" relays the key events of the story (Schipper 2005: 260–281) and the third level "die Intention des Textes und seine Pragmatik" emphasises the narrative's religious message (Schipper 2005: 282–284).

[36] I intend to study some of the minor characters in a future article, most particularly the rulers (past and present) of Egypt and Byblos, who appear only in the discussion of Wenamun and Tjekerbaal. It would be interesting to assess the way in which they are 'doubly constructed' (by author and by interlocutor) for *rhetorical* purposes.

[37] van Leeuwen 2002 [1996]: 302–303. In the clause *mnt.k sw* 'it is yours', a relationship of identification is established between the Value:Possessor *mnt.k* 'yours' and the

come from a spoken or narrated context in order to assess whether the
characters are describing themselves or whether they are being described.
We must be aware of this distinction between speech and narration not
only because of the sheer amount of dialogue in the narrative, but also
because of the use of *nested direct speech*, in which another character tells
their interlocutor what they should say. We can thus contrast not only
different characters, but also the various ways a single character is con-
structed by different voices. For instance, though Wenamun's Hero status
emerges in his own description of his activities, his 'Anti-Heroic' qualities
become clear in the words of the foreign rulers.

5.3.1.1 *Wenamun*

As we have noted above, scholars' ideas about the message and intent of
the narrative have had a notable impact on the conception of Wenamun's
characterisation. The focus on the irony with which he is portrayed has
led to the prevalent viewpoint that Wenamun is deficient: he allows him-
self to get robbed, he steals (perhaps at the instigation of the Chief of Dor,
Beder, which puts him in the wrong),[38] he gives away vital documentation
(a necessity for any emissary abroad) and cannot produce it at the other
end,[39] and he assumes that generations of reciprocal exchange between
Egypt and the Chiefs of the Levant can be overcome by religious rheto-
ric.[40] He could thus be seen as an 'innocent abroad', whose misadven-
tures result from his own failings,[41] or as someone who compensates for

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Token:Possessed *sw* 'it'. The relational identifying possessive clause is therefore literally
'yours is it', so *mnt.k* cannot be taken as a principal Participant in the manner we see in
simple relational identifying clauses such as *mnt.k pꜣ wr* 'you are the chief' (W028). The
form from which *mnt.k* developed (*n ntk*) is evident in another possessive form used in
this text: *ns-sw* PN 'it belongs to PN'. The use of *n* 'of' establishes an *attributive* relationship
with the personal noun. Thus, *ns-sw* is the Carrier:Possessed and the personal noun that
follows is the Attribute:Possessor, so the clause is literally translated 'of it is PN', which
can be more clearly rendered 'it is of PN', in other words, 'it belongs to PN'. Therefore, not
only is the personal noun an Attribute rather than a Carrier (that we see in other relational
attributive clauses), but the syntax (placing it *after ns-sw*) makes it the Complement and
the Rheme (which differentiates it from the other possessive form). Consequently, the
Possessor in this clause type is also not a principal Participant. The only case in which
a character can be a principal Participant in a possessive clause is when they are the
Possessed, as we see with the Thief, who is the *sw* in the *ns-sw* form (W044 and W051).

[38] Eyre 1999: 240.
[39] Bunnens 1978: 3.
[40] Bunnens 1978: 9.
[41] Eyre 1999: 240. This conclusion implies that Wenamun was inexperienced as an
emissary.

psychological weakness with ideological strength.[42] It seems to me that however deficient he may be in fulfilling his mission, he compensates for it with cunning and pragmatism. Innocent or crafty, however, much of the story's humour derives from the audience expecting acceptable behaviour and seeing it avoided, with disastrous results. His survival (by the skin of his teeth) effectively grants him an ironic status as a Hero, and thus makes him an Anti-Hero[43] or *Pseudo-Held*.[44] We shall see this tendency in the ideational analysis, particularly in the contradiction of his words and actions.

The first thing we note about Wenamun is that he is very active: out of the 118 clauses in which he appears as a principal Participant, 70 of them (59.3 %) are as an Actor of material clauses. Moreover, of these 70, 49 (70 %) appear in the first half of the story, which indicates a lot of 'doing' early on and perhaps more talking in the second half. Large breaks in Wenamun's strings of activity occur when he launches into his speeches (W261–W311 and W364–W402, *LES* 69, 2–70, 9 and 72, 4–73, 6). His activity can also be differentiated on lines of whether it occurs in his narration or in discourse. Various characters (including Wenamun himself) describe Wenamun's action in 44 of the material clauses (62.9 %); the rest Wenamun narrates to the reader. When his actions are described in discourse, Beder speaks on at least one (but possibly four or more) occasions. The *jm.ï-rʾ mr(.yt)*, Overseer of Byblos Harbour speaks twice of his own accord and twice quotes Tjekerbaal. Tjekerbaal speaks on 22 occasions, and in the remaining 13, Wenamun describes his own actions to an interlocutor. It is clear from this that Tjekerbaal's representation of Wenamun's actions dominates, demonstrating his power over Wenamun. The interpersonal analysis will further clarify how Tjekerbaal orders Wenamun's action, wishes for his action and discusses his action and inaction.

We could also look at the specific actions referred to within the group of material clauses, and note in whose words particular kinds of action

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[42] Loprieno 1988a: 70. Schipper 2005: 280 sees Wenamun as an Anti-Hero who only finds success when representing Amun.

[43] Bal 1997: 132 notes that a Hero is designated thus on grounds of *qualification* (by his appearance, psychology, motivation, past), *distribution* (he occurs frequently in the story and at important points), *independence, function* (he makes decisions and acts) and *relations* (he maintains relations with the largest number of characters). The Anti-Hero is distinguished by meeting all these criteria except *function*. Wenamun does this by the types of actions in which he engages, by the fact that he is often not in control of his own actions, and finally by the disconnect between his words and his actions.

[44] Loprieno 1988a: 70.

are described. The first dominant lexical cluster relates to 'coming' and 'going', an activity group we expect from an emissary. Verbs relating to 'going' appear in Wenamun's own words (in narration or dialogue): *wḏ* 'departing' (W001, *LES* 61, 1), *hꜣ* 'descending' (W015, *LES* 61, 10), *šm* 'going' (W024, W057, W103, W317, W408, *LES* 62, 3; 63, 4; 64, 12; 70, 12 and 73, 9),[45] and *pr* 'going forth' (W081, *LES* 63, 12). Of the verbs relating to 'coming', half pertain to Wenamun's description: *spr* 'arriving' (W005, W016, *LES* 61, 4 and 61, 10), *pḥ* 'reaching' (W402, *LES* 73, 6), *ms* 'approaching' (W340, W349, *LES* 71, 10 and 71, 14), and *jw/jy* 'coming' (W168, *LES* 66, 7).[46] In Tjekerbaal's words, as well as those of his mouthpiece, the Overseer of Byblos Harbour, Wenamun's movement through space relates to 'coming' (W206, W208, W261, W339, W359, W362, *LES* 67, 9–10; 69, 2; 71, 10; 72, 2 and 72, 3), but more emphatically to 'leaving' or 'moving away': *rwj* 'getting away' (W100, W112, W142, *LES* 64, 11; 65, 1 and 65, 12), *ḥn* 'hurrying off' (W149, *LES* 65, 14) and *sš* 'passing by' (W200, *LES* 67, 6).

Another central lexical cluster relates to obtaining and conveying goods. The verb *jn* 'bringing' occurs only once in Wenamun's own words (W002: when he states his mission, *LES* 61, 2) but three times in Tjekerbaal's addresses to him (W224, W244, W248, *LES* 68, 1; 68, 10 and 68, 12). Wenamun twice mentions *dj* 'giving' in reference to himself (W007, W179, *LES* 61, 5 and 66, 11) and Tjekerbaal uses it three times (W216, W243, W247, *LES* 67, 14; 68, 10 and 68, 11). Verbs relating to 'taking', on the other hand, are all in the words of Wenamun and Beder: Wenamun claims to have been *ṯꜣy.tw* 'robbed' (W027, *LES* 62, 4), Beder seems to encourage him to *mḥ* 'seize' in return (W073, W074, *LES* 63, 9), which he does (W085, *LES* 64, 4). He describes his action to his victims as *jtꜣ* 'taking/robbing' (W090, W091, *LES* 64, 6–7).[47] These uses of the verbs *ṯꜣy* and *jtꜣ* highlight his contradictory character. His distress at having been robbed, which we shall investigate below, does not stop him from inflicting that same distress on others for his own gain. The verb *hꜣb* 'sending' is used exclusively by Wenamun to talk about his own activity, revealing him to a certain extent as a free agent (W101, W311, W314, *LES* 64, 11; 70, 9 and 70, 11), whereas *ꜣtp*

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[45] W103 is reconstructed.

[46] As Winand 1991: 371 demonstrates, these two forms are different on morphological grounds but identical in meaning.

[47] Green 1979: 120 suggests that Wenamun took an entire ship belonging to the *Tjeker*, which may clarify why Tjekerbaal wished it to be removed from his harbour; but it does not explain where Wenamun's own ship went. Is it possible that Wenamun stole *from* a ship belonging to the *Tjeker*?

'loading' is split between Wenamun (W127, W131, *LES* 65, 7 and 65, 9) and Tjekerbaal (W360, *LES* 72, 2).

The only other prominent action verbs pertaining to Wenamun (i.e. occuring three or more times) are *jr* 'doing', which is used by Beder (W067, *LES* 63, 8) and Tjekerbaal (W354, W358, *LES* 71, 16 and 72, 2), and *jr* 'spending', again used by Beder (W052, *LES* 63, 2) and also Wenamun (W012, W055, *LES* 61, 7 and 63, 3). On the other hand, *gm* 'finding' is used exclusively by Wenamun (W084, W125, W146, W161, W472, *LES* 64, 3; 65, 6; 65, 14; 66, 3 and 75, 2), which is fitting, given that as narrator he discovers and perceives.

All three causative clauses that have Wenamun as their Initiator are projected, i.e. spoken or thought. In the first instance, Wenamun speaks or thinks aloud to himself: "in order not to allow that another eye may see him" (W132, *LES* 65, 9); in the second, Wenamun makes a deal with Smendes for goods, finishing with "until I cause your every single expense to be brought to you also" (W318, *LES* 70, 12); and in the last Tjekerbaal commands Wenamun, "Do not let affairs distract you (lit. take your heart)!" (a causative mental clause, W449, *LES* 74, 7). We see that Wenamun is in control of his actions in the first two instances, but not in the third.

The majority of the seven behavioural clauses used to define Wenamun occur in projected clauses. When Beder speaks to him and thereby categorises him, he asks if Wenamun is being serious or humorous (W039, W040, *LES* 62, 11)[48] and he tells him to be quiet (W069, *LES* 63, 8). Tjekerbaal tells him that he will die unless he follows his advice (W255, *LES* 68, 15). Wenamun describes himself as watching (W128, *LES* 65, 8), crying (W417, *LES* 73, 13) and being silent (W203, *LES* 67, 8). His stunned silence is reminiscent of Seqenenre in *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, and could be a sign of Wenamun's Anti-Hero status, providing an ironic response to the ideal of the *gr* 'silent man'.[49] This silence also provides a

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[48] Winand 2011: 557 translates these parallel phrases as "Will you show temperance? Will you show cleverness?" or "Will you act stupidly or will you show cleverness?"

[49] Moers 2001a: 271 shows that Wenamun's silence is not that demonstrated in the wisdom texts, discussed by Assmann 1984: 195–196 and Brunner-Traut 1984: 761. Instead it demonstrates "einen Mangel an Sinn". Baines 1999a: 222 entertains the possibility that Wenamun's silence was an ironic evocation of the 'silent man', but he prefers to see Wenamun's silence as "a ploy in discussion" because he is in a position of weakness. It seems to be more likely, however, that Wenamun is actually lost for words. Bisseret Moreau 1984: 60 claims that "Silence is often the language of the powerless, the only possible solution when the contradictions are insurmountable".

dramatic contrast to Wenamun's ideological assault on Tjekerbaal later in the text. In sum, a greater number of behavioural clauses are directed or described from without than within, illustrating the rulers' desire to control Wenamun's behaviour.

Wenamun is a Senser in six mental clauses. Four cases (W363, W364, W365 and W450, *LES* 72, 3–4 and 74, 8) come from the mouth of Tjekerbaal, who advises Wenamun about future occasions of 'seeing' (by which awareness of a future threat seems to be meant)[50] and 'hearing'. On two other occasions, Wenamun describes his own sensation. He says to the audience that he "looked at 11 freighters" (W411, *LES* 73, 10) and he attempts to make peace with Hatiba by mentioning the good things "I have heard" about law and order in Alasiya (W484, *LES* 75, 6).

Many verbal clauses occur in this text, due to the number of verbal turns attributed to the different characters. Fewer are attributed to Wenamun than one might expect (22 in all), far less than the number afforded Tjekerbaal (32), perhaps due to the length of Wenamun's speeches when they do occur. In terms of context, most occur in the narration to move the dialogue along. On one of these occasions, Wenamun uses a cognate verb of *ḏd*, *wšd* 'to salute' Hatiba. On two occasions, the chiefs Beder and Tjekerbaal use the verbal clauses *j-ḏd≠k n≠j* and *ḏd≠k n≠j* '(that) which you have said to me' (W042, W400, *LES* 62, 12 and 73, 6) to come to terms with statements Wenamun has made that they find particularly offensive or surprising. Beder's use of this form seems to convey astonishment and Tjekerbaal's irony.

Wenamun is infrequently defined in terms of identity or attribute in relational clauses. Wenamun is the Token of relational identifying clause when Tjekerbaal states (presumably for rhetorical effect) "You are a truthful man" (W173, *LES* 66, 9) and again when Wenamun asks if Hatiba would allow him to be killed, "I being the Envoy of Amun?" (W498, *LES* 75, 12) More prominent are occasions in which Wenamun is located in space, via relational attributive circumstantial clauses. In 3 of the 5 cases, Wenamun's own words describe his situation: he says to the audience that he is "in the interior of Tanis" (W013, *LES* 61, 8), he refutes Tjekerbaal's claim about the foolishness of the trips "which I am involved in" (W272, *LES* 69, 6), and he balefully asks the Scribe "Until what comes (about) am I to be here?" (W427–W428, *LES* 73, 16–74, 1).

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[50] Barns 1972: 163.

Beder describes the place "where you are" (W072, *LES* 63, 9) and Tjeker-
baal's Page desires that "the Envoy who is carrying him" be summoned.[51]
Lastly, when Wenamun is a Value:Possessor in a relational identifying
possessive clause (W049, *LES* 62, 16), the only thing he is shown to pos-
sess is the Thief from his ship! He is, after all, only the emissary, so he
battles for ownership (of land, of sea, of possessions) against Tjekerbaal
on behalf of Amun.

   As a character, Wenamun's delightful complexity comes from the dis-
sonance between what he says and what he does, as is manifest at the
level of Transitivity. In a relational identifying clause, he presents himself
as 'the Envoy of Amun-Re', but in material clauses, he does all the wrong
things expected of an envoy:[52] he gives the dispatches away and does not
take them abroad, and, having been robbed, he steals in turn. Addition-
ally, the autonomy we expect from a first person narrative is undermined
by the fact that Wenamun is frequently told what to do and even what to
think. Wenamun thus establishes himself as someone who expects good
treatment, but on the basis of his behaviour is not entitled to get it and as
someone far less autonomous than he lets on. Wenamun does not change
in the course of the story and is therefore a static character. Nevertheless,
there is an element of complexity in the way that he reacts to situations
that makes him perennially interesting and entertaining: he shows him-
self able to respond to situations and to 'change' (in a strictly rhetorical
sense) in response to challenges,[53] an idea also explored in the interper-
sonal analysis below.

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[51]   The word *ꜥḏd-ꜥꜣ* translates literally as 'big boy', and has been taken by most translators
as 'page', given that the title corresponds to a child who officiates at the court of Tjekerbaal.
Given the context in which Amun possesses this individual, Cody 1979: 104 and Ritner
2003: 219 have sought alternative derivations, such as the Aramaic *ꜥddn*, which denotes
a seer or prophet, even a medium. However, this would be the only instance of the word
in Egyptian. Hoch 1994: 86–87 argues against this reading: the word 'to see' is more likely
to be derived from the much better attested Semitic root *ḥsy*, in which, as occasionally
occurs, the *ḥ* is replaced in Egyptian by *ꜥ*. The foreignness of the term has, however, been
been dismissed by Quack 1996: 509, who argues for the maintenance of the reading 'youth'
established, amongst others, by Posener 1969: 147. I might also add that the fact that the
boy is possessed does not *ipso facto* mean that this is his profession. In fact, the drama of
the situation is heightened if we consider the event to be unexpected.
[52]   de Spens 1998: 118–119.
[53]   Hochman 1985: 164 establishes a similar quasi-complexity to explain the characteri-
sation of Odysseus.

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples (Clause Nos.)	Total 118
material (m)	Actor	(W001), W002, (W005), W007, W012, W015, W016, W023, W024, **W027**, **W052**, W055, W056, W057, **W067**, **W073**, **W074**, W081, W084, W085, **W090**, **W091**, W095, W097, **W100**, W101, *W103*, W112, W125, W127, **W131**, **W135**, **W142**, **W144**, **(W146)**, **W149**, W161, **W168**, **W179**, **(W200)**, *W206*, *W208*, **W216**, **(W224)**, W243, **(W244)**, W247, **(W248)**, W249, **(W261)**, **W311**, **W314**, *W317*, **W339**, W340, W349, **W354**, **W358**, **W359**, **W360**, **W362**, **W402**, W408, W418, **W429**, **W447**, **W448**, W470, W472, **W506**	70
causative (c)	Initiator	**W132** (me), **W318** (m), **W449** (m)	3
behavioural (b)	Behaver	**W039**, **W040**, **W064**, *W128*, W203, **W255**, *W417*	7
mental (me)	Senser	**W363**, *W364*, **W365**, W411, **W450**, **W484**	6
verbal (v)	Sayer	W026, **(W042)**, W059, W102, W129, W137, W164, W170, W178, W192, W207, W212, W270, W319, W374, **(W400)**, W401, W422, W475, W476, W482, W492	22
existential (e)	Existent		0
relational identifying (ri)	Token	**W173**, **W498**	2
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier		0
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier	W013, **(W072)**, **W119**, **(W272)**, **W428**	5
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor	**W049**	1
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute:Possessor *not principal*		0
unknown (u)		W069, W104	2

Key (for clause numbers throughout chapter): normal script—narration, **bold** script—dialogue, *italic script*—periphrasis, [square brackets]—reconstruction, (parentheses)—Participant not present in embedded, non-finite, or possessive clause.

Figure 5.1. Ideational analysis: Wenamun.

Verb Type		Verb	Examples
Arising		*dwn*	W023
Being abandoned		*ḫꜣꜥ*	W429
Being in a posture:	sitting	*ḥms*	W418 (with *ḫpr*)
	lying	*sḏr*	W506
Being moored		*mjn*	W056
Binding		*mr*	W249
Doing/Acting		*jr*	W067, W354, W358
Consuming:	eating	*wnm*	W447
	drinking	*swr*	W448
Finding		*gm*	W084, W125, W146, W161, W472
Forcing		*wꜣš*	W470
Getting and conveying goods:	bringing	*jn*	W002, W224, W244, W248
	giving	*dj*	W007, W097, W179, W216, W243, W247
	loading	*ꜣtp*	W127, W131, W360
	sending	*hꜣb*	W101, W311, W314
	taking	*ṯꜣy*	W027
	seizing	*mḥ*	W073, W074, W085
	stealing	*jtꜣ*	W090, W091
Providing cover		*ḥbs*	W095
Moving through space:	arriving	*spr*	W005 (with *jr*), W016
	drawing close	*ms*	W340, W349
	reaching	*pḥ*	W402
	coming	*jy/jw*	W168, W206, W208, W261, W339, W359, W362

Figure 5.2 (*cont.*)

Verb Type		Verb	Examples
	departing	*wḏ*	W001 (with *jr*)
	descending	*hꜣy*	W015
	going	*šm*	W024, W057, W103, W317, W408
	going forth	*pr*	W081
	getting away	*rwj*	W100, W112, W142
	hurrying	*ḥn*	W149
	passing by	*sš*	W200
Spending (time)		*jr*	W012, W052, W055
Staying		*smn*	W135, W144

Figure 5.2. Material clause types: Wenamun.

5.3.1.2   *Beder*

Beder, the Chief of Dor, appears at least fourteen times as the principal Participant in the narrative. The four occasions in which he is an Actor in a material clause are all in spoken clauses that pertain to Wenamun's stolen money. Wenamun says to *wḥꜣ* 'seek' it (W030, *LES* 62, 6) and later accuses Beder of not *gm* 'finding' it (W060, *LES* 63, 4), Beder responds that under different circumstances he would have *ḏbꜣ* 'repaid' it (W047, *LES* 62, 15), but that at any rate he will 'seek' it (W054, *LES* 63, 3). The fact that he does not succeed in finding the thief has been interpreted as pointing towards Beder's collusion in the robbery,[54] which seems unlikely. In fact, Beder shows the hospitality expected of him as the chief of his land, when, as an Initiator in a causative material clause, he causes provisions to be sent to Wenamun upon his arrival in Dor (W017, *LES* 61, 12).

On one occasion, Beder is a Senser in a mental clause, expressing to Wenamun that he cannot understand what Wenamun is saying to him (W041, *LES* 62, 12). Beder is a Sayer in a verbal clause when he responds

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54 Green 1979: 120.

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples	Total 14
material (m)	Actor	**W030, W047, W054, W060**	4
causative (c)	Initiator	W017 (m)	1
behavioural (b)	Behaver		0
mental (me)	Senser	W041	1
verbal (v)	Sayer	W038, W063, **(W068)**	3
existential (e)	Existent		0
relational identifying (ri)	Token	**W028**, W029	2
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier		0
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier	(W025)	1
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor	**W034**	1
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute:Possessor *not principal*		0
unknown (u)		**W061**	1

Figure 5.3. Ideational analysis: Beder.

to Wenamun (W038, W063, *LES* 62, 11 and 63, 6), but also when he gives orders to Wenamun, telling him, it seems, to do "what I say to you" (W068, *LES* 63, 8).[55]

Wenamun establishes Beder as a Token in two consecutive relational identifying clauses (W028, W029, *LES* 62, 5): "you are the Chief" and "you are its judge". Identifying him thus is presumably to compel him to act in the manner expected of these roles. He is also a Carrier in a relational attributive circumstantial clause when Wenamun travels to the place "where the Chief was" (W025, *LES* 62, 4). Lastly, Wenamun identifies him as a Value:Possessor in a relational identifying possessive clause: *mnt.k sw* "it is yours" (W034, *LES* 62, 9).

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[55] This reading is partially reconstructed, so the meaning is not certain.

For the brief time in which he appears in the story, we can see that Beder is quite well-rounded in terms of his activities. He shows himself to be powerful through his actions and speech, though Wenamun attempts to compel him to act not only through demands but also by reminding him of his social roles.

5.3.1.3   *Tjekerbaal*

Tjekerbaal, the Chief of Byblos, emerges as the principal Participant in only eleven fewer clauses than Wenamun (106), despite the fact that he enters the narrative at clause W098. However, he appears significantly less frequently as an Actor in a material clause than Wenamun, appearing thus only 42 times (39.6 %). Like Wenamun, a majority of these cases (23 out of 42, or 54.8 %) occur in projected clauses. The Page uses two projected clauses and the *Tjeker* use one. Wenamun seems to be telling Tjekerbaal to act in 8 clauses whereas Tjekerbaal describes his own actions in 11 clauses. However, this figure is misleading, because four of these (W302, W387, W388 and W389, *LES* 70, 5 and 72, 15–16) are actually the voice of Wenamun, placing in Tjekerbaal's mouth what he thinks he should say. Thus, Wenamun talks about Tjekerbaal's actions in 12 clauses, and Tjekerbaal talks about his own in seven (or eight if we count the pseudo-command he attributes to the Egyptian ruler in W233, *LES* 68, 5). Therefore, both Wenamun and Tjekerbaal spend more time telling each other what to do than they spend describing their own actions.

The lexical clusters pertaining to Tjekerbaal's activities, like Wenamun's, point out his role. While Wenamun's activities are linked to his role as an emissary, Tjekerbaal's are tied to his role as a ruler. By far the most dominant lexical cluster concerns obtaining and conveying goods and services. Far more frequently than Wenamun, Tjekerbaal is depicted as *ḥꜣb* 'sending', mostly in the narration and almost always concerning sending orders to Wenamun (W098, W110, W152, W157, W337, W445, *LES* 64, 10; 65, 1; 65, 15; 66, 1; 71, 10 and 74, 7). As noted also by the *Tjeker* (W459, *LES* 74, 12), he *wḏ* 'dispatches' Wenamun (W466, *LES* 74, 15). The verb *jn* 'bringing' appears twice in the Page's command to him (W117, W118, *LES* 65, 4) and once in the narration (W439, *LES* 74, 4), as does *dj* 'placing' (W320 and W329, *LES* 70, 13 and 71, 7). However, *šsp* 'receiving' appears in Wenamun's suggestion about what Tjekerbaal should do (W396, *LES* 73, 4), as does *ꜥpr* 'supplying' (W389, *LES* 72, 16). Connected to these ideas is *ꜣtp* 'loading', which Tjekerbaal does twice in the narration (W321, W465, *LES* 70, 14 and 74, 15) and once in Wenamun's hypothetical 'stela inscription' (W388, *LES* 72, 16).

Interestingly, Tjekerbaal is portrayed as *jr* 'doing' far more than Wenamun. On three occasions, Wenamun tells Tjekerbaal what he should do (W211, W291, W302 *LES* 67, 12; 69, 13 and 70, 5, the latter being hypothetical). We can also add to this Wenamun's use of the cognate verb *ꜥrꜥ* 'carrying out' (W303, *LES* 70, 5). Tjekerbaal himself uses *jr* four times (W217, W218, W352 and W366, *LES* 67, 14; 71, 15 and 72, 5), to which we could add the command that Tjekerbaal surmises that the (non-existent) Rulers of Egypt would give him (W233, *LES* 68, 5).

The last material verb form of any significance is *ꜥḥꜥ* 'standing', which Wenamun describes Tjekerbaal as doing, both in a non-literal sense in discourse—he 'stands (ready) to do trade' (W290, *LES* 69, 13) as well as in the narration (W336 and W454, *LES* 71, 9 and 74, 10). These occasions, particularly the latter two, illustrate the Chief's power over particular groups, his Workmen and the *Tjeker*.

In line with his role as a Chief, Tjekerbaal frequently appears as an Initiator in causative clauses: thirteen compared to Wenamun's three. Most are causative material clauses, of which Wenamun's discourse occupies five, namely, when he is telling Tjekerbaal what to do (W107, W284, W310, W384 and W390, *LES* 64, 14; 69, 11; 70, 9; 72, 12 and 73, 1). Wenamun also commands Tjekerbaal in a causative mental clause which expresses constraint: *m-jr dj ptr⸗j sw* "Don't make me see it!" (W375, *LES* 72, 8). Tjekerbaal's commands are narrated in five causative material clauses (W225, W322, W330, W438 and W440, *LES* 68, 1; 70, 16; 71, 7 and 74, 4–5) and two causative verbal clauses, when he has things read aloud (W226, *LES* 68, 2) or people summoned (W453, *LES* 74, 9).

Tjekerbaal is a Behaver in seven behavioural clauses (6.6 %), which is fairly comparable on average to Wenamun.[56] While Wenamun's activities are related to either psychological behaviour that is attributive in character (with 'adjective verbs': *being* serious, humorous or quiet) or related to inactive physiological behaviour (like watching, dying or sleeping), Tjekerbaal's behaviour is active and vibrant. In Wenamun's narration, Tjekerbaal twice becomes angry (W180 and W346, *LES* 66, 11 and 71, 13), but is joyful when an outcome benefiting him occurs (W383, *LES* 72, 11).[57] In Wenamun's addresses to him, he postulates that Tjekerbaal will live

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[56] For Wenamun, this figure accounts for 7 out of 118 cases as principal Participant (5.9%), and for Tjekerbaal 7 out of 106 cases.

[57] Perhaps, as Baines 1999a: 220–221, 224 suggests, this behavioural pattern points to a character satisfied only by material goods, though this reading would require a repeated pattern rather than a single occurrence.

(W304, *LES* 70, 6) and be healthy (W306, *LES* 70, 6) if he carries out the commission. He also asks him why he cannot be happy (W383, *LES* 72, 11) and make himself a stela. The only behaviour that the two share is crying: Wenamun cries (W417–W418, *LES* 73, 13) and criticises Tjekerbaal, which in turn makes the Chief cry (W435, *LES* 74, 2). We can conclude from this that although Wenamun may seem reticent at first to divulge his own emotions to the audience, he eventually does so at the end, when he is beyond despair.[58] On the other hand, he gleefully reports all the highs and lows of his most volatile antagonist. However, we should not conflate Tjekerbaal's volatility with *complexity*: it is more probable that the mode of stylisation changes with his changing humours.[59] Regardless, the fact that Tjekerbaal weeps does shape our understanding of him. After all, as Bakhtin (perhaps wryly) notes, "A basic method for transferring a character from the comic to a higher plane is to represent him in misfortune and suffering".[60] His weeping could also undermine the seriousness of Wenamun's despair and be ironic in tone,[61] demonstrating the lengths to which Tjekerbaal will go to antagonise Wenamun. Throughout the story, Tjekerbaal has pushed Wenamun away, called him back and refused him goods. When Wenamun is under threat, he seems to sympathise (and cries). He then seems to manifest correct behaviour in not letting an envoy be attacked in Byblos,[62] but simultaneously encourages others to attack the envoy outside his jurisdiction. It seems to be a matter of 'one step forward, two steps back', which varies the pace of the action and keeps us interested in the characters and their fates.

Tjekerbaal occurs infrequently as a Senser in mental clauses. As was the case with the mental clauses pertaining to Wenamun, where Tjekerbaal controlled a majority, Wenamun controls Tjekerbaal's, saying: "you not knowing X" (W286, *LES* 69, 12) and "do not desire X" (W308, *LES* 70, 7). This is logical: while Wenamun as narrator might be privy to the unconscious psychological behaviour of his interlocutor, as a protagonist he

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[58] This fraught episode calls to mind the comment made by Barthes 1973 [1957]: 16 about the representation of crying in such theatrical contexts as wrestling: "In wrestling, as on the stage in antiquity, one is not ashamed of one's suffering, one knows how to cry, one has a liking for tears".

[59] Hochman 1985: 125. For instance, Baines 1999a: 220 says that "the detail displays a more sympathetic facet of his 'character', again contributing through diversion to the rounded presentation of the protagonists".

[60] Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 421.

[61] Baines 1999a: 220.

[62] Scheepers 1991: 36.

cannot understand his adversary's *conscious* mental processes and therefore seeks to control them.

Tjekerbaal is a Sayer in verbal clauses significantly more often than Wenamun, 32 out of 106 clauses (30.2 %, compared to Wenamun's 18.6 %). In part, this is because Tjekerbaal has more discursive turns than Wenamun in the interval of the text in which Tjekerbaal and Wenamun are together (W099–W451). Tjekerbaal has 21 counts of projecting clauses (like 'he said to me') compared to Wenamun's 14. In discourse with each other, Tjekerbaal still outnumbers Wenamun, with eighteen turns compared to eleven. In terms of the number of clauses within these turns, it is still Tjekerbaal who holds verbal sway: he addresses a total of 107 clauses to Wenamun, compared to Wenamun's 97 in response. Therefore, though Wenamun gives the longest speech in the narrative (48 clauses in total), Tjekerbaal still manages to out-talk him.[63]

Tjekerbaal and Wenamun's attempts to monopolise the conversation, and in so doing exert power over each other, are best understood from within the framework of *turn-taking* established by Conversation Analysis (CA), a method of analysis used in pragmatics. The characters monopolise the conversation by constructing a turn "so as to postpone the occurrence of a TRP (*transition relevance place*)[64] for a very long time, especially until basic points are made".[65] This technique is known colloquially as 'floor hogging'.[66] On only one occasion does Tjekerbaal conclude a turn with which Wenamun does not engage. The famous 'silence' that ensues is therefore foregrounded,[67] perhaps conveying the response "answer unknown".[68] Tjekerbaal then begins a new turn, incorporating Wenamun's lapse into his own new turn,[69] demonstrating his clear control over his interlocutor at this point. The *allocation* of turns is thus a significant issue for this study.[70]

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[63] Culpeper 2001: 177 conducts a similar study of the dialogue in Shakespeare's *King Richard III*.

[64] Levinson 1983: 297.

[65] O'Barr 1984: 270.

[66] Herman 1991: 102.

[67] Culpeper 2001: 129–133, 174.

[68] Levinson 1983: 327, also Herman 1991: 102, who claims that "The use of such a non-speech option makes the silence of a lapsed turn an 'attributable silence'". In other words, the silence is the lapser's turn.

[69] Herman 1991: 102.

[70] Culpeper 2001: 177.

Character	**Speech Turns (projecting clauses: "he said")**	**Total Featuring both W and T**	**Total to Opponent (W to T or T to W)**
Wenamun	W102, *W129 {to self}, W137 {to Overseer}*, W164, W170, W178, W192, W207, W212 [summary], W270, W319 [summary], W374, W402, *W422 {to Scribe}*	14	11
Tjekerbaal	W099, W111, W136, *W155 {to Captain}*, W166, W172, W181, W191 [summary], W196, W204 > W205, W213, W228, W338, *W347 {to Penamun}*, W350> W351, *W370 {to Penamun}*, W398, W442, W446	21	18

Key: *italics*—discourse with a different interlocutor {in parentheses}, [summary]—summary of preceding dialogue (e.g. 'so he said to me'), >—double' verbal clause (e.g. 'he responded, saying to me').

Figure 5.4. Speech turns: Wenamun and Tjekerbaal.

Character	**Spoken Clauses (projected clauses)**	**Total Featuring both W and T**	**Total to Opponent (W to T or T to W)**
Wenamun	W102 (5?), *W129 (3), W137 (12)*, W164 (1), W170 (1), W178 (1), W192 (3), W207 (4), W270 (48), W374 (23), W402 (6), *W422 (10)*	117	92
Tjekerbaal	W099 (1), W111 (1), W136 (1), *W155 (1)*, W166 (3), W172 (5), W181 (9), W196 (6), W205 (1), W213 (11), W228 (41), W338 (1), *W347 (1)*, W351 (18), *W370 (3)*, W398 (2), W442 (2), W446 (5)	112	107

Key: (number in parentheses)—number of spoken clauses that follow the projecting clause, *italics*—discourse with a different interlocutor.

Figure 5.5. Projected clauses: Wenamun and Tjekerbaal.

Of Tjekerbaal's appearances as a Sayer in verbal clauses that do not mark speech turns, the collection of forms is significantly larger and more varied than Wenamun's. In the narration, some 'double' verbal forms are used, such as "he responded (*wšb*), saying to me" (W204–205, W350–351, *LES* 67, 9 and 71, 14). Tjekerbaal also talks about his own potential for speech: "I will call out (ʿš)" (W239, *LES* 68, 8) and "I will say" (W451, *LES* 74, 8), which expresses his control over his speech. This does not prevent Wenamun from attempting on several occasions to tell him what to say. On two occasions (W277, W403, *LES* 69, 8 and 73, 6), Wenamun uses relative clauses "that you have said" in order to reflect (and cast his opinion) on Tjekerbaal's speeches. He then uses a series of hypothetical verbal clauses in order to suggest to the Chief what he ought to say instead (W301, W380 and W385, *LES* 70, 5; 72, 10 and 72, 12); on one occasion, he even cites exactly what he thinks Tjekerbaal ought to say (W391, *LES* 73, 1). That Tjekerbaal refuses to be coerced into such speeches is also indicative of the power dynamic visible in the interpersonal analysis below.

The four cases in which Tjekerbaal is a Token in a relational identifying clause provide fascinating insight into the core of his argument with Wenamun. When Wenamun insinuates that earlier chiefs of Byblos happily gave up wood *gratis* for the barque of Amun,[71] Tjekerbaal, who chooses not to note the theological tenor of this argument, presents this claim as a demand for tribute, and places himself in a hypothetical situation: "were I a servant of his" (W230, *LES* 68, 4). He then identifies himself further with servitude in a series of scathing rhetorical questions: "Am I your servant? Am I the servant of the one who dispatched you?" (W236–238, *LES* 68, 7–8). Wenamun's later response to this question, in the midst of his theological discourse, is that "you are a servant of Amun" (W300, *LES* 70, 4). Identification of the Chief is therefore consistently tied to servitude, the subject of discussion then centring upon his master. In contrast to Wenamun, Tjekerbaal is never described in terms of his attributes, but instead in terms of his identity.

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[71] Baines 2009: 28–34 demonstrates that these claims of Wenamun's were based on well-documented precedent. From the 6th Dynasty biographical inscription of Weni to the 18th Dynasty stela inscription of Amenhotep III (Cairo CG 34025, the verso of which is Merenptah's Israel Stela), reference is made to foreign cheiftains dragging felled timber on behalf of the Egyptian pharaoh. That biographical inscriptions incorporate this motif shows that it transcends the *topos* and refers also to actual instances of gift-giving and tribute.

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples	Total 106
material (m)	Actor	W098, W109, W110, W113, **W117**, **W118**, W152, W157, W162, **W211**, **W217**, **W218**, **W233**, **(W250)**, **(W252)**, **W290**, **W291**, **W302**, **W303**, **W305**, **W307**, W320, W321, W328, W329, W335, W336, W337, **W352**, **W366**, **W387**, **W388**, **W389**, **W396**, W439, W445, W454, **(W459)**, *W461*, W465, W466, **W502**	42
causative (c)	Initiator	**W107** (m), W225 (m), W226 (v), **W284** (m), **W310** (m), W322 (m), W330 (m), **W375** (me), **W384** (m), **W390** (m), W438 (m), W440 (m), W453 (v)	13
behavioural (b)	Behaver	W180, **W304**, **W306**, W327, W346, *W383*, *W435*	7
mental (me)	Senser	*W286*, *W308*	2
verbal (v)	Sayer	W099, W111, **W136**, W153, **W155**, W166, W172, W181, W191, W196, W204, W205, W213, W228, **W239**, **(W277)**, **W301**, W338, W347, W350, W351, W370, **W380**, **W385**, **W391**, W398, **(W403)**, W442, W446, **W451**, W455, W460	32
existential (e)	Existent		0
relational identifying (ri)	Token	**W230**, **W236**, **W237**, **W300**	4
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier		0
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier	**(W264)**, **(W267)**	2
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor	**W278**, W343, **W379**	3
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute:Possessor *not principal*	**W037**	(1 *not counted*)
unknown (u)		W082	1

Figure 5.6. Ideational analysis: Tjekerbaal.

Verb Type		Verb	Examples
Being good		*nfr*	W307
Being in a posture:	standing	*ꜥḥꜥ*	W290, W336, W454
Cutting/felling		*šꜥd*	W250, W387
Doing/acting/making		*jr*	W211, W217, W218, W233, W252, W291, W302, W352, W366
		ꜥrꜥr	W303, W328
Getting and conveying goods:	bringing	*jn*	W117, W118, W439
	loading	*ꜣtp*	W321, W388, W465
	placing	*dj*	W320, W329
	receiving	*šsp*	W396
	sending	*hꜣb*	W098, W110, W152, W157, W337, W445
	dispatching	*wḏ*	W459, W466
	supplying	*ꜥpr*	W389
Imprisoning		*ḏdḥ*	W461 (with *rḫ*)
Killing		*ḫdb*	W502
Moving through space: going		*pr*	W335
Offering		*wdn*	W113
Prospering		*wḏꜣ*	W305
Spending (time)		*jr*	W109
Turning		*ḫꜣꜥ*	W162

Figure 5.7. Material clause types: Tjekerbaal.

Tjekerbaal is the Carrier in two relational attributive circumstantial clauses, which locate him in Byblos, tying Egyptian culture to "(the place) in which I am" (W264, W267, *LES* 69, 3 and 69, 4). Wenamun's discourse, on the other hand, makes Tjekerbaal the Possessor in three relational identifying possessive clauses: He quotes Tjekerbaal as saying *jnk sw* "it is mine" (W278, *LES* 69, 8) and informs him that "one of his (Khaemwaset's) Envoys does not belong to you" (W379, *LES* 72, 10). Wenamun describes Tjekerbaal's ownership of Penamun in the same way: *jw mnt.f sw* "who belonged to him" (W343, *LES* 71, 12).[72] Tjekerbaal is also an Attribute:Possessor in the relational attributive possessive clause *ns-st ṯ-k-r-bˁl* "it belongs to Tjekerbaal" (W037, *LES* 62, 10). Tjekerbaal is thus presented as a possessor of land and people, and perhaps foreign envoys, a role befitting his dominating ideational presence. We can thus begin to see a cause for his irritation, given the amount of times that a foreigner of inferior rank like Wenamun attempts to coerce him to act against his will.

5.3.1.4   *Hatiba*

Little description exists of the activities of Hatiba, the Chief of Alasiya, since the document is truncated soon after she enters the narrative. She is twice an Actor in a material clause, 'going forth' (W473, *LES* 75, 3) and 'entering' (W474, *LES* 75, 3). A third instance perhaps occurs when 'one' *sˁḥˁ* 'penalises' the Alasiyans. She is also twice a Sayer in a verbal clause, when she reacts to the speeches of Wenamun (W490, W505, *LES* 75, 16). Befitting her status as Chief, she is an Initiator in two causative clauses, in the words of Wenamun, when he asks her whether she would dare *dj šsp⸗w n ḥȝ.t⸗j* "let them seize me" (W496, *LES* 75, 11), and, in reaction to this plea, when she causes the local people to be summoned and penalised (W503, *LES* 75, 16). She is also located in her palace as a Carrier in relational attributive circumstantial clauses (W471, *LES* 75, 2) and, in Wenamun's discourse, on her island (W495, *LES* 75, 11). The categories used to describe her are therefore identical to those describing Smendes and Tantamun, as we see below. Though briefly described, her patterns of activity and description are quite various.

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72 This is literally translated as 'his (Tjekerbaal's) being he (Penamun)'.

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples	Total 9
material (m)	Actor	W473, W474, W504	3
causative (c)	Initiator	**W496** (m), W503 (v)	2
behavioural (b)	Behaver		0
mental (me)	Senser		0
verbal (v)	Sayer	W490, W505	2
existential (e)	Existent		0
relational identifying (ri)	Token		0
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier		0
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier	W471, **W495**	2
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor		0
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute:Possessor *not principal*		0
unknown (u)			0

Figure 5.8. Ideational analysis: Hatiba.

5.3.1.5   *Smendes and Tantamun*

As a lone Actor in two material clauses, the Egyptian ruler Smendes is described in the words of Tjekerbaal as 'giving' (W184, *LES* 66, 13) and 'entrusting' things to Wenamun (W186, *LES* 66, 14). According to Tjekerbaal, he is also an Initiator who could have had Wenamun killed (W187, *LES* 66, 15) by being so cavalier as to send him abroad with a foreign crew. Wenamun presents him as the Attribute:Possessor of the stolen money in a relational attributive possessive clause (W032, *LES* 62, 8). Tantamun's instance as a lone principal Participant is also as an Initiator, who causes provisions to be brought to Wenamun (W326, *LES* 71, 15). Far more frequently, however, these two rulers act together. They are twice Actors in a material clause; 'doing' in their own words (W010, *LES* 61, 6) and 'dispatching' in the narration (W014, *LES* 61, 8). As Initiators

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples: Smendes	Examples: Tantamun	Examples: Smendes & Tantamun	Total 12
material (m)	Actor	**(W184)**, **W186**		**W010**, W014	2 + 2 = 4
causative (c)	Initiator	**W187** (m)	W326 (m)	W008 (v), **W313** (m), **W316** (m), W325 (m)	1 + 1 + 4 = 6
behavioural (b)	Behaver				0
mental (me)	Senser				0
verbal (v)	Sayer			W009	1
existential (e)	Existent				0
relational identifying (ri)	Token				0
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier				0
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier			(W006)	1
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor				0
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute:Possessor *not principal*	**W032**			(1 *not counted*)
unknown (u)					0

Figure 5.9.   Ideational analysis: Smendes and Tantamun.

in three causative material clauses, they cause provisions to be brought three times: in the words of Wenamun (W313, W316, *LES* 70, 11–12), then by their own actions (W325, *LES* 71, 1). They are also Initiators in a causative verbal clause, causing the dispatches of Amun to be read out (W008, *LES* 61, 6); then they respond to the dispatch as Sayers in a verbal clause (W009, *LES* 61, 6). Lastly, they are Carriers in a relational attributive circumstantial clause when they are located "where they are" (W006, *LES* 61, 4). Thus, Smendes and Tantamun are rulers who 'do' and 'cause' more than anything else, though they are also responsive to requests.

It is interesting that, in Tjekerbaal's words, only Smendes is the Participant (W184, W198, *LES* 66, 13 and 67, 5),[73] but in the narration, the two rulers act together (W006, W014, W325, *LES* 61, 4; 61, 8 and 71, 1). Thus either Tjekerbaal is portrayed as believing Semendes to be the sole ruler, or Smendes is portrayed as the only Egyptian ruler with whom he had anything to do. Since Wenamun mentions the two rulers together but also refers to Smendes separately, each instance must be analysed in context to understand the potentially different power dynamics. Tantamun is linked with Smendes when they are located in Tanis, and when they act as administrators, dispatching Wenamun and his goods and receiving Amun's dispatch and the messenger from Byblos (W179, W311, *LES* 66, 11 and 70, 9).[74] These activities fit well with their title *snn.tïw-tꜣ* 'organisers of the land', mentioned in W311, which is discussed in the lexical analysis in section 5.5.5. Where Smendes is mentioned alone, he is presented as a ruler: an owner of the vessel and of the goods stolen from Wenamun and as a force on the international trading scene (W032, W194, W198, *LES* 62, 8; 67, 3 and 67, 5).[75] The Transitivity analysis thus clarifies the roles of the two rulers that are subsumed under their shared title.

5.3.1.6 *Herihor*

Herihor qualifies as a 'ghost' character, given that he is constructed entirely in the discourse of other characters, though within these parameters, his presence is significant and bears consideration. He is presented as an Actor in a material clause in the words of both Tjekerbaal and Wenamun, *wḏ* 'dispatching' Wenamun (W238, W282, *LES* 68, 8 and 69, 10), and then as an Initiator in a causative clause, 'causing that he go' (W283, *LES* 69, 10). Wenamun also paints Herihor as a Senser in a mental clause, who will 'see' Tjekerbaal's commission (W405, *LES* 73, 7) when Wenamun returns to the place where Herihor is (W404, *LES* 73, 7). The latter clause presents him as a Carrier in a relational attributive circumstantial clause. Lastly, as party to the stolen goods (like the Chiefs Weret and Mekemer in W035 and W036, *LES* 62, 9–10),[76] he is an Attribute:Possessor in a relational attributive possessive clause (W033, *LES* 62, 8).

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[73] In W198, Smendes is a Circumstance and therefore does not appear in figure 5.9.

[74] In W179 and W311, Smendes and Tantamun are Beneficiaries.

[75] In W194, Smendes is a Circumstance and in W198 he is an Adjunct.

[76] Scheepers 1991: 42–45 assumes that they are chiefs of towns on the Phoenician-Palestinian coast, perhaps Tyre and Sidon, whose 'ownership' of the goods might be tied to the fact that Wenamun intended to give them some of his cargo in exchange for their

5.3.1.7 *Amun and Amun-of-the-Road*

Despite occurring in significantly fewer clauses as a principal Participant than the main characters (a total of 30), Amun and his physical manifestation Amun-of-the-Road cover as broad a range of process types as Wenamun himself. Since it is often difficult to tell whether the god or his manifestation is being referred to, they are differentiated only in clear cases. Amun appears in several clauses as Actor in a material clause, though his activity is restricted in range and always mentioned in discourse: the Page says that he *wḏ* 'dispatches' (W121, *LES* 65, 5) and Wenamun (posing as Tjekerbaal) describes Amun as *hȝb* 'sending' Wenamun and his manifestation Amun-of-the-Road (W386, *LES* 72, 2). Wenamun also mentions Amun as *sfty* 'favouring, being merciful' (W165, *LES* 66, 6), and *dj* 'placing' or 'appointing' Smendes and Tantamun (W312, *LES* 70, 10). Tjekerbaal describes him as 'placing' Seth near him in order to *ḫrw* 'thunder' (W256–W257, *LES* 68, 15–16), and as *grg* 'founding' lands (W258, W259, W260, *LES* 68, 16–69, 1). In other words, Amun comes to be represented an agent who acts in favour of both sides of the ideological discussion. The material clauses that perhaps describe the actions of Amun-of-the-Road show him *ṯȝy* 'taking' the Page to throw him into an ecstasy (W114, *LES* 65, 2), though this could refer to Amun himself, and *ḥtp* 'resting' in his tent (W159, *LES* 66, 2).

Amun appears significantly less frequently as an Initiator. In a causative material clause, he causes Wenamun to come (W123, *LES* 65, 5); in a causative behavioural clause, Amun-of-the-Road causes the Page to be ecstatic (W115, *LES* 65, 3). We can thus reject the argument by Moers about Wenamun that "(t)he divine idol does not protect him in any way; on the contrary, he is the one who has to hide it".[77] Instead what we see in the text is that Amun's 'actions' alone secure Wenamun's meeting with Tjekerbaal. This could indeed be an ironic comment on Wenamun's abilities.[78]

Surprisingly, Amun is portrayed once as a Senser in a mental clause, 'desiring' his possessions (W309, *LES* 70, 8), and is therefore ascribed psychological qualities. We can note that Amun is never represented as a Behaver in a behavioural clause, since his physiological and psychological

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hospitality *en route* to Byblos. Blumenthal 1982: 49–50 and Schneider 1992: 84 and 132–133 argue that they might have been chiefs of the Sea Peoples.

[77] Moers 1999: 55.

[78] Eyre 1999: 245.

behaviour is not manifested to humans. On the other hand, his volition through speaking certainly is: he is a Sayer in three verbal clauses, 'commanding' the Lebanese mission in the dialogue of Smendes and Tantamun (W011, *LES* 61, 7) and Wenamun (W280, W281, *LES* 69, 9–10). We might suggest that oracles are being referred to in these instances,[79] which is indicative of the extent to which the mission has been ordained not by Herihor, but by Amun himself.[80]

In their addresses to Tjekerbaal, both the Page and Wenamun make Amun a Token in a relational identifying clause. The Page, describing who has sent Wenamun, says that "it is Amun" and "it is he" (W120, W122, *LES* 65, 5). Wenamun, in his emphatic discussion on the omnipotence of Amun, says that "he is the lord of life and health and he was the lord of your fathers" (W296–W297, *LES* 70, 1–2), which contributes to his 'ideological assault' on Tjekerbaal.

Amun is also located in space several times. Tjekerbaal and Wenamun refer to Egypt (and particularly Thebes) as "the place where Amun is", which makes the god a Carrier in a relational attributive circumstantial clause (W169, W485, *LES* 66, 7 and 75, 7). Predominantly, however, the stipulated location pertains more tangibly to Amun-of-the-Road. When summoned to Tjekerbaal, despite the Page's demand to "bring the god up" (W117, *LES* 65, 4), Wenamun leaves the god "where he was" (W160, *LES* 66, 3) in his tent by the seashore. In Wenamun's enraged expostulations to Tjekerbaal, he accuses him of leaving the god "moored in your harbour" (a relational attributive clause, W285, *LES* 69, 12), despite the fact that Tjekerbaal does not know "Is he there? (Or) is he not <in> the place where he was?" (W287–W289, *LES* 69, 12–13). An existential relative clause therefore appears as part of the relational attributive circumstantial clause.

Lastly, like Tjekerbaal, Wenamun identifies Amun as a Possessor in relational identifying possessive clauses with the form *mnt.f pꜣ ym* "the sea is his" and *mnt.f pꜣ l-b-r-n* "the Lebanon is his" (W275–W276, *LES* 69, 7). In relational attributive possessive clauses (in which Amun is not the principal Participant), he says *ns-sw jmn-rꜥ*, "it (the stolen money) belongs to Amun-Re" (W031, *LES* 62, 6). Moreover, there is not a boat that "does not belong to Amun" (W274, *LES* 69, 7). Amun thus appears in a far greater range of clauses than his physical manifestation, whose clauses allocate to

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79 Scheepers 1991: 21, Eyre 1999: 246.
80 de Spens 1998: 109.

Process Type	Participant Role	Examples: Amun	Examples: Amun of the Road	Total 30
material (m)	Actor	**W121**, **W165**, *W256*, **W257**, *W258*, *W259*, **W260**, **(W312)**, **W386**	W114, W159	9 + 2 = 11
causative (c)	Initiator	**W123** (m)	W115 (b)	1 + 1 = 2
behavioural (b)	Behaver			0
mental (me)	Senser	*W309*		1
verbal (v)	Sayer	**(W011)**, **W280**, **W281**		3
existential (e)	Existent		**(W289)**	1
relational identifying (ri)	Token	**W120**, **W122**, **W296**, **W297**		4
relational attributive (ra)	Carrier		**W285**	1
relational attributive circumstantial (rac)	Carrier	**(W169)**, **(W485)**	**(W160)**, **W287**, **W288**	1 + 3 = 4
relational identifying possessive (rip)	Value:Possessor	**W275**, **W276**		2
relational attributive possessive (rap)	Attribute:Possessor *not principal*	**W031**, **W274**		(2 *not counted*)
unknown (u)		W096		1

Figure 5.10. Ideational analysis: Amun and Amun-of-the-Road.

Verb Type		Verb	Examples
Favouring		*sfty*	W165
Getting and conveying goods:	placing	*dj*	W257, W312
	sending	*h3b*	W386
	dispatching	*wd*	W121
	taking	*t3y*	W114
Founding		*grg*	W258, W259, W260
Thundering		*ḫrw*	W256

Figure 5.11. Material clause types: Amun.

him little activity but predominantly a location in space. Having under-
stood the ways in which the god is represented, we can test conclusions
that have been made about Amun. Firstly, the representation of Amun
does not seem to indicate how little power he has, in contrast with Wena-
mun's boasts.[81] After all, the story illustrates Amun's actions without irony
as *faits accomplis*, and thus does not seem to question Egyptian theologi-
cal ideology.[82] Amun is certainly depicted as powerful, though perhaps
not to the extent that his power is "die Grundaussage des Textes".[83] The
point rather seems to be to expose the stupidity and hubris of human
beings who attempt to use the god as a pawn in their arguments.[84]

5.3.1.8 *The Staff of Tjekerbaal*

For the purposes of comparison with Wenamun, who serves the Egyp-
tian rulers and Amun, we must briefly survey the roles of Tjekerbaal's
staff. The Overseer of Byblos Harbour conveys messages between the
aggrieved beach-bound Wenamun and Tjekerbaal. In both the narration
and in Wenamun's discourse, the Overseer is thus an Actor who 'comes'
(W133, W140, W147, *LES* 65, 10; 65, 12 and 65, 14), 'goes' (W150, *LES* 65,
14), 'spends time' (W139, *LES* 65, 11), and finally 'takes' Wenamun up to see
the Chief (W158, *LES* 66, 1). He is an Initiator when attempting to make
Wenamun 'depart' (W145, *LES* 65, 13) and a frequent Sayer (W134, W141,
W143, W148, W151, *LES* 65, 10; 65, 12–15). In return, Wenamun flexes his
ironic muscle on him, posing the question, when asked to stay, whether
he was 'the one' that had asked him to leave. In this case, the Overseer is
a Token in a relational identifying clause (W138, *LES* 65, 11).

Tjekerbaal's Scribes have a similar role to that of the Overseer. The
Scribe 'comes' and 'goes' (W323, W324, *LES* 70, 16–71, 1) and 'speaks'
(W315, *LES* 70, 12) in his role as emissary. The Scribe of Dispatch is the

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[81] Eyre 1999: 246–247 puts forward this argument; though he further clarifies by say-
ing that "(a) positive atheism was no more an option than a positive republicanism, but
a degree of doubt about the range or specific application of a claim to legitimacy is a
different issue".

[82] Bakhtin 1968 [1965]: 11. Even in a literary context this seems unlikely in a 'folk
culture' like Egypt.

[83] Schipper 2005: 265 takes the passage *jw⸗f jt3⸗j r-ḥr.w jw p3 nṯr ḥtp.w m p3 jmw* "he took
me up while the god was resting in the tent" (W158–W159) as significant, because "hier
[ist] Wenamun Objekt und der Gott Subjekt". Without a broader study of Participant roles
(such as is presented in this study) too much is being concluded from a single passage,
since Wenamun and Amun are frequently Actors and Subjects.

[84] As Baines 1999a: 230 says, "human beings cannot serve Amun as befits him".

intermediary between Wenamun (who is crying on the beach) and Tjek-erbaal, and likewise 'comes' and 'goes' (W419, W433, *LES* 73, 13 and 74, 2), and 'says' (W420, W434, W436, *LES* 73, 14 and 74, 2–3). However, Wena-mun instructs him to *ptr* 'see' the birds and the encroaching *Tjeker* (W423, W425, W430, *LES* 73, 15–74, 1).

The Page, on the other hand, is far less ideationally prominent, occur-ring as a Behaver in a behavioural clause when made 'ecstatic' (W124, *LES* 65, 5) by Amun, and then as a Sayer when, possessed, he asks Wenamun to be brought up (W116, *LES* 65, 4).
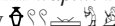
In the narration and in the commands of Tjekerbaal, Penamun, his *wbꜣ* 'Butler'[85] is an Actor, (W342, W348, W371, *LES* 71, 12; 71, 14 and 72, 7), Initiator (W372, *LES* 72, 7) and Sayer (W344, *LES* 71, 12). The Egyptian singer Tennut is described as 'being with' Tjekerbaal (a Carrier in a rela-tional attributive circumstantial clause, W441, *LES* 74, 6), though, like Penamun, she is an Actor and Initiator (W443, W444, *LES* 74, 6), who is subject to the Chief's commands.

In summary, the ideational analysis shows that Wenamun has a tenuous grip on his own story, even though he is narrator and focaliser. Tjekerbaal outtalks and outmanoeuvres him on a number of occasions. Even at this stage, the grammar has begun to reveal important themes of the story, such as the power of Amun and the political situation in Egypt, which have ramifications for the way in which the characters are portrayed. For instance, the actions of the rulers of Egypt are portrayed as being mainly custodial, whereas Amun has a speaking and acting role.

5.3.2   *Textual Analysis*

5.3.2.1   *Themes Across 'Episodes'*

The remaining manuscript of *Wenamun* lacks the Middle Egyptian narra-tive markers *ꜥḥꜥ.n* and *wn.jn* that shape the earlier stories in this corpus, and is instead composed of strings of Non-Initial Main Sentences that are punctuated by dialogue. Nonetheless, dates and other temporal formulae that precede these Non-Initial Main Sentences, which are occasionally

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85   *AEO* I 43*, Scheepers 1991: 52–54 and de Spens 1998: 115 favour the term *wbꜣ*, compared to Schipper 205: 83 and Lutz Popko of the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, who use the older term *wdp.w*. By the time of the Ramesside Period, however, it seemed that the orthography ⸲𓏏𓏤𓈖𓏛 was being used for *wbꜣ*, rather than *wdp.w*, for which compare *Wb*. I 292 with *Wb*. I 388.

rubricised,[86] provide some means of placing emphasis on particular events. We shall therefore note their use in the narration according to the character in focus at a given point.[87]

From overt temporal markers like dates, we see that only events in the earlier part of the text are rubricised (here: in bold). Wenamun describes his "day of departing" abroad in W001 (*LES* 61, 1) as being on ***ḥꜣ.t-sp 5 ꜣbd 4 šmw sw 16*** "Year 5, 4th month of summer, day 16". In W012–W013 (*LES* 61, 7–8) he notes, ***jw≥j jr šꜣꜥ ꜣbd 4 šmw jw≥j m-ẖnw ḏꜥn.t*** "I spent from the 4th month of summer, I being in Tanis". Then, in W015 (*LES* 61, 10) he states, *jw≥j hꜣy r pꜣ ym ꜥꜣ n ḫ-r {n}<m> ꜣbd 1 šmw sw 1* "I descended to the great sea of Syria **in the 1st month of summer, day 1.**" Despite the fact that the latter part of the sentence is rubricised, this date is taken as pertaining to the *last* event, Wenamun's descent to the sea in departure from Tanis.[88] This means that his arrival in Dor is not dated.[89] As any rate, what is significant for this argument is that Wenamun is the Theme of the clauses following all of the dates, so his movement through time and space is at the forefront of the early part of the narrative.

Another three events, which are not explicitly dated, are also rubricised. The first places Tjekerbaal as the Theme: ***ḫr jr sw wdn <n> [n]ꜣy≥f nṯr.w*** "Now, when he was offering <to> his gods" (W113, *LES* 65, 2). This form establishes a temporal relationship of *simultaneity* (through the use of *jr*) between Tjekerbaal's action and Amun's possession of one of his Pages,

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[86] Winand 2000: 425 astutely notes that the rubric helps us understand the articulation of a text, but only to the extent that it reflects "la comprehension que la scribe a de sa propre composition".

[87] The dialogue, which forms the focus of the interpersonal analysis to follow, is not of interest here.

[88] Egberts 1998: 105 thinks that that the date at the beginning of the text corresponds to his departure from Thebes (not from El-Hibeh, as he suggested in Egberts 1991: 59–60). Then, by reading *šꜣꜥ* as 'from' (instead of 'the beginning'), Egberts 1991: 59 (also Egberts 1998: 100) sees Wenamun as staying in Tanis for eight months (from the fourth month of *šmw* of Year 5 to the first month of *šmw* of Year 6), followed by a four month trip to Byblos and a month-long sojourn in its harbour (Egberts 1998: 105). Consequently, Wenamun took one year to reach Byblos, and Egberts 1998: 107 hypothesises that Wenamun spent a year in Byblos and another getting to Cyprus and home again. Those who follow this reconstruction include Moers 1990–7b: 914, Wente 2003: 117, Schipper 2005: 45 and Galán 2005: 148.

[89] Another possibility is that the first date (the 16th day of the 4th month of *šmw*) projects forwards to Wenamun's departure abroad from Tanis and that the second (until the 4th month of *šmw*) backtracks to cover his arrival in Tanis early in that month. This would mean Wenamun was in Tanis 16 days rather than 8 months. The problem with this theory is that to be plausible, the third date (the 1st month of *šmw*) must be seen as incorrect. Although not outside the realms of possibility (see Winand 2011: 545), it is certainly safer to regard Egbert's reconstruction as the most plausible option.

and is most probably rubricised because it signals a change in Wenamun's fortune.[90] Then, following *jw dw3.w ḫpr.w* "the morning having come into being", *consecutive* action is portrayed: Tjekerbaal sends for Wenamun (W156–W157, *LES* 66, 1). Both therefore mark temporal progression in the story, and both mark changes in Wenamun's fate that, importantly, rely on the agency of Tjekerbaal. The last rubric in the text is a common Non-Initial Main Sentence: *jw=j ḏd n=f* "and I said to him" (W192, *LES* 67, 2). However, in the context of the story, this particular instance marks an early (and to an extent fruitless) attempt by Wenamun to counter Tjekerbaal's insinuations about the circumstances surrounding his journey.

It seems that the scribe then stopped using rubrics altogether, because later indications of episodic change, even dates, lack them. The Envoy *jy n=j r ḫ-r {n}<m> 3bd 1 pr.t* "returned to me in Syria in the 1st month of winter" with provisions (W323, *LES* 70, 16). Consequently, in the third month of summer, Tjekerbaal's workmen drag the logs to the seashore (W334, *LES* 71. 8). Following Tjekerbaal's summons, Wenamun recounts that *ḫr jr tw=j ms{b} k3-n=f* "Now, when I approached near to him" (W340, *LES* 71, 10.), the shadow of the Chief's fan fell upon him, which is another case of *simultaneous* action. Again, simultaneous action emphasises Wenamun's reappearance on the scene,[91] and as earlier (W156), Tjekerbaal then summons his assembly at the moment of "the morning having come into being" (W452, *LES* 74, 9), directly followed by *jw=f wḏ={w} j jm r t3 mr(.yt) n p3 ym jw p3 ṯ3w ḥw=tw r p3 t3 n j-r-s* "he sent me off there to the harbour of the sea and the wind wafted me (Wenamun) to the land of Alasiya" (W466–W467, *LES* 74, 15–16). This dramatic change of location is, perhaps surprisingly, grammatically unmarked, forming part of another chain of NIMS. In sum, however, Wenamun is more visible than Tjekerbaal following overt sequential markers, such as dates and other temporal formulae. This is not a significant indication of character dominance if we consider the late stage at which Tjekerbaal enters the text. On the other hand, Wenamun's Hero status is apparent in the thematisation of his main actions at key points in the text.[92] When Tjekerbaal is thematised, it is predominantly to allow Wenamun's mission to be accomplished

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[90] Jay 2011: 290 says that the particle *jr* "allows the shift in word order that creates the major break" in the narrative structure, and helps create what Frandsen 1974: 233 calls a 'temporal clause'.

[91] Jay 2011: 294.

[92] We see this even more strongly in *The Doomed Prince*, for which see chapter 3.

(intentionally or otherwise), with the effect that Wenamun's actions form the focus of episodic change throughout the narrative.

5.3.2.2   *Topicalisation*

The use of the topicalising marker *jr* in *Wenamun* is also very different to the other stories in the corpus. Unlike in *The Doomed Prince*, where the formula reintroduces characters or changes the direction of the narrative,[93] it appears here not in narration, but in discourse; it is used as a rhetorical device, for the purpose of foregrounding a particular part of the clause.[94] Wenamun himself uses six of the nine cases. The first, "as for the money" (W031, *LES* 62, 6), sets in train a list of its owners, thereby attempting to motivate his interlocutor Beder to seek it. Beder undermines the force and implication of the statement by retorting in the same fashion: "as for the thief who robbed you, he is yours" (W049, *LES* 62, 16). Tjekerbaal, in his diatribe about the foreign traders sailing in Egyptian ships, exclaims "as for that Sidon" (W199, *LES* 67, 6) to exemplify his point. Following Wenamun's request for goods to be supplied without payment, Tjekerbaal asks "As for me, again, *me*, am I your servant?" (W236, *LES* 68, 7) The foregrounding *jr*, plus the emphatic *gr jnk* doubly mark his feeling of entitlement to payment. The remainder of marked Themes come through in Wenamun's discourse with Tjekerbaal, in relation to Tjekerbaal's speeches (W292, W402, *LES* 69, 14 and 73, 6), Amun-Re's might (W296, *LES* 70, 1), and Khaemwaset and his Envoys' humanity (W376, W378, *LES* 72, 9–10). Wenamun only marks himself as Theme when, trying to save his skin, he exclaims *jnk jw=tw wḫȝ={w} j šȝꜥ hrw nb* "Me, one shall seek me until any day" (W499, *LES* 75, 12). Perhaps significantly, Wenamun does not use *jr* in relation to himself. After that, he assures Hatiba that "as for this crew of the Chief of Byblos" (W500, *LES* 75, 13) whom her townspeople were about to kill, they would be found and her people killed in retribution.

This rhetorical usage of *jr*, to mark the Theme, is very similar to the Cleft Sentence, though the latter is followed by a relative clause. It is used by the Page to refer to Amun (W120, W122, *LES* 65, 5) and by Tjekerbaal to hark back to his ancestors (W214, *LES* 67, 13). Wenamun also uses the Cleft Sentence towards Tjekerbaal: "it is your commission which draws

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[93] Junge 2005: 251.
[94] Winand 2000: 418, note 56, remarks that marked Themes (with Cleft Sentences) and Rhemes (with Emphatic Forms) are predominant in *discursive* passages, "dans une instance d'enonciation de type argumentatif".

Clause	Passage	Form	Character (Theme)
W001	*ḥꜣt-sp 5 ꜣbd 4 šmw sw 16 hrw n wḏ j-jr sms.w ḥꜣy.t wn-jmn*	Date + Label (Infinitive)	Wenamun
W005	*hrw n spr j-jr⸗j r ḏꜥn.t*	Label	Wenamun
W012	*jw⸗j jr šꜣꜥ ꜣbd 4 šmw*	Date + NIMS	Wenamun
W015	*jw⸗j ḥꜣy r pꜣ ym ꜥꜣ n ḫ-r {n}<m> ꜣbd 1 šmw sw 1*	NIMS + Date	Wenamun
W113	*ḥr jr sw wdn <n> [n]ꜣy⸗f nṯr.w*	Temporal *ḥr* + *jr* + Present I	Tjekerbaal
W156	*jw dwꜣ.w ḫpr.w jw⸗f hꜣb*	Circumstantial Present I + NIMS	Tjekerbaal
W192	*jw⸗j ḏd n⸗f*	NIMS (following summation, *j.n⸗f n⸗j*)	Wenamun
W334	*jr ꜣbd 3 šmw jw⸗w jtḥ⸗w*	Date (topicalising NP) + NIMS	Workmen
W340	*ḥr jr tw⸗j ms{b} kꜣ-n⸗f*	Temporal *ḥr* + *jr* + Present I	Wenamun
W452	*jw dwꜣ.w ḫpr.w jw⸗f dj ꜥš.t*	Circumstantial Present I + NIMS	Tjekerbaal

Key: **bold**—rubrics.

Figure 5.12. Textual analysis: Episodes in *Wenamun*.

Clause	Passage	Form	Character (Theme)
W109	*[jw j-jr]⸗f nw*	Emphatic Form	Overseer Following Theme: Wenamun
W113	*ḥr jr sw wdn <n> [n]ꜣy⸗f nṯr.w*	Temporal *ḥr* + *jr* + Present I	Tjekerbaal
W124	*jw j-jr pꜣ ḫꜣwt ḫꜣwt m pꜣï grḥ*	Emphatic Form	Page Following Theme: Wenamun
W128	*jw j-jr⸗j nw r pꜣ kkw*	Emphatic Form	Wenamun
W163	*jw j-jr n<ꜣ> hꜣn.w n pꜣ ym ꜥꜣ n ḫ-r ḥw r mkḥꜣ⸗f*	Emphatic Form	Waves Following Theme: Tjekerbaal
W340	*ḥr jr tw⸗j ms{b} kꜣ-n⸗f*	Temporal *ḥr* + *jr* + Present I	Wenamun

Figure 5.13. Textual analysis: Simultaneity in *Wenamun*.

profit in to you" (W406–W407, *LES* 73, 8). Wenamun never uses it to draw attention to himself.

Wenamun and other characters therefore use *jr* and Cleft Sentences when it is mandatory that a very clear point be made. The marked Themes are linked to the key issues of the text: the legitimacy of Egyptian maritime power, the power relations between Egypt and the Levant, and the role of Amun in economic exchanges. Thematisation with *jr* may therefore give status to a topic to which Wenamun, in his role as envoy, did not feel entitled, which may explain its pattern of use.

5.4   *Character Interaction*

5.4.1   *Interpersonal Analysis*

This analysis focuses on the discourse between the eleven speaking characters, with the particular intention of elucidating and comparing their conversational structure and the establishment of power relations between the characters.[95] Contrasts are most prominent when they are engaged in discourse with each other, so the following discussion focuses on pairs of characters, with comparisons being drawn across these pairings where noteworthy. A detailed study of dialogue is particularly important for this analysis, given its prevalence in the narrative.[96] The focus is on the 'marked' (non-declarative) moods where opinion is being cast, orders given, or questions asked, as well as on modal declarative forms, such as the Prospective, Conjunctive, and Third Future. This allows us to access the intentions of the characters,[97] as well as their expectations. The use of vocatives to elicit the addressee's attention or participation at the beginning of a clause[98] is another means of understanding the changing status of interlocutors. This is made very clear in Wenamun's discursive patterns.

Following the analysis of the interpersonal relations at a clausal level, we shall more broadly trace the dynamics of conversation using Discourse Analysis, which analyses the flow of the dialogue, pragmatics,

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[95] Baines 1999a: 222 and 227.

[96] Chatman 1978: 175–176, for instance, argues that "stories that are uniquely dialoguic (sic.) or rely heavily on it require the reader to do more inferring than other kinds, or if not more, at least a special kind . . . It is as if we were supposed to supply, metatextually, the correct verb tag—'complained,' 'argued,' 'pleaded,'—to characterize the speech act".

[97] Baines 1999a: 218.

[98] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 134.

which appraises the intention of utterances, and sociolinguistics, which studies the meaning of utterances in their social context. The pragmatic perspective focuses primarily on the role of politeness and impoliteness in the power struggles between Wenamun and his interlocutors, and as such it provides an important marker of characterisation.[99] The issue of politeness is also tied to sociolinguistics, since speech acts are determined by social role as much as by 'personality' or intention.[100] We will then consider these 'real world' discursive concerns from a narratological perspective. For instance, the modal patterns emerging from this text seem to indicate that the rulers are not just prototypical Opponents, which we see in the historical narratives of the previous chapter. Nonetheless, they certainly perform that narrative role and thereby form a crucial part of the 'quest structure' of travel narratives.[101] In fact, the interpersonal analysis reveals that, from a pragmatic and socio-linguistic perspective, the Chiefs are reacting to the discursive dynamics. Their antagonism is invoked by Wenamun's high-flown rhetoric, which is contrary to what they expect and what they think their status entitles them to—their *schemata*, in other words.[102]

5.4.1.1   *Wenamun and Beder, Chief of Dor*

Having been robbed overnight in the harbour of Dor, Wenamun directs an Imperative towards Beder: "Seek (*wḫꜣ*) my money!" (W030, *LES* 62, 6) Wenamun's use of an Imperative here could be explained by his extreme agitation, but it could also be for juridical reasons. Paragraph 23 of the Code of Hammurabi determines that responsibility for a crime lies with the ruler of the city in which it took place,[103] though I suspect that Wenamun would have expected help even without knowledge of this by now ancient and also foreign legal doctrine.[104] Later, Wenamun demonstrates

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[99]   Culpeper 2001: 235 and 247–251.
[100]   Hudson 1996: 114.
[101]   Moers 1999: 51.
[102]   Culpeper 2001: 63–111 and 149–153. This issue is discussed extensively in Di Biase-Dyson 2009.
[103]   Green 1979: 116, 119, Roth 1995: 85.
[104]   The Code of Hammurabi is a Babylonian legal doctrine from the 18th Century BC, in other words, at least 700 years before the time in which this story is set. See Roth 1995: 71, also Redford 1992: 121. Although the Code was cited in Neo-Assyrian documents, in other words, some 400 years after *Wenamun* was set, for which see Borger 1979: 2–3, there is little evidence for a reception of the Laws outside Mesopotamia. One such rare case, however is a 14th Century BC document from Nuzi which describes the *ḫa-za-an-nu* as having very similar responsibilities in the case of theft in or around his town, see Oppenheim, Reiner

more restraint by making a request of Beder, using what seems to be a (now missing) optative construction with the Prospective: [*jḥ*] ///*ꞷk wj* "[May] you /// me" (W061, *LES* 63, 5).

5.4.1.2 *Beder and Wenamun*

Beder's reaction to Wenamun's demand for assistance is manifested by a series of rhetorical interrogatives, using the particle (*j*)*n*: (*j*)*n dnsꞷk* (*j*)*n mnḫꞷk*.[105] This series of clauses could be translated directly as questions: "Are you being serious? Are you being humorous?" (W039–W040, *LES* 62, 11).[106] Given that the interrogative particle precedes two Prospective forms, I would instead argue for a more modulated translation: "Whether you may be serious, or whether you may be humorous". The modality of this form implies that Beder thinks Wenamun is neither. Beder then expresses his incomprehension of Wenamun's demands not with an interrogative, but in the declarative mood with a Negative Aorist ("I cannot understand this statement", W041, *LES* 62, 12), which puts him instantly on the offensive. He does not want Wenamun to clarify further. He then uses the Conditional Particle *hn* with a Cleft Sentence plus Conjunctive[107] to set up a hypothetical condition for compensation: "If the thief (belonging to my land) was the one who went down to your freighter and who took your money",[108] followed by the modal Imperfect Third Future, *wn jwꞷj db3ꞷf nꞷk m p3yꞷj wḏ3* "I would have repaid it to you from my storehouse" (W043–W047, *LES* 62, 13–15).[109] The reason for all these modal forms is soon made clear: the thief is actually Wenamun's, and therefore, Beder intends to do none of these things under the circumstances. If we are to take the juridical context seriously, Beder may be drawing on a more recent and local law than Hammurabi's Code, such as that recorded on the Ugarit Tablets, whereby a Chief is only responsible if the criminal

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and Rowton 1956: 164–165 and Jankowska 1969: 273–275, Text HSS (Harvard Semitic Series) 15, 1. I thank Ulrike Steinert for her advice concerning this matter.

[105] These two forms, however, are written only with the grapheme *n*, whereas all other cases of (*j*)*n* in this manuscript are written as 〰. The two seem to be allographs, for which see Junge 2005: 87.

[106] See Winand 2011: 557.

[107] Borghouts 1979: 22 and Winand 2001: 314 argue that the use of this form demonstrates Beder's incredulity.

[108] Hintze 1952: 271 sees this as a continuation of the preceding participle: "and who took your money".

[109] For this form, see Winand 2006: 387.

is one of his citizens.[110] This would explain why Beder has no intention of doing more than necessary, but this juridical context is not mandatory for understanding the meaning. When he decides to help Wenamun, he uses three Imperatives to give him advice (W052, W064, W069, *LES* 63, 2; 63, 6 and 63, 8) as well as a modal form like the Conjunctive to urge him to "[do] what I [say] to you" (W067–W068, *LES* 63, 8). His instructions involve the command (as elsewhere in the text, in the Third Future):[111] "You shall seize their boat", followed by the Conjunctive, *mtw≳k mḥ* "and you shall seize" (W073–W074, *LES* 63, 9). All these forms have modal force: they are *irrealis* propositions to prompt future action. Perhaps Beder is inciting Wenamun to commit robbery in order to continue his journey.[112]

We can conclude from this episode that the encounter is not as equal as some scholars suggest, since many assume that Beder's behaviour is in line with a vassal's.[113] I would contend that the only thing evident from this analysis is that he is more polite than Tjekerbaal, whom Wenamun visits next. Though Wenamun uses an Imperative towards him, we can see that he is at this moment in the grips of hysteria, and once Beder firmly puts him in his place, Wenamun changes his tune. Thus, the Imperative does not signify parity between parties. Beder then plays with a series of modal forms, almost to taunt Wenamun about his situation, before being of some (perhaps dubious) assistance to him. Wenamun has thus already begun to conflict with the foreign chiefs about discursive protocol, on account, perhaps, of not knowing (or not caring about) the rules of engagement.

5.4.1.3   *Wenamun and Tjekerbaal, Chief of Byblos*

Wenamun's use of the imperative, interrogative and modal forms in dialogue with Tjekerbaal helps us further comprehend his character, which, in conference with the Chief, is alternately cowed and confident. He uses the Imperative towards Tjekerbaal significantly less frequently (four times) than Tjekerbaal uses it towards him (eleven times). In response to Tjekerbaal's demands (for his departure, then for remuneration), Wenamun twice demands that he cause things to happen (W107, W310, *LES* 64,

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[110]   According to the Ugarit Tablets, dating to the 13th Century BC, the citizens of the town bore collective responsibility for a theft, but only if the thief was one of their citizens. See Green 1979: 117 and Blumenthal 1982: 48–49.

[111]   Junge 2005: 124.

[112]   Eyre 1999: 240.

[113]   Scheepers 1991: 41.

14 and 70, 9) and twice uses the Prohibitive (W308, W375, *LES* 70, 7 and 72, 8). All bar one follow his eventual outburst against Tjekerbaal's insinuations, which will be discussed in relation to his speech patterns below. Wenamun's Imperatives towards Tjekerbaal are Causative and Prohibitive, and are thus never an explicit demand for action, though Tjekerbaal's reaction intimates that enough has been said to cause offence.

   None of the six interrogative forms that Wenamun aims at Tjekerbaal establish questions for information: all are rhetorical and used to argue a point rather than to request an answer.[114] Many therefore use a *marked* form like the Emphatic Form.[115] For instance, the first, *j-jr[ꜣj šm r] tnw* "Where shall [I go]?" (W103, *LES* 64, 12) is more a cry for help than for directions, placing the emphasis on '*where*'. Wenamun asks whether Syrians, rather than Egyptians, sail Egyptian ships (W193–W195, *LES* 67, 2–3) to counteract Tjekerbaal's accusation that the Egyptians use foreign manpower. Since his *ḥr.ï-mnš* 'Captain' bears the Syrian name Mangabet (W014, *LES* 61, 8),[116] Wenamun may be lying outright. In reaction to Tjekerbaal's insult about his 'foolish journeys' (W287), Wenamun begins to assert himself in earnest. As mentioned above, almost all of Wenamun's imperative forms emerge here, and his interrogatives change in tenor, moving into more charged rhetoric: he accuses Tjekerbaal of not knowing where Amun is by asking (*j)n sw dï (j)n bn sw <m> pꜣ n.tï wn≠f (jm)* "Is he there? (Or) is he not <in> the place (where) he was?" (W287–W289, *LES* 69, 12–13)[117] and uses the Negative Aorist to query *bw jr≠k rš* "Can you not rejoice?" (W383, *LES* 72, 11). Many of his interrogative forms are thus an attempt to modify his adversary's thoughts or behaviour,[118] just as we saw in the ideational analysis above. As we shall see below, at this point we also see an

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[114] Sweeney 1991: 323 and Cassonnet 2000: 189–195.

[115] Cassonnet 2000: 194.

[116] See also Schneider 1992: 127–128, who claims that *m-n-g-b-t* could mean anything from 'well opening' or 'mountain pass' to 'hammer', 'chooser' or 'leader'. On the other hand, Winand 2011: 551 suggests that the name is 'made-up' from the Egyptian phrase *mn gb(.t)*, 'there is no affliction/harm', which, even if not altogether plausible, would be extremely funny under the circumstances.

[117] The question could indicate that Wenamun is feigning Tjekerbaal's voice, though he could be asking the questions himself. It is possible that we could translate this passage as "Is he not that which he was?" which would mean that sentence need not be emended. Winand 2011: 550 translates it as "whether he was there, or not, he who was present". In this way, the (*j)n* introduces a completive after *rḫ*. See also Polis 2009: 392. However, the reading of W288–W289, in which a temporal value is given to *wn* like in early Demotic and a relationship of apposition is established with the relative clause, seems rather stilted.

[118] Scheepers 1991: 30 sees this rejoinder as an attempt to "garder Sakarbaal de bonne humeur", but given the content, this does not seem to be his intention.

emergence of Conjunctive forms, modal Third Future forms and vocatives. The dialogical pendulum has certainly swung in the other direction!

The most significant feature of Wenamun's dialogue with Tjekerbaal is the sheer number of modal forms he uses, despite the rebuffs he faces at every attempt. Eleven instances of the Conjunctive and seven cases of the modal Third Future appear when Wenamun is attempting to persuade Tjekerbaal to give him the wood as tribute. Wenamun does not start on the right foot with Tjekerbaal, opening with a salutation in the modal Prospective, *sfty jmn*, which most probably translates to "May Amun be merciful!" (W165).[119] As shall be discussed below, the fact that Tjekerbaal does not return the greeting indicates that Wenamun has somehow already caused offence, related perhaps to circumstances surrounding his arrival rather than to his manner of address. Wenamun does not help matters by optimistically using the Third Future early on to express Tjekerbaal's *obligation* to fulfil his commission:[120] *jw⸗k jr⸗f* "you should do it" (W211, *LES* 67, 12). Following the first rebuff, in which Tjekerbaal cites precedents for appropriate payment in exchange, and insults Wenamun's mission, the Envoy responds by moving into the contingent. He constructs a hypothetical scenario in the Conditional First Present,[121] suggesting Tjekerbaal give a positive response to his request, in nested direct speech: *jr jw⸗k ḏd jry⸗j sp sn.wï n jmn* "If you say 'I will do, I will do' to Amun". A series of Conjunctives and Third Future forms outline the prophesised outcome, acting in a *conative* sense:[122] Tjekerbaal will live, prosper and

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[119] Perhaps the most probable reading is to take *sfty* as a version of *sf*, 'to be mild, merciful' (*Wb*. III 442). Gardiner (1961: 308), Moers (1990–1997: 916), Wente (2003: 119) and Schipper (2005: 61) take it as an Imperative: "Amun be merciful", but, given that the statement is a greeting, it should most probably be read as a Prospective: "may Amun be merciful", as we see in the translations of Goedicke (1975: 59–60) and Winand (1987: 98), as well as here. Another possible translation, "may Amun favour you!" is based on seeing *sfty* as a contraction of *ḥs⸗f tw jmn* (*Wb*. IV 118): "Er lobe dich, Amun". However, this reading is orthographically less probable. The word *sfty* could also be taken as a noun *sf*(*n*) (*Wb*. III 442), as we see with the translations of Erman (1900: 7), "Milde(?) des Amon!" and Lichtheim (1976: 226), "blessings of Amun". However, this rendering also involves substantial deviance from the orthography. Satzinger (1997: 175–176) suggests that *sfty* is based on Canaanite words like 'judge' or 'butcher'. Egberts (1999: 22), doubts this possibility, but the suggestion is not altogether improbable. Although there is no suffix pronoun *⸗j* to suggest Satzinger's reading "my judge is Amun", "the judge is Amun" could be appropriate, although it is perhaps a less plausible option in this context.

[120] Vernus 1990b: 11, Neveu 1996: 93.

[121] See Satzinger 1976: 74–76 and Junge 2005: 262–265.

[122] Winand 1996: 124. Crystal 1997: 79 defines 'conative' as being used "in order to achieve a result in an addressee, in accord with the speaker's wishes".

so on (W301–W307, *LES* 70, 5–7).[123] Directly afterwards, Wenamun uses
the Prospective, Conjunctive and Third Future in his proposal to send an
Envoy to Egypt to acquire supplies (W311–W314, *LES* 70, 9–11). Despite this
more solid arrangement, and the subsequent arrival of some trade goods,
Wenamun uses a string of Conjunctives and a Third Future in his third
attempt to gain the wood at no (or at least no extra) cost, by attempting to
argue that such an action would ensure Tjekerbaal a longer lifespan and
the performance of (presumably Egyptian) funerary rites (W384–W396,
LES 72, 12–73, 4). When even this has little effect, Wenamun nonetheless
attempts a fourth time to assure Tjekerbaal that his altruism would pay
dividends. Following a Conditional plus a Conjunctive form: if Wenamun
arrives home (W402–W404, *LES* 73, 6–7), and *mtw⸗f ptr p3y⸗k sḥn* "and (if)
he (Herihor) sees your commission" (W405, *LES* 73, 7), a good outcome
is ensured, presumably because the high priest of Amun has the ear of
Amun when good deeds are done in his name.

The fact that Wenamun operates in this manner to the end of the trans-
action, irrespective of goods arriving in the meantime, counteracts to an
extent Baines' claim that "In his negotiations with Zakarba'al, Wenamun
starts each time from the purely ideological and moves as slowly as he
can to the economic and practical".[124] Wenamun's bargaining chips lie in
the realm of the contingent to the end, which could perhaps account for
Tjekerbaal's enduring antipathy, to the point of granting his fate at the
hands of the *Tjeker*.

5.4.1.4   *Tjekerbaal and Wenamun*

Tjekerbaal's earliest interaction with Wenamun comes via the Overseer,
who is instructed to say to Wenamun "Get yourself away <from> my
harbour" (W100, W112, *LES* 64, 11 and 65, 1) and later to "remain" (W135,
LES 65, 10). He later issues many commands himself, to ensure action on
Wenamun's part (W243, W247, W339, W358, W447, W448, *LES* 68, 10; 68,
11; 71, 10; 72, 2 and 74, 7),[125] and uses the Prohibitive towards him twice

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[123] Borghouts 1979: 20 argues that the concepts introduced by the Conjunctives here
are linked thematically, rather than sequentially.

[124] Baines 1999a: 231.

[125] The Imperative forms of *jmj* and *smn* (W135, W154, W245, W247, W462) are fol-
lowed by what may be a 'direct object pronoun' which became more popular in Demotic,
for which see Borghouts 1980: 100, Winand 1992: 98–100, 156–157 and Quack 2001: 172.
Additionally, Borghouts 1980: 106 shows that *tw⸗k* followed verbs ending on weak radicals
like *j-rwj* (W100 and W112) and most probably acted in a reinforcing manner, rather than
actually being a direct object, as Winand 1992: 168–169 suggests. It is also possible, as

(W362, W449, *LES* 72, 3 and 74, 7). Tjekerbaal's eleven commands are superior in number to Wenamun's and are also far more active in nature: he succeeds in getting Wenamun to do things, which Wenamun's Imperatives never do. This is a very clear indication of their difference in status and the roles associated therewith.

Likewise, Tjekerbaal asks vastly more questions of Wenamun than the latter asks of him, 18 questions being directed at Wenamun compared to the Egyptian's 6. Tjekerbaal's rhetorical power is manifest by the fact that his first recorded utterance is an Imperative, and when Wenamun finally appears before him, he begins with an interrogative form. As noted above, Tjekerbaal does not return Wenamun's salutation, but instead questions him about the length of his stay in Byblos (W167–W169, *LES* 66, 7). He causes a disjunction in the discourse by refusing to reciprocate the greeting and engage in *phatic communion*,[126] and by causing a topic-shift that violates Grice's Principle of Relation (Relevance).[127] Something more than simply the style of Wenamun's greeting had clearly perturbed the ruler. Given Wenamun's more civil reception upon his arrival in Dor, the different manner of his arrival in Byblos seems to have caused the Chief offence. Wenamun eschewed proper diplomatic procedure by arriving alone without an appropriate vessel or paperwork and by camping out on the beach.[128] Whatever the cause, by getting straight to the point, Tjekerbaal demonstrates that he is sufficiently powerful to dispense with civilities.[129] Tjekerbaal questions Wenamun's answer, firstly by setting him up as a "truthful man": *mnt.k mꜣꜥ.tw* (W173, *LES* 66, 9), perhaps already ironically,[130] and secondly by questioning Wenamun's diplomatic credentials using four *sw tnw* "Where is it?" forms (W174, W176, W183, W185, *LES* 66, 9; 66, 13–14). Given Wenamun's inability to satisfactorily answer any of these questions,

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Borghouts 1980: 102 shows, to take it as a 'direct object', which would translate as "Get *yourself* out of my harbour".

[126]   Crystal 1997: 286 defines this as language used for "maintaining social contact rather than for exchanging information or ideas", which Leech 1983: 141 says "makes us aware of the close connection between politeness and the activity of talking merely to preserve sociability". Culpeper 2001: 4 has noted its influence on characterisation in dramatic texts.

[127]   Grice 1975: 45–46. This concept is also manifest in the study by Bennison 1993: 79.

[128]   Bunnens 1978: 5 suggests that Wenamun's shortcomings as an emissary provide a far clearer explanation for his disdain, rather than it reflecting foreign opinions of an Egypt in decline. However, Bunnens 1978: 10–11 rather contradictorily claims that Tjekerbaal's bad treatment of Wenamun may also have extended from his being from Southern Egypt, a region with which Tjekerbaal had little to do.

[129]   Galán 2005: 161.

[130]   Eyre 1999: 241, Winand 2004: 108.

the questions continue, becoming increasingly condescending, sarcastic, and rhetorical. Tjekerbaal then uses the interrogative *jn* plus Emphatic Form, in order to stress the potentially grisly end Wenamun could have met at the hands of the Syrian traders (W186, W189, W190, *LES* 66, 14; 66, 16–67, 1),[131] and to squash Wenamun's claim that his crew was Egyptian, he employs a negative existential interrogative: *jn mn* "are there not" (W197, W199, *LES* 67, 4 and 67, 6), which does not solicit contradiction. It is only at this point that Tjekerbaal actually asks Wenamun his business in coming, using the Emphatic Form again, in which the interrogative forms part of the emphasised adverbial: *j-jr≤k jy ḥr jḫ n sḥn* "Upon what commission have you come?" (W206, *LES* 67, 9)

Wenamun's explanation only provokes the Chief's wrath. His insistence on obtaining goods without payment, as discussed above, understandably runs entirely counter to the ruler's idea of a fair exchange.[132] The interrogatives thus continue with increasing vehemence. In a Pseudo-Cleft Sentence, punctuated by the emphatic *gr jnk*, he asks, "What is it which you are bringing to me, again, me?" (W223–W224, *LES* 68, 1) The *jn* plus Emphatic Form is again used rhetorically to ask about the status of Egyptian trade goods (W229–233, *LES* 68, 3–5); then the sarcasm reaches a crescendo when Tjekerbaal turns the tables on Wenamun, asking whether these early payments were actually "gifts from Egypt" (W234, *LES* 68, 6),[133] which presents *Egypt* (rather than Byblos) as the tributary state.[134] To further emphasise this point, he asks a rhetorical question marked with *jn* and emphasised by *gr jnk*: whether he is a servant to Egypt (W236–W237, *LES* 68, 7). Tjekerbaal's penultimate interrogative sums up his rhetorical argument: "What are these foolish journeys for?" (W268–W269, *LES* 69, 4–5) The changes in Wenamun's discourse that we noted above demonstrate that Tjekerbaal has pushed Wenamun to breaking point by this stage. Following Wenamun's retaliation, Tjekerbaal's interrogatives dry up almost completely. Only a snide remark about the potential recalcitrance

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[131] Cassonnet 2000: 191–192 rightly classifies this as a rhetorical question for the purpose of provocation.

[132] As Bunnens 1978: 8 clarifies, Wenamun is presenting his claim as nothing less than the demand of a suzerain of his vassal, a role which Tjekerbaal emphatically denies.

[133] Görg 1974: 15 argues that *mlk* is perhaps derived from Akkadian *mulūgu* and Ugaritic *mlg*, 'gift' or even 'dowry', for which see Levine 1968: 271–272. Vittmann 1975: 45 also claims, on the grounds of alternate spellings of the word in Ramesses II's 'Marriage Stela', *KRI* II 246, 13–15, that the term was linked rather to the Semitic *blk* 'gifts', a reading followed by Hoch 1994: 104–106.

[134] Winand 1994a: 97–98.

of his workmen in the Third Future form remains: "will they not give it (the timber) to you?" (W361, *LES* 72, 2), which could represent his attempt to have the last laugh, or is otherwise a rhetorical question indicating the certainty that Wenamun will be given his timber. Most of his Imperatives henceforth are also for the purpose of assisting Wenamun (W339, W356, W358, W447–W449, *LES* 71, 10; 72, 2 and 74, 7), though their sustained use also indicates his undiminished power.[135] Tjekerbaal ventures into *irrealis* via the Emphatic Forms, which, when formed as questions, are predominantly rhetorical, and ironic in character.[136]

Compared to Wenamun's truly impressive amount of hypotheticals (30), Tjekerbaal uses few modal forms (11). He never uses the Prospective,[137] though Conjunctives form a key part of his rhetoric, in which he postulates Wenamun's end at the hands of foreign sailors (W188, *LES* 66, 15) and pretends to want to save Wenamun's life (W253–W255, *LES* 68, 14–15). The Conjunctive also marks his preferred version of events: his cooperation should Wenamun pay (W218, *LES* 67, 14) and Wenamun coming to load the wood (W359, *LES* 72, 2).[138] The Third Future is also used: Tjekerbaal matches Wenamun's pushy Third Future of 'obligation' (W211, *LES* 67, 12) by saying *jwꜥk dj nꜥj n jrꜥ{sw}<s>* "you shall give to me for doing it" (W216–W217, *LES* 67, 14). The form conveys conditionality, but by being in the Third Future, it is more forceful: it is a command, rather than a suggestion. He demonstrates his sovereignty over Lebanese timber in a similar fashion (W239, *LES* 68, 8). Lastly, Tjekerbaal threatens Wenamun: *wnn jwꜥk ptr tꜣ ḥr.y(t) n pꜣ ym jwꜥk ptr tꜣyꜥj ḥꜥ.tꜥj* "Whenever you see the terror of the sea, you shall see my own" (W364–W365, *LES* 72, 4). The construction expresses the correlative, namely, 'when/if' and exists in a temporal or conditional relationship with the following the First Present (or Third Future).[139] In this particular instance, the phrase establishes temporal,

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[135] van Dijk 2002 [1993]: 105.

[136] Cassonnet 2000: 194.

[137] Clause W382 is an example of the Prospective, but it is the postulated speech of Tjekerbaal in Wenamun's words.

[138] This form extends the Imperative.

[139] This correlative form, discussed most recently by Polis 2009: 39, comprises the form *wnn jwꜥf* (*ḥr*) *sḏm* as the protasis plus *jwꜥf ḥr sḏm* as the apodosis. The protasis is most probably a First Present, for which see Satzinger 1976: 95–100, Junge 2005: 270–273, Borghouts 1979: 18 and Winand 1987: 101 rather than a Third Future, as postulated by Černý & Groll 1993: 261 and 513 and Kruchten 1997: 68. Likewise, the apodosis is probably (given the long history of this form) to be seen, as Junge 2005: 271 suggests, as a Circumstantial First Present that demonstrates "semantic independence" similar to the Middle Egyptian *jw* Sentence. Nevertheless, Satzinger 1976: 100 and Borghouts 1979: 18 see it as a NIMS

but also actual, equivalence between the threat of Tjekerbaal and the sea, which was perhaps also alluded to early in the text, when Wenamun describes the sea as being at Tjekerbaal's shoulders (W163, *LES* 66, 5). The link, if plausible, could be metaphorical, likening the threat of foreign chiefs to that of water,[140] but it could also be religious.

To make his feelings known, Tjekerbaal notoriously uses more congruent forms than Wenamun, even when he is being ironic. When Wenamun attempts to persuade Tjekerbaal to build a stela, Tjekerbaal remarks: "It is a great instruction of discourse, what you have said to me" (W399–W400, *LES* 73, 5–6), which is a Pseudo-Cleft Sentence made up of a Nominal (*tꜣi̯*) Sentence and a relative clause.[141] This statement exemplifies that "interpersonal battles can be won not only by force, but also by irony".[142] This irony is defined on contextual grounds, tied to a discrepancy between sentence-meaning and speaker-meaning,[143] but is also "signalled by exaggeration".[144] From the perspective of pragmatics, this snub comprises yet another attack on Wenamun's *positive face*.[145] From the perspective of Discourse Analysis, which tracks sequences of interaction, Tjekerbaal's disinterest in and refusal to engage with his interlocutor's proposition conveys his power.[146] It also demonstrates his dialogic superiority: his pithy comment follows another long speech by Wenamun, whose prolixity seems to be in contravention of Grice's Principle of Manner.[147] Tjekerbaal's more direct mode of speech seems to be related to his status: he is the 'have' to Wenamun's 'have-not', so it is logical that he need not deal with contingencies. He can deal with property and documented precedent.

5.4.1.5   *Wenamun and the Egyptian Rulers*

The compliance of Smendes and Tantamun with requests pertaining to Amun's mission is manifest early in the narrative, in which they reply to

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(with future sense determined by context) and Černý & Groll 1993: 261 and 513, Winand 1987: 101 and Kruchten 1997: 68 see it as a Third Future. In Sweeney 2001: 50, note 31 and Sweeney 2003: 145, note 74, it is shown that in non-literary texts, the form is used, as here, between equals and to subordinates.

[140]   Moers 2001a: 192–195.
[141]   Junge 2005: 179.
[142]   Herman 1991: 116.
[143]   Levinson 1983: 17. See also Guglielmi 1979: 73 and Guglielmi 1996: 495.
[144]   Leech 1983: 143.
[145]   Brown & Levinson 1987: 61–64, also Culpeper 2001: 240.
[146]   Martin & Rose 2007: 243.
[147]   Grice 1975: 45–46.

the dispatch from Thebes with a modal Third Future: *jry sp sn.wï* "Will do, will do" (W010, *LES* 61, 6). Wenamun therefore presumably feels within his rights to send an order to them via both Tjekerbaal and his Envoy, "Let it (payment) be brought" (W316, *LES* 70, 12). As with Tjekerbaal, Wenamun's use of the Imperative is Causative; it is not actually commanding activity on behalf of his superiors. The consequence, Wenamun's repayment of the goods supplied, appears then in the Terminative plus Conjunctive (W317–W318, *LES* 70, 12).

5.4.1.6 *Wenamun and Hatiba*

Unfortunately, the interpersonal situation is difficult to gather at this point in the text, since it breaks off as Hatiba is speaking. Wenamun's address to Hatiba (via an interpreter) is strongly emotive, making use of several rhetorical interrogatives for the purpose of persuasion.[148] At the semantic level, Wenamun uses flattery, but at the grammatical level, he is trying to establish certainties. Wenamun first uses two *j-sḏm≠f* Emphatic Forms in nested direct speech that establish the location of *grg* 'injustice' and *mꜣꜥ.t* 'justice' (W487–W488, *LES* 75, 7–8). He follows this with a periphrastic *j-jr≠f sḏm*, which *seems* to be made modally neutral (like the preceding forms) by putting the emphasis on the location of the proposition: *jstw j-jr≠tw jr grg rꜥ nb dï* "But meanwhile, one does wrong every day here!" (W489, *LES* 75, 8).[149] However, by addressing this question to the Chief of Alasiya, he is actually tying *jr grg* 'doing injustice' to her own *volition*: would she want or allow this to happen?[150] The argument is therefore strongly modal, and sets the periphrastic form in opposition to the preceding Emphatic Forms.[151] This point is made even more rhetorically powerful through the use of the particle *jstw*.[152] Wenamun therefore need not (and most probably cannot) use a stronger form like

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[148] Given the gravity of Wenamun's situation, I would question the extent to which Wenamun's comment is ironic, as Eyre 1999: 239 suggests.

[149] This reading corresponds with Cassonnet 1994: 54, who argues that this emphatic pattern—which emphasises just *dï*—is more in line with the co-text than an emphasis of both temporal and spatial adverbials: "that one does injustice is *every day here*?" Spatial adverbials are also emphasised in the preceding two clauses.

[150] Unlike Cassonnet 1994: 54, I do not believe that these two forms convey volition, which seems rather to be concentrated in the interrogative that follows.

[151] Cassonnet 1994: 54.

[152] Junge 2005: 87. Polis 2009: 267 specifies that the doubt expressed "n'est pas reel, mais qu'en modalisant l'énoncé de la sorte, le locuteur entend faire passer son point de vue à l'allocutaire".

the Imperative: he is appealing to Hatiba's sense of justice and her intentions as ruler of Alasiya.[153] This idea is carried across to two interrogative forms. Following a Conditional First Present and a Conjunctive, which 'set the scene' (W492–W494, *LES* 75, 9–10), he uses the interrogative *jn* plus the Third Future to ask: (*j*)*n jwꜣṯ dj šspꜣw n ḥꜣ.tꜣj* "will you cause that they seize me?" (W496, *LES* 75, 11). A similar form then interrogates her awareness of the consequences: (*j*)*n bn jw pꜣyꜣ{st}<s> nb gm 10 n js.t m-djꜣṯ* "will its lord not find 10 crews in your possession?" (W500, *LES* 75, 13).[154] A description of Tjekerbaal's inexorable pursuit of redemption in the Conjunctive follows: *mtwꜣf ḫdbꜣw gr mnt.f* "and will *he* not kill them, again, he?" (W502, *LES* 75, 15).[155] The punctuation with *gr mnt.f* perhaps cheekily references the earlier *gr jnk* of the wrathful Tjekerbaal (W224, *LES* 68, 1). The Conjunctive therefore continuously emerges as an indicator of *intention*. Concerning his own fate, Wenamun attempts to deal more with certainties: the modal Third Future confirms that "one shall seek me" (W499, *LES* 75, 12).

Baines characterises Wenamun's discourse with Hatiba as an example of "pure rhetoric": "quick-thinking improvisation, different in character from his more measured and earnest speeches".[156] He cleverly ties this to the proverb exemplified in *The Shipwrecked Sailor* that a man's speech can save him.[157] It is pertinent for the incident in Alasiya, but could also be taken ironically with the whole tale in mind, given what trouble Wenamun's tongue gets him into. To address Baines' claim about the distinctive style of Wenamun's entreaty to Hatiba, it seems that the type of balance and repetition seen here, a *parallelismus membrorum* that encapsulates the 'oratorical style',[158] is symptomatic of Wenamun's speeches in general, as we can see when he pronounces the owners of the money or articulates Amun's possessions. Similarly, his rhetorical questions and merciless modal forms continue unabated throughout the tale in the face of

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[153] It is possible, as both Bunnens 1978: 15 and de Spens 1998: 117–118 suggest, that Wenamun is invoking an international code that ensures asylum to those who are shipwrecked until their identity has been ascertained, but this may be reading too much into the text.

[154] This use of the Third Future form conveys uncertainty, but only in interrogative propositions. See Polis 2009: 118–119.

[155] On the whole, the trend has been to take the Conjunctive as following the preceding one, which in this case is the Third Future. We can see this reading in Wente 2003: 124 and Schipper 2005: 101.

[156] Baines 1999a: 225.

[157] Baines 1999a: 225, note 51.

[158] Lichtheim 1973: 11 and Burkard 1996: 453.

scepticism from all three rulers. From a grammatical perspective, we can thus qualify the conclusions made about Wenamun's speech patterns.

5.4.1.7 *Hatiba and Wenamun*

The little that remains of Hatiba's discourse reflects her rank and establishes her as a powerful character. She demonstrates her indignation at Wenamun's prolix accusation of lawlessness in Alasiya by using an interrogative form which is rhetorical, but to the point: *jḫ m pꜣy꞊k ḏd.t꞊f* "what is with your saying it?" (W491, *LES* 75, 9). Having punished the lawbreakers, she says *sḏr n꞊k ///* (W506, *LES* 76, 1), which is commonly taken as an Imperative on account of the lack of Subject, though the text stops at this point. The most feasible reading seems to be "Lie down".[159] Perhaps, like Tjekerbaal earlier, Hatiba is promising to attend to Wenamun in the morning.

5.4.1.8 *Wenamun and the Minor Foreign Characters*

Wenamun addresses the other minor characters in the story quite differently to the way in which he addresses his superiors. For instance, he feels within his rights to issue directives. To Tjekerbaal's Scribe he says 'look' (W425, *LES* 73, 16), and to an Egyptophone Alasiyan he says 'say' (W483, *LES* 75, 6). With his equals, Wenamun is also in far greater command of sarcastic rhetorical questions in the style of Tjekerbaal. Two forms of this type are directed at the Overseer of Byblos Harbour: (*j*)*n mnt.k pꜣ* "Are you the one?" (W138, *LES* 65, 11) and, with the Emphatic Form, (*j*)*n j-jr꞊k ḏd* "Are you saying?" (W143, *LES* 65, 13). The hypothetical consequences of Wenamun's compliance with the Overseer's request to leave are in Wenamun's distinctive style: a Causative Infinitive plus Conjunctive *r dj wḏ tꜣ br j-gm꞊j mtw꞊k jy* " in order to cause that the freighter that I found depart so that you may come" (W145–W147, *LES* 65, 13–14), followed by the Overseer's hypothetical requests (here in the Prospective) in nested direct speech: "Could you hurry yourself off again" (W149, *LES* 65, 14). These commands are not from the Overseer himself. As in all other stories, the

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[159] Wente 2003: 124 translates it as "Sleep well". Haller 1999: 9 and Graefe 2002: 73 regard *sḏr* as a homonym for 'strong', leading to the reading "Leb wohl!" However, the evidence is later, unetymological, and unproven. The Imperative seems to be followed by a *dativus ethicus* of the form *n꞊k*, perhaps meaning literally 'on your part', as Junge 2005: 79 suggests.

Overseer is a conduit for the demands of his chief, just as he becomes a vessel for Wenamun's hypotheses.

The interrogatives aimed at Tjekerbaal's Scribe of the Dispatch are also rhetorical, but more plaintive in tone, such as the Negative Aorist: "can't you see?" (W423, W430, *LES* 73, 15 and 74, 1)[160] and the Terminative plus interrogative *jḫ*: "until what comes (about)?" (W427, *LES* 73, 16).[161] This contrasts with the plainer interrogative that the Scribe aims at him, for the purposes of understanding Wenamun's behaviour: *jḫ r꞊k* "what is with you?" (W421, *LES* 73, 14). His last interrogative to the populace of Alasiya is for information: "Is there not one among you who understands the Egyptian language?" (a Negative Existential form, W478–W479, *LES* 75, 5).[162] Wenamun uses few modal forms towards the minor characters: only to the *Tjeker* he is robbing does he say, using the Third Future, that their possessions "shall remain with me" and "I will take it" (W087, W091, *LES* 64, 5 and 64, 7). This form clearly indicates intention. In general, towards the lesser characters, Wenamun uses directives, as well as tricks similar to those he attempted with Tjekerbaal: he asks rhetorical questions to make his point then invents discursive turns on their behalf in order to force their hand.

5.4.1.9   *Tjekerbaal and His Staff*

Tjekerbaal, in line with his role, predominantly uses Imperatives towards his staff. When Penamun intercedes, perhaps cracking a joke with Wenamun,[163] or making a snide remark about the state of affairs in Egypt,[164]

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[160] The use of the interrogative particle *jn* seems to imply, as Polis 2009: 314 suggests, "une valeur modale de possibilité".

[161] Winand 2011: 553 suggests that this is a reference to a similar passage in *The Doomed Prince* (DP044–DP045, *LES* 2, 12): *jy jḫ jw mj-nꜣ ḥms.kw* '(It) occurs why, that I stay here?' which is another rare instance of a fronted Terminative in the Late Egyptian corpus.

[162] This form, Polis 2009: 314 poins out, illustrates "les relations qui existent entre l'expression de l'inaccompli et la modalité implicite du possible avec cette classe d'actionalité".

[163] Bauer 1925: 572 argues that Penamun is using a Phoenician play on the word 'pharaoh', which sounds similar to the Phoenician word for 'frond', namely, the fan held near Tjekerbaal. However, Jackson 1995: 274, 276 sees the supposition as speculative, and argues that puns on Semitic words are unlikely, on account of being unintelligible to an Egyptian audience. Perhaps a more comprehensible conclusion is that Penamun takes Tjekerbaal to be his 'Pharaoh', for which see also Egberts 1998: 103.

[164] Jackson 1995: 275–276 makes this suggestion, though he does not agree with Goedicke 1975: 101 that *s-r-l-p-t* (or *s-r-p-t*) is a pun on 'lotus fan', referring to a 'revolt' in the Egyptian court. After all, Penamun does not mention the fan, so the pun would have to be on *ḫꜣjb.t* 'shadow'. Jackson 1995: 280–282 and Galán 2005: 162 argue that the shade of the

Tjekerbaal responds fiercely: ḥȝꜥ sw nⱖk "Leave him!" (W348, *LES* 71, 14).[165] Tjekerbaal's reaction could mean that he does not encourage fraternisation between the Egyptians,[166] or that he intends to arrogate the pleasure of antagonising the emissary to himself.[167] As manifest in the Transitivity analysis, he issues directives to both Penamun (W371–W372, *LES* 72, 7) and Tennut (W443–W444, *LES* 74, 6). Interestingly, the only case in which one of Tjekerbaal's staff addresses him is with Imperative, albeit under extraordinary circumstances. Seized by a fit, Tjekerbaal's Page (talking not for himself but for Amun), commands the Chief to 'bring up' both Amun and his Envoy (W117–W118, *LES* 65, 4). This aberration aside, Tjekerbaal's command over his court is made clear at the interpersonal level.

5.4.1.10   *Interpersonal Conclusions: Power, Mood and Modality*

The expectations of each protagonist and the ways in which they express them manifest both their character and their hierarchical position. A 'cline of modality' seems to exist, extending from the Imperative and the Third Future, which conveys a command or obligation, to the Third Future, which expresses probability, to the Prospective, which articulates a wish or polite request.[168] The semantically more flexible Conjunctive must also be considered. The following sections summarise and compare the forms used by the characters in the course of the narrative, based on the interaction patterns discussed above.

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fan is most probably a figurative reference to protection by the pharaoh. Though Schipper 2005: 270 doubts the irony of the statement, it does seem to be a witticism, not only because of the absence of a pharaoh (and therefore a pharaonic shade to go with it) but also because the shade is Tjekerbaal's. Therefore, as Moers 2001a: 75 suggests, the remark parodies representations of the royal shadow by substituting Tjekerbaal as a de-facto pharaoh, who, as Jackson 1995: 284 says, is "far from being the protector of Wenamun that his shadow figuratively presents him to be". It hardly seems likely that Penamun's statement makes reference to an 18th Dynasty hymn, as Meltzer 1987: 86–87 proposes, which allegedly talks about the *mnsȝ* 'sexual activity' of the *šw.t nṯr* 'god's shadow', to shape a degrading comment like 'Boy, has Pharaoh screwed you!' Despite cautious support from Moers 2001a: 143–144, the textual link is not clear enough to be more plausible than more contemporary influences outlined above. Moreover, it seems too offensive a comment to be linked to a religious text, even if appearing in a literary text.

[165] The *nⱖk* is a *dativus ethicus*, which Hintze 1950: 82 defines as a dative that is superfluous for the meaning of the passage, and could thus be literally translated as 'on your part'.

[166] This is, of course, if Penamun is indeed Egyptian: his name and reference to Pharaoh are our indications thereof.

[167] Jackson 1995: 284.

[168] Vernus 1990b: 24 compares the idea of 'future obligation' conveyed by the Third Future to the 'polite order' expressed by the Prospective.

5.4.1.10a   *Getting the Upper Hand: Commands, Requests and Wishes*

The Imperative is used as a means of demanding that something be done or not done, caused or not caused, though as we see in this narrative, it can also form part of a strong plea. Wenamun demands action of Beder (under fraught circumstances), but also of Tjekerbaal's staff, people of equal or lower standing to him. Causatives and Prohibitives are used towards Tjekerbaal, Smendes and Tantamun. Regarding the quantity, Wenamun uses eight,[169] Tjekerbaal nineteen[170] and Beder at least three Imperatives.

The Third Future form is used to convey strong expectations that the addressee will feel obliged to perform an action.[171] Elsewhere, it expresses intention or probability. When used by Wenamun, three cases convey strong expectations[172] whereas seven convey probability.[173] On the other hand, *all* uses by the rulers Tjekerbaal (four) and Beder (one) convey strong expectations, even commands.

The Prospective marks wishes and potential consequences. While Tjekerbaal and Beder use none, Wenamun uses five,[174] and even talks to himself using this form: *ḫꜣy⸗f ꜣtp⸗j pꜣ nṯr* "May it (nightfall) come, so that I may load the god" (W130–W131, *LES* 65, 8).[175]

The Conjunctive conveys a speaker's attitude to an event[176] and can be both *irrealis*[177] and *inaccompli*.[178] Speakers therefore use it to distance

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[169] This number does not include the three he attributes to the Overseer of Byblos Harbour (W142, W144 and W149) and one he attributes to Amun (W282). In these instances, he quotes the use of the Imperative by another party. The latter, (*LES* 69, 9–10) is an excellent example of what Peust 1996: 7 calls *indirekte Rede mit Personalanpassung*, which occurs when one of the pronouns is changed in the course of reporting speech: Wenamun says that Amun commanded that Herihor *j-wḏ wj*, "Dispatch *me* (Wenamun)". See Peust 1996: 54–56 and Kammerzell & Peust 2002: 307. If *wj* refers to Amun, not Wenamun, then *nested direct speech* may be used, but against this is the fact that ⸗*j* (or *wj*, as Schipper 2005: 75 renders it, though Winand 1987: 28 presents it also as ⸗*j*) is written with the sign for a man rather than a god, as Sweeney 1990: 972 points out.

[170] This number does not include the one he attributes to the Rulers of Egypt (W233), but does include cases in which he is quoted by the Overseer of Byblos Harbour (W100, W112, W135).

[171] Vernus 1990b: 11, Neveu 1996: 93.

[172] We can conclude that this form is not only in use by the two rulers, cf. Sweeney 2003: 146, note 75.

[173] This does not include the case he attributes to Tjekerbaal (W302).

[174] This does not include the instance he attributes to Tjekerbaal (W382).

[175] Polis 2009: 299 renders the section W128–W132 as "si je scrutais le crépuscule c'est dans l'espoir qu'il tombe de sorte que j'embarque le dieu afin qu'un autre œil ne puisse pas l'apercevoir".

[176] Borghouts 1979: 17, Winand 2001: 313–316.

[177] Borghouts 1979: 17 and Winand 2001: 294 show that the Conjunctive expresses that the proposition in question has not yet been affirmed.

[178] Winand 2001: 324. As Borghouts 1979: 20–21 and Winand 2001: 301, 306 and 308 demonstrate, *inaccompli* includes habitual action.

themselves from a proposition,[179] so it often accompanies Conditional sequences[180] and other modal forms. Naturally, it is one of the forms characteristic of Wenamun; he uses it fifteen times, compared to Tjekerbaal's seven and Beder's three. Wenamun usually uses it to hedge his bets (W392–W393, *LES* 73, 2).[181]

In summary, Wenamun's rhetoric relies on what could and what should be, whereas Tjekerbaal's depends almost entirely on what already is and what has been before. Wenamun, in fact, goes so far as to canvass what he thinks Tjekerbaal should think, say and write (W302 and W381–W391, *LES* 70, 5 and 72, 11–73, 1), which understandably causes no end of irritation. From a theoretical angle, Wenamun is impolite because he undermines Tjekerbaal's *negative face*, namely his right to independent action by his persistent advice, particularly given his status. Tjekerbaal responds by attacking Wenamun's *positive face*, in other words, his desire for his wishes to be considered important, with snubs and sarcasm.[182] These forms therefore act as markers of characterisation: portraying Wenamun as fanciful and Tjekerbaal as practical.

5.4.1.10b   *'Even if': The Use of Conditionals*
Given that there is no explicit conditional form in Egyptian,[183] the particles *jr* and *hn* can be used to serve this purpose. The *jr* plus Circumstantial First Present form[184] is used exclusively by Wenamun, twice to Tjekerbaal (W301, W402, *LES* 70, 5 and 73, 6) and once to Hatiba (W493, *LES* 75, 10). All three forms are followed by Conjunctives, which seem to form a 'parasitic' Conditional clause.[185] To Tjekerbaal, he uses a form with *hn* plus *wn* (W293, *LES* 69, 15)[186] and *jr* plus Conjunctive (W393, *LES* 73, 2). Wenamun's adversaries also have a single Conditional each: Beder's is

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[179] Winand 2001: 316–319, also 321.

[180] Hintze 1952: 271.

[181] Wenamun begins with the modal Conjunctive (following an earlier interrogative Negative Aorist?): *mtw ḫpr* "and could (it) not happen", followed by a Conditional *jr* plus another Conjunctive: *jr m-sꜣ ky hrw mtw wꜥ wpw.tï jy m pꜣ tꜣ n km.t* "that if, after another day, an Envoy may come from the land of Egypt". Wenamun is pushing the events into another time (and thus a future *irrealis*), through the Conditional, the adverbial form with *m-sꜣ* and *ḫpr*, which progresses a narrative in time, as Winand 2000: 419 argues.

[182] Brown & Levinson 1987: 65–68.

[183] Junge 1989: 76.

[184] *Contra* Satzinger 1976: 78, Kruchten 1997: 60–65 demonstrates that *jwːf sḏm* is exclusively a Circumstantial form, never a Non-Initial Main Sentence. See Junge 2005: 262 and Collier 2006: 183.

[185] Hintze 1952: 271. See W303, W405 and W494.

[186] The temporal marker *wn* in clauses W292–W294 gives Wenamun's recounting of Tjekerbaal's speeches an unreal quality. See Polis 2009: 439–440.

formed by *ḥn* plus a Nominal Sentence (W043, *LES* 62, 13), which forms part of a protasis that is four clauses long[187] and Tjekerbaal uses *jr* plus a Nominal Sentence (W229, *LES* 68, 3).[188] These single instances, however, pale in comparison to Wenamun's series, and differ significantly in meaning. At the ideational level, both are *relational identifying* clauses, so the rulers are basing arguments on the identity of others (the Thief and the Ruler of Egypt). They are presenting these identities to rhetorically establish alternative but *realistic* circumstances under which they would be more accommodating. Wenamun's conditionals, on the other hand, are linked to things that *could* be done and said: he is building castles in the sky.

5.4.1.10c   *'Hey you!' The Interpersonal Pull of Vocatives*
A fascinating side-note to an interpersonal study is the use of vocatives, which Systemic Functional Linguistics also classifies as *interpersonal Themes*: they contribute little to the meaning of the clause, but attract the attention or enact the participation of an addressee. They thereby mark the interlocutors' interpersonal relationship[189] and thus supply us with further clues about the characters' discursive personae.

Early in the text, Wenamun uses the vocative *yꜣ* 'indeed' towards Beder, as he enumerates the people to whom the stolen money appertains (W031, *LES* 62, 6). Its explanatory, perhaps even causative, quality[190] does not invite opposition[191] and, like his use of the Imperative, illustrates his agitation. He later calls Beder's attention with the vocative *mk* 'look', stating that Beder had not found his money.

In response, Beder expresses his exasperation with Wenamun by using the vocative *ḥr ptr* 'now look!' (W041, *LES* 62, 12).[192] After establishing a hypothetical scenario for compensation (using the Conditional, above), he jumps to reality by using the vocative *yꜣ* (W049, *LES* 62, 16).[193] Later on,

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[187] Junge 2005: 265–267.

[188] Satzinger 1976: 79 and Kruchten 1997: 62.

[189] Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 133–134.

[190] Neveu 1992: 13–14 also suggests that in attracting the attention of the interlocutor, "(il) l'avertissait de l'importance de l'énoncé qui allait suivre". The explicative quality of the vocative is manifest in the apparent parallel use of the particle *pꜣ-wn* 'because', noted by Neveu 1992: 18–20. Thus, the reading of *yꜣ* as 'car' by Polis 2009: 445 is certainly justified.

[191] Winand 2000: 423 and Winand 2004: 109–110.

[192] Winand 2004: 107 defines the particle *ptr* as a *presentative*, in which facts are proffered as evidence that does not welcome contradiction. It is semantically cognate to the archaic form *mk*. As Polis 2009: 432 elucidates, the two terms are often used interchangeably.

[193] Here, Neveu 1992: 20 claims, the sense is more adversative than explicative.

he uses *mk* (W079, *LES* 63, 12).[194] A considerable amount of parallelism exists in the interpersonal exchange between the two men, particularly if we count the conjunction preceding Wenamun's expostulation *ḥr mnt.k pꜣ wr* "Now, you are the chief" (W028, *LES* 62, 5), which parallels Beder's *ḥr ptr*; *yꜣ* and *mk* follow in both.[195] These vocatives thus give more of an indication of parity between the two men than the Mood analysis. However, although Beder appears to be a less awesome antagonist than Tjekerbaal, I do not attribute this to being because Dor was under Egypt's suzerainty.[196] Rather, the status relationship is what it is because Wenamun, the injured party, sees fit to demand recompense.

As with the Imperative and markers of the interrogative, Wenamun uses significantly fewer vocatives than Tjekerbaal (four compared to nine) and he employs them only late in their discourse (from clause W271, *LES* 69, 5), after Tjekerbaal had already used six (from clause W173). Wenamun's first, however, is very strong: *ꜥdꜣ* 'wrong!' indicates his emotion at this point. He has attempted to be polite (or has been cowed by the ruler's rank and demeanour) but he is now insulted by Tjekerbaal's remark about the 'foolish journeys' he has been made to make (W268–W269, *LES* 69, 4–5). Wenamun begins to use vocatives more freely, using *yꜣ* 'indeed' (W280, W309, *LES* 69, 9 and 70, 8) and *ḥr ptr* 'now look' (W284, *LES* 69, 11).[197]

Tjekerbaal's use of vocatives matches the rest of the interpersonal analysis. He uses almost double the vocatives towards Wenamun than *vice versa*, six of which occur in his first rhetorical wave, before Wenamun argues back. Though his vocatives then become less frequent, the impression of insolence they give does not diminish. He uses *mk* early on (W173,

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[194] Winand 2004: 106–107 argues that, as a form no longer used in the mundane vernacular, *mk* is "rhétoriquement marqué", i.e. used by the author to display their literary culture and perhaps also to express irony. I would agree that this form provides an interesting indication of the literary quality of this text, but would dispute the particle's ironic qualities. W060 seems to be indicative only of exasperation and W173 works as ironic only if it is taken as a declarative (as Winand 2004: 108 suggests). However, on co-textual and contextual grounds, I take this form as an interrogative. Why would Tjekerbaal be agreeing with Wenamun about the duration of his travel to Byblos, ironically or otherwise? W182 could be ironic in tone, but it could also just be exasperated, and W256 could be stating what Tjekerbaal thinks is a certainty. In fact, Derchain 1985: 7 argues that *mk* in Middle Egyptian was used to portray "un fait indiscutable", and significantly, his example from *Sinuhe* is more distinctly ironic than any of the examples in *Wenamun*.

[195] Winand 2011: 557.

[196] Scheepers 1991: 41.

[197] He also uses *mnt.k m-rʾ-ꜥ* 'you likewise' (W300), but this form seems more like a marked Theme that is then resurrected in the clause that follows, 'you are a servant of Amun', than a vocative/interpersonal Theme.

W182—*ḥr mk*[198]—and W256, *LES* 66, 9; 66, 12 and 68, 15), *ptr* later (W352, *LES* 71, 15) and *yꜣ* throughout (W219, W366, *LES* 67, 14 and 72, 5). He also calls Wenamun's attention with pronouns: *mnt.k m-rꜣ-ꜥ* 'you, like-wise' (W190, *LES* 67, 1),[199] *mnt.k* (W233, *LES* 68, 5) and *gr mnt.k* 'also, you' (W356, *LES* 72, 1). His treatment of Wenamun thus does not change, irrespective of Wenamun's claims; so we can surmise that Tjekerbaal felt that his status afforded him the right to treat Wenamun in whatever manner he chose.

Wenamun uses only one vocative (that we know of) towards Hatiba. However, we could count *mk ptr* 'now, look' or 'look, look' (W499, *LES* 75, 12) as a *double* vocative, and perhaps a marked one, highlighting Wenamun's distress and desire to attract attention.[200] Hatiba also expresses her indignation towards Wenamun's insinuations through using the vocative *yꜣ* (W491, *LES* 75, 9). The fluctuations in power between interlocutors are thus often, though not always, reflected in their use of vocatives.

5.4.1.10d *The Purpose of Conflict*

The interpersonal analysis reveals the kinds of strategies that the protagonists were willing to use in their interactions with each other. While the rulers are more rigidly tied to what exists, Wenamun flies into hypotheticals, since without money; he has nothing but his words with which to bargain. Wenamun's modality applies to both his interlocutor's discourse and his own, and is therefore entirely *subjective*.[201] On the other hand, his rhetoric is often grounded in the "authoritative discourse" of Egyptian ideology, which he was either pragmatically exploiting or idealistically expounding as "internally persuasive discourse".[202] It is set in stark contrast to the commercial perspective put forward with some irony by Tjekerbaal.[203]

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[198] Neveu 1989: 102 and 105 sees *ḥr* as having a coordinating role here, but given the multiplicity of possible translations for *ḥr* depending on context, "le contenu sémantique de *ḥr* est très faible".

[199] This personal pronoun can be treated as a vocative because it is not echoed in the Subject.

[200] Winand 2004: 109 argues that *ptr* may also work as a thematiser, since it precedes the two occasions in which a topicalised noun phrase appears without *jr*, namely W352 (*LES* 71, 15), which Winand mistakenly cites as 71, 12, and W499 (*LES* 75, 12).

[201] Cassonnet 2000: 201.

[202] Bakhtin 1981 [1975]: 345 contends that "internally persuasive discourse" is interwoven "with 'one's own word' . . . It is not so much interpreted by us as it is further . . . developed, applied to new material, new conditions".

[203] Liverani 1990: 250 sees the transaction between the two characters as existing on a commercial level and an ideological level.

What can still be disputed is whether this authorial 'wink' towards the audience establishes a double irony. Eyre proposes that "Wenamun will certainly have reached home as unamended by satire as the listener in the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor".[204] I do not think that it follows that Wenamun is an innocent ideologue, whose ideology,[205] even identity,[206] is being rebuffed. The interpersonal analysis portrays him as a master rhetoretician, not to mention an incorrigible opportunist: the fact that he uses so many modal forms perhaps even indicates that he doubts these ideas himself, but tries to peddle them to foreign rulers for his own gain. At any rate, he deals with the intangible because he is bereft of the tangible, not because he genuinely believes that this line of argument is the only way to conduct business. He could not be so naïve to think that Tjekerbaal would give him the timber as tribute,[207] when he had been given the money to pay for it prior to his departure. The narrative seems to be an exercise in conceptual dialectic, in which distinct, opposing ideas are pitched against each other to gain a synthesis,[208] as we shall see below. Nevertheless, even if this dialectic requires Wenamun's behaviour to be presented in an ironic manner, I do not see Wenamun as the author's ignorant pawn. It is just as possible that Egyptian ideology is, like his skilled tongue and flair for dramatics, merely part of Wenamun's arsenal, a means by which he ensured his own survival so that his adventures could continue.

Thus, in addition to Wenamun's self-presentation in discourse being a key to his characterisation,[209] the way in which others react to him is equally crucial, particularly when, as here, there is a high consensus in the treatment of Wenamun by particular character types, like the foreign rulers.[210] Though there are some discrepancies, like Beder being friendlier at the outset and Hatiba being more cooperative after a *dénoument*, their behaviour towards him in general is hostile, uncomprehending and fairly careless about his welfare. This may be tied to their narratological role in the travel narrative genre as Opponents, who oppose the progress of the Hero in his travels. Yet, if we take pragmatics into consideration, Wenamun's discursive behaviour certainly provides a spur to their enmity.

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[204] Eyre 1999: 252, also Winand 2011: 558.
[205] Eyre 1999: 239 and 242.
[206] Moers 1999: 54.
[207] Winand 1994a: 95.
[208] As seems to be suggested by Loprieno 1988a: 65, Tjekerbaal responds to Wenamun's ideology (*topos*) in a manner that is "anmassend, berechnend und hinterlistig".
[209] As discussed by Culpeper 2001: 168–169.
[210] Culpeper 2001: 172.

Mood	Grammatical Form	Examples	Addressee
Imperative	Imperative	W030	Beder
		W425	Tjekerbaal's Scribe
		W483	Alasiyan
	Causative Imperative	W107, W310	Tjekerbaal
		W316	Smendes & Tantamun
	Prohibitive	W308	Tjekerbaal
	Causative Prohibitive	W375	Tjekerbaal
Interrogative	Emphatic Form + *r tnw*	W103	Tjekerbaal (via Overseer)
	jn + Pseudo-Cleft Sentence	W138	Overseer
		W193	Tjekerbaal
	jn + Emphatic Form	W143	Overseer
	jn + Existential Sentence	W195	Tjekerbaal
		W478 (Neg)	Alasiyans
	jn + Present I	W287, W288	Tjekerbaal
	jn + Future III	W496, W500 (Neg)	Hatiba
	jn + Negative Aorist	W423, W430	Tjekerbaal's Scribe
	jstw + Negative Aorist	W383	Tjekerbaal
	šꜣꜥ.t jḥ jy + Present I	W427–W428	Tjekerbaal's Scribe
Subjunctive	Prospective	W131	Self
		W311	Tjekerbaal
Declarative Modal	Prospective	W061	Beder
		W130	Self
		W165	Tjekerbaal

Figure 5.14 (*cont.*)

Mood	Grammatical Form	Examples	Addressee
	Future III	W087, W091	*Tjeker* (?)
		W211, W301 (Conditional *jr*), W304, W314, W396	Tjekerbaal
		W496, W499	Hatiba
	Circumstantial Future III	W380	Tjekerbaal
	Conjunctive after Causative Infinitive (?)	W147	Overseer
	Conjunctive after Conditional Present I	W303, W405	Tjekerbaal
		W494	Hatiba
	Conjunctive after Future III	W305, W306, W307	Tjekerbaal
		W502 (Neg)	Hatiba
	Conjunctive after Prospective	W313	Tjekerbaal
	Conjunctive after Negative Aorist (?)	W384, W385, W392, W393, W395	Tjekerbaal
	Conjunctive after Terminative	W318	Smendes & Tantamun
Vocative	*yꜣ*	W031	Beder
		W280, W309	Tjekerbaal
	mk	W060	Beder
	ꜥḏꜣ	W271	Tjekerbaal
	ḫr ptr	W284	Tjekerbaal
	mnt.k m-rʾ-ꜥ (marked Theme)	W300	Tjekerbaal
	mk ptr	W499	Hatiba

Figure 5.14. Interpersonal analysis: Wenamun.

Mood	Grammatical Form	Examples	Addressee
Imperative	Imperative	W052, W064	Wenamun
	Prohibitive	W069	Wenamun
Declarative Modal	Prospective	W039, W040	Wenamun
	Future III	W073	Wenamun
	Conjunctive after perfective participle	W046	Wenamun
	Conjunctive after Imperative/Prospective	[W067]	Wenamun
	Conjunctive after Future III	W074	Wenamun
Vocative	*ḥr ptr*	W041	Wenamun
	yꜣ	W049	Wenamun
	mk	W079	Wenamun

Figure 5.15. Interpersonal analysis: Beder.

Imperative	Imperative	W100, W112, W135, W243, W247, W339, W356, W358, W447, W448	Wenamun
		W154	Captain
		W348, W371	Penamun
		W443	Tennut
	Causative Imperative	W372	Penamun
		W444	Tennut
		W462	*Tjeker*
	Prohibitive	W362, W449	Wenamun
Interrogative	*wr* + Present I	W167	Wenamun
	Present I with *tnw*	W174, W176, W183, W185	Wenamun
	jn + Emphatic Form	W186, W231	Wenamun
	jn + Existential Sentence	W197 (Neg) W199 (Neg)	Wenamun

Figure 5.16 (*cont.*)

Mood	Grammatical Form	Examples	Addressee
	jn + Pseudo-Cleft Sentence	W234,	Wenamun
	jn + Nominal Sentence	W236, W237,	Wenamun
	jn + Future III	W361 (Neg)	Wenamun
	Emphatic Form + *nïm*	W189, W190	Wenamun
	Emphatic Form + *ḥr jḥ*	W206	Wenamun
	jḥ + Pseudo-Cleft Sentence	W223, W268	Wenamun
	jḥ + Nominal Sentence	W456	*Tjeker*
Subjunctive	Prospective	W381 *(Wenamun speaking)*	Wenamun
		W382 *(Wenamun speaking)*	Egyptian Emissary
Declarative Modal	Third Future	W216, W239, W302 *(Wenamun speaking)*, W361 (Neg)	Wenamun
		W461 (Neg)	*Tjeker*
	Conjunctive after Causative Infinitive	W188	Wenamun
	Conjunctive after Future III	W218, W253, W254, W255	Wenamun
	Conjunctive after Imperative	W359	Wenamun
	Conjunctive after Causative Imperative	W463	*Tjeker*
Vocative	*mk*	W173, W256	Wenamun
	ḥr mk	W182	
	mnt.k m-rʾ-ʿ	W190	
	yꜣ	W219, W366	
	mnt.k	W223	
	ptr	W352	
	gr mnt.k	W356	

Figure 5.16.   Interpersonal analysis: Tjekerbaal.

5.5   *Power and the Lexicon: Titles, Ethnicity, Rank and Gender*

The prominence of names belonging to Egyptian rulers in the text has often led scholars to see the story as a historical text. Though these names establish the historical setting, most, including Wenamun's own, have significance for the meaning of the narrative, and therefore highlight the text's fictionality. Given the dominance of dialogue, it is interesting to note how nomenclature and titulary differs according to who is talking.

5.5.1   *What's in a 'Wenamun'?*

Though our Hero's name is attested in the historical record,[211] the events and themes of the story strongly suggest that it is emblematic and geared towards the meaning of the narrative.[212] The name *wn-jmn* 'Amun exists'[213] is indicative of the Hero's fate, since, while abroad, only the presence of the Theban god can help him cope with the Levantine chiefs.[214] It is also possible that an optative form, such as 'May Amun be present' is being used to highlight its bearer's hope for assistance.[215] Such a reading would imbue his name with an ironic quality,[216] which, given the presence of Amun throughout, is perhaps not altogether convincing.

Wenamun's title, supplied in the 'report' section at the head of the work, is *sms.w h3y.t n pr-jmn* 'Elder of the Portal of the temple of Amun'.[217] The connection with the temple of Amun at Karnak (W001, *LES* 61, 1) suggests that it is a religious title of some kind, if not a priestly one.[218] It has

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[211]   Men by the name of Wenamun appear in Papyrus Berlin 10494, 11, in *LRL* 23, 16, and Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 198, II, vs. 9, in *LRL* 70, 4, which has led scholars like Schipper 2005: 328–329 to suggest that he may have been a real person.

[212]   Suhr 1999: 124. Vinson 2008: 329–333 and 336–342 argues that the names Naneferkaptah, 'Beautiful is the Bull of Ptah' and Ihweret, 'Great Ihet' in *The First Tale of Setna Khaemwase*, emphasise bull and cow imagery that may link them to Osiris and Isis. A similar study of the names in Virgil's *Aeneid* has been conducted by Paschalis 1997: 3–4.

[213]   Winand 2011: 550 states that "There is no way to assert the existence of something in Egyptian, at an ontological level. One can only state that somebody or something is present or not, in a given place, at a given moment". However, in this case, I wonder what the cognate (but dynamic, rather than static) idea of *ḫpr* 'to come into being' would mean, if it is not somehow connected to ontology.

[214]   Loprieno 1996b: 44 and Luiselli 2007: 182.

[215]   Moers 2001a: 91–92. This implies that such succour is not guaranteed, as Moers 2001a: 94 says: "Amun ist für ihn nicht mehr zu wissen oder zu glauben, sondern nur mehr zu hoffen".

[216]   Moers 2001a: 271. However, Moers 2001a: 94 also points out that Wenamun's burden is additionally ironic: he 'bears' both name and god.

[217]   The title is spelled *smsm* in this text.

[218]   Scheepers 1991: 31.

been taken as something like a temple usher, who opened the gateway and who received people, *sḏsr wꜣ.t* 'clearing the way' for them,[219] but who also secured trade goods for the temple.[220] Wenamun may therefore have been travelling as a temple representative, whose elevated status ensured his role in negotiating a transaction.[221] Since it is clear that he was not experienced in *jr šw(y.t)* 'doing trade',[222] it is likely that the title *wpw.tï* 'Envoy'[223] is intended to be honorific.[224] Thus, the terms *wpw.tï n jmn* 'Envoy of Amun' and *pꜣy꞊f wpw.tï r(m)ṯ* 'his human Envoy' (W498, *LES* 75, 12 and W386, *LES* 72, 12 respectively) refer to his role on the mission, rather than his title. Interestingly, Wenamun refers to himself in this manner in conversation, perhaps to elicit a sense of moral obligation, and he is also considered thus by the Page (W118, *LES* 65, 4)[225] and Tjekerbaal (W461, *LES* 74, 13). On the other hand, the *Tjeker* refer to Wenamun and his crew as *nꜣy꞊n jr.ïw n ṯttt.w* 'our opponents' (W459, *LES* 74, 12).

5.5.2 *Beder*

Wenamun refers to Beder in his narration as *b-d-r pꜣy꞊f wr* 'Beder, its (Dor's) Chief' (W017, *LES* 61, 12) and *pꜣ wr* 'the Chief' (W025, *LES* 62, 4), and in conversation as *pꜣ wr n pꜣï tꜣ* 'the Chief of this land' (W028, *LES* 62, 5) and *pꜣy꞊f smtï* 'its judge' (W029, *LES* 62, 5). Here, Wenamun attempts to outline Beder's role as Chief in order to shape what he expects him to do. The origin of his name is unclear, though some scholars link him to the Sea Peoples.[226]

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[219] This can be seen in the *Autobiography of Rekhmire*, in Gardiner 1925: 64; though it is interesting (given the temple context of the title) that *sḏsr* 'to clear' elsewhere relates to actions more religious in tone, like 'to consecrate, hallow, sanctify', as seen in Faulkner 1962: 260.

[220] Meeks 1979: 648, note 195.

[221] Scheepers 1991: 33, de Spens 1998: 107.

[222] Bickel 1998: 161.

[223] Valloggia 1976: 279 demonstrates that the title was connected to diplomatic endeavour abroad throughout the Middle and New Kingdoms, though he and de Spens 1998: 107 also show that *wpw.tïw* often fulfilled a similar role to the *sms.w hꜣy.t* for the Residence, so the roles could be connected.

[224] Baines 1999a: 212.

[225] The Page calls him calls him *pꜣ wpw.tï n.tï ẖr꞊f* 'the Envoy who is carrying him (Amun)'.

[226] Scheepers 1991: 38 and Schneider 1992: 100. Possibilities raised, though without much substantial support, include the name being connected with such terms as 'trader' in Ugaritic or 'hero' in early Arabic (Schneider 1992: 100–101) or even 'viceroy' (Scheepers 1991: 41). The ending *r* could also be the Semitic *ʾēl* 'god' which could yield the meaning 'child of god' (Scheepers 1991: 39–40), which would fit the pattern of names in this story, most of which are connected to a deity.

5.5.3   *Tjekerbaal*

The name *t̠-k-r-bʿl* is theophoric, most probably meaning 'Baal has remembered'[227] or 'reminder/memory of Baal',[228] and it appears in both Wenamun's discourse and narration in connection with the title *pꜣ wr n k-p-n* 'the Chief of Byblos' (W037, W082, *LES* 62, 10 and 64, 2).[229] He is principally referred to by the shorter version *pꜣ wr* 'the Chief' by his Overseer (W136, W155, *LES* 65, 11 and 66, 1) and by Wenamun (W151, W152, W327, W335, W434, W435, *LES* 65, 15; 71; 6; 71, 9 and 74, 2). In ironic reference to himself, Tjekerbaal uses an entirely opposing term: *bꜣk* 'servant' (W230, W236–W238, *LES* 68, 4 and 68, 7–8), which contrasts ironically with what everyone (himself included) thinks about his status.[230] We must wonder whether the coupling of the theophoric names 'Amun exists' with the perhaps ominous 'Baal has remembered' is intended to convey a message about the growing role of Levantine cities and their gods in the Mediterranean power structure.

5.5.4   *Hatiba*

The name of the female Chief of Alasiya, *Ḥ-t-b*, or Hatiba, has not been fully understood. The Semitic name *Ḥuttabi* signifies 'dressed in multicoloured clothes' or 'collecting firewood',[231] but given her origin, her name is unlikely to be Semitic.[232] Most scholars consider it to be Cypro-Minoan, though little has been offered in terms of its meaning.[233] Hatiba is entitled *tꜣ wr n pꜣ dmy* 'the Chief of the town' (W471, *LES* 75, 2), which implies similar power to her male counterparts,[234] as also seems to appear in the ideational and interpersonal analyses. Wenamun, perhaps seeking to flatter her, calls her *tꜣy⸗j ḥnw.t* 'my mistress' (W483, *LES* 75, 6). Given that female chiefs in general are almost unheard of in the Near East, her

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[227] Scheepers 1991: 33–34: 'Baal s'est souvenu'.

[228] Schneider 1992: 257.

[229] The title *pꜣ wr n k-p-n* is also used in W098, *LES* 64, 10.

[230] Hofmann 2005: 243–244 suggests that the title *bꜣk* 'servant' had changed considerably in meaning by the New Kingdom. It merged with *ḥm*, and thereby acquired a less exalted sociological status. Consequently, it was becoming an increasingly less popular title for officials of the Ramesside Period.

[231] Schneider 1992: 173 and Schipper 2005: 218–219.

[232] Fischer-Elfert 2006: 223.

[233] Scheepers 1991: 60–61.

[234] Scheepers 1991: 61. Though she is the Chief of the *dmy* 'town', Wenamun later talks about law in the *tꜣ* 'land' of Alasiya (W488), so presumably her political role was supposed to be equivalent to that of Beder and Tjekerbaal.

representation, in tandem with the crazed behaviour of her countrymen, may serve to illustrate the exotic nature of Alasiya.[235] A female chief, perhaps, is even more 'other' than 'other'.

5.5.5   *Smendes and Tantamun*

Like most other main characters, Smendes and Tantamun's names are also theophoric. The name *ns-sw-bꜣ-nb-ḏd(.t)* means 'He-belongs-to-Banebdjed', namely the god of Mendes (*ḏd.t*), and *tn-jmn* means 'She-of-Amun'. Though their names are historical, and therefore not 'chosen' for the sake of the story's message, we can nonetheless surmise two things. Firstly, their names reflect the theo-political situation at the end of the Ramesside Period, in which popular belief regarded a person as belonging to a god, and secondly, this idea may then have inspired the author/s to create corresponding names for the other (fictional) protagonists, in order to emphasise the story's theological context.

Their only title, *snn.tïw-tꜣ* 'organisers of the land' (*LES* 70, 9),[236] suggests that they shared an exceptional and transitory rulership, perhaps while Ramesses XI was still alive,[237] but more likely after his death. Since Amun is shown in the story as having a dominant role in the rule of Egypt, their title seems to imply that Smendes and Tantamun operate as his highest officials in the North, with Herihor having the same role in the South.[238] All three are considered amongst *ktḫ ꜥꜣ.w n km.t* 'the other great ones of Egypt' (W033, *LES* 62, 8), which differentiates them from 'kings'.[239] Given that no ruler bears a royal title in the narrative, a slight on Smendes' rulership is hardly likely,[240] but it could reflect the lack of a king. Though the absence of royal titles could also illustrate the tale's fictionality,[241] or at any rate its deviation from the more exact report style,[242] the use of

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[235] Baines 1999a: 226.
[236] Yoyotte 1989 : 79 shows that the title is based in the verb *snṯ* 'fonder', 'organiser', 'structurer', and that consequently it can be assumed that "Au départ, on aurait appelé des *senti* des personnes chargées de réorganiser l'État et de gérer son économie". He therefore translates *snn.tïw-tꜣ* as 'fondateurs'.
[237] de Spens 1998: 110.
[238] Egberts 1998: 101.
[239] Egberts 1998: 101.
[240] Winand 2011: 544, note 20.
[241] Egberts 1998: 102 and Baines 1999a: 213.
[242] See, for instance, Papyrus British Museum 10068, 1, 1, in *TR* plate IX, in which Ramesses IX (the reigning king of the time) is introduced with his full titulary. As we can see from another of the *Tomb Robbery Papyri*, Papyrus British Museum 10053, 2, 7, in *TR* plate XX, kings of the past are referred to as simply *nsw*.

non-royal titles suggests that its meaning was more pointed than this interpretation implies. In other words, the fact that neither Smendes, nor Tantamun or indeed Herihor are designated as rulers points to there having been none at this time. Consequently, I would argue that we should also take the absence of titles in relation to Khaemwaset (*LES* 72, 5 and 72, 9) in earnest, which means that the name probably does not refer to a previous ruler of Egypt[243] but rather to a vizier of Ramesses II[244] or Ramesses IX.[245]

5.5.6   *Herihor*

Though Herihor plays a negligible role in the narrative itself, appearing only in the dialogue of Wenamun and Tjekerbaal, it is nonetheless important to understand the significance of his name and titles in the discourse. For instance, Wenamun refers to Herihor as *ḥr.ï-ḥr.w pȝy꞊j nb* 'Herihor, my lord' (W033, W281, *LES* 62, 8 and 69, 10). On the other hand, though Tjekerbaal refers twice to Smendes by name (W184, W198), he refers to Herihor as *pȝ ḥm nṯr dp.y n jmn* 'the high priest of Amun' (W176, *LES* 66, 9), a title later echoed by Wenamun (W404, *LES* 73, 7). The references to Herihor and the group of people ('they') who sent Wenamun on his journey (W269, *LES* 69, 5) portray Tjekerbaal's perhaps surprising knowledge of the fragmented state of Egyptian politics, which I suggest is another indicator of the text's fictionality. The nomenclature in Tjekerbaal's discourse also highlights his relationships: he knows (of) Smendes and calls him by name, on account of his nearness as a trading partner. By using only Herihor's title, he illustrates his distance from him, as well as the latter's general distance from the story. In sum, the lack of titles used to refer to the rulers of the day, given that titulary was afforded rulers in other narratives, is most probably an illustration of the corrosion of royal power.

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[243]   Unfortunately, several rulers bear the name Khaemwaset. Lefebvre 1949: 217, note 62 and Baines 1999a: 230, note 68 suggest Ramesses IX, but Jansen-Winkeln 1992: 26, Jansen-Winkeln 1997: 63, Egberts 1998: 102 and Wente 2003: 122, note 19 suggest Ramesses XI.

[244]   Goedicke 1975: 106–107.

[245]   Lefebvre 1949: 217, note 62, Lichtheim 1976: 230 and Scheepers 1991: 58–59 presume this on the grounds that the characters are sufficiently cognisant of the event that they can discuss it. The events pertaining to Khaemwaset therefore most probably occurred in recent memory. Person deixis unfortunately does not clarify the issue. Though unspecified, the 'they' Tjekerbaal mentions (W367) seem to refer to Tjekerbaal's forefathers. If this is the case, then presumably the 'you', who Wenamun says received the Envoys (W377), refers to chiefs of Byblos past and present, rather than Tjekerbaal.

This contrasts with Amun's burgeoning influence, which encapsulates the religious dimension in the tale.[246]

5.5.7 *Amun*

The only character to be named 'king' is *jmn-rˁ*, though only via his divine epithet *nsw nṯr.w* 'king of the gods'. Wenamun uses this epithet when he is making a significant point in his narration or dialogue: about Amun's barque (W002, *LES* 61, 2), his dispatches (W007, W011, *LES* 61, 5 and 61, 7), the ownership of the trading money (W031, *LES* 62, 6), the purpose of the voyage (W208, *LES* 67, 10), Amun's power of command (W280, *LES* 69, 9) and his sovereignty over life, health and the rulers of Byblos (W296–W297, *LES* 70, 1–2). The epithet is also used to discourage Tjekerbaal from wanting Amun's things (W308, *LES* 70, 7), given that the god is possessive like a *mȝj* 'lion' (W309, *LES* 70, 8).[247] Moreover, Wenamun uses the epithet in the 'stela inscription' that he composes for Tjekerbaal (W386, *LES* 72, 12). This title is accompanied at the outset by a title sacred to him, *nb ns.wt tȝ.wï* 'lord of the thrones of the two lands' (W001, *LES* 61, 1).

The most interesting reference made to Amun is his nomination as *pȝ nb n nȝ tȝ.w* 'the lord of the lands' (W031, *LES* 62, 6),[248] which to an extent echoes the title *nb tȝ.wï* that is exclusive to the Egyptian kingship.[249] Perhaps in this way Wenamun is suggesting that Amun's power, being over *all* lands rather than just two, supersedes that of a king.

Mortal rulers like Smendes and Tantamun refer to him as *pȝy-n nb* 'our lord'. Wenamun presents him as lord of the Lebanon, *pȝy-f nb* 'its lord' (W011, *LES* 61, 7). Foreigners like the Page (W117, *LES* 65, 4) and Tjekerbaal (W189, *LES* 66, 16), refer to him as *pȝ nṯr* 'the god', as does Wenamun (W114, W159, *LES* 65, 2 and 66, 2). For the most part, he is simply called *jmn*, by Tjekerbaal (W169, W174, W233, W256 and W258, *LES* 66, 7; 66, 9; 68, 5 and 68, 15–16), the Page (W120, *LES* 65, 5) and Wenamun (W165, W274, W299, W300, W312, W391 and W485, *LES* 66, 6; 69, 7; 70, 4; 70, 10; 73, 1 and 75, 7).

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[246] Baines 1999a: 213.

[247] Schipper 2005: 331 considers, on the basis of scarabs bearing Amun as a lion from Israel/Palestine, that this connection would have been understood by Tjekerbaal.

[248] The dual marking on *tȝ* is in fact plural, a rather common feature of Late Egyptian, as Černý & Groll 1993: 53 point out. This reading is corrobborated by the presence of the plural article *nȝ*.

[249] *Wb*. V 218.

Amun's hypostasis, *jmn-tꜣ-mj.t* 'Amun-of-the-Road' (W096, W386) is referred to as *pꜣï nṯr ꜥꜣ* 'this great god' (W283, W284) as well as *pꜣyᵉf wpw.tï ꜥ.w.s.* 'his (Amun's) Envoy, may he live, prosper and be healthy' (W386), a blessing formula traditionally used for Egyptian kings.[250] The presence of this physical manifestation could reflect the saying that "the god of every man is with him",[251] but in this case the god is an envoy on behalf of the Egyptian state. Though Amun's name is mentioned more than any other character,[252] this factor illustrates not so much his effectiveness[253] as his silent discursive presence: he is the subject and object of others' conversations because his power is a theme of the narrative. This factor has already been made evident in the ideational analysis in section 5.3.1.7: Amun is the principal Participant of almost all Process types, making his representation elaborate and extensive.

5.5.8   *The Other Egyptians: Penamun and Tennut*

The two named characters in the service of Tjekerbaal bear Egyptian names. In line with the tenor of the text, their names nominate them as *possessions* of Amun or of his domain, in addition to being possessions of Tjekerbaal (W343, W370 and W440–W441, *LES* 71, 12; 72, 7 and 74, 5–6). The name of the *wbꜣ* 'Butler' *pn-jmn* means 'He-of-Amun'[254] and the name of the *ḥs n km.t* 'Egyptian singer' *tn-nꜣ.t* means 'She-of-Thebes'. Their names are therefore tied to Amun like Wenamun's own;[255] but given that he meets them at times in which he is far from Egypt and perhaps doubting the might of Amun, their names may be ironically inclined.[256]

The names of the characters are therefore indicative of their indebtedness to the deities that surround them. Wenamun relies on Amun and the expatriates still belong to Amun, whereas Tjekerbaal remembers Baal, yet

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[250] Blumenthal 1982: 60.

[251] Papyrus Lansing 5, 1, *LEM* 103, 15. Bickel 1998: 170 interprets this passage as meaning that the traders travelling abroad took statuettes of their gods with them, though it need not be read so literally.

[252] Winand 1987: 75 shows that Amun is mentioned by name thirty times in the text.

[253] Schipper 2005: 283–284.

[254] Scheepers 1991: 51–52, also 54 argues that Penamun could be "un Sémite qui avait reçu une formation de *wbꜣ* en Égypte et dont le nom égyptien témoignerait de son assimilation à la culture égyptienne". This does not explain his Egyptian name, and moreover is inherently unconvincing on the grounds that *all* titles in the narrative have been 'Egyptianised' for the Egyptian audience. Therefore, though not overtly characterised as an Egyptian, his name and reference to the pharaoh strongly suggest that he was.

[255] Moers 2001a: 95.

[256] As noted by Osing 1987: 39.

looks forward to the continued patronage of Amun. The god himself is a ruler of Egypt, whose wishes are fulfilled by administrators.

5.6   *The Role of the Socio-Historical Context*

Though most scholars now emphasise the entertainment value of the text over its historical content,[257] we must continue to bear in mind the story's reflection of the political, theological and cultural realities of its time[258] in order to determine how these realities impacted upon characterisation, plot and the story's message.

5.6.1   *Egypt at Home*

As with other texts making reference to historical events, this narrative has often been used as a record of the end of the Ramesside era, an exciting but erratically-documented period. We must therefore be careful not to be circular in our argumentation, making reference to historical facts that have been surmised based solely on *Wenamun*.[259] At any rate, the Ramesside Period had drawn to a close by the time the High Priest of Amun Herihor came to power in the South and Smendes, a military man, assumed the kingship in the North and moved the capital from Avaris to Tanis.[260] The northerner ruled as king, whereas the southerner assumed royal titulary but ruled as high priest,[261] forming part of a theocratic regime

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[257] Blumenthal 1982: 62–63, discussed by Schipper 2005: 29.

[258] Egberts 2001: 495. Schipper 2005: 329–331 attempts to establish the historical context of the story later in history, as pertaining to the reign of Sheshonq I, though Fischer-Elfert 2006: 224 has astutely questioned the explicitness of this later historical setting.

[259] See, for instance, Kitchen 1996: 17.

[260] Smendes' marriage to Tantamun had occurred by this time, for which see Kitchen 1996: 250, Lichtheim 1976: 229 and 230, note 3 and Scheepers 1991: 21 and 26–27. It is possible that Tantamun provided a link to the kings of the 20th Dynasty, either due to her being a daughter of Ramesses XI, as Kitchen 1996: 537–540 and Scheepers 1991: 27 (also note 68) suggest, or the widow of Ramesses XI, as postulated by Egberts 1998: 98. Niwiński 1979: 50–51 presents her as the wife of Ramesses XI who was an independent ruler of Tanis alongside Smendes, although, as Egberts 1998: 98 points out, this would only be plausible if the Piramesse-dwelling Ramesses XI were dead already.

[261] Wente 1979: xiv–xv and Kitchen 1996: 20 clarify that the Khonsu temple is the only source of evidence for Herihor taking on royal titles, leading historians like von Beckerath 1997: 100 to not consider Herihor (in addition to Panehesy and Piankhy) as an Egyptian ruler. Indeed, von Beckerath 1995: 52 regards Pinedjem I as the first to bear throne names and sustain sole rule. On the other hand, as Jansen-Winkeln 1997: 55 has pointed out, the sources for Herihor are on the whole so scarce that his royal titles are only preserved on the most permanent medium.

in which Amun reigned "by means of oracular proclamation".[262] The point
that fundamentally remains to be clarified is to what the 'Year 5' in which
Wenamun's mission begins actually pertains.[263] One hypothesis is that
it refers to the fifth year of the *wḥm-ms.wt*, or 'Renaissance', which was
most probably established in the nineteenth regal year of Ramesses XI.[264]
Following this logic, the story was set when Ramesses XI was still alive,
namely, in Year 23,[265] despite the fact that the king is not mentioned in
the story. This reading would imply that the dramatic change in Herihor's
representation in the Khonsu temple at Karnak, from High Priest of Amun
to King,[266] would have been established while Ramesses was still alive.
Of course, this factor alone is quite surprising: what would have driven
Herihor to change his representation in such a way when he was still in
the service of the Egyptian pharaoh?[267] It seems rather more plausible
that Herihor came to power at the *end* of the *wḥm-ms.wt* rather than the
beginning, *following* Piankhy, who was recorded as being the High Priest
of Amun in Year 7 of the *wḥm-ms.wt*.[268] Consequently, if Herihor assumed

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[262] Assmann 2003 [1996]: 203.

[263] Naturally, this approach does not regard the story as a *source* for this period, but
rather seeks to explain what the rather explicit dates provided at the beginning of this
literary work could be referring to.

[264] Peet 1928: 71 and Černý 1929: 195–198, based on Papyrus Abbott, Dockets 8, A1
and 8, A19, in *TR* 128, which attest that Year 1 corresponds to Year 19, although the events
to which these dates refer is not stipulated. As Häggman 2002: 40–41 points out, in her
synthesis of the ongoing discussion, there is not sufficient evidence to date the *wḥm-ms.wt*
to the reign of Ramesses IX.

[265] Kitchen 1996: 16–17, Blumenthal 1982: 60 and Scheepers 1991: 19. As Hornung 2006:
217 demonstrates, surviving sources date Ramesses XI's reign as far as Year 28.

[266] In the hypostyle hall, Herihor is depicted as high priest together with Ramesses XI,
whereas in the court he is depicted alone and with royal titles. As Wente 1979: 10, plate 25,
describes, in the northern doorway of the western wall of the court Herihor bears the titles
'Perfect God', 'Son of Re' and 'Horus', as well as 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt', 'Lord of
the Two Lands' and 'High Priest of Amun'.

[267] As Gundlach 1994: 136 discusses, the appearance of these royal titles in a temple
context (if indeed this *was* the place in which they exclusively appeared) demonstrate how
necessary it was for someone (of royal blood or not) to carry out the cultic rites in place
of the king. This would ordinarily imply that Ramesses XI was dead at the time that these
titles were assumed, although these were by no means ordinary times.

[268] Nims 1948: 157 and plate VII. It is possible to see Herihor in power at the end of
the *wḥm-ms.wt* after Piankhy, for which see Jansen-Winkeln 1992: 22–26, Jansen-Winkeln
1997: 53, 62, 65–66, as well as Jansen-Winkeln 2006: 226–227. Grounds for this succession
pattern, amongst other things, are that Piankhy never assumed a kingly title. Additionally,
the titles he held were similar to those of his contemporary Panehesy and mention the
king, whereas Herihor's titles are more related to his position of High Priest and do not
mention the king. The problem, however, as von Beckerath 1995: 51, points out, is that
Herihor's time in power comes between the reigns of Piankhy and his son Pinedjem. Taylor
1998: 1152–1154 attempts to rectify the issue by asserting that Nodjmet, possibly the wife of

royal titulary (anywhere other than the Khonsu temple) he did so after the death of Ramesses XI, an interpretation which would explain the dramatic change in Herihor's depiction in the Khonsu temple.[269] In view of this, we must consider 'Year 5' to be Herihor's calculation of his own years of rule,[270] which may have been quite likely in this transitional period.[271] Since we only have evidence dating from after the reign of Menkheperre that the southern rulers adopted the same dating system as the northern rulers,[272] it therefore seems most feasible to see the narrative as being connected to the period of rule (as ruler or high priest) by Wenamun's 'lord' Herihor.

Not only dates serve as connections to the historical context surrounding a literary work. For instance, the reliefs in the Khonsu temple have been occasionally drawn upon as a document of Wenamun's voyage.[273] Reliefs of the Opet procession on the western wall of the court portray Herihor building a barque of Lebanese conifer for Amun.[274] However, we cannot be certain that the expedition recorded in the narrative refers to this temple endowment, particularly since it would have been difficult for such a mission, which may have lasted from Years 5 to 6, to have so expeditiously

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Piankhy, married Herihor after Piankhy's death to secure her son Pinedjem I's access to the throne. Given that Piankhy held no kingly titles, perhaps Piankhy and Herihor ruled simultaneously in some form of power-sharing relationship, a situation which somehow guaranteed Piankhy's son Pinedjem's succession to the throne. This need not have been for the purpose of administering different districts, as Römer 1994: 49 suggests, but rather to ensure the running of all arms of government (civil, religious, military and so on) in a time of crisis. However, Jansen-Winkeln 1997: 56–57 cites some cases in which Piankhy acts in a manner that would be counterproductive to a power-sharing situation. It is thus perhaps more likely, as Taylor 1998: 1153 suggests, given that we have documents mentioning both Herihor and Pinedjem in relation to a Year 6, that there was coregency instead between these two men, on the basis that, at the time of Piankhy's death, his son Pinedjem was too young to rule.

[269] Egberts 1998: 96.

[270] Jansen-Winkeln 1992: 26 and 34–37, Jansen-Winkeln 1997: 66, also Demidoff 2008: 100.

[271] Jansen-Winkeln 2006: 229. The middle ground between the last two hypotheses, namely, that the date refers to the fifth year of rule by Herihor in the South and Smendes in the North following the death of Ramesses XI, is followed by Egberts 1998: 97, Baines 1999a: 213–214, Wente 2003: 116 and Galán 2005: 140–141.

[272] Jansen-Winkeln 1997: 66, Jansen-Winkeln 2006: 229.

[273] Kitchen 1996: 251–252, Wente 1979: xiv and Galán 2005: 166.

[274] Wente 1979: 8, plate 21 documents that an inscription on the right support of the shrine says: "(he) has hewn his bark of cedar (timber) of Lebanon, ornamented with gold", and an architrave on the western face of the westernmost architrave in the court of the temple bears a similar inscription, for which see Wente 1981: 30, plate 143c.

resulted in the construction of a festival barque that Herihor, who died in Year 7, was able to record the event in stone on temple walls.[275]

Although we should exercise restraint in attributing too exact a picture of this period to a fictional narrative, the impact of a divided Egypt reverberates throughout. The administrative burden is shown as having doubled in size, since the decrees needed to be handed over in Tanis before the administrative and fiscal assistance of the 'other part' could be garnered.[276] I would argue that this feature establishes a second sphere of 'foreignness': internal and external.

5.6.2   *Egypt Abroad*

Though the story illustrates the changing internal situation in Egypt, it is not so clear whether the mishaps Wenamun suffers indicate that Egyptian influence over foreign lands had deteriorated. Some scholars argue that the depiction of Smendes with only twenty ships and Werketel (perhaps the Chief of Sidon) with fifty demonstrates that Egypt is economically not what it was.[277] However, the alternative perspective is to see Smendes as having such pull that Levantine Chiefs conduct business on his behalf.[278] Nevertheless, Tjekerbaal's accusation that the crews of the Egyptian ships are Syrian (*LES* 66, 14) perhaps indicates Egypt's decreasing power in the maritime sector. Wenamun's response is culturally relativistic: because the ships trade for Smendes, they and their crew must be Egyptian.[279] However, what Tjekerbaal is aiming at (he chooses not to play semantics with Wenamun) is that Wenamun's unfortunate situation results from Smendes having dispatched an Egyptian envoy under a foreign captain and crew.[280] He is lucky, in short, just to have been robbed, rather than

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[275] Jansen-Winkeln 1992: 25. Interestingly, Jansen-Winkeln 1992: 37 uses this fact to surmise that Herihor ruled for a total of ten years. I would hesitate, given the idea's basis on what could be a generic temple motif and a narrative text.

[276] Egberts 1998: 100.

[277] Egberts 1998: 100 sees Werketel as a rival Mediterranean trading partner.

[278] de Spens 1998: 113 sees Werketel as "une sorte d'armateur étranger au service de Smendès". Likewise, Scheepers 1991: 25, 46–48 and 50 sees Werketel's 50 ships as being in the service of Smendes, though only context (the argument that Smendes does not use Egyptian ships) suggests this possibility.

[279] Galán 2005: 159. However, Wenamun clearly knows it is not the case. Beder seems to be telling Wenamun to apprehend another ship in order to force its owners to seek "*their* thief" (W076). Given that the ship he consequently attacks turns out to belong to the *Tjeker*, the implication is perhaps that the crew of Wenamun's ship, like most running in the Mediterranean at this time, were *Tjeker*.

[280] Green 1979: 118.

murdered. Tjekerbaal's comment about *pꜣï ḥr.ï-mnš ḏrḏr* 'that foreign Captain' Mangabet (W186, *LES* 66, 14), though beautifully ironic for an Egyptian audience, given that, in their eyes, Tjekerbaal too was a foreigner,[281] is also significant for the interpersonal dynamic. It shows him to be more cognisant of the *Realpolitik* of Mediterranean trading than Wenamun or his superiors. In fact, the 'rulers' of Egypt of the time are characterised as inexperienced in trading protocol. Herihor sends an envoy clearly not schooled in diplomacy and Smendes and Tantamun keep the dispatches intended for their foreign trading partners while dispatching their envoy in a foreign ship.[282] The criticism seems to be generally applied to the Egyptian rulership, and does not specifically nominate the Theban regime as "difficult if not impossible to make plausible to outsiders like the Prince of Byblos".[283]

Although Wenamun's plight at the mercy of 'foreigners' seems to be a slight on Egyptian omnipotence, his misfortunes, as we have noted in the analysis above, were also a consequence of his lack of attention to established diplomatic mores,[284] including his cavalier attitude towards international gift giving and trade.[285] He eulogises the value of 'life and health' over material goods, possibly literalising the metaphor of the *tꜣw n ꜥnḫ* 'breath of life', which the pharaoh was shown granting foreign emissaries in monumental inscriptions throughout the New Kingdom.[286] Wenamun's problems also seem to have been aggravated by a universal lack of care

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[281] Winand 2011: 551.

[282] As with Galán 2005: 166, their cooperation in all other matters leads me to contradict the suggestion by Bunnens 1978: 10, that they intended to do Wenamun a bad turn.

[283] Assmann 2003 [1996]: 295–296; for a similar sentiment, see Eyre 1996: 432 and Eyre 1999: 243.

[284] Bunnens 1978: 5.

[285] The *Amarna Letters* refer frequently to gift giving as a feature of diplomatic exchange throughout the Near East. See, for instance, EA 1, 17–20, in Moran 1992: 14–15, a letter from Burra-Buriaš to Naphurureya (perhaps Amenhotep IV). Liverani 1990: 247–254 also discusses this issue.

[286] Liverani 1990: 231–239, especially 233–234 conceives of the 'life' requested by foreign rulers as having a *political* aspect, namely "the possibility of keeping the royal position", a *theological* aspect, that of living after death, and a *physical* aspect, pertaining literally to the victuals that keep a person from starvation. Wenamun alludes predominantly to the theological aspect, despite the fact that we would assume that this aspect of the exchange would be the one least understood by foreign rulers, who would have had their own ideas about death and the afterlife. On the other hand, the Egyptians did convey this ideological perspective to their Near Eastern neighbours, as seen by *Amarna Letter* EA 162, 39, in Moran 1992: 249, from the pharaoh to Aziru of Amurru.

given to emissaries abroad, even at the height of Egypt's influence.[287] In consequence, it is unlikely that Wenamun's treatment was a direct consequence of a decline in respect for the power of Egypt abroad.[288] Nevertheless, salient cultural points were being made. The cultural motherland of Egypt is presented as no longer necessary to its offspring: the craftsmanship and learning that emerged from there were being better used by its neighbours (*LES* 69, 2–4). Additionally, Wenamun proves to be his own worst enemy when it comes to handling diplomatic affairs.

5.7   *The Role of the Foreign in the Tale*

5.7.1   *The Role of Foreign Characters*

Scholars are divided about the role of the foreign characters in this narrative. Loprieno regards them as reflecting the changing historical circumstances that had altered Egyptian self-conception:

> je vertrauensvoller die eigene Beziehung zu den Grundlagen des ägyptischen gesellschaftlichen Lebens, desto subtiler und differenzierter die Ausländergestalten . . . je enttäuschter dagegen die ägyptische Selbsteinschätzung, desto gröber und vulgärer der mimetische Fremde.[289]

This statement implies firstly, that external circumstances greatly affect the collective consciousness,[290] and secondly, that this consciousness of self was reflected in the representation of the other in mirror-image. Given that the foreign characters created in *Wenamun* are among the most finely nuanced (and *subtle*, in other words) in Egyptian literature, and that more 'vulgar' characters like Apophis were created under circumstances in which Egyptians would have felt far more certain about their identity (or at least about their power overseas), we can only consider the conclusion to be unfounded.

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[287] See, for example, EA 35, in Moran 1992: 107–108. As an example, Bunnens 1978: 13 argues that once Wenamun leaves the port, any right of asylum he may have held is extinguished and no jurisdiction can shield him, since diplomatic immunity did not exist, as de Spens 1998: 120 shows.

[288] Bunnens 1978: 11–12.

[289] Loprieno 1988a: 71.

[290] Loprieno 1988a: 69 describes the historical context as being the "sozialen und politischen Krise der ägyptischen Sinnwelt", which is manifest by the fact that Wenamun is now the dependent party in communication with foreign parties, for which see Loprieno 1988a: 65.

Moers, however, draws on this idea of the 'other' reflecting the self, and reinterprets it. He sees the 'foreign ruler' type being a narrative construct, which forces Wenamun to confront "the real nature of his Egyptian identity".[291] Consequently, "Wenamun finds out that neither is he the one he thought himself to be, nor do the world and its representational concept 'Amun' operate as he believed".[292] Thus, idealism comes into conflict with materialism.[293] As Moers sees it, Tjekerbaal's sarcastic reaction to Wenamun's rhetoric reduces what Wenamun thought was "an expression of a higher order" to a commercial exercise. His sarcasm thus causes a *Zersetzung des mythischen Analogons* ('decomposition of the mythical analogon') which occurs when "the artificiality of a discourse is thematized and becomes the theme of reflection in the text itself".[294] Ammunenshi's ironic rejoinder to Sinuhe's platitudes about the pharaoh could be seen as operating in a similar fashion.[295] By concluding that this 'decomposition' resulted in Wenamun's complete loss of identity, Moers *internalises* the effect of the discourse. This approach assumes that Wenamun was not only naïve, but that his naïveté was actually *altered* (or shaken) by his discourse with foreign characters, which represents a decisive step towards the *humanising* approaches to character discussed in section 1.3.2. The other way to read the character of Wenamun, as I suggested in section 5.3.1.1, is to see him as calculating, attempting to make the most of his unfortunate situation. If anything, this approach is easier to take, if only for the reason that Wenamun is remarkably consistent. If the overturning of his 'mythical analogon' had actually altered him, then his behaviour towards Hatiba, we would presume, would have been different. However, his rhetoric and expectations regarding protection based on his 'status' remain unchanged. Thus, the strength and self-possession of the rulers of Dor and Byblos, the wildness of the residence of Alasiya and the merccy of its ruler forces on Wenamun a process *not* of ontological but rather of simultaneously political and interpersonal dialectic, which, to a certain extent, is played out in the domain of his and his interlocutors' social roles and expectations.

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[291] Moers 1999: 53–54, also Moers 2001a: 264–265.
[292] Moers 1999: 54–55, also Moers 1990–7b: 913.
[293] Baines 1999a: 232.
[294] Lugowski 1976 [1932]: 13, 52, also Moers 1999: 55.
[295] *The Tale of Sinuhe* B 75–77, discussed by Derchain 1985: 7, Guglielmi 1992: 166–168 and Winand 1994a: 98–99.

5.7.2   *'Foreigner-Speak'?*

Naturally, it was necessary for all Egyptian narratives to be written completely in Egyptian in order to be comprehensible to a local audience. In most cases, the fact that characters *are* speaking Egyptian is taken for granted. However, when Wenamun asks if any Alasiyan speaks Egyptian, a clear deviation from the Egyptian 'narrative language' is established, in a similar manner to Amunnenshi's reception of Sinuhe in *The Tale of Sinuhe*.[296] The accompaniment of a foreign language with a foreign setting supplies a verisimilitude that has led several scholars to draw conclusions about the various languages being spoken in the tale. Blumenthal thought that the story represented Egyptian being spoken in the Levant, since Wenamun spoke effortlessly with Beder and Tjekerbaal, whereas he needed an interpreter in Cyprus.[297] Baines suggests that Wenamun and his foreign interlocutors were speaking to each other in Akkadian on the grounds that Akkadian was "the international language", though he acknowledges that Egyptian interpreters may have been used.[298] Satzinger has taken the issue so far as to argue that the Egyptian author may be trying to evoke an interlanguage in Tjekerbaal's "grammatical oddities" and thereby mock his Egyptian.[299] His argument hinges on taking a dependent pronoun following an Infinitive as incorrect.[300] However, these 'dependent pronouns' are more probably alternative renderings of the suffix pronoun *⸗s* that occur throughout the text.[301] Satzinger also claims that Tjekerbaal's use of the Emphatic Form additionally indicates the "fuzziness" of his delivery,[302] but this seems unlikely on the grounds that Wenamun uses them also, and that the form is by no means nonsensical.[303] Though an ingenious

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[296] *The Tale of Sinuhe* B 31–32, in Koch 1990: 24.

[297] Blumenthal 1982: 64, also de Spens 1998: 113.

[298] Baines 1999a: 228.

[299] Satzinger 1997: 172. Baines 1999a: 228, note 58, seems to agree with these ideas, and yet he points out that these forms "are likely to imitate foreign speech heard in Egypt rather than abroad", or alternatively, that they "could be an artificial device ... and would not prove that the exchanges were envisaged as happening in Egyptian". His agreement is rather curious in light of his (seemingly contradictory) postulations about Akkadian being spoken.

[300] Satzinger 1997: 172–173.

[301] Egberts 1999: 18 and Winand 2004: 106, following Winand 1987: 19, show that this rendering of the suffix pronoun appears in the narration and in the words of several characters, including Wenamun. Peust 2002: 317–322 additionally points out that the dependent pronoun could follow an Infinitive in Late Egyptian, but only *rdj*, not *jr*, as is the case here, for which see Satzinger 1997: 171.

[302] Satzinger 1997: 174.

[303] Egberts 1999: 20.

proposal, it seems unlikely that the author was "characterizing foreigners by imitating typically foreign diction".[304] These linguistic issues aside, the main problem with Satzinger's theory is that it necessitates an *a priori* assumption that the characters *were* actually speaking Egyptian,[305] thus equating the narrative language with the discursive language. But how 'real' can we consider dialogue to be?[306]

To return to Wenamun's discourse with Hatiba, it is perhaps significant that once his preamble, 'say to my mistress' (W483) is over, the story reverts to reporting a dialogue between Wenamun and Hatiba unfettered by the need for an interpreter. This linguistic need was simply a *sign* for the 'strangeness' of Alasiya,[307] which, as we have seen, may have been transferred to the characterisation of its inhabitants. Egyptian was thus the 'narrative-language' *of* the tale, irrespective of what language would have been considered appropriate or possible under the types of circumstances represented *in* the tale.

5.7.3   *Foreign Locales*

The foreign lands have a significant impact on the story,[308] being placed in contrast to Egypt (*km.t*), which Tjekerbaal and Wenamun describe as *p₃ n.tï jmn jm* "the place where Amun is" (W168 and W484, *LES* 66, 7 and 75, 6).[309] They provide locations that facilitate circumstances in which the themes of the narrative could be explored. Additionally, it is to be noted that the often quite detailed description (or *ekphrasis*)[310] of Wenamun's surroundings is a feature which differentiates *Wenamun* markedly from the other works in this corpus.

Dor, *d-r*, on 'the great sea of Syria' (W015, *LES* 1, 7),[311] is a city on the northern coast of Palestine, south of Carmel and near the modern town

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[304] Satzinger 1997: 176.

[305] The only indication of this possibility (but which in itself could be considered conventional) is that Wenamun encourages Tjekerbaal to erect a stela inscribed in Egyptian that would elicit a positive response from a passing Egyptian who would 'know the writing'. It seems unlikely that, as Galán 2005: 152, note 63 suggests, that the inscription was written in Phoenician.

[306] Loprieno 1996b: 48.

[307] Baines 1999a: 228 and Suhr 1999: 119.

[308] Loprieno 1988a: 65.

[309] Egberts 1998: 99.

[310] Widmaier 2009: 2 describes *ekphrasis* as the verbalisation or description of something visual.

[311] Scheepers 1991: 66 defines Syria or Kharu as a region which "couvrait un territoire allant de la frontière du Delta oriental près de Silé, par delà la Palestine, jusqu'au nord de

of et-Tantura.[312] Its significance extends from being a zone belonging to[313] (or at least in use by) the *Tjeker*, Sea Peoples who had attempted invasions of Egypt during the Ramesside Period. Though their existence and activities are well documented by Egyptian texts like the *Onomasticon of Amenemope*,[314] Papyrus Harris I[315] and the Year Eight Inscription of Ramesses III,[316] few archaeological remains can tie the group clearly to Dor,[317] which perhaps suggests that the *Tjeker* used Dor as a *dmy* 'port, landing place' (W016, *LES* 61, 10) rather than a residence.[318] Their mobility is evident in the story (W411–W413, *LES* 73, 10–11).

Byblos, *k-p-n*, located 30 kilometres north of Beirut[319] in the region of Syria or Kharu (*ḫ-r*) (W323, *LES* 70, 16), is Wenamun's intended destination. Byblos forms part of the Lebanon, which is classified with a tree,[320] perhaps referring to the mountain range of the Lebanon, from which timber is obtained.[321] A feature of Byblos in the story is the gravesite of the Egyptian emissaries who died abroad 'in their places' after 17 years service. This may imply that they died in their foreign residences, or while performing their duties. The terror that this circumstance inflicts in Wenamun (who refuses to see the gravesite) evokes Sinuhe's determination to return home so as not to die and be buried abroad,[322] or the scribe's warning about the soldier dying in a foreign land in Papyrus Lansing,[323]

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la Phénicie". Dor would therefore be seen as belonging to Syria. Syria or *ḫ-r* is mentioned in Papyrus Harris I, 75, 4–5, in Erichsen 1933: 91, 10.

[312] Blumenthal 1982: 48.

[313] *AEO* I 200*.

[314] *AEO* I 199*–200*.

[315] Papyrus Harris I, 76, 7–8, in Erichsen 1933: 92, 18–93, 2, establishes the extent to which the *Tjeker*, amongst other Sea Peoples, were considered enemies during the reign of Ramesses III: *T-k-r P-l-s-t jr.w m ssfy Š-r-d-n W-š-š n pꜣ ym st jr.w m tm wn≠w* "The *Tjeker* and Peleset are made into ashes, the Sherden and Washosh of the sea, they are made as those who do not exist".

[316] *KRI* V 40, 3. The city's appearance only on these late documents has led Winand 2011: 544 to presume that Dor was not well developed until after the New Kingdom, in other words, when the text was written, not when it was set.

[317] Scheepers 1991: 68–69.

[318] Scheepers 1991: 70 sees this occurrence of '*Tjeker*' (W016) as a toponym, given that it was classified as a place with with 〰 (Gardiner Sign N25) rather than as a people with 👥. However, it is likely that this name emerges in relation to a city on account of being tied to this group of people.

[319] Scheepers 1991: 77.

[320] W239, W276 and W291.

[321] Scheepers 1991: 79.

[322] Hornung 1995: 64.

[323] Papyrus Lansing 10, 8–9, in *LEM* 109, 6–8, translation in Lichtheim 1976: 172, "He dies on the edge of the desert, and there are none to perpetuate his name. He suffers in death as in life. A big sack is brought for him; he does not know his resting place".

and demonstrates that this fear had by no means been abated by centuries of intercultural exchange. Another prominent feature is Tjekerbaal's *ꜥr.t* 'upper room', whose window affords a view of the sea (*LES* 66, 3–6). Haeny, who regards the *ꜥr.t* as a foreign structure,[324] assumes that this description symbolises the 'foreignness' of Wenamun's surroundings. It is difficult to tell, however, whether *ꜥr.t* was a new foreign feature in Egyptian architecture, or just a new word for 'room', since none of the texts in which the word appears, from *Wenamun* to the 'Praise of the Delta Residence'[325] and Papyrus Harris I[326] clearly associate *ꜥr.t* with an "*upper room*".[327] Perhaps Winand's interpretation is more interesting, noting that since both of the chamber types that appear in the story, the *ḥꜣy.t* of Wenamun's title and the *ꜥr.t* in which Tjekerbaal stands, appear consecutively in the *Onomasticon of Amenemope*,[328] they could have been parallel concepts in the story.[329] The literary parallelism evoked would have been all the more heightened had the latter been considered foreign, showing the Elder of the Portal in a new kind of space. Another thing to note is the rare detailed description of the protagonist's surroundings, a literary feature known as *ekphrasis*.[330]

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[324] Haeny 1967: 75. Hoch 1994: 371–372 links the word *ꜥr.t* to the Semitic 'bolt' or even 'fort'.

[325] Papyrus Anastasi III 7, 4–5 in *LEM* 28, 12–13, mentioned in Haeny 1967: 75.

[326] Contrary to what Haeny 1967: 72 attempts to indicate, the word *ꜥr.t* is clearly used *not* to describe the gateway, but the entire enclosure wall of Medinet Habu. See Papyrus Harris I, 3, 11–4, 3, in Erichsen 1933: 4, 5–11 and Christophe 1961: 22, and also the Karnak block inscribed by the high priest Amenhotep, in Sauneron 1966: 15.

[327] In fact, although Haeny 1967: 75 mentions that the word's stem means 'high-situated', it can also indicate rooftop structures and palace rooms, as is given even by the Old Testament examples he cites, like Jeremiah 22, 14–15. Even sources that Haeny sees as referring to a high room, such as 2 Samuel, 18, 33 in *The Holy Bible*, are not clear. Therefore, the evidence is stretched to clearly tie this structure to notions of an elevated situation.

[328] *AEO* II 210*–211*, but note that in the *Onomasticon* (which shares a findspot with *Wenamun*) the words are spelled *ꜥnrt* and *ḥꜣtyw*, so the insinuation of identical or related authorship must be sceptically regarded.

[329] Winand 2011: 551, also note 78 mentions that *ꜥr.t* also appears in Papyrus Harris I, 57, 12–13, in Erichsen 1933: 66, 18, with the word *ṯ-k-r*, which Hoch 1994: 371–372 sees as another foreign word for an architectural feature like a 'tower gate'. This word association may also have stimulated the choice of Tjekerbaal's name, which may have been a humorous note. In this way it becomes clear how much of the universe of a text is impossible to retrieve.

[330] In relation to this section of the text in *Wenamun*, Widmaier 2009: 68–69 draws attention to the waves of the Mediterranean, which perhaps symbolise, as in Moers 2001: 192–194, the potentially dangerous passage into the unknown.

Alasiya, *j-r-s*, the kingdom of Cyprus,[331] is attested in the Year Eight Inscription of Ramesses III,[332] but also earlier in the Amarna Letters,[333] as well as in correspondence between the Chief of Alasiya and Hammurabi of Ugarit.[334] Hatiba's palace complex in the town in Alasiya, like Tjekerbaal's upper room, serves as a point of detail.[335] It is difficult to tell, however, whether their features mark them as specifically 'foreign'.

Dor, Byblos and Alasiya, as well as Tyre and Sidon, are written with double classifiers: 'hill country' and 'city',[336] which suggests perhaps that they were "'adoptés' par l'encyclopédie égyptienne" and had become "*centres de l'espace fictif*". Though foreign lands, they are "les lieux d'une égyptisation fictive, les lieux qui dans la fiction littéraire deviennent 'partiellement égyptiens' parce qu'ils représentent le nouveau centre de l'espace personnel de l'auteur".[337] In light of what we have noted regarding foreign locations and languages, it is not surprising that the lands have been enveloped into Egyptian literary space. However, it is hardly certain that the doubling of classifiers, which was commonplace in Late Egyptian,[338] illustrates this. This 'familiarisation of the foreign', which has occurred throughout this corpus in different ways, in the merging of gods, customs, and so on, should be considered as part of the creation of literary texts.

5.7.4   *Worship as an Index of Ethnicity*

Though religion has been thematised in some form or other in all the texts in this corpus, it is explored in great detail in *Wenamun*.[339] Like in the historical narratives of the previous chapter, Tjekerbaal is manifested as wor-

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[331] Scheepers 1991: 81–83 suggests that the term 'Alasiya' means both the island and the capital city, since *p3 t3 n j-r-s* 'the *land* of Alasiya' uses the 'urban site' classifier, and Hatiba is *t3 wr n p3 dmy*, 'the Chief of the *town*'. It is also possible that the name of the town is not stipulated, and that Hatiba is ruler of this town, but her rulership of all Alasiya is suggested by Wenamun's comments to her about its jurisdiction, thereby implying her control over it. It might also be salutatory to clarify that the occurrences of *j-r-s* (in W467 and W488) bear three classifiers: the throw-stick (Gardiner Sign T14), the desert land/hill country (Gardiner Sign N25) and the town with crossroads (Gardiner Sign O49).

[332] *KRI* V 39, 16.

[333] For which see letters EA 33–40, in Moran 1992: 104–113.

[334] RSL 1, *Ugaritica* 5.23, in Beckman 1996: 27.

[335] Baines 1999a: 219.

[336] Gardiner Signs N25 and O49.

[337] Loprieno 2001: 78.

[338] Junge 2005: 41–42. Therefore, the sign combination 'city + foreign land' could be considered 'foreign city' rather than 'Egyptianised foreign city'.

[339] Though the intertwining of religion and politics is certainly a key theme, I do not regard the text, as does Schipper 2005: 3, as being theo-political in *function*.

shipping different gods to the Egyptians as an indication of his alterity: a religious clash is therefore equated with culture clash. In the first instance, in the exact moment in which Tjekerbaal is worshipping 'his gods' (who are, perhaps significantly, not named), '*the* god', who is later revealed to be Amun, disrupts the proceedings by possessing the Page.[340]

Tjekerbaal's patron deity is only referred to in veiled terms. As suggested in the lexical analysis above, Tjekerbaal's name might be an indication. Also, his discourse draws attention to Seth's support of Amun: "That Amun thunders in the sky is that he has placed Seth in his vicinity" (W256–W257, *LES* 68, 15–16). Perhaps Baal is being referred to by the name of Seth, his Egyptian counterpart,[341] as seems to be the case in the historical narratives discussed in chapter 4.

5.7.5 *Ethnicity as a Stimulus for Religious Dialectic*

In addition to religion indicating alterity, the foreignness of the characters and setting in *Wenamun* discussed above provides a context in which religious ideas are explored. It supplies a dialectical opposition to Wenamun's religious arguments, which perhaps represented the ideology of the day,[342] though some may have also been of his own creation for the purpose of his argument. Tjekerbaal opposes the supremacy of Amun firstly by noting that Amun's power is not exclusive to Egypt, since it was used also to establish the Lebanon[343] and secondly, by pointing out that this power depends on the support of Seth/Baal, and, perhaps by implication, that Egypt's power is dependent on other countries. *Inside* the story, this argument beautifully displays Tjekerbaal's conscious rhetorical skill, using Wenamun's discourse about the creative powers of Amun against him by reinterpreting them in a Levantine context. His ability to engage with the topic may also allude to the absorption of Egyptian gods into the foreign consciousness.[344] Tjekerbaal's dialectic is sophisticated precisely because

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[340] As Cody 1979: 105 points out, an Egyptian god possessing a Levantine person would have been seen as an unusual occurrence. Since the identity of the 'seizing god' is unclear in W114, Baines 1999a: 230 regards it as being a Levantine deity. This reading is unlikely, since the same term, 'the god', is used immediately afterwards (W117) in reference to Amun. Therefore, it is unclear why Morschauser 1991: 317 regards Amun's action as corresponding to "phenomena of a non-Egyptian nature".

[341] Lichtheim 1976: 230, note 12.

[342] Eyre 1999: 252.

[343] Moers 2000: 85.

[344] Schipper 2005: 265 sees as "estaunlich" the fact that Tjekerbaal can talk about Egypt as "the place where Amun is". As I have suggested, this is hardly surprising, either from the

he never openly confronts Wenamun's 'ideology',[345] but rather, he argues right within it, turning Wenamun's ideas to his own advantage. His arguments therefore do not just annihilate with antithesis but rebuild a synthesis. In this way, the Levantine prince conjures up a new world order.

Outside the story, by which I mean the whole scope of the text (as envisioned by the author/s), the references by Tjekerbaal to Amun and Seth could be simply the Egyptian author's interpretation of a religious discourse abroad. However, it seems more likely that the implications are more complex than this, with the foreign locale being used as a buffer in which Egyptian ideological issues could be canvassed for an Egyptian audience.[346] The dialogue fits the audience more than the protagonists themselves,[347] since a foreign character like Tjekerbaal has been constructed to be cognisant of the Egyptian theo-political situation most probably in order to be able to comment on it to Wenamun.[348] The thematic angle of the dialogue thus provides yet another indicator of fictionality and gives us a new appreciation for the ways in which foreigners were characterised and to what purpose.

5.8   *Conclusion*

Wenamun could be seen as a stock Anti-Hero, whose interest comes simply from the situations in which he finds himself.[349] However, his reactions to these situations and his changes in tactics, though they may not reflect an actual attitude,[350] develop him as a character. The foreign rulers' power is manifest by their ability to deal with reality, where Wenamun stalls in contingencies. Their status as classical Opponents is not always clear, since in their *actions* they often do as Wenamun wishes. In their *words*, however, their hostility is more apparent, manifesting, perhaps, their reac-

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perspective that the Egyptian author is creating this character for an Egyptian audience and to convey an Egypto-centric message, or from the perspective that Amun's influence had certainly been felt in the Near East for centuries.

[345]   Egberts 1998: 103, note 84.

[346]   Baines 1999a: 230.

[347]   Liverani 1990: 252.

[348]   Baines 1999a: 231 explains that "the text does not simply displace the Egyptian ideological discourse onto the Near East and address it where for the local actors it may not belong: it makes this separation one motor of the plot".

[349]   Vinson 2008: 344 takes the Anti-Hero concept in this manner in his analysis of *The First Tale of Setna Khaemwase*.

[350]   Bennison 1993: 79.

tion to Wenamun's disregard for diplomatic and discursive protocol. Even Hatiba is clearly an Opponent: she does nothing to help Wenamun out of concern for his welfare in the manner of a Helper. She merely responds to his expostulations not to let him be killed on legal grounds. Her demeanour towards him is that of a foreign ruler, and though she does not overtly go out of her way to hinder Wenamun's progress, his arrival in her town brings about disastrous events, as we see also with Beder.

Therefore, this analysis allows us to quantitively assess many of the claims made about *The Misfortunes of Wenamun* and its characters. In some instances, opinions held by other scholars can be supported and even exemplified: this study shows, for instance, exactly how Wenamun was made into an Anti-Hero. On the other hand, assertions about the 'innocence' of Wenamun, as well as theories about his 'belief system' should most probably be reconsidered. The reactions of the rulers, and the motivation ascribed to these reactions, has also been presented in a different light. One new and quite particular example of reactions being supposed without empirical support is Baines' conclusion concerning the female characters: that Wenamun "evokes positive responses in them and may thus be a feature of his 'character' conveyed by interaction with others—as against the rather negative reactions he produces in the male characters, Badar of Dor, Zakarba'al, and Penamun".[351] His rather coy treatment of the term 'character' belies his profound statement about Wenamun's personality, which goes beyond what the text allows. Egyptians of both genders clearly support Wenamun, and Hatiba's 'kindness' is really manifest no more than Beder's, being, like his, 'motivated' by Wenamun's rhetoric. Tantamun sending supplies to Wenamun could illustrate her kindness, though it may have been a strategic means of increasing Wenamun's standing before Tjekerbaal.[352] Lastly, Tennut consoles Wenamun when he is under threat from the *Tjeker* at the behest of Tjekerbaal, so her behaviour towards him is not self-motivated. Therefore, the issue of gender does not undermine the natural distinction made between the Egyptian rulers, who support Wenamun in his mission, and the foreign rulers, whose actions make it difficult for the mission to proceed.

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[351] Baines 1999a: 227. This idea is based on the fact that "(t)he strong actions of negatively portrayed women in other tales suggests that this pattern is meaningful".

[352] Baines 1999a: 226.

Within the paramaters of this narratological opposition, it is clear that *mimesis*, as manifest in the characterisation of foreigners and Egyptians, is at its most developed in *Wenamun*, inasmuch as it is more *realistic* in terms of characterisation than in other tales. However, this factor is more plausibly tied to the genre of the tale and its purpose, rather than to its development in tandem with historical circumstances. This is not to say that these stories were not a product of their age, but it is to say that foreigners did not come to be represented with greater verisimilitude on account of the collapse of the Ramesside Period.

5.8.1   *Irony Served Three Ways*

This analysis of *Wenamun* demonstrates how important a role irony plays, both in characterisation and in an audience's engagement with literary and political ideas. Irony appears on at least three levels: between characters,[353] in the author's representation of the characters (manifest in the plot structure)[354] and in the broader message of the tale.[355] The first two are significant for characterisation and the third comments on the status of Amun and Egypt. Although "the all-lordship of god and the legitimacy of kingship" are not specifically the targets of irony,[356] literature creates a distance from the culture in general that allows it to be portrayed ironically.[357] Thus, humorous references to the fragmented political situation of Egypt and the burgeoning role of Amun are themes in the tale, though they do not monopolise its entire message. Moreover, we should see this *Selbstironie*[358] that critically evaluates the power of the Egyptian state and its intercultural relations not just as a product of its age, but rather as a feature of all phases of Egyptian literature.

This analysis has also engaged with the means by which the different levels of irony are created. I have been able to show that irony at the level of character interaction (*in dialogue*) is manifest in the dissociation between literal and intended meaning (a pragmatic distinction). In the

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[353]   Eyre 1999: 239–240.

[354]   Eyre 1999: 240–241.

[355]   Eyre 1999: 242.

[356]   Eyre 1999: 252.

[357]   However, this does not mean, as Broze 1996: 125 points out, that "qu'il la rejette ou qu'il ne croit pas en l'efficacité des moyens dont elle (la culture) dispose pour représenter le monde".

[358]   Guglielmi 1992: 160. For a pictorial example, see Ostracon Cairo CG 25084, in Peck 1978: plate VIII, in which a lion entitled 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt' is being bitten on the leg by a hyena.

characterisation of Wenamun, I have suggested that irony appears in the differentiation between what is done and what is said (ideational versus interpersonal levels of language),[359] whereas the irony that pervades the story appears as a combination of characterisation, plot, and geographical and historical setting.

The combined linguistic and literary analysis undertaken here therefore not only provides a systematic means of appraising the conclusions made by prior scholars about this work, it also establishes a framework for understanding characterisation, and, importantly, the interaction between characterisation, irony, context and message. Firstly, the method reinvigorates our understanding of the character of Wenamun, who seems to be far more resourceful and crafty in his actions and words than many scholars give him credit for. The ironic quality of his characterisation is manifest particularly in the way he falls short of our expectations, given his social context (as an envoy), literary context (as a 'Hero') and historical context (as the representative of an ailing kingdom). This method also helps us better articulate the irritation of his foreign hosts, whose discursive structures and expectations clash with Wenamun's, and whose ironic discourse is likewise driven both by their social context (as rulers), literary context (as Opponents in a *Reiseerzählung*) and historical context (as growing forces in Mediterranean politics). In this way, these foreigners challenge the Egyptian audience by providing comment on a discourse, a genre and an epoch.

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[359] Moers 2001a: 95–96 also ties irony to the interaction of a character's name with their actions and words.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

6.1   *From Microscopes to Telescopes*

The three preceding chapters investigated the representation of Egyptian literary protagonists both individually and in comparison with other, often foreign, characters. As is summarised below, this study demonstrates that characterisation is best approached by analysing the distribution of individual grammatical features across a narrative. In the synthesis to follow, I develop these results by noting how the linguistic patterns that depict protagonists shape character types which are in evidence across the whole corpus, although these types are at times transcended by a character's distinctive qualities. From a methodological point of view, this approach demonstrates the applicability of Systemic Functional Linguistics to both close analysis and generalisation. From the perspective of this study's theme, it helps us define the ways in which foreigners could be represented in their roles as Opponents or Helpers, but *never* as Heroes. The last section of this chapter then 'zooms out' even further to discuss more generally the impact of context on characterisation, drawing on the main ideas developed throughout this investigation, such as the roles of *mimesis*, ethnicity, religion and humour in the development of the characters in this corpus. First, however, let us summarise the individual qualities of the characters that provide the foundation for our generalisations.

6.2   *Findings: Characters in Contrast*

The earliest sections of chapters 3 to 5 discussed the literary and generic qualities of the narratives, which provided a basis for the detailed grammatical analysis of the characters that followed. The results of these investigations were then complemented by an exploration of the social and historical context in which each work appeared. In this way, the argument developed in section 1.3.2, that literary characters are best analysed from a range of perspectives, was put into practice: a *grammatical* method can note the extent to which characters conform to *types* or bear *individual* traits, according to the *author's reaction* to their *historical* and

literary context. Additionally, characters reflect the needs of their *audience* by being a conduit for moral and political ideas, which seem to be as important to the texts as their entertainment value. This approach brought to light hitherto unexplored dynamics of characterisation in the stories through the interplay of lexicon, grammar and context.

The fairy tale *The Doomed Prince*, the focus of chapter 3, lends itself well to a narratological analysis, given its use of plot-based motifs found in folktales worldwide. Consequently, the characters' compliance with expected narratological roles was a focus of this chapter, as was the role of the theme of fate in characterisation. The analysis revealed the realisation of these roles in the lexicogrammar, and their contrast with complementary roles borne by other characters. The Prince is a thematic focus and appears in material clauses throughout the tale. The material forms used to describe him early in the text are frequently inactive, reflecting his captivity, but his level of activity increases when granted the freedom to travel. This activity contrasts with his decreasing interpersonal power upon arrival in Naharin. His 'ethnic counterpart', the Princess of Naharin, demonstrates a more homogenous series of grammatical characteristics. Her ideational quality changes from non-active to active upon her rescue by the Prince, at which point she also gains interpersonal prominence. However, her activity is exclusively dedicated to saving her husband in the manner of the mythical Isis.[1] The Prince's increased activity correlates with his description in the lexicon, which demonstrates him 'growing up', whereas the lexical items describing the Princess, like her activity patterns, revolve around a male character and contrast with her strong interpersonal presence. The lack of foreign features that are ascribed to Naharin and its inhabitants show that ethnicity is not a characterising feature. Rather, the fact that the Prince and his foreign Princess have parallel fates shows that the foreigners in the story have *allegorical* weight, by conveying the message that throughout the world mortality may be inescapable but love is incredibly powerful.

The 'historical' narratives that formed the focus of chapter 4 required a different approach to characterisation, due to their overt referencing of historical genres. By paying attention to genre and historical context, the grammatical analysis exemplified the interplay between generic intertextuality and humour in characterisation, which may enhance the scholar's

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[1] As Teysseire 1998: 50 notes, "a female protagonist may have a bearing on the action solely through the influence she exerts over the central male character".
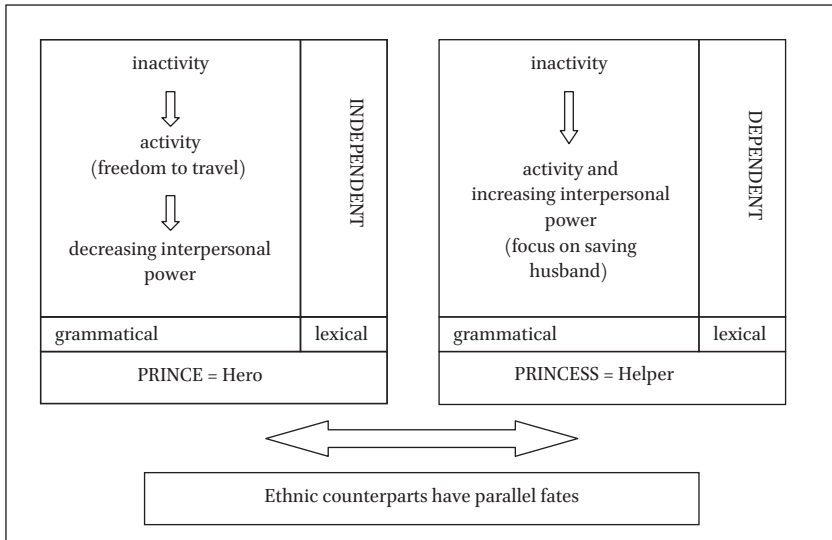
Figure 6.1. Characterisation of the Doomed Prince and Princess.

ability to predict the missing sections of the stories. The characterisation in *Apophis and Seqenenre* suggests that it is most probably a humorous take on a historical narrative, with Apophis being antagonistic and Seqenenre surprisingly inactive and helpless. On the other hand, *The Taking of Joppa* is more likely a historical fable, suggested by the contrast between the Egyptian Hero Djehuty's activity and efficiency and the Rebel of Joppa's inefficacy, though the latter's interest in Egyptian culture is a surprising feature. Thus, the focus of their characterisation extends to whether they conform to or subvert the 'types' expected of monumental genres, so as a result, their description is minimal. Nevertheless, although these foreigners are adversaries of the Egyptians, their intent distinguishes them from the hollow vessels trampled upon by pharaohs in the military genres being referenced.

In the travel narrative *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*, analysed in chapter 5, the dialogue is pervasive and fundamental to the flow of the text. It also has significant bearing on the characterisation of Wenamun and the foreign rulers with whom he comes into contact. Although narrative roles were again taken into consideration, they were approached from the perspective of Wenamun's self-presentation and concomitant representation of his Helpers and Opponents. Though Wenamun's activity and dominance in the story marks him as a Hero, his Anti-Hero status becomes clear in

inertia		activity	
does not initiate episodes	*nsw* as *wr*	initiates episodes	*wr* as *nsw*
asks questions		issues commands	
grammatical	lexical	grammatical	lexical
SEQENENRE = Anti-Hero		APOPHIS = Opponent	

Reference to historical genres creates expectations which are undermined
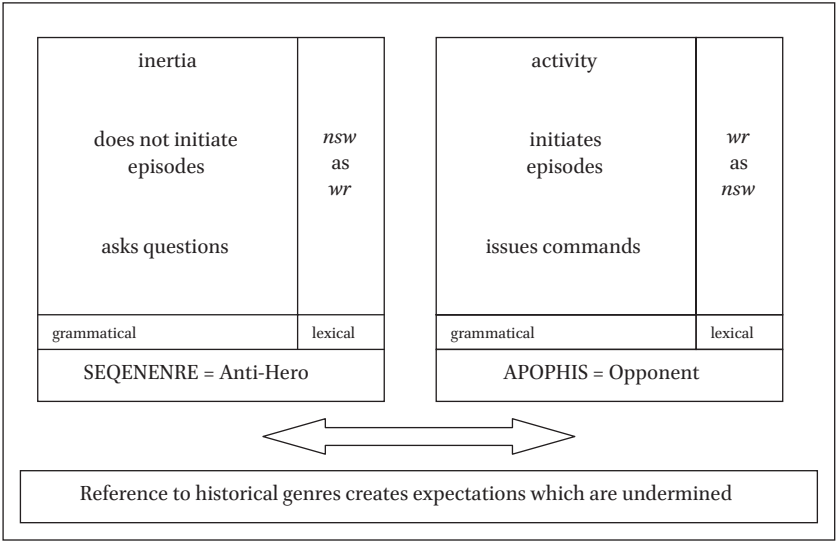
Figure 6.2. Characterisation of Seqenenre and Apophis.

activity and prescience	name	inertia and naiveté	no name (*ḥr.w*)
issues commands		makes requests	
grammatical	lexical	grammatical	lexical
DJEHUTY = Hero		REBEL OF JOPPA = Opponent	

Expectations of historical roles fulfilled, though intent undermines *topos*
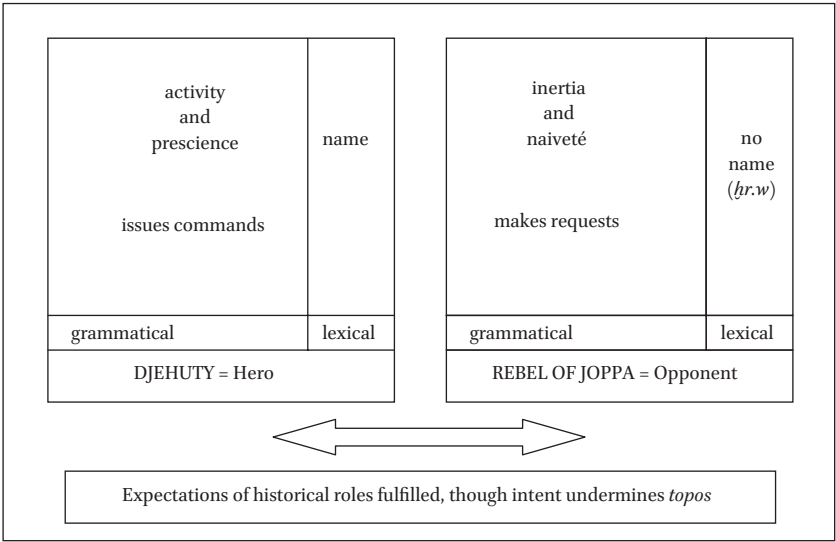
Figure 6.3. Characterisation of Djehuty and the Rebel of Joppa.

activity via self-presentation (contradictory) initiates episodes modal forms	name with link to Amun	activity relating to roles as chiefs rarely initiate episodes imperatives and interrogatives	names with links to foreign gods (?)
grammatical	lexical	grammatical	lexical
WENAMUN = Anti-Hero		FOREIGN CHIEFS = Opponents	

Antipathy emerges from social expectations not being met

Figure 6.4. Characterisation of Wenamun and the Foreign Chiefs.

the contradiction between his words and his deeds, as well as in the fact that much of his activity is represented only in the wishes of his interlocutors. The antipathy of his active and powerful Opponents, moreover, is explicable in light of Wenamun not meeting their discursive expectations, which are most concretely explained using theories and methods of pragmatics and sociolinguistics, such as Conversation Analysis, Grice's Cooperative Principle and Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory. The intent of the foreign foe mentioned in the previous chapter thus becomes explored far more in depth here, and thus their reactions are best analysed within the scope not merely of literary, but also of social concerns, which is a perspective not always considered in studies of this work.

The value of the Systemic Functional analysis thus lies in being able to more concretely analyse and compare the characteristics of these Ramesside literary icons.

6.3   Synthesis: Characters as Types

To conclude this analysis, I synthesise the results of the character study by noting the similarities and differences in the construction of character types across the four texts. The advantage of such an approach is that it facilitates a different kind of comparison, since Heroes and Anti-Heroes

are Egyptian, Opponents are foreign and Helpers are mixed. The narrative roles are manifest in ethnic terms when travel abroad or invasion is at issue, and their unchanging configurations demonstrate the importance of a story being focalised from an Egyptian perspective: it seems unconscionable that a foreigner's experience should be the central element. Thus, we shall note the different ways in which narrative roles are engendered and isolate the sorts of characteristics that genres can infuse into them, even if these conclusions are limited by the size of the corpus. As with the study of individuals above, this investigation notes the difference in characterisation that emerges from narration and speech, and in so doing, it offers an embellishment of the conclusions made about character types within narratology. For instance, we have noticed in the course of this work that the so-called 'Heroes' of Egyptian literary works correspond in varying ways to the heroic criteria set by Mieke Bal.[2] Ancient evidence therefore helps us to test and also substantiate these observational criteria that we encounter in the theory. The analytical method used to assess this data also complements the literary theoretical approach by enhancing the technical apparatus of the analysis.

6.3.1   *Heroes and Anti-Heroes across the Narratives*

The representation of Egyptian Heroes differs according to both the genre of the text and to the intended message. Naturally, the varying degrees of completeness affect our results: we can only take into consideration what remains of each narrative, but it should go without saying that what can be concluded about the Doomed Prince and Wenamun, for example, is far more reliable than what we can say about Djehuty or Seqenenre. At the ideational level, the Doomed Prince displays a level of activity throughout the text befitting a Hero, with a large number of material clauses that dwarf the verbal clauses. A high number of relational clauses make him the most 'described' of the Heroes, but most cases (particularly relational *identifying* clauses) are in his own words: he foregrounds an assumed identity as he travels alone to meet his fate. The other clear Hero is Djehuty, whose material clauses outnumber any other Process. By focusing on his activity in planning and executing the plot, his representation is consequently less diverse. Seqenenre is also not described in much detail, though the behavioural clauses that show him reacting supply some interest. His inactivity

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2 Bal 1997: 132.

when imposed upon by his Opponent marks him out as an Anti-Hero and fulfils the seemingly humorous intentions of the text. By contrast, Wenamun demonstrates no lack of activity, though the scale changes when we look at his activity compared to the action he is told to do or talks about doing. A total of 62 percent of material clauses (45 of 73) appear in dialogue rather than narration, compared to the 38 percent of activity (18 out of 47 clauses) spoken about by the Doomed Prince. Like the Doomed Prince's 'son of chariot-warrior' alter ego, Wenamun is not of a sufficiently high status to be a frequent Initiator of causative clauses, which is prevalent in the characterisation of Djehuty (who acts on the king's behalf) and Seqenenre (a ruler). Wenamun's character centres around his struggles and his emotional reactions, revealed in mental and behavioural clauses, and on his location in space through relational clauses. The high amount of activity used to describe Heroes, compared with the low amount that characterises Anti-Heroes, thus begins to demonstrate how well the four characters analysed here fulfil these roles.

On a textual level, the Doomed Prince dominates episodic change and has more presence following the internal markers *wn.jn* and *ꜥḥꜥ.n* than any other character. Djehuty compares poorly, since the number of lacunae mean that we cannot assess how often he follows sequential markers that mark out episodes. Seqenenre surprisingly does not follow markers of episodic change, though he appears frequently after the internal narrative markers. Lastly, Wenamun is naturally dominant in his own tale, appearing in six of the ten clauses following dates and fronted temporal formulae. Judging by what remains of the text, at least, Seqenenre is thus an intentional exception to a pattern of textual dominance manifested by Heroes and Anti-Heroes.

At the interpersonal level, the Doomed Prince is shown using a range of moods to accomplish his aims. He makes demands, though only in the Causative Imperative,[3] asks questions and demonstrates wishes in the Prospective and the modal Third Future as indications of his powerlessness. Djehuty, always in control, issues several Imperatives and Causative Imperatives, but asks no questions. His intentions are canvassed in declarative modal forms and the Prospective. By contrast, Seqenenre asks many questions but never issues commands. He likewise uses modal declarative and subjunctive forms. Wenamun, ever the rhetorician, issues Imperatives,

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[3] Sweeney 2008: 199 shows that in the *Late Egyptian Stories*, the Causative Infinitive was often used towards superiors. The Imperative proper was rarely used.

Character	Ideational Level	Textual Level	Interpersonal Level
DOOMED PRINCE = Hero	High: material and relational Low: causative	Almost exclusively linked to episodic change	Causative Imperative Interrogative Declarative modal
DJEHUTY = Hero	High: material and causative No: behavioural or mental	Too many lacunae	Imperative No interrogative Declarative modal
SEQENENRE = Anti-Hero	Equally low: material, causative and verbal	In remaining text not linked to episodic change	No imperative Interrogative Declarative modal
WENAMUN = Anti=Hero	High: material, mental, behavioural Low: causative	Frequently linked to episodic change	Imperative Interrogative Declarative modal

Figure 6.5. Heroes and Anti-Heroes across Narratives.[4]

Causative Imperatives, Prohibitives and Causative Prohibitives. He asks a multitude of questions (far more than commands—15 compared to 8), and uses a wide array of declarative modals in addition to the Prospective, which is perhaps an indication of his powerlessness compared to his Opponents. This comparison at the interpersonal level suggests a differentiation in the representation of the Heroes. The less developed ones have predictable Metafunctional patterns: active characters use a range of moods and are prominent at main points of the story and passive characters have less choice of moods and have little role in the narrative's development. However, with more complex characters, like Wenamun or the Doomed Prince, the levels of the language do not always align. For instance, as we see in figure 6.5, a character can be simultaneously active but not interpersonally powerful.

6.3.2   *Opponents across the Narratives*

As for the foreigners that form an opposing force to the Heroes' activities, the Chief of Naharin is presented as conducting a moderate amount of activity in material clauses, which is almost matched by his verbal clauses. He is a frequent Initiator in causative clauses and he reacts in behavioural

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[4] The quantities of forms per character are accessible in the data tables in the relevant chapters.

and mental clauses. However, he is never described in relational clauses. The Rebel of Joppa, on the other hand, displays a low but equal number of material, causative and verbal clauses, which confirm his status as a ruler. The fact that he also has an equal number of mental clauses is interesting, because his intent, like that of the Chief of Naharin, becomes a focus. Apophis, by contrast, is never 'fleshed out' psychologically, being portrayed almost exclusively in material clauses, with few causative and verbal clauses. What differentiates him, however, is his identification, in terms of his person and the space he occupies. Beder is identified with a greater variety of Processes, predominantly relating to action and speech. He also appears in a mental clause and several relational clauses that situate and identify him. By far the most developed Opponent, Tjekerbaal demonstrates almost the whole range of Processes, of which a great number are material and verbal. The high number of causative clauses with which he is described befits his role as Ruler, and the many behavioural clauses foreground his reactions to the ongoing dispute with the thorn in his side, Wenamun. Lastly, Hatiba, whose representation is truncated, is described only in material, causative, verbal and relational terms. None of the Opponents, in comparison to the Heroes (bar Djehuty) bear relational attributive clauses that describe their qualities, but all cause things to be done for them, highlighting that they are of a higher status than the Heroes.

From a textual perspective, the visibility of the Opponent is dependent on the power of the Hero. Where there is a clear Hero, though their Opponents may have a great amount of agency, they rarely regulate the episodic steps in the text. For instance, the Chief of Naharin never appears following markers of episodic change, though he frequently follows minor narrative markers. The Rebel follows the minor marker *ḫr jr* 'now', but his visibility at key points in the text is impossible to determine given the text's condition. When instead there is an Anti-Hero, the textual dominance of the Opponent increases. Apophis generates the parody in the text by dominating occasions of episodic change, though he follows fewer minor narrative markers than Seqenenre. Tjekerbaal also follows fronted temporal formulae that mark episodic change, though Beder and Hatiba, as more minor characters, do not.

On the interpersonal level, the Opponents are distinguished from the Heroes and other characters by their frequent use of the imperative mood, which, like the causative clauses highlighted above, is indicative of their status. The Chief of Naharin uses both the Imperative and the Causative Imperative, as does the Rebel of Joppa. Apophis (via his Messenger) uses

the Causative Imperative, Beder the Imperative and Prohibitive, Hatiba the Imperative and Tjekerbaal all three in great measure. On the other hand, Opponents rarely use interrogative forms, and when they do, they are usually for rhetorical effect, which is another indication of the social power they hold over the Hero. The Chief of Naharin once asks for information and once poses an ironic rhetorical question. In the text fragments that remain, The Rebel and Apophis ask none. Similarly, Beder demonstrates his power over Wenamun by displaying his incomprehension through declaratives rather than interrogatives. Tjekerbaal's many interrogatives are primarily rhetorical and even Hatiba's interrogative, though requesting information is rather geared at pointing out the impertinence of Wenamun's request. The use of modal forms is also scarcer than with the Heroes. The Chief of Naharin only uses the modal Third Future, but the Rebel uses a Conjunctive and the *jb⸗j r sḏm* form. More modal forms, such as the Prospective, Third Future and Conjunctive, appear in the nuanced

Character	Frequency of Process Types at Ideational Level	Character Prominence at Textual Level	Forms Used at Interpersonal Level
CHIEF OF NAHARIN	Moderate: material, causative and verbal No: relational	Never linked to episodic change	Imperative Interrogative Declarative modal
REBEL OF JOPPA	Equal: material, causative, mental and verbal No: relational	Too many lacunae	Imperative No interrogative Declarative modal
APOPHIS	High: material Low: verbal and causative	Almost exclusively linked to episodic change	Causative Imperative No interrogative No declarative modal
BEDER	Moderate: material and verbal Low: causative	Never linked to episodic change	Imperative No interrogative Declarative Modal
TJEKERBAAL	High: material, causative and verbal Low: relational	Occasionally linked to episodic change	Imperative Interrogative Declarative modal
HATIBA	Low: material, causative and verbal No: behavioural	Never linked to episodic change	Imperative Interrogative No declarative modal

Figure 6.6. Opponents across Narratives.

discourse of Beder and Tjekerbaal to pose conditions as well as to state intentions, though their use of modals pales in comparison with Wenamun's. Given that modal forms convey intentions and possibilities, they give some substance to the Opponents that use them, which accounts in some measure for the underdevelopment of Apophis and Hatiba. The power of these foreigners is thus apparent in the grammar at ideational and interpersonal levels, though the textual level shows their role to be predominantly *re*-active, rather than active.

6.3.3   *Helpers across the Narratives*

Helpers in this corpus are Egyptian, foreign, and divine, though we must distinguish the 'real' Helpers, who act on the Hero's behalf in the narrative, from the 'virtual' Helpers, whose role is manifest only in the words of the Hero or another character. They are thus only of use for building an argument. Of the real Helpers, the Pharaoh, the father of the Doomed Prince, is rarely shown in a material clause, instead appearing more often in causative and verbal clauses, acting in the Prince's interests. He also appears as reacting to his child's fate in a behavioural clause. On the other hand, the Syrian Princes are mainly represented in material clauses, doing kind things for the Prince. They appear also in verbal and relational clauses. The Princess of Naharin is one of the best-developed Helpers. She demonstrates a whole range of Processes, the most significant being her mental and behavioural clauses, which establish her intentions and psychology. She also uses a large number of verbal clauses and is described in a range of relational clauses. In *Apophis and Seqenenre*, the inefficiency of the Courtiers of Seqenenre (which matches their Ruler's) is established by their representation only via behavioural and mental clauses. This contrasts with their counterparts the Hyksos Courtiers, who appear in material and verbal clauses. Since the Helpers of the foreign antagonist Apophis are similar to Djehuty's Troops, who are classic Helpers that do, cause and speak, Seqenenre's men, by contrast, are characterised as 'Anti-Helpers' in the same way that their ruler is an Anti-Hero! Smendes and Tantamun commonly cause and do, and they appear in relational attributive circumstantial and possessive clauses. Helpers are therefore fundamentally characterised by the *activity* that ensures the success of the Hero.

The 'virtual Helpers' are often shown with a wider range of Processes, on account of being constructed in the speech of the speaker, or acting by means of other objects, like King Menkheperre. While Pre in *The Doomed Prince* is defined only by material clauses, which demonstrate his role as a

saviour, in *Joppa*, the absent Menkheperre appears in material, causative, behavioural and relational identifying clauses. Herihor's activities in *Wenamun* are likewise spread across material, causative, mental and relational attributive circumstantial and possessive clauses. The best-developed Helper (of any kind), however, is *Wenamun's* Amun-Re, whom Wenamun eulogises as having powers that extend beyond acting and causing on his behalf to thinking, speaking and existing (the only instance for any character in the corpus). He is also situated and described in *every* kind of relational clause. These characters are therefore created for the purpose of argument and message, rather than to assist the Hero in any way.

At the textual level, in *The Doomed Prince*, the Pharaoh is marked at the beginning of the story and the Syrian Princes initiate an episode. Within the tale, the Pharaoh, Princes and Princess follow narrative markers. No Helpers are focalised at points of episodic change in either *Joppa* or *Wenamun*, and in *Apophis and Seqenenre*, the Courtiers only follow internal narrative markers. Textual dominance is thus not a feature of the Helpers' characterisation.

At the interpersonal level, Helpers have almost no power. Rare cases of the imperative mood appear in the discourse of the Pharaoh and Princess of Naharin, who use Causative Imperatives. The Syrian Princes are the only ones to ask a question, which establishes a reciprocal relationship with the Doomed Prince, who asks them a question in return. The modal declaratives are more widespread. The Princess of Naharin, in particular, when in a powerless state, uses Prospective, Third Future and Conjunctive modal forms. Describing their plans for future action, the Egyptian Troops use the Third Future and Conjunctive and Smendes and Tantamun also use the Third Future. Thus Helpers, irrespective of status or ethnicity, act exclusively in the service of the Hero. They have scarcely any textual presence and little interpersonal power, though their plans and intentions are often a focus.

This discussion demonstrates the nexus between character types and language, since the attribution of activity, focus and interaction to a protagonist both builds their narrative role and develops them to a greater or lesser extent. In line with the Egypto-centric nature of the literature analysed here, and the focus on texts that highlight Egyptian-foreign interchange, the Hero is always Egyptian and the Opponent always foreign, though the level of development attributed to these types is bound to the genre of work, as well as to the kind of meaning the author seeks to draw from a character's activities and interactions.

Character	Ideational Level	Textual Level	Interpersonal Level
PHARAOH	Moderate: causative and verbal Low: material	Marked at beginning of tale	Causative Imperative No interrogative No declarative modal
PRINCESS OF NAHARIN	High: material, Moderate: behavioural, mental and relational	Never linked to episodic change	Causative Imperative No interrogative Declarative modal
SYRIAN PRINCES	High: material Low: verbal and relational	Once linked to episodic change	No imperative Interrogative No declarative modal
EGYPTIAN TROOPS	High: material Low: verbal and causative	Never linked to episodic change	No imperative No interrogative Declarative modal
EGYPTIAN COURTIERS	Low: behavioural and mental	Never linked to episodic change	No imperative No interrogative No declarative modal
SMENDES AND TANTAMUN	High: causative Moderate: material Low: verbal	Never linked to episodic change	No imperative No interrogative Declarative modal

Figure 6.7. 'Real' Helpers across Narratives.

6.4   *Discussion: Characters in Context*

The conclusions we have reached so far regarding individual characters and character types also lead us to consider the role of *mimesis* in the representation of characters, the role of foreign rites and foreign lands as a catalyst for contrast and conflict and the role of humour in orienting characters towards the messages inherent in the text.

6.4.1   *The Role of* mimesis

The analyses of the four narratives have exhibited characters at different stages on a cline of development, from types that display nuances primarily in response to their situational context, to types that consciously reference types from other genres (occasionally to comment on them humorously), and to characters that make reference to types but have some ontological distance from them based on the distinctiveness of their

discourse and its reflection of their social expectations. By 'development', I do not intend that characters become more realistic, but rather that they are more *developed* in a literary sense: they are more abstract, dissociated from the situations that would otherwise define them. A character's position on this cline seems, from the analysis, to be based on the type of text in which they appear.

Irrespective of their level of development, characters are metaphorical, standing for motifs, ideas, historical persons or situations. Additionally, they stand for people, since authors seek "to fashion figures who define not only themselves but their readers as well",[5] and are thus legitimately *mimetic*, despite being plot-motivated, fictional, socially conditioned and historically bound. Through this study, therefore, we have begun to re-evaluate Loprieno's conception of *mimesis* in Egyptian literature. Change in *mimesis*, which is best accessed, as we have seen, through a study of characterisation, does not seem to be evolutional, but is rather contingent on the text type. This being said, the shifting sands of politics, foreign relations and religion are all encountered within the Ramesside stories, and the author's reaction to them is evident, as we have seen, in characterisation. Glimpses of the events at the end of the New Kingdom appear throughout this corpus, such as the split between the military in the north and the administration in the south, a tendency towards being led in policy by gods, and so on. Nevertheless, even when taking such historical interpretations into account, we must consider characterisation as being mediated by genre and generic referencing. These factors in their own way also constitute *mimesis*, as they provide not so much the content- but rather the structural foundation upon which the author/s can both base their work and comment critically. The study of characterisation undertaken here, by using language to highlight meaning and also *message*, therefore also suggests reconfiguring the complex interaction between authors, literary works and the various contexts which provoked their production.

6.4.2   *'Foreignness', 'Egyptianisation' and the Role of Religion*

An increasing cognisance of foreigners and foreign lands may have affected the depiction of foreigners in literature, but we can conclude that this foreignness, like the level of reflection of society at large, is based on genre.

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[5] Ginsberg 1983: 4.

Naharin in *The Doomed Prince* is a mythical space in which the Prince's fate can unfold, and its inhabitants do not seem to have been created with any distinguishing foreign characteristics: the Princess of Naharin even swears by Pre-Horakhty like an Egyptian. In more historical texts, where the foreign antagonists appear both in Egypt and in Joppa, foreignness becomes principally encapsulated by belligerent behaviour and the worship of Seth, which contrasts with the worship of Amun by the Hero. Nevertheless, the 'foreignness' of the Rebel of Joppa is also emphasised by his interest in Egyptian objects like the sceptre of Thutmose III. Lastly, in a text of such studied verisimilitude as *Wenamun*, 'foreignness' is evident in different customs and attitude, including the spurning of Egyptian political supremacy. Nevertheless, alterity is even here marked by the worship of 'foreign' gods, perhaps again Seth/Baal. Therefore, to synthesise genre with historical context, it seems to be symptomatic of the dynamics of the Ramesside age, with its focus on Personal Piety, that alterity was tied predominantly to a different style of worship. Thus, the foreign land was 'Egyptianised' and 'religionised' for the benefit of the Egyptian audience.[6] Irrespective of this factor, we must bear in mind that foreign characters are created with intent. Moers has suggested, in a somewhat semiotic vein, that Egyptian identity was the focus, and that Egyptians outlined themselves via the 'other'. Whether this is the case, or whether broader themes were in play, as we shall discuss below, since literature requires conflict to come to a synthesis, foreigners have a dialectical role to play as embodiments of antithesis.

6.4.3   *Bakhtin's* Carnival *and the Purpose of Ramesside Narrative*

A study of the grammatical features of these texts has demonstrated that character development in these Ramesside tales is tied to the exploration of moral and political ideas, such as fate and mortality, diplomacy, identity and religiosity.[7] It thus may be misleading to categorise it simply as *Unterhaltungsliteratur*.[8] Nevertheless, as noted by Jan Assmann, Ramesside literature certainly displays something of Mikhail Bakhtin's literary motif *Carnival*, which encapsulates "the character of burlesque, the

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[6] Fischer-Elfert 2004: 415, discussing *Sinuhe* and *Wenamun*, claims that: "Bei diesen Texten verhält sich der namentlich genannte Ausländer ägyptischer als der Ägypter, der sich auf seinem Territorium aufhält".

[7] Blumenthal 1972: 15.

[8] Blumenthal 1972: 10–11. As Bascom 1965: 290 notes, "beneath a great deal of humor lies a deeper meaning".

ironic, the comical, even the frivolous and obscene".[9] This by no means undermines the meaningfulness of this literature, nor does it completely dissociate it from the normative scribal context, as the manuscript of Papyrus Sallier I makes clear.[10] It is evident that Ramesside literature, whatever its origins, reflected social norms,[11] though it often did so while voicing criticism, albeit not in an overt manner.[12] We should therefore see this humorous literature as something that simultaneously "degrades and materialises",[13] making tangible the tension between ideology and ideas that makes literature such a fertile field of study. As we have discussed in relation to *mimesis* above, characters become the conduits by which these social expectations and reactions are manifest.

The method utilised in this analysis therefore brings to light the kinds of meaning that can be reached from the lexical through to the contextual level. Once studied individually, these layers synthesise to reconfigure our expectations of characters, which we can now see in light of their individual features, their counterparts, their narrative roles, and the genres, themes and historical contexts of the works in which they appear.

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[9] Assmann 1999: 12.

[10] However, although Assmann 2003 [1996]: 279 sees the literature of the Ramesside Period as reflecting "a new dimension of aesthetic expression, free of the constraints of official written culture, free of the normative claims of elite culture", and reflecting a "culture of folk humor", we should acknowledge that it may have penetrated the normative scribal culture regardless, since Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 40 show that Papyrus Sallier I, which contains *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, is a scribal workbook of Pentaweret. Parkinson 2002: 143 dispels the earlier opinion, held by scholars such as Lefebvre 1949: 72, that the more vulgar works in the repertoire were composed for commoners. However, elements in the stories linked to the oral tradition show us that we cannot know the extent to which illiterate Egyptians were familiar with these works.

[11] This is emphasised in the study of *Wenamun* by Moers 1999: 54–55, and in the study of *The Eloquent Peasant* by Parkinson 2000: 47. Buchberger 1989–90: 9 indicates that this is apparent in fairy tales, but it seems to me that normalising ideas extended beyond such prescribed texts into ones more challenging to the *status quo*, as noted in a general sense by Fowler 1982: 15–17. Vinson 2004: 52 sees in literary texts in general "a clear didactic purpose—to thematize *mꜣꜥ.t* in its social dimension". From a theoretical perspective, see Thornborrow & Coates 2005: 7.

[12] From a literary perspective see Bakhtin 1968 [1965]: 14 and Miller 1995: 69. From an Egyptological point of view see also van de Walle 1969: 14, Simpson 1996: 439 and Eyre 1999: 236. This could be linked to a point made by Guglielmi 1980: 69, that "Lachen und Weinen sind Ausdrucksformen ... mit denen er auf unbeantwortbare und bedrohende Situationen reagiert".

[13] Bakhtin 1968 [1965]: 20.

CONCLUSION

7.1   *Summation*

By way of conclusion, it has been demonstrated how the theme, case study and methodology chosen for this study both tread new ground and pave the way for further research. The theme of the work has been oriented at the representation of protagonists in Egyptian literary works. As I argued in chapter 1, although several studies have analysed characters in Egyptian literature, they have done so in a marginal way. None are specifically oriented towards characterisation, and none have proposed methods by which characterisation could be studied. Concerning the choice of case study, given the superfluity of Near Eastern lands and peoples in Ramesside literature and the paradigmatic status given to foreign characters in Antonio Loprieno's study of *mimesis*, the representation and role of foreign characters was considered to be a promising domain for an analysis of characterisation. What has become clear is that foreign literary characters are rarely *made* foreign, although their alterity, when marked, is on religious grounds, an issue that has not yet been sufficiently canvassed in literary studies to date. Additionally, it has also been demonstrated how the foreign characters fulfil specific narratological roles: as Opponent and Helper they act in concert the Egyptian Hero, often in subtle or humorous ways. By providing a contrasting and opposing force to Egyptian characters, these characters are not only products of their authors' historical context, but also mediums through which Egyptian literary artisans explored the human condition by placing their protagonists in fraught circumstances on a frontier.

In order to address this case study empirically, I introduced a method to Egyptian literary analysis which engaged with the narrative roles of the characters in a systematic fashion. To this end, Systemic Functional Linguistics has proved to be a particularly appropriate methodological framework because it facilitates the analysis and synthesis of the meaning, form and distribution of grammatical items in order to evaluate more precisely the dynamics of whole texts. This method allows the analyst to move away from an intuitive understanding of the textual corpus and to

test those intuitions in a rigorous and quantitative manner. It also facilitates an analysis of each character that separately assesses then integrates every aspect of language, in this case, from word to context. In this study, I was able to enrich these findings by comparing the characters with their 'ethnic counterpart'. Consequently, new perspectives about the characters were able to be reached, such as the contradictory patterns of agency/passivity and power/subjugation in the characterisation of the Doomed Prince, the acted-upon quality of the Rebel of Joppa, the hopeless indolence of Seqenenre, and the clashing discursive expectations of Wenamun and Tjekerbaal.

The characteristics emerging from the linguistic analysis were then tied to the message of the narrative, another perspective which this study attempted to thematise. The nexus between grammar, characterisation and message explains the Doomed Prince's fluctuations in power, which are bound to his acceptance of his fate. This perspective also moves away from the historical and religious interpretations of *Apophis and Seqenenre* towards understanding the characterisation of the rulers in a political light. The fragmentary state of *Joppa* means that its message is harder to qualify: it is likely to be a transmitted record of a spectacular act of heroism. Lastly, the analysis suggests that though the denigration of the Egyptian state is a prevalent theme in *Wenamun*, of at least equal import are the dynamics of interaction between people, gods and landscapes.

By understanding the way in which the characters are constructed, we can additionally assess and revise the kinds of assumptions made about missing portions of these texts and the thematic concerns that these reconstructions imply. We can then use this method to attempt to predict the course of events and thereby offer a reinterpretation of the stories and the role of the characters in the action. This study has actively problematised the issue of analysing fragmentary data, which necessarily has an inestimable affect on textual studies. This being said, it also attempts, through its proposal of a particular text-analytical methodology, to provide a means by which an analyst can augment their predictive power.

7.2   *Limitations of the Research*

As we have seen, this research attempts to highlight the importance of characterisation for Egyptological literary research and to initiate a discourse about the possible means by which it can be subjected to analysis. However, much work must be done to substantiate and develop this

avenue of enquiry. Firstly, due to the amount of detail required of such a study, the corpus chosen was small in scale. Consequently, only preliminary conclusions about the role of genre can be drawn until a greater number of cognate texts are taken into account.

Another limitation, of course, is the method itself, which is limited in the categories it singles out for analysis. For instance, given its English basis, Systemic Functional Linguistics pays little attention to cross-linguistic typological characteristics, such as verbal morphology and its significance for issues like tense and aspect. Moreover, it does not sufficiently consider elements crucial to Egyptian language, like classifiers, and their role in construing meaning. These limitations, however, do not undermine the approach advocated here—on the contrary, they show the need for a greater variety of linguistic approaches to Egyptian literature.

7.3   *Applications: Looking beyond the Frontier*

Interdisciplinary approaches to Egyptian texts continue to gain in popularity, so it is hoped that by calling attention to areas still requiring investigation, this contribution will stimulate research that more broadly applies the method or perspectives adopted here.

From the perspective of the corpus-based limitations outlined above, it would be useful in the first instance to broaden the scope of this analysis to include either texts of other periods that involve encounters with foreigners, like *The Tale of Sinuhe* or *The Second Tale of Setna Khaemwase*, or to broaden the theme altogether and consider the issue of characterisation of an entire corpus, such as the *Middle Egyptian Stories*. In this way, scholars could further explore the link between characterisation and language, genre and message. To address the method-based gaps in the research, narrower and broader perspectives on the same group of texts would also be salutary. Accounting for the kinds of classifiers used with the nominal groups and verbs that pertain to each character may add further nuances to the study. At the opposite end of the spectrum, a more thorough use of Discourse Analysis, which observes whole text-based patterns such as plot and argument structure, may also be illuminating. Perhaps these more general and particular methods of interrogation would further sharpen our means of categorising and analysing fragmentary texts, thereby complementing the attempts made in this study.

A Systemic Functional method could also be profitably applied to the epistolary genre, in order to compare the writer's self-presentation with

their representation of the addressee. Likewise, it would be interesting to analyse patterns of agency in texts recording legal trials to compare the assignation of culpability by the officiating scribes to the response made by the defendant. A study of Metafunctions from a corpus that covers a range of genres on the same topic, such as trade abroad, would also be useful to note the differentiation in the Egyptian language system along the lines of genre and register, thereby providing a literary perspective on the linguistic research being undertaken in this area.

In conclusion, this work argues that characters are brought into sharp relief when interacting and conflicting with foreign 'others', both abroad and in parts of Egypt under foreign control. Additionally, it claims that literary conclusions are strengthened and given depth by moving towards and across methodological frontiers in literary studies. When considering characterisation in particular, this study demonstrates that moving into linguistic territory affords the scholar an understanding of literary texts and their characters that is sounder, more motivated and more quantifiable. The journey involved in crossing such frontiers allows us to return to the ancient texts, with their colourful cast of characters, and to understand them anew. At a broader level, this constructive outcome at the level of characterisation highlights the potential gains to be made when the whole physical (language-based) and cultural (context-based) process behind the writing of literature is taken into consideration. Fundamentally, the linking of literature, language, history, culture and thought by means of this multifaceted methodology allows us to more confidently engage with the fragmentary and still contested body of ancient Egyptian literature.

TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLATION AND GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

A *The Doomed Prince*

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP001	1, 1	4, 1	*jr ntf ḥr[.tw] wˁ n nsw bw.pwy msy n⸗f sꜣ ṯꜣy*	**As for *him*, [it has been] said, (namely) a** king, a son had not been born to him.	Topicalised Noun Phrase + Negative Perfective Passive.[1]
DP002	1, 2	4, 1	*[ḥr jr ḥm⸗f ˁ.w.s. ḥr dbḥ] n⸗f šrj m-ˁ nṯr.w n hꜣw⸗f*	[Now, when His Majesty, l.p.h., requested] for himself a boy from the gods of his district,	*jr* + Present I.[2]
DP003	1, 3	4, 2	*jw⸗sn ḥr wḏ*	they commanded,	NIMS.
DP004	1, 3	4, 2	*dj msy.tw n⸗f*	causing that (one) be born to him,	Infinitive + Passive Subjunctive.[3]
DP005	1, 3	4, 2	*jw⸗f ḥr sḏr ḥnˁ tꜣy⸗f ḥ(j)m.t m pꜣ grḥ*	and he lay with his wife that night	NIMS.
DP006	1, 4	4, 2	*jst[w] /// jwr*	Now /// conceiving,	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP007	1, 4	4, 2	*skm⸗s ꜣbd.w n msw*	she ended the months of childbirth	Preterite.
DP008	1, 5	4, 3	*ˁḥˁ.n msy wˁ n sꜣ ṯꜣy*	then a son was born.	Narrative Form *ˁḥˁn* + Perfective Passive.
DP009	1, 5	4, 3	*jy pw jr.n nꜣ n ḥw.t-ḥr.w*	The Hathors came	Narrative *sḏm pw jr.n⸗f* sentence.[4]

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[1] I follow Winand 1992: 203, in which the *.t* following *bw.pwy* is not meaningful morphology. It is not likely that the *.t* represents *.tw* (Černý-Groll 1993: 171, Erman 1933: 395). The *bw.pwy* form would only be a Negative Preterite if we take the *.t* as the indefinite pronoun *⸗tw*, for which see Junge 2005: 153.

[2] The *jr* is a temporal marker.

[3] In Di Biase-Dyson 2009: 59, I rendered this clause as *dj⸗tw msy.t n⸗f* "that one grant a birth to him", therefore as a Prospective. However, the reading of Winand 2006: 77 and Polis 2009: 403, supplied above is more plausible on the basis of the orthography.

[4] A Middle Egyptian narrative form that topicalises the action, placing it in Theme position, Allen 2000: 168–169. Literally this translates as "It was coming that the Hathors did".

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP010	1, 6	4, 3	*r š3 n⸗f š3y*	in order to determine fate for him,	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP011	1, 6	4, 3	*jw⸗sn ḥr ḏ[d]*	and sa[id]	Circumstantial Present I.
DP012	1, 6	4, 4	*m(w)t⸗f n p3 msḥ m-rʾ-pw p3 ḥf3.w mj.tït p3 jw*	"He will die on account of the crocodile, or the snake, or even the dog."	Prospective.[5]
DP013 [[DP014]]	1, 7	4, 4	*ʿḥʿ.n sḏm n3 n r(m)t̠.w [[n.tï r-gs p3 ḥrd]]*	Then the people [[who were beside the child]] heard,	Narrative Form *ʿḥʿ.n* + Preterite. [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
DP015	1, 8	4, 4	*wn.jn⸗sn ḥr wḥm⸗sn n ḥm⸗f ʿ.w.s.*	then they reported them (the words) to His Majesty, l.p.h.	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP016	1, 9	4, 5	*wn.jn ḥm⸗f ʿ.w.s. ḥr ḫpr*	Thereupon His Majesty, l.p.h. transformed,	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.[6]
DP017	1, 9	4, 5	*jw jb⸗f dw r ʿ3.t wr.t*	his heart being very much saddened.	Circumstantial Present I with adverb.
DP018	1, 9	4, 5	*wn.jn ḥm⸗f ʿ.w.s. ḥr dj ḳd[.tw n⸗f wʿ n pr] n jnr ḥr ḫ3s.t*	Then His Majesty, l.p.h., caused a house of stone to be made for him in the hills,	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I with Causative Infinitive + Passive Subjunctive.
DP019	1, 10	4, 6	*jw⸗f ʿpr m r(m)t̠.w m (j)ḫ.t nb nfr n pr-nsw ʿ.w.s.*	which was equipped with personnel and with every good thing of the palace, l.p.h.,	Circumstantial Present I with Stative (virtual relative clause).
DP020	1, 11	4, 6	*jw nn pr p3 ḥrd r-bl*	since the child was not allowed to go outside.	Negative Circumstantial Prospective.[7]
DP021	2, 1	4, 6	**ḥr jr m-ḫt p3 ḥrd ʿ3y**	**Now, after** the child was older,	*m-ḫt* + Present I with Stative.

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[5] This form could be a Prospective or a Prospective Emphatic Form, Winand 1992: 277 and Cassonnet 2000: 219.

[6] Polis 2009: 163 takes *ḫpr* as an aspectual auxiliary: "sa Majesté V.F.S. *se mit à avoir* le cœur très affligé". However, it seems to me that an inchoative reading is not entirely coherent (Can one *begin to be* in a state of mind? By that point, isn't one already in that state?). Moreover, the case is not a classic one: *ḫpr* would be an auxiliary of a whole clause rather than an Infinitive.

[7] The modal quality of interdiction is best expressed by taking it, as Polis 2009: 256 suggests, as a Negative Prospective form prefaced by the Circumstantial converter *jw* (see Winand 1992: 218).

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP022	2, 2	4, 7	*jw≠f ḥr tsy r tȝy≠f dp-ḥw.t*	he went up to his roof	NIMS.
DP023	2, 2	4, 7	*jw≠f ḥr gmḥ wˁ n ṯsm*	and he caught sight of a greyhound,	NIMS.
DP024	2, 3	4, 7	*jw≠f m-sȝ wˁ n sj ˁȝ*	which was following an old man	Circumstantial Present I with adverbial (virtual relative clause).[8]
DP025	2, 3	4, 7	*jw≠f ḥr šm ḥr tȝ mj.t*	who was going down the road,	Circumstantial Present I (virtual relative clause).
DP026 [[DP027]]	2, 3	4, 8	*jw≠f ḥr ḏd n pȝy≠f sḏm-ˁš [[n.tï r-gs≠f]]*	and he asked his servant [[who was beside him]]	NIMS. [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
DP028 [[DP029]] [[DP030]]	2, 4	4, 8	*jḫ pȝ [[n.tï ḥr šm m-sȝ pȝ sj {t} ˁȝ]] [[n.tï m jy ḥr tȝ mj.t]]*	"What is that [[which is going behind the old man]] [[who is coming down the road?"]]	Interrogative particle + Present I. [[Relative converter + Present I.]] [[Relative converter + Present I.]]
DP031	2, 5	4, 8	*jw≠f <ḥr> ḏd n≠f*	and he replied to him	NIMS.
DP032	2, 5	4, 9	*ṯsm pȝï*	"It is a greyhound."	*pȝï* Sentence.
DP033	2, 6	4, 9	*jw pȝ ẖrd ḥr ḏd n≠f*	and the child said to him	NIMS.
DP034	2, 6	4, 9	*jmj jn.tw n≠j wˁ n mj-ḳd≠f*	"Cause one like it to be brought to me."	Causative Imperative + Passive Subjunctive.
DP035	2, 7	4, 9	*wn.jn pȝ sḏm-ˁš ḥr šm*	Then the servant went	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP036	2, 7	4, 9	*ḥr wḥm≠sn n ḥm≠f ˁ.w.s.*	and reported them (the words) to His Majesty, l.p.h.	Elided Present I.
DP037	2, 7	4, 10	*wn.jn ḥm≠f ˁ.w.s. ḥr ḏd*	threupon His Majesty, l.p.h. said	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP038	2, 8	4, 10	*jmj jt.tw n≠f wˁ n ktkt šrj ///[b]gs.w ḥȝ.tï≠f*	"Let a young 'springer' be taken to him /// [for? the re]bellion (in) his heart."	Causative Imperative + Passive Subjunctive.
DP039	2, 9	4, 10	*ˁḥˁ.n{n}≠tw ḥr <dj> jt.tw n≠f pȝ ṯsm*	Then (Some) one <caused> the greyhound to be brought to him.	Narrative Form *ˁḥˁ.n* + Present I with Causative Infinitive + Passive Subjunctive.

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8 The virtual relative clause is discussed by Kruchten 1997: 57.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP040	2, 10	4, 11	*ḥr jr m-ḫt nꜣ hrw.w swꜣ ḥr nn*	**Now, after the days had elapsed concerning this,**	Narrative Form, *m-ḫt* + Present I with Stative.
DP041	2, 10	4, 11	[*j*]*w pꜣ ẖrd ḥr tn m ḥꜥ.t⸗f nb*	and the child had matured in his whole body,	NIMS.
DP042	2, 11	4, 11	*jw⸗f ḥr hꜣb n pꜣy⸗f jt*	he sent (a message) to his father,	NIMS.
DP043	2, 12	4, 12	*m ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP044	2, 12	4, 12	*jy jḫ*	"Why has (it) occurred	Emphatic Form + interrogative particle.
DP045	2, 12	4, 12	*jw mj-nꜣ ḥms.kw*	that I stay here?	Circumstantial Present I with Stative.[9]
DP046	2, 12	4, 12	*ḥr mk tw⸗j wḏ.kw n pꜣ šꜣy*	Now look! I am committed to the fate.	Present I with Stative.
DP047	2, 13	4, 12	*jmj ḫꜥꜥ.tw⸗j*	Let me be released	Causative Imperative + Passive Subjunctive.
DP048	2, 13	4, 13	*jry⸗j n ḥꜣ.tï⸗j*	so that I act do according to my will	Prospective Final.
DP049 [[DP050]]	2, 13	4, 13	*j-jr.t pꜣ nṯr jr pꜣ* [[*n.tï m jb⸗f*]]	until the god does that [[which is in his heart."]]	Terminative.[10] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
DP051	2, 14	4, 13	*wn.jn⸗tw ḥr nḥb n⸗f wꜥ n wrry.t*	Thereupon (Some) one harnessed a chariot for him,	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP052	2, 15	4, 13	*ꜥpr.tj* [*m*] *ḫꜥ.w nb n rꜣ-ꜥ-ḫt*	equipped [with] all weapons of combat.	Elided Circumstantial Present I with Stative.
DP053	2, 15	5, 1	*jw*[⸗*tw ḥr dj wꜥ n sḏm-ꜥš m*]-*sꜣ⸗f r šms.w*	[and (Some)one caused a servant to accomp]any him as a retainer,	NIMS with Causative Infinitive.[11]
DP054	2, 16	5, 1	*jw⸗tw ḥr ḏꜣy.t⸗f r pꜣ rwd jꜣb.ï*	and (Some)one ferried him to the eastern shore	NIMS.
DP055	3, 1	5, 2	*jw⸗tw ḥr ḏd n⸗f*	and (Some)one said to him	NIMS.

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[9] Emphasised part of Emphatic Form.

[10] This form carries relative future sense, Junge 2005: 228.

[11] This seems to be a slightly different form of the Causative Infinitive, whereby a noun phrase + prepositional phrase replaces the Prospective verbal form.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP056	3, 1	5, 2	*jḫ šm≠k n ꜣb≠k*	"May you go according to your will",	Prospective (Optative) with *jḫ*.
DP057	3, 1	5, 2	[*jw p*]*ꜣy≠f ṯsm ḥnꜥ≠f*	[hi]s greyhound being with him.	Circumstantial Present I with adverbial.
DP058	3, 2	5, 2	*jw≠f ḥr ḫd m-sꜣ jb≠f ḥr ḫꜣs.t*	So he went northward, following his dreams, over the desert,	NIMS.
DP059	3, 2	5, 2	*jw ꜥnḫ≠f m dp n jꜣ.wt nb n ḫꜣs.t*	and he survived on all the animals of the desert.	Circumstantial Emphatic Form.
DP060	3, 3	5, 3	*spr pw* [*jr.n*]*≠f r pꜣ wr n n-h-r-n*	Then he arrived at (the residence of) the Chief of Naharin.	Narrative *sḏm pw jr.n≠f* sentence.
DP061	3, 4	5, 3	*jstw bw.pwy msy n pꜣ wr n n-h-r-n ḥrw wꜥ n šrj.t s.t-ḥ(j)m.t*	Now, (none) had been born to the Chief of Naharin except for one daughter, a female.	Negative Perfective Passive, with an assumed Subject.[12]
DP062	3, 5	5, 4	*jstw ḳd n≠s wꜥ n pr*	Now, a house had been built for her,	Perfective Passive.
DP063	3, 5	5, 4	*jw pꜣy≠f sšd m wꜣ 70 n{ꜥ} mḥ r pꜣ jwtn*	whose window was 70 cubits distant from the ground.	Circumstantial Present I with adverbial (virtual relative clause).
DP064	3, 7	5, 5	*jw≠f ḥr dj jn.tw šrj.w nb n wr.w nb n pꜣ tꜣ n ḫ-r*	and he caused all the sons of all the chiefs of the land of Syria to be brought,	NIMS with Causative Infinitive + Passive Subjunctive.
DP065	3, 8	5, 5	*jw≠f ḥr ḏd n≠sn*	and he said to them	NIMS.
DP066 [[DP067]]	3, 8	5, 5	*jr pꜣ* [[*n.tï jw≠f r pḥ pꜣ sšd n tꜣy≠j šrj.t*]] *jw≠s n≠f r ḥ(j)m.t*	"As for the one [[who will reach the window of my daughter]], she will be a wife for him."	Topicalised Noun Phrase + Dative Expression *jw≠f n≠f*.[13] [[Relative converter + Future III.]]
DP068	3, 9	5, 6	*ḫr jr m-ḫt hrw.w ḳn.w swꜣ <ḥr> nn*	**Now, after many days had elapsed <from> this,**	Narrative Form, *m-ḫt* + Present I with Stative.
DP069	3, 10	5, 7	*jw≠sn m pꜣ<y>≠sn sḫr.w tn.w hrw*	they being (engaged) in their everyday tasks,	Circumstantial Present I + adverbial.

[12] The particle *jstw* marks a parenthetical note, Junge 2005: 325.
[13] Satzinger 1976: 198. Winand 1996: 128 and 132 sees it as analogous to Future III. I would agree that it certainly seems to have future sense.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP070	3, 10	5, 7	*sn pw jr.n p3 ḫrd ḥr≠sn*	then the child passed by them.	Narrative *sḏm pw jr.n≠f* sentence.
DP071	3, 11	5, 7	*wn.jn≠sn ḥr jt p3 ḫrd r p3y≠sn pr*	Thereupon they took the child to their house,	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP072	3, 12	5, 8	*jw≠sn ḥr wʿb≠f*	and they cleaned him,	NIMS.
DP073	3, 12	5, 8	*jw≠sn ḥr dj wnm.w n p3y≠f ḥtr*	they gave fodder to his team,	NIMS.
DP074	3, 13	5, 9	*jw≠sn ḥr jr (j)ḫ.t nb n p3 ḫrd*	and they did everything for the child,	NIMS.
DP075	3, 13	5, 9	*jw≠sn ḥr sgn(n)≠f*	they anointed him,	NIMS.
DP076	3, 14	5, 9	*jw≠sn ḥr wt rd.wi≠f*	they bandaged his feet,	NIMS.
DP077	3, 14	5, 9	*jw≠sn ḥr dj ʿḳ n p3y≠f šms.w*	and they gave bread to his retainer	NIMS.
DP078	3, 15	5, 10	*jw≠sn ḥr ḏd n≠f m sḫr.w n sḏd.w*	and they said to him as a practice of conversation	NIMS.
DP079	3, 15	5, 10	*jy≠k tnw p3 šrj nfr*	"*Where* do you come from, handsome boy?"	Emphatic Form + interrogative particle.
DP080	3, 16	5, 11	*jw≠f ḥr ḏd n≠sn*	And he said to them	NIMS.
DP081	3, 16	5, 11	*jnk šrj n wʿ n sn[n] n p3 t3 n km.t*	"I am the son of a chariot-warrior from the land of Egypt,	Nominal Sentence.
DP082	4, 1	5, 11	*jw t3y≠j mw.t ḥr m(w)t*	my mother died,	NIMS.
DP083	4, 1	5, 11	*jw p3y≠j jt ḥr jr n≠f k.t ḥ(j)m.t jy-msy*	and my father took for himself another wife, a stepmother,	NIMS.[14]
DP084	4, 2	5, 12	*jw≠s <ḥr> ḫpr ḥr msḏ≠j*	and she began to hate me,	NIMS.[15]
DP085	4, 2	5, 12	*jw[≠j] ḥr jy n≠j*	and [I] took myself off,	NIMS.[16]
DP086	4, 3	5, 12	*m wʿr r-ḫ3.t≠s*	fleeing from her presence."	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP087	4, 3	5, 12	*jw≠sn ḥr ḳnj≠f*	And they embraced him	NIMS.

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[14] Eyre 2007: 223 translates this not as a title (in apposition) but as another clause, "who came and gave birth".

[15] The word *msḏ* is written as *msḏ{d}*.

[16] Reflexive dative. Literally, 'came to myself'.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP088	4, 3	5, 13	*jw≠sn ḥr sn≠f ḥr ḥ[ʿ.t≠f nb]*	and they kissed him [all] over [his body].	NIMS.[17]
DP089	4, 4	5, 13	**[ḫr jr m-ḫt hrw.w ḳn.w swꜣ ḥr] nn**	**[Now, after many days had elapsed from] this,**	Narrative Form, *m-ḫt* + Present I with Stative.
DP090	4, 5	5, 13	*jw≠f ḥr ḏd n nꜣ n ḫrd.w*	he asked the boys	NIMS.
DP091 [[DP092]]	4, 5	5, 14	*jḫ pꜣꜣ* [[*jr≠tn [šrj.w]*]]	"What is this [[that you are doing, [boys?"]]]	Interrogative *pꜣꜣ* Sentence. Protasis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence. [[Relative clause. Apodosis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.]]
DP093	4, 5	5, 14	[*jw≠sn ḥr ḏd n≠f*]	[And they replied to him]	NIMS.
DP094	4, 6	5, 14	[*jstw jr ꜣ ꜣbd*].*w n hrw.w r nꜣ jw≠n dï*	["Now, as for the 3 whole months] up to this (moment), we have been here,	Topicalised Noun Phrase + Circumstantial Present I with adverb.
DP095	4, 6	5, 14	*ḥr jr nw*	spending time,	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP096	4, 7	6, 1	[*ḥr py*]	[leaping (up)],	Preposition + Infinitive.[18]
DP097 [[DP098]]	4, 7	6, 1	[*ḥr pꜣ* [[*n.tï j*]*w≠f r pḥ* [*pꜣ*] *sšd n tꜣ šrj.t n pꜣ wr n n-h-r-n*]] [*jw≠f r dj.t≠s n≠f r* [*ḥ(j)m.t*]	[and the one [[w]ho will reach the window of the daughter of the Chief of Naharin]], [he will] give her to him for [a wife]."	Topicalised Noun Phrase with Future III. [[Relative converter + Future III.]]
DP099	4, 9	6, 2	[*jw≠f ḥr*] *ḏd n≠sn*	[And he] said to them	NIMS.
DP100	4, 9	6, 2	*ḫl* [*bn*] *tw≠j ḥr šn rd.wï≠j*	"Would that I did [not] suffer (on account of) my feet!	*ḫr* + Present I.[19]

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[17] The writing of *sn* 'to breathe, kiss' as *snnï* probably marks the retention of the /n/ sound in syllable-final position, for which see Junge 2005: 40.

[18] Here, *py* is spelled *pwy.t*, a spelling visible in other Late Egyptian texts such as Papyrus Lansing 10, 6, in *LEM* 109, 4.

[19] The particle *ḫl* indicates a wish, and the modality that it conveys, although not shown syntactically, governs this clause and the next, see Junge 2005: 88. The translation of the clause, like Hintze 1952: 178 and Junge 2005: 267, follows Wolf 1932: 71 by inserting *bn* into the lacuna and by reading *šn* as 'suffering on account of' (which is ordinarily classified with Gardiner Sign G37 ☜), rather than its homonym 'recite/enchant' which bears the classifier used here, namely 𓀁 (Gardiner Sign A2).

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP101	4, 10	6, 2	*jw≠j ḥr šm*	I would go along	NIMS.
DP102	4, 10	6, 2	*r py m-dj≠tn*	in order to leap up with you."	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP103	4, 10	6, 3	*jw≠sn ḥr šm*	And they went along	NIMS.
DP104	4, 11	6, 3	*r py mj pȝy≠sn sḫr.w tn.w hrw*	in order to leap up in the manner of their everyday tasks,	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP105	4, 11	6, 3	*jw pȝ ḫrd ḥr ꜥḥꜥ wȝ*	and the child stood at a distance,	Narrative Form *ꜥḥꜥ.n* + NIMS.
DP106	4, 12	6, 4	*ḥr nw*	and watched,	Elided NIMS.
DP107	4, 12	6, 4	*jw ḥr{≠j} n tȝ šrj.t n pȝ wr n n-h-r-n ḥr≠f*	while the attention of the daughter of the Chief of Naharin was upon him.	Circumstantial Present I with adverbial.
DP108	4, 13	6, 4	*ḥr jr m-ḫt <hrw.w ḳn.w> swȝ ḥr nn*	**Now, after <many days> had elapsed from this,**	Narrative Form, *m-ḫt* + Present I with Stative.
DP109	4, 14	6, 5	*wn.jn pȝ ḫrd ḥr jy*	then the child came	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP110	4, 14	6, 5	*r py ḥnꜥ nȝ n ḫ[r]d.w n nȝ wr.w*	in order to leap up with the boys of the chiefs,	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP111	4, 15	6, 5	*jw≠f ḥr py*	and he leapt up	NIMS.
DP112	4, 15	6, 6	*jw≠f ḥr pḥ pȝ sšd n tȝ šrj.t n pȝ wr n n-h-r-n*	and he reached the window of the daughter of the Chief of Naharin,	NIMS.
DP113	4, 16	6, 6	*jw≠s ḥr sn≠f*	and she kissed him	NIMS.
DP114	4, 16	6, 6	*jw≠s ḥr ḳnj≠f ḥꜥ.t≠f nb*	and she embraced him all over his body.	NIMS.
DP115	5, 1	6, 7	*wn.jn≠tw{≠f}ḥr šm*	Thereupon (Some)one went	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP116	5, 1	6, 7	*r snḏm-jb n pȝy≠s jt*	in order to tell good tidings to her father,	Preposition + Infinitive.[20]
DP117	5, 2	6, 7	*jw≠tw ḥr ḏd n≠f*	and (Some)one said to him	NIMS.
DP118	5, 2	6, 7	*pḥ wꜥ n r(m)t pȝ sšd n tȝy≠k šrj(.t)*	"A person has reached the window of your daughter."	Preterite.
DP119	5, 3	6, 8	*wn.jn pȝ wr ḥr nḏnḏ≠f*	Then the Chief inquired (about) him,	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.

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[20] To tell good tidings' has been chosen rather than 'inform', due to the subsequent preposition *n* which introduces an Indirect Object. See Lesko 2004: 56.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP120	5, 3	6, 8	*m ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP121	5, 4	6, 8	*šrj nĩm m nꜣ n wr.w*	"The son of which of chiefs?"	(Single Part) Nominal Sentence.[21]
DP122	5, 4	6, 8	*jw≠tw ḥr ḏd n≠f*	and (Some)one said to him	NIMS.
DP123	5, 4	6, 9	*šrj n wꜥ n snn*	"The son of a chariot-warrior.	(Single Part) Nominal Sentence.
DP124	5, 5	6, 9	*jy≠f m wꜥr m pꜣ tꜣ n km.t r-ḫꜣ.t tꜣy≠f mw.t jy-msy*	He has come, fleeing from the land of Egypt from the presence of his stepmother."	Emphatic Form.
DP125	5, 6	6, 9	*wn.jn pꜣ wr n n-h-r-n ḥr ḳnd r ꜥꜣ.t wr.t*	Thereupon the Chief of Naharin became greatly angered,	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP126	5, 7	6, 10	*wn.jn≠f ḥr ḏd*	then he said	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP127	5, 7	6, 10	*jn-j[w] j-dj≠j tꜣy≠j šrj.t n pꜣ wꜥr n km.t*	"So I shall give my daughter to the *fugitive* from Egypt?	Interrogative particle + Emphatic Form.[22]
DP128	5, 8	6, 11	*jmj šm≠f n≠f ꜥn*	Make him take himself off again!"	Causative Imperative.[23]
DP129	5, 8	6, 11	*jw≠tw ḥr jy*	so (Some)one came	NIMS.
DP130	5, 8	6, 11	*r ḏd n≠f*	in order to say to him	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP131 [[DP132]]	5, 9	6, 11	*jḫ šm≠k r pꜣ [[n.tï jw.n≠k jm{≠j}]]*	"May you go back to the place [[where you came from!"]]	Prospective (Optative) with *jḫ*. [[Relative converter + Emphatic Form]]
DP133	5, 9	6, 12	*jw tꜣ šrj.t ḥr mḥ jm≠f*	And the girl took hold of him	NIMS.[24]
DP134	5, 10	6, 12	*jw≠s ḥr ꜥrḳ nṯr*	and she swore (by) god,	NIMS.
DP135	5, 10	6, 12	*m ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.

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[21] Junge 2001: 168 sees it as 'correspondence ellipse'. Possibly an elided Present I form.

[22] The *jn-jw* is an interrogative marker, for which see Hintze 1952: 201–202 and Silverman 1980: 112–116, followed by an Emphatic Form which takes future meaning, for which see Junge 2005: 130. Kruchten 2005: 49–52 and Polis 2009: 245 suggest reading the passage as *jw≠j ḥr dj tꜣy≠j šrj.t n pꜣ wꜥr n km.t*, but this reading is not clear in the hieratic, and the form is problematic to translate. Perhaps one could instead reconstruct a Future III form: *jw≠j r dj*.

[23] Reflexive dative. Literally, 'come to himself'.

[24] The writing of *mḥ* as *mḥ.t* for 'take hold of' is attested elsewhere, for which see Winand 1992: 44–45.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP136	5, 10	6, 12	*wꜣḥ pꜣ-rꜥ-ḥr-ꜣḫ.tï*	"As Pre-Horakhty endures,	Prospective.[25]
DP137	5, 11	6, 12	*mtw≠tw nḥm≠f m-dj≠j*	should (Some)one take him away from me,	Conjunctive.[26]
DP138	5, 11	6, 13	*nn jw≠j r wnm*	I will not eat,	Negative Future III.
DP139	5, 11	6, 13	*nn jw≠j r swr*	I will not drink,	Negative Future III.
DP140	5, 12	6, 13	*jw≠j r m(w)t m tꜣ wnw.t*	and I will die at once!"	Negative Future III.
DP141	5, 12	6, 13	*wn.jn pꜣ wpw.tï ḥr šm*	Thereupon the Messenger went	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP142 [[DP143]]	5, 12	6, 14	*ḥr sm <md.t> nb [[j-ḏd≠s]] n pꜣy≠s jt*	and reported every <word> [[that she said]] to her father,	Present I.[27] [[Relative Form.]]
DP144	5, 13	6, 14	*jw pꜣy≠s <jt> ḥr dj šm r(m)ṯ.w*	and her <father> caused people to go	NIMS with Causative Infinitive + Subjunctive.
DP145	5, 14	6, 14	*r smꜣ≠f*	in order to kill him.	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP146	5, 14	6, 15	*sw m s.t≠f*	He was in his (usual) place,	Present I with adverbial.
DP147	5, 14	6, 15	*jw tꜣ šrj.t ḥr ḏd n<≠sn>*	but the girl declared to <them>	NIMS.
DP148	5, 14	6, 15	*wꜣḥ pꜣ-rꜥ*	"As Pre endures,	Prospective.
DP149	5, 15	6, 15	*mtw≠tw {r} smꜣ≠f*	should (Some)one slay him,	Conjunctive.[28]
DP150	5, 15	6, 15	*ḥtp pꜣ šw*	the sun will set,	Prospective.
DP151	5, 15	6, 15	*jw≠j m(w)t.k(w)*	I being (already) dead.	Circumstantial Present I with Stative.
DP152	5, 16	6, 16	*nn jry≠j wnw.t ꜥnḫ.kw m-hꜣ.w ḥr≠f*	I will not spend an hour more than him alive!"	Negative Prospective.[29]
DP153	5, 16	6, 16	*wn.j[n≠tw ḥr šm]*	Thereup[on (Some)one went],	Present I.
DP154	6, 1	6, 16	*r ḏd.tw≠f n pꜣy≠s jt*	in order that it be said to her father.	Preposition + Passive Infinitive.

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[25] Oath formula, Junge 2005: 190–191.

[26] The Conjunctive extends the Prospective.

[27] Gardiner 1932: 5a, 6, 14a–b inserts *md.t*.

[28] The Conjunctive extends the Prospective. According to Winand 1992: 47, the *r* is so rare that its use could be an error.

[29] This clause uses the phrasal verb *jr wnw.t* + Stative, Junge 2005: 140, 329.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP155	6, 1	6, 16	*wn.jn pꜣ[y⸗s jt ḥr dj jn].tw pꜣ [šrj m-bꜣḥ]⸗f [ḥnꜥ tꜣ]y⸗f šrj.t*	Then her [father caused that] the [boy be brought before] him [with] his daughter.	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I with Causative Infinitive + Passive Subjunctive.
DP156	6, 2	7, 1	*wn.jn pꜣ [šrj ḥr jy m-bꜣḥ]⸗f*	Then the boy came before him,	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP157	6, 3	7, 1	*j[w] [t]ꜣy⸗f šfy.t ḥr ꜥ[ḳ] m pꜣ wr*	and his worth impressed the Chief,	NIMS.[30]
DP158	6, 4	7, 2	*jw⸗f ḥr ḳnj⸗f*	and he embraced him	NIMS.
DP159	6, 4	7, 2	*jw⸗f ḥr sn⸗f ḥr ḥꜥ.t⸗f nb*	and he kissed him all over his body,	NIMS.
DP160	6, 4	7, 2	*jw⸗f ḥr ḏd n⸗f*	and he said to him	NIMS.
DP161	6, 5	7, 2	*j-ḏd n⸗j ḳj⸗k*	"Talk to me (about) yourself.	Imperative.
DP162	6, 5	7, 2	*ptr tw⸗k m-dj⸗j m šrj{.t}*	Look, you are a son to me."	Present I with adverbial.
DP163	6, 6	7, 3	*jw⸗f ḥr ḏd n⸗f*	And he said to him	NIMS.
DP164	6, 6	7, 3	*jnk šrj wꜥ n snn n pꜣ tꜣ n km.t*	"I am the son of a chariot-warrior from the land of Egypt,	Nominal Sentence.
DP165	6, 6	7, 3	*jw tꜣy⸗j mw.t ḥr m(w)t*	my mother died,	NIMS.
DP166	6, 7	7, 3	*jw pꜣy⸗j jt ḥr jr n⸗f k.t ḥ(j)m.t*	and my father took for himself another wife,	NIMS.
DP167	6, 7	7, 4	*jw⸗s ḥr ḫpr ḥr msḏ⸗j*	and she began to hate me,	NIMS.[31]
DP168 + DP169	6, 8	7, 4	*jw⸗j ḥr jy m wꜥr r-ḥꜣ.t⸗s*	and I came, fleeing from her presence."	NIMS.
DP170	6, 8	7, 4	*wn.jn⸗f ḥr dj n⸗f tꜣy⸗f šrj(.t) r ḥ(j)m.t*	Then he gave him his daughter for a wife	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP171	6, 9	7, 4	*jw⸗f ḥr dj n⸗f pr ḥnꜥ ꜣḥ.wt mjt.t jꜣw.t (j)ḫ.t nb nfr*	and he gave him a house and arable land and likewise cattle and every good thing.	NIMS.
DP172	6, 10	7, 5	**ḥr jr m-ḫt <hrw.w ḳn.w> swꜣ ḥr nn**	**Now, after <many days> had elapsed from this,**	Narrative Form, *m-ḫt* + Present I with Stative.

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[30] The Prince's worth literally *ꜥ[ḳ] m* 'entered into' the Chief.
[31] The word *msḏ* is here written as *msdy*.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP173	6, 11	7, 5	*wn.jn pȝ šrj ḥr ḏd n tȝy≠f ḥ(j)m.t*	then the boy said to his wife	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP174	6, 11	7, 6	*tw≠j wḏ.kw n 3 šȝy.w pȝ msḥ pȝ ḥfȝ.w pȝ jw*	"I am committed to 3 fates: the crocodile, the snake and the dog."	Present I with Stative.
DP175	6, 12	7, 6	*wn.jn≠s ḥr ḏd n≠f*	Thereupon she said to him	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP176 [[DP177]]	6, 13	7, 6	*jmj dj≠tw ḥ{t}<d>b pȝ jw [[n.tï m-sȝ≠k]]*	"Ensure that (Some) one causes to kill the dog [[that is in your following."]]	Causative Imperative with Causative Infinitive[32] + Subjunctive. [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial. [33]]]
DP178	6, 13	7, 7	*j[w]≠f ḥr ḏd n≠s*	And he said to her	NIMS.
DP179	6, 14	7, 7	*/// wḫȝ*	/// demand!	Not enough information.
DP180	6, 14	7, 7	*nn jw≠j r dj ḥdb pȝy≠j jw{tn}*	I will not cause to kill my dog—	Negative Future III.
DP181	6, 14	7, 7	*j-jr≠j sḥpr≠f*	I have reared him	Emphatic Form.
DP182	6, 15	7, 8	*jw≠f m šrj*	since he was a puppy."	Circumstantial Present I.
DP183	6, 15	7, 8	*jw≠s ḥr ḫpr ḥr sȝw pȝy≠s hȝy r jkr sp sn.wï*	So she began to guard her husband very much,	NIMS.
DP184	6, 16	7, 8	*jw bn st ḥr dj pr≠f r-bl wꜥ*	she not allowing that he go outside alone.	Negative Circumstantial Present I.[34]
DP185 [[DP186]]	7, 1	7, 9	*jstw jr≠f jr pȝ h[rw] n jy [[[jr].n pȝ ẖrd m pȝ tȝ n km.t]]*	Now, since the d[ay] of arrival [[of the child from the land of Egypt]]	Topicalised Noun Phrase + Relative Form.
DP187	7, 2	7, 9	*r ḫt*	in order to move away,	Preposition + Infinitive.

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[32] The *dj≠tw* could also be taken as the passive *dj.tw*.

[33] Gardiner 1932: 6a, 7, 7 proposes that both instances of *ḥdb* (DP176 and DP180, *LES* 6, 13 and 6, 14 respectively) should be read as a Passive *ḥdb.tw*. This is by no means clear from the orthography, in which in the first instance the grapheme ⌒ is written in the place (and instead!) of ⌒, in other words as ⌒⌒⌒⌒ and in the second instance, the ⌒ is clearly written with no following.

[34] The object of *dj* is the Subjunctive construction, Junge 2005: 216–220.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP188	7, 2	7, 9	*jstw pȝ msḥ pȝy꞊f šȝy /// ꞊f jm ///*	now, the crocodile was his fate /// his /// there ///	Nominal Sentence.[35]
DP189 [[DP190]]	7, 3	7, 10	*jw꞊f ḥr ḫpr m-ꜥḳȝ꞊f m pȝ dmj [[n.tü pȝ šrj jm꞊f m-dj [tȝy꞊f ḥ(j)m.t m-ḥr.i-jb] pȝ ym]]*	It appeared against him in the town [[in which the boy was with [his wife in the middle of] the lake.]]	NIMS. [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
DP191	7, 5	7, 11	*jstw wꜥ n nḫt jm꞊f*	Now, a Demon was in it.	Present I with adverbial.[36]
DP192	7, 5	7, 11	*bw dj pȝ nḫt pr pȝ msḥ r-bl*	The Demon did not allow the crocodile to emerge	Negative Preterite.
DP193	7, 6	7, 12	*ḥr b[w] [dj] pȝ msḥ pr pȝ nḫt*	and the crocodile did not allow the Demon to emerge	Negative Preterite.
DP194	7, 7	7, 12	*r swtwt*	in order to walk about.	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP195	7, 7	7, 12	*ḥr wnn pȝ šw ḥr wbn ///*	Now, whenever the sun rose ///	Protasis of Closed Complex with *wnn* in Emphatic Form + Preposition + Infinitive.[37]
DP196	7, 8	7, 13	*/// ꜥḥꜥ ḥr ꜥḥȝ /// sj 2 tnw hrw nb m ꜥḥꜥ.w n ȝbd 2 n hrw*	/// began to fight /// the 2 men each and every day over a period of 2 whole months.	Apodosis of Closed Complex. Not enough information (probably a Narrative Form *ꜥḥꜥ.n* + Circumstantial Present I).[38]

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[35] What looks like *jm* seems, according to the verse-point, to be the beginning of a new sentence. For the purposes of this study, given that not even a whole word is able to be reconstructed, it is not counted.

[36] The translation of the word *nḫt* 'strong' with 'demon' follows Lichtheim 1976: 202–203 and draws on the connection of *nḫt* with violence, as outlined by Vittmann 1995: 6–7. Other translations are less appropriate. 'Water spirit' proposed by Barns 1972: 163 and followed by Wente 2003: 78–79 draws an insufficient connection to the most common meaning of the word. 'Giant' proposed by Vittmann 1995: 3 makes reference to the Magical Papyrus Harris IX 2, 3, in which a being is described as being *nḫt mḥ 7*, which I would translate as 'a strong one of seven cubits'. Just because *this nḫt* is gigantic, however, does not mean that all were so.

[37] For this form, see Junge 2005: 271 and Vernus 1981b: 85–89.

[38] Three versions of *ꜥḥꜥ/ꜥḥȝ* occur here, perhaps suggesting that it is a play on words. I question the restoration by Gardiner 1932: 7a, 7, 13c–d and therefore do not include it.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP197	7, 9	7, 13	*ḥr jr m-ḫt hrw.w* [*sw3*] *ḥr nn*	**Now, after the days [had elapsed] from this,**	Narrative Form, *m-ḫt* + Present I with Stative.
DP198	7, 10	7, 14	*wn.jn p3 šrj ḥr ḥms ḥr jr hrw-nfr m p3y≠f pr*	then the boy set about making holiday in his house.	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.[39]
DP199	7, 11	7, 14	*ḥr jr m-ḫt nfr.yt t3w grḥ wn.jn p3 šrj ḥr sḏr ḥr p3y≠f ḥt‘*	Now, after the end of the evening breeze, then the boy lay upon his bed,	Temporal Noun Phrase with *jr* + Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP200	7, 12	7, 15	*jw t3 ḳd ḥr sḫm m ḥ‘.t≠f*	and sleep took possession of his body.	NIMS.
DP201	7, 12	7, 15	*wn.jn t3y≠f ḥ(j)m.t ḥr mḥ w‘* [*n g3y* {*n*}<*m*> *jrp*]	Then his wife filled a [bowl with wine]	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP202	7, 13	8, 1	[*jw≠s ḥr mḥ*] *ky g3y* {*n*}<*m*> *ḥ(n)ḳ.t*	[and she filled] another bowl with beer.	NIMS.
DP203	7, 14	8, 1	*pr pw jr.n w‘* [*n ḥf3.w m t3y≠f*] *tpḥ.t*	Then a [snake] came forth [from his] hole	Narrative *sḏm pw jr.n≠f* sentence.
DP204	7, 14	8, 2	*r psḥ p3 šrj*	in order to bite the boy,	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP205	7, 15	8, 2	*jstw t3y≠f ḥ(j)m.t ḥms.tj r gs≠f*	but his wife was seated at his side—	Present I with Stative.
DP206	7, 15	8, 2	*nn nm‘≠s*	she could not sleep.	Negative Prospective.[40]
DP207	7, 16	8, 2	*‘ḥ‘.n n3 n* [*g3y*] [*ḫ3*]‘ *n p3 ḥf3.w*	Then the [bowls] were [lef]t for the snake,	Narrative Form *‘ḥ‘.n* + Present I with Stative.[41]
DP208	7, 16	8, 3	*jw≠f ḥr swr*	and it drank	NIMS.
DP209	8, 1	8, 3	*jw≠f ḥr tḫ*	and it became intoxicated.	NIMS.
DP210	8, 1	8, 3	*wn.jn≠f ḥr sḏr*	Then it went to sleep,	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.[42]
DP211	8, 1	8, 3	*ḥr pn‘*	having turned over.	Elided Circumstantial Present I.

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[39] A *ḥr* + *‘ḥ‘* followed by another *ḥr* + Infinitive expresses inchoative meaning (the beginning of an action). See Kruchten 1982, Junge 2001: 84 and Winand 2006: 168.

[40] See clause DP020.

[41] Wente 2003: 79 translates *ḫ3‘* as 'accessible to'.

[42] Kruchten 1982: 41 and Winand 2006: 332 translate the verb of posture *sḏr* as giving an inchoative sense to the following verb, "il se commença à se retourner". It is certainly a possible reading, but the more literal reading is also congruent, implying at least that the dangerous beast is now immobile and able to be cut up.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP212	8, 2	8, 3	*wn[.jn t3y≠f ḥ(j)m.t ḥr dj jry].tw≠f m fdḳ.w m p3y≠s mjnb*	Thereupon his wife caused that it be made into pieces with her hand-axe.	Present I with Causative Infinitive + Passive Subjunctive.
DP213	8, 3	8, 4	*wn.jn≠s{n} ḥr nhs p3y≠s h3y ///*	Then she woke her husband ///	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP214	8, 3	8, 4	*/// sw*	/// him,	Not enough information.
DP215	8, 4	8, 5	*jw≠s ḥr ḏd n≠f*	and she said to him	NIMS.
DP216	8, 4	8, 5	*ptr dj p3y≠k nṯr w⁽ m n3y≠k š3y.w m dr.t≠k*	"Look, your god has placed one of your fates in your hand.	Preterite.
DP217	8, 5	8, 5	*jw≠f r s[3w≠k] ///*	He will gua[rd you]" ///	Future III.[43]
DP218	8, 5	8, 5	*[wn.jn≠f ḥr] wdn n p3-[r⁽]*	[Then he] made offerings to P[re],	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.[44]
DP219	8, 6	8, 6	*ḥr dw3≠f*	and praised him	Elided Present I.
DP220	8, 6	8, 6	*ḥr sḳ3 b3.w≠f m ḥr.t-hrw n r⁽ nb*	and exalted his power in the course of every day.	Present I.
DP221	8, 7	8, 6	*ḥr jr m[-ḫt hrw.w sw3 ḥr nn]*	**Now, af[ter the days had elapsed from this],**	Narrative Form, *m-ḫt* + Present I with Stative.
DP222	8, 8	8, 7	*wn.jn p3 šrj ḥr pr*	then the boy went out	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP223	8, 8	8, 7	*r swtwt [r] sḏ3 <-ḥr> m t3y≠f mn⁽.t*	to stroll about [for] amusement on his property.	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP224	8, 9	8, 7	*nn p[r t3y≠f ḥ(j)m.t ḥn⁽≠f]*	[His wife] was not able to go [out with him]	Negative Prospective.[45]
DP225	8, 9	8, 8	*jstw p3y≠f jw{tn} m-s3≠f*	but his dog was behind him.	Present I with adverbial.
DP226	8, 10	8, 8	*wn.jn p3y≠f jw{tn} ḥr t3 dp.w-r'*	Then his dog acquired speech,	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
DP227	8, 11	8, 8	*r-[ḏd]*	[saying]	Preposition + Infinitive.
DP228	8, 11	8, 8	*[jnk p3y≠k š3y]*	["I am your fate."]	Nominal Sentence.
DP229	8, 11	8, 8	*[wn].jn≠f ḥr sḥsḥ r-ḫ3[.t]≠f*	[Th]en he ran from it.	Present I.

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[43] The reconstruction proposed by Gardiner 1932: 8a, 8, 5b–c seems incomplete and untenable.

[44] Maspero's reconstruction, for which see Gardiner 1932: 8a, 8, 5b–c.

[45] This reconstruction seems more probable than *p[r≠f r-bl]*. Both are in Gardiner 1932: 8a, 8, 7b–c.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP230	8, 12	8, 9	*spr pw jr.n⸗f r p3 ym*	Then he arrived at the lake,	Narrative *sḏm pw jr.n⸗f* sentence.
DP231	8, 12	8, 9	*j[w]⸗f ḥr h3y r p3 [mw]*	and he descended into the [water],	NIMS.[46]
DP232	8, 13	8, 9	*[jw⸗f m wʿr r-ḥ3.t p3] jw*	[he fleeing from the] dog.	Circumstantial Present I.
DP233	8, 13	8, 10	*ʿḥʿ.n /// [s]w p3 msḥ*	Then /// the crocodile [seized? h]im,	Narrative Form *ʿḥʿ.n* + Preterite.[47]
DP234 [[DP235]]	8, 14	8, 10	*jw⸗f ḥr jt⸗f r p3 [[n.tï p3 nḫt jm ///]]*	and he carried him to the place [[where the Demon was ///]]	NIMS.[48] [[Relative converter + Present I.]]
DP236	8, 15	8, 10	*[p3] msḥ ḥr [ḏd] n p3 šrj*	and [the] crocodile [said] to the boy	Present I.
DP237	8, 15	8, 11	*jnk p3y⸗k š3y*	"I am your fate	Nominal Sentence.
[[DP238]] DP239	8, 16	8, 11	*[[jry]] jw m-s3⸗k*	[[who has been made]] that (I) may come after you."	[[Perfective Passive Participle.] Prospective.[49]
DP240	8, 16	8, 11	*ḥr[-jr 3bd 2 n hrw.w] r n3 jw⸗j ḥr ʿḥ3 ḥnʿ p3 nḫt*	No[w, 2 whole months] to now, I have fought with the Demon.	NIMS.
DP241	9, 1	8, 12	*ḥr ptr jw⸗j r ḫ3ʿ⸗k*	Now look, I will let you go.	Future III.
DP242	9, 2	8, 12	*jr jw p3y[⸗j/k] ///*	If my/ your ///	Not enough information.[50]
DP243	9, 2	8, 13	*/// r ʿḥ3 ///*	/// will fight ///	Not enough information.[51]

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[46] Spiegelberg's translation, Gardiner 1932: 8a, 8, 9 c–d.

[47] Peet suggests the verb is 'perceived' or 'seized', but does not specify the potential Egyptian word.

[48] Wente 2003: 79 inserts 'but he had left', although Gardiner 1932: 8a, 8, 10 c–d supplies no basis for this restoration, particularly since Wente must then somehow fit a reconstruction including the return of the Demon later in this line.

[49] Lutz Popko of the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* takes *jr jw m-s3⸗k* as an auxiliary participle 'das hinter dir gekommen ist', but this is perhaps not as easily supported by the orthography.

[50] Wente 2003: 79 inserts 'my opponent returns to engage me', but see my criticisms regarding line 8, 13, that show that both the departure and arrival of the Demon are established only by Wente and have no orthographic support. On the other hand, circumstances imply this since the crocodile is alone.

[51] Future III is most likely, given the Conjunctive below, although it could also be read as the preposition *r* + Infinitive: 'in order to fight'.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
DP244	9, 3	8, 13	[*m*]*tw⸗k swḥ n⸗j*	[y]ou will praise me	Conjunctive.[52]
DP245	9, 3	8, 13	<*ḥr*> *ḥdb p3 nḫt*	<for> killing the Demon (?).	Infinitive.[53]
DP246	9, 3	8, 13	*ḥr jr ptr⸗k p3* ///	Now, when you see the ///	*jr* + Prospective (?).
DP247	9, 4	8, 13	[*ptr*] *p3 msḥ*	[see] the crocodile."	Not enough information.[54]
DP248	9, 4	8, 14	**_ḥr jr m-ḫt t3-ḥḏ 2 n hrw ḫpr_**	**Now, after dawn of the next day came about,**	Narrative Form, *m-ḫt* + Present I with Stative.
DP249	9, 5	8, 14	*jy pw jr.n* ///	then /// came ///	Narrative *sḏm pw jr.n⸗f* sentence.[55]

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[52] The Conjunctive may extend the Future III. Wente 2003: 79, note 6 translates 'help', but doesn't explain *n⸗j*. Perhaps *swḥ.n⸗j* 'Bellow to me', with an Imperative following is more plausible.

[53] Possibly an Imperative. Barns 1972: 163 regards *ptr* here as describing a series of menaces with which the character being spoken to must be confronted with. The same applies to W363–W365.

[54] Perhaps an Infinitive or Imperative.

[55] Wente 2003: 79 here inserts 'water spirit'.

B   *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
AS001	85, 4	1, 1	*ḫpr swt*	**(It) came to pass, however:**	Preterite.[1]
AS002	85, 4	1, 1	***wn.jn* *tꜣ n km.t {n}<m> jꜣd.t***	**then** the land of Egypt was in misery,	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I with adverbial.[2]
AS003	85, 4	1, 1	*jw nn wn nb ꜥ.w.s.<m> nsw*	as there was no lord, l.p.h., <as> king.	Negated Existential Sentence.[3]
AS004	85, 5	1, 1	*hrw ḫpr*	A day came to pass:	Present I with Stative.[4]
AS005	85, 5	1, 1	*jstw r꞊f jr nsw sḳnn-rꜥ ꜥ.w.s sw m ḥḳꜣ ꜥ.w.s. n nʾ.t rs.ït*	Now, as for King Seqenenre, l.p.h., he was ruler, l.p.h., of the Southern City,	Topicalised Noun Phrase + Present I with adverbial.[5]
AS006	85, 6	1, 1	*jꜣd.t {n}<m> dmj {rꜥ}<ꜥ3>m.w*	and misery was in the city of the <Asia>tics,	Present I with adverbial.[6]
AS007	85, 6	1, 1	*jw wr jppy ꜥ.w.s. m ḥw.t-wꜥr(.t)*	the Chief Apophis, l.p.h., being in Avaris,	Circumstantial Present I with adverbial.

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[1] Perhaps *swt* is an enclitic particle with adversative effect, Erman 1933: 124, 'Es geschah aber'. Spalinger 2010: 118 presents the *ḫpr swt* formula as one presenting a state of affairs in the land, as distinct from the opening phrase *jr ntf ḥr.tw* used in *The Doomed Prince* and *The Two Brothers*, which introduces protagonists.

[2] Since *wn.jn* has to be initial: it can't really be read 'that the land ...'. *m* is written as *n.w*, Gardiner 1932: 85a, 1, 1b. It is doubtful that *jꜣd.t* means 'vagabonds', as per Goedicke 1986: 3–5, without 𓀀 (Gardiner Sign A1) as a classifier. He claims that the second appearance of this word later in this line confirms it, since the *bꜣk(.w)꞊sn* in 1, 2 refers to these people, although I contend that *꞊sn* could be the people paying, not extracting the taxes. The word *jꜣd.t* could be read as 'dire affliction', suggesting a "malign influence of a supernatural kind", as per Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 40.

[3] A Middle Egyptian Negative form, Hintze 1952: 242–243, Junge 2005: 172. The Late Egyptian Circumstantial converter is also used.

[4] Gardiner 1932: 85a, 1, 1d uses *hrw* as the last word in the last sentence, replacing *hrw* with <n> *hꜣ.w*, which would translate as 'king of the time'. However, having *ḫpr* at the beginning of the next clause that then has an initial form (*jstw*) in second position is untenable, as per Erman 1933: 338. I agree with Westendorf 1954: 65–67, who uses *hrw* as the first word in the next sentence, making both clauses with *ḫpr* begin 'time passes' clauses, although the word order does not help this interpretation. He translates it as "ein Tag war geworden", better, I think, than regarding it as a shortened narrative form of *wꜥ m nn hrw ḫpr* "einen von diesen Tagen geschah es", as suggested by Hintze 1950: 12–13, which implies a subject, 'it'.

[5] The *jstw* could be parenthetical, 'now', or adversative, 'however', see Junge 2005: 87.

[6] The reconstruction of *ꜥ3m.w* is based on the similarity in hieratic between the classifier of *dmj* 𓊖 (Gardiner Sign O49) and the sign in *ꜣm.w* 𓌙 (Gardiner Sign T14) and the signs apparent in the text 𓇳 (Gardiner Sign N5) and 𓅆 (Gardiner Sign G7) respectively. The less likely possibility lies in reading the signs literally, which leads to more awkward

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
AS008/ AS009/ AS010	85, 7	1, 2	*jw ḥrp.w n=f p3 t3 r-ḏr=f ḥr b3k.w=sn mḥ m-mj.tït ḥr (j)ḫ.t nb nfr n t3-mḥ.{y}<w>*	the land in its entirety being subjected to him, bearing their taxes in full and additionally bearing all the good produce of Lower Egypt.	Perfective Passive,[7] followed by two Elided Circumstantial Present I Forms with adverbials.[8]
AS011	85, 8	1, 2	*ʿḥ ʿ.n nsw jppy ʿ.w.s. ḥr jr n=f swtḫ m nb*	**Then** King Apophis, l.p.h., made Seth his lord,	Narrative Form *ʿḥ ʿ.n* + Present I.
AS012 [[AS013]]	85, 9	1, 3	*jw=f (ḥr) tm b3k n nṯr nb [[n.tï m p3 t3 r-ḏr=f]] [wpw] swtḫ*	and he did not serve any god [[that was in the land in its entirety]] [except] Seth,	Negative NIMS (without *ḥr*).[9] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
AS014	85, 10	1, 3	*jw[=f] ḥr ḳd ḥw.t-nṯr m b3k.w nfr nḥḥ r-gs pr n [nsw jp]py ʿ.w.s.*	and [he] built a temple in fine and everlasting workmanship beside the palace of [King Ap]ophis, l.p.h.,	NIMS.[10]
AS015	85, 12	1, 4	*[j]w=f ḥ ʿ /// hrw*	and he appeared /// day	NIMS (without *ḥr*).[11]

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translations. Wente 2003: 70, note 3 thinks it may be the 'city of Re-Atum' (Heliopolis), following Redford 1970: 50. Goedicke 1986: 7–8 reads: "The aliens of the domain, Re was among them", which leads him to conclude that foreigners were also living in Thebes.

[7] For this form, see Junge 2005: 101. It could also be a Middle Egyptian complex Aorist *jw sḏm=f*: "the land in its entirety paid tribute to him". Wente 2003: 70 translates *ḥrp* as 'paid tribute', whereas Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 40 nominalise *ḥrp.w* as 'tributary'. Goedicke 1986: 9 reads this not as a clause but as a nominal participle: "those who administered for him the entire land carried (retained) their taxes completely". This gives a new (unwarranted) dimension to the story, which represents corrupt officials in Avaris, Goedicke 1986: 10.

[8] The reading by Gardiner 1932: 85a, 1, 2b of *mḥ* as *mḥ.tït* 'north'(in which Sign D41 ⎯⍁ is replaced by ⌢ Sign X1 and Sign ⚬⚬ N23) was in Gardiner 1966: 163 corrected by him to *mḥ* 'in full', which would normally carry the classifier ⚬⚬ (Sign Y1). Though *mj.tït* is both a coordinating conjunction and an adverb (Erman 1933: 87–88 and 284–285), the former function is likely here. The writing of *t3 mḥ.w* is a conflation of *t3 mrj* and *t3 mḥ.w*, Gardiner 1932: 85a, 1, 2d-e.

[9] For the word *b3k n* see *Wb.* I 426–427.

[10] Goedicke 1986: 11 suggests inserting *=tw* instead of *=f*, which could be reasonable. An adjectival use of *nḥḥ* proposed by Gardiner & Gunn 1918: 40 is supported by *Wb.* II 300.

[11] Gardiner 1932: 85a, 1, 4a–b suggests inserting ⌣⍁ *dp* here, which Wente 2003: 70 translates as '[break of] day'. Perhaps *m* or *n*, '[during the] day' could also be possible. Goedicke 1986: 10 follows Maspero's insertion of *r-tnw* 'each and every', although the lacuna is not the right size. Also, given the following *m-mn.t*, it would be superfluous.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
AS016	85, 12	1, 4	*r rdj mȝˤ.t(w)* /// *m-mn.t n swtḫ*	in order to cause /// to be sacrificed daily to Seth,	Preposition + Causative Infinitive + Passive.
AS017 [[AS018]]	86, 1	1, 4	*jw nȝ sr.w* /// *ˤ.w.s. ḫr m(ȝ)ḥy.w mj* [[*j-jr <m> ḥw.t-nṯr n pȝ-rˤ-ḥr-ȝḫ.tï ḫr ˤḳȝ=f sp sn.wï*]]	the nobles ///, l.p.h. bearing garlands, like [[that which is done <in> the temple of Pre-Horakhti exactly across from it.]]	Circumstantial Present I with adverbial.[12] [[Passive Participle.[13]]]
AS019	86, 2	1, 4	*jstw r=f jr* [*nsw*] *j*[*ppy*] *ˤ.w.s. j*[*w*] *jb=f r* [*hȝb*] *md.t thȝ.w <n> nsw sḳnn-rˤ* [*ˤ.w.s. pȝ*] *wr n nʾ.t rs.it*	Now, as for [King] A[pophis], l.p.h., his heart was set on [sending] an offensive message <to> King Seqenenre, [l.p.h., the] Chief of the Southern City.	Topicalised Noun Phrase + Present I with adverbial.[14]
AS020	86, 4	1, 5	*ḫr* [*j*]*r m-*[*ḫt*] *hrw.w ḳn.w swȝ ḫr-sȝ* {*wt*} *nn*	**Now, after many days had elapsed after this**,	Narrative Form, *m-ḫt* + Present I with Stative.
AS021	86, 5	1, 5	*wn.*[*j*]*n* [*n*]*sw* {*r*} [*jppy ˤ.w.s.*] *ḫr dj ˤš*[*.tw n*] /// *n pȝy=f* ///	then King [Apophis, l.p.h.], caused /// to be summon[ed] of his ///	Present I with Causative Infinitive.[15]
AS022	86, 7	1, 6	/// *st hȝb* ///	/// it was sent ///	Most probably Present I with Stative.[16]
AS023	86, 7	1, 6	/// *smj-n-m*[*d.t*] ///	/// complaint ///	Not enough information.
AS024	86, 8	1, 7	/// *jtr.w* ///	/// river ///	Not enough information.[17]

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[12] Gardiner 1932: 86a, 1, 4a–b inserts 'of the king/palace' in the lacuna.

[13] Goedicke 1986: 14 sees the *n* as 'for' rather than *n* 'of', translating 'for his (Re's) very straight-dealing (righteousness)', although it is unlikely that Pre is the focus of the clause.

[14] The form *jb=f r sḏm* conveys modality, Satzinger 2003: 250.

[15] The term 'summoned' is *ˤš.tw n*. Wente 2003: 70 inserts '[the high officials] of his [palace]', which fits with a parallel on 3, 1.

[16] The *st* could be the proclitic pronoun, or the Circumstantial [*jw*]=*s*. Wente 2003: 70 inserts "[and he proposed to them that a messenger should be] sent [to the Prince of the Southern City with] a complaint". However, the reconstruction is not based on Gardiner's transcription of the fragments and does not explain the presence of the pronoun (?) *st/=s*.

[17] Wente 2003: 70 inserts "[concerning the] river, [but he was unable to compose it himself]".

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
AS025	86, 9	1, 7	/// *sḫꜣ.w rḫ.w-ꜣ[ḫ.wt]* ///	/// scribes and savan[ts] ///	Not enough information.[18]
AS026	86, 9	1, 7	/// *sr.w* ///	/// officials ///	Not enough information.[19]
AS027	86, 10	1, 7	/// *[j]ty ꜥ.w.s [nbⱥn]* ///	/// "sovereign, l.p.h., [our lord] ///	Not enough information.[20]
AS028 [[AS029]]	86, 11	1, 8	/// *ḥn(.t) db[.w] [[[n.tï m pꜣ wbn n nʾ.t rs.ït]* ///]]	/// hippopotamus lake [[[which is on the East of the Southern City] ///]]	Not enough information.[21] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.[22]]]
AS030	86, 11	1, 8	*b[n] st ḥr dj [jw.t nⱥn tꜣ ḳd m hrw m gr]ḥ*	They do not allow [sleep to come to us by day or by ni]ght,	Negative Present I with Causative Infinitive + Subjunctive.
AS031	86, 12	1, 8	*[jw ḫrwⱥw] <m> [msḏr] [nʾ.t ⱥn]* ///	their [noise being] <in> [the ear] [of our city] ///	Circumstantial Present I.[23]
AS032	86, 13	1, 9	*[wn.j]n pꜣ wr n [nʾ.]t [rs.ït]* ///	[The]n the Chief of [the Southern City] ///	Present I (?).[24]

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[18] Wente 2003: 70 inserts '[Thereupon his] scribes'. The word *rḫ.w* is spelled *rḫ.ywt* here and in AS039.

[19] Wente 2003: 70 inserts 'high officials [said]'. Gardiner 1932: 86a, 1, 7g–h argues against inserting the word *ꜥ.yw* on the grounds that there is insufficient space.

[20] *LES* 86, 11 is written mistakenly as 86, 10 in Gardiner 1932.

[21] Goedicke 1986: 23 renders *db.w* as 'army/mercenaries' (*ḏb*) living in the 'drainage area' (25–6), but the orthography is suspect and the classifier ⟨ (Gardiner Sign F27) only corresponds to an animal. Gardiner 1943: 38–39 additionally supplies evidence for the reading 'lake', for which see also *Wb.* III 105.

[22] The word *wbn* seems to incorporate the classifiers of the associated verb 'to brighten', Lesko 2002: 97.

[23] Wente 2003: 70, like Gardiner 1932: 87a, 2, 6a suggests 'their noise', which is unlikely without ⟨ (Gardiner Sign Z7) to denote the suffix pronoun *ⱥw*. Wente 2003: 70 translates '[our ears]', ignoring the hypothesised sign ⊗ (Gardiner Sign O49), which is both a classifier and the logogram for *nʾ.t* 'city'. However, the prominence of 'the city' in this text makes it a likely restoration.

[24] Gardiner 1932: 87a, 1, 10a claims that Apophis becomes the speaker in the lacuna, which Wente 2003: 70 follows, inserting '[And King Apophis, l.p.h., answered them saying: 'I shall send a message to]'. This reconstruction ignores the possible presence of a rubricised *[wn.j]n*, Goedicke 1986: 19, note 116. It may, therefore, as Goedicke 1986: 18 points out, refer to a past action of Seqenenre, or, as I suggest, be referring to a possible future reaction by Seqenenre, in the words of the Courtiers.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
AS033	86, 14	1, 10	/// *wḏ* ///	/// command ///	Not enough information.[25]
AS034	87, 1	2, 1	/// *ḥnꜥ⸗f m nby*	/// with him as protector.	Not enough information.
AS035 [[AS036]]	87, 1	2, 1	*nn ḥn⸗f* [*sw*] *n nṯr nb* [[*n.tï m pꜣ* [*tꜣ r ḏr*]⸗*f*]] *wpw jmn-rꜥ nsw nṯr*[.*w*]	He will not submit [himself] to any god [[which is in the [land in] its [entirety]]] except Amun-Re, king of the god[s]."	Negative Prospective.[26] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
AS037	87, 2	2, 1	*ḥr* [*j*]*r m-ḫt ḥrw.w ḳn.w swꜣ ḥr-sꜣ* {*wt*} *nn*	**Now, after many days had elapsed after this,**	Narrative Form, *m-ḫt* + Present I with Stative.
AS038 [[AS039]]	87, 3	2, 2	*wn.jn nsw jppy ꜥ.w.s. ḥr hꜣb n pꜣ wr n nꜣ.t* {*ḥr*} *rs.ït* <*ḥr*> *pꜣ smj-n-md.t* [[*j-ḏd n⸗f nꜣy⸗f sḫꜣ.w rḫ.w-ꜣḫ.wt* {*r*}]]	(then) King Apophis, l.p.h., sent to the Chief of the Southern City <regarding> the complaint [[which his scribes and savants had said to him.]]	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.[27] [[Relative Form.[28]]]
AS040	87, 5	2, 3	*ḥr jr pꜣ wpw.tï n nsw jppy ꜥ.w.s. ḥr spr* [*r*] *pꜣ wr n nꜣ.t* {*ḥr*} *rs.ït*	Now, when the Envoy of King Apophis, l.p.h., reached the Chief of the Southern City,	*jr* + Present I.
AS041	87, 7	2, 3	*wn.jn⸗t*[*w ḥr*] *jtꜣ⸗f m-bꜣḥ pꜣ wr n nꜣ.t* {*ḥr*} *rs.ït*	**then (Some)one** took him before the Chief of the Southern City	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.[29]

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[25] Wente 2003: 70 follows with '[that we may assess the power of the god who is]'.

[26] See Polis 2009: 252, cf. Hintze 1952: 244. This clause is most probably projected (by the Hyksos Courtiers). Another possibility would be to translate *ḥn* as 'rely', as in Wente 2002: 70 and Goedicke 1986: 19.

[27] The preposition *ḥr* seems to have been written in the wrong place, as we would expect *pꜣ wr n nꜣ.t rs.ït ḥr pꜣ smj-n-md.t* rather than *pꜣ wr n nꜣ.t ḥr rs.ït* (?) *pꜣ smj-n-md.t*. However, interestingly, *ḥr* is also included between *nꜣ.t* and *rs.ït* in the subsequent three mentions of the title (AS040, AS041 and AS054) *without* the *ḥr* being required subsequently. The last two mentions of the title (AS057 and AS071), *both* when being followed by *ḥr* are written without the intervening *ḥr*. It may be noteworthy that the spelling aberration occurs only in the title of the Chief, and not in the name of the city itself. Goedicke 1986: 20 regards *smj-n-mdt* as 'reply' rather than 'complaint', which in my opinion is misleading.

[28] Wente 2002: 70 uses 'concocted for him'.

[29] This could also be Passive. Goedicke 1986: 20 suggests that the use of the verb *jtꜣ* 'to take (forcefully)' implies a lack of welcome for Apophis' Envoy, which seems to read too much into the passage.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
AS042	87, 7	2, 4	*wn.jn≠tw ḥr ḏd n p₃ wpw.tï n nsw jppy ꜥ.w.s.*	**Then (Some)one asked the Envoy of King Apophis, l.p.h.**	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.[30]
AS043	87, 8	2, 4	*[h]₃b≠k <r> jḥ r n'.t rs.ït*	"Why have you been sent to the Southern City?	Passive Emphatic Form + interrogative particle.[31]
AS044/ AS045	87, 9	2, 4	*pḥ{wi'}≠k wj<m> n₃ mšꜥ.w ḥr jḥ*	Why have you reached me <on> these travels?"	Emphatic Form + interrogative particle.[32]
AS046	87, 9	2, 4	*wn.jn p₃ wpw.tï ḥr ḏd n≠f*	**Then** the Envoy said to him	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
AS047 [[AS048]]	87, 10	2, 5	*m nsw jppy ꜥ.w.s. [[r-h₃b n≠k]]*	"It is King Apophis, l.p.h., [[who has sent to you]]	Nominal Sentence. Protasis of Cleft Sentence.[33] [[Participle. Apodosis of Cleft Sentence.[34]]]
AS049	87, 10	2, 5	*r ḏd*	in order to say	Preposition + Infinitive.
AS050 [[AS051]]	87, 11	2, 5	*jmj tw r[wj].tw ḥr t₃ ḥn(.t) db.w [[n.tï m p₃ wbn n n'.t]]*	'Cause there to be a removal from the hippopotamus lake [[which is on the East of the City]]	Causative Imperative + Passive Subjunctive.[35] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
AS052	87, 12	2, 5	*p₃-wn bn st <ḥr> dj jw.t n≠j t₃ ḳd m hrw m grḥ*	because they do not allow sleep to come to me by day or by night',	*p₃-wn* + Negative Present I with Causative Infinitive + Subjunctive.

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[30] Wente 2002: 70, note 5, suggests that 'One' refers to Seqenenre.

[31] Gardiner 1932: 87a, 2, 4a inserts an *r* rather than a *ḥr*.

[32] To facilitate the reading of this passage, Winand 1992: 283 inserts an *<m>* and Lutz Popko of the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* inserts *<ḥr>*. Another reading could be to read *pḥ{wi'}≠k wj* as a dependent clause following AS043: "that you have reached me?" and to take *n₃ mšꜥ.w ḥr jḥ* "What are these travels for?" also as a separate clause.

[33] Here, *m* is a variant of *jn*, Erman 1933: 184, also Junge 2005: 88–89 and 178ff.

[34] Wente 2002: 71 inserts 'me', but it is unnecessary.

[35] Peust 1996: 88 reads this whole passage as indirect speech within the direct speech of the Envoy (and therefore changes the reading of the personal pronouns), whereas I see it as nested direct speech. The *tw* following *jmj* could be the complement of an inserted Subjunctive *dj*, in the form *jmj<dj>≠tw* that we see more completely in DPI76 (Joachim Friedrich Quack, personal communication) resulting in the reading "Cause that (Some) one cause the hippopotami to be removed from the lake". Otherwise, as has been adopted here, the dependent pronoun *tw* functions as a reinforcing particle, for which see Winand 1992: 156–157.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
AS053	87, 13	2, 6	*jw ḥrw <m> m[s]dr n'.t ꜣf*	the noise being <in> the ear of his city."	Circumstantial Present I.[36]
AS054	87, 13	2, 6	**wn.jn** *pꜣ wr n n'.t {ḥr} rs.ït ḥr sgꜣ m ꜣ.t ꜥꜣ.t*	**Thereupon** the Chief of the Southern City was stupefied for a long moment,	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.[37]
AS055	87, 14	2, 6	*jw꞊f ḫpr.w*	he being transformed,	Circumstantial Present I with Stative.[38]
AS056	87, 14	2, 6	*jw bw rḫ꞊f ꜥn [smj] n pꜣ wpw.tï n nsw jppy ꜥ.w.s.*	he not being able to respond to the Envoy of King Apophis, l.p.h.	Negative Circumstantial Preterite.[39]
AS057	87, 15	2, 7	**wn.jn** *pꜣ wr n n'.t rs.ït ḥr ḏd n꞊f*	**Then** the Chief of the Southern City asked him	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
AS058 [[AS059]]	87, 16	2, 7	*jstw j-jr pꜣy꞊k nb ꜥ.w.s. {ḥr} sḏm-m[d.t] ḥr /// [db.w [[n.tï m pꜣ]ꜣ w[b]n n n'.t rs.ït]] m pꜣ[ï]*	"Now, it is (the case) that your lord, l.p.h., is conducting an investigation on account of /// [the hippopotami [[which are in th]e E[a]st of the Southern City]], because of *this*?"	Emphatic Form.[40] [[Relative converter + Present I.[41]]]

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[36] The sign following *msḏr* could read *n'.t ꜣf*, 'of his city'. However, Gardiner 1932: 87a, 2, 6b concedes that the sign ⊗ (Sign O49) may just be the duplicated classifier ꞈ (Sign F51), leading to the reading 'his ear(s)', as adopted by Wente 2003: 70–71. Goedicke 1986: 28 suggests that the signs constitute a resumptive *ḥr꞊f*, Junge 2005: 346, a form in evidence in Erman 1933: 358–359, which is possible but not verifiable.

[37] The word *sgꜣ* may be related to *sgr*, 'silence', *Wb*. IV 320 and *ꜣ.t* is written *jꜣd.t*, like 'misery', which occurs elsewhere in the text. Goedicke 1986: 28 translates the phrase instead as 'great misery'.

[38] Here *ḫpr* could be an auxiliary, for which see Junge 2005: 84 and Polis 2009: 163, but it is followed by another clause beginning with *jw* rather than an Infinitive. Erman 1933: 273 counts it regardless.

[39] One could relpace *smj* with *md.t*, but the former has precedent, see Gardiner 1932: 87a, 2, 7a.

[40] The interrogative is unmarked. Wente 2003: 71 inserts: 'through this (remark) that your Lord, l.p.h., would investigate matters regarding'. I would argue that 'this' is the noise, not the remark. Gardiner 1932: 88a, 2, 8a-b doubts there is sufficient space for the reconstruction of *tꜣ ḥn(.t) db.w n.tï m pꜣ*. I would prefer to leave some of the lacuna untranslated and include only the hippopotami (*db.w*), which are certainly present on account of the subsequent direction of the text.

[41] Gardiner 1932: 88a, 2, 8d–e states that the construction is unclear.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
AS060	88, 2	2, 8	**wn**[**.jn** p3 wpw.tï ḥr ḏd n₌f]	**Th**[**en** the Envoy (?) said to him]	Present I.[42]
AS061 [[AS062]]	88, 2	2, 8	/// [n3] [m]d.wt [[j-h3b₌f {n} wj ḥr₌sn]]	/// "[the] [wo]rds [[which he sent me concerning them."]]	Not enough information.[43] [[Relative Form.[44]]]
AS063	88, 3	2, 9	[**wn.jn** p3 wr n n'.t {ḥr} rs.ït ḥr ḏj] jry.tw ḥr.wt n p3 [wpw.tï n nsw jppy ʿ.w.s. m (j)ḥ.t] <nb> nfr jwf šʿw(.t) ///	[**Then** the Chief of the Southern City caused] that the requirements of the [Envoy of King Apophis, l.p.h.] be met [with] <every> good [thing], meat, cake ///	Narrative Form **wn.jn** + Present I.
AS064	88, 6	2, 10	/// ₌k	/// "you.	Not enough information.[45]
AS065 [[AS066]]	88, 6	2, 10	jr p3 n.tï nb [[jw₌k ḥr ḏd n₌f]] jw₌j jr₌f	'As for everything [[that you have said to him]], I will do it.'	Topicalised Noun Phrase + Future III (without *r*).[46] [[Relative converter + Present I.[47]]]
AS067	88, 7	2, 10	k3₌k [n₌f] ///	(Thus) you will say [to him]" ///	Prospective.
AS068	88, 8	2, 11	[**wn.jn** p3 wpw.tï n nsw] jppy ʿ.w.s. ḥr f3y₌f	[**Then** the Envoy of King] Apophis, l.p.h., raised himself	Narrative Form **wn.jn** + Present I.[48]

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[42] Wente 2003: 71 inserts '[answered him:]'.

[43] Wente 2003: 71 continues with 'Implement', though he does not supply the Egyptian word. It is a word containing the classifier 𓀜 (Gardiner Sign A24), so it cannot be *jr*. It is clearly direct speech by the Envoy.

[44] Here, *wj* could be *n₌j* or also *n₌k*, Gardiner 1932: 88a, 2, 8h. Otherwise, this could be Seqenenre talking to his Courtiers, in which case *n₌j* would be fitting.

[45] Wente 2003: 71 inserts '[The Prince of the Southern City said to him, "Go and tell] your [lord]"', although this assumes the writing *nb₌k*, which would in this text more probably be *p3y₌k nb*, as in 2, 7. It is direct speech on the part of Seqenenre.

[46] Perhaps ₌j should be replaced with ₌f, if Seqenenre is referring to himself in the 3rd Person, Wente 2003: 71, but it is very probable that 'him' refers to the Envoy and 'you' refers to Apophis—he may be telling the Envoy what to report. The 'I' is therefore Seqenenre himself.

[47] Gardiner 1932: 88a, 2, 10c replaces ḥr with *r*. However, the Present I is equally possible.

[48] The word f3y could also mean 'furnished' or 'hastened' himself, Lesko 2002: 163. Hintze 1950: 103 takes it as an auxiliary: 'machte sich daran', 'set about'.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
AS069 [[AS070]]	88, 9	2, 11	*r mšꜥ r pꜣ* [[*n.tï* [*pꜣy*]*≠f nb* ꜥ.*w.s. jm*]]	in order to travel to the place [[where [hi]s lord, l.p.h., was.]]	Preposition + Infinitive. [[Relative converter + Present I with adverb.[49]]]
AS071	88, 11	3, 1	ꜥ*ḥꜥ.n pꜣ wr n nʾ.t rs.ït ḥr dj* ꜥ*š.tw n nꜣy≠f sr.w* ꜥ*ꜣ.w m-mj.tït wꜥw nb ḫꜣ.tï sw.t*	**Then** the Chief of the Southern City caused his high officials, and moreover every foremost soldier of his to be summoned	Narrative Form ꜥ*ḥꜥ.n* + Present I with Causative Infinitive + Passive Subjunctive.
AS072 [[AS073]]	88, 13	3, 1	*jw≠f ḥr* [*wḥm*] *n≠sn smj nb* <*n*> *md.t* [[*j-hꜣb n≠f nsw jppy* ꜥ.*w.s. ḥr≠sn*]]	and he [repeated] to them every complaint [[which King Apophis, l.p.h., had sent to him concerning them.]]	Present I.[50] [[Relative Form.]]
AS074	89, 1	3, 2	ꜥ*ḥꜥ.n≠sn gr.w m-rʾ-wꜥ m ꜣ.t* ꜥ*ꜣ*	**Then** they were silent unanimously for a long moment.	Narrative Form ꜥ*ḥꜥ.n* + Present I with Stative.[51]
AS075	89, 3	3, 3	*nn rḫ≠sn* {*ḥr*} *wšb n≠f m nfr m-rʾ-pw bjn*	They were not able to reply to him, whether for good or bad.	Negative Prospective.[52]
AS076	89, 3	3, 3	**wn.j**[**n**] *nsw jppy* ꜥ.*w.s. ḥr hꜣb n* ///	**Then** King Apophis, l.p.h., sent to ///	Present I.

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[49] This transliteration is of the recto, although deviations in the verso are mentioned. The word *pꜣy* begins 3, 1 which matches verso 1.

[50] This could be the formula *smj-n-md.t* 'complaint', in which *n* is either replaced by *nb* or omitted. Perhaps the verso provides an amendment to the recto by excluding *md.t*, which would also result in the reading *smj-nb* 'every complaint'.

[51] Lutz Popko in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* inserts a <*ḥr*> before *gr*, but since this is a verb of quality the Stative form is perhaps more likely, as in Junge 2005: 83.

[52] For similar usages of this form, see DP020 and DP206.

C   *The Taking of Joppa*

Clause	LES	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
J001	82, 1	1, 1	/// 220 n m-r-y[-n] ///	/// 220 *Mary*[*annu*] ///	Not enough information.[1]
J002	82, 2	1, 1	///≠[s]n mj r'-ꜥ n ḥtp.w ///	[th]eir/// like the condition of the baskets ///	Not enough information.[2]
J003	82, 3	1, 2	/// n ḏḥw.tï	/// of Djehuty	Not enough information.[3]
J004	82, 3	1, 2	jm[j dj.tw n]≠f [ꜥḳ.w] /// tꜣ jwꜥy.t pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥ.w.s ///	"[Ensure that provisions are given to him] /// the troops of the Pharaoh, l.p.h" ///	Causative Imperative + Passive Subjunctive.[4]
J005	82, 4	1, 3	/// ḥr.w≠sn	/// their faces.	Not enough information.[5]
J006	82, 4	1, 3	ḥr jr ḥr-sꜣ wnw.t st tḫ	Now, after an hour, they were drunk,	Present I with Stative.[6]
J007	82, 5	1, 3	jw ḏḥw.tï ḥr ḏd n [pꜣ ḫr.w n y-p-w] ///	and Djehuty said to [the Rebel of Joppa] ///	NIMS.
J008	82, 5	1, 4	/// wj ḥnꜥ ḥ(j)m.t ḫrd.w <n> pꜣy≠k dmj n ḥꜥ.w≠k	/// "myself together with wife and children <to> your town for yourself.	Not enough information.[7]

[1] How many more than 200 *Maryannu* is not known, Gardiner 1932: 82a, 1, 1a–b, c.

[2] The *sn* could be a possessive pronoun, 'their' or personal pronoun, 'them'. Lesko 2002: 260 takes *r'-ꜥ-n-ḥtp.w* as 'baskets', but, as he says on page 336, *ḥtp* already means 'basket'. *Wb.* II 394 regards *rꜣ-ꜥ* as 'Zustand', which could work here. For the usage of this term, consult *Urk.* IV 1292, 11.

[3] Here, *n* is probably the indirect genitive, as Gardiner 1932: 82a, 1, 2b claims that [*ḏd*] cannot precede it.

[4] Reproduction by Gardiner 1932: 82a, 1, 2c, d. He thinks '100' follows, but it does not seem to fit. Wente 2003: 73 reads 'soldiers' instead of 'loaves/provisions', which would give *jwꜥy.t* the meaning of 'garrison' rather than 'troops'. If the restoration is correct, the speaker is possibly the Ruler of Joppa, though it could also be Djehuty.

[5] Goedicke 1968: 219 says 'before them', but the plural strokes suggest a noun rather than a preposition.

[6] It is uncertain, to whom 'they' refers. Perhaps the *Maryannu*, as Goedicke 1968: 221 suggests. The troops of Pharaoh fit the context, but make little sense. 'They' could also be Djehuty and the Ruler himself.

[7] Wente 2003: 73 inserts 'I shall deliver' before 'myself along with (my) wife and children <unto> your city for yourself personally'. Gardiner Sign A1 could also be a classifier, so the 'wife and children' are not necessarily Djehuty's. In fact, given the lack of a preposition *n* 'to', they may be: 'Frau und Kindern deiner eigenen Stadt' as suggested by Junge 2001: 145. However, I shall follow Wente's translation, given the later alleged arrival of Djehuty with his family in Joppa.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	LES	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
J009	82, 6	1, 4	*jmj sꜥḳ nꜣ m-[r-y-n] [nꜣ n ḥtr]*	Let the M[aryannu] drive in [the team]	Causative Imperative.[8]
J010	82, 7	1, 5	*[mt]w≠tw [dj].t n≠sn wnm.t*	[and have] (Some) one [give] fodder to them	Conjunctive.[9]
J011	82, 7	1, 5	*m-rꜣ-pw jr wꜥ n ꜥ-p-r sn ///*	otherwise one of the *Apiru* will pass by ///	Future III (without *r*).[10]
J012	82, 8	1, 6	*/// ≠sn*	/// them."	Not enough information.[11]
J013	82, 8	1, 6	*jw≠tw ḥr ḥw nꜣ n ḥtr*	And (Some)one secured the team	NIMS.
J014	82, 9	1, 6	*jw≠tw ḥr dj n≠sn wnm.t*	and (Some)one gave fodder to them	NIMS.
J015	82. 9	1, 6	*jw /// nsw mn-ḫpr-rꜥ ꜥ.w.s.*	and /// King Menkheperre, l.p.h.	Not enough information (but probably NIMS).[12]
J016	82, 10	1, 7	*jw≠tw ḥr jy*	(Some)one came	NIMS.
J017	82, 10	1, 7	*ḥr sm n ḏḥw.tï*	and reported to Djehuty.	Elided NIMS.
J018	82, 10	1, 7	*ḥr [jrpꜣḥr.wny]-p-w ḥr ḏd n ḏḥw.tï*	Now, [the Rebel of Jo]ppa said to Djehuty	Present I.

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[8] Erman 1923: 217, Goedicke 1968: 219, Junge 2001: 145 and Wente 2003: 73 translate the word with *m*[*-r*] as an Old-Canaanite loan-word for 'grooms'.

[9] The Conjunctive extends the Causative Imperative (not just the Imperative), suggested by the use of the pronoun *≠tw*. The clause can also be read causatively, for which see Polis 2009: 412.

[10] In the Future III, the *r* is not used and *jr* replaces *jw*, Gardiner 1930: 220ff, Winand 1996: 117, Junge 2005: 96 and 123. Goedicke 1968: 219, 222 links this clause with the following *≠sn* and suggests "or else one of the mercenaries ('aper) may surpass [them (the horses) in] their [weariness]", which apparently refers to the horses' nutrition. Junge 2001: 145 assumes that Gardiner Sign A1 follows *sn* making it *snn*: 'one of the *ꜥ-p-r* makes the chariot-warriors ///'. In this case, the verb *jr* could be read as a Preterite or a Prospective. For this to be the case, though, we would expect the orthography to be ⌒𓏭 rather than just ⌒ (Gardiner Sign D4) in this time period, for which see Winand 1992: 194–195 and 212.

[11] Wente 2003: 73 suggests that the phrase 'and steal one of' precedes it.

[12] Goedicke 1968: 219, 224 links this with the following *nsw* and suggests "Then [one abducted them (the horses) for] King Menkheperre, l.p.h., and one came . . ." This suggests that the Egyptians were covertly stealing the Rebel's horses, based on an assumption that the Ruler heard the report made to Djehuty about the 'abduction' (ꜥwn.w) and thought he heard 'baton' (ꜥwn.t) and wanted to see it. But one might wonder why this report would be overheard. Also, a play on words (and hence foreign stupidity) would be more plausible if both words were present in the text. Lastly, the restoration doesn't fill the gap. Wente 2003: 73 does not suggest a verb, but precedes the king's name with 'the great baton of'. It seems reasonable to connect these fragments, given the space available.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	LES	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
J019	82, 11	1, 8	*jb≠j r ptr t3 ꜥwn.t ꜥ3.t n nsw mn-ḫpr-rꜥ ꜥ.w.s.*	"My heart is set on seeing the great baton of King Menkheperre, l.p.h."	Present I with adverbial.[13]
J020	82, 12	1, 9	[*n.tï?*] ///	[which?] ///	Not enough information.[14]
J021	82, 12	1, 9	/// *3-tj-w.t-nfr.t rn≠s*	/// a-tiut-nofret is its name.	Nominal Sentence.[15]
J022	82, 13	1, 9	*w3ḥ k3 n nsw mn-ḫpr-rꜥ ꜥ.w.s.*	As the *k3* of the King Menkheperre endures, l.p.h.,	Prospective.[16]
J023	82, 13	1, 9	*jw≠s n≠k p3-hrw* ///	she will be yours today ///	Middle Egyptian Adverbial Sentence expressing Future.[17]
J024	83, 1	1, 10	/// *nfr.t*	/// good	Not enough information.[18]

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[13] Modality is conveyed by this form, for which see Satzinger 2003: 250.

[14] Gardiner 1932: 82a, 1, 9a–b believes that the name of the baton begins directly after *n.tï*, so the *3* belongs to the name. However, the relative conversion of a Nominal Sentence is rare, Junge 2005: 206. The *3* is nonetheless probably part of the name, since it cannot be accounted for otherwise. Perhaps instead of this, we could insert *ḏḥw.tï ḥr ḏd n≠f* "Djehuty said to him", followed by Djehuty naming the baton, though such an addition would mark quite an abrupt, and to my mind, unwarranted, change in the discursive flow.

[15] Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 183 and Wente 2003: 73 suggest that the Ruler of Joppa offers Djehuty a woman called Tiutnofret in order to see the club. Goedicke 1968: 219, 225 says the motivation is 'in order to tell (it) to my wife, [Astarte]-nofret is her name'. This ignores the (postulated) *n.tï*, but even if that is immaterial, it would not fit the space. One may at any event wonder why a Levantine woman would have a name with a Levantine goddess and an Egyptian adjective ('*nfr*'). Junge 2001: 145 agrees with this name, 'Astarte ist vollkommen', but he applies it to the club, which, if the case, as Goedicke 1968: 225 points out, would be the first instance of military equipment being named. The seated woman classifier probably implies that it refers to a woman, though the word 'baton' is feminine. Perhaps we should disregard [*n.tï*] altogether and see this lacuna as introducing Djehuty as the speaker from J021–J023.

[16] If the Rebel is speaking, it would be the only time that a foreign ruler swears by the *k3* of an Egyptian king, Goedicke 1968: 225–226. This is part of the Ramesside oath formula, Junge 2005: 290. As stipulated above, it is possible that Djehuty is talking now.

[17] Middle Egyptian *jw* Sentences often appear as part of the Late Egyptian oath formula with *w3ḥ*, Junge 2005: 290. Winand 1996: 128 and 132 sees this form as analogous to the Future III.

[18] This fragment is preceded, according to Wente 2003: 73, by '[if you will be so] good', following Erman 1923: 217. This is cited in Gardiner 1932: 83a, 1, 10a–b as 'be so kind'. Peet 1925: 226 thinks that the name [*tjw.t-*]*nfr.t* was repeated. Goedicke 1968: 226 inserts [*jw≠k ptr*] 'you shall see something beautiful/an end' (by which a double meaning is implied). It seems that the Rebel is now speaking.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	LES	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
J025	83, 1	1, 10	*mtw≠k jn≠s <n>≠j*	and you will bring it <to> me."	Conjunctive.[19]
J026	83, 1	1, 10	*jw≠f ḥr jr m-mj.tït*	And he did accordingly	NIMS.[20]
J027	83, 1	1, 10	*jw≠f ḥr jn t3 ꜥwn.t n nsw mn-ḫpr-rꜥ [ꜥ.w.s]*	and he brought the baton of King Menkheperre [l.p.h.],	NIMS.
J028	83, 2	1, 11	*[jw≠s mḥ.tj m] p3y≠f sḏ.w*	[it being gripped in] his loincloth,	Not enough information.[21]
J029	83, 3	1, 11	*jw≠f ḥr ꜥḥꜥ m dwn≠f*	and he began to raise himself,	NIMS.[22]
J030	83, 3	1, 11	*ḥr ḏd*	saying	Circumstantial Present I.
J031	83, 3	1, 11	*j-nw jm≠j p3 ḥr.w n [y-p-w]*	"Look at me, Rebel of [Joppa]!	Imperative.
J032	83, 4	1, 12	*[mk] nsw mn-ḫpr-rꜥ ꜥ.w.s. p3 m3j ḥs3 s3 sḫm.t*	[Behold,] king Menkheperre, l.p.h., is the fierce lion, son of Sakhmet,	Nominal Sentence.[23]

[19] The Conjunctive could extend the Future of the Adverbial Sentence above, but the form is difficult to gauge given the absence of the preceding clause. Goedicke 1968: 219 reads 'when you have got it'.

[20] Goedicke 1968: 219 instead reads "Then he acted as if he were having brought the great baton", which seems to stretch the meaning beyond what textual evidence is available.

[21] Gardiner 1932: 83a, 1, 11a-b inserts *jw≠f ḥr mḥ*, but this makes no sense: if it is to be taken as a Present I with *ḥr* + Infinitive, it must have a direct object, which would not fit. I would suggest using the feminine pronoun ≠s and taking *mḥ* as a Stative with *.tj*. This might fit in the space provided by Gardiner. The restorations by Peet 1925: 226, 'and concealed it beneath', and Goedicke 1968: 219–220, "[while he concealed a stick] in his cloak", are too long. Junge 2001: 145 inserts only 'unter seinem Schurztuch'. Another possibility has been suggested by Quack (personal communication), namely to insert [*r-bl m*] *p3y≠f sḏ.w* "[outside in] his loincloth".

[22] Here, *ꜥḥꜥ* is either an auxiliary Infinitive, for which *dwn* is an Infinitive (with preposition *m*): "and he began to raise himself", or otherwise *m dwn≠f* is a dependent clause: "and he stood, having raised himself". The meaning of *dwn* is 'to extend', for which see *Wb.* V 432. Peet 1925: 226 says 'stood over him', Goedicke 1968: 220) tranlates instead 'he stood up to his full height', also Junge 2001: 145. Wente 2003: 73 took *m dwn≠f* as an adverb: 'straight up', though the pronoun ≠f follows.

[23] Gardiner 1932: 83a, 1, 12a-b inserts *mk*. Perhaps *ptr* is not suggested because it would not fit the space. Junge 2001: 145 reads: "[Die Keule gehört] König Menkheperre", but does not explain how this would appear in Egyptian. It could be a topicalised noun phrase with *jr*, though in this case the following clause could not be dependent, for which see Junge 2005: 250.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	LES	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
J033	83, 5	1, 12	*jw dj n꞊f jmn p3y꞊f* ///	Amun having given to him his" ///	Circumstantial Preterite.[24]
J034	83, 6	1, 13	[*jw꞊f ḥr*] *f3* [*ḏr*].*t꞊f*	[and he] lifted his [hand]	NIMS.[25]
J035	83, 6	1, 13	[*j*]*w꞊f ḥr ḥw ḥr m3*[*ꜥ n*] *p3 ḥr.w* [*n*] *y-p-w*	and he struck upon the temple [of] the Rebel [of] Joppa,	NIMS.
J036	83, 7	1, 13	*jw꞊f ḥr h3y*	and he fell,	NIMS.
J037	83, 7	2, 1	*m jr* [*gbgb.t?*] *m-b3ḥ꞊f*	being made [prostrate?] before him,	Circumstantial Present I.[26]
J038	83, 8	2, 1	*jw꞊f ḥr dj꞊f m ḳ*[*ḥ*] ///	and he placed him in manacles ///	NIMS.[27]
J039	83, 8	2, 1	/// *꞊f m* /// *t3 dḥr*	/// the leather,	Not enough information.[28]
J040	83, 9	2, 2	*jw꞊f ḥr* [*mḥ*] *jm* ///	and he [grabbed] ///	NIMS.[29]

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[24] Peet 1925: 337 inserts *jt nfr* 'good father' as a continuation of the subject, but this addition prevents including an object. Gardiner 1932: 83a, 1, 13a-b suggests inserting *jt ḥpš꞊f*, which leads to the reading 'Amun his father has given to him his strong arm/might'. Wente 2003: 73 also inserts 'strength' and Junge 2001: 145 'Macht'. One might wonder why this would be a relative form, as in Goedicke 1968: 220 and Wente 2003: 73. Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 183 surmises that 'Sieg' is missing and Goedicke 1968: 220 inserts 'enemy'.

[25] Peet 1925: 337 disregards the possible traces of *ḏr.t* and reads *f3.tw꞊f*, but this should not be passive. Goedicke 1968: 220 replaces it with *ḥt꞊f* 'his stick'.

[26] The reconstruction of *gbgb.t* is tentative, not only because it is commonly preceded by *m*, *Wb.* V 165, but also because, as Lutz Popko in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* points out, this quality of 'being prostrate' has to this point been found only in reference to *groups* of enemies. Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 183 suggests 'besinnungslos', but does not stipulate what this would be in Egyptian.

[27] Gardiner 1932: 83a, 2, 1c–d, contra Maspero, writes *dj.tw*, as what can only be a writing of the Infinitive.

[28] Goedicke 1968: 220 inserts 'with his legs in bonds of leather': [*n.tï rd.wï*]*꞊f m* [*md*].*t t3 dḥr*. However, *md.t* does not correspond to 'bonds' and an indirect genitive should be apparent instead of the demonstrative *t3*. Junge 2001: 145 says 'der Bitternis', but the classifiers do not correspond.

[29] Wente 2003: 73 suggests *ḥr* [*dd*], against Gardiner 1932: 83a, 2, 2a–b, who uses *mḥ jm* (with doubts), which could mean 'to fill with' or 'to grab'. Wente 2003: 73 sees *jm* as part of an Imperative in the following clause, but it makes no sense because of the following relative clause. Gardiner 1932: 83a, 2, 2a–b sees *꞊k* following *jm*, but it contributes neither to his (nor to Wente's) reading.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	LES	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
J041 [[J042]]	83, 9	2, 2	/// *m* /// ⸢ *n ḥmt* [[*j-[dj⸗f] jry.tw*]] /// *ḫbȝ n pȝĭ ḥr.w n y-p-w*]]	/// a piece of copper [[which [he caused to be made] /// (into?) the restraint of this Rebel of Joppa.]]	Not enough information.[30] [[Causative Relative Form + Passive Subjunctive.[31]]]
J043	83, 10	2, 3	*jw⸗tw ḥr dj pȝ ⸢ n ḥmt n 4 nms.t m rd.wĭ⸗f*	and (Some)one placed the piece of copper of 4 *nms.t*-weight on his feet.	NIMS.
J044 [[J045]]	83, 11	2, 3	*jw⸗f ḥr dj jn.tw pȝ 200 n tḥbs.t* [[*j-dj⸗f jry.tw*]]	and he caused the 200 baskets to be brought [[which he had caused to be made]]	NIMS with Causative Infinitive + Passive Subjunctive.[32] [[Causative Relative Form + Passive Subjunctive.]]
J046	83, 12	2, 4	*jw⸗f ḥr dj hȝy 200 n w⸢w r⸗sn*	and he caused 200 soldiers to descend into them,	NIMS with Causative Infinitive + Subjunctive.[33]
J047	83, 13	2, 5	*jw⸗tw ḥr mḥ knj.w⸗sn <m> mḥȝ.w ḥr ḫḥ.w*	and (Some)one filled their arms <with> fetters and manacles,	NIMS.
J048	83, 14	2, 5	*jw⸗tw ḥr ḫtm⸗w ḥr ḫtm*	and (Some)one sealed them with a seal,	NIMS.[34]

[30] Wente's reading of 'clamp' cannot be substantiated, and ⸢*n*(*.t*), 'adze/pick/Queraxt', *Wb.* VII 79 requires a *.t*. Also, this feminine word is inappropriate, given that the article is the masculine *pȝ*, and lastly, the necessary classifier 𐦥 (Gardiner Sign N34) forms part here of the following noun *ḥmt*. Peet 1925: 226 plausibly suggests ⸢, 'piece', for which see *Wb.* I 158. Goedicke 1968: 227 suggests *jm jn.tw n⸗j pȝ ⸢ n bjȝ*, which would refer to a 'chain', but the word is not spelled this way. Another issue is whether this is reported speech: Junge 2001: 145 takes it as third person narration: "und er [liess] ein Stück von Kupfer [kommen]", but I think it would be too small for the space.

[31] Given the restoration by Gardiner 1932: 83a, 2, 2c–d, only 4mm remain, which, I presume, would only fit a preposition like *m*.

[32] The number must be emended, given that the 200 soldiers mentioned in 2, 4 and 2, 12 cannot fit into 500 baskets, Gardiner 1932: 83a, 2, 4a, and especially given that 200 is later specified as the number of baskets in 2, 12. The scribe may have been confused by the number 500 (total number of soldiers) mentioned on 2, 7, Goedicke 1968: 228.

[33] Given the ample evidence for *hȝy r* being used in a Goal-oriented sense to describe descent into a closed container (especially a ship) or a bounded entity (like a country or a sea) that occurs in the *Late Egyptian Stories* alone (*LES* 8, 12; 61, 10; 62, 13; 73, 15), we can surmise that, as suggested by Erman 1933: 299, that this is simply an unusual writing of the preposition *r* in the *status pronominalis*, contra Goedicke 1968: 220 and Lutz Popko in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*.

[34] In this passage, *ḥr ḫtm* could be an adverbial, like 'shut' or a prepositional phrase with a noun, like 'with locks', as in Peet 1925: 226, or it could be a seal, as in Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 183 and Junge 2001: 145.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	LES	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
J049	83, 14	2, 6	*jw≠tw ḥr dj n≠sn n3y≠sn ṯb.w ḥnꜥ n3y≠sn m3wḏ.w j-t-l-l*	one having given to them their sandals and their carrying poles and *j-t-l-l*,	Circumstantial Present I.[35]
J050	83, 15	2, 7	*jw≠tw ḥr dj wꜥw nb nfr ḥr≠sn dmḏ sj 500*	and (Some)one caused that every fine soldier was under (bore) them, total 500 men,	NIMS with Causative Infinitive + Passive Subjunctive.
J051	83, 16	2, 8	*jw≠tw ḥr ḏd n≠sn*	and (Some)one said to them	NIMS.
J052	84, 1	2, 8	*wn(n)≠tn ḥr ꜥk r p3 dmj*	"When you enter the town,	Protasis of Closed Complex with *wnn* in Emphatic Form + Preposition + Infinitive.[36]
J053	84, 1	2, 8	*jw≠tn ḥr wn n3y≠tn jr.ïw*	you will uncover your companions	Apodosis of Closed Complex with Circumstantial Present I.[37]
J054 [[J055]]	84, 2	2, 9	*mtw≠n mḥ m r(m)ṯ.w nb [[n.tï m p3 dmj]]*	and we shall seize all the people [[who are in the town]]	Conjunctive.[38] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]

[35] The word *j-t-l-l* is unknown, possibly foreign, for which see Hoch, 1994: 43. Peet 1925: 226 translates '*jtrr*-clubs'. A Circumstantial Present I is likely, since otherwise the events seem to be occurring out of order. Otherwise, as in Goedicke 1968: 228, the 'sandals' are part of the carrying equipment. One must nonetheless establish whether 'them' refers to the baskets, those in them, or those about to carry them.

[36] Here, *wnn* is written as *wn*, Junge 2005: 273. For the Closed Complex, see Junge 2005: 271–272 and Vernus 1981b: 85–89. The *wnn* makes the Adverbial Sentence/Present I take on a future (conditional) sense, establishing a relationship of temporal dependency with the following clause. Helmut Satzinger (personal communication) sees it as a future converted to past 'in Präterito' (with *wn*). Another possibility is to see *wn(n)≠tn ḥr ꜥk* as a Middle Egyptian future form: "You will enter the town and uncover...".

[37] Gardiner 1932: 84a, 2, 8a presumes that the *ḥr* is actually an *r*, though Junge 2001: 271–3 shows that the second part of the Closed Complex is a Circumstantial Present I. Contrary to its usual usage, it displays 'semantic independence', perhaps because it was more like the Middle Egyptian *jw* Sentence, which has a future sense, for which see *ḥr* Junge 2005: 271.

[38] Like J056 below, the Conjunctive follows the (future-oriented) apodosis of a Closed Complex, Junge 2005: 272. Gardiner 1932: 84a, 2, 9b reads the *≠n* as *≠tn*, but I think that *≠n* is equally viable here. The preposition *m* is part of the verbal phrase *mḥ m*, 'to grab', Junge 2005: 335, although the classifier is incorrect.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	LES	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
J056	84, 2	2, 9	*mtw≠n dj.t≠w <m> mḫꜣ.w ḥr-ꜥ*	and we will place them <in> fetters immediately!"	Conjunctive.
J057	84, 3	2, 10	*jw≠tw ḥr pr*	And (Some)one went forth	NIMS.
J058	84, 3	2, 10	*r ḏd n pꜣ ktn n pꜣ ḫr.w n y-p-w*	in order to say to the Charioteer of the Rebel of Joppa	Preposition + Infinitive.
J059	84, 4	2, 10	*ḫr≠f {nꜣ}<m> pꜣy≠k nb*	"He says, namely, your lord,	Preterite.[39]
J060	84, 4	2, 11	*j-šm*	'Go	Imperative.
J061	84, 4	2, 11	*ḏd n tꜣy≠k ḥnw.t*	and say to your mistress	Imperative.
J062	84, 5	2, 11	*nḏm-jb<≠t>*	"May <you> rejoice!	Prospective.[40]
J063	84, 5	2, 11	*j-dj <n>≠n swt[ḫ] ḏḥw.ti ḥnꜥ ḥ(j)m.t≠f ẖrd.w≠f*	That Seth has given Djehuty <to> us is with his wife and his children.	Emphatic Form.[41]
J064	84, 5	2, 12	*ptr ḥꜣt bꜣk.w≠sn*	Behold the first (of) their tribute!"	Imperative.[42]
J065 [[J066]]	84, 6	2, 12	*kꜣ<≠k> n≠s r pꜣï 200 n tḥbs.t [[n.tï mḥ m r(m)ṯ.w ḥr ḫḥ.w ḥr mḫꜣ.w]]*	(So) <you> should say to her concerning these 200 baskets'", [[which were filled with people and manacles and fetters.]]	Prospective.[43] [[Relative converter + Present I with Stative.[44]]]

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[39] The *m* is written as *nꜣ*, Gardiner 1932: 84a, 2, 10a and Peet 1925: 337. Junge 2001: 146 regards it as indirect speech 'sein Herr', whereas I represent it as nested direct speech.

[40] Gardiner 1932: 84a, 2, 11a inserts the feminine 2nd person singular pronoun.

[41] The *ḥnꜥ ḥ(j)m.t≠f* is the only adverbial form able to be emphasised in what is a morphologically clear Emphatic Form. Gardiner 1932:84a, 2, 11b–c inserts the preposition *n*.

[42] Peet 1925: 226 and 337 suggests substituting *ḏr.t* for *ḥꜣt*: "Behold, (my) hand has enslaved them", which is perhaps too liberal a translation for the verb *bꜣk*. Goedicke 1968: 220 says: "Behold, this is the advance of their service".

[43] Gardiner 1932: 84a, 2, 12b inserts the *≠k*. The form could also be Imperative, but in any case would require an object. It is uncertain whether the Ruler of Joppa is talking or the Egyptian Envoy. Peust, 1996: 94 takes it as the Envoy and uses *≠k*, a reading adopted here. Brunner-Traut 1989 [1963]: 183 and Junge 2001: 146 suggest inserting *≠f*, which means that this clause resumes the narration. However, this reading is in my opinion unlikely, given the use of the modal-oriented communicative verb *kꜣ*, which makes it more likely that it forms part of the dialogue. Goedicke 1968: 220 inserts an *≠s*, which allows the reading 'she should tell herself', on the spurious grounds that the queen herself thought this, since Djehuty, who was "cunning, but not immoral" had not told a lie.

[44] I am taking this clause as part of the narrator's subtext, a parenthetical aside to the audience, as in Goedicke 1968: 220. Another possibility is to follow the translation by Peet 1925: 226 which takes this 'mis-disclosure' as part of the Egyptians' message to the Charioteer: 'which were filled with people in manacles and fetters'.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	LES	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
J067	84, 7	2, 13	*wn.jn꞊f ḥr šm r-ḥȝ.t꞊sn*	Then he went before them	Narrative Form *wn.jn* + Present I.
J068	84, 8	2, 13	*r snḏm-jb n tȝy꞊f ḥnw.t*	in order to impart the good news to his mistress,	Preposition + Infinitive.
J069	84, 8	2, 14	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
J070	84, 8	2, 14	*mḥ꞊n m ḏḥw.tï*	"We have seized Djehuty!"	Preterite.
J071	84, 8	2, 14	*jw꞊tw ḥr wn nȝ n ḫtm n pȝ dmj r-ḥȝ.t nȝ n wʿw.w*	And (Some)one opened the gateway of the town before the soldiers,	NIMS.
J072	84, 9	3, 1	*jw꞊sn ḥr ʿḳ r pȝ dmj*	and they entered into the town	NIMS.
J073	84, 10	3, 1	*[jw꞊sn] ḥr wn nȝy꞊sn jr.ïw*	[and they] released their companions,	NIMS.
J074	84, 11	3, 2	*jw꞊sn ḥr mḥ [m pȝ] dmj m šrj<.w> m ʿȝ<.w>*	and they seized [the] town, consisting of young and old people,	NIMS.[45]
J075	84, 11	3, 3	*jw꞊sn ḥr dj꞊w <m> mḥȝ.w m ḳḥ.w ḥr-ʿ*	and they placed them <in> fetters and manacles immediately.	NIMS.
J076	84, 12	3, 4	*jw pȝ ḫpš ṯnr n pr-ʿȝ ʿ.w.s. ḥr mḥ m pȝ dmj*	And the strong arm of Pharaoh, l.p.h., captured the town.	NIMS.[46]
J077	84, 13	3, 6	*sḏr ḏḥw.tï*	That Djehuty rested	Emphatic Form.[47]
J078	84, 13	3, 6	*jw hȝb꞊f r km.t n nsw mn-ḫpr-rʿ ʿ.w.s. pȝy꞊f nb*	was only upon having sent (a message) to Egypt to king Menkheperre, l.p.h., his lord,	Circumstantial Preterite.
J079	84, 14	3, 7	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
J080	84, 14	3, 7	*nḏm-jb꞊k*	"May you rejoice!	Prospective.
J081	84, 15	3, 8	*dj n꞊k jmn pȝy꞊k jt nfr pȝ ḫr.w n [y]-p-w ḥnʿ r(m)ṯ.w꞊f nb mj.tït pȝy꞊f dmj*	Amun, your good father, has given to you the Rebel of Joppa and all his people as well as his town.	Preterite.

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[45] Gardiner 1932: 84a, 3, 2a–b expresses reservations about this reconstruction given the available space, but it appears thus in other parts of the text.

[46] The *ḫpš ṯnr* could also be rendered 'mighty power' or 'energetic arm'.

[47] This form places emphasis on the following Circumstantial clause because *sḏr* is intransitive, Wente 1969: 7, Junge 2005: 133.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	LES	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
J082	84, 16	3, 10	*jmj jw r(m)t̠.w*	Make people come	Causative Imperative.
J083	85, 1	3, 10	*r jt̠ꜣ≈w m ḥꜣk̠.w*	in order to carry them off as booty	Preposition + Infinitive.[48]
J084	85, 1	3, 11	*mḥ≈k pr n jt≈k jmn-rꜥ nsw nt̠r.w m ḥm.w ḥm.wt*	so that you may fill the estate of your father, Amun-Ra, king of the gods, with male slaves and female slaves,	Prospective.
J085	85, 2	3, 12	*jw≈w ḫr.w ḥr rd.wi≈k r nḥḥ d̠.t*	they having fallen beneath your feet forever and ever."	Circumstantial Present I with Stative.
J086	85, 2	3, 13	*jw≈s pw nfr*	**It has come out well.**	Middle Egyptian *pw* Sentence with Aorist.[49]
J087	85, 3	3, 13	*jn kꜣ n sḫꜣ.w jk̠r m d̠bꜥ.w≈f sḫꜣ.w mšꜥ ///*	By the *kꜣ* of the scribe who is capable with his fingers, the army scribe ///	Preposition + Infinitive.

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[48] The *≈w* was perhaps altered into *≈f*, Gardiner 1932: 85a, 3, 10a, to refer to the ruler. Less likely is taking *m ḥꜣk̠.w* to mean 'into captivity', Goedicke 1968: 220, 229.

[49] Literally: "It is that it comes well".

D   *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
[[W001]]	61, 1	1, 1	*ḥꜣ.t-sp 5 ꜣbd 4 šmw sw 16 hrw n wḏ* [[*j-jr sms.w ḥꜣy.t wn-jmn n pr-jmn nb ns.wt tꜣ.wi*]]	**Year 5, 4th month of summer, day 16**: the day of departing [[that the elder of the portal Wenamun of the house of Amun, lord of the thrones of the two lands, did]]	Date, Nominal phrase. [[Relative Form.]]
W002 [[W003]] [[W004]]	61, 2	1, 2	*r jn(.t) t[ꜣ] ṯ.t n pꜣ wjꜣ ꜥꜣ špsï n jmn-rꜥ nsw nṯr.w* [[*n.tï ḥr-dp [j(t)rw*]] [[*n.tï rn⸗f*] [j]mn.w-wsr-ḥꜣ.t*]]	in order to bring the timber for the great and noble sacred bark of Amun-Re, king of the gods, [[which is upon the [river]]] [[and whose name is] Amun-strong-of-prow.]]	Preposition + Infinitive. [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]] [[Relative converter + Nominal Sentence.]]
[[W005]] [[W006]]	61, 4	1, 3	*hrw n spr* [[*j-jr⸗j r ḏꜥn.t*]] *r pꜣ* [[[*n.tï ns-sw-bꜣ-nb*]-*ḏd(.t) tn-jmn jm*]]	The day of the arriving [[that I did at Tanis]] at the place [[[where S]mendes and Tantamun were.]]	Nominal phrase. [[Relative Form.]] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverb.]]
W007	61, 5	1, 4	*jw⸗j dj n⸗w nꜣ wḫꜣ.w n jmn-rꜥ nsw nṯr.w*	I gave them the dispatches of Amun-Re, king of the gods	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W008	61, 6	1, 4	*jw⸗w dj ꜥš.tw⸗w m-bꜣḥ⸗w*	and they caused that they were read out before them,	NIMS (without *ḥr*), with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.
W009	61, 6	1, 5	*jw⸗w ḏd*	and they said	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W010 [[W011]]	61, 6	1, 5	*jry sp sn.wï m pꜣ* [[*ḏd jmn-rꜥ nsw nṯr.w pꜣ[y]⸗n [nb]*]]	"Yes yes to that [[which Amun-Re, king of the gods, our lord, said."]]	Prospective. [[Relative Form.[1]]]
W012	61, 7	1, 6	*jw⸗j jr šꜣꜥ ꜣbd 4 šmw*	**I spent from the 4th month of summer,**	NIMS (without *ḥr*).

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[1] Gardiner 1932: 61a, 1, 6a claims that the placing of *nb* before the suffix pronoun *⸗n* (as here and throughout the text) is a feature of Ramesside hieratic, and not a change in syntax, ie, 'this lord of ours', instead of 'our lord'. This is particularly evident in the writing of *pꜣ n.tï nb*, which would make no sense the way it is written by Ramesside scribes, *pꜣ nb n.tï*, as noted by Gardiner 1932: 68a, 2, 9b.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W013	61, 8	1, 6	*jw=j m-ẖnw ḏˁn.t*	I being in Tanis.	Present I with adverbial.[2]
W014	61, 8	1, 6	*jw ns-sw-bꜣ-nb-ḏd(.t) tn-jmn wḏ={t}<j> jrm ḥr.ï-mnš m-n-g-b-t*	Smendes and Tantamun dispatched me together with the Captain Mangabet	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W015	61, 10	1, 7	*jw=j hꜣy r pꜣ ym ˁꜣ n ḫ-r {n}<m> ꜣbd 1 šmw sw 1*	and I descended to the great sea of Syria **in the 1st month of summer, day 1.**	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W016	61, 10	1, 8	*jw=j spr r d-r wˁ dmy n ṯ-k-r*	I arrived at Dor, a port of the *Tjeker*.	NIMS (without *ḥr*).[3]
W017	61, 12	1, 9	*jw b-d-r pꜣy=f wr dj jn.tw n=j ˁḳ.w 50 jrp msḫ 1 mꜣs.t n jḥ 1*	Beder, its Chief, caused 50 loaves, 1 wine vessel and 1 leg of beef to be given to me.	NIMS (without *ḥr*), with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.
W018	61, 13	1, 10	*jw wˁ r(m)ṯ n tꜣy=j br wˁr*	One person of my freighter fled,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W019	62, 1	1, 10	*jw ṯꜣy=f nbw [ṯb 1]*	he having taken gold, [1 jar]	Circumstantial Preterite.[4]
W020	62, 1	1, 11	*[jr.w n] dbn 5*	[amounting to] 5 deben,	Participle.[5]
W021	62, 1	1, 11	*ḥḏ ṯb 4 [[jr.w n dbn 20]] ḥḏ ˁrf dbn 11*	silver, 4 jars [[amounting to 20 deben]] and silver, a bag, 11 deben.	Participle.

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[2] Sethe 1924: 62–63 shows how *m-ẖnw* is here written according to the rebus principle, in which the *m*, written as *mw* 'water' with a modified version of the logogram 𓈖 (Gardiner Sign N35a) is placed *below* the pot *n.w* 𓏌 (Gardiner Sign W24). The unwritten preposition *ḥr* 'below' (usually 𓏏, Gardiner Sign T28) stands for the monoconsonantal sign *ẖ*. The writing 𓏌𓈖, namely *mw ḥr n.w* is therefore *m{w}-ẖ{r}nw > m-ẖnw*. However, the preceding phonetic complement 𓅓 *m* and the writing of *mw* with two lines of water instead of three perhaps indicates that the rebus principle behind this writing was no longer understood by the scribe.

[3] What has here been transliterated as 'day 1' could also be simply the classifier of *šmw* 𓇳 (Gardiner Sign N5). However, *šmw* does not always bear it (as we see in W001) and when it does (W012 and W334), it does not bear the additional stroke (Gardiner Sign Z1), which is the case here. It is therefore more likely that we are dealing with a logogram.

[4] Gardiner 1932: 62, 1 does not insert *ṯb* ('jar' or 'bowl'), but given its appearance in a later clause with the same classifier, it is very likely.

[5] For this term, see Junge 2005: 324, following Erman, 1933: 154.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
[[W022]]	62, 2	1, 12	[*dmḏ n pꜣ* [[*j-ṯꜣy*]*ꜥf*]] *nbw dbn 5 ḥḏ dbn 31*	[The total of that [[which] he [stole]]]: gold, 5 deben, silver, 31 deben.	Nominal Phrase. [[Relative Form.]]
W023	62, 3	1, 12	*jw⸗j dwn m tꜣï dwꜣ.w*	I arose on that morning,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W024 [[W025]]	62, 3	1, 12	*jw⸗j šm r pꜣ* [[*n.tï pꜣ wr n.jm*]]	and I went to the place [[where the Chief was]]	NIMS (without *ḥr*). [[Relative converter + Present I with adverb.[6]]]
W026	62, 4	1, 13	*jw⸗j ḏd n⸗f*	and I said to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W027	62, 4	1, 13	*tw⸗j ṯꜣy.tw {n}<m> ṯꜣy⸗k mr(.yt)*	"I have been robbed in your harbour!	Present I with Stative.
W028	62, 5	1, 13	*ḥr mnt.k pꜣ wr n pꜣï tꜣ*	Now, you are the Chief of this land	Nominal Sentence.
W029	62, 5	1, 13	*ḥr mnt.k pꜣy⸗f smtï*	and you are its judge!	Nominal Sentence.
W030	62, 6	1, 14	*wḫꜣ pꜣy⸗j ḥḏ*	Seek my money!	Imperative
W031	62, 6	1, 14	*yꜣ jr pꜣ ḥḏ ns-sw jmn-rꜥ nsw nṯr.w pꜣ nb n nꜣ tꜣ.w*	Indeed, as for the money, it belongs to Amun-Re, king of the gods, the lord of the lands.	Topicalised Noun Phrase with Adjectival Sentence.[7]
W032	62, 8	1, 15	*ns-sw ns-sw-bꜣ-nb-ḏd(.t)*	It belongs to Smendes,	Adjectival Sentence.
W033	62, 8	1, 15	*ns-sw ḥr.ï-ḥr.w pꜣy⸗j nb nꜣ ktḫ ꜥꜣ.w n km.t*	it belongs to Herihor, my lord, and the other great ones of Egypt.	Adjectival Sentence.
W034	62, 9	1, 16	*mnt.k sw*	It is yours,	Adjectival Sentence indicating possession.[8]
W035	62, 9	1, 16	*ns-st w-r-t*	it belongs to Weret,	Adjectival Sentence.[9]

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[6] Gardiner 1932: 62, a, 1, 13a suggests that *n.jm* is a writing of *jm*.

[7] The first term in this form is an adjectival construction 'he belongs to'. This form is otherwise known as a 'characterizing Nominal Sentence', Junge 2005: 169–170. See also Loprieno, 1995: 119.

[8] Junge 2005: 170–171. This is an Adjectival Sentence in the form of a Nominal Sentence. Green, 1979: 119 takes it instead as 'he is your (responsibility)'.

[9] In the following three clauses, the pronoun seems to be plural or feminine, as in Junge 2005: 77, but the people are individuals and not feminine: Tjekerbaal is the Chief of Byblos and Wente 2003: 117, note 6 suggests that Weret and Mekemer were the Chiefs of Tyre and Sidon.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W036	62, 10	1, 16	*ns-st m-k-m-r*	it belongs to Mekemer,	Adjectival Sentence.
W037	62, 10	1, 16	*ns-st ṯ-k-r-b-ꜥ-l pꜣ wr n k-p-n*	it belongs to Tjekerbaal, the Chief of Byblos."	Adjectival Sentence.
W038	62, 11	1, 17	*jw≠f ḏd n≠j*	He said to me	NIMS (without ḥr).
W039	62, 11	1, 17	*(j)n dns≠k*	"Whether you may be serious,	Interrogative particle + Prospective.[10]
W040	62, 11	1, 17	*(j)n mnḫ≠k*	or whether you may be humorous—	Interrogative particle + Prospective.
W041 [[W042]]	62, 12	1, 17	*ḥr ptr bw jr≠j ꜥm {n}<m> tꜣï wšb.(y)t [[j-ḏd≠k n≠j]]*	now look! I cannot understand this statement, [[which you have said to me.]]	Negative Aorist.[11] [[Relative Form.]]
W043 W044 [[W045]] [[W046]]	62, 13	1, 18	*hn jtꜣ.y jw ns-sw pꜣy≠j tꜣ pꜣ [[hꜣy r tꜣy≠k br]] [[mtw≠f tꜣy pꜣy≠k ḥḏ]]*	If it was a thief belonging to my land [[who went down to your freighter]] [[and who took your money]]	Conditional particle + Nominal Sentence. Protasis of Cleft Sentence.[12] Circumstantial Adjectival Sentence (virtual relative clause). [[Participle. Apodosis of Cleft Sentence.]] [[Conjunctive.[13]]]
W047	62, 15	1, 19	*wn jw≠j ḏbꜣ≠f n≠k m pꜣy≠j wḏꜣ*	I would have repaid it to you from my storehouse,	Preterite converter wn + Future III (without r).[14]

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[10] Although written only as *n*, with 〰, rather than with the addition of Gardiner Sign D35: ⌣, the form here is nonetheless most probably an allograph of the interrogative particle (*j*)*n*, for which see Junge 2005: 87 and Winand 2011: 557.

[11] The use of the preposition *m* renders the meaning 'understand about'.

[12] The word *hn* begins a conditional (Cleft) Sentence, where an initial dependent clause (protasis), which expresses conditionality precedes an independent clause (apodosis), Junge 2005: 265–267. In this case, the protasis (four clauses) is a Nominal Sentence, and the apodosis is *wn* + Future III.

[13] This clause is a continuation of the protasis, Hintze 1952: 271 and Junge 2005: 262. Borghouts 1979: 22 and Winand 2001: 314 see this as having modality: the Prince is posing a hypothetical.

[14] This clause is the apodosis of the bound expression (conditional clause). The Preterite converter turns the Future III into the future perfect tense, Junge 2005: 160, which in this case (because of the hypothetical nature of the passage) conveys modality.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W048	62, 15	1, 19	šꜣꜥ.t≠w gm pꜣy≠k jtꜣ.y {n}<m> rn≠f	until they find this aforementioned thief of yours.	Terminative.[15]
W049 [[W050]]	62, 16	1, 20	yꜣ jr pꜣ jtꜣ.y [[j-tꜣy tw]] mnt.k sw	Indeed, as for the thief [[who robbed you]], he is yours,	Topicalised Noun Phrase, Adjectival Sentence indicating possession.[16] [[Perfective participle.]]
W051	63, 1	1, 20	ns-sw tꜣy≠k br	he belongs to your freighter!	Adjectival Sentence.
W052/ W053	63, 2	1, 21	j-jr nhy hrw.w dï kꜣ-n≠j	Spend some days here with me,	Imperative.
W054	63, 3	1, 21	wḫꜣ≠j sw	and I will seek him."	Prospective.
W055	63, 3	1, 21	jw≠j jr hrw 9	I spent 9 days,	NIMS (without ḥr).
W056	63, 3	1, 21	jw≠j mjn.tw <m> tꜣy≠f mr(.yt)	while being moored <in> his harbour,	Circumstantial Present I with Stative.[17]
W057/ W058	63, 4	1, 22	jw≠j šm kꜣ-n≠f	and I went along with him,	NIMS (without ḥr).
W059	63, 4	1, 22	jw≠j ḏd n≠f	and I said to him	NIMS (without ḥr).
W060	63, 4	1, 22	mk bw.pw≠k gm pꜣy≠j ḥḏ	"Look! You have not found my money.	Negative Preterite.
W061 [[W062]]	63, 5	1, 23	[jḥ] ///≠k wj jrm nꜣ ḥr.ïw- mnš jrm nꜣ [[šm ym]]	[May you] /// me with the captains and with the ones [[who go (to) sea."]]	Prospective (Optative) (?) with jḥ.[18] [[Participle.]]
W063	63, 6	1, 23	jw≠f ḏd n≠j	He said to me	NIMS (without ḥr).
W064	63, 6	1, 23	gr tw ///	"Quiet yourself ///	Imperative.[19]
W065	63, 7	1, 24	/// [g]m pꜣ[y≠k ḥḏ] ///	/// find [your money] ///	Not enough information.[20]
W066	63, 7	1, 24	/// sḏm tꜣy[≠j md.t]	/// hear m[y speech]	Not enough information.

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[15] For this late (abbreviated) development of the Terminative form, see Junge 2005: 99. For the term *m rn≠f*, see Daumas 1948: 98–99.

[16] For this form, see Junge 2005: 170–171.

[17] The absence of prepositions in adverbial forms (especially in Present I and Emphatic Forms) is marked in this text and shows, according to Groll 1992: 96, that prepositions were dispensable in Late Egyptian: a bare noun could alone have adverbial function.

[18] Henceforth, I intend to follow the numbering hypothesised by Gardiner 1932: 63–67, which is followed by Moers 1990–7b: 912, who reads the three fragments of page 1 as running on from each other, rather than being 1, 1, followed by 3, 1, followed by 1, x+1.

[19] The *tw* is a dependent pronoun, here being used reflexively. This might have formed part of a 'direct object pronoun' with *tw≠k*, though the passage is damaged.

[20] Possibly a conditional Future III [*yꜣ jr jw≠k*], 'Indeed, if you will'.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W067 [[W068]]	63, 8	1, 24	[*mtw≠k jr*] [*j-ḏd*]≠*j n≠k*	[and do] [[what I [say] to you]].	Conjunctive.[21] [[Relative Form.]]
W069	63, 8	1, 24	*jw m-jr ///*	and do not ///	Circumstantial Negative Imperative.[22]
W070	63, 8	1, 25	*/// sḏm ///*	/// hear ///	Not enough information.
W071 [[W072]]	63, 8	1, 25	*/// pꜣ* [[*n.tï jw≠k j*[*m*]]]	/// the place [[where you are.]]	Not enough information. [[Relative converter + Present I with adverb.[23]]]
W073	63, 9	1, 25	*jw≠k mḥ* [*m*] *nꜣy≠w kr ///*	You shall seize their boat ///	Future III (without *r*).[24]
W074	63, 9	1, 25	*mtw≠k mḥ mj ///*	and you shall seize according to ///	Conjunctive.[25]
W075	63, 10	1, 26	[*šꜣꜥ*].*t≠w šm*	until they go	Terminative.[26]
W076 [[W077]]	63, 10	1, 26	*wḫꜣ pꜣy≠w jtꜣ.y* [[*j-*[*tꜣy st*] *///*]]	and seek their thief [[who has [stolen it] ///]]	Infinitive.[27] [[Participle.]]
W078	63, 11	1, 27	*/// tꜣ mr*(.*yt*)	/// the harbour.	Not enough information.
W079	63, 12	1, 27	[*m*]*k jw ///*	Look! ///	Not enough information.
W080	63, 12	1, 28	*/// ḏ-r*	/// Tyre."	Not enough information.
W081	63, 12	1, 28	*jw≠j pr m ḏ-r m šsp ḥḏ ///*	I went forth from Tyre at dawn ///	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W082	64, 2	1, 29	*/// t-k-r-b-ꜥ-l pꜣ wr n k-p-n ///*	/// Tjekerbaal the Chief of Byblos ///	Not enough information.
W083	64, 3	1, 30	*///* [*b*]*r*	/// freighter.	Not enough information.
W084	64, 3	1, 30	*jw≠j gm ḥḏ dbn ꜣo jm≠s*	I found silver, 30 deben, in it.	NIMS (without *ḥr*).

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[21] This most probably extends a Prospective, but could also extend the Imperative.

[22] The Negative Imperative can be subordinated with *jw*, Frandsen 1974: 217–218, though it is used in a coordinating sense in translation, Junge 2005: 138.

[23] Gardiner 1932: 63a, 3, 3b–c sees this as having prospective rather than present tense, which would presumably have been written *n.tï tw≠k*.

[24] This could also be read (given that the word is truncated) as *krj* 'fellows' or *kꜣr* 'weapons'. Moers 1990–7b: 915 suggests 'Geldsäcke'.

[25] The Conjunctive seems to extend the Future III.

[26] This form has been abbreviated, for which see Gardiner 1932: 62a, 1, 19a.

[27] This form extends the Terminative. Schipper 2005: 52 inserts an *r*, in order to make the clause 'in order to seek'.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W085	64, 4	1, 30	*jw꞊j mḥ jm꞊w ///*	I seized them ///	NIMS (without *ḥr*).[28]
W086	64, 5	1, 31	*/// p3y꞊tn ḥd*	/// "your money.	Not enough information.[29]
W087	64, 5	1, 31	*jw꞊f w3ḥ m-dj꞊j*	It shall remain with me	Future III (without *r*).[30]
W088 [[W089]]	64, 5	1, 31	*[š3]ʿ-j-jr(.t)꞊tn gm p3[y꞊j ḥd m-rʾ-pw p3 jt3.y] [[j-t3y sw]]*	[unt]il you have found [my money or the thief] [[who has stolen it]]	Terminative. [[Participle.]]
W090	64, 6	1, 32	*bw.pw<꞊j> jt3y꞊tn*	<I> have not robbed you—	Negative Preterite.
W091	64, 7	1, 32	*jw꞊j r jt3y.t꞊f*	I will take it.	Future III.
W092	64, 7	1, 32	*[wpw(.t)] m꞊tn*	[a message?] from you	Infinitive.[31]
W093	64, 7	1, 32	*jw /// ꞊j r ///*	///	Not enough information.[32]
W094	64, 8	1, 33	*jw꞊w šm n꞊w*	They took themselves off	NIMS (without *ḥr*).[33]
W095	64, 8	1, 33	*jw꞊j ḥb<s> n꞊j [m] jmw <ḥr> sp{r}<.t> p3 [ym] t3 mr(.yt) k-p-n*	and I provided cover for myself [with] a tent <on> the shore of the [sea] of the harbour of Byblos	NIMS (without *ḥr*).[34]

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[28] Gardiner 1932: 64a, 3, 8d prefers reading *꞊w* over *꞊s*.

[29] Gardiner 1932: 64a, 3, 8e–f inserts: "[I said to the owners of the ship: I have taken] your money".

[30] As Schipper 2005: 53 says, it could be a Circumstantial Present I with Stative: 'it remaining with me'.

[31] Gardiner 1932: 64a, 3, 10d–e and Schipper 2005: 54 reads it as the preposition *wpw<-ḥr>*: 'but as for you'/'sondern ihr'. Unresolved by such a reading is the presence of the A2 classifier 𓀁 as well as the use of the simple preposition *m* instead of or in addition to the (missing) preposition *ḥr*.

[32] Possibly a Future III form.

[33] Reflexive dative. Literally 'went to themselves'.

[34] Lichtheim 1976: 225, Moers 1990–7b: 915, Wente 2003: 118 and Schipper 2005: 54 read *ḥ3b* as 'to triumph/celebrate', usually written 𓎛𓂝𓏲 and often additionally classified with 𓂧 (Gardiner Sign D40) (*Wb.* III 57, 5). More likely for the translation, particularly given the successive *n꞊j* is *ḥbs*, 'to cover' (*Wb.* III 64, 3), a reading adopted by Galan 2005: 149. The problem here is that the spelling is 𓇋𓎛𓃀𓏲𓀁 instead of 𓇋𓎛𓃀𓋴𓀁. The writing is closest to 𓇋𓎛𓃀 *ḥb* 'tent', which in Demotic became *ḥb3.t* (*Wb* III 57, 4, Erichsen 1954: 299). The scribal error seems therefore to be that the verb 'to cover' is written as the noun 'tent' then classified as a verb with 𓀜 (Gardiner Sign A24). Perhaps this indicates the extension of the noun as a verb, in other words, 'to erect a tent' (Quack, personal communication), although this would render the subsequent *jmw* 'tent' superfluous.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W096	64, 9	1, 33	*jw /// jmn-t3-mj.t*	and /// Amun-of-the-road	Not enough information.
W097	64, 10	1, 34	*jw≠j dj 3ḥ.wt≠f m-ḫnw≠f*	and I placed his things within it.	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W098	64, 10	1, 34	*jw [p3 wr] n k-p-n h3b n≠j*	The Chief of Byblos sent (a message) to me, saying	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W099	64, 11	1, 34	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
W100	64, 11	1, 34	*[j]-r[wj tw]≠k [m] [t3]y[≠j] mr(.yt)*	"Get yourself [away] [from] [my] harbour!"	Imperative.[35]
W101	64, 11	1, 35	*jw≠j h3b n≠f*	I sent (a message) to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W102	64, 12	1, 35	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
W103	64, 12	1, 35	*j-jr[≠j šm r] tnw*	"Where shall [I go]?	Emphatic Form.[36]
W104	64, 12	1, 35	*/// ≠j šm*	/// I went (?)	Not enough information.[37]
W105	64, 13	1, 36	*/// jr ///*	/// if ///	Not enough information.[38]
W106	64, 13	1, 36	*/// r ḫn≠tw*	/// in order to convey me	Not enough information.
W107	64, 14	1, 36	*jmj t3[y].t<≠j> r km.t [ˁ]n*	Let <me> be taken to Egypt again."	Causative Imperative, with Passive Subjunctive.
W108	64, 14	1, 37	*jw≠j jr hrw 29 {n}<m> t3y≠f [mr(.yt)]*	I spent 29 days in his [harbour]	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W109	64, 15	1, 37	*[jw j-jr]≠f nw*	while that he spent time	Circumstantial Emphatic Form.
W110	65, 1	1, 37	*h3b n≠j m-mn.t*	was to send (a message) to me daily,	Infinitive.
W111	65, 1	1, 37	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.

[35] This is a 'direct object pronoun', which was popular in Demotic. See Spiegelberg 1917: 126–127, also Winand 1992: 98–100 and 156–157.

[36] This is the plausible reconstruction proposed by Černý 1945: 34. Otherwise, it could be an Imperative, or another kind of Emphatic Form: 'That I will do …'.

[37] This reading works if we do not read the tentative *n* before the *≠j*. It could also be a NIMS.

[38] Wente 2003: 118 inserts: 'If [you can locate a ship] to transport me'.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W112	65, 1	1, 37	*j-rwj tw≠k <m> t3y≠j mr(.yt)*	"Get yourself away <from> my harbour!"	Imperative.
W113	65, 2	1, 38	*ḥr jr sw wdn <n> [n]3y≠f nṯr.w*	**Now, when he was offering** <to> his gods,	*jr* + Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).
W114	65, 2	1, 38	*[j]w p3 nṯr t3y w⁽ ⁽dd-⁽3 n3y≠f ⁽dd.w-⁽3.w*	the god took a page (from amongst) his pages,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W115	65, 3	1, 39	*jw≠f dj≠f <m> ḫ3wt*	and he placed him in an ecstacy,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W116	65, 4	1, 39	*jw≠f ḏd n≠f*	and he said to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W117	65, 4	1, 39	*jn [p3] nṯr r-ḥr.w*	"Bring [the] god up!	Imperative.
W118 [[W119]]	65, 4	1, 39	*jn p3 wpw.tï [[n.tï ḥr≠f]]*	Bring the Envoy [[who is carrying him!]]	Imperative.[39] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
W120 [[W121]]	65, 5	1, 40	*(j)n jmn [[j-wḏ sw]]*	It is Amun [[who has dispatched him]]	Nominal Sentence (*jn*-construction). Protasis of Cleft Sentence. [[Participle. Apodosis of Cleft Sentence.]]
W122 [[W123]]	65, 5	1, 40	*mnt.f [[j-dj jw≠f]]*	it is he [[who has caused that he come!"]]	Nominal Sentence. Protasis of Cleft Sentence. [[Participle with Causative + Subjunctive. Apodosis of Cleft Sentence.]]
W124	65, 5	1, 40	*jw j-jr p3 ḫ3wt ḫ3wt m p3ï grḥ*	While the ecstatic was ecstatic in that night,	Circumstantial Emphatic Form.
W125	65, 6	1, 40	*jw gm≠j w⁽ br*	I had found a freighter	Circumstantial Preterite.[40]
W126	65, 7	1, 41	*jw ḥr≠s r km.t*	that was pointing towards Egypt,	Circumstantial Present I with adverbial.
W127	65, 7	1, 41	*jw 3tp≠j p3y≠j jnk nb r≠{s}s*	so I loaded all of my things into it	Circumstantial Preterite.

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[39] The word *wpw.tï* is spelled as *jpw.tï* throughout the text.

[40] This is an emphasised part of the preceding Emphatic Form, based on the proviso that the second adverbial is the emphasised part (not 'on that night').

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W128	65, 8	1, 41	*jw j-jr=j nw r p3 kkw*	but while I watched for the darkness,	Circumstantial Emphatic Form.[41]
W129	65, 8	1, 42	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.[42]
W130	65, 8	1, 42	*h3y=f*	"May it (nightfall) come	Prospective (Optative).
W131	65, 9	1, 42	*3tp=j p3 nṯr*	so that I may load the god	Prospective Final.
W132	65, 9	1, 42	*r tm dj ptr sw kt jr.t*	in order not to allow that another eye may see him",	Preposition + Negative Infinitive.
W133	65, 10	1, 42	*jw p3 jm.ï-r' mr(.yt) jy n=j*	the overseer of the harbour came to me,	Circumstantial Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).[43]
W134	65, 10	1, 43	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
W135	65, 10	1, 43	*smn tw š3' dw3.w*	"'Remain until the morning',	Imperative.[44]
W136	65, 11	1, 43	{*ḥft*}<*ḥr*><*=f*> {*n*}<*m*> *p3 wr*	(so) he said, namely, the Chief."	Preterite.
W137	65, 11	1, 43	*jw=j ḏd n=f*	So I said to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W138 [[W139]]	65, 11	1, 43	(*j*)*n mnt.k p3* [[*n.tï j-jr=f nw*]]	"Are you the one [[who that he spent time]]	Interrogative particle + Nominal Sentence. Protasis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.[45] [[Relative converter + Emphatic Form. Apodosis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.]]

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[41] Ritner 2003: 220 reads "I had watched for darkness to fall". It could also be 'looked forward to'. Polis 2009: 299 renders the section W128–W132 as "si je scrutais le crépuscule c'est dans l'espoir qu'il tombe de sorte que j'embarque le dieu afin qu'un autre œil ne puisse pas l'apercevoir".

[42] Ritner 2003: 220 sees this as a complementiser initiating an explanatory clause: "so that I might put the god on board".

[43] This is an emphasised part of an Emphatic Form, based on the proviso that the second adverbial (if we ignore the reported speech) is the emphasised part (not 'for the darkness').

[44] This is nested direct speech. The *tw* is a dependent pronoun, used as reinforcement.

[45] Gardiner 1932: 65a, 1, x+8d gives a thorough discussion of the possibilities of this form. However, I agree with Barns 1972: 164 that all the constructions using (*j*)*n*, written simply with ⌣ (Gardiner Sign D35), are a distinct writing of interrogative, not negated forms.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W140	65, 12	1, 44	*jy n≠j m-mn.t*	was to come to me daily,	Infinitive.
W141	65, 12	1, 44	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
W142	65, 12	1, 44	*j-rwj tw≠k <m> t3y≠j mr(.yt)*	'Get yourself away <from> my harbour!'?	Imperative.[46]
W143 W144	65, 13	1, 44	*(j)n j-jr≠k ḏd smn tw m p3 grḥ*	Are you (now) saying 'Stay for the night'	Interrogative particle with Emphatic Form. Imperative.[47]
W145 [[W146]]	65, 13	1, 45	*r dj wḏ t3 br [[j-gm≠j]]*	in order to let the freighter [[that I found]] depart,	Preposition + Causative Preposition + Infinitive + Subjunctive.[48] [[Relative Form.]]
W147	65, 14	1, 45	*mtw≠k jy*	so that you may come,	Conjunctive.
W148	65, 14	1, 45	*<r->ḏd*	saying	Infinitive.
W149	65, 14	1, 45	*ḥn≠k n≠k ʿn*	'Could you hurry yourself off again'?"	Prospective (Optative).[49]
W150	65, 14	1, 45	*jw≠f šm*	So he went	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W151	65, 15	1, 45	*jw≠f ḏd≠f n p3 wr*	and he reported it to the Chief.	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W152	65, 15	1, 46	*jw p3 wr h3b n p3 ḥr.i- mnš n t3 br*	The Chief sent (a message) to the Captain of the freighter	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W153	65, 16	1, 46	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
W154	65, 16	1, 46	*smn tw š3ʿ dw3.w*	"'Remain until the morning'.	Imperative.
W155	66, 1	1, 46	*{ḫft}<ḥr><≠f> {n}<m> p3 wr*	(so) he said, namely, the Chief."	Preterite.

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[46] As with W144, we could consider this as nested direct speech to a third party, since the Overseer is perhaps conveying the exact words of Tjekerbaal. However, since he is the Overseer, it may also reflect his own words here.

[47] Barns 1972: 164 says *m p3 grḥ* should be read as 'tonight', but such a translation only works, as here, when the moment of speech is the time referred to. Such a reading does not work in other contexts in which the same term is used as part of third person narration, as with DP005.

[48] An emphasised part of an Emphatic Form.

[49] The *tw≠k* (as above) is most probably a direct object pronoun used in a reinforcing way. The *n≠k* is a reflexive dative.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W156	66, 1	1, 47	*jw dwꜣ.w ḫpr.w*	The **morning having come into being**,	Circumstantial Present I with Stative.
W157	66, 1	1, 47	*jw⸗f hꜣb*	he sent	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W158	66, 1	1, 47	*jw⸗f jtꜣ⸗j r-ḥr.w*	and he took me up	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W159 [[W160]]	66, 2	1, 47	*jw pꜣ nṯr ḥtp.w m pꜣ jmw [[n.tï sw jm⸗f <ḥr> sp.t pꜣ ym]]*	while the god was resting in the tent [[where he was, <on> the shore of the sea.]]	Circumstantial Present I with Stative. [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
W161	66, 3	1, 48	*jw⸗j gm.t⸗f ḥms <m> tꜣy⸗f ꜥr.t*	I found him seated <in> his upper chamber,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W162	66, 4	1, 48	*jw ḫꜣꜥ ꜣ.t⸗f r wꜥ sšd*	his back turned to a window,	Circumstantial Passive.[50]
W163	66, 5	1, 49	*jw j-jr n<ꜣ> hꜣn.w n pꜣ ym ꜥꜣ n ḫ-r ḥw r mkḫꜣ⸗f*	while against the back of his head broke the waves of the great sea of Syria.	Circumstantial Emphatic Form.
W164	66, 6	1, 50	*jw⸗j ḏd n⸗f*	I said to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W165	66, 6	1, 50	*sfty jmn*	"May Amun be merciful!"	Prospective (Optative).
W166	66, 6	1, 50	*jw⸗f ḏd n⸗j*	And he asked me	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W167	66, 7	1, 50	*wr r pꜣ hrw*	"How long is it until today	Interrogative pronoun *wr* + Present I with adverbial.
W168 [[W169]]	66, 7	1, 50	*m-ḏr jw⸗k {n}<m> pꜣ [[n.tï jmn jm]]*	since you came from the place [[where Amun is?"]]	Conjunction + Preterite. [[Relative converter + Present I with adverb.[51]]]
W170	66, 7	1, 51	*jw⸗j ḏd n⸗f*	I replied to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W171	66, 8	1, 51	*5 ꜣbd <n> hrw r pꜣï*	"5 whole months to this one."	(Single Part) Nominal Sentence.[52]
W172	66, 8	1, 51	*jw⸗f ḏd n⸗j*	And he said to me	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W173	66, 9	1, 51	*mk mnt.k mꜣꜥ.tw*	"Look, you are a truthful man.	Nominal Sentence.

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[50] Gardiner 1932: 66a, 1, x+13c suggests inserting *ḫꜣꜥ<⸗f>*, "<he> having turned his back to a window". This would be Circumstantial Preterite. I am following the reading by Schipper 2005: 61.

[51] From *pꜣ s.t n.tï*.

[52] The *hrw* is written as *hꜣw*, probably representing the pronunciation of the time, Junge 2005: 35.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W174 [[W175]]	66, 9	1, 51	*sw tnw pꜣ wḫꜣ n jmn* [[*n.tï m ḏr.t≠k*]]	So where is it, the dispatch of Amun, [[which was in your possession?]]	Present I with adverb (interrogative). [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
W176 [[W177]]	66, 9	1, 52	*sw tnw tꜣ šꜥ.t n pꜣ ḥm nṯr dp.ï n jmn* [[*n.tï m ḏr.t≠k*]]	Where is it, the letter of the high priest of Amun, [[which was in your possession?"]]	Present I with adverbial (interrogative pronoun *tnw*). [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
W178	66, 10	1, 52	*jw≠j ḏd n≠f*	I replied to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W179	66, 11	1, 53	*dj≠j st n ns-sw-bꜣ-nb-ḏd(.t) tn-jmn*	"I gave them to Smendes and Tantamun."	Preterite.
W180	66, 11	1, 53	*jw≠f ḫdn r jḳr sp sn.wï*	He became extremely angry	Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).[53]
W181	66, 12	1, 53	*jw≠f ḏd n≠j*	and he said to me	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W182	66, 12	1, 53	*ḥr mk wḫꜣ šꜥ.t mn {n}<m> ḏr.t≠k*	"Now, look! The dispatch, the letter—there is nothing in your hand.	Negative Existential.[54]
W183 [[W184]]	66, 13	1, 54	*sw tnw pꜣ jmw n ꜥš* [[*j-dj.w n≠k ns-sw-bꜣ-nb-ḏd(.t)*]]	Where is it, the vessel for conifer [[that Smendes gave to you?]]	Present I with adverb (interrogative).[55] [[Relative Form.]]
W185	66, 14	1, 54	*sw tnw tꜣy≠f js.t ḫ-r*	Where is it, its Syrian crew?	Present I with adverb (interrogative pronoun *tnw*).
W186	66, 14	1, 55	*(j)n j-jr≠f ḥn≠k n pꜣï ḥr.ï-mnš ḏrḏr*	Was (the fact) that he entrusted you to that foreign Captain	Interrogative particle + Emphatic Form.[56]

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[53] This is an infinitive form of an adjective verb.

[54] The *ḥr mk* is a vocative, so *wḫꜣ* and *šꜣ.t* are topicalised, preceding a Negative Existential Sentence, for which see Junge 2005: 172–173. The Subject 'anything' is elided, as per Vernus 1985: 153.

[55] The word *jmw*, 'vessel' is discussed by Ritter 1994: 254.

[56] Gardiner 1932: 66a, 1, x+20a and Nims 1968: 162 take this as a negated question. It seems rather more like an ironically intended rhetorical question.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W187	66, 15	1, 55	*r dj ḫdb≠f tw*	in order to ensure that he kill you	Preposition + Causative Infinitive + Subjunctive.[57]
W188	66, 15	1, 56	*mtw≠w ḫ3ꜥ≠k r p3 ym*	and to ensure that they throw you into the sea?	Conjunctive.[58]
W189	66, 16	1, 56	*wn j-jr≠w wḫ3 p3 nṯr m-{ḏr}<dj> nïm*	From *whom* would they have sought the god?	Preterite converter *wn* + Emphatic Form.[59]
W190	67, 1	1, 56	*mnt.k m-r'-ꜥ j-jr≠w wḫ3≠k m-{ḏr}<dj> nïm m-r'-ꜥ*	You, likewise, that they would have sought you is also from *whom*?"	Emphatic Form.
W191	67, 2	1, 57	*j.n≠f n≠j*	(So) he said to me.	Preterite.
W192	67, 2	1, 57	*jw≠j ḏd n≠f*	**And I said to him**	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W193 [[W194]]	67, 2	1, 57	*(j)n bn br n km.t ḥr js.t n km.t n3 [[n.tï ḥn ḥr ns-sw-b3-nb-ḏd(.t)]]*	"Is an Egyptian freighter with an Egyptian crew *not* that [[which sails under Smendes?]]	Interrogative particle + Negative + Nominal Sentence. Protasis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.[60] [[Relative converter + Present I with Infinitive. Apodosis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.]]
W195	67, 3	1, 58	*(j)n wn <m->dj≠f js.t ḫ-r*	Is there (rather) a Syrian crew in his employ?"	Interrogative particle + Existential Sentence.[61]
W196	67, 4	1, 58	*jw≠f ḏd n≠j*	He said to me	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W197	67, 4	1, 58	*(j)n mn 20 n mnš dï {n}<m> t3y≠j mr(.yt)*	"Are there not 20 ships here in my harbour,	Interrogative particle + Negative Existential (Adjectival) Sentence.

[57] This is the Emphasised part of preceding Emphatic Form (not 'the foreign Captain'). The *r* of the preposition is reduplicated.

[58] The Conjunctive may extend the Causative Infinitive.

[59] Gardiner 1932: 67a, 1, x+21a reads *m-ḏr* as being semi-phonetic for *m-dj* (as in the next clause).

[60] The Negative Nominal Sentence should be followed by *jwn3*, even in Pseudo-Cleft Sentences, for which see Junge 2005: 169, 181. This forms part of a thematic relative clause that is clefted because it is placed in apposition to *n3*.

[61] This reading, following Wente 2003: 119 and Schipper 2005: 64, involves inserting an *m* for *m-dj*, as per Gardiner 1932: 67a, 1, x+23b–c. See Černý-Groll 1993: 392.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W198	67, 5	1, 59	*jw≠w {n}<m> ḥbr jrm ns-sw-bꜣ-nb-ḏd(.t)*	who are in business with Smendes?	Circumstantial Present I with adverbial (virtual relative clause).
W199 [[W200]]	67, 6	1, 59	*jr pꜣï ḏ-d-n pꜣ ky [[j-sš≠k r≠f]] (j)n mn k.t 50 n br n.jm*	As for that Sidon, the other (place) [[which you passed by]], are there not another 50 freighters there,	Topicalised Noun Phrase + Negative Existential Sentence. [[Relative Form.[62]]]
W201	67, 7	2, 1	*jw≠w {n}<m> ḥbr jrm w-r-k-t-l*	which are in business with Werketel,	Circumstantial Present I with adverbial (virtual relative clause).
W202	67, 8	2, 2	*jw j-jr≠w jtḥ r pꜣy≠f pr*	and which are hauling *to his* estate?"	Circumstantial Emphatic Form (virtual relative clause).[63]
W203	67, 8	2, 2	*jw≠j gr {n}<m> tꜣï wnw.t ꜥꜣ.t*	I was silent in this long moment.	NIMS (without *ḥr*).[64]
W204	67, 9	2, 3	*jw≠f wšb*	So he responded,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W205	67, 9	2, 3	*ḏd n≠j*	saying to me	Infinitive.
W206	67, 9	2, 3	*j-jr≠k jy ḥr jḥ n sḥn*	"Upon what commission have you come?"	Emphatic Form (with interrogative particle *jḥ*).
W207	67, 10	2, 3	*jw≠j ḏd n≠f*	I said to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W208	67, 10	2, 3	*j-jr≠j jy m-sꜣ tꜣ ṯ.t n pꜣ wjꜣ ꜥꜣ špsï n jmn-rꜥ nsw nṯr.w*	"It is because of the timber for the great and noble sacred bark of Amun-Re, king of the gods, that I have come.	Emphatic Form.

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[62] The *sš* is from Middle Egyptian *sn*.
[63] Cassonnet 2000: 87 takes this as a rare example of a virtual relative clause with the Emphatic Form, while Hintze 1952: 262 argues that the *jw* establishes a temporal relationship with the preceding clauses, translated as 'while'. In context, the first possibility seems more plausible. Otherwise, a translation like 'while that they are hauling is to his estate' is certainly possible.
[64] Green 1979: 118 thinks one should insert an *r* and read it as: "I was utterly (*r-ꜥ.t*) silent immediately (*m-tꜣy-wnw.t*)".

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
[[W209]] [[W210]] W211	67, 12	2, 4	[[*j-jr p3y≠k jt*]] [[*j-jr p3 jt n p3y≠k jt*]] *jw≠k jr≠f m-r'-ꜥ*	What your father did [[and what the father of your father did]]—*you* should do it likewise."	[[Relative Form.[65]]] [[Relative Form.]] Future III (without *r*).
W212	67, 13	2, 5	*j.n≠j n≠f*	(So) I said to him.	Preterite.
W213	67, 13	2, 5	*jw≠f dd n≠j*	He said to me	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W214 [[W215]]	67, 13	2, 5	*mnt≠w* [[*j-jr sw m m3ꜥ.t*]]	"They were the ones [[who did it, truly!]]	Nominal Sentence (independent pronoun as Subject) as protasis of Cleft Sentence. [[Participle. Apodosis of Cleft Sentence.[66]]]
W216	67, 14	2, 6	*jw≠k dj n≠j*	You shall give to me	Future III (without *r*).[67]
W217	67, 14	2, 6	*n jr≠s*	for doing it	Preposition + Infinitive.
W218	67, 14	2, 6	*mtw≠j jr≠s*	and I will do it.	Conjunctive.[68]
W219	67, 14	2, 6	*y3 j-jr n3y≠j jr p3i sḥn*	Indeed, that mine (i.e., my forebears) did this commission,	Emphatic Form.

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[65] Junge 2005: 98 and Schipper 2005: 66 regard this (and the following clause) as a Relative Form. Grossman 2007: 49–53 instead proposes to see these forms as protasis with conditional force: "If your father did (it)". In this particular case, I see the latter reading as unconvincing, primarily because of, as Grossman puts it, "The cohesive zeroing of the object of *ir*". He regards this factor as being part of the topicalising nature of the protasis, whereas I see it as being a likely marker of the Relative Form, which is indeed topicalised. The Relative Form hypothesis is all the more convincing if we consider the clause in context. To what would the allegedly elided 'it' anaphorically refer? So far, Wenamun has merely said to Tjekerbaal that he has come 'because of the timber', not, for instance, 'in order *that you might give* me the timber'. Given this, an elided object would create an awkward semantic ambiguity: 'If your father did (it = the timber?)'. Consequently, Relative Forms would likely follow such a statement, topicalising an (as yet unspecified!) action performed by Tjekerbaal's ancestors. The omitted object of *jr* could, considering the analysis of *jr* by Winand 2006: 125, also lead us to the conclusion, as Daniel Werning (personal communication) suggests, that the passage be read "How your father *acted* and how your grandfather *acted*—you should act (like) this likewise" (italics my own).

[66] Gardiner 1932: 69a, 2, 28a points out that in Late Egyptian, ⸢ (Gardiner Sign H6) written without ticks is to be read as *m3ꜥ.t*, (as here) and with one or two ticks is *šw*. Thus, the reading 'in trade' suggested by Goedicke 1975: 73 is not likely.

[67] This future form has a conditional sense.

[68] The Conjunctive seems to extend the Future III. Hintze 1952: 272 says that the Conjunctive is conveying conditionality.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W220	67, 15	2, 6	*jw dj pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥ.w.s. jn.tw 6 br*	was because Pharaoh, l.p.h., caused that 6 freighters be brought,	Circumstantial Preterite.[69]
W221	67, 15	2, 7	*jw≠w ꜣtp {n}<m> ꜣḫ.wt n km.t*	which were laden with the goods of Egypt,	Circumstantial Present I with Stative (virtual relative clause).
W222	67, 16	2, 7	*jw≠w šw≠w r nꜣy≠w wḏꜣ.w*	and which they emptied into their storehouses.	Circumstantial Present I with Stative (virtual relative clause).[70]
W223 [[W224]]	68, 1	2, 8	*mnt.k jḫ pꜣ [[jn≠k n≠j gr jnk]]*	You, what is it [[which you are bringing to me, again, *me*?"]]	Interrogative particle with Nominal Sentence. Protasis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.[71] [[Relative Form. Apodosis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.[72]]]
W225	68, 1	2, 8	*jw≠f dj jn.tw ꜥr(.t) hrw nꜣy≠f jt.w*	He caused the daily scroll of his forefathers to be brought	NIMS (without *ḥr*), with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.
W226	68, 2	2, 9	*jw≠f dj ꜥš.tw≠s m-bꜣḥ≠j*	and he caused that it be read out before me.	NIMS (without *ḥr*), with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.
W227	68, 2	2, 9	*jw≠w gm ḫꜣ n dbn n ḥḏ n.tï nb r tꜣy≠f ꜥr.t*	They found a thousand of deben of silver and different things in his scroll,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W228	68, 3	2, 10	*jw≠f ḏd n≠j*	so he said to me	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W229	68, 3	2, 10	*jr pꜣ ḥḳꜣ n km.t pꜣ nb n pꜣy≠j*	"If the ruler of Egypt were the lord of what is mine,	Conditional *jr* + Nominal Sentence.
W230	68, 4	2, 10	*ḥr jnk pꜣy≠f bꜣk m-r'-ꜥ*	and I were his servant likewise,	Conjunction + Nominal Sentence.

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[69] The Emphasised part of a preceding Emphatic Form (rather than 'the commission').

[70] Cassonnet 2001: 58 argues that the emphasis continues as far as this clause.

[71] The *mnt.k* is a vocative, which Junge 2005: 165 calls pronominal extraposition, and *gr* is an adverb, used for emphasis, for which see Černý-Groll 1993: 134.

[72] The *jn* would need *.tw* to be Passive: 'you have brought'.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W231	68, 5	2, 11	(*j*)*n wn j-jr≠f dj jn.tw ḥḏ nbw*	was it that he caused silver and gold to be brought	Interrogative particle + Preterite converter *wn* + Emphatic Form.[73]
W232	68, 5	2, 11	*r ḏd*	in order to say	Preposition + Infinitive.[74]
W233	68, 5	2, 11	*j-jr pꜣ sḥn n jmn*	'Do the commission of Amun'?	Imperative.[75]
W234 [[W235]]	68, 6	2, 11	(*j*)*n fꜣ mlk pꜣ* [[*wn≠w jr≠f n pꜣy≠j jt*]]	(Or) is the bearing of gifts (also) that [[which they did for my father?]]	Nominal Sentence. Protasis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.[76] [[Relative Form with Preterite converter *wn*. Apodosis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.[77]]]
W236	68, 7	2, 12	*jr jnk gr jnk* (*j*)*n jnk pꜣy≠k bꜣk{jw}*	As for me, again, *me*, am I your servant?	Topicalised Noun Phrase + Nominal Sentence.
W237 [[W238]]	68, 7	2, 13	(*j*)*n jnk bꜣk n pꜣ* [[*jr wḏ≠k m-rʾ-ꜥ*]]	Am I the servant of the one [[who dispatched you likewise?]]	Interrogative particle with Nominal Sentence. [[Participle.[78]]]
W239	68, 8	2, 13	*jw≠j ꜥš sg{p}<b> r pꜣ l-b-r-n*	I will call out to the Lebanon.	Future III (without *r*).[79]
W240	68, 9	2, 14	*j-jr tꜣ p.t wn*	That the sky opens	Emphatic Form.[80]
W241	68, 9	2, 14	*jw nꜣ ḫt.w dï*	is the logs being here,	Circumstantial Present I with adverb.
W242	68, 9	2, 14	*ḫꜣꜥ <ḥr> sp.t pꜣ ym*	abandoned <on> the shore of the sea.	Stative.[81]

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[73] This could as Hintze 1952: 261 and Nims 1968: 162 suggest, be a Negative Emphatic Form: 'he would not have caused'.

[74] The Second part of Emphatic Form (not 'silver and gold').

[75] Nested direct speech.

[76] Moers 1990–7b: 917 sees this as a negated form: "Dar was kein Darbringen königlicher Geschenke, was sie da für meine Väter gemacht haben!" However, in this text, (*j*)*n* is used for interrogatives, not for the representation of non-existence, for which *mn* is used.

[77] See Junge 2005: 161. This relative form is marked by a demonstrative pronoun.

[78] The Periphrastic relative clause lacks a prothetic *j*.

[79] Schipper 2005: 70 sees this form as having conditional force. The writing of *sgb* as *sgp* may well indicate that /b/ as a word ending was already being replaced by /p/ in Late Egyptian, a tendency more visible in Coptic, for which see Peust 1999: 135.

[80] Like Hintze 1952: 262, Wente 2003: 120 and Schipper 2005: 70, I see this as an (imperfective) Emphatic Form rather than an Imperative: "Make the sky open".

[81] Schipper 2005: 70 inserts <*r*> instead: 'at the shore'.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W243 [[W244]]	68, 10	2, 14	*jmj tw n≠j n3 ḥt3.w* [[*j-jn≠k*]]	Give me the sails [[that you brought]]	Imperative. [[Relative Form.]]
W245 [[W246]]	68, 10	2, 15	*r t3y n3y≠k br.w* [[*n.tï ḥr n3y≠k ḥt.w*]] *r <km.t>*	in order to take your freighters [[that are carrying your logs]] to <Egypt>.	Preposition + Preposition + Infinitive. [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
W247 [[W248]]	68, 11	2, 16	*jmj tw n≠j n3 nwḥ.w*[[[*j-*]*jn≠k*]]	Give me the ropes [[[that] you brought]]	Imperative. [[Relative Form.]]
W249 [[W250]]	68, 12	2, 16	*r mr n3 ʿš* [[*n.tï jw≠j šʿd≠w*]]	in order to bind the conifer, [[which I will cut]]	Preposition + Preposition + Infinitive. [[Relative converter + Future III (without *r*).]]
W251 [[W252]]	68, 12	2, 16	*r jr≠w n≠k /// k3 /// k3 ///* [[*n.tï jw≠j jr≠w n≠k n3 ḥt3.w n3y≠k br.w*]]	in order that they make for you /// [[which I will make for you, the sails of your freighters,]]	Preposition + Infinitive. [[Relative converter + Future III (without *r*).]]
W253	68, 14	2, 18	*mtw n3 dp.yw dns*	(since) the yards will be heavy	Conjunctive.[82]
W254	68, 15	2, 18	*mtw≠w s3w*	and they will break	Conjunctive.
W255	68, 15	2, 18	*mtw≠k m(w)t n≠k <m>-ḥr{bw}<.ï>-jb p3 ym*	and you will die on your own account <in> the middle of the sea.	Conjunctive.[83]
W256	68, 15	2, 19	*mk j-jr jmn ḥrw m t3 p.t*	Look! If Amun thunders in the sky	Emphatic Form.
W257	68, 16	2, 19	*jw dj≠f swtḥ m rk≠f*	it is only because he placed Seth in his vicinity.	Circumstantial Preterite.
W258	68, 16	2, 19	*ḥr j-jr jmn grg {n}<m> n3 t3{.wï}.w <r-> ḏr.w*	Now, Amun founded *all* the lands,	Emphatic Form.[84]

[82] Hintze 1952: 272 says that the Conjunctive is conveying conditionality, but this is unclear, particularly since *n.tï* initiates the last clause. It seems to be extending the Future III.

[83] The *n≠k* is most probably the reflexive dative.

[84] Grossman 2007: 50–51 presents clause W258 as an example of proto-Demotic protasis with conditional force: "Now, if Amun founded all the lands, that he founded them is because he had previously founded the land of Egypt". The object of *grg* being introduced by *n/m* would in this case have to be an early and exceptional example of the Stern-Jernstedt rule that is explicitly *not* a development of later Demotic, in which the rule is restricted to the durative tenses. Although it is tempting to read this clause conditionally, on formal grounds, the most convincing interpretation is that we have an Emphatic Form

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W259	69, 1	2, 20	*j-jr≠f grg≠w*	and that he founded them	Emphatic Form as protasis.
W260 [[W261]]	69, 1	2, 20	*jw grg≠f p3 t3 n km.t p3* [[*jw≠k n.jm*]] *ḥr-ḫ3.t*	was only after he had founded the land of Egypt, the place [[from which you came.]]	Circumstantial Preterite. [[Relative Form.]]
W262	69, 2	2, 21	*ḥr j-jr mnḥ.t pr jm≠f*	Now, that craftsmanship went forth from it,	Emphatic Form as protasis.
W263 [[W264]]	69, 3	2, 21	*r pḥ r p3* [[*n.tï tw≠j jm*]]	was in order to reach the place [[in which I am.]]	Preposition + Infinitive. [[Relative converter + Present I with adverb.]]
W265	69, 3	2, 21	*ḥr j-jr sb3.y(t) pr n.jm≠f*	Now, that learning went forth from it	Emphatic Form as protasis.
W266 [[W267]]	69, 4	2, 22	*r pḥ r p3* [[*n.tï tw≠j jm*]]	was in order to reach the place [[in which I am.]]	Preposition + Infinitive. [[Relative converter + Present I with adverb.]]
W268 [[W269]]	69, 4	2, 22	*jḫ n3 mš°.w swg3* [[*j-dj≠w jry≠k*]]	What are the foolish journeys for [[which they have made you make?"]]	Nominal Sentence with interrogative particle. Protasis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence. [[Relative Form with Causative + Subjunctive. Apodosis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.]]
W270	69, 5	2, 22	*jw≠j ḏd n≠f*	I said to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W271 [[W272]]	69, 5	2, 23	*°d3 bn mš°.w swg3 jwn3 n<3>* [[*n.tï tw≠j jm≠w*]]	"Wrong! (They are) not foolish trips, those [[which I am involved in.]]	Negative Nominal Sentence. Protasis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.[85] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial. Apodosis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.]]

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in which, as Peust 2008: 84 shows, the *n/m* following *grg* marks the direct object as an emphasised adverbial.

    [85] This negated form is particularly popular in a correspondence ellipse, as here, where the Subject follows the rest of the clause, Junge 2005: 171.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W273	69, 6	2, 23	*mn dp.t nb ḥr-dp jtrw*	There is not any boat upon the river which does not belong to Amun.	Negative Existential Sentence.
W274	69, 7	2, 23	*jw bn ns-st jmn*		Circumstantial Negative Adjectival Clause (virtual relative clause).
W275	69, 7	2, 24	*mnt.f pȝ ym*	The sea is his	Adjectival Sentence.
W276	69, 7	2, 24	*ḥr mnt.f pȝ l-b-r-n*	and the Lebanon is his,	Adjectival Sentence.
[[W277]] W278	69, 8	2, 24	[[*n.tï tw≠k ḏd*]] *jnk sw*	[[which you say]] 'It is mine'.	[[Relative converter + Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).]] Adjectival Sentence.[86]
W279	69, 8	2, 24	*j-jr≠f rd n jmn-wsr-ḥȝ.t pȝ nb n br* [*nb*]	That it flourishes is for Amun-strong-in-respect-of-the-prow, the lord of [every] vessel	Emphatic Form.[87]
W280	69, 9	2, 25	[*y*]*ȝ j.n≠f* {*n*}<*m*> *jmn-rꜥ nsw nṯr.w*	[In]deed, (so) he said, namely, Amun-Re, lord of the gods,	Preterite.[88]
W281	69, 10	2, 25	<*ḥr*> *ḏd n ḥr.ï-ḥr.w pȝy≠j nb*	speaking to Herihor, my lord	Infinitive.
W282	69, 10	2, 26	*j-wḏ wj*	'Dispatch me'	Imperative.[89]
W283	69, 10	2, 26	*jw≠f dj jw≠j ḥr pȝï nṯr ꜥȝ*	and he caused that I go, carrying this great god.	NIMS (without *ḥr*), with Causative Infinitive + Subjunctive.[90]
W284	69, 11	2, 26	*ḥr ptr dj≠k jry pȝï nṯr ꜥȝ pȝï hrw 29*	Now look! You have made this great god spend these 29 days,	Preterite with Causative + Subjunctive.

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[86] This seems to be a case of nested direct speech.

[87] As above in W183, since the word 'ship' is not spelled here, this could be *jmw*, but for the sake of consistency, shall read it as *br*. Nims 1968: 163 takes *jr* as a verb form: 'That he (Amun) makes/cultivates the growing place is for Amun-weser-hat'.

[88] The *yȝ* is a vocative, though I would not go so far as to see it as part of Amun's direct speech, as Neveau 1992: 16 suggests.

[89] This is direct speech with pronominal change, as defined by Peust 1996: 7, since the *wj* (as Schipper 2005: 75 renders it) is most likely referring to Wenamun. Although Winand 1987: 28 presents *wj* as *≠j*, in Winand 1992: 151 he clarifies that the Imperative is commonly followed by a dependent pronoun.

[90] This could also be the Circumstantial form.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W285	69, 12	2, 27	*jw≠f mjn <m> t3y≠k mr(.yt)*	he being moored <in> your harbour,	Circumstantial Present I with Stative.
W286	69, 12	2, 27	*jw bw rḫ≠k*	and you not knowing—	Circumstantial Negative Preterite
W287	69, 12	2, 27	*(j)n sw dï*	Is he there?	Interrogative particle with Present I with adverb.[91]
W288 [[W289]]	69, 12	2, 27	*(j)n bn sw <m> p3 [[n.tï wn≠f (jm)]]*	(Or) is he not <in> the (place) [[(where) he was?]]	Interrogative particle with Negative Present I with adverbial.[92] [[Relative converter + Preterite.]]
W290	69, 13	2, 28	*tw≠k ꜥḥꜥ.tw*	You are standing (ready)	Present I with Stative.[93]
W291	69, 13	2, 28	*r jr šw(y.t)ï n p3 l-b-r-n m-dj jmn p3y≠f nb*	in order to do trade for the Lebanon with Amun, its lord.	Preposition + Infinitive.[94]
W292	69, 14	2, 28	*jr p3y≠k ḏd wn n3 nsw.w ḫ3.tïw dj jn.tw ḥḏ nbw*	As for your statement: the former kings caused that silver and gold be brought,	Topicalised Noun Phrase + Preterite converter *wn* + Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*) with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.[95]

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[91] This may be nested direct speech, but is most probably Wenamun speaking rhetorically. Otherwise, *(j)n* could be seen as introducing a completive after *rḫ*: 'whether he was there', for which see Winand 2011: 550 and Polis 2009: 392.

[92] It is possible that we could translate this passage as "Is he not that [[which he was]]?" which would mean that the pronoun *m* would not need to be inserted. However, the Negative *bn* and pronoun *sw* make a Present I much more likely than a Nominal Sentence. Winand 2011: 550 translates the whole passage as "whether he was there, or not, he who was present", giving *wn* a temporal value, like in early Demotic, and establishing a relationship of apposition with the relative clause. However, this reading of clause W288–W289 seems rather forced.

[93] Kruchten 1982: 51, similarly Winand 1992: 135, translate the passage using the posture verb *ꜥḥꜥ*: "tu es occupé a marchander le Liban à Amon", which, I would argue, is a good representation, though not inchoative in sense. Cf. Erman 1933: 274 . A more literal reading is adopted by Hintze 1950: 101, "du stehst da, um Geschäfte zu machen". The translation offered here attempts to mediate between the two.

[94] Gardiner 1932: 67a, 1, x+21a reads *m-dr* as being semi-phonetic for *m-dj*.

[95] The *p3y≠k ḏd* is nominal, for which see Schipper 2005: 76.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W293	69, 15	2, 29	*ḥn wn <m->dj≠w ꜥnḫ snb*	If they had <had> life and health	Conditional particle *ḥn* + Preterite.[96]
W294	69, 16	2, 29	*wn bn jw≠w dj jn.tw n3 3ḫ.wt*	they would not have caused the things to be brought.	Preterite converter *wn* + Negative + Future III (without *r*) with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.[97]
W295	69, 16	2, 30	*j-jr≠w dj jn.tw n3 3ḫ.wt ḏb3 ꜥnḫ snb n3y≠k jt.w*	That they caused the *things* to be brought was instead of the life and health of your fathers.	Emphatic Form with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.
W296	70, 1	2, 30	*ḥr jr jmn-rꜥ nsw nṯr.w mnt.f p3 nb n p3 ꜥnḫ snb*	Now, as for Amun-Re, king of the gods, he is the lord of life and health	Topicalised Noun Phrase, followed by a Nominal Sentence.
W297	70, 2	2, 31	*ḥr mnt.f p3 nb n3y≠k jt.w*	and he was the lord of your fathers.	Nominal Sentence.[98]
W298	70, 3	2, 31	*jry≠w p3y≠w ꜥḥꜥ n ꜥnḫ*	They spent their lifetime,	Preterite.
W299	70, 4	2, 31	*jw≠w wdn n jmn*	they offering to Amun.	Circumstantial Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).
W300	70, 4	2, 32	*mnt.k m-rʾ-ꜥ mnt.k b3k n jmn*	And you likewise, you are a servant of Amun.	Nominal Sentence.
W301 W302	70, 5	2, 32	*jr jw≠k ḏd jry≠j sp sn.wï n jmn*	If you say 'I will do, I will do' to Amun,	Conditional *jr* + Circumstantial Present I (without *ḥr*).[99] Prospective.[100]
W303	70, 5	2, 32	*mtw≠k ꜥrꜥr p3y≠f sḥn*	and you carry out his commission,	Conjunctive.[101]
W304	70, 6	2, 33	*jw≠k ꜥnḫ*	you shall live	Future III (without *r*).

[96] This reading follows Gardiner 1932: 69a, 2, 29a, which would literally be read 'if life and health had been with them'.

[97] For this usage of the Future III, see Winand 1992: 494 and Junge 2005: 160–161.

[98] The *ḥr* is a conjunction of contingency, as in Junge 2005: 346.

[99] For this form, see Satzinger 1976: 74–75 and Junge 2005: 262. It seems to have future sense.

[100] Nested direct speech.

[101] The Conjunctive extends the conditional Circumstantial Present I. Borghouts 1979: 20 notes a thematic progression in this Conjunctive cluster although the conditional quality is clear, Hintze 1952: 271.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W305	70, 6	2, 33	*mtw≠k wḏꜣ*	and you shall prosper	Conjunctive.
W306	70, 6	2, 33	*mtw≠k snb*	and you shall be healthy	Conjunctive.
W307	70, 7	2, 33	*mtw≠k nfr n pꜣy≠k tꜣ <r->ḏr.w≠f nꜣy≠k r(m)ṯ.w*	and you shall be good for your entire land and your people.	Conjunctive.
W308	70, 7	2, 33	*m-jr mr n≠k nkt n jmn-rꜥ <nsw> nṯr.w*	Do not desire for yourself anything of Amun-Re, <king> of the gods	Negative Imperative (Prohibitive).[102]
W309	70, 8	2, 34	*yꜣ mꜣj mr ꜣḥ.wt≠f*	Indeed, a lion cherishes his things.	Present I (without *ḥr*).[103]
W310	70, 9	2, 34	*jmj jn.tw n≠j pꜣy≠k sḫꜣ.w*	Let your scribe be brought to me	Causative Imperative, followed by Passive Subjunctive.
W311 [[W312]]	70, 9	2, 34	*hꜣb≠j sw n ns-sw-bꜣ-nb-ḏd(.t) tn-jmn nꜣ snn.tïw-tꜣ* [[*j-dj jmn {n}<m> pꜣ mḥ.t n pꜣy≠f tꜣ*]]	so that I may send him to Smendes and Tantamun, the chiefs [[whom Amun has appointed in the North of his land]]	Prospective Final[104] [[Relative Form.]]
W313	70, 11	2, 36	*mtw≠w dj jn.tw pꜣ n.tï nb*	that they may cause everything to be brought.	Conjunctive, with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.[105]
W314	70, 11	2, 36	*jw≠j hꜣb≠f n≠w*	I will send him to them,	Future III (without *r*).
W315	70, 12	2, 36	*r ḏd*	in order to say	Preposition + Infinitive.
W316	70, 12	2, 36	*jmj jn.tw≠f*	'Let it be brought	Causative Imperative, followed by Passive Subjunctive.[106]

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[102] An example of *dativus commodi*, Hintze 1950: 90.

[103] This could also be a Nominal Sentence (Subject implied) + a Participle, but I am following the simpler reading suggested by Schipper 2005: 78.

[104] The role of Smendes and Tantamun sits in apposition to the rest of the clause. Gardiner 1932: 70a, 2, 35a-b thinks that the word *snn.w*, 'officers' has been confused with the spelling of *sn-tꜣ*, 'kiss the earth/make obeisance'. Yoyotte 1989: 79, quite plausibly reads the phrase as a unit, taking it to mean 'fondateurs'.

[105] The Conjunctive is extending the Prospective Final Circumstantial Clause.

[106] Wenamun is speaking via nested direct speech through Tjekerbaal and his Scribe directly to Smendes and Tantamun.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W317	70, 12	2, 36	*šꜣꜥ-j-jr.t꞊j šm r rs.ï*	until I go to the South	Terminative.
W318	70, 12	2, 36	*mtw꞊j dj jn.tw n꞊k pꜣy꞊k gb nb sp sn.wï m-rʾ-ꜥ*	and until I cause every single expense of yours to be brought to you also'"	Conjunctive, with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.[107]
W319	70, 13	2, 37	*j.n꞊j n꞊f*	(So) I said to him.	Preterite.
W320	70, 13	2, 37	*jw꞊f dj tꜣy꞊j šꜥ.t m ḏr.t pꜣy꞊f wpw.tï*	He placed my letter into the hand of his Envoy	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W321	70, 14	2, 37	*jw꞊f ꜣtp tꜣ pjpj.t pꜣ dp n tꜣ ḥꜣ.t pꜣ dp n pꜣ pḥ.w jrm ky 4 ḫt mdḥ dmḏ 7*	and he loaded the keel, the end of the bow, the end of the stern, along with another 4 hewn logs, totalling 7,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W322	70, 16	2, 38	*jw꞊f dj jn.tw꞊w r km.t*	and he caused them to be brought to Egypt.	NIMS (without *ḥr*) with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.
W323 [[W324]]	70, 16	2, 39	*jw pꜣy꞊f wpw.tï [[šm r km.t]] jy n꞊j r ḫ-r {n}<m> ꜣbd 1 pr.t*	His Envoy [[who had gone to Egypt]] returned to me in Syria in the 1st month of winter,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).[108] [[Participle.]]
W325	71, 1	2, 39	*jw dj ns-sw-bꜣ-nb-ḏd(.t) tn-jmn jn.tw nbw ṯb 4 kꜣkmn 1 ḥḏ ṯb 5 ḥbs n šs-nsw ꜥ 10 šmꜥ.t nfr.t ḫ-r-d 10 nꜥꜥ ꜥḏn 500 dḥr n jḥ 500 nwḥ 500 ꜥ-r-š-n ḫꜣr 20 rm mst{ꜣ}<j> 30*	Smendes and Tantamun having caused gold: 4 jars, 1 vessel, silver: 5 jars, 10 pieces of royal linen, 10 bags of fine linen, 500 high quality mats, 500 ox hides, 500 ropes, 20 sacks of lentils and 30 baskets of fish to be brought,	Circumstantial Preterite with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.[109]

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[107] The Conjunctive extends the Terminative.

[108] Gardiner 1932: 71a, 2, 39a suggests that *šm* is a participle.

[109] The word *ḫ-r-d* has been most successfully identified as a Semitic word for 'bag', but it could also mean 'garment', see Hoch 1994: 252. The *r* of *rm* is reduplicated (both in clauses W325 and W326). The word *nꜥꜥ ḳn* has been shown by Quack 2000: 219 to be read as *ꜥḏn*.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W326	71, 5	2, 41	*jw⸗s dj jn.tw n⸗j ḥbs šmꜥ.t nfr.t ꜥ 5 šmꜥ.t nfr.t ḫ-r-d 5 ꜥ-r-š-n ḫꜣr 1 rmw mst<j> 5*	while she caused 5 pieces of clothing of fine linen, 5 bags of fine linen, 1 sack of lentils and 5 baskets of fish to be brought to me.	NIMS (without *ḥr*), with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.
W327	71, 6	2, 42	*jw pꜣ wr ršj*	The Chief was joyful	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W328	71, 6	2, 42	*jw⸗f ꜥrꜥr s 300 jḥ 300*	and he employed 300 men and 300 oxen	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W329	71, 7	2, 43	*jw⸗f dj wḥm.w r-ḥꜣ.t⸗w*	and he placed supervisors at the head of them	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W330	71, 7	2, 43	*r dj šꜥd⸗w nꜣ ḫt.w*	in order to ensure that they cut the logs.	Preposition + Causative Infinitive + Subjunctive.
W331	71, 8	2, 43	*jw⸗w šꜥd⸗w*	They felled them	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W332	71, 8	2, 43	*jw⸗w jr pr.t jm*	and they spent the winter there,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W333	71, 8	2, 44	*ḫꜣꜥ*	lying around.	Stative.[110]
W334	71, 8	2, 44	*jr ꜣbd 3 šmw jw⸗w jtḥ⸗w <r> sp.t pꜣ ym*	In the 3rd month of summer, they dragged them <to> the shore of the sea,	Topicalised Noun Phrase with *jr*, followed by a NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W335	71, 9	2, 44	*jw pꜣ wr pr*	and the Chief went forth	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W336	71, 9	2, 44	*jw⸗f ꜥḥꜥ ḥr⸗w*	and he stood over them,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).[111]
W337	71, 10	2, 44	*jw⸗f hꜣb n⸗j*	and he sent for me,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W338	71, 10	2, 45	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
W339	71, 10	2, 45	*mj*	"Come!"	Imperative.
W340	71, 10	2, 45	*ḥr jr tw⸗j ms{b} kꜣ-n⸗f*	Now, when I drew close to him,	*jr* + Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).
W341	71, 11	2, 45	*jw tꜣ ḫꜣ(y)b(.t) n tꜣy⸗f srp.t h<ꜣ>y r⸗j*	the shadow of his lotus fan fell upon me	NIMS (without *ḥr*).

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[110] Winand 1992: 81 takes *ḫꜣꜥ.w* as an adjective, and Schipper 2005: 82, note 251 as a Stative form.

[111] The *r* of the preposition is reduplicated.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W342 [[W343]]	71, 12	2, 45	*jw pn-jmn wꜥ wbꜣ* [[*jw mnt.f sw*]] *jr <r->jwd≠j*	and Penamun, a Butler [[who belonged to him]], sidled up to me	NIMS (without *ḥr*).[112] [[Circumstantial Adjectival Sentence (virtual relative clause).]]
W344	71, 12	2, 46	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
W345	71, 12	2, 46	*tꜣ ḫꜣ(y)b(.t) n pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥ.w.s. pꜣy≠k nb ḫꜣy.tw r≠k*	"The shadow of Pharaoh, l.p.h., your lord, has fallen upon you."	Present I with Stative.
W346	71, 13	2, 46	*jw≠f ḥdn r≠f*	And he became angry at him,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W347	71, 14	2, 47	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
W348	71, 14	2, 47	*ḫꜣꜥ sw n≠k*	"Leave him!"	Imperative.[113]
W349	71, 14	2, 47	*jw≠j ms kꜣ-n≠f*	And I drew close to him,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W350	71, 14	2, 47	*jw≠f wšb{.t}*	and he responded,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W351	71, 15	2, 47	*ḏd n≠j*	saying to me	Preposition + Infinitive.
W352 [[W353]]	71, 15	2, 47	*ptr pꜣ sḥn* [[*j-jr nꜣy≠j jt.w ḥr-ḥꜣ.t*]] *jw jry≠j sw*	"Look! The commission [[which my fathers did before]], I having done it	Topicalised Noun Phrase + Circumstantial Preterite. [[Relative Form.]]
W354 [[W355]]	71, 16	2, 48	*jw bw.pw≠k jr n≠j pꜣ* [[*wn nꜣy≠k jt.w jr≠f n≠j*]]	is without you having done for me that [[which your fathers used to do for mine.]]	Negative Circumstantial Preterite.[114] [[Relative Form.[115]]]

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[112] Schipper 2005: 83 translates it as 'trennte mich (von ihm)', despite the fact that Jackson 1995: 278–9 has called into question the use of periphrasis with a verb of three radicals. More likely is that *jwd* is in fact the preposition *r-jwd*, 'between'. The subsequent meaning of *jri r-jwd*, rendered by Lutz Popko in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* as: 'zu … treten', has been adopted here.

[113] *Dativus ethicus*, which Hintze 1950: 82 defines as a dative that is superfluous for the meaning of the passage. It could be literally translated as 'for your part'.

[114] This example of what Junge 2005: 195 calls a 'circumstantial clause of relative past time' is reliant on the dependent clause of W352, as we see also in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*, Papyrus Chester Beatty I, 6, 6–7, in *LES* 44, 12–14.

[115] Gardiner 1932: 72a, 2, 48a takes ≠*j* as a possessive pronoun. This relative construction, Frandsen 1979: 182, is marked by a demonstrative pronoun: *pꜣ (j)wn≠f (ḥr) sḏm*.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W356	72, 1	2, 48	*gr mnt.k ptr pḥ pꜣ pḥ(.wi̯) n tꜣy≠k ṯ.t*	Also, you! Behold the arrival of the remainder of your timber,	Imperative.
W357	72, 1	2, 49	*jw≠f wꜣḥ*	it being laid down.	Circumstantial Present I with Stative.
W358	72, 2	2, 49	*j-jr {n}<m> ḥꜣ.ti̯≠j*	Do according to my wish	Imperative.
W359	72, 2	2, 49	*mtw≠k jy*	and come	Conjunctive.[116]
W360	72, 2	2, 49	*r ꜣtp≠s*	in order to load it.	Preposition + Infinitive.
W361	72, 2	2, 49	*ḥr (j)n bn jw≠w dj≠s n≠k*	But will they not give it to you?	Interrogative + Negative Future III (without *r*).[117]
W362	72, 3	2, 50	*m-jr jy*	Don't come	Negative Imperative (Prohibitive).
W363	72, 3	2, 50	*r ptr tꜣ ḥr.y(t) n pꜣ ym*	in order to see the terror of the sea.	Preposition + Infinitive.
W364	72, 4	2, 50	*wnn jw≠k ptr tꜣ ḥr.y(t) n pꜣ ym*	Whenever you see the terror of the sea,	Protasis of Closed Complex with *wnn* + Circumstantial Present I (without *ḥr*).[118]
W365	72, 4	2, 50	*jw≠k ptr tꜣy≠j ḥꜥ.t≠j*	you shall see my own.	Apodosis of Closed Complex with Circumstantial Present I.[119]

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[116] The Conjunctive extends the Imperative.

[117] This could perhaps be conditional: "Now, if they will not give it to you?" The variation in the writing of the pronoun ≠s in W360 and W361 seems to be orthographic rather than morphological, as Winand 1987: 19 and Egberts 1999: 18 argue.

[118] There is a lack of consensus about which form combines with *wnn* to form the protasis. Satzinger 1976: 95–100 and Junge 2005: 270–273 regard it as a Circumstantial, Borghouts 1979: 18 and Winand 1987: 101 see it as a NIMS, whereas Černý & Groll 1993: 261 and 513 and Kruchten 1997: 68 regard it as a Future III.

[119] Similar lack of consensus appears in the classification of the apodosis as the protasis. Junge 2005: 271 categorises it as a Circumstantial Present I that demonstrates 'semantic independence' similar to the Middle Egyptian *jw* Sentence. However, Satzinger 1976: 100 and Borghouts 1979: 18 see it as a NIMS (with future sense determined by context) and Černý & Groll 1993: 261 and 513, Winand 1987: 101 and Kruchten 1997: 68 see it as a Future III.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W366 [[W367]]	72, 5	2, 51	*yꜣ bw.pwꜥj jr n⸗k pꜣ* [[*jr⸗w <n> nꜣ wpw.tïw n ḫꜥ-m-wꜣs.t*]]	Indeed, I have not done to you that [[which they did <to> the Envoys of Khaemwaset]]	Negative Preterite. [[Relative Form.[120]]]
W368	72, 6	2, 51	*m-ḏr jry⸗w 17 n rnp.t {n}<m> pꜣï tꜣ*	after they spent 17 years in this land	Conjunction + Preterite.
W369	72, 6	2, 52	*j-jr⸗w m(w)t <m> s.t⸗w*	That they died was <in> their place."	Emphatic Form.
W370	72, 7	2, 52	*jw⸗f ḏd n pꜣy⸗f wbꜣ*	And he said to his Butler	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W371	72, 7	2, 52	*tꜣy sw*	"Take him!	Imperative.
W372 [[W373]]	72, 7	2, 52	*jmj ptr⸗f tꜣy⸗w <m> ꜥḥꜥ<.t>* [[*n.tï st sḏr n.jm⸗s*]]	Let him see their tomb [[in which they lie."]]	Causative Imperative + Subjunctive. [[Relative converter + Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).[121]]]
W374	72, 8	2, 53	*jw⸗j ḏd n⸗f*	And I said to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W375	72, 8	2, 53	*m-jr dj ptr⸗j sw*	"Don't make me see it!	Negative Causative Imperative (Prohibitive) + Subjunctive.
W376 [[W377]]	72, 9	2, 53	*jr ḫꜥj-m-wꜣs.t r(m)t.w n<⸗>* [[*hꜣb⸗f n⸗k {n}<m> wpw.tïw*]]	As for Khaemwaset, (they) were people, those [[whom he sent to you as envoys]]	Topicalised Noun Phrase + (Single Part) Nominal Sentence.[122] [[Relative Form.]]
W378	72, 10	2, 53	*ḥr r(m)ṯ ḥꜥ.t⸗f*	and (he) was a person himself.	(Single Part) Nominal Sentence.
W379	72, 10	2, 54	*bn mnt.k wꜥ nꜣy⸗f wpw.tïw*	One of his Envoys does not belong to you,	Negative Adjectival Sentence.[123]
W380	72, 10	2, 54	*[jw] jw⸗k ḏd*	[that] you may say	Circumstantial Future III (without *r*).[124]

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[120] The *n* could mean 'to' or 'for'.

[121] This could also be a Stative, Schipper 2005: 86.

[122] Junge 2005: 168 refers to this form as 'correspondence ellipse'. The *r(m)ṯ.w* here refers to the envoys because Wenamun is pointing out the divinity of the emissary in this instance.

[123] For the Negative Possessive Adjectival Sentence, see Junge 2005: 170–171.

[124] Modality is probably present in this Future III form.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W381	72, 11	2, 54	*ḥn≠k*	'May you hurry	Prospective (Optative).[125]
W382	72, 11	2, 54	*ptr≠k n3y≠k jr.iw*	so that you may see your companions'.	Subjunctive.
W383	72, 11	2, 54	*jstw bw jr≠k rš*	But can you not rejoice?	Negative Aorist.[126]
W384	72, 12	2, 55	*mtw≠k dj [jr]y.tw n≠k wˁ wḏ.y*	and cause a stela to be made for you	Conjunctive with Causative + Subjunctive.[127]
W385	72, 12	2, 55	*mtw≠k ḏd ḥr≠f*	and say upon it	Conjunctive.
W386	72, 12	2, 55	*h3b n≠j jmn-rˁ nsw nṯr.w jmn-t3-mj.t p3y≠f wpw.tï [ˁ.]w.s. ḥnˁ wn-jmn p3y≠f wpw.tï r(m)t m-s3 t3 ṯ.t n p3 wj3 ˁ3 šps.ï n jmn-rˁ nsw nṯr.w*	'Amun-Re, lord of the gods sent Amun-of-the-road his Envoy, l.p.h., and Wenamun his human Envoy to me because of the timber for the great and noble sacred bark of Amun-Re, lord of the gods.	Preterite.[128]
W387	72, 15	2, 56	*šˁd≠j sw*	I felled it,	Preterite.
W388	72, 16	2, 57	*3tp≠j sw*	I loaded it,	Preterite.
W389	72, 16	2, 57	*ˁpr≠j sw <m> n3y≠j br.w n3y≠j js.wt*	I supplied it <with> my freighters and my crews,	Preterite.
W390	73, 1	2, 57	*dj≠j pḥ≠w r km.t*	I caused that they reach Egypt	Preterite.
W391	73, 1	2, 57	*r dbḥ n≠j 50 n rnp.t n ˁnḥ m-{dr}<dj> jmn m-ḥ[3]w p3y≠j š3y*	in order to request for myself 50 years of life from Amun in addition to my fate'.	Preposition + Infinitive.
W392	73, 2	2, 58	*mtw ḫpr*	and could (it) not happen	Conjunctive.[129]

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[125] A case of nested direct speech.
[126] The particle *jstw* indicates tonal questions, Junge 2005: 236.
[127] Here and in clause W385, the Conjunctive probably extends the Negative Aorist, as is to be seen in Junge 2005: 231.
[128] A case of nested direct speech.
[129] This Conjunctive seems to follow the interrogative Negative Aorist directly preceding the quoted speech, for which see Winand 2001: 294.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W393	73, 2	2, 58	*jr m-sꜣ ky hrw mtw wꜥ wpw.tï jy m pꜣ tꜣ n km.t*	that if, after another day, an Envoy may come from the land of Egypt,	Conditional *jr* + Conjunctive.[130]
W394	73, 3	2, 59	*jw≠f rḫ sḫꜣ.w*	who knows the writing,	Circumstantial Present I with Stative (virtual relative clause).[131]
W395	73, 4	2, 59	*mtw≠f ꜥš rn≠k ḥr pꜣ wḏ{y}*	and may read out your name upon the stela,	Conjunctive. Indpendent clause.
W396 [[W397]]	73, 4	2, 59	*jw≠k šsp mw jmn.t mj-ḳd n<ꜣ> nṯr.w [[n.tï dï]]*	and you will receive the water of (in?) the West like the gods [[who are there.”]]	Future III (without *r*). [[Relative converter + Present I with adverb.]]
W398	73, 5	2, 60	*jw≠f ḏd n≠j*	And he said to me	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W399 [[W400]]	73, 5	2, 60	*mtr.t ꜥꜣ.t n md.t tꜣï [[ḏd≠k n≠j]]*	“It is great instruction of discourse, [[what you have said to me.”]]	*pꜣï* Sentence (Adverbial Sentence). Protasis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.[132] [[Relative Form. Apodosis of Pseudo-Cleft Sentence.]]
W401	73, 6	2, 60	*jw≠j ḏd n≠f*	And I said to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W402 [[W403]] [[W404]]	73, 6	2, 60	*jr nꜣ ḳn.w [[j-ḏd≠k n≠j]] jr jw≠j pḥ r pꜣ [[n.tï pꜣ ḥm nṯr dp.ï n jmn jm]]*	“As for the multitudes [[that you have said to me]], if I arrive at the place [[where the high priest of Amun is]]	Topicalised Noun Phrase + conditional *jr* + Circumstantial Present I.[133] [[Relative Form.]] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverb.]]
W405	73, 7	2, 61	*mtw≠f ptr pꜣy≠k šḥn*	and he sees your commission,	Conjunctive.[134]

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[130] The *jr* establishes conditionality, Junge 2005: 262, which is ordinarily followed by the Circumstantial Present I. This constellation would only be possible if *mtw* were replacing *jw*.

[131] The verb *rḫ* is identified as a Stative on the basis of the evidence provided by Peust 2006: 219–221 for Earlier Egyptian that 'knowing' can only be represented as a completed (in Peust's words, *past*) event.

[132] See Junge 2005: 180. Baines 1999: 223 translates it as 'a great display of rhetoric'.

[133] For this form, see Junge 2005: 262. In context it has future sense.

[134] We could see the Conjunctive as extending the conditional Circumstantial Present I (without *ḥr*).

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W406 [[W407]]	73, 8	2, 61	*m pȝy∗k shn* [[*j-jr jth n∗k nkt*]]	it is your commission [[which draws profit in to you."]]	Nominal Sentence (*jn*-construction). Protasis of Cleft Sentence. [[Participle. Apodosis of Cleft Sentence.[135]]]
W408 [[W409]]	73, 9	2, 62	*jw∗j šm n∗j <r> sp{r}<.t> pȝ ym r pȝ* [[*n.tï nȝ ht.w jm*]]	I took myself off <to> the shore of the sea to the place [[where the logs were]],	NIMS (without *ḥr*).[136] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverb.]]
W410	73, 10	2, 62	*wȝḥ*	being set down,	Stative.
W411	73, 10	2, 62	*jw∗j nw r 11 n br*	and I looked at 11 freighters,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W412	73, 10	2, 63	*jw∗w {n}<m> jw {n}<m> pȝ ym*	they coming from the sea	Circumstantial Present I with *m* + Infinitive.
W413	73, 11	2, 63	*jw ns-st nȝ ṯ-k-r*	and belonging to the *Tjeker*,	Circumstantial Adjectival Sentence.
W414	73, 11	2, 63	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
W415	73, 11	2, 63	*ḏdḥ sw*	"Apprehend him!	Imperative.
W416	73, 12	2, 63	*m-dy br.w m-dj∗f r pȝ tȝ n km.t*	Do not cause freighters (heading) for the land of Egypt to be at his disposal!"	Negative Causative Imperative.[137]
W417/ W418	73, 13	2, 64	*jw∗j ḫpr ḥms.tw rm*	And I began, being seated, to cry	NIMS (without *ḥr*). Stative.[138]

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[135] For this form, see Quack 2009c: 234.

[136] A reflexive dative, literally, 'went to myself'.

[137] Instead of an Infinitive following the Causative Imperative, Junge 2005: 79, we seem to have a (Circumstantial) Present I form with *m-dj∗f* as an adverb ('to be with him'). Schipper 2005: 91 sees it as an adjective ('of his'?). Wente 2003: 123 does not regard *m-dy* as a Causative Imperative, and sees the *rdj* as being 'to put': "Put no freighters at his disposal (headed) for the land of Egypt".

[138] Kruchten 1982: 73 takes the posture verb *ḥms* as merging with the inchoative sense of the preceding *ḫpr*, forming an inchoative hybrid: "je me mis à pleurer". However, although *ḫpr* is certainly an (inchoative) auxiliary, *ḥms* is here an inflected verb (a Stative). Therefore, it is most likely that whereas auxiliary *ḫpr* relates to the Infinitive *rm*, the *ḥms.tw* is a parenthetical note.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W419	73, 13	2, 64	*jw p3 sh3.w-šʿ(.t) n p3 wr jy n≠j r-bl*	and the scribe of dispatch of the Chief came to me outside	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W420	73, 14	2, 65	*jw≠f ḏd n≠j*	and he asked me	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W421	73, 14	2, 65	*jḫ r≠k*	"What is with you?"	Adverbial Sentence.
W422	73, 14	2, 65	*jw≠j ḏd n≠f*	And I replied to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W423 [[W424]]	73, 15	2, 65	*(j)n bw jr≠k ptr n3 gš.w [[j-jr jr sp sn.wï n h3y r km.t]]*	"Can't you see the migratory birds [[who have (already) gone down for a second time to Egypt?"]]	Interrogative particle + Negative Aorist.[139] [[Participle.]]
W425	73, 16	2, 66	*ptr st*	Look at them,	Imperative.
W426	73, 16	2, 66	*jw≠w nʿy r ḳbḥ*	they travelling to the cool!	Circumstantial Present I with Infinitive (without *m*).[140]
W427	73, 16	2, 66	*š3ʿ.t jḫ jy*	Until what comes (about)	Terminative.[141]
W428	74, 1	2, 66	*jw≠j dï*	am I to be here,	Circumstantial Present I with adverb.
W429	74, 1	2, 66	*h3ʿ.tw*	abandoned?	Stative.
W430 [[W431]]	74, 1	2, 66	*ḥr (j)n bw jr≠k ptr n3 [[jw]]*	Now, can't you see those [[who have come]]	Interrogative particle + Negative Aorist. [[Participle.]]
W432	74, 1	2, 67	*r ḏdḥ≠j ʿn*	in order to apprehend me again?"	Preposition + Infinitive.
W433	74, 2	2, 67	*jw≠f šm*	And he went	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W434	74, 2	2, 67	*jw≠f ḏd.t≠f n p3 wr*	and he reported it to the Chief	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W435 [[W436]]	74, 2	2, 67	*jw p3 wr ḫpr rm m-{ḏr}<ḏj> n3 md.t [[j-ḏd≠w n≠f]]*	and the Chief began to cry because of the speech [[which they said to him,]]	NIMS (without *ḥr*).[142] [[Relative Form.]]

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[139] The word *gš.w* also means 'geese', Lesko 2004: 195.

[140] The *ḳbḥ* 'cool' region is to the north of Egypt, Egberts 1991: 62–67, followed by Wente 2003: 123 and von Lieven 2007: 156. Goedicke 1975: 120, however, argues that it refers to the Nile Delta.

[141] Here, *jḫ* is the Agent (Actor, according to SFL), Junge 2005: 229.

[142] The *r* of *rm*, as in other cases in this manuscript, is reduplicated.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W437	74, 3	2, 67	*jw≠w mḥr*	they being painful,	Circumstantial Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).
W438	74, 4	2, 68	*jw≠f dj jw n≠j p3y≠f sḫ3.w-šꜥ(.t) r-bl*	and he caused his scribe of dispatch to come outside to me,	NIMS (without *ḥr*) with Causative + Subjunctive.
W439	74, 4	2, 68	*jw jn≠f n≠j jrp msḫ 2 jyr 1*	and he brought 2 wine vessels and 1 ram to me,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W440	74, 5	2, 68	*jw≠f dj jn.tw n≠j tn-n'.t wꜥ ḥs n km.t*	and he caused Tennut, an Egyptian singer to be brought to me,	NIMS (without *ḥr*) with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.
W441	74, 6	2, 69	*jw≠s m-dj≠f*	she being with him,	Circumstantial Present I with adverbial.
W442	74, 6	2, 69	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
W443	74, 6	2, 69	*ḥs n≠f*	"Sing to him!	Imperative.
W444	74, 6	2, 69	*m-dy t3y ḥ3.tï≠f sḫr.w*	Do not let affairs distract him!"	Negative Causative Imperative.
W445	74, 7	2, 69	*jw≠f h3b n≠j*	and he sent to me,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W446	74, 7	2, 70	*r ḏd*	saying	Preposition + Infinitive.
W447	74, 7	2, 70	*wnm*	"Eat!	Imperative.
W448	74, 7	2, 70	*swr*	Drink!	Imperative.
W449	74, 7	2, 70	*m-dy t3y ḥ3.tï≠k sḫr.w*	Do not let affairs distract you!	Imperative.
W450 [[W451]]	74, 8	2, 70	*jw≠k sḏm p3 n.tï nb [[jw≠j ḏd.t≠f]] {n}<m> dw3.w*	You will hear everything [[that I (have to) say]] in the morning."	Future III (without *r*). [[Circumstantial Present I (without *ḥr*) (virtual relative clause).]]
W452	74, 9	2, 70	*jw dw3.w ḫpr.w*	As morning came into being,	Circumstantial Present I with Stative.
W453	74, 9	2, 71	*jw≠f dj ꜥš.tw n p3y≠f mwꜥd*	he caused his assembly to be summoned,	NIMS (without *ḥr*) with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.[143]

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[143] The word *mwꜥd* seems to be a loan word from Ugaritic, for which consult Hoch 1994: 126.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W454	74, 10	2, 71	*jw≈f ꜥḥꜥ m-ḥnw.w≈w*	and he stood in their midst	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W455	74, 10	2, 71	*jw≈f ḏd <n> nꜣ ṯ-k-r*	and he asked the *Tjeker*	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W456	74, 10	2, 71	*jḫ nꜣy≈tn mšꜥ.w*	"What are your journeys for?"	Nominal Sentence with interrogative particle.
W457	74, 11	2, 72	*jw≈w ḏd n≈f*	and they said to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W458 [[W459]]	74, 11	2, 72	*j-jr≈n jy m-sꜣ nꜣ br.w knkn sp sn.wï [[n.tï tw≈k wḏ≈w r km.t m nꜣy≈n jr.ïw n ṯṯṯt.w]]*	"That we have come is because of the beaten-up freighters [[which you are dispatching to Egypt with our opponents!"]]	Emphatic Form. [[Relative converter + Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).¹⁴⁴]]
W460	74, 13	2, 73	*jw≈f ḏd n≈w*	And he said to them	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W461	74, 13	2, 73	*bn jw≈j rḫ ḏdḥ pꜣ wpw.ti῾ n jmn m-ḥnw pꜣy≈j tꜣ*	"I will not be able to imprison the Envoy of Amun within my land.	Negative Future III with Auxiliary.¹⁴⁵
W462	74, 14	2, 73	*jmj tw wḏ≈j sw*	Let me send him off	Causative Imperative.
W463	74, 14	2, 73	*mtw≈tn šm m-sꜣ≈f*	and (then) you go after him	Conjunctive.¹⁴⁶
W464	74, 14	2, 74	*r ḏdḥ≈f*	in order to apprehend him."	Preposition + Infinitive.
W465	74, 15	2, 74	*jw≈f ꜣtp≈{w}j*	And he put me aboard	NIMS (without *ḥr*).¹⁴⁷
W466	74, 15	2, 74	*jw≈f wḏ≈{w}j jm r tꜣ mr(.yt) n pꜣ ym*	and he sent me off there to the harbour of the sea,	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W467	74, 16	2, 74	*jw pꜣ ṯꜣw ḥw≈tw r pꜣ tꜣ n j-r-s*	and the wind wafted me to the land of Alasiya (Cyprus)	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W468	75, 1	2, 75	*jw nꜣy tꜣ dmy pr r≈j*	and those of the port came forth towards me	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W469	75, 1	2, 75	*r ḫdb≈j*	in order to kill me,	Preposition + Infinitive.

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¹⁴⁴ Here, *m* could be 'with' or *n*, 'for', as suggested by Gardiner 1932: 74a, 2, 72a.

¹⁴⁵ The use of *rḫ* here, as Polis 2009: 335–336 points out, moves towards "la sphère d'expression de l'impossibilité épistémique".

¹⁴⁶ The Conjunctive may be extending the Imperative.

¹⁴⁷ In this and the following clause, the pronoun ≈*j* is spelled *wj*.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W470 [[W471]]	75, 1	2, 75	*jw≠j wš≠tw <r-> jwd≠w r p3 [[n.tï ḥ-t-b t3 wr n p3 dmy jm]]*	and I forced myself between them to the place [[where Hatiba, the Chief of the town was]]	NIMS (without *ḥr*). [[Relative converter + Present I with adverb.]]
W472	75, 2	2, 76	*jw≠j gm.t≠s*	and I found her	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W473	75, 3	2, 76	*m-dr pr≠s {n}<m> p3y≠s wˁ pr*	as she was going forth from one of her houses	Conjunction + Preterite.[148]
W474	75, 3	2, 76	*jw≠s {n}<m> ˁk m p3y≠s ky*	and entering into her other.	Circumstantial Present I with *m* + Infinitive.
W475	75, 4	2, 76	*jw≠j wšd≠s*	I saluted her	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W476 [[W477]]	75, 4	2, 77	*jw≠j dd <n> n3 r(m)t.w [[n.tï ˁḥˁ k3-n≠s]]*	and I asked the people [[who were standing near her]]	NIMS (without *ḥr*). [[Relative converter with Present I with Infinitive.]]
W478	75, 5	2, 77	*(j)n mn wˁ n.jm≠tn*	"Is there not one among you	Interrogative particle + Negative Existential (Adjectival) Sentence.
W479	75, 5	2, 77	*jw≠f sdm md.t km.t*	who understands the Egyptian language?"	Circumstantial Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*) (virtual relative clause).
W480	75, 5	2, 77	*jw wˁ n.jm≠w dd*	One among them answered	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W481	75, 6	2, 78	*tw≠j sdm*	"I understand (it)."	Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).
W482	75, 6	2, 78	*jw≠j dd n≠f*	And I said to him	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W483	75, 6	2, 78	*j-dd n t3y≠j ḥnw.t*	"Say to my mistress	Imperative.
W484 [[W485]] W486	75, 6	2, 78	*wn≠j sdm š3ˁ n'.t r p3 [[n.tï jmn jm]] r-dd*	I used to hear, from as far away as the City (Thebes) at the place [[where Amun is,]] that:	Preterite converter *wn* with Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).[149] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverb.]]

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[148] Junge 2005: 225–228 calls this a Temporal Circumstantial clause.

[149] This is either nested direct speech to a third party or an example of indirect speech proper. The problem with the latter option, as Lutz Popko points out, is that the form *wn≠j sdm* is a main clause form. Junge 2005: 160 translates this as "I have heard as far away

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W487	75, 7	2, 78	*j-jr.tw grg {n}<m> dmy nb*	'Whereas injustice is committed <in> every (other) city,	Emphatic Form (Passive).[150]
W488	75, 8	2, 79	*j-jr.tw mꜣꜥ.t {n}<m> pꜣ tꜣ n j-r-s*	*justice* is done <in> the land of Alasiya'.	Emphatic Form (Passive).
W489	75, 8	2, 79	*jstw j-jr≠tw jr grg rꜥ nb dï*	"But meanwhile, one does wrong every day *here!*"	Particle + Emphatic Form.
W490	75, 9	2, 79	*jw≠s ḏd*	And she said	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W491	75, 9	2, 79	*yꜣ jḥ m pꜣy≠k ḏd.t≠f*	"Indeed, what is with your saying it?"	Adjectival Sentence with interrogative particle.[151]
W492	75, 9	2, 80	*jw≠j ḏd n≠s*	And I said to her	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W493	75, 10	2, 80	*jr jw pꜣ ym ḳnd*	"If the sea rages	Conditional *jr* + Circumstantial Present I (without *ḥr*).
W494 [[W495]]	75, 10	2, 80	*mtw pꜣ tꜣw ḥw≠tw r pꜣ tꜣ [[n.tï tw≠t jm≠f]]*	and if the wind wafts me towards the land [[where you are,]]	Conjunctive.[152] [[Relative converter + Present I with adverbial.]]
W496	75, 11	2, 81	*(j)n jw≠t dj šsp≠w n ḥꜣ.t≠j*	will you let them seize me	Interrogative particle + Future III (without *r*).[153]
W497	75, 12	2, 81	*r ẖdb≠j*	in order to kill me,	Preposition + Infinitive.
W498	75, 12	2, 81	*jw jnk wpw.tï n jmn*	I being the Envoy of Amun?	Circumstantial Nominal Sentence.
W499	75, 12	2, 81	*mk ptr jnk jw≠tw wẖꜣ≠{w}j šꜣꜥ hrw nb*	Now, look! Me, one shall seek me until any day.	Topicalised Noun Phrase + Future III (without *r*).[154]

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as No, where Amun is". Egberts 1998: 99 and Wente 2003: 123 translate the *r* as locative rather than directional, as 'in/at the place where Amun is', since 'the place where Amun is' elsewhere in the text relates to Egypt.

[150] Junge 2005: 160–161 sees the Emphatic forms in this and the following clause as a Late Egyptian Balanced Sentence. The *jr* in the construction, normally a grammatical element, here carries the lexical meaning 'done' in the absence of an extra verb. See Frandsen 1974: 155–156.

[151] This Nominal Sentence is actually an Adjectival Sentence of the *ntk nfr* pattern. However, instead of an adjective, a prepositional phrase is used.

[152] The Conjunctive extends the conditional Present I.

[153] The construction *šsp≠w n ḥꜣ.t* 'to seize' is elsewhere attested in Late Egyptian, though it is mostly used in the sense of 'to receive'. See Papyrus Leiden I.370, 12, in Černý 1939: 9, 16.

[154] The *jw* is spelled as *jꜣw*.

Table (*cont.*)

Clause	*LES*	MS	Transliteration	Translation	Grammatical Analysis
W500 [[W501]]	75, 13	2, 82	*jr tꜣï js.t n pꜣ wr n k-p-n* [[*n.tï st wḥꜣ ḥdb꞊s*]] (*j*)*n bn jw pꜣy꞊s nb gm 10 n js.t m-djꜣt*	As for this crew of the Chief of Byblos [[whom they seek to kill]], will its lord not find 10 crews in your possession	Topicalised Noun Phrase + interrogative particle *jn* + Negative Future III. [[Relative converter + Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).[155]]]
W502	75, 15	2, 83	*mtw꞊f ḥdb꞊w gr mnt.f*	and will *he* not kill them, again, he?"	Conjunctive.[156]
W503	75, 16	2, 83	*jw꞊s dj ꜥš.tw n nꜣ r(m)t.w*	And she caused the people to be summoned,	NIMS (without *ḥr*) with Causative + Passive Subjunctive.
W504	75, 16	2, 83	*jw꞊tw sꜥḥꜥ꞊w*	and One penalised them,	Circumstantial Present I with Infinitive (without *ḥr*).[157]
W505	75, 16	2, 83	*jw꞊s ḏd n꞊j*	and she said to me	NIMS (without *ḥr*).
W506	76, 1	2, 83	*sḏr n꞊k ///*	"Lie down" ///	Imperative.[158]

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[155] The word *wḥꜣ* also means 'to desire' and has a modal sense. The use if *jw* instead of *jr* before the nominal subject in the Negative Future III is seen by Winand 2011: 547 as a dialectal feature.

[156] The Conjunctive may extend the Negative Future III (without *r*), 'shall he not kill them?'

[157] This could also be a NIMS.

[158] Wente 2003: 124 translates this as "sleep well". Haller 1999: 9 and Graefe 2002: 73 take *sḏr* as a later homonym for 'strong', through the evidence is later and unetymological. They also claim that this provides the end of the tale, which, given the state of the plot, is unlikely. For remarks on the end of the tale, see Winand 2011: 541, note 3. The Imperative seems to be followed by a *dativus ethicus*, which Hintze 1950: 82 defines as a dative. It could be literally translated as "on your part", as suggested by Junge 2005: 79.

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