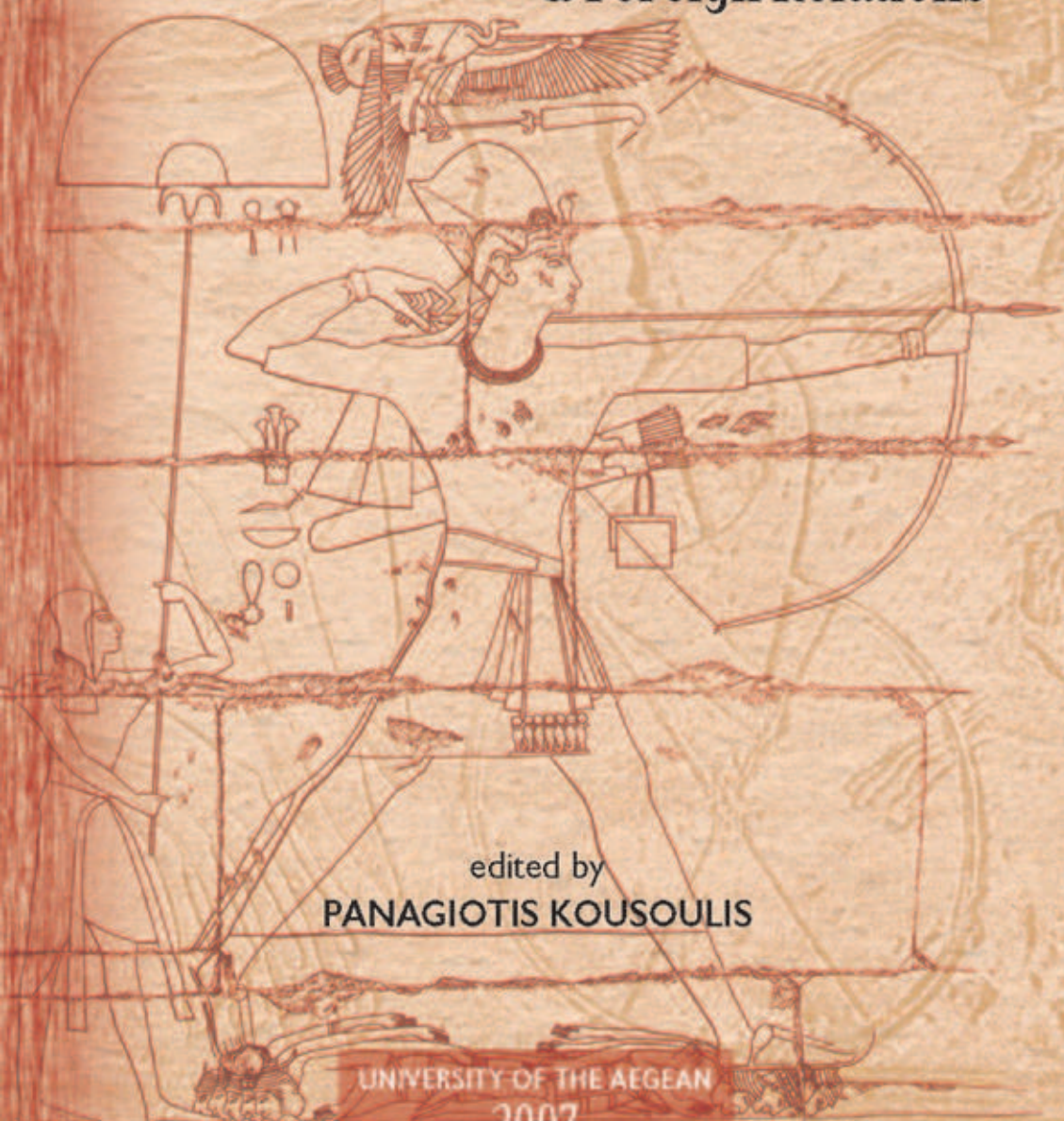


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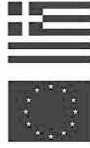
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UNIVERSITY OF THE AEGEAN

2007



ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΕΘΝΙΚΗΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ
ΕΙΔΙΚΗ ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑ ΔΙΑΧΕΙΡΙΣΗΣ ΕΠΕΑΕΚ



ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗ ΕΝΩΣΗ
ΣΥΓΧΡΗΜΑΤΟΔΟΤΗΣΗ
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Η ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΟΡΥΦΗ
Επιχειρησιακό Πρόγραμμα
Εκπαίδευσης και Αρχικής
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THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD IN EGYPT

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Introduction

In historiography it has always been particularly fascinating to look for the origins of cultural phenomena, of institutions and discourses. The period in question is especially rewarding in this respect, because it was the formative period influencing the character and shape of Egyptian culture down to the Roman period. All these transformations of society and culture were themselves results of a complex, long term process. But due to contingency of fragmentary transmission our knowledge of this process will always remain very partial. In order to assess these fragments of fragments historians of culture should analyse them by a broad variety of methods. In this survey I am going to concentrate on iconography cum iconology, archaeology of media and sociology of knowledge, but it would be worthwhile to delve into geography, gender or analysis of discourse.

The Early Dynastic Period dates from approximately 3050 to 2740 BC, preceded by a protodynastic period beginning at 3300 BC. As the terms indicate, these periods saw the shift from regional centres of power to a centralized government. We know the names of nineteen kings of the first two Dynasties. Recent research has revealed names of earlier rulers from various territories, so that we can understand the formation of “pharaonic” kingship as the product of competition among regional centres of power.¹ The era of the kings ARMS, SCORPION (II) and Nar-meher² can be considered as a transitional stage combining aspects of both the Protodynastic and the Early Dynastic Period. However, the question of local rule versus kingship versus pharaonic rule is just one aspect of a very complex transformation in culture and politics. In the second half of the fourth millennium BC, society became more differentiated and a distinctly

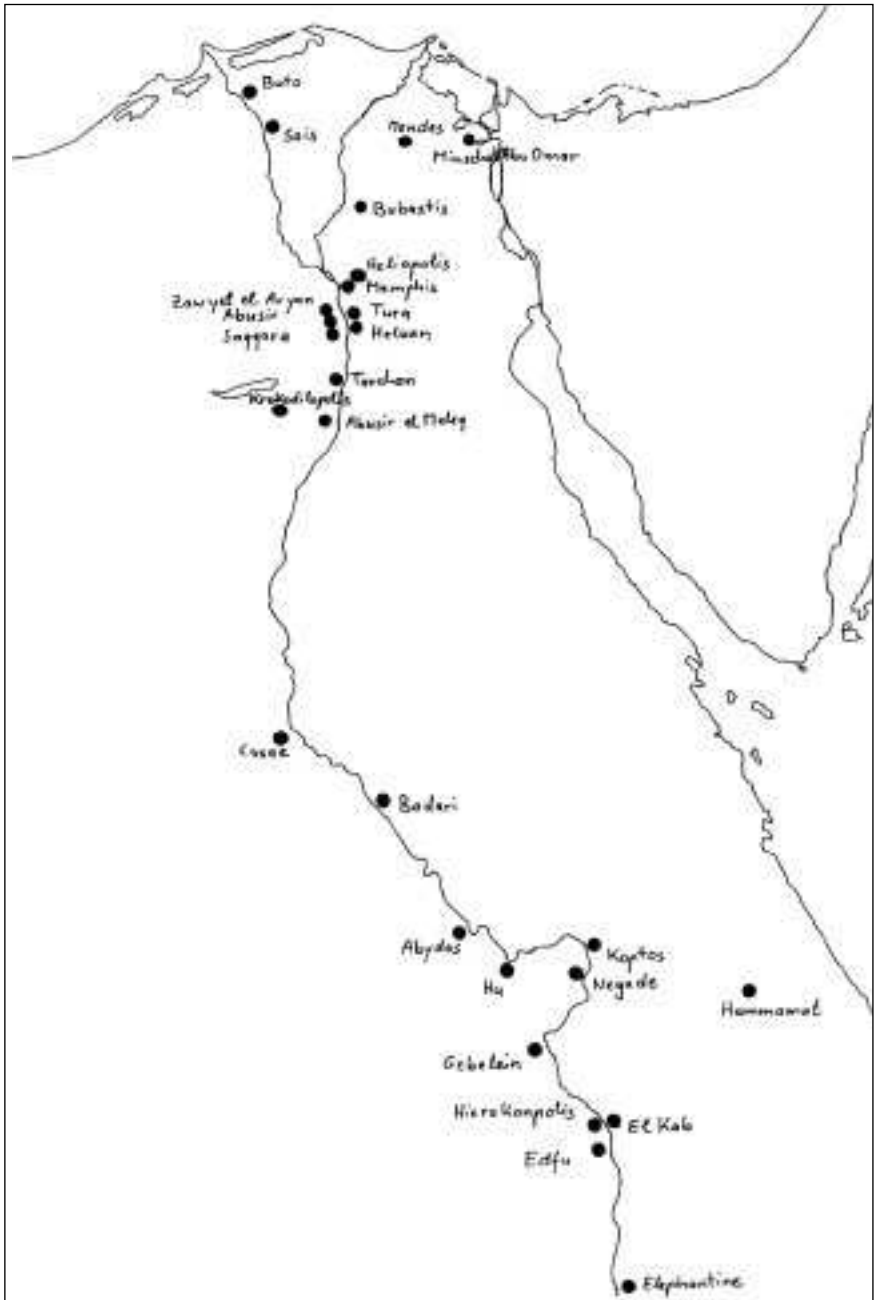


Fig. 1: Map of Egypt with major Early Dynastic sites (Morenz, Bild-Buchstaben, 373).

Egyptian high culture developed. This had a many-folded impact on the way life was organized: new media came into existence; a system of measures was created; a system of central administration was spread throughout Egypt; society became more stratified, specialisation in the field of professional skills took place; first urban centres developed and the framework of art and religion was substantially moulded for millenniums to come.

This process had a snowballing effect on the agency of the participants of high culture and affected power relations. The relevant historical sources, which mainly belong to this very sphere of high culture, can give us only a fragmented and biased picture of this process, since no more than 1-10% of society at best participated in high culture, while the broad world of popular culture remains barely visible. On the other hand, modern archaeology may open up new sources for a better understanding of the social and cultural diversity. This historical drama of the formation of the Egyptian high culture took place in the Nile-valley and reached from the delta in the North to Elephantine in the South, but the process affected the Sinai, Southern Palestine and Nubia as well. Following the cultural and political unification of Egypt at the end of the fourth and in the early third millennium BC, the territory of ancient Egypt was defined and its borders were fixed.³ In the Early Dynastic Period the areas on the fringes such as the Sinai and Nubia were gradually cut off from the cultural and socio-economic development in Egypt, but trade relations continued to exist.⁴ Egypt was politically homogenised, but nevertheless it did not become an isolated society.

Egyptianness versus otherness

Along the Egyptians of the fourth millennium BC, Semites lived in the Delta of the Nile and Nubians settled in Upper Egypt⁵ (fig. 1). Non-Egyptian names and toponyms give witness to their presence. There are quite a number of place-names the etymology of which is very likely to be non-Egyptian, e.g. Abydos (*3bdw*) and Coptos (*gb.ty*). A Semitic etymology is likely for toponyms of places in the delta such as *šnp.t* (Mendes) or *b3s.t* (Bubastis). Furthermore, in the late fourth/early third millennium BC unknown artists created a special iconography characterising non-Egyptians. Its use informs us about

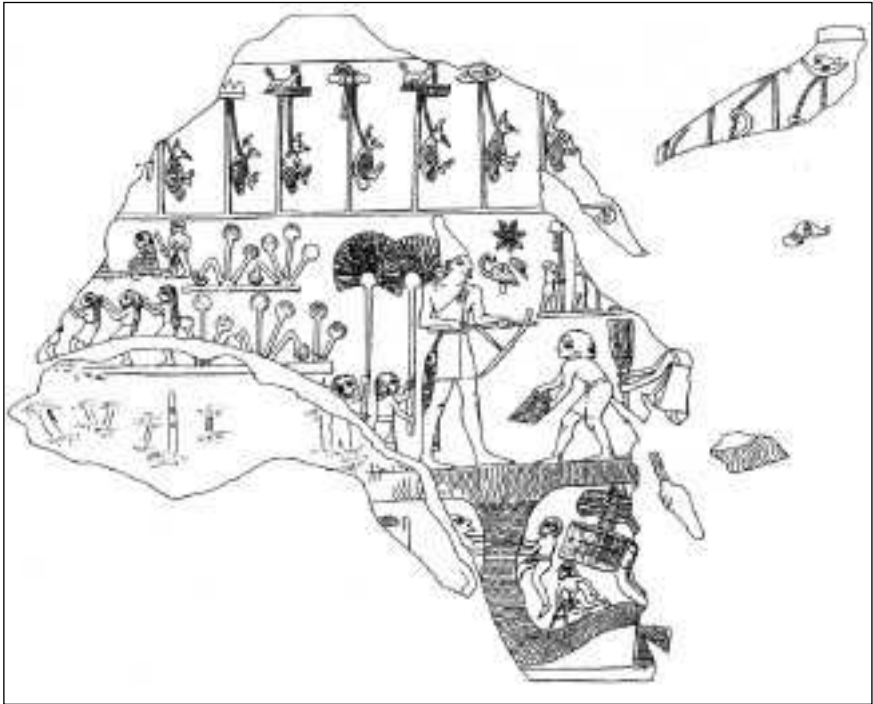


Fig. 2: The ceremonial mace-head of the king SCORPION (K.A. Bard, 'Origins of the Egyptian writing', in: Fs. Hoffmann, 1992, 302, fig. 4).

the presence of Nubians who were characterised by curled hair, Libyans who were depicted with beard and particular elements of dress and Semites who were marked by a particular hairstyle, beard and elements of their dress. On the other hand, these new iconographic conventions tell about the desire to construct and reinforce a distinctly Egyptian identity by stressing differences between Egyptians and “the others”.

Attributes of “otherness” and foreign character were also assigned to native inhabitants of Egypt who had been conquered and assimilated in the process of the creation of a unified Egypt. Our knowledge of them is very scarce but a close examination and interpretation of details, such as toponyms and iconography, can give us some idea. Our knowledge of the original inhabitants of the town (or city-state) of Buto in the Nile delta can serve as an example. Buto was to become a very important sacral centre in the third millennium, but carried a deeper history. Two monuments of the late fourth

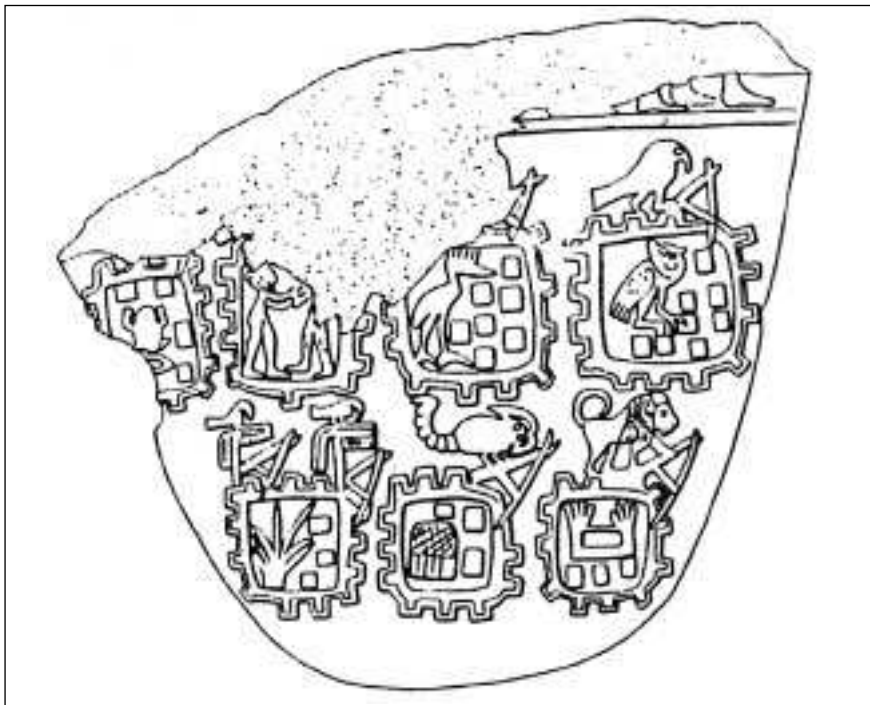


Fig. 3: The city-palette from Buto (Kemp, Ancient Egypt, 50, fig. 16).

millennium —the ceremonial mace-head of king SCORPION and the so called city-palette (fig. 2 and 3)— transmit information of its past history. They add a distinctly “historic” colour to other archaeological data such as the Nagada-pottery excavated in Buto.⁶

The following interpretation rests on the observation that there is a tightly woven intertextual net between them, which suggests, that they both refer to the king SCORPION and illustrate his reign.⁷ Both objects show palm trees, sacral buildings and a scorpion acting with a hoe. In the case of the mace-head the reference to king SCORPION is self-evident: it shows an image of the king, accompanied by the hieroglyphic sign of the scorpion encoding his name. In the case of the palette, the emblematic animal scorpion appears on top of the wall surrounding a sacral building. Reading this against the background of the described intertextuality, the fragmentary city palette can be ascribed to king SCORPION as well (the scorpion in the picture representing the name of the king, whereas the other images of animals represent titles of this ruler).

The mace-head shows an action of the Upper-Egyptian ruler in a landscape characterised by a winded arm of the river with sacral buildings and palm-trees next to it. Since this iconography represents the idealised landscape of Buto as we know it from later depictions, the scenery depicted can be interpreted as a trace of Buto's history and the fate of its inhabitants. On the banks of this arm of the river dead bodies are shown. They are iconographically characterised as non-Egyptians by their beard and penis sheath. The left figure in the hieroglyphic sign of two wrestlers on the "city-palette" has the same beard characterising him as non-Egyptian. Furthermore, both wrestlers are naked —another characteristic of foreigners. The register of this palette shows the foundation of seven places by king SCORPION. On its reverse side, booty is shown: cattle, donkeys, sheep and olive trees, each arranged in a special register. The latter is accompanied by a hieroglyphic monogram, the generic sign for land plus a specific sign. This was usually interpreted as a throw-stick, i.e. the hieroglyph for *Thnw* "Libya", but palaeographically it looks more like the word *db^c* "finger" (cf. the "fingernail"). Like the sign "heron" used in the earliest writing of this toponym, the hieroglyph "finger" also encodes the sound *db^c*, and in later documents the place-name *db^c* was written with both signs. According to this new interpretation, the impressive tribute comes from the "land of Buto". The capture of the town was followed by the foundation of sacral areas and Buto was integrated into the growing Egyptian state. This interpretation is supported by a linguistic observation. For Buto we can detect two ancient toponymical strata. In the earliest documents of writing from around 3200 BC —the labels from the necropolis of Abydos— the name *db^c* (written with the hieroglyph of the heron) was used. This was replaced already in the Early Dynastic Period by *p* and *dp* (concept of a twin-town), but occasionally the older name was used alternatively.⁸ The toponyms *p* and *dp* have an Egyptian etymology (*p* = "(royal?) seat"; for *dp* various etymologies are possible), while *db^c* written with the hieroglyph of a heron probably does not mean "(city of) the heron" but can be interpreted better as a phonetic writing of the toponym *db^c* (= Zebed) by means of the rebus principle. We might suggest an etymologic connection to *db^c* "finger", but Zebed might as well be either a Semitic or a proto-Berberic word which was written in the "Egyptian" hieroglyphic code.

From an Egyptian perspective this conquest of foreign Buto by Upper-Egyptians and the (re-)foundation of sacral areas were

important steps on the way to the cultural and political unification of Egypt in the reign of the kings ARMS,⁹ SCORPION¹⁰ and Nar-meher, while we can assume earlier trade relations and cultural contacts with the Proto-Egyptian kingdom of Abydos (labels with the place-name *dbc* in the tomb U-j¹¹). The conquered “foreign” Buto was transformed into an important sacral place for Egyptian kingship.¹²

The presentation on these ceremonial objects has obvious ideological intentions, celebrating the victorious Upper Egyptian ruler SCORPION. The perspective of the “Buto-people” is completely lost to us. Therefore, they remain in the shadow of historiography with just a few traces of their existence and ethnicity. The same holds true for other ethnic and cultural groups. We might assume that certain elements of their culture were integrated into Egyptian culture but they are obviously very difficult to detect.

Development of media

In the discussion of the problem of early Egyptian conceptions of Egyptianness versus otherness the problem of availability and interpretation of sources already entered onto stage. Quite obviously, our knowledge of Egyptian history depends very much on the nature of the sources which survived. Many facets of life are barely reflected in the available sources from the fourth/early third millennium BC. Nevertheless, the growth in historical data compared to the predynastic period is remarkable. This is mainly due to the development of new media of communication.

However, certain iconemes of power can be traced back as far as the first half of the fourth millennium BC. One example is the “red crown”, which appears on a potsherd from the Naqada I Period for the first time. It is not just a pictorial element, but an iconic metonym representing the (anonymous) ruler in a symbolic notation. A rock picture of the Naqada IIc period shows a man with this crown holding a sceptre. This iconography indicates the ruler being engaged in a great hunt.¹³ Both examples come from Upper Egypt: the potsherd from Naqada and the rock-picture from Wadi Gash. Thus, the red crown was not originally associated with Lower Egypt, while from the time of Nar-meher onwards this symbol of authority became specifically connected with Lower Egypt. Another potsherd from the

Naqada I Period shows a bird above a sacral building — temple and/or palace. This predecessor of the pharaonic *srh* refers to royal or divine authority. Furthermore, the emblematic scene of smiting the enemy so often shown in pharaonic art is depicted already on a pot from Abydos dating to approximately 3800 BC. These examples of the Naqada I period referring to the sphere of rulership indicate that as early as the first half of the fourth millennium BC a system of symbolic representation was developed within the framework of a high culture, rudimentary as it might have been.

Compared with these predecessors we can detect an intensification in graphic encodings of specific information, as well as a formalisation in the iconographic tradition and the style developed in the late fourth millennium BC. In order to express certain ideas, objects from the sphere of daily life were transformed into ceremonial objects carrying specific pictorial and written messages in monumental form — *semiophors*, as the historian K. Pomian called them. In size, material and decoration they transcend usage in daily life. *Semiophors* of the late fourth/early third millennium BC, such as decorated combs, knife-handles, mace-heads or palettes, are expressive documents of a rapidly growing system of communication within the high culture and can be seen as predecessors of the temple-reliefs we know from the First Dynasty onwards.¹⁴ They were produced to celebrate and commemorate the ruler and the elite. What do we know about their presence in society? A bone cylinder from ancient Hierakonpolis (Oxford, Ash. E.4714) shows four erected maces. This suggests that objects such as the mace-head of SCORPION or of Nar-meher have been displayed in a similar way, either permanently or during festivals.¹⁵ Furthermore, we can assume that such ceremonial objects were displayed in temples, but probably the ruler was accompanied by some of these signs of authority when travelling round the country. Specific references to individual rulers such as SCORPION or Nar-meher indicate that these objects were replaced whenever a new king assumed power and probably the old ceremonial objects were stored in a temple.

A particularly important new medium of communication of the late fourth millennium BC was the pictorial-phonetic writing for individual words.¹⁶ At this stage phonetic encoding was used alongside ideographic notation, but except in personal names verbs and grammatical signifiers were not yet notated. So, narrative texts

could not have been written. Thanks to recent excavations at Abydos this early type of writing can now be traced back to 3300/3200 BC. It was in use for some five-hundred years before the transition to a more developed writing method (including the recording of verbs, particles etc.) took place in around 2800-2700 BC. Rebuses were an important tool for the phonetization of pictorial images. In the emergence of writing, they were applied particularly to proper names. Cross-cultural contact played a key role here, as can be deduced from the fact that some of the first examples of phonetic notation are proper names of non-Egyptian origin: foreign sounds which had no obvious meaning to the Egyptian ear had to be notated phonetically, e.g. the place-names such as *db^c(.t)*, *b3s.t* or *3bdw*.

Contrary to single-cause theories stressing either ideological or economic needs¹⁷ we can assume various reasons for the development of pictorial —phonetic writing— reasons of economy, administration, representation and sacral need —we can fix the origins of developed phonetic writing for complex texts in the spheres of religion and representation of power. The second stage of writing was reached in the late Second/early Third Dynasty. Recent discoveries particularly in the royal necropolis of Abydos indicate quite clearly that the art of writing was not invented by some ingenious individual but that it emerged in the course of a process which was shaped by economic, administrative, representational and religious factors. Accordingly we should not try to attribute the origins of writing to just one stratum of Egyptian society or to just one place in Egypt. However, urban environment can be considered to have been especially important.

Functions of writing and its relevance for society in a perspective of a sociology of knowledge

Knowledge and media of communication are not isolated phenomena, but the whole system of communication depends on social conditions and *vice versa*. The culture of writing is interconnected in many ways with the organisation of society. Practical knowledge of the fourth and early third millennium BC can be detected neither in writing nor in pictures, but it materialised in applied technologies (pottery, tools, weapons, architecture).

The high-cultural media of writing and pictorial representation of the Early Dynastic period articulated especially governmental-knowledge of the elite, particularly in the following areas: the sacral world (gods, holy places, festivals), the sphere of “the own” (=“domestic politics”: titles, geographic organisation of the country, administration) and the sphere of “the other” (=“foreign politics”: tributes, conquests, names of enemies). Furthermore, we might assume that already in the First and Second Dynasties texts from applied sciences, such as lists of substances for medical prescriptions, were written down.¹⁸

As mentioned earlier, only “hard facts” such as names were fixed in this first stage of writing. Thus, only certain bits of knowledge were recordable. Writing formed just one part in a much bigger system of information dominated by oral communication and supplemented by pictorial representation as well as other techniques. Than from the later Second and early Third Dynasty onwards narrative texts were written down. The oldest preserved example is a shrine in Heliopolis recording a speech of the gods to king Djoser,¹⁹ but we might assume the first narrative texts to have been written in hieratic. This hypothesis is supported by the title “scribe of the divine book” (*sh3 md3.t ntr*) and lecture priest (*hr.w hb.t*) known from the Second Dynasty onwards.²⁰

The few *literati*, probably less than 1% of the population, served as authors and archivists of knowledge within the high culture. Rather than being unattached intellectuals they formed a substantial group of the governing bureaucratic elite having a corporate identity as *literati* (*sh3.w*). These specialists of knowledge were of outstanding importance moulding the high culture. The semiophors bear witness of their work and interests, but the surviving objects are just a small part of the past reality. Imitations of writing indicate the high prestige of written communication among the illiterates.

Taking into consideration that only a small percentage of the population participated directly in writing we have to envisage the problem of power versus public representation. Writing was no neutral technology, but it served power in Early Dynastic Egypt as well as in many other cultures.²¹ According to later data and in line with general observations we might assume peasants being rather sceptical about central counts and the whole system of administration. This governmental knowledge in the archives made

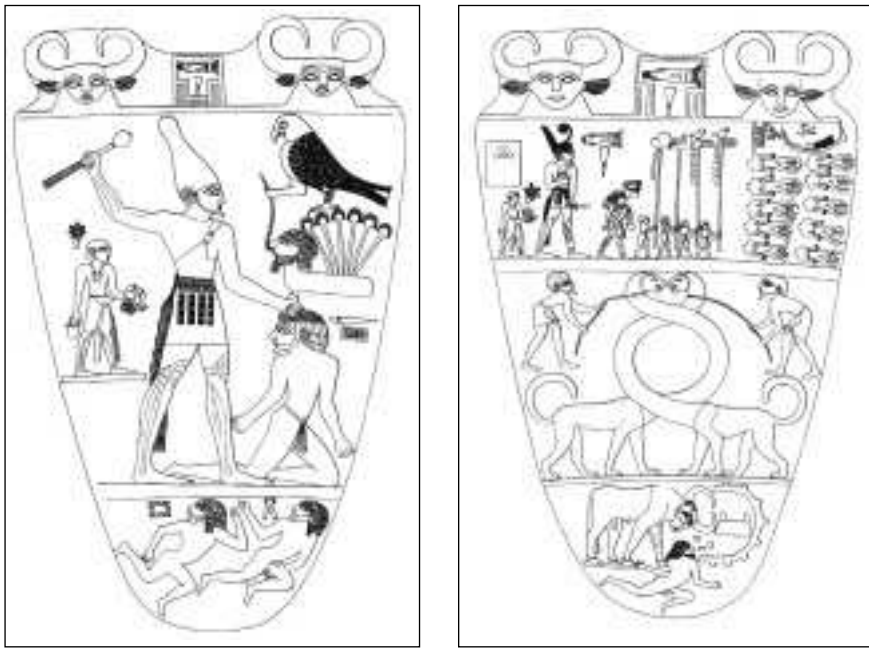


Fig. 4: The Nar-(meher) palette (O. Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 142, Freiburg und Göttingen, 1995, figs. 1 and 2).

them pay. Thus, raiding the archives became a *topos* in the Egyptian literature, but there is no positive evidence for any considerations about repressive aspects of the new technology during the Early Dynastic Period. Due to fragmentary transmission the early archives are entirely lost. Basically they contained lists,²² but we know just the raw-material: inscriptions on labels and on pottery as well as seal-inscriptions. Writing was imitated from about 3200 onwards²³ because it had a high prestige among the illiterates as well.

Writing was an important and prestigious technique of the new high culture, but this does not necessarily imply the rulers themselves to have been literate. They might have employed *literati* to write and read on their behalf. Figures such as the butler with the seal on his neck standing behind king Nar-meher (fig. 4) are likely candidates for a role as keeper of the royal seal. Furthermore a seal inscription from Tarchan points to the same direction. It contains the name of king Nar-meher and the title of the vizier. As the keeper of the seal of king

Nar-meher the vizier himself remained anonymous in the shadow of his lord. For various rulers of the First Dynasty we know more than just one royal seal. At least eight different seals of king Aha are preserved. Hence different persons and institutions were authorized to use a royal seal. These seals indicate a royal administration and the development of the bureaucratic elite close to the king.

How was writing gendered in Early Dynastic Egypt? This knew cultural technology was a predominantly masculine activity. Most (if not all) users were men and even the inventory of signs is quite clearly biased. We know far more signs of men than women (cf. sign-list A versus B). Therefore it might not just be due to fragmentary transmissions that the earliest signs do show men and masculine activities such as archery but no women at all.

In early Dynastic Egypt the art of writing was practised from Elephantine in the south to Buto and Bubastis in the north, basically in urban centres but not in rural areas. Encoding and decoding messages in distant areas such as Buto and Elephantine identically requires a common scribal training. Written documents were found particularly in the archaic necropolis of the elite in Abydos. Therefore we might assume the existence of a school of writing attached to the royal residence in Abydos. Maybe all the early *literati* were educated at this hypothetical school, but it seems more likely that offshoots were established in various places rather early or that individual scribes taught some other people the art of writing.

At this point we arrive at the search for the origin of writing again, this time from the perspective of a sociology of knowledge. Most of the early scribes remain anonymous and we cannot capture them as individuals. On the other hand, we can postulate two ideal types as promoters of writing: rentiers and speculators. Rentiers (of knowledge) live on cultural capital and reproduce it while speculators (of knowledge) stake on radical innovations with a high yield. During the process of the development of writing speculators made “wild” innovations such as the first applications of the rebus principle to encode words phonetically. Then rentiers adopted and developed these graphic innovations systematically creating an inventory of signs and various other conventions of graphic communication.

A case-study in media, ideology and politics: the new dual kingship of Nar-meher

The specific readability of the newly developed art of words and images shall be discussed in a close reading of an early dynastic semiophor. In doing so, the historiographic as well as mythological question of the “unification of the two lands” will receive special attention. The “unification of the two lands” was an Egyptian sacro-political concept of utmost importance for royal ideology. It was considered to be the essential basis of the rule of the “dual king” (*nsw bjtj*). In this title a semitic (*bjtj*) and a hamitic (*nsw*) word are combined. This linguistic detail shows the impact of different cultural traditions on a typical Egyptian phenomenon such as “pharaoh” rather clearly. The title *nsw bjtj* is first booked for De(we)n, the fifth ruler of the First Dynasty, but it might well be older.

On the largest register of the Nar-meher-palette this ruler is shown with the white crown smiting a helpless enemy. The dress of the king is highly symbolic. He wears a pendant with four cow-heads corresponding to the four cow-heads on top of the palette. They indicate Nar-meher to dominate all the four cardinal points of the world. Another specific element of his dress shown on the other side of the palette is readable as well. It ends in a falcon with the sun-disc. This iconographic element relates the king directly to Horus, lord of the universe. Hence, Nar-meher appears as his incarnation living on earth, conceptualised as a divine king. Furthermore, the great picture showing Nar-meher’s triumph over his enemy refers directly to the divine sphere. A symbologramme shows the partially anthropomorphised divine falcon with a human arm holding the anthropomorphised symbol of papyrus-land with a human head on a rope. This rope is pulled through the nose of human headed papyrus-land. This drastic image is readable as “Horus carries away papyrus land”.

The personal name Nar-meher stands above the figure of the king while the anonymous servant following him is designated as “butler of the king” (*wdpw hr*).²⁴ He presents sandals, and indeed the sandals have a specific meaning in this context. The king himself is shown barefooted when smiting his enemy and when visiting the battlefield with the ten dead enemies. His barefootedness indicates the sacral nature of the actions and refers to the concept of a holy war. Ritual

purity is also indicated by the water-pot in the other hand of the royal butler. As mentioned earlier this butler carries a seal on his neck. In his function as keeper of the seal he was a member of the highest elite.

The semographic signs accompanying the dead enemies in the lower register indicate their areas of living. The fortified-wall sign refers to a walled settlement while probably represents a *nawami* of nomads. Nar-meher's opponent is characterised by his personal name Wash written in syllabic orthography. This large scene of subduing is continued on the other side of the palette. It shows a royal victory-procession to the dead enemies. Four standard-bearers followed by a man with a long wig and panther-skin march before the king. Iconographically this man with the panther-skin is the second most important figure next to Nar-meher. The inscription designates him as "the young man" (= heir apparent).²⁵ All the enemies are shown bound as well as decapitated, their heads placed between their legs. Furthermore, the penisses of all but one man are cut off and put above their heads.²⁶ The counting of hands and penisses was a common "administrative" practice in Egyptian wars for centuries to come, but primarily cutting of the penis of a dead man was a magical act to deprive him of power. Thus, it was part of the *holy war*.

What does the sacristy (*db*^c) behind Nar-meher mean in this context? The picture shows just a rectangle, but it is specified by the hieroglyph *db*^c. Nar-meher is shown here with a new dress, carrying the red instead of the white crown. This iconographic change indicates the transformation of Nar-meher into a *bjtj*-king. Both sides of the palette express the following basic message: the *nsw*-king Nar-meher becomes *bjtj*-king by subduing the ruler of papyrus-land.

This ceremonial palette is a product of royal ideology showing the concept of a national kingdom of Egypt with a universal claim sanctioned by the god Horus. It ascribes a superhuman status to Nar-meher. At least in Egyptian ideology this war against Papyrus land was considered the central event in the creation of a unified Egypt with Nar-meher as the first dual king (*nsw bjtj*). The ideological nature of the semiophor makes it harder to assess the historicity of the event. In particular the perspective of the "victim" remains completely unknown.

Processes and structures in early dynastic history

In order to understand the Early Dynastic Period we should not only consider events, ideological frameworks or ways of communication, but we have to assess certain long-term structures of Egyptian history.

Scholars tend to work with an ideal opposition farmers versus herdsmen or nomads, but the latter are quite difficult to detect in the archaeological material. We might assume a rather complex relationship between groups with different socio-economic ways of life. In an Egyptian perspective nomadism was conceptualised as the distinctly other, a phenomenon situated on the edges of Egypt (e.g. the Asian-logion in the *Teaching of Meri-ka-re*). Thus nomads were considered rapacious and dangerous for the order in Egypt, probably from the fourth millennium BC onwards.

Climate began to change to the worse from about 4000 BC onwards (end of the Neolithic subpluvial). Gradually the countryside became more arid. As a result herdsmen moved from the savanna to the east and west of the Nile into the Nile valley and gradually transformed into settled farmers. This process is demonstrated by the development of settlements in the area of Hieraconpolis. During the fourth millennium BC they were shifted from the wadis to areas closer to the Nile valley.²⁷

The population kept growing in the fourth millennium, but due to fragmentary transmission we can arrive at informed guesses only about the actual numbers. The ceremonial mace-head of Nar-meher refers to an exceptional high number of prisoners: 120.000. This number looks like an exaggerated ideological claim of victory against numerous enemies with the exact number not to be taken at face-value. Nevertheless, we should expect a population size similar to that of the Old Kingdom, i.e. about one million people living in Early Dynastic Egypt. These 120.000 prisoners might refer to the total population of "papyrus-land", allegedly subdued by Nar-meher.

Even for a period before the stately unification, the inventory of pottery and tools, building technologies as well as products of high culture indicate a homogeneity of the material culture in the Nile valley. These objects indicate trade contacts as well as a shared practical knowledge. From about 3400 BC the Nagada II culture gradually spread from the south to the north. It reached the Nile delta at about 3200 BC. Thus, a place like Buto shows a remarkable similarity to Upper Egypt in the inventory of pottery already by the

end of the Nagada II period while in Nagade IIIa the “upper Egyptian” mud-brick architecture was adopted.²⁸ These archaeological traces indicate a very complex socio-economic as well as mental process which culminated in the political unification of ancient Egypt.

The process of state formation was by no means monolithic, but very complex indeed (trade, technologies, ideology and political ambition, media of communication, stratification of society, etc.).²⁹ One major driving force was probably a vision of a universal order related to the Egyptian concept of Maat.³⁰ The development of a Maat-discours/ideology and the process of state formation might have had a mutual impact. In particular smaller farming communities were relatively unaffected by this process. From the second half of the 4th millennium various areas developed into proto-states with a chief (*wr*) on top.³¹ Urban settlements such as Abydos, Hieraconpolis or Nagada formed the core of these proto-states. The inscriptions on the archaic labels from the tomb U-j in Abydos mention these places from Elephantine in the south to Buto and Bubastis in the north³² thus indicating trade relations as well as diplomatic contacts. The second half of the fourth millennium can be described as the period of city states in the Nile valley, but gradually This/Abydos and Hieraconpolis gained domination.

The chieftom/kingdom of This/Abydos can be considered the nucleus of the Egyptian state. Consequently This/Abydos became one capital of the Egyptian state and the burial place for its rulers during the Early Dynastic Period. This transition from a system of city states into a territorial state was a significant development distinguishing the protodynastic and the early dynastic period. Indeed ancient Egypt is the first territorial state we know in world history. From the time of Nar-meher onwards a central administration was developed to fit the needs of the new territorial state. Its small bureaucratic elite stood close to the king.

The funerary equipment provides a good indicator for the stratification of society. Basically we can distinguish an elite versus a middle class versus commoners. From the Nagada I Period onwards we know special cemeteries of the elite while our knowledge of the commoners remains very vague. By the end of the fourth millennium BC the division of labour was developed as can be seen from a big brewery excavated in Hieraconpolis.³³ The enormous quantity of luxurious objects produced for the elite is amply demonstrated by the 30.000 vases of alabaster found in just one gallery in the tomb of

Djoser.³⁴ We can associate these objects with persons holding the title “overseer of sculptors and producers of (stone-)vases”,³⁵ a title of members of the high elite such as Imhotep. Producing such beautiful vessels required an outstanding skill. Within this stage of cultural development various people specialised in certain professions. Thus, we know about prospectors searching for precious metals and minerals. On the one hand they were marginal figures while on the other hand they provided the material basis for the “golden” high culture. A seal inscription from a royal tomb³⁶ refers to the “leadership of the prospectors of the Horus(-king) Sechem-ib (= Per-ib-sen)” providing special gifts to the royal household. Social groups such as these prospectors shared a substantial practical knowledge which provided a special prestige within society.

Fields of culture such as economy, administration, government or religion cannot easily be isolated as self-sufficient subsystems. Thus on the labels of the early dynastic period pieces of economical, historical and ideological information are closely interwoven. The label of king De(we)n is rather exceptional in this respect because it just shows the scene of the king smiting his enemy accompanied by the inscription: “First occasion: Smiting the East(erners)”. The pair of sandals depicted on the other side does not refer to sandals as material items alone but relates the delivered sandals to an idea expressed elsewhere in the royal epithet “useful sandal against the foreign country”.³⁷ Thus royal ideology dominates the scenery.

We might assume a close interconnection between royal residence(es) and some temples for the late fourth/early third millennium BC. Thus, the term *pr-wr* designating the Upper Egyptian sanctuary probably included the royal residence. Furthermore we know a building serving as a stage for the royal cult: the “fort” of Chaschemui in Hieraconpolis.³⁸ Temple areas as we know them from Hieraconpolis or Elephantine indicate the great significance of sacral places and institutions in the Early Dynastic Period. Furthermore a seal inscription from the temple of Sobek from Crocodilopolis can be interpreted as a relict of a temple economy partly based on writing.³⁹ By the end of the fourth millennium BC temples were sacral, ideological, administrative and economic centres. They were closely related to the king, but had some autonomy as well. Furthermore, the temples and holy places had various degrees of size and importance, but again the scarcity of data does not allow a precise model.

“Great” events in Early Dynastic history

A history of “great men” became suspicious for various reasons. On the other hand, ancient Egyptian proto-historiography was very much centred on the king. Our main sources of Early Dynastic history are annalistic inscriptions referring to individual kings. They contain political (wars against enemies), administrative (cattle-counts) or sacral (erection of statues and temples, celebration of festivals) actions related to specific years. Thus, some inscriptions record that rulers such as Aha or Djer travelled to Buto, a place of high ideological importance for early dynastic kingship conceptualized as the seat of the Lower Egyptian crown-goddess. The early kings used to go to Buto in order to celebrated festivals. Maybe this royal tradition was inaugurated by SCORPION, but the importance of Buto as a sacral centre might even be older.

Dating in the First Dynasty referred exclusively to eponymous events while from the Second Dynasty onwards a numerical dimension came into play: dating according to yearly or biannual counts.⁴⁰ The reference to specific events is based on an oral conception of history with special events structuring time and memory, while dating according to regular counts reflects bureaucratic needs within the new administrative framework depending on the technology of writing. The first known annalistic inscription celebrates king Nar-meher subduing his enemy Nuw.⁴¹ The system of written eponymous data was probably introduced in the reign of Nar-meher, but it might have had oral predecessors. It served the administration of the new territorial state and gave glory to the king.⁴² The hypothetical lunar calendar of the predynastic period was replaced by a civil calendar created in the early dynastic period.⁴³ Continuous annals listing the year names were probably kept in archives from the I. dynasty onwards, most likely on papyrus rolls. The first complex annals which survived are written in stone (Palermo-stone, Fifth Dynasty).⁴⁴ Its content reaches back from the Fifth to the First dynasty and even further down into a mytho-historic past.

Another important source for historiography are royal names containing programmatic statements. Horus De(we)n had the throne-name Khasty —“the foreigner” which does not refer to a foreign origin but to victorious wars against foreign countries.⁴⁵ Indeed annalistic inscriptions attest to military campaigns of De(we)n

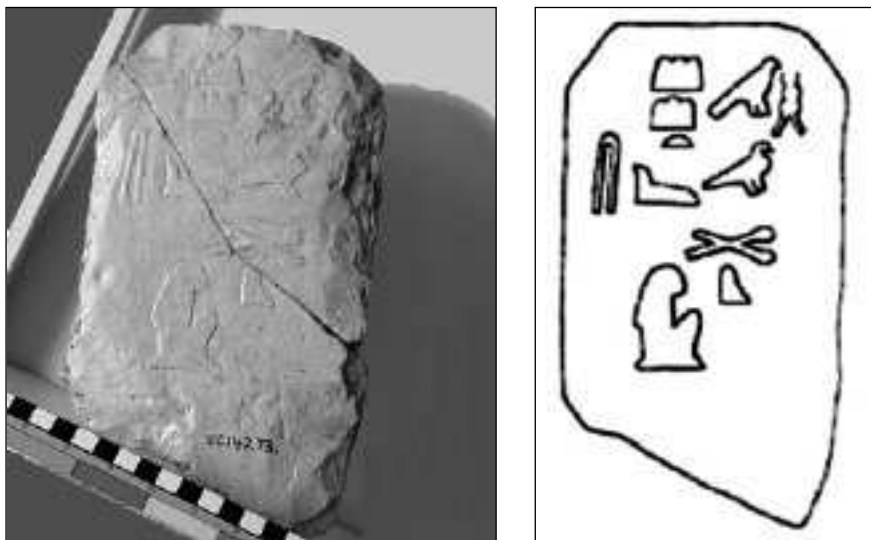


Fig. 5: Stela UCL 14273 (© 2001 University College London, <http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/abydos/infouc14273.html>).

against Asians and “Dog-People”.⁴⁶ Captured foreign women were integrated into the royal harem, as we know from seven stelae of women bearing the identical epithets *htm(.t) hr* —“Provider of Horus” —and *sqr.t h3s.tj* —“Conquered of Chasty”. As an act of integration these women acquired Egyptian names such as “Neith is high” (*k3 N.t*, UCL 14273, Fig. 5). A tomb-stela from the time of Semer-chet⁴⁷ alludes to a similar scenario because the name of the women *Jj-*hr** —“The one taken by the Horus(-king)” —is a revealing name. From a cross-cultural perspective such abduction of women during wartime is a rather well known fact.

Victorious wars constituted one of the favourite topics in pictures and written sources of the early dynastic period. The inscriptions provide specific data to general icons such as the scene of smiting the enemy, e.g. king Nar-meher smites Wash. Imported pottery, depictions of foreign traders and written sources provide evidence trade-relations were another important issue of Egyptian foreign politics, but within the Egyptian ideological framework trade was usually interpreted as a reception of tribute. In particular luxury goods such as oil, wine or precious metals were exchanged. Even cedars were imported as early as the First Dynasty.⁴⁸ Various

products such as lapis-lazuli from Beluchistan can be taken as evidence for trade by middlemen. Thus, the Egyptian culture was closely connected with its neighbours.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the high cultures of Mesopotamia and Elam had a certain impact on the formation of the Egyptian high culture as can be gleaned from iconography (knife-handle of Gebel el Arak) and architecture (palace-façade) as well as specific objects such as the adoption of the cylinder seal.

As we have seen Nar-meher can be considered as the founder of the Egyptian territorial state of Egypt and indeed seal inscriptions containing names of the kings of the First Dynasty in chronological order begin with Nar-meher.⁵⁰ In his era the concept of a divine kingship was shaped, but contrary to this ideological image we can detect traces of conflicts and competing claims of power. A good example is the era of Seth Per-ib-sen. Certain conflicts are rather obvious, but our sources are still very scarce. In particular the reference to the god Seth instead of Horus is an obvious breach in tradition.⁵¹ An inscription on the statue of his successor Chaschemui refers to subduing 47209 Papyrus-People, suggesting a new unification of the country after a presumable north—south divide under Per-ib-sen. This scenario is supported by inscriptions on stone vessels referring to the “year of fighting the northern enemy” combined with the emblematic representation of the Upper Egyptian crown goddess Nekhbet of Hierakonpolis.⁵² Furthermore some monuments of Cha-sechem(ui) refer to wars against “Nubia” and “Asia”⁵³ thus evoking the idea of active foreign politics.⁵⁴ Unfortunately our data are too limited to reconstruct a specific historic scenario.

One of the first Egyptian kings from Abydos, probably Nar-meher, founded a capital with the programmatic name “white walls” (later “Memphis”) in the north.⁵⁵ It was a counterpole to Abydos and Hierakonpolis, probably in order to escape certain bonds of tradition,⁵⁶ to indicate the beginning of a new area and to connect the “two lands” (*t3.wj*) geo-politically. In the Early Dynastic Period the country was organised in nomes⁵⁷, thus expanding a net of high culture into rural areas. During this process the old urban centres transformed into capitals of the nomes. In order to fit the needs of the territorial system some smaller settlements were turned into capitals of nomes in a less urban environment. Furthermore, royal

foundations were established by each ruler in various places of the country— particularly in the Delta— in order to support his mortuary cult. This process had quite a significant impact in shaping the countryside. The earliest attested royal domain founded by Djer is “Horus who advances the mountain”. Seal impressions attest various of its managers: Am-ka, Ankh-ka, Medjet-ka and Hema-ka.

The king did not live exclusively in a few residences but travelled the country on a regular basis. He stopped in certain places to perform sacral rites, to dispense justice and to collect taxes. Usually he was accompanied by members of the elite. From the First Dynasty onwards special officials were engaged in the counts. Thus, an annalistic inscription from the time of Semer-chet provides the title “calculator” (*hsb.w*)⁵⁸. Its determinative —the seal— refers to an administration based on writing.

The court did not exclusively collect taxes and received gifts for festivals (as e.g. alabaster vessels for the Sed-festival),⁵⁹ but prestigious objects were given to various persons thus creating social bonds and a certain participation in high culture. So lots of objects with inscriptions from Nar-meher were found in various places in Egypt and Palestine. Hence writing and other elements of high culture were made popular and subsequently imitated locally.⁶⁰ This system of representation and participation led to a remarkable acceptance of the Egyptian high culture in society.

Names and individuals in early dynastic history

The actors of history were human beings and this basic individual condition should never be forgotten. On the other hand the available sources of the Early Dynastic Period usually restrict our knowledge to bare names.

The archaic labels from Abydos mention territories as well as individual local rulers (*wr.w*) such as HYENA, JACKAL or ELEPHANT/RHINO. Furthermore, we know DOUBLE-BULL and IBIS. All these names refer to animals somehow representing authority. This pattern remained relevant during the First Dynasty, e.g. SNAKE (=Wadji).⁶¹ From the time of Nar-meher onwards names of enemies, such as Wash or Nuw were recorded in order to eternalise specific victories.

While our knowledge of the protodynastic rulers remains very partial, at least the names of the kings from Nar-meher onwards are preserved rather well. The First Dynasty begins with Nar-meher and ends with Anedji-ib, while the second reaches from Cha-sechemui to Hetep-sechemui.⁶² A few rulers of the Second Dynasty such as Nefer-ka-re and Nefer-ka-sokar are not confirmed by contemporary sources but only referred to by later documents. Thus, their very existence still remains conjectural. On the other hand, an inscription from the magazines of Djoser written with the hieroglyph of a bird provides the Horus-name (*b3* ?) of an otherwise unknown king of either the first or second dynasty or the predynastic period.⁶³

The royal wife's were shown less prominently than the kings themselves, but some figures such as Mer(et)-neith, wife of SNAKE and mother of De(we)n, gained special prominence. A seal inscription from the tomb of De(we)n contains a list of royal names from Nar-meher onwards. It ends with the signs denoting "the kings mother Mer(et)-neith" suggesting that she acted as a regent during De(we)n's minority. Her regency is the first occasion for a woman holding "pharaonic" power.

Furthermore, various members of the elite appear in our sources by names and titles from the First Dynasty onwards. Thus, we know a man called Wus. On his funerary stela from Abydos he is described as "sealer of the *bjtj*-king, friend and scribe".⁶⁴ The titles sealer of the *bjtj*-king and scribe refer to competence in writing. According to his titles sealer of the *bjtj*-king and friend he was a member of the bureaucratic elite close to the king. Our data are limited to such "hard facts". From the Old Kingdom onwards these self-presentations increased in narrativity thus providing more detailed information.

Names of gods, such as Ptah, Hathor or Min, were fixed in writing at an equally early date. In parallel to the cultural and political unification an Egyptian pantheon was developed. Certain gods such as Horus gained general acceptance within the territory of Egypt. Most likely the importance of Horus and his close association with kingship can be explained by the significance of his hometown Hieraconpolis in Proto- and Early-dynastic history. The name of the second king of the second dynasty contains an important theological statement: "My lord is Re" (Neb(i)-Re). It indicates a specific focus on the cult of the sun-god so important for Egyptian religion in the

centuries to come. On the other hand there are no traces of Osiris in the early dynastic material at all. For the historian the system of religion is a very dynamic element within the cultural development in Egypt.

Memories of the Early Dynastic Period in later Egyptian history

In addition to contemporary monuments the Early Dynastic Period is also reflected on in later sources as well. Having been the formative stage for the Egyptian culture in many respects, the period in question became mythologized later on. Thus, writing was not considered the result of a complex long-term process but the invention of the god Thoth. In many cultures the art of writing was considered a divine invention, but in contemporary Mesopotamia it was ascribed to the king Enmerkar of Uruk conceptualized as a hero of culture. Similar heroes of culture were shaped in the Egyptian historical discourse, in particular Menes and Imhotep. While Imhotep, vizier of Djoser, is definitely a historical figure, the case of king Menes is not entirely clear. He might be identified with Nar-meher or with Aha, but it seems more likely to understand him as an invented tradition.⁶⁵

From the time of Nar-meher onwards we can see traces of a proto-historiography, particularly in form of annalistic inscriptions on labels. In annals and king-lists the First Dynasty appears as an entirely new epoch while the earlier rulers blur in mytho-history. Thus, the group of the Achiu-spirits of the Turin canon from the New Kingdom—a king-list supplemented by a few annalistic notes—can be interpreted as a reminiscence to various Protodynastic rulers, but such a historic reading remains hypothetical. From the Middle Kingdom onwards the tomb of Djer (third ruler of the First Dynasty) was considered to be the tomb of the god Osiris.⁶⁶ Hence the distant Early Dynastic history was reinterpreted as mytho-history. We can wonder whether and how Early Dynastic history is reflected in the later Egyptian religious literature (particularly in the *Pyramid Texts*), but this much-debated question did not find a definite answer yet.

Epilogue: The dark side of history

Due to the character of the sources available to us this survey concentrates on high culture both socially and medially. This should not make us forget that the literate elite represented only a quantitatively rather small fraction of Ancient Egyptian society, the majority of which remained illiterate. Although quite inaccessible to us, this popular culture provided the fertile ground Egyptian high culture was based upon. In addition to that, demarcation lines between social groups were probably never crystal clear. Despite our assumption of an unquestioned cultural representativity we have to at least consider the possibility of social conflicts regarding interpretative authority. However, tradition provides rather scarce evidence in that respect. Moreover, actors of Egyptian culture were not writing on a *tabula rasa* but carried with them an enormous cultural package containing language, traditions, techniques and methods, even in the 4th/early 3rd millennium BC. These traditions had to be used and reproduced by any actor in order to encode whatever he or she wanted to “say”, thereby gradually transforming the disposition of power in a both conscious and subconscious process.

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- ² The writing of names with capitals indicates, that the name was written just ideographically. Therefore the specific phonetic reading remains uncertain. Furthermore, I use the form Nar-meher instead of Nar-mer, because the hieroglyphic sign “chisel” (sign-list U 23) reads not *mr* but *mhr* (J.F. Quack, ‘Zum Lautwert von Gardiner Sign-List U 23’, *Lingua Aegyptiae* 11 [2003], 113-6). This *mhr* “aggressive” is an epithet to *nʿr* “catfish”. In the early dynastic period the Horus-name was most prominent, because the ruler was considered the earthly incarnation of the god Horus.
- ³ Note that contrary to objects with the name of Nar-meher no objects with the name of his successor Aha were found outside Egypt.

- ⁴ E.C.M. van den Brink and T.E. Levy (eds.), *Egypt and the Levant. Interrelations from the 4th through the Early 3rd Millenium B.C.E.* New Approaches to Anthropological Archaeology (London/New York, 2002).
- ⁵ We should also note anthropological differences, but this topic needs further research.
- ⁶ E.C. Köhler, *Tell el-Fara^cin Buto III. Die Keramik von der späten Naqada-Kultur bis zum frühen Alten Reich (Schichten III bis VI).* Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abd. Kairo 94 (Berlin/Mainz am Rhein, 1998).
- ⁷ L. Morenz, *Bild-Buchstaben und symbolische Zeichen. Die Herausbildung der Schrift in der hohen Kultur Altägyptens.* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 205 (Freiburg/Göttingen, 2004), 144-54; for the Buto-iconography cf. F. Servajean, *Enquête sur la Palmeraie de Buto*, vol. I (1999).
- ⁸ A similar case can be made for ancient Mendes. The old, probably semitic name *snp.t* (booked for the time of Djer) was replaced by the Egyptian *ddt*.
- ⁹ Ink inscriptions on cylinder vessels from king ARMS refer to tributes from "Upper Egypt" as well as from "Lower Egypt" (W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos*, vol. I [1902], pls. I. 1 and III. 30).
- ¹⁰ Note that inscriptions of SCORPION were found in the Memphite area and in Minshat Abu Omar (W. Kaiser and G. Dreyer, 'Umm el Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, II. Vorbericht', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo* 38 [1982], 211-69, esp. 266 ff.), but they might as well be interpreted as indicators of trade. The readings of the signs are not certain, G. Dreyer, 'Horus Krokodil, ein Gegenkönig der Dynastie 0', in: *Festschrift M.A. Hoffman* (1992), 259-63, suggested to read them as CROCODILE.
- ¹¹ G. Dreyer, *Umm el-Qaab I. Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse.* Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abd. Kairo 86 (Berlin/Mainz am Rhein, 1998).
- ¹² T. von der Way, 'Buto', in: K. Bard (ed.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Egypt: An Encyclopedia* (London/New York, 1999), 180-4; Excavations in Buto are going on (U. Hartung). More than 100 seal impressions of the early dynastic period await publication (information by F. Förster). Furthermore material from places adds information, e.g. an ivory label from Abydos (Morenz, *Bild-Buchstaben*, 72 ff.).
- ¹³ G.A. Wainwright, 'The red crown in Early Prehistoric times', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1923), 26-33; H.A. Winkler, *Rock drawings of southern upper Egypt*, vol. I (London, 1938), pl. XIV.
- ¹⁴ The fragments from temple in Gebelein date to the late First/early Second Dynasty and even a few older but unprovinenced fragments are

known, L. Morenz, 'Genese und Verwendungskontext archaischer Prunk-Objekte in Ägypten', *Göttinger Miszellen*, in press.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Morenz, *Bild-Buchstaben*. The labels together with other finds from the archaic necropolis of Abydos (Dreyer, *Umm el-Qaab I*) are one of the most spectacular finds in modern archaeology providing insights into the period of Egyptian state formation combined with the development of high culture.

¹⁷ S. Schott, *Hieroglyphen. Untersuchungen zum Ursprung der Schrift* (Mainz am Rhein, 1950); S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (Wiesbaden, 1950) versus W. Schenkel, 'Wozu die Ägypter eine Schrift brauchten', in: A. and J. Assmann and C. Hardtmeier (eds.), *Schrift und Gedächtnis: Beiträge zur Archäologie der Literarischen Kommunikation* (München, 1983), 45-63.

¹⁸ P. Vernus, 'La Naissance de l'écriture dans l'Égypte Ancienne', *Archéo-Nil* 3 (1993), 75-108, esp. 102.

¹⁹ L. Morenz, 'Die Götter und ihr Redetext: Die ältestbelegte Sakral-Monumentalisierung von Textlichkeit auf Fragmenten der Zeit des Djoser aus Heliopolis', in: *Tagungsband der 5. Ägyptologischen Tempeltagung*, Würzburg, 1999 (Wiesbaden, 2002), 137-58.

²⁰ PD IV, 17, no. 113.

²¹ The relation between the economic, the political and the intellectual sphere is discussed in an anthropological perspective by E. Gellner, *Plough, Sword and Book. The Structure of Human History* (Chicago, 1988).

²² Papyrus was used from the First Dynasty onwards, and this writing material provided sufficient space for longer lists. The hieroglyphic sign papyrus-roll (Y 1) is known from the time of Qaa and an unused papyrus roll was found in a tomb of the First Dynasty (W.B. Emery, *Excavations at Saqqara. The Tomb of Hemaka* [Cairo, 1938], 14).

²³ Morenz, *Bild-Buchstaben*, 94.

²⁴ L. Morenz, 'Frühe Schrift und *hohe Kultur* im Alten Ägypten - Aspekte von Ideologie auf Beischriften der Nar-mer-Palette', *Orientalia* 72 (2003), 183-93.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ V. Davies and R. Friedman, 'The Narmer-Palette: an overlooked detail', in: Z.A. Hawass, M. Eldamaty, M. Trad (eds.), *Egyptian Museum Collections Around the World: Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum, vol. I* (Cairo, 2002), 243-6.

²⁷ M.A. Hoffman, H.A. Hamrroush and R.O. Allen, 'A model of urban development for the Hierakonpolis region from the predynastic through

Old Kingdom times', *Journal of American Research Center in Egypt* 23 (1986), 157-87.

- ²⁸ T. von der Way, *Tell el Faracin, Buto*, vol. I (Mainz, 1989), 168.
- ²⁹ Due to fragmentary transmission it is probably impossible to draw a properly balanced picture.
- ³⁰ The word *m3^c.t* is booked from the First Dynasty onwards. Furthermore the topic "subjugation of chaos" is quite important in the semiophors of the Predynastic Period.
- ³¹ Morenz, *Bild-Buchstaben*.
- ³² The area of middle Egypt seems to have participated less in this process.
- ³³ J.R. Geller, *Predynastic Beer Production at Hierakonpolis, Upper Egypt: Archaeological Evidence and Anthropological Implications*, unpublished Ph. D Dissertation (Washington, 1992).
- ³⁴ S. Aufrère, 'L'origine de l'albâtre à la I^{re} dynastie d'après les inscriptions des vases provenant des galeries de la pyramide à degrés', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 103 (2003). Note that not all of these vases were manufactured at the time of Djoser. Objects from his predecessors of the First and Second dynasties were included in the funerary equipment of this king. One inscription refers to Nar-meher (PD IV, pl. I, 1). Thus we might assume an intention of including all the earlier rulers in order to create a symbolic continuity from Djoser down to the "unification of the two lands". This sense of continuity by recycling older objects can be traced back to the First Dynasty. Some inscriptions on stone vessels from the step-pyramid bear a sequence of four royal names of the First Dynasty: De(we)n – Anedji-ib – Semer-khet – Qaa (PD IV, pl. IV, No 19 – 21) indicating that some of these vessels were used continuously.
- ³⁵ I would suggest to read the second part of the title as *mnḥ ḥb.w* with the literal meaning "polisher (= the one who makes smooth with the chisel) of the (stone-)vases".
- ³⁶ P. Kaplony, *Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. III (Wiesbaden, 1963), Abb. 755; cf. also the black cylinder-seal BM 29463.
- ³⁷ Stela of Cha-sechem, Kairo JE 33895; G. Godron, 'A propos d'une inscription de l'Horus Khasekhem', *Chronique d'Égypte* 43 (1968), 34-5.
- ³⁸ N. Alexanian, 'Die reliefdekoration des Chaseschemui aus dem sogennante Fort in Hierakonpolis', in: N. Grimal (ed.) *Les Criteres de Datation Stylistiques a l'Ancien Empire* (Cairo, 1998), 1-21.
- ³⁹ Morenz, *Bild-Buchstaben*, 156-61.
- ⁴⁰ M. Baud, 'Les frontières des quatre premières dynasties', *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève* 149 (2000), 32-46.

- ⁴¹ L. Morenz, 'Gegner des Nar-mer aus *Papyrus-Land*: NW und W's', *Göttinger Miszellen* 189 (2002), 81-8.
- ⁴² Cf. the usage of year-names in Mesopotamia: M.J.A. Horsnell, 'Why year-names. An exploration into the reasons for their use', *Orientalia* 72 (2003), 196-203.
- ⁴³ A. Spalinger, 'Ancient Egyptian calendars: how many were there?', *Journal of American Research Center in Egypt* 39 (2002), 241-50.
- ⁴⁴ T. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt. The Palermo Stone and its Associated Fragments* (London, 2000); D. Redford, *King-lists, Annals and Day-books. A contribution to the Egyptian sense of history* (Ontario, 1986).
- ⁴⁵ G. Godron, *Etudes sur l'Horus Den et quelques problèmes de l'Égypte archaïque* (Geneva, 1990).
- ⁴⁶ Within this perspective it is quite interesting to note that a dozens of syro-palestinian vessels dating to the reign of De(we)n were found, but they might be interpreted as booty, as tributes or as results of trade.
- ⁴⁷ RT I, 31.34.
- ⁴⁸ Annalistic inscription from the time of Qaa; J. Kahl, *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. III (Wiesbaden, 2004), 365.
- ⁴⁹ U. Hartung, *Importkeramik aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab II) und die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 4. Jahrtausend v.Chr.* Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abd. Kairo 94 (Berlin/Mainz am Rhein, 2001).
- ⁵⁰ One seal contains the names from Nar-meher to De(we)n and Meret-neith, while the other reaches from Nar-meher to Qaa; G. Dreyer, 'Ein Siegel der frühzeitlichen Königsnekropole von Abydos', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo* 43 (1987), 36, fig. 3; G. Dreyer *et alii*, 'Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königfriedhof 7/8.', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo* 53 (1996), 22, fig. 26.
- ⁵¹ This relates to the fact that Per-ib-sen was buried in Abydos like the rulers of the I. dynasty, while his predecessors of the II. dynasty were buried in Saqqara from Hetep-sechemui onwards; cf. now L. Morenz *Synkretismus oder ideologiegetränktes Wortspiel? Die Verbindung des Gottes Seth mit der Sonnenhieroglyphe bei Per-ib-sen*, in press.
- ⁵² J.E. Quibell, *Hieraconpolis I* (London, 1900), pl. XXXVI.
- ⁵³ The granite stela Cairo JE 33895 shows the personification of *t3-sti*-Nubia subdued by the king and a fragment from the "fort" in Hieraconpolis mentions the "fourth occasion of [beating] *st-t*-Asia"; Alexanian, *Reliefdekoration*.

- ⁵⁴ Cf. also the title 'overseer of foreign lands' (*imi r3 ḥ3s.t*), first booked for the time of Cha-sechemui, IÄF III, fig. 269.
- ⁵⁵ T.A. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (London, 2001), 357-62. The oldest preserved example dates to the I. dynasty (IÄF III, abb. 872).
- ⁵⁶ Note that the new capital was not built on a virgin location. The graves in Helwan predate the I. dynasty. The rise of Memphis probably caused the decline of Tarkhan and various other settlements by the end of the I. dynasty.
- ⁵⁷ The oldest emblems of nomes predate the Third Dynasty.
- ⁵⁸ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo* 32 (1996), Taf. 14d.
- ⁵⁹ Aufrère, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 103 (2003), 4-6. Cf. inscriptions such as: "brought before the king at the occasion of the Sed-festival (by) Iy-en-chenemu", PD IV, p. 6-7, no. 5.
- ⁶⁰ L. Morenz, 'Schrift und Imitation. Eine Hieroglyphe als lokales Autoritätssymbol im frühbronzezeitlichen Arad und zur Verbreitung der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift im frühbronzezeitlichen Südkanaan', in: L. Morenz, E. Bosshard Nepustil (eds.), *Herrscherpräsentation und Kulturkontakte: Ägypten - Levante - Mesopotamien, Acht Fallstudien. Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 148 (Münster, 2003).
- ⁶¹ This reading is supported by an inscription from Wadi Shatt er-Rigal where a *w3d*-sign accompanies the *d.t* in a royal *srḥ*: G. Legrain, in: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 4 (1903), 221, fig. 7. Contrary to J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MÄS 49 (Philip Von Zabern, 1999), 38, n. 7, this inscription might be contemporary.
- ⁶² A. Dodson, 'The mysterious 2nd Dynastie', *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 7.2 (1996), 19- 31.
- ⁶³ Lacau, Lauer, PD IV.1, Taf. IV.7.
- ⁶⁴ W.M.F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs I* (London, 1900), pl. 31, no. 43.
- ⁶⁵ J.P. Allen, 'Menes the Memphite', *Göttinger Miszellen* 126 (1992), 19-22.
- ⁶⁶ This might be due to a similarity of names, cf. the Manethonian *Ouevéphis* which sounds similar to the gods name Wnn-nfr (Ωνόφορις), G. Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*

KULTURELLE EINVERLEIBUNGEN
FREMDEN WISSENS
ZU EINER SEMITISCHEN SPRUCHFOLGE IN EINEM
ÄGYPTISCHEN MEDICO-MAGISCHEN PAPYRUS
DES NEUEN REICHES (BM 10059)*

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Medizin und Magie waren im 2. Jahrtausend v.Chr. in verschiedenen Kulturen im Mittelmeerraum bemerkenswert international konzipiert. Ärzte, Medikamente und Behandlungsanweisungen —aber (bedauerlicherweise) wohl auch bestimmte Krankheiten¹ —wanderten zu einem gewissen Grad zwischen den Kulturen². Dabei ist gerade im Neuen Reich mit grossen Epidemiewellen im Bereich Ägyptens und des ganzen Vorderen Orients zu rechnen. Besonders intensiv können wir diesen Austausch für das ägyptische Neue Reich mit Ägyptens starker internationaler Einbindung³ —einschliesslich der Abfassung der diplomatischen Korrespondenz in Akkadisch als der damaligen *lingua franca*⁴ —fassen. Neben der uns (sehr partiell⁵) erhaltenen schriftlichen Überlieferung ist vor allem jedoch an orale Kommunikation und Alltagspraxis zu denken.

Diese gleichsam dem Alltag nähere Medizin wird für uns gelegentlich zumindest in Spuren fassbar. So heisst es in der medizinischen Sammelhandschrift (*dmd*)⁶ P. Ebers aus dem Neuen Reich:

k.t phrt.t n.t ir.tj

dd.t.n ʿ3m n kpnj

Ein anderes Heilmittel der Augen,
das ein Asiat aus Byblos gesagt hat.⁷

In einem historisierenden Szenarium könnten wir sogar annehmen, dass dieser byblitische Asiat tatsächlich die ägyptische Sprache sprechen konnte. Jedenfalls wurden in dieser Handelsdreh Scheibe im Mittleren Reich von der (bzw. für die) byblitische Elite sowohl die hieratische als auch die hieroglyphische Schrift verwendet.⁸ Wir kommen freilich nur hypothetisch zu der "Welt" hinter den "Worten" des anonymen Schreibers dieser Sammelhandschrift.

Für unsere Frage sind an diesem Autorisierungsvermerk – einer Art Quellenangabe beinahe im Sinn von *oral history* – zwei Punkte interessant: die Überführung des mündlich tradierten Wissens (*dd.t.n*) in die Sphäre der Schriftlichkeit – Arbeit des Schreibers⁹ und die metatextuelle Thematisierung der fremdkulturellen (*ʿ3m*) Einwirkung in die ägyptische Medizin. Der Spruch selbst ist eine Liste von Arzneinamen,¹⁰ zu der auch zwei mutmasslich semitische Wörter gehören.¹¹ Dies verleiht der metatextuellen Herkunftsangabe jedenfalls eine gewisse Glaubwürdigkeit.

Interessant ist an diesem Fall aber auch, dass die Fremdheit des anonym bleibenden "asiatischen" Wissensgaranten (*ʿ3m n kpnj*) zugleich relativiert wird, denn eben Byblos war vom Alten Reich an der traditionell am stärksten ägyptisierte Ort in der Levante.¹² Nicht nur Wissen aus Byblos wurde in der ägyptischen medizinischen "Theorie" verarbeitet, sondern man verwendete auch Ingredienzien von dort. So wird, wiederum in einem Augenrezept und wiederum aus P. Ebers, auf die *prt-šn.j*-Frucht¹³ aus Byblos verwiesen.¹⁴ Im intratextuellen Vergleich ist zu beachten, dass das Rezept des Asiaten aus Byblos ja auch eine Ingredienzienufzählung zur Augenbehandlung beinhaltete.¹⁵

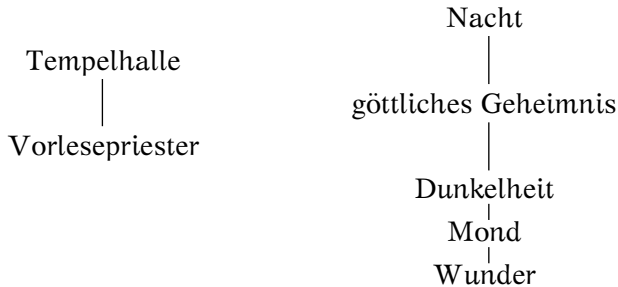
In solchen Transformationen oral tradierten medizinischen Wissens in die Welt der Schriftlichkeit¹⁶ können wir jedenfalls die Spitze eines Eisberges erahnen. Dabei ist das Problem der interkulturellen Verständigung – Sprachen, Medizinkonzeptionen, Bezugshorizonte – besonders interessant. Hinzu kommt ein gewiss vorauszusetzendes vielfaches Wechselspiel zwischen praktisch-oraler und schriftbasierter Medizin.¹⁷ Die Bedeutung der im Rahmen der hohen Kultur verorteten, schriftbasierten Medizin stellte besonders die Selbst-Präsentation des Udja-hor-resnet aus der Perserzeit heraus, der die "Lebenshäuser" "auf Befehl seiner Majestät" wieder einrichtete, "weil er (bezieht sich auf König) den

Nutzen dieser Kunst kannte, um jeden Leidenden am Leben zu halten”.¹⁸ Hier wird deutlich auf gelehrte, schriftbasierte Medizin abgehoben, wobei die offenbar respektvolle Bezeichnung als “Kunst” zu beachten ist.¹⁹

In diesem Rahmen der Verschriftung und vor allem Verschriftlichung²⁰ von Medizin ist auch immer wieder mit der Erfindung von bestimmten Traditionen²¹ und der Inszenierung von Topoi zu rechnen. So wurde in der medico-magischen Sammelhandschrift P. Ebers in Kol. 63, 4 das Rezept einer Augenschminke konkret auf den *wr m33 hwy* “Größten der Schauenden, Chui” zurückgeführt. Diesen in der ägyptischen medizinischen Literatur ungewöhnlich spezifischen Autoritätsgaranten kann man wahrscheinlich tatsächlich mit einem aus dem Alten Reich belegten heliopolitanischen Priester mit dem Kurznamen Chui identifizieren.²² Allerdings muß es sich hierbei nicht notwendig um eine im strengen Sinn historische Angabe handeln. Alternativ dazu kann man vermuten, daß das Rezept der Augenschminke sekundär mit dem “Größten der Schauenden” verbunden wurde, um ihm durch Alter und Würde besonderes Prestige zu geben. Hinzu kommt wahrscheinlich ganz wesentlich die symbolische Verbindung des Titels “Größter der Schauenden” mit dem Auge. Ausgerechnet dieser Priestertitel *wr m33* impliziert qua Analogie Heilungskompetenz für Augenkrankheiten und war zugleich mit einer besonderen sakralen Autorität verbunden.²³ Jedenfalls war mit diesem Amt die Vorstellung von Sehschärfe verbunden.²⁴

Diese Art Rekurs auf Asseroren kennen wir vor allem aus den sogenannten Lebenslehren und damit dem weisheitlichen Diskurs.²⁵ Es wurde auch im medizinischen Schrifttum ausgeprägt praktiziert.²⁶ Neben der Verbindung mit spezifischen (mytho-)historischen Königen wurde den Texten gelegentlich eine besondere sakrale Aura zugeschrieben, so in P. BM 10059, Spruch 25 (= alt L 60).²⁷

Gefunden (*gmj*) wurde dieser Spruch in der Nacht,
herabgestiegen in die breite Halle des Tempels in Koptos
als ein Geheimnis (*s:št3.w*) dieser Göttin (Isis)
durch die Hand des Vorlesepriesters dieses Tempels.
Während aber dieses Land in Dunkelheit lag war es der
Mond, der aufschien über diesem “Buch”, auf allen seinen Seiten.
Es wurde gebracht als ein Wunder (*bj3.yt*) zur Majestät des
Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten Cheops [dem Seligen].



Die zentrierend aufgebaute sechs-(+ zwei-)versige Strophe charakterisiert in ihrer im mittleren Doppelvers stehenden Zentralessage den Text als ein "Geheimnis (*s:št3.w*) dieser Göttin", weshalb er vom Vorlesepriester als Amtsbevollmächtigtem im Tempel gefunden wurde. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich hier um einen literarischen Topos.²⁸ Je zwei Rahmenverse dienen der Schilderung des Numinosen. "Nacht" (Vers 1), "Dunkelheit" (Vers 5) und "Mond" (Vers 6) weben ein semantisches Netz des Wunderbaren um das göttliche und von oben gekommene (Vers 2) Buch, offenbar eine Art Himmelsbrief. Dessen Findung wird in die protomythische Vergangenheit von König Cheops verlegt. Hier erscheinen drei Textautorität generierende Punkte versammelt und vernetzt, nämlich sowohl göttliche Autorschaft als hohes Alter mit Rekurs auf einen mytho-historischen Herrscher als auch Geheimheit.

Die Aussage in P. Ebers zu dem "Asiaten aus Byblos" (*š3m n kpnj*) korrespondiert übrigens in einem gewissen Sinn mit einem Akkadisch verfassten diplomatischen Brief des Niqmadu II., Königs von Ugarit, worin dieser Amen-hotep IV. bittet:

"... und gib mir einen Palastarzt! Hier ist kein Arzt vorhanden".²⁹

Die ägyptische Medizin war keinesfalls nur rezeptiv, sondern im Ausland gesucht und bewundert,³⁰ was bezüglich der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends und des ersten Jahrtausends sowohl für die altorientalischen Nachbarn als auch für die Griechen³¹ gut bezeugt ist. Tatsächlich sind die im Zentrum dieser Betrachtung stehenden deutlich fassbaren fremden Einflüsse — aufs Ganze der ägyptischen Medizingeschichte³² gesehen— nur verhältnismässig dünne Spuren.

Vielfach und kontrovers diskutiert wurde in der Forschung ein medico-magischer Spruch, der in einer medico-magischen Sammelhandschrift (*dmd*) des Neuen Reiches —P. London BM 10059³³— steht. Aus paläographischen Erwägungen wurde dieser

Papyrus von Georg Möller in die Zeit des Tut-anch-amun datiert.³⁴ Wenn paläographisch sicher auch ein Spielraum von einigen Jahrzehnten besteht, war diese Zeit der Niederschrift doch jedenfalls eine Ära, in der Kreter und Ägypter in intensiven, vielfältigen Beziehungen miteinander standen.³⁵ Die Aufzeichnung eines "kretischen" Spruches passt also ausgezeichnet in den kulturhistorischen Horizont dieser Zeit.

Mit dem "kretischen" Spruch L 20 (alt 32) (und auch mit L 21, alt: 33)³⁶ hat sich zuletzt Peter W. Haider beschäftigt,³⁷ doch konnte L 21 von R.C. Steiner plausibel als semitisch erklärt werden, so sehr auch Details durchaus noch zu diskutieren sind.³⁸ Für die Interpretation von L 21 ist zu beachten, dass hier, wie in einigen anderen semitischen Sprüchen dieses Papyrus, keine metatextuelle Referenz auf die Sprache erfolgt. Dies steht auffälligerweise nur bei L 20. Jedenfalls ist der "kretische" Spruch in eine Reihe semitischer Sprüche eingebettet.

Genauer ist Spruch L 20 in einer Gruppe von immerhin sieben Sprüchen, die auf ausländisch-exotische (*h3s.tj*) Kulturen bzw. Sprachen abheben, verankert. Sie waren in dieser Sammelhandschrift offenbar bewusst als eine Spruchfolge organisiert.³⁹ Möglicherweise gehörte sie auch thematisch enger zusammen und war gegen Hautbeschwerden gerichtet,⁴⁰ doch lässt bereits die fragmentarische Erhaltung samt den lexikalischen Schwierigkeiten keine sichere Deutung zu. Ob diese Spruchfolge schon in der mutmasslichen Vorlage stand, oder erst von dem Schreiber dieses Papyrus aus verschiedenen Quellen kompiliert wurde, kann wegen des Überlieferungszufalls nicht entschieden werden. Für die Datierungsfrage der Sprüche ist noch darauf hinzuweisen, dass der im Zentrum dieses Essays stehende Spruch 20 im Titel die distinkt neuägyptische Form *t3 n ʕ3m.w* –"die der Asiaten"– aufweist. Tatsächlich ist jedoch auch für die anderen *ausländischen* (*h3stj*) Sprüche nicht zu erwarten, dass sie vor das Neue Reich zurückgehen sollten.

Die fremdsprachige Spruchfolge beginnt (L 15) mit einer Beschwörung in der "Sprache eines Fremdländers (?)"⁴¹:

k.t šn.t n.t hmk.t


m dd n h3s.tj [...]

(Eine) andere Beschwörung der *hmk.t*-Krankheit⁴²

Als das, was sagte ein Fremdländer⁴³ ...

Mit dem leider nicht ganz vollständig erhaltenen Wort *h3s.tj* = “Bergland-Bewohner/Fremdländer”⁴⁴ wird am Anfang der Spruchkette mit den sieben “barbarischen” Sprüchen also ganz deutlich auf die Fremdsprachlichkeit hingewiesen. Einerseits bezeichnet *h3s.t* generell das Ausland, hat aber andererseits auch eine besondere Affinität zu Asien.⁴⁵ Eine genauere Präzisierung der Sprache ist nicht angegeben. Wahrscheinlich verstand es sich für den ägyptischen Modell-Leser des Neuen Reiches von selbst, bei der Sprache eines Fremdländers zuerst und vorzüglich an eine semitische Sprache zu denken.⁴⁶ Die einzige wirkliche Spezifizierung wurde bei Spruch 20 gemacht. Demnach verstand sich das “Kretische” eben vermutlich nicht von selbst.

Der Beginn dieser Spruchfolge mit *k.t* —“(eine) andere”— könnte darauf hinweisen, dass in der hypothetischen Vorlage weitere fremdsprachliche Sprüche standen. Allerdings könnte der Schreiber dieser Sammelhandschrift mittels des *k.t* auch einfach Textkohärenz gestiftet haben.⁴⁷ Nach R. C. Steiner könnte man jedenfalls in einigen Sprüchen den mit Abstand ältesten Beleg für geschriebenes Aramäisch sehen,⁴⁸ und in jedem Fall wurden viele semitische Wörter verwendet. Die Beschädigungen des Papyrus in Kolumne VI stören aber den Textfluss sehr.

Dabei sind in den Sprüchen vor allem verschiedene semitische Götter genannt, wobei diese häufig durch das ägyptische Gottesdeterminativ —FALKE AUF STANDARTE— determiniert werden, aber nicht immer (so Eschmun in L 16 (Leitz = Wreszinski L 28) ohne Gottesdeterminativ). In L 16 (Leitz) ist wohl Rab(b)una —“unser Herr”— zu interpretieren⁴⁹ oder in L 16 (Leitz) vermutlich Eschmun und Attar bzw. Ishtar zu lesen. Wenn  tatsächlich zu Eschmun zu ergänzen ist, haben wir hier einen religionsgeschichtlichen Hinweis darauf, dass es sich um einen Spruch mit phönizischem Hintergrund handelt.⁵⁰ In einen medicomagischen Papyrus passt dieser Gott natürlich besonders gut, weil schon sein Name auf die Gesundheit, das Heilen verweist.⁵¹ Wenn wir das Determinativ hinter *j-s-t-t-r* —das Zeichen Falke auf Standarte— ernst nehmen wollen, sollte es sich hier um eine maskuline Gottheit handeln, denn weibliche Gottheiten wurden eigentlich mit dem Zeichen SCHLANGE determiniert. Insofern können wir statt an Astarte/Ishtar hier an den Gott *ꜥtr* —Attar/Astar— denken.⁵²

Dem Exotischen wurde in der ägyptischen “Magie” immer wieder

eine gewisse Mächtigkeit zugeschrieben, wenn wir etwa an die Konzeption der gefährlichen nubischen Magier⁵³ denken. In besonderer Weise greift dies für das Feld der fremden Götter und der exotischen Sprache.⁵⁴ Solcherart Konnotationen des Fremden sind bekanntlich aus vielen Kulturen zu belegen. Wahrscheinlich bot diese Konzeption des Fremden auch den Grund für die Aufnahme der Spruchfolge der sieben *ausländischen* Sprüche in den medizinischen Papyrus London. Alternativ könnte noch an einen gewissen Bedarf der diese Sprache(n) Sprechenden in Ägypten gedacht werden. Dabei sprechen jedoch die deutlich ägyptischen Einsprengsel, z.B. bei Spruch 15, für ein ägyptisch-sprachiges Zielpublikum. Hier ist m.E. sogar bei weitem die Mehrheit der bei der fragmentarischen Erhaltung lesbaren Wörter und Phrasen verständliches Ägyptisch.⁵⁵

7 ///p Jmny tr k3=k k3//

/// (Gottheit, Name endet mit p(a)⁵⁶),
Verborgener,⁵⁷ verehrt sei dein Ka ///

8 /// r k3 Rab(b)una r k3 ///

bis zur Höhe von *unserem Herren*, bis
zur Höhe von (Gottheit)

9 r] k3(?) (Ra?)b(b)una⁵⁸Jstwm j b///

bis zur Höhe von *unserem Herren* (?)
und Gott *Jstwm*⁵⁹ ///

Bei aller Problematik der fragmentarischen Überlieferung scheint sich hier sogar ein kohärenter Text abzuzeichnen. Dabei handelt es sich allerdings weniger um einen sprachlich "ausländischen" Spruch, sondern um ein weitgehend ägyptisch formuliertes Gebet —und zwar wahrscheinlich eine Übersetzung aus dem Semitischen in die ägyptische Sprache.⁶⁰ Hier fällt die einfache, repetitive Sprache auf, wie sie in aller gleichsam beschwörenden Eindringlichkeit durchaus typisch für diese Texte ist. In diesem Heilungsgebet wurden diverse Götter als Helfer angerufen. Nur die Götternamen wurden teilweise in "ausländisch" beibehalten, doch selbst unter ihnen findet sich die *interpretatio aegyptiaca Jmny* —"der Verborgene"— = westsemitischer El.⁶¹ In dieser Fixierung des magischen Spruches ging es also mehr um den Text, als um den Klang der fremden Sprache. Solche Anrufungen von Göttern zur Überwindung von Krankheit sind selbstverständlich vielfach aus Ägypten, dem Vorderen Orient als auch anderen Kulturen bezeugt. Ein wesentliches Problem in den bisherigen Deutungen ist m.E., dass dieser "kretische" Spruch L 20 von den Forschern in der Regel isoliert betrachtet und vor allem als


Träger der kretischen Sprache zu verstehen gesucht wurde. Dabei ist seine Position in der *ausländischen* Spruchfolge und seine mutmassliche Bedeutung für einen ägyptischen Arzt des Neuen Reiches als Modell-Leser⁶² dieser Sammelhandschrift wichtig.

Im semitischen Folgespruch —L 21— z.B. stehen wie in dem oben besprochenen Heilgebet L 15 wiederum ägyptische Wörter, insbesondere die Glosse *p3 wr*, also doch wohl: “der Grosse”. Dies glossiert den zuvor genannten Rapi(um) —“Heiler(-GOTT)”.⁶³ Das Fremde wurde nicht einfach in seiner Fremdheit stehen gelassen, sondern kommentiert und damit von dem Autor/Redaktor der Sammelhandschrift in die eigene, die ägyptische Sphäre geholt. Darüber hinaus können wir sogar damit rechnen, dass hier eine Phrase, wie wir sie aus ugaritischen Texten kennen, übersetzt wurde, nämlich *rpu bʿl* —entweder: “der Rephait von Baal” oder aber: “der Rephait, der Herr”.⁶⁴ Beides wäre durchaus adäquat mit ägyptisch *p3 wr* —“der Grosse”— wiedergegeben. In diesen sieben Sprüchen handelt es sich um sprachlich und kulturell ausgesprochen hybride Texte, wie sie intensiven Kulturkontakten durchaus entsprechen.

Von diesen Parallelen ausgehend, ist zumindest mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, dass auch in dem Spruch L 20 ägyptische Wörter stehen könnten. Ausserdem ist zu notieren, dass sowohl in L 15 als auch in L 21 Göttern eine grosse Rolle zugeschrieben ist. Mindestens als Möglichkeit sollte das also auch für den Spruch L 20 erwogen werden.

Kulturgeschichtlich sehr interessant ist auch die Verbindung der Kreter mit den Asiaten in der ägyptisch verfassten Einleitung dieses Spruches:

šn.t nt t3 n.t ʿ3m.w
m dd n f k3ftw

Dieser metatextuelle Spruchbeginn wurde in der Forschung noch kaum thematisiert. In der Schreibung  wird das *fh* häufig einfach gestrichen.⁶⁵ In Analogie zu dem Beginn dieser Spruchfolge *m dd n h3s.tj* kann hier aber durchaus –und ganz in Übereinklang mit der Schreibung– gelesen werden: *m dd.n=f*. Das Suffixpronomen könnte vielleicht als spezifischer Rückverweis auf den *h3s.tj* —fremdsprachigen “Bergland-Bewohner”— verstanden werden, doch steht dies dafür ziemlich weit entfernt. Dann wäre *k3ftw* als Apposition zu verstehen, die den Fremdsprachigen –*h3s.tj*– spezifisch

als Kretisch-sprachig bestimmt. Hier handelt es sich um eine besondere Art der Quellenangabe, wie wir sie ähnlich in P. Ebers wiederfinden: *dd.t.n* *ʿ3m n kpnj* “das ein Asiat aus Byblos gesagt hat”.⁶⁶ Im Unterschied dazu wird in der Londoner medizinischen Sammelhandschrift in L 15 und 20 allerdings weniger spezifisch auf eine mehr oder weniger konkrete Person, sondern vielmehr auf den Typus Sprecher einer ausländischen Sprache abgehoben.

Der Anfang von Spruch L 20 ist demnach wohl zu übersetzen:

Beschwörung von *der von den Asiaten*
in seiner –(des Ausländers, und genauer:) des Kreters– Sprache:

Die Schreibung “Kreta” mit dem *k3*-Zeichen ist sonst anscheinend nicht belegt, doch die Graphie ist im Rahmen der ägyptischen Konventionen der Wiedergabe fremdsprachiger Wörter unbedenklich.⁶⁷ Angesichts der Verbindung der kretischen Sprache mit *der (Krankheit) von den Asiaten* drängt sich ein Vergleich zu dem deutlich semitischen Personennamen “Ben-Sabira” auf, der in einer Liste mit dem Titel “Machen von Namen von Kaftiu” steht.⁶⁸


Die Sprachbezeichnung *m dd.n=f k3ftw* ist hier übrigens durch ein Rubrum hervorgehoben.



Nicht zuletzt wegen der so dünnen Vergleichsbasis und der Kürze des Spruches ist eine definitive Lösung zwar kaum zu erwarten, doch scheint mir der folgende Vorschlag zumindest plausibel genug, um neue Aspekte in die Diskussion zu bringen.



Der Text lautet insgesamt:



Wie in L 15 und 21 können auch in L 20 Schreibungen entdeckt werden, die an ägyptische Wörter denken lassen.⁶⁹ In besonderer Weise gilt dies für *𓆎𓆏𓆑* = *w3y* “fern sein”. Darüber hinaus kann auch an *𓆏𓆑* = *r3* gedacht werden, was zweimal in diesem Spruch belegt ist. Mit ideographischem Strich geschrieben, passt dies jedenfalls zu *r3* = “Mund” bzw. “Spruch”. Für diese Auflösung spricht vor allem, dass diese Zeichen in beiden Fällen gleichartig gedeutet werden können. Ägyptisierend wirkt auch das Zeichen MANN MIT HAND AM MUND (𓆏𓆑), was hier als Determinativ/Kategorem

verstanden werden kann. Die vorletzten Zeichen als *k3j* —“bedenken”— zu lesen,⁷⁰ scheint mir dagegen sowohl nach der mutmasslichen Worttrennung als auch semantisch problematisch. Tatsächlich ist die Zeichengruppe  in syllabischen Schreibungen belegt.⁷¹

Oben wurde festgestellt, dass in diesem Text durchaus Götternamen zu erwarten sind. Tatsächlich identifizierte bereits G.A. Wainwright⁷² und im Anschluss F.G. Gordon⁷³ sowie H.T. Bossert die beiden ersten Wörter des Textes als  Sanda/o und als  Kubaba.⁷⁴ Dies wird zwar gelegentlich angezweifelt,⁷⁵ ist aber phonetisch durchaus unwiderlegt. So ist neben Kubaba auch Kupapa als Schreibung belegt.⁷⁶ Sando(n) war ursprünglich ein hethitisch-luwischer Wetter- und Vegetationsgott, und auch in den hethitisch-luwischen Zeugnissen ist Kubaba als seine Gefährtin konzipiert.⁷⁷ Zwar fehlt hinter beiden Wörtern das Gottesdeterminativ, doch könnte dies mit der Unvertrautheit des ägyptischen Schreibers mit diesen fremden Götternamen erklärt werden. In jedem Fall steht in Analogie zu den anderen Sprüchen dieser fremdsprachlichen Spruchfolge auch für L 20 zu erwarten, dass hier Götter genannt sind.⁷⁸

Ebenfalls schon auf H.T. Bossert geht die, wenn auch noch unbewiesene Deutung von  = *manti* als ein möglicherweise altägäisches Wort für Minze zurück.⁷⁹ Die lautliche Entsprechung ist dicht und die Nennung von *materia medica* jedenfalls wahrscheinlich. In diesem Sinn könnte man analog in *kaka* bzw. *kaku* die —möglicherweise altägäische— Bezeichnung einer Heilpflanze sehen, wobei das dahinter gesetzte ägyptische Determinativ/Kategorem  darauf hindeutete, dass diese Substanz ebenfalls irgendwie mit dem Mund verbunden war. Neben altägäischen Wörtern wäre mit Blick auf Sando und Kubaba alternative vor allem an luwische zu denken, wobei sich beides nicht unbedingt ausschliesst.⁸⁰ Ebenso offen bleibt die Deutung von *.

Bei der Deutung dieser über die Götternamen hinaus mutmasslich “kretischen” Wörter⁸¹ stochern wir noch im Nebel, doch scheinen mir jedenfalls der Rest und die Struktur des Spruches relativ klar verständlich:

In diesem Spruch sind die Medizinbereitung und der Sprechakt eng verbunden. Den Medikamenten wird gleichsam eine kretische Wirkkraft zugesprochen. Die im Titel genannte Krankheitsbezeichnung

Beschwörung von <i>der von den Asiaten</i> in seiner – (des Ausländers, und genauer:) des Kreters - Sprache:	Titel
Sando (und) Kubaba sind fern.	Diagnose: Absenz der <i>guten</i> Götter ⁸²
Oh Minze (?) des Mundes Kaka/u (?) des Mundes.	Heilungsprozedur mit <i>Materia medica</i>
Man sagt diesen Spruch über <i>g3š-Flüssigkeit tqn ʿw3y.t;</i>	Sprechakt und Handlung
Harn ... darauf zu geben	

t3 n.t ʿ3m.w – “die der Asiaten” – bezeichnet nach H. Goedicke eine Art (Beulen-)Pest, nach T. Bardinot eine Art Lepra,⁸³ wobei letzteres wahrscheinlicher ist.

Die Göttin Kupapa/Kubaba war vor allem mit Kleinasien verbunden, hatte aber eine relativ weite Verbreitung.⁸⁴ Demgegenüber weist Sando noch etwas spezifischer auf den luwischen Bereich hin. In jedem Fall aber passen die beiden Gottheiten gut zusammen,⁸⁵ was die Interpretation deutlich unterstützt. Schon die Behandlung von “der der Asiaten” ausgerechnet in kretischer Sprache deutet darauf hin, dass für *k3f/w* auch in der Levante siedelnde “Kreter” oder Semiten auf der Insel Kreta in Betracht kommen.

Der geographisch-ethnographische Begriff Keftiu war in den ägyptischen Quellen nicht auf Kreta allein beschränkt, wobei in diesem Zusammenhang auf den bereits erwähnten semitischen Namen Ben-Sabira unter den “Keftiu-”Namen⁸⁶ zu erinnern ist. Komplizierend kommt hinzu, dass anscheinend auch in anderen Texten des Neuen Reiches zumindest teilweise nicht klar zwischen den Sprachen und Ethnien unterschieden wurde. So wird in P. Sallier IV das *j-r-r-rw-d3-w*-Gefäß mit einem “Asiaten von Memphis” in Verbindung gebracht,⁸⁷ doch kann das Wort wahrscheinlich als Mykenisch *a-re-so* (= Trinkgefäß mit zwei Henkeln) identifiziert werden.⁸⁸ Wir müssen jedenfalls damit rechnen, dass der Begriff aAm im Neuen Reich auch für Sprecher nichtsemitischer Sprachen verwendet wurde.

Eine genauere Untersuchung altägyptischer Ethnizitätskonzepte (ägyptische Relationierung von Kriterien wie Sprache, Hautfarbe,

materielle Kultur, geographische Verortung etc.) wäre ein so schwieriges wie lohnendes Unterfangen.⁸⁹ Ausserdem berühren wir hier ein Problem der Forschung, das erst im Anfangsstadium der Bearbeitung ist: die Minoer ausserhalb Kretas und insbesondere in Kleinasien. In diesem Spruch wird nämlich wahrscheinlich eine kretische Religions- und Sprachenklave bezeichnet, die von semitischen Kulturen umgeben und in der Levante verortet ist. Dies sollte der Suche nach den Minoern ausserhalb Kretas weiteren Auftrieb geben, selbst wenn es sich hier nur um ein ägyptisches –oder auch ägyptologisches– Missverständnis handeln sollte.

Mit dieser Lösung und Lesung von Spruch L 20 müssen wir deutlich weniger im Nebel der rein nach lautlichen Ähnlichkeiten suchenden Vergleiche mit dem noch immer wesentlich unentzifferten Linear A stochern⁹⁰ und haben darüber hinaus eine kohärente Deutung im Rahmen des ägyptischen medico-magischen Verständnisses des Neuen Reiches erreicht. Der ägyptische Schreiber dieser Sammelhandschrift war nicht theoretisch-ethnologisch oder-sprachwissenschaftlich an den Kretern interessiert, sondern ihn trieb ein medico-magisches und damit ein praktisches Interesse an dem ausländisch-exotischen Wissen an.

Wie für einen fremdsprachigen Spruch in einem ägyptischen medico-magischen Corpus zu erwarten, ist der Spruch sehr einfach strukturiert. Als Ursache der *asiatischen Krankheit* wird hier die Ferne der Götter Santo und Kubaba diagnostiziert, und dem dadurch verursachten Problem soll durch bestimmte Medikamente entgegengewirkt werden. Für die hier vorauszusetzende Bedeutung der kretischen Medikamente ist unterstützend darauf hinzuweisen, dass in einem Rezept aus Papyrus Ebers zum Vergleich der abführenden Wirkung von Senfkohl auf "Bohnen aus Kreta" (*jwrt kftw*)⁹¹ hingewiesen wird. Auch in den "asiatischen" Sprüchen der Londoner medico-magischen Sammelhandschrift wird auf entsprechend asiatische Götter und Dämonen Bezug genommen.⁹²

Wirklich fremdsprachig sind nach der hier erarbeiteten Deutung in Spruch L 20 vor allem die Götternamen und die *Materia medica*, und dies haben wir analog auch in L 15 gesehen. Insofern können wir sogar davon ausgehen, dass dieser Spruch auch für ägyptische Ärzte mehr oder weniger verständlich und praktikabel war.⁹³ Noch mehr als in den ägyptischen Sprüchen dieser medico-magischen Sammelhandschrift⁹⁴ wird in der ausländischen Spruchfolge auf

Götter rekurriert. Die sakrale Dimension wurde also bei der Übernahme exotischen medizinischen Wissens besonders gross geschrieben. Immerhin zeigt ein Blick auf den Beginn von P. Ebers, dass dort der gelehrte Arzt-Leser im Rahmen der schriftbasierten Medizin der hohen Kultur in eine enge Nähe zu dem Wissensgott Thot gerückt und gewissermassen in das medico-magische Wissen initiiert wird:

...
 Sein (des Arztes) Führer ist Thot.
 Er (Thot) veranlasst, dass die Schrift redet,
 Er (Thot) macht Sammelhandschriften
 Er (Thot) gibt Ach-Begeisterung für die Gelehrten unter den Ärzten
 ...⁹⁵

Zum Wissen des Arztes gehört zum einen handwerkliche, zum anderen sakrale Kompetenz. Beides war, wie wir in den Sprüchen L 15 und 20 sehen konnten, ausgesprochen vielfach verschlungen.


REFERENCES

- ¹ Wie wir dies von der "Franzosenkrankheit" des 17. Jahrhunderts kennen, wurden auch in der ägyptischen Konzeption bestimmte Krankheiten mit bestimmten Ethnien verbunden, so die *asiatische* (Krankheit) —*ḥ3 n.t ʿ3m*— auf die wir unten noch einmal zu sprechen kommen.
- ² Kulturelle Konzeptionen von Krankheiten können dabei kulturspezifisch sehr verschieden ausfallen, H.F.J. Horstmanshoff, M. Stol (eds.), *Magic and Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine*, Studies in Ancient Medicine 27 (Leiden, 2004).
- ³ Eine Überblicksdarstellung bietet W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* (Darmstadt, 1979).
- ⁴ Detailstudien der letzten Jahre haben gezeigt, dass das diplomatische Akkadisch starke lokale Einschläge der jeweiligen Schreiber aufweist, sodass man z.B. von einem Kanaanäisch-Akkadisch (A. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets. A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect used by the Scribes from Canaan*, Handbuch der Orientalistik I, 25 [Leiden/New York/Köln, 1996]) oder auch einem Ägyptisch-Akkadisch (M. Müller, 'Akkadisch von Ägyptern – Beispiele eines unvollkommenen Spracherwerbs', in: T. Schneider (Hrsg.), *Das*


- ¹⁶ Diese Problematik wurde in den letzten zwanzig Jahren ausgesprochen intensiv diskutiert, vgl. etwa U. Schaefer (Hrsg.), *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, ScriptOralia 53 (Tübingen, 1993).
- ¹⁷ In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch interessant, dass die Veterinärmedizin in den schriftlichen Quellen nur durch ein Papyrusfragment aus dem Mittleren Reich (Veterinärpapyrus Kahun, W. Westendorf, *Erwachen der Heilkunst. Die Medizin im Alten Ägypten* [Zürich, 1992], 232-6) belegt ist. In diesem Bereich ist auch mit einer starken volks-medizinischen Komponente zu rechnen. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auf verschiedene (medico-)magische Praktiken der Hirten bei der Tierbehandlung (etwa bei der Geburt) hinzuweisen, wie wir sie bereits auf Grabbildern des Alten Reiches dargestellt finden.
- ¹⁸ A.B. Lloyd, 'The Inscription of Udjahorresnet. A collaborators testament', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982), 166-80.
- ¹⁹ L. Morenz, '(Magische) Sprache der "geheimen Kunst"', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 24 (1997), 191-201.
- ²⁰ W. Oesterreicher, 'Verschriftung und Verschriftlichung im Kontext medialer und konzeptioneller Schriftlichkeit', in: Schaefer (Hrsg.), *Schriftlichkeit*, 267-92. Die ägyptische schriftliche Medizin war, wie viele Wissensbereiche, ausgesprochen traditional orientiert, weshalb z.B. auf alte Schriften als Autoritätsgarant verwiesen wurde. In diesem Sinn heisst es in einer Arzneimittelabhandlung: "Wissen, was man aus der Rhizinus-Pflanze (*dgm*) macht. Etwas, was in alten Schriften als für Menschen Nützlich gefunden (*gmi*) wurde." (P. Ebers 47, 15 ff. = Nr. 251). Ob in dieser Passage das Wortspiel *dgm* – *gmi* beabsichtigt (und vielleicht sogar texttragend?) war?
- ²¹ Grundlegend: E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).
- ²² In diesem Sinn schon W. Spiegelberg, 'Der heliopolitanische Hohepriester Chui', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 58 (1922), 152.
- ²³ Diese Verbindung des heliopolitanischen Priestertitels *wr m33.w* mit dem Rezept für die Augenschminke wurde wahrscheinlich nicht erst vom Schreiber des P. Ebers gemacht, sondern geht gewi auf eine der benutzten Vorlagen zurück. Wegen des Lokalbezuges kann man davon ausgehen, da zumindest diese Vorlage aus dem engeren Einflu bereich von Heliopolis stammt. Dazu passt, dass in Heliopolis Heilergräber gefunden wurden, S. Quirke, *The Cult of Ra. Sun Worship in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001), 110-1.
- ²⁴ Zum Vergleich wäre etwa an den *barû* zu erinnern.

- ²⁵ Dies reicht bis zu Abbildungen der Wissens-Heroen, H.W. Fischer-Elfert, 'Representations of the past in New Kingdom literature', in: J. Tait (ed.), *Never had the Like Occured* (London, 2003), 119-37, 123 und Fig. 7.1.
- ²⁶ So wurde etwa das Gefäss-Buch (Eb. 103, 1ff.) mit dem König De(we)n/Chasty aus der I. Dynastie verbunden. Hier handelt es sich um eine topische Formel, mit der dieser Herrscher dieser als eine Art Kulturheros konzipiert ist. Sie wurde in medizinischen, aber auch in religiösen Texten verwendet, D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt I*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 17 (Berlin, 1969), 21-31.
- ²⁷ C. Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*, Hieratic Papyri of the British Museum VII (London, 1999), 81.
- ²⁸ Die Wirkungskraft dieses nicht nur in Ägypten weitverbreiteten Topos führte anscheinend sogar dazu, dass solche Buchauffindungen für intendierte heilige Schriften geradezu inszeniert wurden. Im Buchauffindungsbericht 2. Kön. 22 z.B. werden viele konkrete Personen und Instanzen genannt, weshalb man an eine Inszenierung der Auffindung des Deuteronomiums im Jerusalem des Königs Josua zwecks Autorisierung dieser Schrift denken mag.
- ²⁹ EA 49, 22-25, W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, 1992).
- ³⁰ E. Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof. Neue Funde von Keilschriftbriefen Ramses II. aus Boghazköy* (Opladen, 1976).
- ³¹ Kronzeugen dafür sind die Odyssee und Herodot II, 84.
- ³² W. Westendorf, *Erwachen der Heilkunst. Die Medizin im Alten Ägypten* (Zürich, 1992).
- ³³ Zuletzt P.W. Haider, 'Minoische Sprachdenkmäler in einem ägyptischen Papyrus medizinischen Inhalts', Schneider (Hrsg.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens*, 411-22, und in diesem Sinn auch R. Arnott, 'Minoan and Mycenaean medicine and its Near Eastern contacts', in: Horstmanshoff, Stol (eds.), *Magic and Rationality*, 153-73.
- ³⁴ G. Möller, 'Zur Datierung literarischer Inschriften', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 56 (1920), 34-43, esp. 42.
- ³⁵ Einen Überblick bietet W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr.*, Darmstadt 1979. Seitdem hat die Forschung wesentlich durch die sensationellen Funde "minoischer" Wandmalerei in Tell ed Daba einen enormen Aufschwung genommen, wofür etwa die Zeitschrift *Ägypten und Levante* zeugt.
- ³⁶ In der Neuedition von C. Leitz wird gegenüber der alten Ausgabe von W. Wreszinski überzeugend eine neue Anordnung vorgenommen, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*, Hieratic Papyri of the British Museum VII (London, 1999).

- ³⁷ Haider, in: Schneider (Hrsg.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens*, 411-22, mit Bibliographie, 421 ff; dazu J.F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, Nisaba 9 (Leiden, 1978), 37 (hier wird allerdings nur eine Transskription ohne jeglichen Übersetzungsversuch gegeben), sowie aus der älteren Literatur: G.A. Wainwright, 'Keftiu', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17 (1931), 26-43; F.G. Gordon, 'The Keftiu spell', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 18 (1932), 67-8. Vor allem fehlt hier ein Hinweis auf die Neubearbeitung von Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*.
- ³⁸ R.C. Steiner, 'Northwest Semitic incantations in an Egyptian medical papyrus', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 51 (1992), 191-200, 198 ff.; Haider, in: Schneider (Hrsg.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens*, 411-22, stand mit seiner Auffassung in einer langen Forschungstradition, denn z.B. W. Helck hielt den Spruch auch ganz selbstverständlich und fraglos für Kretisch, so in: *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr.*, Darmstadt 1979, 104 ff. Immerhin hätte man sich gerade bei einem Symposium zu Sprachkontakten eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Steinerschen Ansatz gewünscht. Recht kritisch zu dem Steinerschen Ansatz verhielt sich Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, 61-1. In Verbindung mit der auch aus Mesopotamien bekannten Samanuhautkrankheit hat Steiner aber z.B. *ppy* in VII, 7 sicher richtig als Rapi(um) aufgelöst; zu dem ganzen Komplex der Samanuhautkrankheit vgl. H.W. Fischer-Elfert, *Rituelle Abwehr des Bösen. Austreibung eines babylonischen Dämonen im Ägypten des Neuen Reiches*, Vortrag Heidelberg 19.01.2006. Eine Veröffentlichung ist in Vorbereitung.
- ³⁹ Solche Spruchfolgen kennen wir vor allem aus der sakralen Literatur, z.B. G. Lapp, 'Die Spruchkomposition der Sargtexte', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 17 (1990), 221-34. Offenbar handelt es sich hier also um ein gängiges ägyptisches Prinzip der Organisation von Texten.
- ⁴⁰ In diesem Sinn Leitz, *Magical and Medical*, 61.
- ⁴¹ VI,6.
- ⁴² Hier handelt es sich offenbar um ein semitisches Wort, Diskussion bei Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, 61 ff., Anm. 96, ohne allerdings selbst eine Lösung vorschlagen zu können.
- ⁴³ Alternativ kann übersetzt werden: "in der Sprache eines Fremdländers". Leitz, *Magical and Medical*, hat ohne weiteren Kommentar nur: "Conjuration of *hmk.t*-disease in foreign language ...", 61, doch vgl. die metatextuelle Einleitung von L 20 (dazu unten mehr).
- ⁴⁴ Hinter den Dualstrichen bricht das Papyrusfragment ab. Dieses *h3s.tj* = "Bergland-Bewohner/Fremdländer" war durchaus kein gängiges Wort. Die Intention des Autors bestand vermutlich darin, allgemein einen Ausländer zu bezeichnen.

- 45 Y. Koenig, 'La Nubie dans les textes magiques "L'Inquietant Étrangeté"', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 38 (1987), 105-10, esp. 105.
- 46 So verhältnismässig stark die Nubienbezüge des Neuen Reiches auch waren, spielte doch die vorderasiatische Welt in der ägyptischen Wahrnehmung dieser Zeit eine noch weit grössere Rolle.
- 47 Die Funktion von *kt* diskutieren P. Vernus, 'Inscriptions de la troisième période intermédiaire', in: *Karnak 6* (1980), 215-32, esp. 228, H.W. Fischer-Elfert, *Altägyptische Zaubersprüche* (Leipzig, 2005), zu Nr. 27.
- 48 Steiner, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 51 (1992), 191-200.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 193.
- 50 S. Ribichini, 'Eshmun', in: *DDD* (1995), 583-97.
- 51 Ursprünglich war *Ṣešmun* – "Heiler" – wohl ein allgemeines Wort, das zu einem Epitheton des sidonischen Gottes und schliesslich zu dessen Eigennamen gemacht wurde, E. Lipiski, 'Eshmun, Eshmun "Healer"', *AION* 33 (1973), 161-83.
- 52 Falls doch die Göttin Astarte gemeint sein sollte, wäre darauf hinzuweisen, dass Eschmun und Ishtar in Sidon als ein Götterpaar konzipiert waren, vielleicht ein Hinweis auf die Herkunft dieses Spruches.
- 53 Koenig, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 38 (1987), 105-10.
- 54 L. Morenz, '(Magische) Sprache der "geheimen Kunst"', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 24 (1997), 191-201.
- 55 Dagegen wurde die hier mehrfach verwendete Gruppe von W. Helck als *rq* – "Speichel" – aufgelöst, dem sich wenig überzeugt und nur mangels besserer Alternativen Steiner, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 51 (1992), 191-200, 193, anschloss.
- 56 Eventuell Rapi(um) – "Heiler" – wie in Spruch 33 (Vorschlag Ritner, bei Steiner, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 51 [1992], 194) oder auch Raschap/Reschef.
- 57 Eher als an Amun (so Steiner, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 51 [1992], 193) würde ich bei diesem Kontext sehr viel eher an die *interpretatio aegyptiaca* eines kanaanäischen Gottes denken, vielleicht El als ferner Himmelsgott, der zudem als König der Götter ("Amonrasonther") auch mit Amun geglichen werden konnte. Amun spielt auch in den "nubischen" magischen Texten eine wichtige Rolle, Koenig, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 38 (1987), 110, eignete sich also zur interkulturellen Übersetzung besonders.
- 58 In Parallele zu Z. 8 möchte ich annehmen, dass hier einfach ein  ausgefallen ist. Ein Gott Buna o.ä. scheint nicht bekannt zu sein.

- ⁵⁹ Determiniert mit dem Gotteszeichen. Wegen der fünf Konsonanten handelt es sich mutmasslich um ein zusammengesetztes Wort. Eine Identifizierung bleibt m.E. vorläufig noch offen. Jedenfalls das von Helck vorgeschlagene und von Steiner, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 51 (1992), 194, aufgegriffene "Ischtar-ummi" passt weder phonetisch noch semantisch (dies wäre ein Personennamen, kein Gottesname).
- ⁶⁰ Aus dem mythologischen Bereich ist etwa an die Astarte-Geschichte zu erinnern, die mehr oder weniger frei in die ägyptische Sprache übersetzt bzw. paraphrasiert wurde, H.W. Fischer-Elfert, *Some Notes on the Narrative Phraseology and Motifs of the Egyptian Astarte Story*, in Präparation.
- ⁶¹ Solche interkulturellen Göttergleichungen praktizierten die Ägypter häufiger, so mindestens seit der Hyksoszeit Seth-Baal oder schon im Mittleren Reich im Sinai und in Byblos Hathor – Baalat.
- ⁶² U. Eco, *Lector in Fabula* (München, 1990).
- ⁶³ H. Rouillard, 'Rephaim', in: *DDD* (1995), 1307-24.
- ⁶⁴ KTU 1.22 i:8, vgl. Rouillard, *DDD* (1995), 1308.
- ⁶⁵ Zuletzt schien dies C. Leitz so selbstverständlich, dass er dies gar nicht mehr extra vermerkte (*Magical and Medical Papyri*, 63).
- ⁶⁶ S.o.
- ⁶⁷ Diverse Graphien sind aufgeführt bei J. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le Monde Égéen Préhellénique*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 22 (Kairo, 1956), 122 ff. Die ägyptische Wiedergabe *kft3w* diskutierte J.F. Quack, 'kft3w und j3sy', in: *Ägypten und Levante* VI (1996), 75-81.
- ⁶⁸ T.E. Peet, 'The Egyptian writing board B.M., bearing keftiu names', in: S. Casson (ed.), *Essays in Aegean Archaeology presented to Sir Arthur Evans* (Oxford, 1927), 90-8; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* (Darmstadt, 1979), 100-3. Interessant ist dabei auch, dass einige dieser "kretischen" Namen ägyptisch sind. Wir kennen genug Beispiele dafür, dass Asiaten zumindest in bestimmten Kontexten ägyptische Namen annahmen.
- ⁶⁹ Eine Sprachmischung zwischen "Keftiu" und Ägyptisch wurde für diesen Spruch bereits von H. Goedicke, 'The Canaanite illness', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 11 (1984), 101 ff. vermutet. Er kam dabei freilich zu einer anderen Lesung: "O Sa-an-ti (Santas) Kapupi (Kapupa) be distant! O E-yam-an-ti (Eumenid ?) Ti-r-ka (Tre-ka-[wi]) mind the spell!" (102).
- ⁷⁰ So H. Goedicke, "The Canaanite Illness", 1984, 103.
- ⁷¹ Darauf wies H. Goedicke, "The Canaanite Illness", auch selbst hin, 101 mit Anm. 53. Hier handelt es sich um eine syllabische Schreibung nach

- dem Standard-Hieroglyphen-Prinzip, W. Schenkel, 'Syllabische Schrift', in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, 118.
- ⁷² Wainwright, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17 (1931), 26-43, schlug für das erste "kretische" Wort Sandos bzw. Sandokos vor (27 ff.).
- ⁷³ F.G. Gordon, 'The Keftiu spell', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 18 (1932), 67 ff. Gordon war anscheinend der erste, der Kubaba in die Diskussion einbrachte. Entsprechend las er den ersten Namen als Sandos.
- ⁷⁴ Darauf wies auch Gordon, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 18 (1932), 67, hin. Wahrscheinlich sind Bossert und Gordon ohne Kenntnis voneinander zu der gleichen Lösung gekommen.
- ⁷⁵ So etwa zuletzt von Haider, in: Schneider (Hrsg.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens*, 414 ff. Anm. 23. Hier heisst es nur, diese Gleichung "darf als überholt gelten"; warum wird leider nicht dazu gesagt.
- ⁷⁶ Dazu schon Gordon, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 18 (1932), 67.
- ⁷⁷ H.P. Müller, 'Sandon', in: *Der Neue Pauly* 11 (Stuttgart, 2001), 37.
- ⁷⁸ Hier ist auch auf die Problematik möglicher grammatikalischer und lexikalischer luwischer Elemente im Griechischen hinzuweisen, O. Carruba, 'Indoeuropäer, Anatolien und die Ägäis', in: R. Dittmann, C. Eder, B. Jacobs (Hrsgs.), *Alttertumswissenschaften im Dialog, Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 306 (Münster, 2003), 22-4. Hier bleibt freilich vieles noch sehr hypothetisch.
- ⁷⁹ Zuletzt übernommen von P.W. Haider, Minoische Sprachdenkmäler in einem ägyptischen Papyrus medizinischen Inhalts, in: Schneider (Hrsg.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens*, 416.
- ⁸⁰ Vgl. den Ansatz von Carruba, in: Dittmann, Eder, Jacobs (Hrsg.), *Alttertumswissenschaften im Dialog*, 22-4.
- ⁸¹ Ein Wort *aja* findet sich mehrfach in den Linear-A-Texten. Nach der Position in Spruch L 32 würde hier ein Verb besonders gut passen. Alternativ wäre etwa an ein Fragewort zu denken.
- ⁸² Sando (und) Kubaba sind positive konnotierte Götterfiguren, keine Krankheitsdämonen. Deswegen würde ich gegen Goedicke  hier nicht als Imperativ, sondern als Stativ interpretieren.
- ⁸³ T. Bardinot, 'Remarques sur la maladies de la peau, la lèpre, et le châtement divin dans l'Égypte ancienne', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 39 (1988), 3-36. Ob nach dem Gebrauch in verschiedenen Quellen unterschiedliche Bedeutungen des Terminus möglich und zu erwarten sind?
- ⁸⁴ J.D. Hawking, 'Kubaba at Karkamis and elsewhere', in: *AnSt* 31 (1981),

147-77; zu Kubaba zuletzt: K. Radner, 'Kubaba und die Fische. Bemerkungen zur Herrin von Karkemi?', in: R. Rollinger (Hrsg.), *Von Sumer bis Homer, Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 325 (Münster, 2005), 543-56.

⁸⁵ H.T. Bossert, 'Santas und Kupapa', *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* 6/3 (1938), 5-88.

⁸⁶ S.o.

⁸⁷ Verso 3.2.

⁸⁸ T. Schneider, 'Nichtsemitische Lehnwörter im Ägyptischen. Umri? eines Forschungsgebietes', in: Schneider (Hrsg.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens*, sub 7.1

⁸⁹ Die moderne Kulturwissenschaft macht deutlich, dass reine Empirie bestimmte Fallen gar nicht sehen lässt; vgl. etwa J.R. Dow (ed.), *Language and Ethnicity* (Amsterdam, 1991).

⁹⁰ Dies erscheint mir als ein wesentliches methodisches Problem in der Behandlung des Spruches etwa bei Haider, in: Schneider (Hrsg.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens*, 411-22.

⁹¹ Eb. 28.

⁹² S.o.

⁹³ Dabei ist auch in Rechnung zu stellen, dass die Ägypter sehr viel intimer mit semitischen als mit ägäischen Sprachen vertraut waren. Dies mag erklären, warum hier so wenige ägäische Wörter verwendet wurden – wenn überhaupt.

⁹⁴ Dabei ist allerdings darauf hinzuweisen, dass diese Sammelhandschrift ausgesprochen religiös wirkende Texte enthält, z.B. L 61 und 62, Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, 82-4. Diese beschliessen die Handschrift, und hier steht nunmehr Amun-Re ganz im Zentrum.

⁹⁵ Morenz, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 24 (1997), 199; H.W. Fischer-Elfert, *Papyrus Ebers und die antike Heilkunde. Akten der Tagung vom 15. - 16.3.2002 in der Albertina/UB der Universität Leipzig* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 133-47.

MAGIC AND RELIGION IN ANCIENT EGYPT: PERFORMATIVITY AND ANALOGY

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Ancient Egypt has always been considered above all others as the land of magic and magicians. One may remember the Bible where Moses is faced with an array of magicians or the texts from the Greco-roman period during which Egypt is portrayed as “the primary source, *fons et origo*, of the world of the occult and of the methods for unravelling secrets,” as Naphtali Lewis stated.¹ We may wonder whether this reputation is justified and it is this question that this conference wishes to address.

In more recent times, it is striking to see how much some countries have been fascinated by the great monumental style of the ancients and the stress on its funeral character. But it seems to me that there is an important difference between the way Ancient Egypt is viewed from France and the way it is regarded in Germany for instance. This is due to a different history, the Expedition to Egypt not having had the same impact, but this is also due to more profound cultural phenomena.

It is believable that in countries under the strong influence of the Bible, Egypt was seen in a generally rather negative way, being depicted in the Bible as the land of lavishness and slavery, which the Hebrew had to flee in order to be purified in the desert before reaching the Promised Land. Such a representation is also held by some of the Church Fathers who presented Egypt and a place for passions and considered the crossing of the Red Sea as a premise of baptism. Be it a positive or a negative view, we should wonder whether the question is not biased from the start. What picture do the primary sources hold of Ancient Egypt?

One notices at first that these sources are extraordinarily

conflicting. If a relatively important number of temples and tombs have survived up to our time, such is not the case for everything that concerns daily life, life in the cities and in the villages. Deir el-Medina is an exception, and that village was moreover particular in itself: it was meant to shelter the craftsmen working on the royal tombs and cannot be considered as representative of what an Egyptian village was. We must accept that we know very little about the workings of the villages in the valley or even about the tax system. If in Greco-roman times the papyrus documents are in the hundreds of thousands, in Pharaonic times these sources are scarce, and more so if we excluded the Deir el-Medina source.

My aim is not to lament over that state of things but to try to understand why Egypt left such an impression of magic with the memory of so many peoples. In modern times it is indeed Egypt and its monumental ruins that drew attention, and faced with representations they did not understand anymore, impressed by these fantastic images, the travellers very often did offer interpretations just as fantastic themselves, such as Champollion calling a tomb from the Valley of Kings "The tomb of metempsychosis."

Nevertheless, this approach did not last, even in France, and opened the way to the necessary understanding of the grammar and to philology, which was a good thing, but which was also influenced by the debates of the time, which is less positive, as this new knowledge offered a reading system for pharaoh culture shaped by the ideas of the time, thus leaving out the more specific aspects of this ancient culture. Thus magic was mainly understood as something negative and archaic, which led to the establishment of a dichotomy between a popular magic and the great theological systems.

In general terms, the improvements in the techniques of reading texts presented research workers with many sources and at the same time allowed for a selection among those sources, which resulted in the piecing together of a false image of Egyptian culture. Not only was translation taken merely as an end in itself, leaving out interpretation, but a considerable number of sources were also rejected. As Georges Posener noticed, the majority of Egyptologists took the texts dealing with magic as belonging to an inferior genre, and he added: "This prejudice is rooted in the modern notion that forgets the place held by sorcery in the life of Egyptians of all classes

in society from the fellah to the pharaoh. This contempt accounts for the fact that books dealing with Egyptian beliefs are much concerned with theology, cosmology, funeral representations, the religious feeling and so on, and sum up in a few pages only what we know of magic. The greater picture is then imbalanced: we present too pure, to spiritualised a picture of that ancient man, which does not correspond to the truth".²

Nowadays, even if the old prejudices have not all gone, conditions have changed a lot. First a growing number of magic texts have been published —I quote the work of Borghouts, Osing, Ritner, Roccati and others— but it is chiefly our understanding of Egyptian culture which has become much more acute. This movement was triggered by Sir Alan Gardiner who wrote an article which was remarkable in its time on Egyptian magic in the *Hastings's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*,³ and then continued with ample considerations on Egyptian language and writing. This was essentially the work of language specialists who insisted on the original specificity of Egyptian culture, namely the fact that for this civilisation, the word is somewhat the thing itself, the signifier being in a sense the equivalent of the signified, as P. Vernus wrote: "There is no arbitrary nature of the linguistic sign for the Egyptians, but on the contrary, a belief in the essential connection between signifier and signified, between the noun and what it designates... As far as with the Coptic language, *rn* can be made up with a possessive suffix, as with nouns designating what is innate and cannot be acquired. Thus nomination is not separate from creation, and the demiurge is called 'He who creates nouns'".⁴

In Egyptian culture not only is the noun the thing itself in a sense, but moreover, representations, whatever their nature may be, are meant to receive and hold the essence of the things. This is most characteristic of a certain number of documents with an ideological purpose, that is: "Those written according to the beliefs, either to insure the earthly and/or after death fate of an individual, or to express the totalising vision within which Egyptian society holds its place thanks to a mythic and ritual structure in which the pharaoh is the key-stone. This category includes autobiographies and funeral and magic texts on the one hand, and religious documentation as well as writing accounting for the monarchic doctrine on the other. This documentation is very often fixed on a monumental medium in hieroglyphic writing, in sacred versions. The explicitly ideological

documents aim at a concrete result: it is not enough to utter an individual or collective vision of the world but to make it happen in a performative sense, by way of texts and images, and to perpetuate it by erecting it to the level of an element of creation, in a word, to make it sacred. But, to insure the best chances of getting that result, the form must be perfected”⁵

In other words, when it is found in an ideologically connoted context, this performative aspect spreads to the text and the picture, to the magic papyrus as well as to the surface of the temple or to the funeral text. Because of this, the notion of art for art's sake is meaningless in Egyptian culture, for “the artist creates beings just as real as those that are created by nature, if his demiurgic action is completed by a spell: the reciting by an expert in appropriate formulas, accompanied by the appropriate gestures, finalises the identification and the animation of the being the appearance of which the craftsman has recreated ... this does not mean that the conscious search for beauty was unknown: but one must know that in Egyptian, a beautiful monument was defined as ‘an efficient work’ (*ménékh*)”⁶

Thus the extension of the law of performativity in Egyptian culture reveals a problem which is difficult to solve. To say that the word is the thing or that it awakens the thing, this is a law of magic. These laws are called laws of contiguity (the part is an equivalent for the whole) or of similarity (what is similar acts upon or awakens what it resembles). It is then this law of similarity which is at work in numerous aspects of Egyptian culture. It is not a peripheral cultural phenomenon, but indeed a central element of the pharaoh civilisation. But in this case can it still be called magic? For our modern cultures, magic is a very secondary phenomenon which has evolved on the outside of our culture dominated by the revelation of the Book; besides, the relative equivalence of the signifier and the signified has lost its meaning to us. There is no such connection between the word and the thing, that connection is arbitrary. Consequently, when we use the word magic do we not misuse the word? We have recently discussed this issue in Rhodes. I for one prefer that we maintain this term, for that is what it is. It is a magic law of similarity which is at work in Egyptian culture, and we would be running the risk of a much more serious mistranslation should we not use this notion, for we would then increase the present confusion, propagated by a certain number a false spiritual beliefs

using this notion, and sometimes taken up in some researches.

Yet, the definition, even an extended one, of performativity as P. Vernus presents it to describe this aspect of Egyptian thinking,⁷ does raise some questions precisely because it goes largely beyond the linguistic notion of performativity which can only be applied to certain statements which because of their structure and for reasons of context actually perform an action. It is therefore necessary to give “a wider sense” to this notion, thus diverting it from its strict usual linguistic sense.

Furthermore, even if we are to take it in its wider sense as P. Vernus does, it may only be applied to statements found in hieroglyphic writing, and yet the phenomenon he describes is susceptible of a wider application, and may be applied to representations, engravings or statues. Consequently the very notion of performativity has drawbacks which make it less adequate to account for this fundamental character of Egyptian culture which is that the signifier equals the signified. It thus seems that one should look in another direction.

Among the recent articles on Egyptian magic, one of the most interesting is Thomas Schneider's *Die Waffe der Analogie: Altägyptische Magie als System*.⁸ In his piece, Thomas Schneider puts forth the importance of analogy in the ancient Egyptian system of thinking, in which magic should be understood as a system and certainly not, as some researchers do, be reduced to being a sort of “*privata religio*”: “Egyptian magic can't be limited to a particular use, and is precisely not confined to a domestic and personal utilization, as supposes J. Assmann”.⁹

According to him Egyptian magic is in itself preventive or prospective, when it seeks to escape an evil that could occur, as it is the case for instance when it essentially seeks to protect and perpetuate the stability of the country through a cult, or it is reactive when it seeks to fight an existing evil. It then essentially consists in guarding oneself from evil according to Mèrikarê's famous definition of Teaching: “He (God) made for them (men) Magic (*hekaou*) to repel a bad event”.¹⁰ This magic is the creating God's energy, with which he built the world, and which contributes to maintaining it as it stands. So a magic action, in its concrete manifestations, refers to that fundamental moment of creation which is to be prolonged in the concrete action performed by the magician to maintain the order of the world (Maât) as it was established “the first time”, at the moment

of creation. Thus, the placing of tales of creation within magical texts all aim at stating the power of these magical formulae. Let us take for instance the story that we find in two versions in the Bremner Rhind Papyrus, 28/20. Neberdjer says: "When I came to being, Being came to being (21) Already manifested in the shape of Khepri, he who manifested 'the First Time'... (22) It is alone, before they were born, when I had not been able to spit Chou, when I was not able to expectorate Tefnout, that I united with my hand. It is by myself that I used my mouth, Magic is my name... (29/6) it is their children who would create multiple forms of life on this earth, in the shape of their children, in the shape of their grand-children: they will accomplish my conjurations in my name, so as to destroy their enemies; they will create the magic formulae destined to destroy Apophis".¹¹

Magic is, thus, the ultimate point of creation and in this sense T. Schneider is right to state that¹² "Magic must no more be considered as a secondary and unpleasant production of the Egyptian mind, but as a permanent characteristic of the Egyptian conception of the world, in absence of which it can't be understood", and¹³ "The purpose of magical practises, is to correct a deviation from Order, and to reintegrate a problematic case in the framework of the rules constitutives of the actual world order".

The analogy is the basic weapon which allows the reintegration of the disrupting phenomenon into the well-ordered universe, inasmuch as the disorder underwent by a patient is reintegrated into the world of the gods, it is in the end the meaning of threats against the gods, for in fact by comparing the sick man's headache with Re's head, it is the god himself who is aimed at. This aggression may hence throw the world into chaos again. This analogy is then an extension of the magical law of similarity, according to which similar acts upon similar. In the same way the famous scene called "the weighing of the soul" representing the heart of the deceased balanced with Mâat's feather makes this balance actually exist, which is reinforced by the affirmation of the formulae. In other words, the simple possession of the book is enough to guarantee the deceased's survival in the Beyond: "The dead is equipped with the papyrus roll, that is to say with the magical book of Thot, which reading secure the efficiency of the magician". Which means that funeral texts are magical texts, as S. Morenz has underlined a long time ago: "Wir wollen ... insbesondere für die Totenliteratur den Grundsatz so eindringlich wie möglich proklamieren, dass sie zwar

religiöses Gut verwertet, an sich selbst aber, d.h. in ihrer Einheit von Inhalt und Zweck, nicht Religion, sondern Zauber darstellt... Totentexte sind Zaubertexte".¹⁴ I will not elaborate further on this question but refer you to T. Schneider's article.

Nevertheless, I would like to come back to one of the examples he gives and which clearly shows the vast use of magic in Egyptian culture. We have attested a certain number of figurines meant for spells, and Osing has published collections from the Old Kingdom. Besides these figurines, we have found deep in the ground, south of the Chephren pyramid, a prison cage meant to magically lock up the enemies of the land. It is obvious that this is merely evidence of the manual rite from a magical rite, probably linked with Chephren's boats.¹⁵ In a sense, we may say that the same goes for the productions of the Egyptian craftsmen whose demiurgic action was to be accompanied by a spell as J. Yoyotte stated judiciously. This spell was supported by an inscription which prolonged it and gave to the identification a definitive nature. This ritual is quite comparable to that which we find in temples. A ritual which, besides, bears the same name since it is the *Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth*. As Christine Favard-Meeks noticed¹⁶: "In order to be effective, the temple must be actually inhabited by the god and his followers to which it is destined" and so that the divinity may be introduced in the chapels and friezes, the priests practice the *Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth* using the carpenter or the sculptor's tools which "open" the eyes, the nose, the mouth of the divine images "so as to endow them with vital functions". Besides the different representations the same ritual is accomplished again for "the building as a whole, as an undividable unity. The temple, its statues, its friezes are now live and active beings. The king has thus created a monument which not only proclaims the benevolence and the power of the god, but also, thanks to the incorporation of the vital energy in its images, allows for the accomplishment of the rites.

The very origin of these iconic substitutes is not human. It is the demiurge who "has created these images which are on earth because of the instruments he himself has made". As indicates a ramesside ostrakon.¹⁷ Thus the friezes on the temple may be considered as the expression of a manual rite, the part which is "to be made", whereas the *Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth* may be considered as part of the rite "to be spoken", which is to say the oral rite. Speech plays of

course a key role in this oral rite, but the inscription plays a part just as important in the manual rite, inasmuch as it contributes to securely maintain the effect of the rite in connection with the statue or the frieze.

This analogy has therefore a much larger bearing than that which T. Schneider acknowledges, who restricts it to speech acts. It is true that language hold an essential position in the oral magic rite. Moreover the analogy is the foundation of the paronomasia, the so called play on words, which was in fact an actual “sacred philology” which, as E. Drioton analysed precisely, “was a system for explaining the world, which probably, in its own very ancient time, passed for a sort of final science; it was based upon the premise that language being of divine nature in its institution, the words expressed with their sounds the most profound reality and the essential properties of things, so that verbal connections enabled one to attain with certainty the metaphysical or historical connections set by the gods”.¹⁸

At this point in the analysis, we see how much magic thinking is present in Egyptian culture because of the constraining nature induced by speech or representation. This constraint rests essentially on analogy and on similarity. If, most oftentimes, this analogy is activated by the use of a ritual which renders formulae or representations active, it may also act outside the boundaries of the ritual, and as P. Vernus noticed “the talent of great writers or of the craftsman is considered as partaking of the same nature as magic inasmuch as it allows for a thing to emerge by the transfiguration of another”.¹⁹ So that in P. Chester Beatty IV we read about the great authors of wisdom who have passed away: “They are invisible, but their ‘magic’ is directed toward humanity; the result is: they are read as teachings”.²⁰ The authors of wisdom are the creators of magic formulae (*akhou*), characterised by such an efficiency that drawn on a strip of linen, these great authors could serve as protection for someone against various ills.²¹

So when we turn to what is called Egyptian art, funeral texts, temples, and even literary texts, everything seems to be indeed under the influence of this search for magic efficiency which works along the lines of analogy. We then understand that the distinctions which have been made between religion, art and magic are completely inadequate; yet these distinctions are still currently used in Egyptology.

Yet, everything in the field of beliefs does not function along the lines of magic thinking. In particular, “popular piety”, is not based on a rigorous relation of analogy. Magic thinking is especially at work in the traditional Egyptian conception, but in this one the god does not appear in the created universe which is ruled by a law of reciprocity founded on the Maât. Next to that law is the disordered universe which applies a constant pressure against the ordered world. There is then a conflict and a fight between these two forces which is expressed in what Assmann called a “negative theology”. In this frame, magic is part of this effort to reintegrate the elements from the disordered world within the ordered world, it is a dynamic force which contributes to maintain and help the growth of order versus disorder by perpetuating the will of the creator as it appeared “the first time”, at the moment of the creation of the world. In Egyptian magic thinking, piety is not excluded, but it is not necessary either. On this point I agree with J. Assmann when he writes that: “The classical model thus provides a very close relationship between ritual and ethics ... there is no doubt that the ritual must be interpreted as a magical support, this does not mean that it served as a substitute for moral conduct. Magic and morals did not exclude each other in ancient Egypt but worked together”.²²

But I do not follow him on two specific points: a. when he stipulates the existence of a public judgement of the dead, because the evidence he presents seems to me quite insufficient²³, and b. when he states that what opposes the traditional conception to popular piety is the fact that then in the ancient conception: “Misfortune could be attributed either to the evil influence of some demonic agency such as a curse, or to the consequences of one’s own evil actions or bad character. During the New Kingdom, however, a new interpretation gained certain form of illness, might be seen as punishment by an offended deity”.²⁴

This opposition between “demonic beings” and “deity” is not effective in Egyptian culture, precisely because magic texts from all periods show us that ancient Egyptians have always blamed “demonic beings”, ghosts or the gods for all their ills. There are many examples of this. I will only quote one from the Middle Kingdom, in P. Ramesseum XV, recto, at the end of which we read: “Indeed, there shall not slay me men, gods or spirits, there shall not be done against me any things bad or wicked, for I am Horus who avenged his

father".²⁵ Men, spirits and the gods are in magical texts the three categories of animated beings susceptible of causing physical disturbance in a person. And during the New Kingdom we even have a papyrus which describes the symptoms caused by a case of divine possession. The magician had to know these accurately to better cure his patient.²⁶

In popular piety the god is no longer withdrawn. He manifests his will directly and he who obeys him is then "favoured by the god". It is what Assmann calls the "theology of will". Though we find such instances dating to the Old Kingdom, this movement grows during the New Kingdom when "the reciprocity which is at the heart of the Maât and the basis for social harmony is transferred from the social sphere to the sphere of man's relation to God".²⁷ New notions appear then such as that of sin, atonement, confession of one's faults and forgiveness²⁸. These texts are known, among which the one by Neferabou who was guilty of transgression against the goddess of the Pike: "I was an ignorant man and foolish, who did not know good from evil. I wrought the transgression against the peak and she chastised me. I was in her hand by night as by day, I sat like the woman in travail upon the bearing-stool ... I called upon my mistress ; I found that she came to me with sweet airs ... Lo, the Pike of the west is merciful, if one calls upon her...",²⁹ so many new elements which bring us closer to what we mean by religion. Indeed, the god is no longer constrained by a relation of analogy, but may appear freely to the faithful. The relation between the two systems is often presented as an antagonistic one, especially the relation between personnel piety and traditional Egyptian values for, according to Assmann: "The exclusive dedication to the will of god may cause social and political disintegration, as long as solidarity and fraternity are not expressly recognised as being exactly what god wants man to do". Yet, as early as during the New Kingdom, we see there were attempts at reintegrating this movement into the sphere of traditional uses. What best exemplifies this fact is the use of the representation of the battle of Qadesh on the wall of the temple of Ramesses III. We know that during this battle, Ramesses II was in danger and begged the god Amun to intervene and save him, which the god did. It is thus a testimony of individual piety, but by representing it on the exterior wall of the temple this representation is reintegrated into the traditional system. Indeed we know that the

outer wall also symbolises armed spirits who protect the temple. Thus through this superposition there is an identification of the political enemy with the religious enemy. Philippe Derchain has very accurately specified the relations that exist between the pylon taken as the two mountains on the horizon on the one hand, and scenes of the massacre of enemies, or hunting scenes on the other. There is the affirmation of an analogy between the enemies against which the sun must fight when it rises, and political enemies or wild animals on the other. In this regard as well, analogy prevails. As Derchain indicates: "One may easily recognise that we should consider the surface of the temple as a language, where each picture is the bearer of a meaning more or less important, and that the knowledge of the relations (*that is the analogies* – Y.K.) which exist between them, which may be compared to an actual syntax, this may lead to not a few discoveries in the search for man's most ancient efforts to dominate matter with his mind". We are just exploring this field, as with the recent work of Christian Leitz on the exterior wall of the Dendera sanctuary.

If then there is a certain discrepancy in the New Kingdom between a traditional magic thinking based on analogy and individual piety, it does not seem to be the case any longer during the Late Period, when individual piety and individual morality are united in one global concept of purity. If the need for being in a state of ritual purity of "magic asceticism" when in the presence of the god is true of all periods, it grows larger in connection with the troubles that Egypt encountered. This point was recently very well studied by Robert Meyer³⁰: it rests mainly on a nearly obsessive extension of the concept of purity, for the ills of the country and the successive invasions are blamed on the absence of respect of the rites and on acts of immorality and impiety that took place in the land. All this resonates interestingly with the radical evolution of the notion of foreignness, a point I will develop in my second conference.

We find in the *Prophecy of the Lamb* dated³¹ from the sixth century, or in the Jumilhac papyrus from the Ptolemaic period, namely the passage containing "apocalyptic allusions", to use the words of Derchain: "If we do not act according to what is just in our city, in all affairs regarding the temple, and if justice is called sin, the rebels shall raise their heads all over the land. If we neglect all the well-timed rites of Osiris and his celebrations when they are due

in this nome, the land shall lose its laws, the poor shall rebel against their masters and we shall have no sway over the crowd. If we do not follow every rite of Osiris at the appointed time, famine shall strike in High and Lower Egypt. While the demons (*khatyou*) shall carry (their victims) away, the ennead of Osiris shall all leave, abandoning Egypt".³²

We find there the affirmation that there is an interdependence between moral action, rites, and the well-being of the land. This strange mixture of minute purifications, worried religiosity, and compulsive magic practices seems to adequately characterise the Late Period when rituals of bewitchment were accomplished several times a day in the temples, so much so that then, as G. Posener notices: "The sacerdotal practices did not much differ from those of the sorcerer. Reading their great late rituals, one gets the impression that the priests spent a lot of their time spitting on figurines representing the enemy of their god and trampling them with their left foot. These books meant for the cult, the priests would let any passer-by have access to them".³³

The intensification of the cultural life, the hegemony of the priests within the cultural life, a growing part played by magic, these are some of the characteristics which most struck the Greek travellers, and which still seem most prominent to most of today's audience. All this justifies the habit we have of calling all the second half of Egyptian history the "Late Period, la Basse époque or Spätzeit".

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- ² G. Posener, in: Y. Koenig, *Le Papyrus Boulaq 6*. BdE 87 (Cairo, 1981), V-VI.
- ³ (London, 1915), 262-9.
- ⁴ P. Vernus, "Name", in: *LÄ IV* (1980/81), cols. 120-1.
- ⁵ P. Vernus, "Langue littéraire et diglossie", in: A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Brill, 1996), 557-8.
- ⁶ J. Yoyotte, "Art", in: *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne* (Paris, 1959), 25.

- ⁷ Vernus, in: Loprieno (ed.), *Egyptian Literature*, 557-8 and n. 2: "Performatif a deux acceptions: (a) Au sens propre, 'performatif' (mieux: 'performatif explicite') s'applique à certains énoncés particuliers qui ont, en raison de leur structure grammaticale et lexicale, mais aussi en raison du contexte, la propriété de réaliser une action par le seul fait de l'énoncer. Exemple: la formule 'j'ouvre la séance', quand elle est prononcée au moment voulu par celui que les conventions sociales investissent du droit social d'ouvrir la séance, a pour effet d'ouvrir une séance. (b) Au sens large, 'performatif' désigne la force 'illocutoire' des énoncés, le fait qu'ils peuvent conduire à l'accomplissement d'action. Ici, j'emploie l'adverbe 'performativement' pour décrire une croyance fondamentale de la pensée pharaonique, croyance selon laquelle la langue égyptienne, quand elle est encodée par l'écriture hiéroglyphique dans un appareil formel approprié (support, disposition etc.), est apte à convoquer l'essence même de ce qu'elle énonce, et ainsi à le rendre effectif.
- ⁸ In: K. Gloy and M. Bachmann (eds.), *Das Analogiedenken: Verstöße in ein neues Gebiet der Rationalitätstheorie* (Munich, 2000), 37-83
- ⁹ Ibid., 38 and n. 3. "Ägyptische Magie kann nicht auf eine partikuläre Verwendung eingeengt werden, ist gerade nicht nur der häuslichen Anwendung und dem persönlichen Gebrauch zuzuweisen, wie J. Assmann postuliert"
- ¹⁰ J. F. Quack, *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare* (Wiesbaden, 1992), 78-81: "Er (Gott) schuf ihnen (den Menschen) Zaubermittel (*hekau*) zu waffen, um den Schlag des Ereignisses abzuwehren, über das in der Nacht wie am Tag gewacht wird"
- ¹¹ P. Bremner-Rhind, 28/20-29/7.
- ¹² Schneider, *Die Waffe der Analogie*, 47. "Ziel des magischen Aktes ist es also, eine Abweichung von der Ordnung rückgängig zu machen, einen aktuellen Problemfall wieder in das bestehende Regel system der Welt zu integrieren"
- ¹³ Ibid., 48. "Magie ist dann nicht mehr als ungeliebtes Nebenprodukt des ägyptischen Geistes auszugrenzen, sondern wird zu einer Grundkonstante des ägyptischen Weltbildes, ohne die letzteres nicht verstanden werden kann
- ¹⁴ S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), 104 and 241 ff.
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- ²³ There are two texts from the greco-roman period, the first one is Porphyrios, *De Abst.* IV 10, 3-5 and the second one is Diodor, *Hist.* I, 92-93. It is difficult to relate the oath of the priest in the Book of the Temple, to a *post mortem* event, a contrario see J. Assmann, *Mort et au-delà dans l’Égypte ancienne* (translation of *Tod und Jenseits im alten Ägypten*, Munich 2001), éditions du Rocher 2003, p. 134-140 and 468-469
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 231-2.
- ²⁵ A. Gardiner, *The Ramesseum Papyri*, vol. II: Plates (Oxford, 1955), 15.
- ²⁶ P. Deir el-Médineh I, vo. 1/3-3/2 (second text) = J. Černý, *Papyrus Hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*, vol. I (Cairo, 1978), 5-8 and pl. 9-11.
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RAMESSES LUDENS *ET ALII*

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There are three important battles during the New Kingdom in which the second day of combat, the one after the sighting of the enemy if not actual combat, remain unclear. With regard to the well-known and often-researched account of the Battle of Kadesh between Ramesses II and his opponent, the Hittite king Muwatallis, significant questions remain concerning the events that transpired after the Pharaoh managed to repulse the two chariot attacks against his camp.¹ Before tackling the complexities of the follow-up military encounter, let us survey what occurred on day nine of the third month of harvest (*shemu*) in the Egyptian king's fifth regnal year.

Arriving at the site of Kadesh Ramesses had been lured into a false position. It was not a simple trap.² He had assumed that the Hittites were far away in Aleppo, or at least the massive assembled army of his opponent. As a result, he proceeded north at a marching pace unaware that Muwatallis was ensconced to the northeast of the city of Kadesh. Presumably hidden by the tell of that city so that his war preparations would remain unnoticed,³ the Hittite king suddenly, or at least to Ramesses, unexpectedly sent across his chariots to the west to attack his camp. There were little hindrances, especially as only a small ford separated the east side of the terrain from the west. Those vehicles were able to move in a rapid fashion and, having caught the second division of Pre on the march, easily cut through the unprepared Egyptians. Having arrived at the Egyptian camp, the Hittites moved within, only to be repulsed by the vigor and the martial ability of the Egyptian ruler. Then aided by the arrival of the Na'arn troops, Ramesses' "fifth" division, the conflict turned into a mass movement of Egyptian chariots and infantrymen against the chariot foe. From both the reliefs and the textual data, notwithstanding their biases, we can see that the enemy was

repulsed at the home camp and then further pushed southwards. At some unknown time Muwatallis send addition chariot warriors into the fray, but these were able to prolong the combat rather than to decide who was victorious. The conclusion of the first day of fighting saw a successful Pharaoh able to defend his territory to the west of Kadesh but without any ability to push eastward against the Hittite camp.⁴

Problems surface for Egyptologists as well as for military historians when one attempts to reconstruct the battle that occurred on the following day. This is mainly due to the: (1) lack of pictorial data concerning that series of events; and (2) the overt non-narrative presentation of the official account, the “Poem”. Hans Goedicke, for example, hypothesized that a decimation took place, one initiated by the Pharaoh, during which the Egyptian monarch slaughtered a certain number of his troops whom he considered to be cowardly and ineffective.⁵ Yet although this interpretation remains daring, and is, in fact, the first attempt to explicate what exactly occurred on day two of the encounter, difficulties remain. I prefer to set aside this daring interpretation and to consider the actual state of affairs when day broke on the tenth of III *shemu*.

The following is the most recent translation of the official narrative account, and the verbiage, vocabulary, and style, indicate how difficult it is to reconstruct anything from the Egyptian presentation.

“When dawn broke, I marshaled the battle-line in the fight,
I was prepared to fight like an eager bull.
I appeared against them like Montu, arrayed in the
accoutrements of valor and victory.
I entered into the battle-lines, fighting like the stoop of the
falcon,....”

This means of description leaves very little for a sober-minded history and, in fact, is one reason why scholars have shied away from describing the warfare on day two of the Battle of Kadesh. That this king was personally involved is self-evident. Ramesses prepared his troops for a fight just at dawn, a situation that is commonplace enough in ancient as well as modern civilizations. He must have used chariots; indeed, his role as warrior-king, the *Feldherr*, automatically presumes that he managed to bring together the

remnants of his second division, Pre, who are (unfortunately to modern scholars) virtually ignored by the hieroglyphic accounts. It is presumed, rightly I believe, that divisions three (Ptah) and four (Sutekh) must have reached the environs of Kadesh during the late afternoon and early evening. The Egyptian army, now reinforced by approximately thirty-five to forty per cent of its combat strength then stood ready to combat any Hittite thrust.

At the same time Muwatallis had not exhausted his troop strength. For one, his infantry had not been tested. They remained at the home base; indeed, his personal guard of elite *teher* troops may be seen in the Egyptian reliefs as an effective personal guard which had yet to be drawn into the fray. Moreover, even though the aristocratic elements of his army, filled with chariot superiority, had failed to the west, neither the city had fallen nor had Ramesses been able to move eastward across the narrow ford. Naturally, the day grew dark with the oncoming night, and it is reasonable to view the cessation of the first day's fighting as having been halted at the river Orontes. Certainly, if the record of the names of the superiors in the Hittite army, now still present in the Egyptian battle reliefs can be trusted —and there is no reason not to do so— Ramesses had managed to push the attackers back to their original locality.

But how would a battle ensue on day two of this conflict? Both war leaders were prepared to fight at dawn when the light was bright enough to see their opponents.⁶ In addition, the problem of the ford, small though it may have been, still remained. We must also grant that a major portion of the Hittite chariotry had been either repulsed or smashed. Hence, Muwatallis had now to depend more upon his rank-and-file footsoldiers than those fast moving, though limited, war vehicles. And the original edge of surprise had been lost. To add to these imponderables was the state of affairs on the Egyptian side. A significant portion of Ramesses' army had been incapacitated, though I doubt all were killed, and even though the Pharaoh had rallied, ringing together all available forces to the north at his camp, he had failed to dislodge the Hittites from the area of Kadesh. In other words, the area remained occupied by the enemy and Muwatallis still able to fight.

Day two, therefore, must have seen a predetermined battle-plan, one undertaken by both war leaders at a relatively defined locality and in early morning. I cannot but view such warfare as reflecting a set piece. What we can derive from the flamboyant and semi-poetical

account is little. Ramesses claims that the enemy stood aside, stood at a distance, and implored the Pharaoh to desist, “doing homage with their hands before me”. Subsequently, the Egyptian monarch struck them down, “killing among them, without letting up”, as if these enemy soldiers were infantry and unable to resist the chariot surge of the king. No evidence is presented that Ramesses advanced directly upon the Hittite camp. Rather, it appears that both opponents fought at a specific time (morning) on a specific day, and in full view of each other. The resultant “letter” of submission by Muwatallis may be taken as indicating that the Hittite monarch had yet to participate in a personal manner. Nonetheless, it appears that this battle was predetermined as to place (setting) and time.

I do not wish to over-interpret the “Poem’s” account of this conflict but I cannot but conclude that this fighting was considerably different than on the preceding day. In particular, the element of surprise no longer existed. Both warrior chiefs were separated, each located on the other side of the ford. Kadesh had not fallen; nor had it surrendered. Any outcome had to be determined by the course of events surrounding this subsequent encounter. Ramesses indicates that Muwatallis—who is never mentioned by name in the Egyptian accounts—sued for peace. Let us accept this contemporary interpretation for what it is worth: propagandistic and self-glorifying. Rather, we should turn to the situation at hand. How could a second battle take place? Clearly, with the full understanding that both sides fight a set battle piece, one in which the effectiveness of both would be tested. I consider such warfare to be ludic in nature.⁷ Naturally, the pictorial evidence from Egypt can be brought to bear upon the subject. This, however, will be the subject of a more lengthy presentation, but for the moment I would like to concentrate upon three temporally separate “clouded” days, all of which took place at the time of battle.

In order to specify the approach it is necessary to refer to the famous study of the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*.⁸ The original German edition, published in 1944 in Switzerland, was the first lengthy attempt to provide a cultural analysis of the role of play, the latter being more than a “psychological reflex”.⁹ In particular, Huizinga devoted one chapter to the study of war, reflecting upon set battle pieces, individual “duels” (one-on-one), and commanders’ decisions to cease fighting in units and continue with selected valorous men who would then

engage in individual combat. The knightly tradition naturally comes to mind as well as the Medieval Islamic one, but these examples do not exhaust the possibilities of combat.¹⁰ Honor, judgment (even *Gottesurteil*), and might as right, the latter determined by the will of the gods or physical superiority, come into the equation. We can further add the civilities of combat, the recognition of equals in arms, and even the preservation of life on the battlefield—all are included under Huizinga's definition. That this has to do a lot with the soldiery self-definition, an ethos defined by a closed corporation, ought to be understood. For example, at Canton in December 1938 the Japanese general, after smashing his Chinese opponent, proposed that the latter should fight him in a pitched battle at a specific place and time in order to save his honor.¹¹ Roughly contemporary with this remarkable procedure is that of the account by Raymond Aron concerning the Allies' attack upon North Africa in 1942.¹² The French Tunisian leaders allowed circumstances to permit "them to join the Allies in stages after a flourish for the sake of bravado". I would alter slightly the passage and lay stress upon the continuance of a military ludic tradition, one that encompasses all sorts of forays, small engagements, and sizeable military encounters. This is, in fact, what Lawrence Keeley attempted when he described the various features of battle prearrangements and their ritualized nature.¹³

We need not extend the previous analysis because the author has covered in an exemplary fashion the psychological as well as social factors of combat. A helpful modern summary of such behavior, both from a positive and negative fashion, is ably presented and summarized by John Keegan in his two volumes, *The Face of Battle* and *A History of Warfare*.¹⁴ Even the literary-minded John Ruskin was not adverse to this sort of behavior, or at least he indicated his own preferences to such ludic patterns.¹⁵ I am sure that these seemingly unnecessary actions will continue among soldiers as they are rooted in a guild ethic supported by officers who see themselves as sundered from the norms of civilian society. For our purposes, however, it is necessary to stress the highly colored account of Ramesses' "Poem" when it describes the battle of day two. Here, the purpose is most definitely not that of the king's piety towards his father god Amun, a theme which was explored in detail by Jan Assmann.¹⁶ This latter orientation, so evident in the account of the first day's fighting, is absent here as is, it must be remarked, any role

of Amun. Earlier, the Pharaoh is depicted as a solitary army leader and ruler who has been abandoned by his troops. Alone, Ramesses beseeches Amun for support, stressing his various beneficial deeds to him, and then support is given. In the account of day two the perspective has switched to one concerned with the all-mighty king subduing his enemies even when they wish peace. After the carnage comes the fateful, indeed narratively convenient, missive of Muwatallis in which the Hittite ruler's wish for peace is desired. All therefore neatly falls together even though the actual battle is never described. Hence, in order to understand the later events we must visualize the actual scene of battle and the possibilities for combat. As stated above, I believe it likely that the clash of arms was preset so that a conclusive result could be achieved. After all, did not both chiefs desire a positive outcome and one that was not indeterminant, as, in fact, was the fighting on day one? A second battle was necessary, but in this case both leaders knew the relative strength of his opponent, both observed the early morning timeframe, and both would have had to deploy troops in full sight of each other. Unfortunately, we do not know where this occurred, even though, based on the scanty details of the main text, it appears that the melee took place away from the river.

In summary, let me quote Huizinga's commentary upon the attack of the Count of Virneburg against the town of Aachen.¹⁷ There was an appointment "regarding time and place of battle", and they "are of utmost importance in treating war as an honourable contest which is at the same time a juridical decision". Can we not see here at Kadesh a similar occurrence? On day two the playing field was level, so to speak. The protagonists decided in full view of each other to recommence the conflict. But in doing so they had to have realized the necessity of saving face as well as concluding a military encounter that was, up to that time, a stalemate. Whether or not there was a preconceived view to "stake out" the battlefield is another matter. Suffice it to say that, especially if we follow Assmann's interpretation of the role of Amun, a decision regarding the efficacy of Egyptian *and* Hittite arms had to occur.

A second case of an unusual chronological event will be found in the great Karnak Inscription of Pharaoh Merenptah.¹⁸ Here we are faced with a simple task—namely to figure out why there is a missing day in the military account. We must be thankful for the detailed and up-to-date studies of Kenneth Kitchen and David

O'Connor with respect to the political and social-cultural ramifications of the Libyan threat during the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁹ Owing to their research and the lengthy volume of Colleen Manassa the lengthy narrative of Ramesses II's successor has become quite clear to us. On the other hand, there remains the apparent absurdity of two dates. From other historical inscriptions of Merenptah it is clear that on day one —conveniently or not— of the season of harvest, and at night, a report was given to the Pharaoh concerning the Libyan invaders. They were already camped at the “shore” in front of Perir. In line thirty-one of the Karnak account the “land grew bright”. In Manassa's translation the account reads: “It was to make contact with them that the day dawned”.²⁰ Evidently, one suspects that the actual battle encounter was to take place on day two of the same month. But we then note, again following this recent translator, that “The wretched enemy chief of Rebu came at the third month of Shomu [= harvest season], day 3”.²¹ The king with his infantry and chariotry then advance to do battle with the western enemy. The problem arising here is one that Luft endeavored to solve. He followed, however, an older copy of the Karnak Inscription in the *Wörterbuch* where the information for the advance was relayed in the night of day two.²² This was a copyist's error, one, I hasten to add, that was also made by James Henry Breasted.²³

The attempt of Luft to solve the apparent quandary was understandable. Other inscriptions describing this campaign, however, are clear on this point of chronology. The dates are as follows:²⁴

“Israel Stela” and Cairo parallel	III <i>shemu</i> 3
Kom el Ahmar Stela	III <i>shemu</i> 3
Cairo Column (a <i>jwtw</i> text)	III <i>shemu</i>
Heliopolis Victory Column (a <i>jwtw</i> text)	III <i>shemu</i>
Nubian texts (<i>jwtw</i> texts:	
Amada, Amarah West, and Wadi es Sebua)	III <i>shemu</i> 1.

As scholars have seen, the actual battle took place on the third day of harvest and the Egyptians were victorious.²⁵ Nonetheless, crucial events took place on the preceding two days, and the opening one of the third month of harvest the battle was presumed —at least by the narrator of the Karnak Inscription— to take place then. Why the difference, and, more importantly, what occurred on the intervening day? Manassa's recent study of the progress of the war

indicates that both armies were very close to each other. In this case the military encounter was delayed, or so it appears.

In another setting I have proposed that in some cases we must consider the ludic behavior of the kings and princes of the day, if not the officers and perhaps the ordinary soldiers themselves.²⁶ Before proceeding, let me make some points clear. I am not arguing that a duel situation was contemplated, or that even such male behavior was part and parcel of any Ancient Near Eastern society. For all practical purposes the level of civilization was not based on loosely organized communities that, though led by a chief or king, were to a large extent still clan or sib based. The Homeric account of the *Iliad* and the later literary epic of the *Aeneid* do not fit the pattern of Late Bronze Age warfare. Similarly, I doubt if occurrences in which a certain number of men were picked by one side to oppose an equal number of enemy warriors occurred.

Of course, Classical sources abound in account wherein two armies were in close proximity and raring to fight but the actual battle was postponed. By and large, these cases can be subsumed under the rubrics of unpreparedness, intervention of omens, and the like. Here, the Karnak account is clear: Merenptah had moved forward for combat. It is noteworthy that the Nubian accounts of Merenptah fix upon day one. In this case these inscriptions state, following Manassa's rendition:²⁷

“One came to say to his majesty — “The enemies of Wawat are mobilizing in the South which happened in year 5, 3rd month of Shomu, day 1”, when the valiant army of his majesty came and the wretched chief of the Rebu was overthrown”.

But the historian must follow the Karnak Inscription, mainly owing to its length and sufficient details, but also because the two separate events are given. Combat took place on the third day of the third month of harvest. The Nubian accounts have combined one series of events, those surrounding the Libyan war in the fifth regnal year of Merenptah, with the smaller Nubian conflict.²⁸ Nonetheless, it is significant that the first day of III *shemu* is indicated.

Unless it is argued that Merenptah waited for a single day owing to some unexpected turn of events, I prefer to view the “missing” day as one during which both armies waited for battle. In fact, if we feel that the Egyptian monarch may have met with unforeseen difficulties, the same might be said with regard to the enemy. Why

did they not march to battle? After all, they were intent on moving eastward and knew, by day one of III *shemu* at the latest, that a massive army that was ready for battle faced them. If reconnoitering and reassuring troops may have preoccupied both sides this still means that Merenptah and his Libyan adversary tacitly accepted an agreed-upon delay in combat.

In this case, then, I believe that some type of delay occurred, one that was caused by a cessation of combat until the agreed upon time of III *shemu* 3. Granted that the account is silent, but that does not mean that a set back necessarily occurred. The clash certainly occurred when both chiefs met one another in the ordeal of battle. This type of holding action, one wherein the two war leaders “held fire” can have many causes, but above all such a deferment must have been set into motion by Merenptah and his Libyan opponent. This situation, which I conceive to be ludic in nature, means that the ensuing fight took place with the overpowering chariotry playing a crucial role in subduing the Libyans by means of their archers.²⁹ But the crucial point is that both armies were close to each other and could sort out their tactical dispositions for the forthcoming battle. Neither ran helter-skelter into their enemy. They both also knew the physical situation of the terrain, the time of day (which I suspect had to be daybreak),³⁰ and the essential military make-up of their protagonist. In other words, the battle was somewhat of a set piece.

The final day that occurs during a military encounter that is difficult to understand is contained in the famous account of Thutmose III at Megiddo. There, the entire historical reconstruction is as complicated as are the chronological implications. To put it as simply as possible, Thutmose III fought with his opponents outside of the city of Megiddo in his twenty-third regnal year. According to the received text, this took place on day twenty-one of the third month of harvest. In the analysis of Faulkner various problems were brought forth, among which I can signal the difficulties in understanding what took place one day earlier.³¹ This scholar, who argued that an emendation must be made—changing the twenty-first day to day twenty—based his startling interpretation upon the difficulties of understanding what occurred after day nineteen. In order to survey the problem, let me proceed to the situation.³² On the nineteenth day of III *shemu* the Pharaoh’s report indicates that he and his army had advanced to the Brook of Qina. The inscription is as specific as possible:³³

“Year 23, first month of summer [= harvest], day 21, the exact day of the feast of the new moon. Appearance of the king at dawn... His majesty set out on a chariot of fine gold ...”

Yet earlier the account, following the official diary report, only indicates the events of two days earlier. At that time the king had come out of the Aruna Pass at the head of his army. Then he waited until the rearguard had also emerged before proceeding to the Qina Brook, the latter being located at the south of Megiddo. Subsequently, all was prepared for a battle on the following day, the twentieth. Yet nowhere do we read what transpired on that day. It was assumed, by Faulkner, Parker and myself, among others, that Thutmose III then fought the enemy outside of Megiddo. Yet, following the pertinent remarks of Wentz, this position has been challenged.³⁴ Rations were nonetheless then prepared, the watches were posted, and then, at dawn, the king awakened and a report was received indicating that all was safe and ready for attack.³⁵ What took place on this day?

Once again we have to set ourselves on the battlefield. Two opponents, both possessing chariots and infantrymen, were ready to fight on day twenty. This the text makes clear. Thutmose was prepared for a military encounter on day two; the troops of the Megiddo coalition, also outside of their city, were likewise disposed to fight. Yet it took one day more for both to engage in combat. Clearly, they could see each other. Their immediate dispositions and size were readily ascertainable. If we reject the Faulkner emendation, then the historian must be faced with a lull in activity for one full day: sunrise-to-sunrise.

Note that I am not interested in the results of the battle. Who won and why is not under consideration. Rather, I am quite rightfully perturbed by the absence of information relating to the events surrounding the day before the melee. In this case, as with the one preceding, we are faced with yet another lacuna. I suspect that, skirmishes notwithstanding—and I am ready to admit their presence so long as they would have reflected a ludic testing of strength—the two protagonists weighed up their chances and waited for a propitious time to fight. So long as we agree that no change in the official dating of the war narrative should be attempted, then we have to conclude that: (1) Thutmose III was prepared to fight at

dawn on day twenty; (2) he moved forward in his chariot for battle, and his troops followed; and (3) the actual battle took place one day later. Therefore, we are faced with the cessation of conflict for around twenty-four hours. In order to understand such an occurrence, either we must hypothesize that the Egyptian account omitted any setback that might have taken place on the twentieth day and/or that no major conflict of arms occurred then. I opt for the latter interpretation. It appears to fit the preparedness of combat. The two opponents waited until dawn and then engaged in combat. They delayed the inevitable so that all was “proper and ready”. They sought the duel of arms on an agreed terrain, at a specific time of day, and at the occasion when all were presumably ready for attack. In other words, the “missing” day is only significant for chronologists so long as one is perturbed over the lack of any significant military encounter on day twenty. If one is not, then we can place this example under the rubric of ludic interpretation.

The three cases so far described do not exhaust the number of textual examples that point to some type of “play element” in Egyptian military culture. Excluding the pictorial representations, which I indicated are better suited for a separate study, especially as they do not allow us to enter directly into the psychological factors of war, we can point out the well-known literary examples of the Capture of Joppa and the account of Ramesses II fighting in Syria without his armor.³⁶ A fragmentary narrative of Thutmose III may be added to these examples.³⁷ Many other examples of this nature could be added, and a systematic analysis of them is in preparation. In addition, the necessity of separating the *general from the particular* needs to be stressed, a perspective first presented in a striking report by de Buck.³⁸ And it may not be out of place to note that this Dutch Egyptologist’s analysis was highly dependent upon his association with Huizinga. Indeed, the latter’s influence upon André Jolles, whose famous study of *Einfache Formen* formed one of the bases of modern literary analysis of ancient Egyptian literature, cannot be overlooked.³⁹ Perhaps if we return to Huizinga’s general studies on human culture Egyptology might profit.

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- 1 The following study is a detailed version of an earlier presentation that was given at the British Museum Symposium, "Egypt and the Hittites: Contacts, Conflict and Diplomacy in the Late Bronze Age", London, 14-15 July 2005. I must thank Dr. W. V. Davies, Dr. A. Jeffrey Spencer and Ms. Alison Cameron for their able and kind support. The translations that will be followed here are those of K. A. Kitchen, in his *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated. Translations II* (Oxford/Cambridge MA, 1996), 2-26. A detailed literary analysis of the text will be found in T. von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II. zur Qades-Schlacht. Analyse und Struktur* (Hildesheim, 1984).
- 2 If it had been a trap, then Ramesses would have been caught with nowhere to turn. He had outlets and his Na'arn troops were not far away. (Indeed, one can ask whether Muwatallis also knew about this division.) The Hittite king simply waited until the king was sufficiently separated from his second division and thereby was isolated *so long as* his enemy chariots could quickly reach the Egyptian camp. This occurred, but we do not know how long it took, how much the chariots were impeded by the second Egyptian division, and how many footsoldiers and charioteers were available to the Egyptian monarch. 5,000 men are presumed to have been in any major Egyptian division of full strength. Kitchen presents a helpful analysis of the whole Kadesh campaign in *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated. Notes and Comments II* (Oxford/Malden, 1999), 3-54.
- 3 The contemporary situation regarding the amount of forestation and the height of the grass should also not be disregarded. Unfortunately, these factors are not discussed in the secondary literature even though the topography has been well researched.
- 4 A fragmentary Hittite report indicates that they considered themselves to be the victors: E. Edel, 'KBo I 15+19, ein Brief Ramses II mit einer Schilderung der Kadesschlacht', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* NF 15 (1949), 195-212.
- 5 H. Goedicke, 'The "Battle of Kadesh": a Reassessment', in: H. Goedicke (ed.), *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh* (Baltimore, 1985), 100-2.
- 6 On the word 'ð solely in P 234 see A. H. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, 1960), 24-5 and Von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II*, 323, n. f.
- 7 The approach of M. Liverani, "History as a War Game", *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 7 (1994), 241-8 is different than mine as is that of H. Goedicke, "The Rules of Conduct for Egyptian Military", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands* 88 (1998), 109-41; and J. Assmann, "Ägypten und die Legitimierung des Tötens: Ideologische Grundlagen politischer Gewalt im alten Ägypten", in: H.

von Stietencron and J. Rüpke (eds.), *Töten und Krieg* (Munich, 1995), 57-85.

- 8 J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston, 1955), esp. chapter IV ("Play and war"). This volume was preceded by the author's rectoral address, *Over de grenzen van spel en ernst in de culture* (Leiden, 1933); see as well his remarks in *In de schaduw van morgen* (Haarlem, 1935), 165-7. I can also refer to the introduction of George Steiner in the British edition of *Homo Ludens* (London, 1971), 9-18 for a useful analysis; see as well, C. Antoni, *From History to Sociology. The Transition in German Historical Thinking*, transl. by H. V. White (London, 1959), Chapter 5 ("Johan Huizinga"); and P. Geyl, *Encounters in History* (London, 1963), 198-9 ("Huizinga as Accuser of his Age"). Background information may be found in the standard works of H. Holbert Turney-High, *Primitive War. Its Practice and Concepts* (Columbia, 1991), *passim*, especially Chapter 4 ("Discipline and Command"). I shall not go into the details of Pharaonic military society in this discussion. See my *War in Ancient Egypt, The New Kingdom* (Maldon/Oxford/ Carlton, 2005), *passim*. On the other hand, part of the lifetime work of Mario Liverani was devoted to such ludic behavior in the Ancient Near East. A detailed presentation has yet to appear in Egyptology. In general, see his compendium, *Prestige and Interest. International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C.* (Padova, 1990). In the Egyptological sphere, there is the basic article of Erik Hornung, "Pharao Ludens", *Eranos Jahrbuch* 51 (1982), 479-516 and his remarks in *Geschichte als Fest* (Darmstadt, 1966). Among Wolfgang Decker's numerous studies on sport in ancient Egypt I can cite "Die Synthese von Krieg und Sport im Dienst des Friedens: Das ägyptische Modell", in: H. Becker (ed.), *Sport im Spannungsfeld von Krieg und Frieden* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld, 1985), 5-16 as the most pertinent.
- 9 Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 1. Both he and I exclude motifs of warriors and kings that reflect hunting, archery, and the like. In Egyptology, such factors have been generally subsumed under the designation of the New Kingdom "sporting tradition". Naturally, these attitudes are older than Eighteenth Dynasty. I am purposely not discussing them here. I am aware of the qualified reception that Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* received. In particular, see R. Caillois, *Man and the Sacred*, transl. by M. Barash (Glencoe, 1959), Appendix II ("Play and the Sacred"), and *Man, Play, and Games*, transl. by M. Barash (London, 1962). Earlier, H. Bolkestein, "De Cultuurhistoricus en zijn Stof", in: *Zeventiende Nederlandsche Philologen-Congres* (Groningen, 1937), 26 had seen the difficulties in Huizinga's approach to history.
- 10 J. Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, transl. by R. J. Payton and U. Mammitzsch (Chicago, 1996), Chapter 3 ("The Heroic Dream").
- 11 Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 99. It may not be out of place to refer the

- reader to the somewhat fanciful but nonetheless rewarding study of J. Ortega y Gasset, 'The Sporting origin of the state', in his *History as a System and Other Essays toward a Philosophy of History*, transl. by H. Weyl (New York, 1962), Chapter 1.
- ¹² R. Aron, *Clausewitz, Philosopher of War*, transl. by C. Brooker and N. Stone (Englewood Cliffs, 1985), 304-5.
- ¹³ L. H. Keeley, *War Before Civilization. The Myth of the Peaceful Savage* (New York/Oxford, 1996), 50-65. In this section the author covers the "particularly stylized or sportive nature" of war (page 60 in particular).
- ¹⁴ The two volumes are *A History of Warfare* (New York, 1994) and *The Face of Battle* (London, 1976). His discussion on military leadership, *Mask of Command* (New York, 1987) is equally important for our context.
- ¹⁵ J. Ruskin, in: *Crown of Wild Olive. Four Lectures on Industry and War* (London, 1915), Lecture III ("War"). See page 124: "But the creative, or foundational, war is that in which the natural restlessness and love of contest among men are disciplined, by consent, into modes of beautiful—though it may be fatal—play".
- ¹⁶ "Krieg und Frieden im alten Ägypten: Ramses II. und die Schlacht bei Kadesch", *Mannheimer Forum* 83/83 (1984), 175-231.
- ¹⁷ Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 98-9.
- ¹⁸ Most recently, see C. Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah: Grand Strategy in the 13th Century BC* (New Haven, 2003); K.A. Kitchen has provided a translation as well in his *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated. Translations IV* (Oxford/Malden, 2003).
- ¹⁹ K.A. Kitchen, "The Arrival of the Libyans in Late New Kingdom Egypt" and D. O'Connor, "The Nature of Tjemhu (Libyan) Society in Late New Kingdom Egypt", both in: A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt c1300-750 BC* (London, 1990), 15-27 and 29-113 respectively.
- ²⁰ *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah*, 42.
- ²¹ *Ibid.* and see her commentary in notes e and f on pages 34-5.
- ²² U. Luft "A further remark on the beginning of the day", *Discussions in Egyptology* 18 (1990), 35-6. A resolution to Luft's problem will be found in R. Krauss, "August Böckh (1785-1867) und anderen Autoren über den Beginn des ägyptischen Kalendertages nach Ptolemäus im *Almagest*", *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 32 (2004), 275-86. I have addressed this situation in a separate study to appear soon.
- ²³ J. Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt III* (Chicago, 1906), 245. I have seen Breasted's copy as well as his photographs of the Karnak Inscription.

- 24 These references will be found in K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical IV* (Oxford, 1982), 13.7, 20.8, 23.6, 38.3, and 34.5-7 respectively. The entire Karnak Inscription is on pages 2-12.6 with the specific dates on page 5.15-16.
- 25 See K.A. Kitchen's summary of the Nubian affairs in his "Historical observations on Ramesseid Nubia", in: E. Endesfelder *et al.* (eds.), *Ägypten und Kusch* (Berlin, 1977), 221-4.
- 26 This is presented in various chapters of my *War in Ancient Egypt, The New Kingdom*.
- 27 *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah*, 44.
- 28 See the comments on Kitchen in his study of Ramesseid Nubia cited above in note 25.
- 29 The Libyans, while powerful as O'Connor has seen —"The nature of Tjemhu (Libyan) society in Late New Kingdom Egypt", 81-4: note his remarks on the numbers of enemies on pages 84-7— had few chariots. They depended upon their footsoldiers, archers, and Sea Peoples allies.
- 30 This is most commonplace within the Egyptian sources, and it is to be expected, considering the movements of troops and their ensuing tactical dispositions. It was commonplace during the epoch of antiquity.
- 31 R. Faulkner, "The battle of Megiddo", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 28 (1942), 4 and 11.
- 32 R. A. Parker, "The lunar dates of Thutmose III and Ramesses II", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16 (1957), 39-43 followed Faulkner; see his later contribution "Some reflections on the lunar dates of Thutmose III and Ramesses II", in: W. Kelly Simpson and W. M. Davis (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan* (Boston, 1981), 146-8. He correctly rejects (as I did) the analysis of Glenn Lello, "Thutmose III's first lunar date", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (1978), 221-9. Subsequently, E. F. Wente argued for the retention of day twenty: "Thutmose III's accession and the beginning of the New Kingdom", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 34 (1975), 265 and, with C. Van Siclen III, "A chronology of the New Kingdom", in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes. January 12, 1977* (Chicago, 1976), 217-66, especially p. 227. Krauss' remarks in *Sothis- und Monddaten. Studien zur astronomischen und technischen Chronologie Altägyptens*, (Hildesheim, 1985), 121-3 must be seen in the light of Wente's studies. Subsequent scholarly evaluation has opted for this interpretation. See recently, Krauss, "Arguments in favor of a low chronology for the Middle and New Kingdom in Egypt", in: M. Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilizations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Vienna, 2003), 178.
- 33 The translation is that of M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings II* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1976), 32.

- ³⁴ See the comments of the scholars who are listed in n. 32 above.
- ³⁵ D.B. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (Leiden/Boston, 2003), 24-9 attempts to understand the difficulties of the “missing” day. His analysis, nonetheless, cannot resolve the inherent chronological difficulties. He nonetheless sees that a “24-hour stalemate” is impossible (p. 29). Indeed, there is no indication that such occurred. Any other analysis on his part remains moot.
- ³⁶ These and other literary accounts are summarized in Chapter XI of my *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative: P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh* (Wiesbaden, 2002).
- ³⁷ Ibid.; see G. Botti, “A fragment of the story of a military expedition of Thutmosis III to Syria (P. Turin 1940-1941)”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 46 (1955), 64-71. Other examples could be given, especially those from the so-called Demotic Pedubast Cycle (e.g., some portions of the Ptiye/Piankhy inscription: in particular, see Gardner, “Piankhi’s instructions to his army”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 21 [1935], 219-23), but this approach was not my intention. To these cases we can include the well-known Dynasty XVIII inscriptions of Thutmose III (Armant and Gebel Barkal Stelae) and Amunhotep II (Karnak and Memphis Stelae).
- ³⁸ A. de Buck, *Het Typische en het Individuelle bij den Egyptenaren* (Leiden, 1929).
- ³⁹ Jolles’ work appeared in Halle in 1930. See now A. Loprieno, “The ‘King’s novel’”, in: A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1996), 277-95. On Jolles’ connection with Huizinga, see the latter’s *Dutch Civilisation in the 17th Century and Other Essays*, transl. by A. J. Pomerans (London, 1968), 253, 259, 264 and 272. A recent summary of the “form” is to be found in B. Hofmann, *Die Königsnovelle: “Strukturanalyse am Einzelwerk”* (Wiesbaden, 2005).

ATHENIAN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH EGYPT DURING THE ARCHAIC PERIOD (750-480 BC)

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The mobility of the Greeks during the first millennium is by now an undeniable fact.¹ We are even in position to re-evaluate the Homeric texts, as reminiscence of the early wanderings of Greeks, or their settling abroad.² With regards to the contact of Greece with Egypt, landscape becomes naturally obscure, when one researches the Dark Ages. Before the well documented Ptolemaic period of Egypt, the contact of Greeks and Egyptians is attested in the mythology³ of the Greeks and in the relics of the graphic arts of the dark ages, which commemorate the neighboring of these two civilizations. From Egyptian inscriptions of about 1200 BC we learn about the whereabouts of the Achaeans. They mention raiders *Akaiwasa*, *Danaouna*, identified with Achaeans and Danaoi of Homer, the *Ahijawa* of the Hittite inscriptions (although opinions vary greatly for their identification with Greeks).⁴ The Keftiu bear gifts to the Egyptians since the 1500's and they are probably Minoan Cretans or Minoan settlers of Syria.⁵ The works of Jean Vercoutter provide basic material for work in this field, but it seems that the iconography is accurate, depicting with characteristic details Minoans.⁶ Even if one finds it difficult to conclude whether the bearers of gifts in the Egyptian graves are paying tribute —thus serving as a form of Egyptian propaganda— or carrying goods for trade, the contact between the two peoples from such an early date is a fact.

The 8th century BC marks the rise of the Greek navy and the beginning of the successful colonization period for the Greeks. This

is attested by excavations at Al-Mina, a trade post near Syria, the findings at Pithikoussae, Syracuse, Sinope at the Black Sea, Naucratis at the Delta of the Nile and Cyrene on the coast of Libya. The dates of these settlements were known in antiquity and they all refer to the 8th and 7th century BC.⁷ The 8th and 7th centuries BC are centuries of the Aegean islands' development at trade and seafaring, which reached its acme during the Hellenistic period with Rhodes being the most illustrious example.⁸ Rhodes is the natural geographical crossroad between East and West, Northern Aegean and the Black Sea with the Mediterranean and northern Africa. Therefore Rhodes cultivates good relationships with Egypt, so that its ships sail freely at the Delta of the Nile and by sailing the Nile reaching up to Abū-Simbel (Ἐλεφαντίνν), in order to assist the Pharaohs at their wars. The dating of these events is supported by a scarab of the Saite Pharaoh Psammetichus I (664-610 BC), found in a tomb at Kamiros, on the island of Rhodes. When the Greeks helped Psammetichus II (594-589 BC) at the war against the Ethiopians, mercenaries from the Rhodian city of Ialysos enrolled in the army. The names of Tēlephos and Anaxanor, mercenaries from Ialysos are found on inscriptions from Abū-Simbel.⁹

Ahmoise II (570-526 BC), pharaoh of Egypt, also known with the Greek form of his name, Amasis, seems to have held the Rhodians in special esteem, since he appears to have given them a very good post at Naucratis. He also sent lavish gifts to goddess Athene at Lindos, two stone statues and a linen thorax,¹⁰ since, according to tradition, the temple was established by the daughters of Danaus while they were fleeing from the erotic pursue of their cousins, the sons of Egyptus.¹¹ Ahmoise had also allowed the Greeks to found temples in Egypt, besides the trade posts. One of them was the *Ἑλληνιον* (*Hellenion*) common for all Greeks, Dorians, Ionians and Aeolians.¹² It seems that permission to foreigners to exercise their native religious practices was not strange, provided those foreigners were settled or periodically resided on a strange country for reasons of trade.

With regards to the selection of Naucratis, it might be true that it soon developed into a very influential trade center, nevertheless we should not read too much into this information. First of all, the location of the city was, more probably than not, a choice of the locals, not the Greeks.¹³ The controlled freedom that the Greeks enjoyed there is further illustrated by the information that Greeks

were later allowed entrance to Egypt only through the western or Canopic canal of the Nile.¹⁴ Perhaps, this is a notion reflected in a well-disguised complaint in the *symposion of the seven wise men* in Plutarch's *Ethika*, when Periander says "I praise the cities and the archons who provide first for their *xenoi* and then for their own citizens" and he urges the rest to hear the matters that the Naucratan Neilo Xenos brought to discuss with Bias on behalf of Egypt.¹⁵ The Egyptians chose themselves the venue of the permanent trade-posts for the Greeks. Archaeological excavations proved that Greeks had arrived at that area around the last quarter of the 7th century BC. As for the military bases of the Greeks, we know of the camp "Daphne", at the eastern borders of the delta of the Nile.¹⁶ Amasis was responsible for the articles of association of Naucratis. The Greeks had administrative autonomy and license to practice their religious customs freely. Twelve cities shared the responsibility for this advantageous post, cities of Asia Minor, like Miletus, Phocaea, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, islands like Samos, Chios and Rhodes. The only representative of mainland Greece was the island of Aegina. Naucratis came to know days of great glory until the domination of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 BC. Greek ships carried silver from the mines of Sifnos or Thrace and brought back grain from the Delta. Everyone profited. Athens' strange absence from *Hellenion* is striking. If the Athenians had not managed to be part of the influential cities that the Egyptians considered important enough to grant them a place of their own in Egypt, then the Athenians would need to rely on other techniques, if they wanted to stay in friendly and productive terms with the Egyptians.

Of course, according to Diodorus, the Athenians had already built a city by the name Sais in Egypt.¹⁷ The text does not associate the city with the ancient Egyptian city, so influential during the first millennium and later capital of Psammetichus I. Diodorus mentions it in a context which is semi-mythological (after the story of the Heliads and before the cataclysm, which explains the Athenians' ignorance of Egyptian knowledge, such as astrology). Perhaps Diodorus echoes a tradition which is definitely a later propagandistic construction, on behalf of the Athenians who were less favored than other Greeks by the Egyptians. Perhaps this was a way of the Athenians to claim ancient relations with Egypt at a time when the Egyptians preferred openly the Rhodians and other islanders.

From what has been discussed so far, two important issues seem to rise: the first is that we face the paradoxical fact that, at least in Greece, we have to rely on written material from the classical period, chiefly Herodotus and Thucydides, in order to shed light into the matter of naval development in archaic Greece and, subsequently, the illumination of the nature of Graeco-Egyptian contacts during this time.¹⁸

The second is the clarification of the character of this Athenian-Egyptian contact through business. Can we talk about an official, state policy towards Egypt, or would it be safer to say that it was only private, independent enterprise that made the Athenians strive to cultivate good relations with Egypt? The matter of economical relationships between the two countries definitely involves the employment of mercenary soldiers by the Egyptians. I consider this an expression of independent, non-state private enterprise. It could well be that Athenians, even if not clearly mentioned, were among the soldiers employed by Egyptian Pharaoh's in an attempt to solve their internal political problems. After all, mercenaries were a widespread constitution in the ancient Greek world. An Athenian mercenary would not be the expression of the city-state's external policy, but rather an expression of free-lance business.¹⁹

Leaving mercenaries aside, *emporoi*²⁰ are the next economical agents who bridge the Aegean from Athens to Egypt. However, the term is vague and not self-explanatory. Who were these merchants? Public representatives of Athens, acting on the city's behalf, trying to establish international diplomatic relations and to secure the state's economy? Members of the up-and-rising middle class or merchants and tradesmen favored after the Solonian reforms? Rich land-owners who looked for an extra-income? The clarification of these questions proves more relevant to the essence of Athens' relationship with Egypt than what meets the eye, although the fact is that for now, at least, we have very little evidence for independent maritime traders in the late archaic period.²¹

Since the obvious means of contact between Athens and Egypt was the boat, the most crucial observation we could make is that "there were no Greek navies before the sixth century, and that the "thalassocracies" of the earlier archaic period are largely the creations of later historical writers who are interpreting events of doubtful historicity, based upon dubious sources, and somewhat

exaggerating their scale and significance, in order to make the history of the archaic period fit a particular intellectual scheme. While it would be desirable to test their accounts against the archaeological record this is not possible, except in a few isolated and inconclusive cases".²² Moving away from the authorities of Herodotus and Thucydides, Philip de Souza cites a plausible version of Eusebius' list of thalassocracies (naval powers that excelled in trade in the Mediterranean world) mentioned in his *Chronika*. With the omission of Lydians, Pelasgians, Thracians and Rhodians, the list, as revised by Forrest²³ is as follows: Phrygians 750-720; Cypriots 720-710; Phoenicians 710-668; Egyptians 668-625; Milesians 625-600; Karians (?Korinthians) 600-585; Lesbians 585-575; Phokaians 575-540; Samians 540-516; Spartans 516-510; Naxians 510-500; Eretrians 500-490; Aiginetans. 490-480.

Athens is absent from this list. Does that mean that there was no competitive Athenian navy during the archaic period? First of all, we should define "navy" as a publicly owned number of vessels, purposing for war or trade. However, at an early stage²⁴ there was no division between cargo and war ships. Vessels intended only for war appear during the mid-sixth century, as well as vessels unqualified for war, only for cargo transportation, begin to appear, too.²⁵ We must wait until the Persian Wars before a proper fleet under public ownership appears in Greece. Aristotle speaks of the constitution of *naukrariae*,²⁶ leading some scholars into thinking that Athens at least, and other poleis, possessed a naval finance infrastructure based around this constitution. Athenians seemed to provide for a public fleet also by acquiring new vessels in big numbers; Herodotus informs us the Athenians bought twenty ships from the Korinthians for five drachmas each.²⁷ Unfortunately, we should not read too much into the constitution of *naukraria*, since it was during the early archaic period that the *naukraros* lost his exclusively naval duties and became a title for one of Athens' elected administrators (especially under Solon).

Then we need to consider an undeniable fact: that Greece, especially during the archaic period remains a mainly agricultural economy and the economy is run by a hereditary system of aristocracy, based on the control of big areas or arable land. However, there is a steady rise in the number of independent maritime traders from roughly 625 to 475 BC. The appearance of

Solon in 594 BC cannot be without significance here. Solon is held responsible for the cutting of Athenian coins, the support of tradesmen and the effort to reinforce a non-agricultural, numismatic economy. Solon himself had traveled to Egypt.²⁸ Plutarch defines him as a *naukleros*, someone who either owned a ship or depended upon naval trade for a large part or all of his income.²⁹ Aristotle wrote that Solon traveled “both on business and for sightseeing”.³⁰ Exactly the same words, *kat’ emporian kai theorian*, are used by Isocrates to describe the voyage of a man from Bosphorus who sailed into Athens in the early fourth century with two shiploads of grain.³¹ Later other eponymous Greek individuals appear in private enterprise with the Egyptians, without any apparent state coverage for their transactions. In one category of the *emporoi* examined by Reed, the famous philosopher Plato is said to have paid for his stay in Egypt by selling olive oil.³²

So, if aristocrats, such as Solon, or even Plato, would engage to business with the Egyptians for private reasons, does that mean that all Athenian merchants of the archaic period were aristocrats only? The question of actually who were these Athenian merchants will help us appreciate more the purposes of trade and even the goods exchanged with Egypt. Based solely on evidence from Xenophon and Isocrates, some researchers concluded that during the 5th centuries BC trade was in the hands of the poor people.³³ The question is how these poor people acquired the means for business. Public loans appeared between 475 and 450 BC, after Athens had indeed increased needs for importing grain. But what before that? It is logical to assume that the people who had the means to order the construction, to secure the supply and profit from the trade conducted with ships, were no others than rich landowners. And since there is no earlier need for large imports of grain before 475 BC,³⁴ the aristocrats would be interested not in carrying into Greece a product that its sufficiency had been protected by laws,³⁵ but luxury items that would underline their wealth and status.

Following this, we might need to rephrase the question of what was necessary to be imported to Athens, with what was desired by the rich aristocrats. From the contents of shipwrecks³⁶ and transport containers³⁷ we infer that the most common commodities traded included non-precious metals and ores, timber, oil and perfumed oil, wine, textiles, hides and slaves, as well as foodstuffs, such as olives, honey, pistachios, almonds, fish sauce and pickled fish. These can

hardly qualify as sustenance commodities, for either Greeks or Egyptians. Perhaps these constitute imported signs of “wealth”, which characterize the political elite of Athens.³⁸ The Athenian aristocrats indulge in non-necessary luxuries, which become a status-symbol not because they are not to be found in Greece, but because they are imported. Such is the case of nectar-like wine of Naxos, which Archilochos prefers to the plentiful Athenian wine,³⁹ or the preference of Hesiod for wine from Byblos, despite the fact that his native Boeotia is blessed with good vineyards.⁴⁰ “Garlands of Naukratis” appear in the fragments of Anakreon.⁴¹ Furthermore, “certainly for Athens, the critical feature of imported grain is that it is wheat, not barley which is imported. From Egypt it is likely that exported grain consisted of durum (macaroni) type wheats — considered highly desirable for bread. We are used to thinking of cereals as staples, but ‘high-quality’ wheat, imported to a barley-growing region, is a delicacy on a par with good quality wine, perfumed oil or pickled fish”.⁴²

In return, the Egyptians imported the Madonna lily (*Lillium Candidum*, a plant native in Greece), which they cultivated as an ingredient for the perfume industry.⁴³ There are also a great number of imported Athenian amphorae in Egypt. Boardman believes that this is due to success of the local Greek communities there, since the Egyptians were not really interested in these, at least in the 6th century BC, since they lacked no variety of beautiful artifacts found in plentiful in their own regions.⁴⁴

The most valuable commodity that the Greeks carried to Egypt seems to be silver. Egypt had cut no coins, and it seems that the interest of the Egyptians lay mainly with the metal itself and its various uses. Many treasures discovered in Egypt and dated before the 480s include silver coins, some of which are distorted, probably in order to test the purity of the metal, and uncut silver pieces. The origin of the coins may reveal which countries carried the valuable cargo to Egypt. Athens cut coins as an export product in great quantities since the turn of the century.⁴⁵ It is generally agreed that Egyptians imported silver, wine and olive oil from Greece.⁴⁶

As for Egypt’s reciprocal merchandise, two things appear most wanted abroad: grain and gold. Some scholars believe that the main product, especially of southern Egypt, that attracted the interest of foreigners traditionally was gold.⁴⁷ “The gold bearing region of Egypt lies chiefly between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea, in the part of

the eastern desert stretching from the Qena-El-Quseir road south to the Sudan border".⁴⁸ Kees also describes gold mines in the eastern desert behind El-Kab.⁴⁹ This means that there were other areas that the Greek merchants might have an interest for, besides the area of the Delta, the products of which might have been luxury items, or grain, but not as necessary as expensive minerals. Al-Mina, Daphne and even Naucratis, might be explained not only as an attempt of the local pharaohs to choose themselves the location and placement of the Greek merchants, but as a preference of the Greeks themselves, who found the pharaohs most accommodating, since it would help them to keep the Greeks at bay and have them all together, under better supervision. Especially for Al Mina there have been many doubts expressed as to whether it was indeed *founded* by Greeks. Gill summarizes the older views about the post's foundation, juxtaposes it against the surviving epigraphical evidence from the area and concludes, convincingly, that they do not suffice for making such an assumption; finally he advises that such theories need to be reassessed on the grounds of the recent evidence.⁵⁰ The same problems occur in the case of Naucratis, too, since it is well known that the ancient sources (Herodotus 2. 178) attribute its foundation to Amasis (568-526 B.C.), but the estimations from the pottery found there place the Greek presence to 630-620 BC.⁵¹ These observations only enhance the notion of caution one should exercise when using the written or archaeological sources with regards to the period in question.

The trade of grain that traveled from Egypt to Greece is another controversial matter. Generally it is believed that the imports of grain from Egypt to Greece began around 625-600 BC. However, this is a very general assumption, since "the same commodities, particularly slaves and grain, tend to be cited whenever it is necessary to invoke invisible imports".⁵² Garnsey suggested that "Athens never in a normal year had to find grain outside Attica, narrowly defined, for more than one-half of its resident population" and that "Attica was capable of feeding in the region of 120.000-150.000 people under normal conditions."⁵³ Following this, Gill estimated that the in order for Athens to feed 50.000 to 100.000 people per year (assuming that a person consumes about 30 kg of grain per year), 100 to 200 shiploads, each carrying 3.000 *medimnoi* of grain would suffice.⁵⁴

Another point that needs clarifying is whether Egyptian goods,

such as grain, sailed into Athens by Egyptian merchants, or it was Athenian captains or *emporoi* chartered by the Egyptians who undertook this task. Hasebroek had argued that there were practically no Athenians among those trading at Athens.⁵⁵ It was a notion inspired by a literal reading of Isocrates 17.57, where the speaker says that in times of grain shortage his father and King Satyros “sent away empty the ships of other *emporoi* while granting to you (ὕμιν) export rights.” It seems that many others were eager to regard as “Athenian merchants” anyone who carried grain to Athens.⁵⁶ This notion has been severely doubted.⁵⁷ The argument regarding the juridical place of maritime traders in Athens, regarding whether they were Athenian citizens or not, is summarized convincingly by Reed⁵⁸, who suggests that “we cannot know whether the *emporoi* trading with Athens before c. 375 BC were mainly Athenian or not, but doubtless more and more foreign *emporoi* began to visit Athens as she grew in power, wealth, and size between c. 475 and the Peloponnesian War”.⁵⁹

In the second half of the 4th century (333 BC) Athens granted Phoenician *emporoi* from Kition (Phoenician city of Cyprus) permission to acquire a plot of land on which to found a sanctuary of Aphrodite “just as the Egyptians built a sanctuary of Isis”.⁶⁰ Reed argues that these Egyptians might well have been *emporoi*, too.⁶¹ We cannot be sure whether such privileges would be bestowed upon foreign merchants who worked for Athens in the archaic period, too, however it seems to me more than likely, if one considers the honors and privileges the Athenians granted to foreign *emporoi*.⁶² It is potentially more instructive to speculate upon the ethics of such privileges. If we accept that the Athenians of the archaic period did not rely upon imported Egyptian goods for sustenance, and if it is true that the most likely patrons of naval trade were paradoxically but logically the rich Athenian landowners, then it becomes more plausible that trade between Athens and Egypt in the archaic period served purposes other than economical. Of course, the rapid changes in the political ethics of archaic Greece, reflected by the reforms of Solon cannot be overestimated. Initially the privileged classes of the aristocratic Greek cities were favored by the increase of trade exchanges, since they were the main recipients of profit. Because wealth, brought with it a new political stereotype: aristocracy not by ascendancy and land possession that comes with it, but aristocracy

of wealth. So, wealthy landowners would now haste to become rich in a monetary fashion, too.⁶³

In conclusion, I would suggest that when decoding the scarcely documented business transactions between Greeks and Egyptians during the archaic period, we should bear in mind the following: there is no public fleet, solely purposed for trade, nor stately supported body of *naukleroi* in archaic Athens; the evidence we have for reciprocal contacts between Athenians and Egyptians refer mainly to selected cases of aristocrats and landowners; there is no proven need for sustenance commodities, such as grain in archaic Athens, nor did the Egyptians need Athenian products in the same way; Athenians are absent from the great trade posts of Egypt, granted officially to the Greeks by the Pharaohs; the Egyptians need good relations with the Greeks, because they consider them potential allies against the rising threat of the Persians (or, at least, they prefer them no to side with the Persians).⁶⁴ Finally, the recorded commodity exchange between Greeks and Egyptians in the archaic period refers mainly to the trade of luxury items for rich Greeks and Egyptians alike.

It would be sensible to speak of individual relations between Greeks and Egyptians. Egyptian pharaohs, like Psammetichus and Amasis, should be held responsible for the cultivation of international relations, not with *Greece*, but with individual *Greeks*, mainly aristocrats, whose aim was not the practice of international diplomacy but the accumulation of wealth. Finally, since there is no officially documented “national” trade during the archaic period, we cannot speak about the relationship of Greece and Egypt, but rather of that between Greeks and Egyptians. Without carrying this notion to extremes. After all, the international relationships, then and now are dictated by the actions of individuals as much as general national economical needs.

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¹⁵ Plutarch, *Ethics* VI, 151, 6.

¹⁶ The sound *Daphnae* is the way the Greeks reproduced the Egyptian name for the local city of Defenneh lying there Bury and Meiggs, *History of Greece*, 130.

¹⁷ Diodorus, *Bibliotheca* 57. 7. The modern city of Sâ al-Hagar is there today.

¹⁸ The partiality of the Greeks and the one-sidedness of their accounts is enhanced by further problems, such as Herodotus' ignorance of the Egyptian language, for example. We cannot be sure how much of Herodotus' information is accurate, but we could do worse than ignoring his valuable account in the second book of his *Histories*. See P. Catledge, *The Greeks. A portrait of Self and Others*, 1993. Here utilized the translation by P. Mpourlakis (Athens, 2002), 91.

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ΜΑΤΙΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΟΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ:

ΕΛΛΗΝΟΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΑΚΕΣ ΣΧΕΣΕΙΣ ΣΥΝΥΠΑΡΞΗΣ ΚΑΙ
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΙΚΗΣ ΣΥΝΑΛΛΑΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΑΠΕΙΚΟΝΙΣΗ ΤΟΥΣ
ΣΤΙΣ ΓΡΑΠΤΕΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΑΚΕΣ ΠΗΓΕΣ

ΝΙΚΟΣ ΛΑΖΑΡΙΔΗΣ
Κολλέγιο Μέρτον, Οξφόρδη

Εισαγωγή

Αν και η άφιξη του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου στην Αίγυπτο το 332 π.Χ. και η παράδοση του Φαραωνικού σκήπτρου εξουσίας απ' τα χέρια των Περσών σε αυτά των Μακεδόνων σήμανε επισήμως την εισαγωγή ελληνικών ηθών και εθίμων στην αιγυπτιακή κοινωνία, ανεπίσημα την ίδια στιγμή η Αίγυπτος και η Ελλάδα μετρούσαν πολλούς αιώνες άμεσης πολιτισμικής επαφής.¹ Αυτή η επαφή των δύο ισχυρότερων λαών της αρχαίας Μεσογείου κλιμακώνεται στην εποχή της Ύστερης Αιγύπτου (δηλαδή μεταξύ του 1070 και του 332 π.Χ.), όταν Έλληνες μισθοφόροι με τις οικογένειές τους εγκαθίστανται σε διάφορα σημεία του αιγυπτιακού Δέλτα.² Αυτή η πρώτη μαζική εισροή ελληνικού πληθυσμού στην Αίγυπτο υποχρεώνει τον Φαραώ Άμασι, χαρακτήρα που παίζει πρωταγωνιστικό ρόλο στο ιστορικό οδοιπορικό του δευτέρου βιβλίου του Ηροδότου, να συμφωνήσει στο χτίσιμο της πόλης Ναύκρατις, που έμελλε να φιλοξενήσει μέχρι τον ερχομό των Μακεδόνων το μεγαλύτερο μέρος των Ελλήνων μεταναστών και την άκρατη εμπορική τους δραστηριότητα.³ Η πολύχρονη αυτή επαφή με τους Έλληνες συμφιλιώνει την αιγυπτιακή κοινωνία με την ιδέα του ελληνικού πολιτισμού και προετοιμάζει το έδαφος για τη δυναμική συνύπαρξη των δύο εθνών κατά τα Πτολεμαϊκά και Ρωμαϊκά

χρόνια.

Ο Πτολεμαίος ο 1^{ος} ο Σωτήρ εγκαθιδρύει τη Μακεδονική Δυναστεία και υλοποιεί την ιδέα του Αλεξάνδρου και του επιτελείου του για το χτίσιμο της Αλεξάνδρειας, μιας πόλης-συμβόλου της γεφύρωσης του αιγυπτιακού και ελληνικού πολιτισμού. Αν και η πόλη της Αλεξάνδρειας χτίζεται βάσει κυρίως ελληνικών αρχιτεκτονικών προτύπων, το Παλάτι των Πτολεμαίων σέβεται και διατηρεί πιστά τις Φαραωνικές παραδόσεις εδραιώνοντας καινούργιους αιγυπτιακούς ναούς κατά το μήκος του Νείλου⁴ και ανανεώνοντας με καινούργια κτίσματα και θρησκευτική δραστηριότητα τα παραδοσιακά αιγυπτιακά κέντρα λατρείας.⁵ Αυτή η πολιτική ειρηνικής συνύπαρξης και πολιτισμικής συγχώνευσης των Πτολεμαίων, που ακολουθεί το παράδειγμα της Μακεδονικής κυριαρχίας στη Μικρά Ασία και τη Μέση Ανατολή, δεν αντικατοπτρίζεται τόσο στις βασιλικές μνημειακές πηγές, που αντιγράφουν πιστά το παραδοσιακό αιγυπτιακό πρότυπο, όσο στην καθημερινή ζύμωση των δύο πληθυσμών. Αυτός είναι και ο λόγος για τον οποίο το παρόν άρθρο εξετάζει παραδείγματα αιγυπτιακών γραπτών πηγών που ανήκουν στον ιδιωτικό χώρο πράγμα που σημαίνει, δηλαδή, ότι έχουν γραφεί από πολίτες της κοινωνίας της ελληνορωμαϊκής Αιγύπτου, απεικονίζοντας τόσο τη σχέση των δύο λαών σε ιδιωτικό επίπεδο, όσο και τη σχέση μεταξύ του πολίτη και διαφόρων επίσημων ελληνικών και αιγυπτιακών φορέων, όπως του Παλατιού, του Ναού με το ιερατείο του, κ.α.

Προτού επιχειρηθεί η ανάγνωση και ανάλυση των αιγυπτιακών πηγών, θα πρέπει να αναφερθούν ορισμένα στοιχεία για το είδος γραφής των κειμένων αυτών.⁶ Στον 7ο αιώνα π.Χ., δηλαδή κατά το τέλος της εποχής της Ύστερης Αιγύπτου, χρησιμοποιείται για πρώτη φορά σε γραφειοκρατικά έγγραφα η αιγυπτιακή δημοτική γραφή (πχ. ο πάπυρος Ryland 2 και 3). Αυτή η γραφή, στην οποία είναι γραμμένα τα περισσότερα μη μνημειακά αιγυπτιακά κείμενα της ελληνορωμαϊκής περιόδου, προέρχεται από την παραδοσιακή ιερατική γραφή των παπύρων, στην οποία είναι γραμμένα τα περισσότερα λογοτεχνικά και γραφειοκρατικά κείμενα της Φαραωνικής Αιγύπτου. Λόγω του υπερβολικά συντομογραφικού της χαρακτήρα, η δημοτική γραφή παρουσιάζει πολλές δυσκολίες στην ανάγνωσή της, ακολουθεί ωστόσο, με ελάχιστες εξαιρέσεις,

τη μορφολογική και συντακτική δομή των προηγουμένων φάσεων της γλώσσας, ενώ παράλληλα γεφυρώνει την Ύστερη φάση της αιγυπτιακής γλώσσας (τα λεγόμενα Ύστερα Αιγυπτιακά) με τα κοπτικά.

Την ονομασία αυτής της γραφής ως “δημοτικής” τη χρωστάμε στις ελληνικές πηγές: για παράδειγμα, στις ιστοριογραφίες του Ηροδότου (5ος αιώνας π.Χ.: II.36) και του Διόδωρου του Σικελιώτη (1ος αιώνας π.Χ.: I.81 και III.3) όπου η δημοτική γραφή αντιπαρατίθεται με την ιερατική, ενώ ο Κλήμης ο Αλεξανδρινός (2ος-3ος αιώνας μ.Χ.: Στρωματείς V, IV, XX, XXI) προτιμά την υποδιαίρεση της αιγυπτιακής γραφής σε ιερογλυφική, ιερατική, και επιστολογραφική, η τελευταία όντας συνώνυμη με τη δημοτική. Η ονομασία “επιστολογραφική” είναι μια απευθείας μετάφραση του αιγυπτιακού όρου *sh (n) s^c.t* “γραφή (της) επιστολής”. Η ανακάλυψη της δημοτικής γραφής έγινε παράλληλα με την ανακάλυψη των ιερογλυφικών, στις πρώιμες μέρες του κλάδου της Αιγυπτιολογίας, καθώς ήταν μια από τις τρεις γραφές που διακοσμούν τη διάσημη στήλη της Ροζέτας (196 π.Χ.).

Κατά τη διάρκεια της ελληνορωμαϊκής περιόδου, στη δημοτική γράφονται σχεδόν όλα τα μη μνημειακά κείμενα, από προσωπικές επιστολές ως λογοτεχνικά και θρησκευτικά έργα, ενώ το κύριο υλικό που χρησιμοποιείται για τα δημοτικά κείμενα είναι ο πάπυρος. Εξαιρέσεις, βέβαια, γίνονται και έτσι σώζονται παραδείγματα ελληνορωμαϊκών παπυρολογικών κειμένων γραμμένων στα ιερατικά ή δημοτικών κειμένων γραμμένων πάνω σε πέτρα ή ξύλο.⁷

Σύμφωνη με το χαρακτήρα των καιρών, η δημοτική γραφή συνδυάζεται σε πολλές περιπτώσεις με τα ελληνικά. Συγκεκριμένα, οι δύο γραφές χρησιμοποιούνται, για παράδειγμα, πλάι πλάι σε σχολικές ασκήσεις γλώσσας, όταν μαθητές των αιγυπτιακών σχολείων έγραφαν πάνω σε θραύσματα αγγείων (τα λεγόμενα όστρακα) προτάσεις στη δημοτική συμπεριλαμβάνοντας όρους στα ελληνικά (π.χ. στα όστρακα Ναρμούθις).⁸ Επίσης, συνδυασμό δημοτικής και ελληνικών βρίσκουμε σε διάφορα επίσημα δίγλωσσα κείμενα, όπως στην προαναφερθείσα στήλη της Ροζέτας, ενώ στο χώρο της μαγείας, αιγυπτιακά ξόρκια υιοθετούν και μεταφράζουν ελληνικούς μαγικούς όρους.⁹ Παρόλα αυτά, αν και υπάρχουν πολυάριθμα παραδείγματα συνύπαρξης

της δημοτικής γραφής με τα ελληνικά σε κείμενα από την ελληνορωμαϊκή Αίγυπτο, οι δύο γλώσσες δεν χάνουν τον εθνικό τους χαρακτήρα και, παρά το γεγονός ότι υιοθετούν, τις περισσότερες φορές κατ' ανάγκη, μεμονωμένους όρους, δεν αλληλοεπηρεάζονται σε επίπεδο γραμματικής και έκφρασης. Έτσι η επαφή των δύο πολιτισμών στο χώρο της γλώσσας είναι μάλλον επιφανειακή και δεν αλλάζει ουσιαστικά τον τρόπο έκφρασης.

Πηγές

Περνώντας στα παραδείγματα κειμένων, θα δούμε κατά πόσο ισχύει το ίδιο και για τις καθημερινές σχέσεις των δύο λαών, καθώς και για άλλες πτυχές πολιτισμικής επικοινωνίας. Τα ιδιωτικά αιγυπτιακά κείμενα που θα εξετάσουμε είναι: (α) οικονομικά έγγραφα (κυρίως συμβόλαια και αποδείξεις), (β) λογοτεχνικά έργα και (γ) κείμενα θρησκευτικής σημασίας.

(α) Οικονομικά έγγραφα

α1 Τα παρακάτω οικονομικά έγγραφα προέρχονται από τους παπύρους Hauswaldt και το οικογενειακό αρχείο του *P-b(ht)* (Παμπούς) γιου του *Pa-rhw* (265-208 π.Χ.) από το Πτολεμαϊκό Εντφού.¹⁰ Η ανακάλυψή τους αποδεικνύει την ύπαρξη ελληνικών οικογενειών στην αιγυπτιακή ύπαιθρο (χώρα) από τις αρχές της ελληνοαιγυπτιακής περιόδου. Τα περισσότερα έγγραφα αυτού του αρχείου είναι αποδείξεις μεταβίβασης και αγοραπωλησίας κτημάτων.

18α: “[Δέκατο έτος, δεύτερος μήνας της εποχής *prt* υπό τον Φαραώ Πτολεμαίο γιο του Πτολεμαίου και της Βερε[νί]κης, των Αγαθοεργών θεών, όταν ο Πυθάγγελος (*Pitntrws*), γιος του Φιλ[...], ήταν ιερέας του Αλ[έξαν]δρου [και] των Αδελφών θεών, των Αγαθο[εργών] θεών, [και των] Φιλοπατόρων [θεών], όταν η Αγαθοκλέα (*3g[t]g[lb]*) κόρη του Διόγνητου (*thwgints*) ήταν η κανηφόρος ιέρεια της Αρσινόης της Φιλαδέλφου, (2) [και όταν ο Νικάνωρ, γιος του Βακχίου, ήταν ιερέας, στην περιοχή των Θηβών, του Πτολεμαίου - είθε να ζει] για πάντα! - και των [Φιλοπατόρων] θεών. Είπε

[η γυναίκα] *Rnp.t-nfr:t* κόρη του *Hr* [η μητέρα του οποίου είναι] η *Nhm[=s-Is.t* στον Έλληνα που γεννήθηκε [στην Αίγυπτο, Ανδρόνικο (*3ntrnhkws*) γιο του *3n[...]* η μητέρα του οποίου είναι η *Ta-n3-nht=s*: 'Σου χρωστάω 10 (ντέμπεν λεφτά) που ισοδυναμούν με 50 στατήρες, που (με τη σειρά τους) ισοδυναμούν με 10 (ντέμπεν) λεφτά (στην τιμή των) 24 μπρούτζινων *kt* ανά 2 *kt* λεφτά...(5) Σου (τα) έδωσα έναντι χρημάτων και εσύ μου έδωσες την αξία τους σε λεφτά. Τα έλαβα από σένα κανονικά, χωρίς χρωστούμενα. Η καρδιά (6) [είναι ικανοποιημένη με αυτά. Είναι δικά σου τα προαναφερθέντα κτήματα που χωρίζονται σε πέντε κομμάτια γης.] Εγώ [δεν έχω κανένα δικαίωμα, ούτε παράπονο, ούτε τίποτα απολύτως εναντίον σου [σε ό,τι αφορά αυτά από δω και στο εξής.] Κανείς άλλος δε θα μπορέσει [να ασκήσει εξουσία πάνω] σε αυτά εκτός από σένα. Αυτόν που [θα έρθει εναντίον σου] σχετικά με αυτά (δηλ. τα κτήματα) με σκοπό να σου τα πάρει, όλα ή κάποιο μέρος τους, λέγοντας: «Αυτά δεν είναι δικά σου» στο όνομά μου ή στο όνομα οποιουδήποτε άλλου, αυτόν δε θα τον αφήσω να σε πλησιάσει [και θα φροντίσω ώστε τα προαναφερθέντα κτήματα να μη σου φέρουν πρόβλημα με έγγραφα, δίκες, και ό,τι άλλο.]...' Γραμμένο από τον *P3-hb* [γιο του *P3-tnfy*]'".

18β: "Ενδέκατο έτος, δεύτερος μήνας της εποχής *prt* υπό το Φαραώ Πτολεμαίο, γιο του Πτολεμαίου και της Βερενίκης, των Αγαθοεργών θεών. (2) Η γυναίκα *Rnp.t-nfr:t*, κόρη του *Hr*, η μητέρα του οποίου είναι η *Nhm=s-Is.t*, λέει στον Έλληνα, που γεννήθηκε στην Αίγυπτο, Ανδρόνικο, (3) γιο του *3ntrstits*, του οποίου η μητέρα είναι η *T3-n3-nht=s*: 'Είμαι μακριά από σένα όσον αφορά στα κομμάτια γης που είναι στο λόφο *Pr-wrme*; (4) στα νότια μέρη της περιοχής του Εντφού, για τα οποία σε πλήρωσα στο δέκατο έτος, τον δεύτερο μήνα της εποχής *prt* υπό τον Φαραώ που ζει για πάντα, αγαπημένο της Ίσιδας... (10) Εγώ δεν [έχω] κανένα [δικαίωμα, ούτε παράπονο,] (11) ούτε τίποτα απολύτως εναντίον σου στο όνομά τους από δω και στο εξής. Κανείς δε θα μπορέσει να (12) ασκήσει έλεγχο [πάνω τους εκτός από σένα...]' [Γραμμένο] από τον *33y-n-im=w* γιου του *P3-tnfy*'".

α2 Ένας μεγάλος αριθμός οστράκων από το Μεντίνετ Χάμπου έχει έρθει στο φως, μεταξύ των οποίων πολλά είναι αποδείξεις οικονομικών συναλλαγών από τις σιταποθήκες κάποιου Απολλωνίδη που πιθανόν να ήταν μεγαλοκτηματίας της περιοχής κατά τη Ρωμαϊκή Περίοδο.¹¹ Ένα παράδειγμα τέτοιων αποδείξεων είναι το ακόλουθο, Medinet Habu, no. 195 (27ο έτος βασιλείας Αυγούστου = 1ος αιώνας μ.Χ.):

“Ο Κλέων (*Glyn*), γιος του *Imn-Htp*, πλήρωσε στη σιταποθήκη (2) του Απολλωνίδη στη *Dm* το εικοστό έβδομο έτος (3) για σιτάρι 15 (αρτάμπα) κριθάρι. (4) Τα έχουμε λάβει. Επίσης, για τον ίδιο (5) [λόγο πλήρωσε] ½ (αρτάμπα) κριθάρι. [Τα έχουμε] λάβει. (6) Γραμμένο τη δέκατη όγδοη ημέρα του μήνα Έπαφου του εικοστού εβδόμου έτους”.

(β) Λογοτεχνικά κείμενα

β1 Το παρόν κείμενο προέρχεται από το *Μύθο του Ματιού του Ήλιου* που σώζεται στον πάπυρο Leiden I 384 (Θήβες, 2ος αιώνας μ.Χ.).¹² Στην ελληνορωμαϊκή Αίγυπτο παρατηρείται μαζική παραγωγή πεζών μύθων, μερικά εκ των οποίων αναπαράγουν διεθνή λογοτεχνικά μοτίβα. Στον μύθο που σας παρουσιάζω εδώ, ο οποίος επεξηγούσε αλλαγές στο πλοιστάσιο, τέτοιο μοτίβο είναι το παραμύθι με ζώα και ηθικό δίδαγμα, γνωστό από τις ελληνικές παραδόσεις του Αισώπου και τις αραμαϊκές παραδόσεις του Αχικάρ. Απόδειξη του δημοφιλούς χαρακτήρα αυτού του μύθου είναι το γεγονός ότι μέρος του οποίου (ή ολόκληρος) μεταφράστηκε κατά την αρχαιότητα στα ελληνικά. Απόσπασμα αυτής της μετάφρασης σώζεται στον πάπυρος BM 278 και χρονολογείται στον 3ο αιώνα μ.Χ.¹³

Πρωταγωνιστής του μύθου είναι η θεά Τέφνοντ, κόρη του Ρε, και ενσάρκωση του ιερού “ματιού του Ήλιου”, η οποία μετά από καβγά με τον πατέρα της φεύγει από την Αίγυπτο και εγκαθίστανται στην Νουβία. Ο Ρα στέλνει τον Θωθ, σύμβουλο και μεσολαβητή των θεών, να εξευμενίσει τη θυμωμένη θεά και να την πείσει να γυρίσει πίσω στον πατέρα της. Αυτό δεν είναι διόλου εύκολο, μιας και η θεά είναι πεισμομένη και δε θέλει να ξαναδεί στα μάτια της την Αίγυπτο. Ο Θωθ ρητορεύει

ασταμάτητα και ανάμεσα στα διάφορα επιχειρήματα που χρησιμοποιεί διηγείται διασκεδαστικά παραμύθια με ζώα που έχουν ηθικά διδάγματα και ενισχύουν τα επιχειρήματά του. Τελικά η θεά πείθεται να επιστρέψει και κατά τη διάρκεια του ταξιδιού της επιστροφής, ο Θωθ συνεχίζει να της διηγείται παραμύθια για να τη διασκεδάσει. Ανάμεσα σε αυτά τα παραμύθια είναι και το ακόλουθο, το οποίο είναι κομμάτι ενός άλλου μεγαλύτερου παραμυθιού¹⁴ που διηγείται την περιπέτεια ενός λιονταριού που ψάχνει να εκδικηθεί τον Άνθρωπο που τραυμάτισε και σκότωσε όλα τα ζώα που βρήκε στο διάβα του.

“Καθώς το λιοντάρι περπατούσε, ψάχνοντας για τον Άνθρωπο, (18/12) μπλέχτηκε στα πόδια του ένα ποντίκι, μικρού μεγέθους (13) (και) αδιάκριτου σχήματος. Πάνω που ήταν έτοιμο να το λιώσει, (14) το ποντίκι του είπε: «Μην με [πατήσεις], κύριέ μου λέοντα! Αν με φας, δε θα σε χορτάσω. (15) Αν (πάλι) με απελευθερώσεις, δε θα πεινάσεις λόγω αυτού. Αν μου προσφέρεις τη ζωή μου (16) ως δώρο, θα σου προσφέρω κι εγώ το δώρο της ζωής. Αν δε με καταστρέψεις, θα σε βοηθήσω (17) να δραπετεύσεις απ' τον κίνδυνο.» Το λιοντάρι (τότε) γέλασε με το ποντίκι και είπε: 'Τι θα μπορούσες να [κάνεις] (18) στ' αλήθεια; Υπάρχει κάποιος σ' αυτόν τον κόσμο που μπορεί να μου επιτεθεί;' (19) Και τότε (το ποντίκι) πήρε όρκο μπροστά του λέγοντας: 'Θα σε βοηθήσω να δραπετεύσεις (20) απ' τον κίνδυνο της κακιάς ώρας!' Τώρα, αν και το λιοντάρι θεώρησε ότι τα λόγια του ποντικιού ήταν ένα αστείο, (21) σκέφτηκε: 'Αν το φάω, πράγματι, δε θα με χορτάσει'. Και έτσι, το άφησε να φύγει. (22)

Τότε συνέβη ένας κυνηγός να είχε βάλει παγίδες με δίχτυ (23) και να είχε σκάψει λάκκο μπροστά στο λιοντάρι. Το λιοντάρι έπεσε στο λάκκο (24) και, (ως επακόλουθο), στα χέρια του ανθρώπου. Όντας μπλεγμένο στο δίχτυ, (εκείνος μπόρεσε και) το (25) έδεσε με (δερμάτινα) λουριά και έμεινε έτσι δεμένο. Τώρα, καθώς υπέφερε πάνω στο βουνό(;), την έβδομη (26) ώρα της νύχτας η Μοίρα αποφάσισε να κάνει το αστείο πραγματικότητα, (27) ως αποτέλεσμα της υπεροψίας (που έδειξε) το λιοντάρι

(νωρίτερα), και έκανε (28) το ποντίκι να βρίσκεται (εκεί) μπροστά στο λιοντάρι. (Και τότε) του είπε: 'Με αναγνωρίζεις; Είμαι το μικρό ποντίκι (29) στο οποίο προσέφερες τη ζωή ως δώρο, και έχω έρθει σήμερα (30) για να σου το ξεπληρώσω και να σε σώσω από τον κίνδυνο, μιας και υποφέρεις. (Γιατί) είναι όμορφο (πράγμα) να κάνεις (31) καλό σ' αυτόν που (μπορεί να) σου το επιστρέψει'. Τότε, αυτό μάσησε τα λουριά και απελευθέρωσε το λιοντάρι..."

β2 Το παρόν κείμενο προέρχεται από τον κύκλο των ιστοριών για τον Πρίγκιπα Σέτνε Χάμουας (Ντίμε, Ρωμαϊκή εποχή).¹⁵ Η δεύτερη ιστορία του κύκλου, η οποία σώζεται στον πάπυρο υπ. αρ. 604 του Βρετανικού Μουσείου, παρουσιάζει τον Πρίγκιπα Σέτνε Χάμουας, τέταρτο γιο του Ραμσή του 2ου και θρυλικό μάγο και σοφό. Ο Σέτνε είναι παντρεμένος με την Μεχουσέχε, η οποία γεννάει τον πρώτο τους γιο, Σι-Όσιρις. Η προφητεία λέει ότι όταν μεγαλώσει ο Σι-Όσιρις, θα μεγαλοουργήσει και θα σώσει την Αίγυπτο από πολλούς κινδύνους. Μια μέρα, και αφού ο Σι-Όσιρις είχε αρχίσει να πηγαίνει σχολείο, ετοιμάζονταν να πάνε, όλη η οικογένεια μαζί, σε δείπνο φίλων, όταν ακούσαν δυνατούς θρήνους κάτω στο δρόμο. Έσκυψε τότε ο Σι-Όσιρις με τον πατέρα του απ' το παράθυρο και είδαν μια μεγάλη ταφική πομπή που μετέφερε έναν πλούσιο νεκρό άνδρα στην νεκρόπολη. Λίγο αργότερα, βήματα ξανακούστηκαν στο δρόμο και ο Σι-Όσιρις με τον πατέρα του είδαν απ' το παράθυρο μια πολύ μικρότερη πομπή που συνόδευε χωρίς θρήνους και τιμές έναν φτωχό νεκρό άνδρα. Γύρισε τότε ο Σέτνε και είπε στο γιο του: "Πόσο πιο χαρούμενος είναι ο πλούσιος νεκρός από το φτωχό νεκρό!" Τότε ο Σι-Όσιρις θύμωσε πολύ με τα λόγια του πατέρα του και αφού αντάλλαξαν πολλές πικρές κουβέντες, ο γιος πήρε τον πατέρα απ' το χέρι να του δείξει πού πραγματικά στέκει ο φτωχός και πού ο πλούσιος στον Κάτω Κόσμο.

"[Μπήκαν στην τέταρτη αίθουσα, και ο Σέτνε είδε] ανθρώπους που έκαναν κόμπους με σχοινιά, ενώ (την ίδια στιγμή) γαϊδούρια τους τα τρώγανε. (2/1) Υπήρχαν άλλοι, οι προμήθειες των οποίων σε νερό και ψωμί ήταν κρεμασμένες από πάνω τους, και όσο προσπαθούσαν να

τις κατεβάσουν, τόσο άλλοι άνθρωποι έσκαβαν βαθύτερα τους λάκκους μέσα στους οποίους έστεκαν, ώστε να μην τις φθάσουν. (2/2) Μπήκαν στην πέμπτη αίθουσα και ο Σέτνε είδε τα ευγενή πνεύματα να στέκουν σύμφωνα με την ιεραρχία. Αυτοί όμως που είχαν κατηγορηθεί για εγκλήματα, έστεκαν δίπλα στην πόρτα παρακαλώντας, (2/3) ενώ το δοκάρι της πόρτας είχε (πέσει) πάνω στο δεξί μάτι ενός άνδρα που παρακαλούσε κι έκλαιγε δυνατά...”

γ1 Το παρακάτω κείμενο προέρχεται από το αρχείο του Χορ της Σεβεννύτου (2ος αιώνας π.Χ.).¹⁶ Το αρχείο του ιερέως Χορ απαρτίζεται κυρίως από επιστολές του Χορ προς τον Πτολεμαίο βασιλιά και θρησκευτικούς ύμνους, οι περισσότεροι εκ των οποίων σώζονται πάνω σε κακογραμμένα όστρακα. Οι επιστολές αυτές, στις οποίες ο Χορ μοιάζει να προσπαθεί να κολακέψει τον βασιλιά με στόχο να κερδίσει την εύνοιά του και να προκαλέσει τη βασιλική παρέμβαση στα προβλήματα που μάστιζαν κατά καιρούς τη λειτουργία των λατρευτικών χώρων του Σεραπείου, αποτελούν ένα πολύτιμο παράθυρο στις σχέσεις μεταξύ του αιγυπτιακού ιερατείου και του Μακεδονικού Παλατιού.

Σύμφωνα με τις πληροφορίες που αντλούμε από το αρχείο, ο Χορ, πατέρας του οποίου ήταν ο *Hr-n-dr.t=f*, γεννήθηκε γύρω στα 200 π.Χ. στο χωριό *Pr-Dhwtj* (= Ερμούπολη) στο νομό της Σεβεννύτου. Η καριέρα του ξεκινά υπό τη βασιλεία του Πτολεμαίου του 4ου του Φιλομήτορος στην *dmi-n-3st* (= Ισιόσπολη) όπου γύρω στα 175 π.Χ. τον βρίσκουμε να δουλεύει ως ιερέας της Ίσιδας. Δέκα χρόνια μετά τον συναντάμε στο Σεραπείο της Μέμφιδας, αφιερωμένο στο θεό Θωθ πλέον και υπεύθυνο της λατρείας της Ιερής Ίβιδας. Στο μεταξύ ο Συριακός πόλεμος ανάμεσα στον Πτολεμαίο τον Φιλομήτορα και τον Αντίοχο τον 4ο τον Επιφανή έχει ξεσπάσει και ο Χορ για άγνωστους λόγους επιστρέφει στο πατρικό του στην Ερμούπολη του Δέλτα όπου και γράφει μια σειρά από προσευχές (ή αλλιώς 'προσκυνήματα', όπως αποκαλούνται στα έγγραφα του αρχείου) στην Ίσιδα. Το 168 π.Χ. ξεκινάει μια μακρά αλληλογραφία με τον Πτολεμαίο, ενώ στις 29 Αυγούστου του ίδιου έτους διαβάζει μπροστά στη

βασιλική οικογένεια στο Σεραπείο της Αλεξάνδρειας προφητικά του όνειρα για τη σωτηρία της πόλης. Και τα δύο γεγονότα αποδεικνύουν τη φήμη του Χορ ως ιερέα και ονειρομάντη. Στην αλληλογραφία του με τον Φαραώ ο Χορ, μεταξύ ευλογιών και ονείρων που προβλέπουν τη θετική πορεία της καριέρας του Πτολεμαίου, αναφέρει προβλήματα στη λειτουργία της λατρείας της Ίσιδας στο Σεραπείο της Μέμφιδας, όπως για παράδειγμα την κλοπή της τροφής των ιερών πουλιών και την ανευθυνότητα των ιερών που φρόντιζαν τα πουλιά μέρα και νύχτα. Λεπτομέρειες για το θάνατο του Χορ δεν μας σώζονται, εκτός από μια περιγραφή ονείρου του όπου η Ίσιδα εμφανίζεται στον ίδιο και προφητεύει ότι θα πεθάνει στη Μέμφιδα.

Τα τρία παραδείγματα εγγράφων από το αρχείο του Χορ που παρατίθενται εδώ ανήκουν στην κατηγορία των κειμένων-επιστολών που γράφθηκαν για να σταλθούν στον Πτολεμαίο βασιλιά.

Όστρακο 2:

“Από τον Χορ τον γραφέα, (2) κάτοικο της πόλης της Ίσιδας, δεσποσύνης της σπηλιάς, (3) της μεγάλης θεάς, στον νομό της Σεβενύττου. (4) Το όνειρο που είδα (είναι) σχετικό με την ασφάλεια της Αλεξάνδρειας (5) (και) την πορεία του Αντίοχου (*tyks*). Συγκεκριμένα (είδα) ότι θα ταξιδέψει (6) με πλοίο από την Αίγυπτο πριν (7) από την τελευταία ημέρα του μήνα Παώνι, του δεύτερου έτους. Ανέφερα το θέμα (8) (στον) *Hrym* που ήταν στρατηγός, τη δέκατη ημέρα του μήνα Παώνι του δεύτερου έτους. (9) Ο *Gryn*, ο απεσταλμένος του Αντίοχου, δεν έχει ακόμη αναχωρήσει από (10) τη Μέμφιδα. Αλλά το παραπάνω θέμα αναφέρθηκε (11) αμέσως και αν και δεν μιλήσαμε περαιτέρω περί τούτου, αυτός έστειλε τα νέα (12) με γράμμα. Το μετέφερα (ο ίδιος στον Φαραώ) στο Μεγάλο Σεραπείο, το οποίο είναι στην Αλεξάνδρεια, την τελευταία ημέρα του μήνα Έπαφου του δεύτερου έτους. (13) Όλα αυτά που μετέφερα, εσύ (14) τα ήξερες. Ήξερες δηλαδή το μεγαλείο των θεών που κατοικούσε στην καρδιά σου. (15) Τα έφερα μπροστά σου, καθώς ήρθα στην Αλεξάνδρεια (16) με τον *byts* το στρατηγό...”

Όστρακο 4:

“Αναφορά του γράμματος που έστειλε ο *Hrynys* που ήταν στρατηγός (2) του Φαραώ και της Βασίλισσας όταν ήμουν υπό την εποπτεία(;) του σχετικά με τα θέματα (3) που του είχα αναφέρει τον μήνα Έπαφο του δέκατου τρίτου έτους...(5) Αυτό που είναι σχετικό με τον μεγαλύτερο γιο του Φαραώ είναι το γεγονός ότι θα γεννηθεί (6) και θα γίνει η αιτία για την εδραίωση της κυριαρχίας του επί ενός ακόμη νομού. Σχετικά με τη σωτηρία της Αλεξάνδρειας, (7) θα είναι ασφαλής υπό τη βασιλεία του... (9) Όσον αφορά στα ταξίδια του Φαραώ, θα πάει (10) (στο) νησί (της) θάλασσας απ' το λιμάνι της Αλεξάνδρειας και η καρδιά του θα είναι χαρούμενη...”

Όστρακο 7:

“(Προς) τον Φαραώ Πτολεμαίο και τη Βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα, (2) τους μεγάλους θεούς. Τα χαιρετίσματα του (3) Χορ, του κάτοικου της πόλης της Ίσιδας, της μεγάλης θεάς, δεσποσύνης της σπηλιάς(;) η οποία είναι στον νομό της Σεβενύττου. (4) Αυτός είναι ο νόμος περί δίκαιης διαχείρισης(;) της τροφής των ιβίδων της Αιγύπτου. (5) Η δύναμή σου, η ετοιμότητα του στρατού σου και η σωτηρία της κληρονομιάς σου (6) θα προστατεύσουν το θρόνο πάνω στον οποίο ο Δημόφων(;) (*Imfn*) της *Tbny* (7) έκατσε μαζί με τον Αγαθο.(;) (*3ktryn*). Η *Tbny* είναι ασφαλής (8)... Η ζωή του Φαραώ είναι ασφαλής και οι εχθροί του βρίσκονται (9) [κάτω απ' τα πόδια του.] Είθε να σεβαστούν το νόμο σε κάθε [περίσταση]... (10) όπως μίλησε ο Θωθ μπροστά σου... Έχω δώσει γιο ο οποίος (11) [θα μεγαλουργήσει] μπροστά στον πατέρα (του)'. Οι θεοί που προστατεύουν τους ναούς της (12) Αιγύπτου είναι παιδιά του Θωθ. Κι όμως αυτοί κλέβουν την τροφή του και αυτά (δηλ. τα ιερά πουλιά) πεθαίνουν (13) συνεχώς απ' την πείνα! (Οι κλέφτες) καταστρέφουν τους ναούς και δεν τα φροντίζουν (14) ούτε τη μέρα ούτε την νύχτα...”

γ2 Από τη μεγάλη συλλογή δημοτικών κειμένων της Μέσης Αιγύπτου (2ος-3ος αιώνας μ.Χ.) που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν σε μνησιαλικές ταφές, θα εξεταστούν εδώ δύο παραδείγματα με ετικέτες από μούμιες που ανακαλύφθηκαν στην περιοχή του

Αχμίμ.¹⁷ Οι ετικέτες αυτού του είδους ήταν δίγλωσσες, στα αιγυπτιακά και στα ελληνικά. Τοποθετούνταν πάνω στη μούμια και αναφέρονταν τις προσωπικές λεπτομέρειες του μουμιοποιημένου νεκρού. Είχαν, δηλαδή, καθαρά γραφειοκρατικό χαρακτήρα, αν και στην αιγυπτιακή τους απόδοση συμπεριελάμβαναν κάποιες στερεοτυπικές φράσεις θρησκευτικού περιεχομένου. Στην ελληνορωμαϊκή Αίγυπτο δεν ήταν μόνο οι Αιγύπτιοι κάτοικοι που διάλεγαν να μουμιοποιηθούν στο θάνατό τους, αλλά και οι Έλληνες και οι άλλοι ξένοι που είχαν μεταναστεύσει στη χώρα του Νείλου. Η μουμιοποίηση ήταν μια άκρως διαδεδομένη συνήθεια της εποχής, και σε πολλές περιπτώσεις, κατέληξε στη συγχώνευση στοιχείων από διάφορες ταφικές παραδόσεις, αποτέλεσμα της οποίας, για παράδειγμα, είναι τα γνωστά Πορτρέτα του Φαγιούμ.

Ετικέτα 16

Ελλην.: “Αυρήλιος Ψεντατρίφης, γιος του Απολλώνιου, του οποίου η μητέρα είναι η Σεμπτετέσις. Κάτοικος της Μπούμπε. 60 χρόνων”.

Δημ.: “Η ψυχή του υπηρέτη του Όσιρι-Σόκαρ, μεγάλου θεού, δέσποτα της Αβύδου: *ḥwrʿls P3-šr-n-T-ḳ3-rpi.t*, γιος του Απολλών() (*ḳplhwn*), του οποίου η μητέρα είναι η *T3-šr(.t)-n-P3-di-ʿls.t*. Κάτοικος της *Bw-hʿ*”.

Ετικέτα 17

Ελλην.: “Αρίστος, γιος του Χαρεμέμφεος, του οποίου η μητέρα είναι η Σεψενέσις. Πέθανε σε ηλικία 77 χρόνων”.

Δημ.: “Η ψυχή του υπηρέτη του Όσιρι-Σόκαρ, μεγάλου θεού, δέσποτα της Αβύδου: *Ḥr-wd3*, γιος του *Ḥr-mh=f*. Η μητέρα του είναι η *T3-šr(.t)-P3-šr-ʿls.t*. Κάτοικος του χωριού *Bw-n-p3-hʿ*”.

Συμπεράσματα

Τα προαναφερθέντα κείμενα δίνουν μια γεύση από την πολύπτυχη επαφή μεταξύ των Αιγυπτίων και Ελλήνων κατοίκων της ελληνορωμαϊκής Αιγύπτου. Καταδεικνύεται ότι οι Αιγύπτιοι γηγενείς είχαν οικονομικές συναλλαγές με τους Έλληνες

μετανάστες (όπως είχε η *Rnp.t-nfr.t* με τον Ανδρόνικο του Εντφού), γνώριζαν και αναπαρήγαν ελληνικά λογοτεχνικά μοτίβα (όπως συνέβηκε στην περίπτωση των Αιγύπτιων συγγραφέων και αναγνώστών του Μύθου του Ματιού του Ρε και των Ιστοριών του Σέτνε Χάμουας), διατηρούσαν άμεση επικοινωνία με το Πτολεμαϊκό Παλάτι και τον Βασιλιά (όπως έκανε ο Χορ με τον Πτολεμαίο τον 4ο), παντρεύονταν Έλληνες (όπως έκανε η *T3-šr(.t)-n-P3-di-Is.t*, αν ο *3plwn* ήταν πράγματι Έλληνας), ενώ τα παιδιά αυτών των μεικτών γάμων (όπως ο Αυρήλιος, γιος της Σεμπτετέσις, και ο Αρίστος, ο γιος του Χαρεμέμφεος), αν και χρησιμοποιούσαν ελληνικά ονόματα, επέλεξαν να ταφούν με τα παραδοσιακά αιγυπτιακά έθιμα, σφραγίζοντας έτσι με τον πιο ταιριαστό τρόπο μια ζωή μεστή σε συνδυασμούς και ανταλλαγές ελληνοαιγυπτιακών πολιτισμικών στοιχείων. Οι εικόνες που μας μετέφεραν αυτά τα κείμενα δίνουν στο όραμα του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου για συμβίωση λαών υπό το σκήπτρο των Μακεδόνων σάρκα και οστά, αντικατοπτρίζοντας καθημερινές στιγμές συνύπαρξης και πολιτισμικής συναλλαγής.

Summary in English

In this paper I present a sample of Egyptian writings composed in Demotic and produced in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, in order to offer the reader an insight into the dynamics of co-existence of the Egyptian and Greek cultures. The corpus of texts presented consist of representative extracts and well-preserved fragments of (a) Demotic documents recording economic ties and commercial exchanges between Egyptian and Greek citizens, (b) Demotic works of literature showing a number of parallels to Greek literary writings, and (c) bilingual textual evidence for Greek citizens of the Roman state in Egypt following traditional Egyptian funerary practices. These writings are proof of a multi-leveled contact that was maintained between the Egyptian and Greek populations during all phases of Greco-Roman Egypt. The signs for contact discussed in this paper include references to mixed marriages and to business co-operations, as well as points of inter-cultural comparison indicating the sharing of a common reservoir of literary motifs, of writing techniques, and of religious traditions.

ΑΝΑΦΟΡΕΣ

- ¹ Αποδείξεις τέτοιας επαφής είναι, για παράδειγμα, τα θραύσματα μωσαϊκού μινωικής κατασκευής που ανακαλύφθηκαν στο Παλάτι της Τελ ελ-Ντάμπα και χρονολογούνται στη 15η Αιγυπτιακή Δυναστεία.
- ² Βλ. Ηρόδοτος II.152-154.
- ³ Βλ. Ηρόδοτος II.78-79.
- ⁴ Όπως, για παράδειγμα, τον ναό του Ώρου, του ιερακόμορφου αιγυπτιακού βασιλικού θεού, στο Εντφού.
- ⁵ Όπως κι έγινε στο παραδοσιακό λατρευτικό κέντρο του Λούξορ.
- ⁶ Το καλύτερο εισαγωγικό βιβλίο στη δημοτική γραφή και τις χρήσεις της στην ελληνορωμαϊκή Αίγυπτο είναι το *A Companion to Demotic Studies* του Mark Depauw (Βρυξέλλες, 1997).
- ⁷ Για παράδειγμα, το ιερατικό κείμενο του παπύρου Carlsberg I, το οποίο δημοσιεύτηκε στο H. O. Lange - O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1, ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmologischer Text* (Κοβενχάγη, 1940), και το δημοτικό κείμενο της πέτρινης στήλης Louvre 420, I (βλ. σχετικά σχόλια στο *A Companion to Demotic Studies*, 79-80).
- ⁸ Βλ. E. Bresciani *et al.*, *Ostraca demotici da Narmuti*, vol. 1 (nn. 1-33) (Pisa, 1983) και P. Gallo *Ostraca demotici e ieratici dall'archivio bilingue di Narmouthis*, vol. 2 (nn. 34-99) (Pisa, 1997).
- ⁹ Βλ. αναρίθμητα παραδείγματα στα επονομαζόμενα *London-Leiden Magical Papyri* (H. Bell, A. D. Nock and H. Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum* [(London, 1933)] και J. Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE)*, *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 153 [(Leiden/Boston, 2005)]).
- ¹⁰ Έκδοση του J. G. Manning, *The Hauswaldt Papyri* (Würzburg, 1997).
- ¹¹ Έκδοση της M. Lichtheim, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu* (Chicago, 1957).
- ¹² Έκδοση του W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos von Sonnenaug: der Papyrus der Tierfabeln-'kufi' nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384* (Strassburg, 1917), και της F. de Cenival, *Le Mythe de l'oeil du soleil* (Sommerhausen, 1988).
- ¹³ Το ελληνικό κείμενο έχει δημοσιευθεί από την S. West, "The Greek version of the legend of Tefnut", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 55 (1969), 161-83.

- ¹⁴ Ακολουθώντας έτσι το δημοφιλές (στα ανατολίτικα παραμύθια) λογοτεχνικό μοτίβο *story within a story*, παράδειγμα της χρήσης του οποίου βρίσκουμε στις *Χίλιες και Μια Νύχτες*.
- ¹⁵ Έκδοση του F. L. I. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis. The Sathon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamwas* (Oxford 1900).
- ¹⁶ Έκδοση του J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London 1976).
- ¹⁷ Έκδοση του P. W. Pestman *et al.*, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, 3 τόμοι (Leiden, 1977).