

The scribal repertoire of Amennakhte son of Ipyu: Describing variation across Late Egyptian registers

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§1. *Introduction*

The aim of this chapter¹ is to investigate diaphasic variation² in the texts written by the Deir el-Medina scribe Amennakhte son of Ipyu in New Kingdom Egypt (ca. 1150 BCE) by analysing the graphemic and linguistic features of the registers he used when writing texts belonging to different genres. The registers are conceived here as selections operating within the scribal repertoire.³ At an empirical level, this study is intended as a first step towards a comprehensive description of the types of linguistic variation found within the written production of the Deir el-Medina community in New Kingdom Egypt (ca. 1500–1050 BCE). At a more methodological level, as a case study testing the applicability of some historical sociolinguistic methods⁴ in the field of Ancient Egyptian, which could ultimately result in refining our approach to its diachrony.

The chapter is structured as follows. After an introduction presenting the scribe and author Amennakhte (§2), I provide an overview of the corpus of texts that can be linked to this individual and justify the selection that has been made for the present study (§3). After a discussion of graphemic regularities across text types in this corpus (§4), a multidimensional description of Amennakhte's registers is proposed (§5). The results of this section are combined with a discussion of habits that can be identified in Amennakhte's writings, at the graphemo-morphological and constructional levels (§6). This allows a representation of the space occupied by each text within the continuum of registers (or *language space*⁵). Finally, I test the possibility of using idiolectal features to identify a scribe (or an author) in the community of Deir el-Medina, comparing the data obtained in this study with three texts closely related to Amennakhte.

§2. *Amennakhte: a scribe and author*

Amennakhte is an illustrious figure of the Deir el-Medina community.⁶ He is known to have been a draftsman⁷ before he was promoted to the office of senior scribe of the Tomb (*sš n p3 hr*) in year 16 of Ramesses III, third month of the inundation season, by the vizier To.⁸ He

¹ I am very grateful to Andreas Dorn (Bonn), Joachim Friedrich Quack (Heidelberg) and Jean Winand (Liège) for their comments on first drafts of this paper. My thanks also go to the editors, Jennifer Cromwell (Copenhagen) and Eitan Grossman (Jerusalem), as well as to anonymous referees, for their suggestions and improvements to the manuscript. It has not been possible to integrate fully the scholarly literature that was published after the final submission of this chapter in April 2011.

² On the dimensions of linguistic variation in pre-Demotic Egyptian, see Polis (this volume, Chapter 4).

³ On scribal repertoires and the need to study them in a dialectic process with the language emerging from a text community, see Stenroos' contribution in this volume (Chapter 2).

⁴ On this label and the concept and methodologies behind it, see Bergs (2005, 8–21).

⁵ On the concept of language space, comprising language varieties and intrinsically heterogeneous, see especially Berruto (2010, 226 and fig. 2).

held this post for more than thirty years, until he eventually passed away in a year 6 or 7, most probably of the reign of Ramesses VI.⁹ He was the founder of a six-generation lineage of scribes who occupied this function within the village¹⁰ down to the 21st dynasty. Additionally, he was a prominent intellectual figure¹¹ of the community during the first part of the 20th dynasty (ca. 1170–1140 BCE). Indeed, not only was he in charge of the administration of the Tomb (and wrote down an impressive amount of documents regarding administrative and judicial matters), he also had a deep interest in *belles-lettres* and produced several literary texts,¹² such as a teaching and poems, as well as hymns to kings and gods (see below for a detailed list).

In the pre-Demotic Egyptian documentation, it is quite exceptional to have access to such a variety of registers for a single scribe.¹³ This is partly due to the fact that, down to the 20th dynasty, the historical authors of literary pieces are almost completely elusive in the extant written records.¹⁴ To put it briefly, in the cultural environment of ancient Egypt, the conception of authorship differs essentially from our modern understanding of the concept – partly inherited from classical philology – and one should consequently avoid projecting it

⁶ See already Černý (1936) and appendix D devoted to his family in Černý (2004, 339–83); further literature in Eyre (1979, 84), Frandsen (1990, 195 n. 98), Bickel & Mathieu (1993), Vernus (1993, 172 n. 21), Nelson & Hassanein (1995), Davies (1999, 105–18), Klotz (2006, 271 n. 14), and Dorn (2006, 78). Andreas Dorn has a project that focuses on the different aspects of this individual: using all the extant records, he aims not only to account for Amennakhte's career, biography and written production, but also at providing, through this central figure, a clearer picture of the whole socio-cultural milieu of Deir el-Medina in the 20th dynasty. I thank him warmly for the amount of data that he shared with me on the topic.

⁷ Numerous graffiti in the Theban Mountain document this title; see Černý (2004, 240 n. 2). He probably occupied this post as early as the reign of Seti II (see graffiti 621 in Spiegelberg (1921) and Davies (1999, 105)). In year 10 of Ramesses III, he is most certainly referred to as *sš-[kd]* in O.Michaelides I, 5–6 (= *KRI V*, 452, 4–5); due to the mention of the foreman Khonsu, Černý (2004, 212) suggested emending the date to a 'year 16', but this emendation requires further evidence. On the graffiti related to the scribe Amennakhte in general, see Peden (2001, 182–188).

⁸ See Spiegelberg (1921, n° 1111 & 1143). The beginning of the draft of one letter written by Amennakhte to the vizier To is preserved on O.Louvre N 696, r° (on this text, see below Text C). He was so grateful to the vizier that he named one of his sons after him; see, e.g., Davies (1999).

⁹ See Janssen (1979 and 1994), Davies (1999, 283), and Müller (2004, 165).

¹⁰ See especially the graffiti (n° 1109) left by the scribe Dhutmose: *hsb.t 18 3bd 1 pr.t sww 28, sš-nsw dhwty-ms n hnw s3 sš-nsw h^c-m-hd.t s3 nsw sš hri-šri s3 sš-nsw imn-nht n hnw* 'Year 18, first month of the winter season, day 28, the king's scribe of the interior, Dhutmose, son of the king's scribe Khaemhedjet, son of the king's scribe Harshire, son of the king's scribe of the interior Amennakhte.' On this family of scribes, see already Černý (1936) and Christophe (1957). An updated list of bibliographical references and analysis of the last three generations are in Bouvier (2006, 23). On the evolution of the status and function of the Deir el-Medina scribes during the 20th dynasty, see Demarée (2008, 51).

¹¹ See Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 48) who quote the famous passage of the *Late Ramesside Letters* (P.BM EA 10326, r° 20–22) dealing with wet papyri that were put in Amennakhte's Tomb and hypothesize, following Koenig (1981), but against Pestman (1982), that he was at some point the owner of the Chester Beatty collection of papyri. On this collection, see Polis (Chapter 4, this volume, n. 141). The title *sš n pr nḥ* 'scribe of the House of life', found after Amennakhte's name in one of the copies of his teaching (O.Cairo s.n.), could be taken as a mere indication of this prominent social and intellectual status (see Vernus (2009, 139; 2010, 56 and 369), who stresses the obvious admission of Amennakhte in 'le royaume des belles-lettres' as shown by the fact that the title of his teaching is directly followed by the *Teaching of Amenemhat* on O.Cairo s.n.). However, the occurrences of this title in a graffiti of the Theban Mountain (n° 2173) as well as the advice *iry=k sš phr=k pr-nḥ* 'may you be a scribe and frequent the House of Life' in Amennakhte's *Teaching* might both be an indication that the title has to be taken at face value (see, e.g., Posener (1955, 69) and Bickel and Mathieu (1993, 36 n. 31)).

¹² This dimension of Amennakhte's life received detailed attention in Bickel & Mathieu (1993).

¹³ Another case that deserves to be mentioned here is the variety of registers attested in Nebre's writings during the 19th dynasty, see *KRI III*, 653–659 for the texts with Goldwasser's comments (1999, 313–4 n. 11).

¹⁴ On the play on authorship as a literary device, see, e.g., Quirke (2004, 31).

back onto the ancient Egyptian material.¹⁵ A simplified (but quite accurate) way of describing how the Egyptians conceived of the notion of authorship before the Ramesside era is the following¹⁶: authors of literary texts are to be identified with the figures who are fictively presented as having the *auctoritas* on their content¹⁷ and not with the historical scribe who actually composed the text. This provides a side explanation for the mention of authors only in the case of teachings and discourses¹⁸ that offer an authoritative vision and a qualified reflection on the world. Accordingly, viziers or other famous characters of the past regularly act as guarantor for wisdom texts;¹⁹ the ‘author’ may also simply be a generic figure, as in the *Instruction of a man for his son*, which emphasizes not only ‘wisdom’s universality’,²⁰ but also the moral authority of the father figure. This explains why, in the didactic literature of the New Kingdom, the authorship of texts is usually attributed to the teachers themselves, who maintain metaphoric father-to-son relations with their pupils.²¹ These relations are often reflected by actual acts of filial piety.²²

It is only during the Ramesside period that external meta-references to literary texts and figures appear in the documentation.²³ In the context of this paper, it is worth mentioning that the verso of P.Chester Beatty IV, which contains the famous ‘Eulogy of Dead writers’²⁴ (v^o 2.5–3.11), has been tentatively attributed to Amennakhte himself²⁵ (see infra §4), even if this remains a hypothetical proposal. Strikingly, this coincides with the times when we are first able to match individual scribes, known by other records, with authors of literary compositions, i.e. to contextualize historically non-fictive authorships. For the present, this kind of matching has only been possible in the context of Deir el-Medina during the first part²⁶ of the 20th dynasty²⁷, i.e., when the level of literacy was substantially higher than in

¹⁵ On the notion of authorship in ancient Egypt, see especially Derchain (1996, 84 and 92), who stresses its importance and argue that ‘[l]’auteur, individu-origine du texte, dans la perspective scientifique, est une nécessité épistémologique’; the same opinion is found in Luiselli (2003, 343) ‘[t]he literature [...] was anonymous, and treated more as the fruit and reflections of a common ‘cultural memory’ rather than as the work of individuals.’ Without the figure of the ‘author’, however, or of a copyist [...] this ‘cultural memory’ would never have acquired a written form’. This notion of author and its usefulness has been a matter of intense debates in literary theory; see the chapter devoted to this topic in Compagnon (1998, 51–110). In the Egyptological literature, see especially Parkinson (2002, 24–25), Quirke (2006, 29–36), and the references quoted by Moers (2009, 320 n. 8).

¹⁶ I am grateful to Todd Gillen for discussing this topic with me.

¹⁷ See especially Vernus (2010, 17–22). Regarding the *form* of the literary texts, one observes a sort of chiasm between the proclaimed respect of the original in the colophons (see Luiselli (2003, 345), with earlier literature) and the fluctuating and evolving literary tradition as documented by the witnesses of these texts; see Moers (2009, 321), who rightly states that we are studying *productive tradition* and argue against the excess and aporias of a ‘Fehlerphilologie’.

¹⁸ Coulon (1999, 132): ‘[l]a plupart des œuvres du Moyen Empire révèlent une affinité profonde entre l’auteur et l’orateur qu’il met en scène, au point d’ailleurs que la postérité retienne l’un pour l’autre.’

¹⁹ See the excellent pages about ‘authors and authorship’ in Parkinson (2002, 75–78).

²⁰ As expressed by Parkinson (2002, 76).

²¹ See Bierbrier (1980, 102). In the framework of this study, one has to mention in the *Teaching of Amennakhte* the variant *ir.n sš imn-nḥt n s3[=f]* ‘made by the scribe Amennakhte for his son’ in O.DeM 1248 + O.BruX. E. 6444, r^o 2.

²² In this respect, the relationship between Ramose and Qenhirkhopshef immediately springs to mind (see Černý (2004, 325–326) and Vernus (2002, 58)).

²³ See Parkinson (2002, 30–32).

²⁴ See Moers (2008; 2009, 319–322), Dorn (2009), and Vernus (2010, 365–367), with previous literature.

²⁵ See Posener (1955, 71; 1980b, 55).

²⁶ Except for some marginal cases, such as Butehamon’s letter to his departed wife (= O.Louvre 698; beginning of the 21st dynasty), see Goldwasser (1995).

other places and times²⁸, when textuality became central in the community,²⁹ and when it was possible to embed literary production in real life,³⁰ with concrete functional settings; in other words, when ‘thematizing life experience’ became a feature of Egyptian literature.³¹

Besides Amennakhte’s compositions, the three main other cases³² in point are (1) Menna’s literary letter-lament to his son Mery-Sekhmet, nicknamed Payiri,³³ (2) Hori’s teaching, which was probably addressed to one of Amennakhte’s sons after the death of his father,³⁴ and (3) Hay’s hymn to Amen-Ra-Horakhty.³⁵ These literary pieces are not documented as having been circulated outside the community of Deir el-Medina,³⁶ i.e., the places where the workmen’s activity was taking place: the village itself, but also the Valleys of the Kings and Queens.

Consequently, Amennakhte’s writings are undoubtedly one of the most promising sites for investigating variation according to registers at the level of the individual scribe. Indeed, we have access to:

1. independent social data;
2. linguistic material that is rich, albeit limited in terms of token frequency, for the texts that he wrote pertain to genres that entail a great variety of registers;

²⁷ On the earlier texts attributed by the Egyptian textual tradition to the scribe Khety and the question of his actual existence, see Quirke (2004, 31–3). The wisdom text attributed to Aametchu, which is inscribed in the Tomb of Useramun (see Dziobek (1998, 23–54); 18th dynasty [Thutmose III]) might well belong to the *topos* of a fictive father-to-son teaching (*Ptahhotep* and after) rather than being an actual composition of Aametchu (this viewpoint has also been put forward by Vernus (2010, 55)).

²⁸ It is worth noting, after Dorn (2006), that the literary documentation from Deir el-Medina after this period (i.e., from the second half of the 20th dynasty onwards) is, to say the least, limited. We certainly witness ‘at first a reorganization and then a reduction of the literary activity that seems to exclude Thebes from what is going on in other regions of the country’ (Loprieno 2006, 166). Accordingly, it looks very much as if the times of Amennakhte constituted a kind of acme in the literary life of the community.

²⁹ As a working hypothesis, it could be suggested that Amennakhte was a pioneer of the practice of ‘signature’. Indeed, other ‘signatures’ of scribes are either contemporaneous or posterior to him, see in particular his son Amenhotep (Keller (2003)), who frequently signed the figured ostraca he produced.

³⁰ Mathieu (2003, 136–137 and table 3) and Dorn (2009; see especially the figures on p. 76–77 and the comments on p. 77–82) have shown how the authors emerge in our documentation under Ramesses III. It is worth noting that the selection in the written repertoire made by the scribes in these texts does not strictly emulate the Earlier Egyptian language anymore, but corresponds to high registers of Late Egyptian tinted with older constructions, lexemes, and spellings (which are indexical of their literary value) and expressly filtering some features more recently introduced in the written repertoire. This opening of the literary sphere to new registers is already documented during the 19th dynasty, see, e.g., *P.Anastasi I*. Strikingly, this phenomenon is reflected by the types of texts copied as school exercises, as has been demonstrated in Dorn (2009).

³¹ Loprieno (2006, 167).

³² Seven other texts might be included here, following the hypotheses put forward in Mathieu (2003, 136–137, table 3), Lenzo Marchese (2004, 365), and Dorn (2009, 77): O.Cairo CG 25225 (?Hymn?; A[men]nakhte), O.DeM 1593+O.Michaelides 82 (Hymn to Amun-Ra; Amenmes), O.DeM 1693 (Model letter; Paneferemdjed son of Amennakhte), O.Gardiner 319 (Hymn to Ra; scribe Hormin son of Hori [bare name and filiation at the end of the text]), O.Leipzig 8 (Imprecation; Amenemhat), O.Turin 57003 (Hymn to the Sun; ?Panefer?), O.Turin 57319+O.DeM 1635 (Love song; a scribe in the Place of Truth, if the ‘signature’ of the v^o is related to the text on the r^o). Possible additional candidates are mentioned in passing when analysing the formula *ir.n sš PN* ‘made by the scribe PN’, see n. 49.

³³ On the O.OIC 12074, see, e.g., Fischer-Elfert (2006) and the abundant literature quoted in Vernus (2010, 469–475).

³⁴ This short *sb3yt mtr.t* is preserved on a single ostrakon, O.Gardiner 2, r^o; see Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 49–51).

³⁵ See Dorn (2009, 77; 2011, 190–1), with two new parallels from the Valley of Kings (see pp. 457–8, n^o 745 and 746; pl. 648–56) showing that, much like Amennakhte’s teaching, this text was used as a school exercise.

³⁶ See Loprieno (1996a, 56–8), Baines (1996, 167), and Parkinson (2002, 76).

3. (a large amount of) other texts written within the same community, which allow us to interpret the linguistic assemblage found in each of Amennakhte's scribal productions in the light of other texts, and which serves as a *tertium comparationis*.

In the framework of this paper, the focus is on Amennakhte's writings themselves (i.e., point 2) and the analysis will be restricted to an 'internal' approach to the selections made by this individual in the scribal repertoire of his time. Thereby, I intend to describe the diaphasic variation found within the texts he produced, including issues of standardization, of written formality and idiosyncrasies, and to show that the variation – far from being 'free' – is to be conceptualized in relation to a full mastery of all the registers available to a scribe in the beginning of the 20th dynasty.³⁷ Amennakhte was consciously using and playing with them, depending on the conditions of production and on the norms attached to each genre.

§3. *The corpus of Amennakhte's writings*

The corpus used for the following analysis is restricted to a body of texts whose attribution to Amennakhte son of Ipuw, as author (not necessarily as scribe, see below),³⁸ suffers little doubt and is agreed upon by most scholars. This option has been favoured in order to avoid uncontrolled discrepancies in the results, so as to give a description of the types of variation found in his writings that could be used later on as a 'test corpus', i.e., which (graphemic and) linguistic features may be used as criteria when one try to corroborate or invalidate the attribution of a text to Amennakhte.

Among the *literary texts*, only those that bear the formula (*ir.n*) *sš imn-nḥt* '(made by) the scribe Amennakhte' (or some variant thereof) have been included in the present corpus:

Text 1 (T1): Instruction of Amennakhte.

Ed.: Synoptic edition in Dorn (2004, 40–2)³⁹ with new parallels on unpublished ostraca in Ritter (2008, 83–4). **Authorship:** Consensus of the scholars, based on O.BM EA 41541 (r^o 2:

³⁷ On this point, see already the comments made by Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 48): 'les écrivains accomplis devaient être capables de traiter tous les genres, comme le souligne l'*Enseignement* : *Il est si agréable de trouver un homme compétent dans tous les domaines*' (e.g., *ndm zp-2 gm z ip m k3.t nb.t*). On this sentence, see now the interpretation suggested by Vernus (2012, 420).

³⁸ On the identifiability of authors and scribes in ancient societies and, more specifically, concerning how much of the language that we still see today is the scribe's or represents the author, see the analysis in Bergs (Chapter 3 in this volume).

³⁹ Abbreviations used here: (A) O.KV18/3.614 + 627 (Dorn (2004, 40–2 and pl. II–VII)); (B) O.BM EA 41541 (Posener (1955, 62–3 and pl. 4); Demarée (2002, pl. 93); and Mathieu (2002, 221); trace of a date written in red under the final line]; (C) O.München AS 396, v^o (von Beckerath (1983, 68–9)); (D) O.Cairo s.n. (Posener (1951a, 42–3; 1952, 119)); (E) O.DeM 1248 + O.Bru. E 6444 (Posener (1972, pl. 62–62a)); (F) O.DeM 1036 (Posener (1938, pl. 20–20a)); (G) O.DeM 1249 (Posener (1972, pl. 62–62a)); (H) O.DeM 1254 (Posener (1972, pl. 66–66a)); (I) O.DeM 1256 (Posener (1972, pl. 66–66a); with date at the end: *3bd 2 3ḥ.t sw 23 iw.i ḥr ḥt[?m n p3 ḥr?]*, ²⁰⁰⁰ must be added to the transcription given by Dorn (2004, 41)); (J) O.DeM 1596 (Posener (1978, pl. 47–47a)); (K) O.Grdseloff (Bickel & Mathieu (1993, pl. I–VII); with date at the end: *3bd 1 smw sw 5*); (L) O.Lacau (Černý & Gardiner (1957, III and 3)); (M) O.Turin N. 57436 (López (1982, pl. 143–143a)); (N) O.DeM 1599 (Posener (1978, pl. 49–49a)); (O) O.DeM 1255 (Posener (1972, pl. 66–66a)); (P) O.Cairo CG 25770 (Černý (1935, 96* and pl. 100)). O.Turin CG 57134 might preserve the very beginning of the text, [*sb*]3y.t mtr[.t]. Based on the proposal made by Dorn (2013), the *Instruction of Amennakhte* could now perhaps be extended to other textual fragments: O.DeM 1606 + O.Cairo CG 25772, O.DeM 1598 II (with parallel on O.Michaelides 18), O.DeM 1218⁺ (with other parallels, see Fischer-Elfert 1983), O.DeM 1607, and O.DeM 1219.

ir.n sš inm-nḥt – ḥry-ḥ hr-min ‘made by the scribe Amennakhte – his assistant Hormin’; see also O.KV 18/3.614 + 227, r^o 1; O.Grds., r^o 1–2; O.München ÄS 396, v^o 3; O.DeM 1248 + Brux. E 6444, r^o 1–2; O.Cairo s.n., r^o 2–3), with additional prosopographical arguments by Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 37).⁴⁰

Text 2 (T2): Lyrical poem that expresses longing for Thebes (O.Ashmolean Museum 25, r^o = O.Gardiner 25, r^o).

Ed.: Černý & Gardiner (1957, xxxviii, 1 r^o) = *KRI* V, 646. **Bib.:** Černý (2004, 348); Lichtheim (1980); Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 38); Parkinson (1999, 157); Ragazzoli (2008, 31–3). **Authorship:** Consensus of the scholars, based on the formula of r^o 10–1: *ø sš inm-nḥt [n p3 ḥ]r^o p3 s3 i[pwy]* ‘the scribe Amennakhte of the Tomb, the son of Ipuy’.

Text 3 (T3): Satirical poem that makes fun of a pretentious person (O.Ashmolean Museum 25, v^o = O.Gardiner 25, v^o).

Ed.: Černý & Gardiner (1957, xxxviii, 1 v^o) = *KRI* V, 646–647. **Bib.:** Posener (1964); Guglielmi (1985). **Authorship:** Consensus of the scholars, based on the formula of v^o 8–9: *ø sš inm-nḥt n p3 ḥr^o p3 s3 ipwy* ‘the scribe Amennakhte of the Tomb, the son of Ipuy’.

Text 4 (T4): Encomium of Ramesses IV or v⁴¹ (O.Ermitage 1125, r^o).

Ed.: Matthiew (1930). **Bib.:** Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 44–5). **Authorship:** Consensus of the scholars, based on the formula of r^o 9: *ir.n sš inm-nḥt s3 ipwy* ‘made by the scribe Amennakhte, son of Ipuy’.

Text 5 (T5): Encomium of Ramesses IV (O.Turin CG 57001, r^o = cat. 2161).

Ed.: López (1978, pl. 1a–1). **Bib.:** Assmann (1975, 498–9); Bickel & Mathieu (1993). **Authorship:** Consensus of the scholars, based on the formula of r^o 9: *ir.n sš inm-nḥt n p3 ḥr m ḥsb.t 4 3bd 1 3ḥ.t sw 14* ‘made by the scribe Amennakhte in year 4, 1st month of Akhet, 14th day’.

Text 6 (T6): ?Hymn to Ptah?⁴² (O.Turin CG 57002 = cat. 2162 + 2164).

⁴⁰ Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 32–3): ‘Les sept ostraca [i.e. the ones known to belong to this teaching in 1993] qui contiennent cet *Enseignement* sont très proches, aussi bien pour ce qui est du texte lui-même, qui ne présente que peu de variantes, qu’au regard des écritures. Ces similitudes plaident en faveur d’une diffusion de l’œuvre dans l’entourage immédiat de son auteur’. On this point, see Baines (1996, 167) who describes the *Instruction of Amennakhte* as a ‘local text’ (and compares it with Menna’s literary letter-lament to his son [O.Chicago OI 12074, cf. *supra*]), somehow dismissing the hardly disputable literary qualities of the composition. In the same vein, see McDowell (2000, 233).

⁴¹ If we consider, with due respect, the classifier applied to the word *sfy* (‘child’) in line 2, this text could hardly be anything else than a royal eulogy, although it borrows many ‘topoi’ from the *Love Songs* corpus; see Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 44) according to whom this text might have been addressed to Ramesses IV or V. Based on the ‘écriture plus dense et plus rapide’, Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 38) have misgivings about Amennakhte being the copyist of this text. In this respect, one can notice that it is the only literary text that contains several ‘mistakes’ (e.g., supererogatory *hr* at the end of r^o 2; unexpected spellings, like *pr.w* [r^o 4], *nšn* [r^o 7], etc.), some apparently incomplete sentences (e.g., r^o 6), and *supra lineam* additions (r^o 7 & 8 [twice]). However, none of these arguments is decisive, for it could simply result from a hastier copy with self-correction, which is a well-known practice, see, e.g., Quirke (1996, 383).

Ed.: López (1978, pl. 3–4a). **Bib.:** Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 45–7). **Authorship:** Consensus of the scholars, based on the formula of r^o 9–11: *ø sš inm-nḥt s3 ipwy n p3 ḥr, ḥsb.t 2 3bd 4 pr.t sw 27 n nsw.t-bity* R5 ‘the scribe Amennakhte of the Tomb, son of Ipuw; year 2, 4th month of Peret, 27th day of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Ramesses R5’.

Text 7 (T7): ?Appeal to the gods (r^o; 7 lines, the lower part being slightly erased) followed by a Hymn to Osiris (v^o; 8 lines)? (O.IFAO OL inv. 117).

Ed.: Dorn & Polis (forthcoming). **Authorship:** Based on the formula of v^o 8: *ir.n sš inm-nḥt n p3 ḥr* ‘made by the scribe Amennakhte of the Tomb’.

An eighth literary text (hymn to a king of the 20th dynasty),⁴³ O.Berlin P 14262 r^o,⁴⁴ is now to be added to Amennakhte’s literary production (*sš inm-nḥt (s3) ipwi* [...] on line 6, i.e., the last line, of the ostrakon), but will not be included in the corpus for it was published after the completion of the present study.⁴⁵

Following other scholars, I assume that the formula (*ir.n*) *sš inm-nḥt* ‘(made by) the scribe Amennakhte’ that occurs at the end of the literary texts introduces, in the present case, the name of the author,⁴⁶ but not necessarily the name of the copyist or scribe; some of them could be autographs, but this remains to be demonstrated. This position, explicitly endorsed

⁴² So far, this text has received little attention. Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 45) suggest that it could be a hymn to Ptah (two occurrences of the name *Pth* [r^o 3 & 5] and phraseological similarities with other hymns to this divinity [especially P.Berlin P 3048 and P.Harris I, 44.3–7]).

⁴³ A hymn to Amun-Re of Karnak on an uncarved stela (MMA 21.2.6) has also been attributed to Amennakhte; see Klotz (2006, 272) and the previous mentions in Černý (³2004, 350 n. 8) and Davies (1999, 105 n. 289 and 109 n. 348). However, the authorship appears to rely solely on the appearance of Amennakhte (*sš-nsw.t n s.t m3^c.t Imn-nḥt* ‘Royal scribe of the Place of Truth, Amennakhte’) in the lower register (followed by his son, the scribe Pentaweret and his brother, the chief craftsman Amenemope). Consequently, the attribution of this text to Amennakhte is plausible, but disputable: the two other individuals depicted on the stela could well be the artists who drew it, and we should not exclude the possibility of attributing it to other contemporary literates of the community. This question deserves special interest. If this text were to be included among Amennakhte’s literary works and if he actually drew the stela himself (this question might be addressed by taking into consideration the ostrakon to Ptah made by Amennakhte (Valley of the Queens, see Nelson and Hassanein (1995, 231)), as well as the ostrakon to Meretseger (O.BTdK 244) recently found in the Valley of the Kings (see Dorn 2011, 1.293; II.216–217), then a tenth text is also to be taken into consideration: the hymn addressed to the great cat (as sun god) on a stela in the Ashmolean Museum (picture and description in Winter (1963, 201–202 and fig. 18); translation in Assmann (1975, 368 and 604)). I do agree with Klotz (2006, 270; with further bibliography on the stela in n. 4) that this piece is likely to be the work of the same artisan. Unfortunately, the names of the man and woman of the lower register have never been drawn. Furthermore, Andreas Dorn has drawn my attention to two other traces of personal piety, which might have been produced by Amennakhte (Stela BM EA 374, see Parkinson (1999) and *KRI* V 645, 14–16 and *KRI* V 644, 12–14), but this remains difficult to ascertain given the lack of filiation.

⁴⁴ See Burkard (2006). The text has been published by Burkard (2013).

⁴⁵ A picture of the r^o of this ostraca is available online on the website *Deir el Medine Online* (<http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/fragment.php?id=243>). Other literary texts signed by Amennakhte have been identified since then among the unpublished papyri and ostraca of the IFAO and of the Egyptian Museum in Turin (and there are undoubtedly more to be found in other collections). They are being prepared for publication by Dorn & Polis.

⁴⁶ See especially the ‘signatures’ of the *sš-ḳd.w* ‘draughtsmen’ studied by Keller (1984; 2003, 86) who argues that ‘la formule votive *ir(.t).n* signifie non seulement que le dessinateur en question était le dédicant de la pièce mais aussi qu’il en était le créateur’ and quotes other cases in which the subject of the *ir(.t).n* formula cannot be the orant, but only the author. Add now the study by Dorn (forthcoming).

by Bickel and Mathieu,⁴⁷ is not unproblematic. Indeed, if the use of the *ir.n* PN formula is documented in cases when it can solely refer to the author, i.e., to the exclusion of the scribe who actually copied the text,⁴⁸ the full formula (*ir.n* PN) or the bare name of an individual (PN) may also occur at the end of a text in reference to the scribe who actually wrote it down. This case is especially well attested for students copying texts as a school exercises.⁴⁹ Therefore, the occurrence of the formula ‘(made by) the scribe Amennakhte’ after literary texts is not sufficient if one wishes to ascertain his authorship, for it might be used to indicate a copy that he made. In order to corroborate Amennakhte’s authorship for the above-mentioned texts, two additional facts can be taken into consideration:

1. He is the author of T1;
2. T4, T5 and T6 were composed quite late in Amennakhte’s life (under Ramesses IV and v), i.e., at a time when Amennakhte was a skilled professional in writing and had few (if any) reasons to copy such literary texts on ostraca.

Given both points 1 and 2, it is tempting to attribute T2, T3 and T7 to the same author, especially based on the fact that we have to deal with trained literary hand(s), which seems to

⁴⁷ Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 38) state that ‘la paternité unique [de ces textes] est indubitable’ and consider that, maybe with the exception of T5, ‘[t]outes ces compositions [...] semblent nous être parvenues sur des documents écrits de la main même d’Amennakht’.

⁴⁸ Among the well-known *incipits* of earlier texts, see, e.g., the post Middle Kingdom versions of *Ptahhotep*, cf. Moers (2009, 323–4) who produces a penetrating analysis of the appearance of *ir.t.n* ‘verfertigen’ (vs the earlier *dd* ‘vortrag’).

⁴⁹ Same opinion in McDowell (2000, 227–8) and Lenzo Marchese (2004, 364–6) where several examples are quoted. The following list of examples can be considered: O.DeM 1022 and 1042 (copy of the *Satire of the Trades* with bare name of the copyist at the end, *It-nfr*), O.DeM 1560 (copy of the *Satire of the Trades* on the v^o with the formula *ir.t.n sš PN sš PN* ‘made by the scribe PN son of PN’ on r^o 1–2); this formula is sometimes further developed with the mention of a dedicatee as in O.DeM 1027 (copy of the *Hymn to the Inundation* with the formula *ir.n sš It-nfr n Hri* at the end on v^o 3–4 ‘made by the scribe Itnefer for Hori’). The formula *ir.n sš PN* is also attested in relation with exercises on specific signs (see, e.g., O.DeM 1784 with the formula *ir.n sš 3ny* ‘made by the scribe Ani’ framed in an inked box in the middle of bull signs; exercise on a royal epithet) or on colophons (see *P.Sallier* IV, v^o 16.2: *ir.n sš Imn-h^cw* ‘made by the scribe Amenkhau’) after model letters (see, e.g., O.DeM 1693, r^o x+6; signed by one of Amennakhte’s son, Paneferemdjed), after love songs (see, e.g., O.Turin 57319+O.DeM 1635, if the ‘signature’ on the v^o is related to the text on the r^o), after a dreambook (*P.Chester Beatty* III, 10.20; *ir.n sš Imn-nht sš H^c-m-nwn* ‘made by the scribe Amennakhte son of Khaemnun’), and after copies of literary texts (in this case, it follows the *iw=s pw nfr m htp* formula: *P.Sallier* III, 11.9–11 [Pentaweret – *Qadesh*], *P.d’Orbiney* 19.9 [Ennene – *Two Brothers*], ?O.Turin 57431? [? – *Teaching of Amenemhat*]; bare name of the scribe without the *ir.n* formula, e.g., on *P.Sallier* II, 3.8 [Ennene – *Teaching of Amenemhat*], O.DeM 1014, 2.7 [Neferhotep – *Satire of the Trades*]). Additionally, see the famous usurpations of the scribe Nakhtsobek in *P.Chester Beatty* 1 (in the love song of r^o 16.9 and in the text of *Horus and Seth*), see Vernus (1992: 177 n. 37). It should also be mentioned that, after royal encomia, hymns and prayers, besides the formula *ir.n* PN (see, e.g., the hymn to the sun on O.Turin CG 57003, v^o 10; O.Turin CG 57396, r^o 6; O.Leipzig 23, v^o 7; name only in the Hymn to Ra of O.Gardiner 319, r^o 5), the passive construction *irw in* PN is also attested for what is usually more likely to be an author (on this question, see also Mathieu (2003, 136–7, table 3) and Lenzo Marchese (2004, 365)) rather than an orant signature (much like in TA, r^o 5.8; see, e.g., the *Hymn to Amun-Ra* of the O.Michaelides 82 + O.DeM 1593, l. 5: *irw in sš imn-ms* ‘made by the scribe Amenmes’, O.Petrie 6, r^o 4–5; in the *dw3w*-hymns, the mere agentive particle *in* may be used directly after the introduction of the prayer like in O.DeM 1197, r^o 1: *dw3 r^c htp=f m ^cnh in sš kd hri-mnw* ‘worshipping Ra when he goes down in life by the draughtsman Hormin’; see also O.DeM 1706, 1748); the status of the scribe of O.BM EA 29549 is difficult to ascertain: are we dealing with a mere copyist or with an author introduced after a long colophon by *ir(w) in hry-^c=f* ‘made by his assistant’ (v^o 2)? Finally, one sometimes finds the formula *sš pw* PN ‘it is the scribe PN’ at the end of literary text, such as O.Leipzig 8, r^o 5.

exclude ‘signed’ school exercises. Hence, the probability that Amennakhte actually composed these texts is high, but this has not been definitely proven yet.

One should stress here the fact that the attribution of these literary texts to Amennakhte does not rely on the identification of his handwriting.⁵⁰ Indeed, as has been pointed out several times, the use of palaeographical arguments for dating in general⁵¹ and for the identification of individual handwritings in particular still remains a risky business,⁵² not least because of the similarities between hands in the Deir el-Medina community of the period.⁵³

This principle also applies to the selection of *documentary texts* that have been included in the present corpus: their palaeography has been used very cautiously as a secondary criterion and it is only the documents for which strong internal evidence speaks in favour of Amennakhte’s authorship that have been kept in the main corpus⁵⁴:

Text A (TA): The testamentary deposition of Naunakhte (also known as *The Last Will of Naunakhte* [Doc. I] = P.Ashmolean 1945.97 = P.Gardiner 1 [col. 1–5.8⁵⁵]).

Ed.: Černý (1945, VIIIa–IX) = *KRI* VI, 236–40. Year 3 Ramesses V or VI. **Authorship:** Amennakhte is mentioned as the scribe: *irw in sš imn nht n p3 hr hni* (col. 5.8).

Text B (TB): The Turin Strike Papyrus⁵⁶ (= P.Turin Cat. 1880).

Ed. *RAD* XIV–XVII & 45–58 = n° XVIII. Year 29–30 Ramesses III. **Bib.:** Pleyte & Rossi (1869–76, pl. XXXV–XLVIII [*fac-simile*]); Edgerton (1951); Frandsen (1990); Häggman (2002,

⁵⁰ Such an enterprise (with a special attention to the *ductus*) is part of another project.

⁵¹ See, e.g., Eyre (1979, 86–7) and Janssen (1984, 305–6; and 1987).

⁵² See, *inter alii*, Gasse (1992, n. 27); Janssen (1994, 96); Sweeney (1998, 102–3); van den Berg & Donker van Heel (2000). For the *Will of Naunakhte*, see Eyre (1979, 87): ‘Even within the Will of Naunakhte [calligraphic writing], the degree of deliberateness in sign formation varies quite considerably, the forms tending most to cursiveness and ligature appearing in the list of witness at the end of the first column’.

⁵³ Amennakhte was a ‘teacher’ and Eyre (1979, 87) suggests that we could be dealing ‘with a ‘school’ of hands closely associated with his’. Further comments on the similarities between the hands that wrote the numerous ostraca of the teaching of Amennakhte in Dorn (2004, 49). On this point, see also Parkinson (1999, 158) who states, about O.BM EA 41541 (T1B), ‘This copy is well written on a carefully chosen ostraca and the scribe’s handwriting seems to be modelled on Amennakhte’s own’. Given r° 2 and comparing it with T1E (*n s3* [_{LAC.}]) ‘for the son [_{LAC.}]', one may wonder whether Hormin is actually the dedicatee (Bickel & Mathieu 1993) or rather the copyist of T1 (Dorn (2009, 77)).

⁵⁴ Usually, arguments of two kinds are invoked in arguing for the authorship of Late Egyptian documentary texts: (1) palaeographical comparison, which has been used by Eyre (1979: 86–7 and n. 57) in combination with the onomastic point of view; this results in a list of no less than 20 documents attributed to Amennakhte’s, cf. *infra*; (2) the occurrence of the name of the scribe in the document, especially when he is the only person qualified as a scribe among the people mentioned in the text and when his position in the list of witnesses is prominent or unexpected. Both arguments are used by Zonhoven (1979, 89 and 97) regarding the attribution of O.Wien Aeg 1 to Amennakhte.

⁵⁵ The end of the fifth column most probably was written by Horisher, son and pupil of Amennakhte; see already Černý (1945, 31). This suggestion received general approval, see, e.g., Eyre (1979, 86): ‘That he is indeed correct, as also in his presumption that the later hand is that of Horisher, is unchallengeable.’ Eyre’s argument is also based on the appearance of Horisher among the witnesses to the codicil in his earliest attestation as ‘Scribe of the Tomb’.

⁵⁶ This papyrus is basically a series of notes related to the strike that occurred in Deir el-Medina at this time (see, e.g., Valbelle (1985, 35), Polis (2011, 387)), even if, as it has been noted (see Eyre (1979, 90 n. 36)), the word *sh3* (lit. ‘*memorandum*’) only occurs after a later addition (*RAD* 58.14–6). One finds this term in connection with Amennakhte on O.DeM 761: [_{DATE}] *sh3 n sš imn-nht*^{end} (see Grandet (2000, 162)). On the notion of ‘draft’ in relation to this document, see Donker van Heel & Haring (2003, 1–2).

Ed.: *HO* LXVII, 3 = *KRI* V, 555–556. Year 31 Ramesses III. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 166–7); Helck (2002, 330).

3: O.Ashmolean Museum 104 [= O.Gardiner 104].

Ed.: *HO* XLVII.3 = *KRI* V, 555. Year 31 Ramesses III. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 171–2); Helck (2002, 329); Janssen (2005, 24).

4: O.Berlin P 10633.

Ed.: DeM-online = *KRI* V, 529–30. Year 29 Ramesses III.

5: O.Berlin P 10645+10646.

Ed.: *HOPR* pl. 6–7 & DeM-online = *KRI* V, 527–8. Year 28 Ramesses III. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 30); Wimmer (1995, 29–30) [hand similar to T7].

6: O.Berlin P 10655.

Ed.: DeM-online = *KRI* V, 573–4. ?Year 29 Ramesses III?. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 30–2); Helck (2002, 302).

7: O.Berlin P 12630.

Ed.: *HOPR* pl. 10–1 & DeM-online = *KRI* V, 594–5. Ramesses III (?or IV?). **Bib.:** Wente (1990, 162).

8: O.Berlin P 12654.

Ed.: *HOPR* pl. 12–5 & DeM-online = *KRI* VI, 344–5. Year 2 Ramesses IV (or V). **Bib.:** Janssen (1982, 133–47). Eyre (1979, 91 n. 57) is hesitant about this attribution.

9: O.BM EA 65938 [= O.Nash 5].

Ed.: *HO* LIII, 2 = *KRI* V, 471–2, & Demarée (2002, pl. 187–8). Year 20 Ramesses III. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 221–2); McDowell (1999, 34); Helck (2002, 239–40). Eyre (1979, 91 n. 57) is hesitant about this attribution.

10: O.Bodleian Library Eg. Inscr. 253.

Ed.: *HO* LXIV, 2 = *KRI* V, 485. Year 23 Ramesses III. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 40–2); McDowell (1999, 33); Helck (2002, 250).

11: O.DeM 59.

Ed.: Černý (1935, pl. 46–46A). 20th dynasty. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 84–5).

12: O.DeM 73.

Ed.: Černý (1935, pl. 50–50A) = *KRI* V, 472–3. Year 20 Ramesses III. **Bib.** Allam (1973, 88–9); Helck (2002, 240–1); Janssen (2005, 36).

13: O.DeM 553.

Ed.: Sauneron (1959, pl. 2–2A) = *KRI* V, 658–9. Ramesses III. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 127–8).

14: O.DeM 828 + O.Vienna H. 1.

Ed.: Zonhoven (1979, fig. 1) & Grandet (2000, 212).⁶¹ Year 25 Ramesses III.
Bib.: McDowell (1999, 69–72).

15: O.Florence 2620.

Ed.: *HOPR* pl. 34–5 = *KRI* V, 467. Year 17 Ramesses III. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 147); Helck (2002, 235).

16: O.Florence 2621.

Ed.: *HOPR* pl. 36–9 = *KRI* v, 478–80. Year 21 Ramesses III.

17: O.Florence 2625.

Ed.: *HOPR* pl. 34–5 = *KRI* v, 501. Year 25 Ramesses III. **Bib.:** Wimmer (1995, 94); Helck (2002, 266).

18: O.Michaelides 1 [= O.Grdseloff 1].

Ed.: Goedicke & Wente (1962, pl. LI) = *KRI* V, 451–52. Year 10 Ramesses III. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 204–5); Helck (2002, 227); Janssen (2005, 28).

19: O.Nicholson Museum R. 97.

Ed.: Eyre (1979, 88–9) = *KRI* VI, 151–2. Ramesses III^{end}–Ramesses IV.⁶²

20: O.Turin N. 57381 [= O.Turin suppl. 9611].

Ed.: *HOPR* pl. 68–9; López (1978, pl. 119–119a) = *KRI* VII, 286–7. Year 18 Ramesses III.
Bib.: W. Helck (2002, 238).

21: P.Berlin P 10496.

Ed.: *HOPR* pl. 80–4 = *KRI* V, 476–8. Year 21 & 24 Ramesses III. **Bib.:** Blackman (1926, 177–81) and *DeM Online* (see *remarks* about the hands of this documents).

This list – with select bibliography⁶³ – is intended merely as a survey of the documentary texts that have been tentatively attributed to Amennakhte by Egyptologists. With the identification of scribal hands being still highly problematic,⁶⁴ the methodological stance adopted here is the following: these documents can serve as a ‘test corpus’ in order to investigate whether the kinds of variation found within them correlate with the kinds of

⁶¹ Publication of the missing part of the O.Vienna H. 1 (= Černý, *Notebook* 114, 47–8).

⁶² The reason why Helck (2002, 514) suggests dating this document to year 16? of Ramesses IX escapes me.

⁶³ Full bibliographical information may be found in the Deir el-Medīna Database (<http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html>).

⁶⁴ See, however, the interesting methodological suggestions made in van den Berg & Donker van Heel (2000) regarding the identification of handwritings, which would benefit from considering large palaeographical units.

graphemic and linguistic variations found in the main corpus. However, I explicitly refrain from attributing these texts *en bloc* to Amennakhte.⁶⁵

§4. Graphemic variation: regularity and motivated variations in hieratic spellings

At first glance, the examination of this dimension of variation⁶⁶ might appear to be somewhat inadequate: the three documentary texts in the corpus must have been written by Amennakhte himself, but, setting aside any kind of palaeographical consideration, the literary texts might well be copies of Amennakhte's compositions made by other scribes. However, the variations between the witnesses of T1 at the graphemic level are limited, in both quantity and quality, so that we may quite safely infer that the scribes who copied such texts paid a great deal of attention to the formal side of their undertaking.⁶⁷ Inductively, it would be surprising if this were not to apply to other literary texts produced by Amennakhte. Hence, I consider all the spellings of the literary corpus to be representative of Amennakhte's own.

In this section, one will observe (1) the high degree of regularity of the spellings in Amennakhte's writings, (2) the importance of the iconic potential of the hieratic script through the analysis of some motivated variations of classifiers,⁶⁸ (3) variations in the spellings that are characteristic of given genres and the result of Amennakhte's deliberate choice.

As a first illustration, one may examine the variation found within substantives.⁶⁹ If we exclude some marginal cases, such as the variation between $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (TA, 3.11) vs $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} / \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (sg/pl systematic; *passim*), there is only one example of apparently unmotivated variation in the literary texts (143 lexemes; 33 occur in two texts or more [23%]) and one example in the documentary texts (172 lexemes; 32 occur in two texts or more [18.6%]):

- *imw* 'boat' $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (T1L, 2; similar in other witnesses of T1) vs $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (T3, 5);
- *šgr* 'wooden ?box?' $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (TB, v^o 5.15) vs $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (TB, v^o 5.11), certainly due to a lexical borrowing.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ The issues linked with identification of hands in the material from Deir el-Medina during the 20th dynasty are discussed in Dorn & Polis (forthcoming).

⁶⁶ The research on this part of the paper has been facilitated by the use of the *Ramses* database developed at the university of Liège, which allows encoding of the hieroglyphic spellings; see Rosmorduc, Polis & Winand (2009), Polis, Honnay & Winand (2013), and Winand, Polis & Rosmorduc (in press).

⁶⁷ Burkard (1977, 68–71 and 142–5) showed that the texts were not written to dictation but copied, see also McDowell (1996, 607) and the comment made by Parkinson (1999, 158).

⁶⁸ On the use of the term 'classifier' and its relevance for analyzing the ancient Egyptian writing system, see Goldwasser & Grinevald (2012) and Lincke & Kammerzell (2012).

⁶⁹ Proper names have been excluded here.

⁷⁰ See Janssen (1975, 200; 2009, 84), who does not acknowledge the spelling with $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$. The alternation between $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (*Wb.* 1, 208.11) and $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (*Wb.* 1, 97–98) is probably not to be considered as a case of graphemic variation within TB between a syllabic and an older spelling. Indeed, both lexemes are attested in Coptic, respectively $\alpha\lambda$ 'pebble, stone' and $\omega\eta\epsilon$ 'stone' (see Černý 1976, 4 and 228). The difference in the meaning of each word, however, is not self-evident in TB. In the same context, compare: *hr ptr, kf3* PN₁ *hn^c* PN₂ $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ *hr tbn n p3 is n Wsir* PN₃ 'but look, PN₁ and PN₂ removed a stone on the top of the tomb of the Osiris PN₃' (r^o 4.4–6); *hr ptr=tn t3 s.t-^ch^c* ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$) *n t3ty* PN *hr t3 s.t-in inr* ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$) 'but you have seen (i.e. you are aware of) the position of the vizier PN regarding the removing of stones' (r^o 4.10); *di* $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ PN, *p3y=i it, rmt r in(t) inr im=s* 'the chief of the gang PN, my father, appointed someone to remove

Furthermore, it should be stressed that the writings of the substantives are consistent across genres (310 lexemes; 13% (n = 40) occur both in literary and documentary texts): there is no significant variation of spellings between literary and documentary texts. This means that the degree of carefulness of the handwriting does not directly affect the spellings. Within the documentary texts, however, one observes an influence of cursive handwriting (e.g., *hrw* ‘day’ $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ [TA, r^o 1.3; also in T5, r^o 1]) → $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ [e.g., TB, r^o 1.1] → $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ [e.g., TB, v^o 6.6] → $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ [e.g., TB, v^o 8.7]) and processes of abbreviation (*hmty* ‘copper’ $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ [TA, r^o 5.7; TB, v^o 5.18] → $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ [TB, v^o 5.4]; *hry* $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ [TB, r^o 4.16] → $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ [e.g., TB, v^o 3.5]; *smn* ‘price’ $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ [TB, v^o 5.3] → $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ [e.g., TB, v^o 5.2]; *smw* ‘vegetable’ $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ [e.g., TB, v^o 1.8] → $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ [e.g., TB, v^o 4.14]), which are virtually absent from the literary texts. Consequently, it clearly appears that the strong coherence and the high consistency of the spellings, pointing to the existence of – at least ‘idiolectal’ – writing conventions, would make the graphemic level a worthwhile criterion to investigate when arguing in favour for authorship.

The above-mentioned cases of variation already show that Amennakhte is likely to have had strong scribal habits when producing hieratic texts. It can be further demonstrated, through motivated variations in his use of classifiers, that he also exploited the iconic dimension of the hieratic script, thereby illustrating the fact that – much like the hieroglyphic script⁷² – hieratic is not simply a way to write down a string of spoken language,⁷³ but a complex semiotic system in its own right.⁷⁴ The iconic potential of the hieratic writing system broached thereafter is a clear illustration of the importance of writing ‘beyond its function as vehicle of linguistic sequences’.⁷⁵

Variations in classifiers are found in literary and documentary texts alike in order to specify the referent in context: $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (e.g., T1P, 3) vs $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (T5, 8); $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (T4, r^o 8) vs $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (TC, 3) vs $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (e.g., T5, r^o 1; TB, r^o 2.4); $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (e.g., TB, r^o 4.15; TC, 6) vs $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (TA, r^o 2.1; TB, 1.x+16). The influence of the referent on the classifier is obvious in the alternation between $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (*hrd.w* ‘*h3wty.w* ‘the male children’, TA, r^o 3.10) vs $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (*bn i.in.tw t3y.i 3 hrd.w hr.i* ‘my three (female) children will not be allowed to go to court against me’, TB, v^o 6.4–5) vs $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (when the two genders are concerned; e.g., TA, r^o 4.7; TB, r^o 4.18); this observation remains true regardless of the genre under consideration. The specification of the referent through the use of a classifier may also reflect the selection of a particular meaning with polysemic lexemes; see, e.g., ‘*wy* ‘hands’ $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ or $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (T4, 6; T6, r^o 3) vs ‘authority’ $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (T6); *sb3y.t* ‘teaching’ $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ or $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (e.g., T1A, 1 or T1K, 1) vs *sb3y.t* ‘punishment’ $\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (*i.ir=tw n=f sb3y.t m p3* ‘*rk=f rn n pr-3* ‘*w.s im* ‘it is because of my (lit. his) swearing here by the name of Pharaoh *l.p.h.* that I (lit. he) will receive a punishment; TB, r^o 2.10).

With very few exceptions (see the two cases above), we do not encounter cases of free variation at the graphemic level when studying the spellings of the substantives in

⁷² See especially Loprieno (2001).

⁷³ Another cogent example for the period is the discrimination in writing between two individuals called *M33-nhtw=f* (see Dorn (2006)), which has been discussed by Loprieno (2006, 167).

⁷⁴ See already the comments in Broze (1996, 129–56), with previous literature on the topic, regarding the ‘manipulations graphiques’ and their consistency in the tale of *Horus and Seth*, which undoubtedly point to a very high degree of elaboration of the written performance.

⁷⁵ Loprieno (2006, 167).

Amennakhte's corpus. We mostly have to deal with conventionalized spellings or motivated variations.

As has been stressed, the genres do have a minimal influence on the spellings of the substantives. As far as this distinction is concerned, no conclusion can apparently be drawn from the graphemic level of variation. However, Amennakhte's habit of writing the 2SGM suffix pronoun is worth investigating further in this respect. Indeed, the alternation between the spellings $\overline{\text{w}}$, $\overline{\text{w}}$ and $\overline{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{h}$ (or the like) of this pronoun appears to be overwhelmingly regular and might be symptomatic both of literary registers and of an 'idiolectal' conception of the syntagmatic environments where each of these spellings occurs.

The spelling $\overline{\text{w}}$ is the usual spelling of the 2SGM suffix pronoun⁷⁶ but, in a proportion of approximately 3 to 1, two other types of spellings occur:

1. $\overline{\text{w}}$ ky

$\overline{\text{w}}$ ky, is consistently used after dual inflexions: $\overline{\text{w}}$ $\overline{\text{w}}$ *ir.ty=ky* 'your eyes' (T1A, 4 [= T1B, 7 = T1J, 1 = T1K, 5–6]; T3, 7; T4, 5); $\overline{\text{w}}$ $\overline{\text{w}}$ *wy=ky* 'your arms' (T4, 6). This infrequent spelling of the suffix pronoun, which occurs most of the time in monumental contexts (in phrases like *hr ib.ty=ky* 'under your feet', e.g., in *Urk.* IV, 1661.5, 1754.7; *KRI*, 96.13, etc. or *hr rd.wy=ky* 'under your legs', e.g., in *KRI*, 249.12), is also attested once in a parallel version to *P.Anastasi* I, 19.4–5 (O.DeM 1005+1662, 7: $\overline{\text{w}}$ $\overline{\text{w}}$ *wy=ky*) as well as in a parallel version to *P.Anastasi* IV, 3.4 (O.Gardiner 28, v^o 1: *ir.ty=ky*), and, strikingly, three times in the *P.Chester Beatty* IV (v^o 4.9: *rd.wy=ky*; v^o 4.12 & 5.2: $\overline{\text{w}}$ $\overline{\text{w}}$ *wy=ky*).

2. $\overline{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{h}$

$\overline{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{h}$ (with its variants $\overline{\text{w}}\text{e}$ and $\overline{\text{w}}\text{e}\text{h}$) is a hieratic spelling usually considered⁷⁷ to have been influenced by the first person singular ending of the Stative (also known as Pseudo-Participle inflexion in Late Egyptian).⁷⁸ This 'long' spelling is characteristic of the literarily elaborated registers that one finds in the wisdom literature *sensu lato*,⁷⁹ in the Love Songs and in the *Laudes Urbis*, as well as in the closely related registers of the didactic literature⁸⁰ during the Ramesside period. If we add to this corpus some 10 examples coming from other literary compositions (such as *P.Raifé-Sallier* III, *Two Brothers* [1 ex.: 14.6], *Horus and Seth* [2 exx.: 7.7 & 15.2]), the number of occurrences of the long spelling of the suffix pronoun is 147 vs 20 (88%) in favour of the 'literary' registers. The main syntactic environments in which these spellings appear in the whole Late Egyptian corpus are:

- After plurisyllabic prepositions (like *r-h3.t*, *r-hr*, *m-b3h*, *m-hmt*, *m-di*, *hn^c*).

⁷⁶ Unfortunately, the 2SGM suffix pronoun occurs only once in the non-literary corpus, i.e. in TB, r^o 2.14.

⁷⁷ After Erman (²1933, §65–7) who has given the fullest description of the phenomenon to date.

⁷⁸ It should be noted that, in the texts where the long spelling of the 2SGM suffix pronoun occurs, the full spelling of the first person pseudo-participle ending represents less than 50% of the attestations.

⁷⁹ See, e.g., *P.Anastasi* I (20 occurrences), *Teaching of Ani* (9 occurrences in *P.Boulaq* 4), *P.Chester Beatty* IV, Menna's laments, *Prohibitions*.

⁸⁰ See, e.g., *P.Lansing* (with O.DeM 1044 and O.Florence 2619); *P.Anastasi* II; *P.Anastasi* IV (with O.Gardiner 28); *P.Anastasi* V; *P.Koller*; *P.Leyden* 348; *P.Turin* A, B & D; *T.Brussels* E. 580.

- After some substantives (especially with dual inflexions⁸¹).
- After *sdm=f* forms (mainly as subject of the Perfective and the Subjunctive⁸²).

When occurring in documentary texts,⁸³ spellings like are mostly found in the introductory formulae of letters and in letters to superiors (probably to be understood in relation to diastratic variation) down to the reign of Ramesses III.⁸⁴ Consequently, even if some phonological motivations may originally lie behind the use of this spelling,⁸⁵ it is safe to assume that the spelling of the 2SGM suffix pronoun became somehow indexical of the more formal registers. It is therefore not surprising to find it in literary texts by Amennakhte.

Moreover, the syntactic environments in which the long spelling occurs in Amennakhte's corpus display some interesting regularities. Unlike in the other texts of the Late Egyptian corpus, it does not occur after prepositions, but it does occur as:

- the possessive pronoun after three substantives: *h3ty.k* 'your heart' (T1B, 10,⁸⁶ T3, 2)⁸⁷; *shr.w.k* 'your course of action' (T1L, 3); *rn.k* 'your name' (T3, 3);
- the subject of the (mostly dependent) Subjunctive (*ʿm.k* [T1A, 5 = T1B, 8 = T1K, 6, similar spelling in P.BM EA 10326, v^o 17: *r di.t ʿm=k* 'in order that you know' ; *mdw.k* [T1A, 6 = T1B, 11; similar spelling in O.DeM 1108, 4: *hft mdw=k* 'when you speak' , *phr.k* [T1B, 12], *rwi.k* [T1L, 11], *shd=k* [T6, r^o 6]) and of *rh*⁸⁸ in the negative construction *bw rh.k* in a circumstantial clause (T1A, 15; same construction and spelling in P.Turin D, 2.4 = LEM 131.7).

In conclusion, it might be argued that, given the observed regularities, the spelling of the 2SGM suffix pronoun could be used as an interesting criterion with which to corroborate the attribution of a literary text to Amennakhte or, more broadly, to Amennakhte's 'school.' Indeed, if the explanation of the affinity of the long spelling with specific lexemes and restricted syntactic environments remains open to further investigation, the combination in a

⁸¹ See, e.g., *ʿwy=k*: P.Anastasi I, 19.4; *ʿnh.wy=k*: O.DeM 1253, 2.3; *3h.ty=k*: O.Turin 6618, 6; *ir.ty=k*: O.DeM 1616, 3.8; *rd.wy=k* P.Harris 500, r^o 6–7.12.

⁸² Less often as the object of the infinitive (15 occurrences); see the examples already quoted in Erman (²1933, §65).

⁸³ Sometimes also in older constructions, such as the negative perfective *bw sdm=f* in O.DeM 554, 4.

⁸⁴ See, e.g., P.Northumberland I, r^o 4 & v^o 2; O.DeM 581, 3–4; P.Cairo CG 58059, 2; P.Brooklyn 37.903 L, 5. Later occurrences of the long spelling of the 2SGM suffix pronoun are very infrequent. Note that, among the clear cases of long writings in non-literary texts after Ramesses III (see P.Mallet, 6.11 & P.Mayer A, v^o 9.19), three occurrences come from Dhutmose's letters (P.BM EA 10326, r^o 15 & v^o 17; P.BN 196 II, v^o 3).

⁸⁵ See Erman (1933, §67). The long spelling is never used with monosyllabic prepositions like *n* (maybe with the exception of P.Harris 500, r^o 6–7.3), *m*, *r* or with *iw* (in Amennakhte's literary corpus, see the short spelling in T5, 5: *iw=k r nhh* 'you will last forever') and *mtw*.

⁸⁶ But in A.

⁸⁷ For this spelling, see also P.BM EA 10326, 15 (= LRL 18.7): *m dy h3ty=k m-s3=i m md.t nb* 'do not worry about me regarding anything' and P.BN 196 II, v^o 3 (= LRL 22.2).

⁸⁸ This spelling is to be related to the rather frequent long spellings of the 2SGM suffix pronoun when it is the subject of the dependent subjunctive of *rh* in the construction *rdi.t rh*, see, e.g., O.DeM 289, 1: *di=i rh=k p3 kth it3y <m> pr Ipwy*; O.Petrie 92, r^o 5 (= HO 42.1); P.Koller, 5.7 (= LEM 120, 14); O.Gardiner 86, 2; P.Leyden 348, v^o 10.1 (= LEM 136.10). See also P.Boulaq 4, 17.7: *nn rh=k dd sw* 'when it is impossible for you to express them (properly) [i.e. the words]'. This last example is to be added to the examples dealt with in Polis (2011).

text of the spelling $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ after dual inflexions and of the spelling $\overline{\text{𓏏𓏏}}$ (or $\overline{\text{𓏏𓏏}}$) after the Subjunctive (and some substantives) could be taken as a worthwhile criterion. Quite interestingly, this happens at least in two didactic compositions: O.Gardiner 28 (= *HO* CXIII, 1; a copy of *P.Anastasi* IV, 3.4–4.7) and, strikingly, *P.Chester Beatty* IV, v^o, which, as mentioned earlier (see above §2), has been tentatively attributed to Amennakhte himself by Posener based on internal thematic criteria as well as geographic and diachronic compatibility between the manuscripts. Of course, this criterion is not sufficient in itself, but rather should be taken as an indication that this possibility actually holds.⁸⁹

§5. *Diaphasic variation: A multidimensional approach to register analysis*

In order to examine the variation between the registers used by Amennakhte when composing texts belonging to different genres and to show thereby, through the various selections that he deliberately made within the scribal repertoire of his time, his full mastery of the writing conventions, I will first focus on the types and distributions (*‘register features’*) of the main predicative constructions attested in each text of the corpus.⁹⁰ In a second step, other distinctive linguistic features (*‘register markers’*) will be acknowledged so as to suggest a more fine-grained picture of variation between registers during the first part of the 20th dynasty, i.e., a multidimensional approach to register variation.

Given the relatively small size of the corpus, one has to use both qualitative and quantitative criteria in the analysis of linguistic features responsible for register variation.⁹¹ Accordingly, the predicative constructions will be envisioned both in terms of types (i.e., occurrence vs non-occurrence of a construction), and in terms of distribution (i.e., percentage of occurrence of each construction).

As shown in fig. 5.1, the range of predicative constructions⁹² attested in Amennakhte’s corpus is relatively wide. One finds predicative constructions (verbal morphology included) that are: (a) characteristic of Late Egyptian (left of the chart); (b) common to Late Egyptian and *Égyptien de tradition* (centre of the chart); and (c) inherited from Earlier Egyptian, but no longer productive in Late Egyptian (right of the chart). Consequently, the texts may be arranged according to the types of predicative constructions that occur in their respective registers; this corresponds to different parts of the scale of written formality:

- The registers of T1 and T5–6 filter out the more recent constructions that are strongly indexical of the lower part of the formality scale (periphrastic constructions with *iri*, Future III, Sequential, and Conjunctive). Additionally, the selections within the repertoire in the registers of T1 and T5 are oriented towards the higher part of the formality scale, which is

⁸⁹ The text, usually attributed to the early 20th dynasty in Thebes (see, e.g., Quirke (1996, 382)), should be systematically compared with Amennakhte’s production. See also the thematic proximity between *P.Chester Beatty* IV, v^o 4.8 and T3 noted in Vernus (2010, 491).

⁹⁰ In the corpus under investigation, I consider that a single register is used in each text, admittedly simplifying things quite a bit.

⁹¹ It is worth noticing that the present approach relies on linguistic features only in distinguishing registers. This means that one of the more effective criteria for register distinction, namely the lexical similarities between texts belonging to the same genre (which result from the influence of common situational features), has been left out of the present study. For this kind of approach, see Gohy, Martin Leon, & Polis (2013).

⁹² For the sake of clarity, the participles and relative forms have been excluded from the chart because of the important number of different morphological units. Their interest for the identification of registers is, however, beyond any doubt. One might think, for example, of the high frequency of the construction [INF. *ir.n* NP] in legal and administrative documents.

illustrated by the occurrences of constructions that are no more productive in the documentary corpus of the time.

- T2 and T3 are literary compositions whose registers are largely open to constructions that entered the written repertoire during the New Kingdom. The small size of these two texts prevents additional conclusions, but they seem not to be entirely closed to constructions belonging to the older, more formal, part of the repertoire.
- The documentary registers of TA and TB are, as expected, fully open to the latest development of the written language of the time and closed to the older constructions and verbal morphology typical of Earlier Egyptian.

The continuum of distinct selections in the available written repertoire is therefore nicely illustrated by the analysis of the types of predicative constructions in the corpus. This observation alone shows the inadequacy⁹³ of Groll's approach to the literary verbal system in Late Egyptian, for she did not properly recognize that the Late Egyptian literary texts never constituted a homogenous linguistic system, but rather a continuum of registers on the formality scale.⁹⁴

⁹³ See *inter alii* Quack (1994, Introduction).

⁹⁴ This does not mean that the literary registers do not display a cohesive behaviour with respect to other linguistic features.

	<i>i.ir.t=f sdm</i>	Fut. III	Sequential	Conjunctive	<i>i.ir=f sdm</i> (emph.)	Infinitive (narr.)	Perfective		Imperative		Subjunctive		Present I			Adj. Pred.	Subst. Pred.	Exist. Pred.	<i>(i.)sdm=f</i> (emph.)	<i>bw (ir=f)</i> <i>sdm(=f)</i>	2 nd Pred.	<i>tw=f r. NP</i>	<i>mrr.f</i>	<i>sdm=f</i> (imperf.)	<i>sdm.n.f</i>
							+	-	+	-	+	-	inf.	psp.	adv.										
T1							2		9	3	16		4	3	5	4	4	2	1	4	3	2	1		1
T5							4				2		3	19	6	1		1		1		1		2	
T6									2		12	1		1	4		2	1							
T2					1				1		1		1	1	3	2		1						1	
T3				2	1				1				4		2	1	1								
TA		10	1		1		5	1			2		2	1	1		1								
TB	1	9	15	10	6	29	24	1	7	2	17	7	17	7	14	1	4	8	3						

Fig. 5.1. Predicative constructions (and verbal morphology) in the main texts of Amennakhte's corpus (only the constructions whose analysis suffers little or no doubt have been included in the chart)

The analysis in terms of types of predicative constructions could create the impression that, roughly speaking, the registers of T1 and T5 are similar, as are the ones of T2, T3, TA and TB. In fact, this may be proven inaccurate by taking into consideration the statistical distribution of the constructions in terms of type-token frequency. In order to make this point clear, I will succinctly limit the discussion to the differences between the registers of T1 and T5, but the same obviously holds, even if to different extent, for the other texts)

In T1 (see fig. 5.2), one observes a sharp dominance of verbal morphology with manipulative function: together, the Imperative and the Subjunctive represent approximately 45% of the predicative constructions. The high proportion of verbal forms with such function is ultimately linked to the situational features of the register under examination, i.e., that of a teaching, the aim of which is to give advice and instructions to a pupil in an elaborated literary composition.

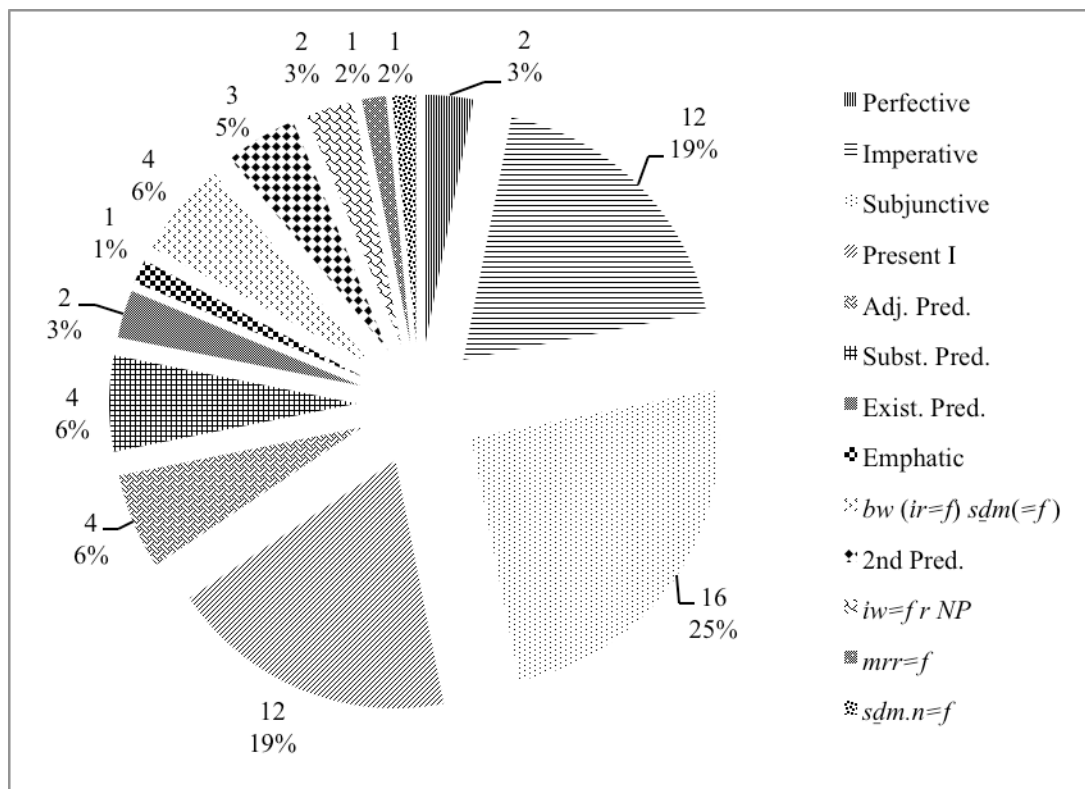


Fig. 5.2. Distribution of the predicative constructions in T1

The variety of other predicative patterns is also to be mentioned, for it reflects both the opening of T1's register to constructions that belong to strata of the repertoire that are common to literary and documentary texts, but also strong intertextual relationships with the linguistic material of the past in related genres.⁹⁵ This explains some of the occurrences of linguistics features belonging to the higher part of the formality scale in the register of T1.

⁹⁵ See Dorn (2004, 50–5). For *tr wnm=k* in T1A, 11 (and other witnesses), certainly add *Ptahhotep* P 7.9–10: *šms ib=k tr n wnm=k* 'follow your heart as long as you live'.

Fig. 5.3, on the other hand, shows that, even if the registers of T1 and T5 are quite similar with respect to the types of predicative constructions selected, the distribution of this dimension of variation differs substantially between the two registers: the range of predicative constructions is lower and, crucially, the verbal paradigms with solely manipulative function are absent. The description of the recently reinstalled peace and joy in this encomium of Ramesses IV leads to a statistically striking over-representation of the Present I with Stative predicates.

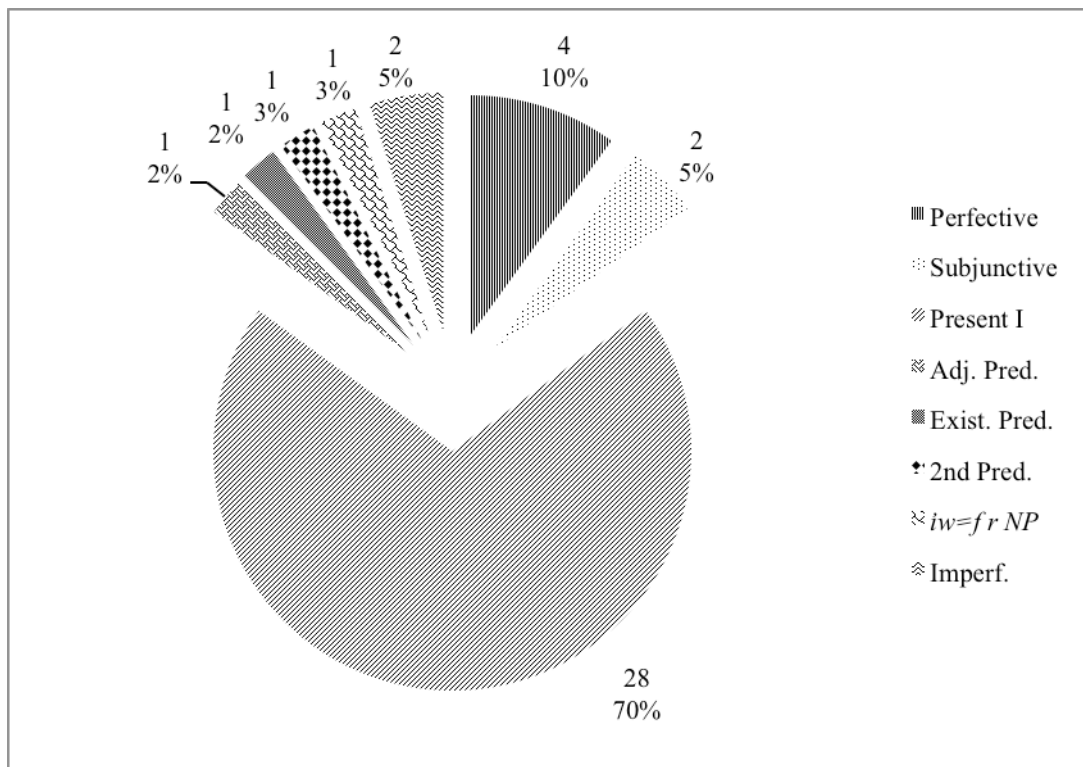


Fig. 5.3. Distribution of the predicative constructions in T5

This short case study is intended to illustrate the fact that the identification of a register depends not only on the occurrence *vs* non-occurrence of an individual feature, but also on the relative frequency of features among the various registers. Moreover, the predicative constructions of the registers of T1 and T5 are, to be sure, not representative of this dimension of variation in the registers of the *teachings* and *encomia* in general. Only a large scale and quantitative investigation of these genres would allow refinement of the figure.

Another way to account for the continuum of selections in the written scribal repertoire is to analyse the distribution of the 3PL suffix pronoun. As is well known, the new suffix pronoun =*w* supersedes the suffix pronoun =*sn* during the Ramesside Period. Winand⁹⁶ showed that the older pronoun =*sn* is not replaced at the same pace in every syntactic position by the more recent suffix pronoun =*w*. The spread of the new suffix pronoun =*w* was apparently quicker after *iw* and definitely after the infinitive (*status pronominalis*). In the documentary corpus

⁹⁶ Winand (1995, 193–5); with previous literature.

that he investigated, the replacement is almost completed by the beginning of the 20th dynasty: under Ramesses III, =*sn* is limited to two environments, namely after prepositions (2 occurrences; 18%) and after *iw* (2 occurrences; 5%).

The distribution of these two pronouns in Amennakhte's corpus is worth looking at in several respects and, even if the figures are very low, some tentative observations may be put forward. Among the literary registers, the ones of T1 and T5 are the more conservative: the occurrences (2) of the 3PL suffix pronoun in T1 are realized with the older form and T5 retains =*sn* as the subject of the *sdm=f* forms,⁹⁷ as well as in the possessive pronoun *n3y=sn*. This correlates with the abovementioned distribution of the predicative construction: both texts use registers that are manifestly very high on the formality scale.

In the registers of the other literary texts, the set of acceptable syntactic positions for the suffix pronoun =*w* is larger, since one finds no occurrence of =*sn* in these texts. This is puzzling considering the fact that =*sn* occurs both in TA and TB and calls for two comments. First, as stated earlier, during the 20th dynasty, some literary registers are amply opened to the latest evolutions of the written repertoire; this case is nothing but a direct illustration of the phenomenon. Second, we might be dealing here with real time diachrony and the evolution of the habits of one scribe. Indeed, even if we have no idea about the dates of composition of T2 and T7, both T6 and TA⁹⁸ were composed and written down several years after TB. This explanation is to be treated with caution, but it should be kept in mind as a working hypothesis.

		Inf.	Subst.	<i>iw</i>	<i>(i.)sdm=f</i>	Poss.	Preposition		
							<i>m/r/mi-ḳd</i>	<i>ḥr</i>	<i>n</i>
T1	= <i>sn</i>				1				1
	= <i>w</i>								
T5	= <i>sn</i>				2	1			
	= <i>w</i>		3	1					
T6	= <i>sn</i>								
	= <i>w</i>				1				3
T2	= <i>sn</i>								
	= <i>w</i>		1	1	1		1		2
T7	= <i>sn</i>								
	= <i>w</i>				1		1		
TB	= <i>sn</i>			1	1			1	12
	= <i>w</i>	5	2	7	4	1	1	1	
TA	= <i>sn</i>								1
	= <i>w</i>	1		7	2	2	3		1

Fig. 5.4. Distribution of the 3PL suffix pronouns in the corpus

⁹⁷ One notices that these two cases of =*sn* (r^o 5 & 6) occur after the old imperfective *sdm=f* form. Do we have to posit a relation between the occurrence of older verbal morphology and the appearance of the older suffix pronoun? This hypothesis might be collaborated by the fact that the sole occurrence of =*sn* in TB after a verbal form is with the quotative verb *i.n=sn* 'they said' (r^o 2.17).

⁹⁸ For the sole occurrence of =*sn* in TA as a possible trace of formality and written norm, see §4.4 below.

The two dimensions of register variation broached to this point are sufficient to demonstrate the necessity of conceptualizing registers as a continuous rather than discrete construct by putting the focus of the analysis on the relative distribution of common linguistic features.

Some other linguistic features – while maybe not strong enough to be considered ‘register markers’ strictly speaking, i.e., distinctive indicators of a register⁹⁹ – are definitely characteristic of some registers, as opposed to others in the investigated corpus. As opposed to the other texts, T1 and T6 use the old spelling of one negation: *nn* $\overline{\text{nn}}$ (strongly indexical of the higher part of the formality scale, see T1A, 6 [= B, 10] & T1A, 14 [= T1L, 8]; T6, r^o 5–6), instead of the regular Late Egyptian negation *bn* $\underline{\text{bn}}$, which occurs both in other literary (T5, 5) and documentary texts (18 occurrences, never *nn*).

The topicalizing particle *ir* ‘as for’ is avoided in literary registers. In T5, one finds: \emptyset *n3 h3r.wt, pr.{t}w wn* ‘the widows, their houses are open’ (see also T5, 6); in T1A, 6 (= B, 10), \emptyset *smi* C3 , *nn sw r s.t=f* ‘an arrogant announcement is out of place’. In the documentary registers, on the other hand, the topicalizing particle is systematically present: *ir ink, ink nmh n p3 t3 n pr-C3* ‘as for me, I am a free woman of the land of Pharaoh’ (TA, 2.1); *ir p3 w3h nb dr.t=f |hr dr.t=i | im=w, iw=i r di.t n=f 3h.t=i* ‘whoever among them has been a helping hand, I will give him my goods’ (TA, 2.6); *ir p3 nty bwpw=f di.t n=i, bn iw=i r di.t n=f m 3h.t=i* ‘as for he who did not give me (anything), I will not give him anything of my goods’ (TA, 2.7); *ir p3[y] 4 hrd.w ink <bn> iw=w r Ck r ps.s.t m 3h.t=i nb.t* ‘as for these four children of mine, they will not have a part of any of my goods’ (4.7; sim. in 3.7, 4.9, r^o 5.1 and 5.3), *ir p3y.tn dd (...)* ‘concerning your^{PL} saying (...)’ (TB, r^o 3.1–2). This opposition between literary and documentary registers does not seem to suffer any exception.

In the literary registers, the morpheme *iw* is avoided for introducing circumstantial clauses of non-existence¹⁰⁰ (see, e.g., the virtual circumstantial clauses in T1A, 15 [= T1L, 9]; T5, 6–7: *bn p3 nwh* ‘there is no more hauling’¹⁰¹ and T6, r^o 5–6), as well as before the adjunctal stative that is left unconverted¹⁰² in T1A, 3 (*ndm zp-2 gm z ip m k3.t nb.t* ‘it is really pleasant to find a man able in every work’) and in the other witnesses, except for T1K, 3–4, which resorts to the converted construction *iw=f ip m k3.t nb.t* ‘who is able in every work’.

Finally, lexical diversity is a dimension of variation that deserves close attention when adopting a multidimensional approach to register analysis. Indeed, the richness of the lexical stock, which is typically captured by the type-token ratio V/N ,¹⁰³ is expected to vary across

⁹⁹ See Biber (1995, 28–9).

¹⁰⁰ In this respect, the occurrences of the negative relative converter *iwty* in T1 (e.g., K, 15: *iwty ir.t=f* ‘the one without discernment’ [lit. ‘who has no eye’]) and T2.4 (*iwty hbs.w=f* ‘the one without clothes’) is to be pointed out. However, the vitality of the *iwty* morph in Demotic and Coptic (especially the host-class expansion of the *iwty*-constructions) should warn us against identifying it as a sign of formality (diatopic parameters of variation might possibly be relevant in this case).

¹⁰¹ On the so-called ‘predicative *bn*’, see Vernus (1985, especially pp. 155–63 dealing with the construction *bn* + definite subject).

¹⁰² In a similar vein, the definite article *p3* seems to be expressly filtered out in some specific syntactic environments, e.g., before substantival occurrences of the infinitive; see T1A, 3 & 12 (with the other witnesses: *ndm [zp-2] gm + OBJ. & ndm knkn*) vs T3, 3 (*nfr.wi n=k p3 |C3| rn=k*).

¹⁰³ Where V is the size of the vocabulary of the text and N is the number of tokens of the same text, see, e.g., Stamatatos, Fakotakis & Kokkinakis (2001, 474–5 and 481–82).

genres and registers.¹⁰⁴ A simple example that focuses on the adjectival category will be sufficient here in order to illustrate the line of reasoning.

There are 19 different ‘adjectives’ attested in the corpus (among which 4 occur both in literary and documentary texts: *wr*, *ʕ3*, *nfr* and *t3y*): 14 of them are used in T1–7 and 8 in TA–C. As is shown in fig. 5.5 (and even if the shortness of the texts is likely to be responsible for uncontrolled statistical variation), the literary registers are characterized by a higher text frequency of the adjectives than the documentary registers, at least in a proportion of 2 to 1 (but more significantly in most cases). Moreover, there is a clear tendency towards high frequency of adjectives in the registers of the compositions that have been characterized as more formal according to the previous dimensions of register variation (especially T1 and T5), which is probably to be understood as a sign of literary elaboration.¹⁰⁵ Hence, the interest of a multidimensional approach to register variation is again made quite obvious: different linguistic features, when considered together, can help gain a more accurate description of the registers.

	Word	Token	Percentage	Type
T1	331	12	3.6%	10
T3	83	3	3.6%	2
T5	195	7	3.5%	5
T6	166	5	3%	4
T7	76	2	2.6%	2
T4	61	1	1.6%	1
T2	81	1	1.2%	1
TB	2074	15	0.72%	6
TA	536	2	0.37%	2

Fig. 5.5. Frequency of occurrence of the adjectival part of speech

The various case studies that have been presented above deal with a restricted number of features and a proper description of the registers would require taking into consideration both other parameters of variation and as many texts as possible for each register. However, this caveat has no impact on the present argument, for the methodological point to be made is the fundamental usefulness of such a multidimensional approach to Ancient Egyptian registers. Indeed, it shows that an individual scribe, depending on the circumstances of production, was able to play with different parts of the written repertoire that belong to different diachronic strata of the Egyptian language.

¹⁰⁴ A first study of this dimension of register variation in Late Egyptian is proposed in Gohy, Martin Leon, & Polis (2013), where it is used as an effective heuristic device in automatic text categorization.

¹⁰⁵ We would reach similar conclusions studying the type-token ratio of the prepositions in the corpus. One may notice, for example, that the two poems of the O.Gardiner 25 (T2 and T3) attest 8 different prepositions, among which 6 also occur in the documentary corpus (75%). The *Instruction of Amennakhte* (T1), on the other hand, has 13 different prepositions, but only 6 of them also appear in TA–TC (46%).

§6. Written conventions and standardized registers

Up to this point, the important issue of standardization, conventionalization, or levelling of the written performance has been left almost untouched, beyond the different types of conventions at the graphemic level that were studied in §4. In this section, I briefly discuss two other kinds of regularities in Amennakhte's writings, pertaining respectively to the graphemo-morphological and constructional levels. These could point to the existence of a somewhat normative conception that Amennakhte – consciously or not – had of written performance.¹⁰⁶

(a) The imperative plural of *iwi* 'to come'¹⁰⁷ is systematically written with the grapheme $\overline{\text{I I I}}$ or $\overline{\text{—}}$ representing the phoneme /n/ in Amennakhte's corpus¹⁰⁸: *myn* $\overline{\text{I I I}}$ 'come^{PL}' (T6, r^o 2; the referent is likely to be *ntr.w nb.w* in r^o 1; see also *myn* $\overline{\text{I I I}}$ in r^o 6); *myn* ($\overline{\text{I I I}}$) *r-hnw* 'come^{PL} (back) inside' (TB, r^o 1.4). This contrasts with the spellings of the imperative singular, where the $\overline{\text{—}}$ is not written,¹⁰⁹ see T1L, 14 ($\overline{\text{I I}}$) and T7, v^o 7: *my* ($\overline{\text{I I}}$) *iry.k hb* 'come to celebrate'.

The 2PL imperative of *iwi* does not occur very frequently in the Late Egyptian corpus *sensu lato*, but, when it does, it is usually written with the grapheme $\overline{\text{I I I}}$ or $\overline{\text{—}}$ as in Amennakhte's texts:¹¹⁰ *myn* ($\overline{\text{I I I}}$) *r-hn^c=i, di=tn n=i dr.t* 'Come^{PL} next to me in order to help me [lit. to give me a hand]' (*P.Anastasi* I, 5.7); *m^{3c}.ty nb, myn* ($\overline{\text{I I I}}$) *m33=tn (...)* 'every righteous man, come^{PL} so to see (...)' (*P.Sallier* I, 8.9 [= *LEM* 86.14–15]); *myn* ($\overline{\text{I I I}}$) *iry=n n=f n3y=f hb.w n.w p.t* 'come^{PL}, let us celebrate for it its festivals of heaven' (*P.Anastasi* III, 2.11 [= *LEM* 22.12–13]); *myn r-dr=w* $\overline{\text{I I I}}$ $\overline{\text{I I I}}$ 'Come^{PL} you all (so that we give praise to him together)' (Medinet Habu, Great Inscription of Year 8 [= *KRI* v, 38.7–8]); *myn* ($\overline{\text{I I I}}$) *r t3 mry.t* 'come^{PL} to the riverbank' (O.Cairo CG 25264, 4); *myn n=i* ($\overline{\text{I I I}}$)¹¹¹ *hm.wt-nswt, s3.t-nswt, sn.wt-nswt* 'come^{PL} to me, royal wives, royal princesses and royal sisters' (*Piankhy*, 1. 34). Examples of this spelling of the imperative before the reign of Ramesses II are highly infrequent (see possible cases such as *my* ($\overline{\text{I I}}$) *m33=tn mnw nfr*

¹⁰⁶ I suggest below that one way of showing the conventionalized nature of some registers is to observe the relaxing of the scribe's attention in the course of writing a text.

¹⁰⁷ For the existence of an isomorphic imperative for *iwi* 'to come', see the arguments *pro* and *contra* respectively in Schweitzer (2008) and Quack (2004).

¹⁰⁸ See also O.IFAO 1255 A, r^o 5 to be published by P. Grandet. This case is to be distinguished from the imperatives plural written with the plural strokes [Z2], like in *h3b* ($\overline{\text{I I I}}$) *n pr-3* 'write^{PL} to Pharaoh!' (TB, r^o 2.4). Indeed, it is difficult to ascertain whether this kind of spelling refers to an underlying phonological reality (compare *dd* [$\overline{\text{I I}}$] *sw m-m3^c.t* 'say^{PL} it truly' [TB, r^o 2.17] with *m ir sni* [$\overline{\text{I I I}}$] *r mry.t* 'do^{PL} not cross in direction of the riverbank' [TB, r^o 3.11]) or is merely a graphemic device that specifies the plurality of the form.

The same kind of problem holds for the distinction between the masculine $\overline{\text{I I I}}$ (or the like) and the feminine $\overline{\text{I I I}}$ (see, e.g., *LES* 48.16: *mi n=i mw.t 3s.t t3y=i mw.t* 'come to me mother Isis, my mother'; P.BM EA 9997, IV 4: *mi r-hn^c-i* 'come with me') of the singular. Whether such spellings relate to the opposition between $\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$ (masc.) and $\alpha\mu\eta$ (fem.) in Coptic remains an open question. On this issue, see Erman (²1933: §354) and Junge (1996, 81).



¹⁰⁹ In *P.Turin* CG 54051, compare similarly §4.22 (pl. $\overline{\text{I I I}}$) with §11.6 (sg. $\overline{\text{I I}}$).


¹¹⁰ See Erman (²1933, §354 and 362), Caminos (1954, 79), Černý & Groll (⁴1993, 348), and *Wb.* II, 35.15–17.

¹¹¹ See Logan & Westenholz (1972, 112–3). The emendation into *mi.<t>n* suggested by Grimal (1981, 63 n. 146) escapes me.

w^cb ‘come^{PL} so as to see the beautiful and pure monument’, *Urk.* IV, 862, 12¹¹²; however cf. n. 108), but they become more and more usual after the New Kingdom¹¹³ and are beyond any doubt to be related to the Coptic □□□□□□ (Bohairic), □□□□□□ (Fayumic), and □□□(□)□□□ (Akhmimic).¹¹⁴ During the Ramesside period, 2PL imperatives of *iwi* (with *n*) do apparently occur almost exclusively in the higher registers (e.g., monumental performance, literary texts, and didactic literature) before spreading down to the lower part of the formality scale. Interestingly, and even if it remains difficult to prove given the low density of the documentation, Amennakhte might have acted as an actual agent in systematizing this spelling in the documentary texts.

(b) Winand notes ‘[c]omme pour le séquentiel, c’est la disparition progressive de la préposition *hr* qui constitue le fait le plus marquant dans le paradigme du présent I’.¹¹⁵ This general observation is unquestionable, but one of the interests of a small scale approach to linguistic variation is that one can sometimes refine the picture by focusing on micro-level phenomena of motivated (or at least recurrent) patterns of variation. In Amennakhte’s corpus, the preposition *hr* is always written in the *independent* occurrences of the analytical construction of the Present I with infinitival predicate (see, e.g., *twk hr ir.t mš^cy.w n bnw* ‘you are doing expeditions worthy of a millstone’ [T3, 4–5]; *twk hr ir.t kd.w n imw* ‘you are doing the round trip of a boat’ [T3, 5]; *st hr s^ck mš^cy.w, n3 hnm.wt hr nhm hr dd n3y=sn hn.w n hnhn* ‘they let the travellers enter, the childminders are thrilled while singing their lullabies’ [T5, 5]; *ptr twi hr dd n=tn t3y=i wšb.t* ‘behold, I am giving you my stance’ [TB, r^o 4, 21; see also r^o 3.7]; *hr ptr, bn st hr ir.t hr.t=i gr ink* ‘and, see, they are not looking after me in my turn’). It is never written in *dependent* circumstantial syntactic position (namely after *iw*; as second predicate *hr* is written, see T5.5 quoted above), e.g.: *i.ir.w wrš iw.w (hr) ssm.t m rn.s* ‘they do nothing else but moan the all day long in her name’ (T2, 1–2); *i.ir.tw swh3 p3 nty mi-kd.k, iw.f (hr) ir.t bi3.t 3.t* ‘one mentions the one like you only because of the extremeness of his character’ (T3, 5–6); *iw.k (hr) ir.t p3 nty im* ‘while you act as someone yonder’; *iw=w (hr) ht hr nhn t3y msy.w n h3i nfr* ‘while they are taking care of the full term male children’ (T5, 5¹¹⁶). A regularity of this kind would deserve checking in a broader corpus in order to specify its spread beyond the idiolectal level,¹¹⁷ but it has *per se* the interest of showing how the syntactic environment might have had an influence on the actuation of a construction¹¹⁸ (here,

¹¹² Similar spelling without the *n* occurs in *P.Leiden* I 343, r^o 3.12: *my n=i zp-2*  ‘come to me, come to me’; see also *Qadesh* §161 (L2, 42). In Ptolemaic texts, Kurth (2008, 751–3) also mentions, next to a ‘Form *mj.n*’, the occurrences of a ‘Form *mjw*’, with spellings such as .

¹¹³ See Spiegelberg (1925, 98–9 [§216]); Sauneron (1952, 50–1, with previous literature); Lustman (1999, 86 [§14.1.2]), who signals also one occurrence of  after the imperative of *šms* (I owe this reference to J. F. Quack).

¹¹⁴ See *CD* 7b.

¹¹⁵ Winand (1992, 413).

¹¹⁶ See Meeks (1981, 78.2464).

¹¹⁷ This is compatible with – but markedly different from – the tendency observed by Winand (1992, 415–6) in the broader corpus of the 20th dynasty. He gives the following figures, depending on the syntactic environment: *hr* is present 41% of the time when the Present I occurs in an independent syntactic position while only 22% of the time after the circumstantial *iw*.

¹¹⁸ In the same vein, Winand (1992, 508–10) analysed the possible influence of different syntactic environments on the occurrence vs non-occurrence of the allative preposition *r* within the Future III construction.

[+ formal reg. markers] & [+ conventionalized]

and usual spelling: ⲟⲩⲓ (3.1), ⲟⲩⲓⲉ (3.9), ⲧⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ (3.11), ⲧⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲉ (4.1), ⲧⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲉ (4.11), ⲧⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲉ (5.3).

T5

Before concluding this section and in order to summarize the various facets that have been studied above, the dimensions of variation can be tentatively and sketchily presented on a two-dimensional graph¹²² (fig. 5.6, which includes only the main texts of the corpus). The horizontal axis represents the continuum of register features (verbal morphology, lexical diversity, etc.) while the vertical axis combines the numbers and types of register markers and the degree of conventionalization:

TB

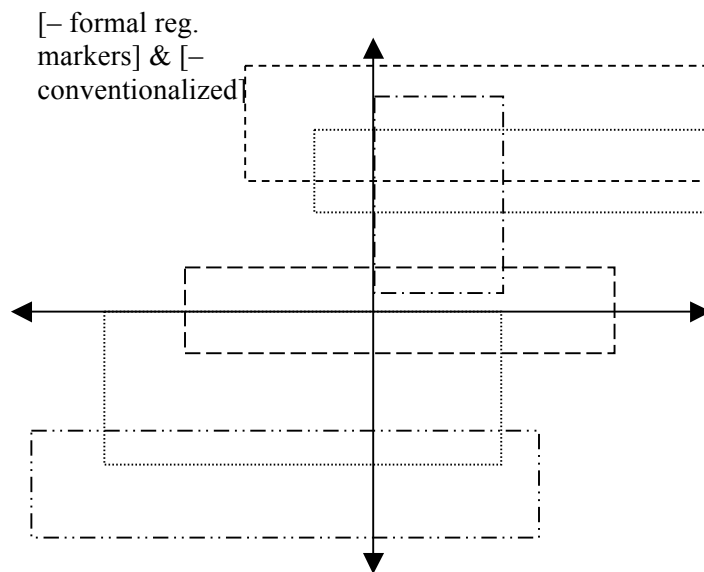


Fig. 5.6. Two-dimensional representation of the register variation in Amennakhte's corpus

It should be noted that this graph does not capture the degree of variation within a single register. Expectedly, some registers have a well-defined norm, entailing relatively little variation, while other registers are less specified linguistically, so that there are considerable differences among the texts mobilizing this register.

§7. *Idiolectal features and the identification of scribes in Deir el-Medina*

In this last section, a possible idiolectal feature of Amennakhte will be described before questioning the feasibility of using graphemic and linguistic features as valuable criteria for

¹²² This description of the registers is *a priori* culturally free, i.e., not based on etic criteria that depend on the pre-constructed categories of genres and registers. In this respect, it complements the emic approach explored by Donker van Heel & Haring (2003: Introduction): 'A modern attempt at classifying ancient text inevitably results in a modern classification. It has been tried to minimize this anachronism by taking Egyptian terminology as the main point of departure.'

identifying a scribe or an author in the community of Deir el-Medina, especially during the first part of the 20th dynasty.

The construction of abstract deverbal substantives with the substantive *s.t* ‘place’ (𓄏𓄱) + verbal root is a well-known derivational strategy in Ancient Egyptian.¹²³ However, if it represents a well-established noun formation pattern in Earlier Egyptian, it has not often been acknowledged for the texts of the New Kingdom. I suggest recognizing two instances of such a construction in TB, r^o 4.10: *hr ptr=tn t3 s.t-ḥc* (𓄏𓄱𓄱𓄱𓄱𓄱) *n t3ty* PN *hr t3 s.t-in inr.w* (𓄏𓄱𓄱𓄱𓄱𓄱) ‘but you are aware of the position of the vizier PN regarding the fact of bringing stones.’ This ‘particularism’ is systemically coherent and expected, but in the documentation at our disposal seems to be peculiar to Amennakhte.¹²⁴

Given the high degree of the variation between registers, the discussion of Amennakhte’s authorship based on linguistic features is mainly to be achieved by comparing similar registers. In the present case, however, the numerous cases of regularities and motivated variations that have been noticed in the course of the study, both within and across registers, might lead to interesting results.

Before proceeding, it should be emphasized that converging graphemic and linguistic criteria will hardly ever constitute definite proof in favour of attributing a text to an individual scribe. From the outset, this need be supplemented by a close study of the handwriting, by an examination of the other dating criteria, and by taking into consideration thematic similarities¹²⁵ in the case of literary compositions. In order to test this methodology, I restrict the following analysis to three texts.

The general principles are first tested on P.Ashmolean 1945.97, col. 5.9–sq. (§7.1), i.e., the end of TA that directly follows Amennakhte’s text and has been written by another hand, probably that of his son Horisheru (see n. 55). Given the fact that we deal here with the same genre on the same document, very little variation is expected. As such, the question will be whether some criteria mentioned above are able to account for the distinction between scribes. Second, Dorn suggested that ‘[e]in möglicher Schluss der Lehre Amunnachts dürfte in O.DeM 1219 vorliegen’,¹²⁶ whereas Bickel & Mathieu were rather of the opinion that ‘l’O.Gardiner 341, s’il n’appartient pas à la fin de cet *Enseignement*, semble lui être

¹²³ See already Firchow (1954, 93–4).

¹²⁴ Another rare feature in Amennakhte’s writings is the use of SUFFIX PRONOUN-*imy* in attributive position with possessive function, see TA, 2.2 *iry.i shpr p3y 8 b3k=tn-imy* ‘I brought up these eight servants belonging to you(r group)’. In the Late Egyptian corpus, I know of a single parallel in KRI VI, 571.7–8: [DATE] *wsf n t3 is.t (n) p3 hr iw=sn hkr.w g3b.w m htr.w=sn-imy* ‘[DATE] no work by the gang of the Tomb: they were hungry and lacking their wages’. Another possible characteristic feature of Amennakhte’s style is ‘l’emploi enclitique de -ḥ3, que l’on retrouve cinq fois (*dnj-ḥ3* et *smj-ḥ3* dans l’*Enseignement* [T1], *bj3.t-ḥ3.t* dans le « Poème satirique » [T2] et l’hymne de l’O.CGT 57002 [T5; for the meaning of this expression, see Posener 1964; Guglielmi 1985, 141 and Vernus 2010, 493 n. 9. Note the use of the antonym, *bi3.t nfr.t*, in P.*Chester Beatty* IV, v^o 5.6], *nb-ḥ3* dans l’hymne de l’O.CGT 57001)’ (Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 48)).

¹²⁵ Here, thematic similarities are to be distinguished from phraseological similarities. One may think, for example, of the use of *inw n ir.ty=ky* ‘look with your eyes’ (both in T1B, 7 and in T3, 7; see the numerous parallels quoted in Hintze (1954, 35), Posener (1955, 64 and 67), Guglielmi (1985, 141), and Dorn (2004, 53)). A *topos* of this kind is manifestly dependent on the register rather than the author, *pace* Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 48).

¹²⁶ Dorn (2004, 55), partly based on the remarks made by Fischer-Elfert (1997, 16); see now also Dorn (2013).

apparenté'.¹²⁷ Both hypotheses will be reviewed here in order to see whether they could possibly be attributed to Amennakhte (§7.2). Finally, a documentary text belonging to the 'test corpus' will be looked at (O.Berlin P 10633), in order to determine whether the regularities and motivated variations of the main corpus corroborate an attribution, suggested on onomastic and palaeographical grounds, to Amennakhte (§7.3).

§7.1. *The end of the testamentary deposition of Naunakhte*

The variations between TA and the end of the document are striking at several levels and, setting aside the differences of handwritings, they would lead to recognizing two distinct scribes. See, e.g.:

- [DATE] *hrw pn whm spr r knb.t in rmt-is.t* PN '[date] on this day, the workman PN appeared again in court' (col. 5.9). The phraseology is identical to that of TA (see 1.4), but dissimilarities appear at the graphemic level: *hrw* is written here $\text{⊙} \text{vs} \text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙}$ (TA, 1.4) and *rmt-is.t* is written $\text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙}$ vs $\text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙}$ in TA (11 occurrences, no variation).
- As regards the spellings, one can also quote: *nh-n-niw.t* $\text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙}$ (5.10) vs $\text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙}$ in TA (8 occurrences, no variation); *niw.t-nht* $\text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙}$ (5.10) vs $\text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙}$ in TA (1.5).
- The *status pronominalis* of feminine substantives is written without the grapheme ⊙ (see 5.9–10: *n3 sš i.ir nh-n-niwt* PN *hr 3h.t.s* ($\text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙}$) 'the documents which the citizen PN wrote concerning her goods'), whereas all the occurrences of TA do have the longer spelling.
- The negative Future III (col. 5.11) with substantival subject reads: *bn iw* PN ⊙ *pš im.w* 'PN shall not share in it', with *iw* NP and no preposition *r*. This contrasts clearly with all the other occurrences of the Future III in TA.

§7.2. *O.DeM 1219 & O.Gardiner 341*

When comparing the respective compatibilities of O.DeM 1219 and O.Gardiner 341 with Amennakhte's scribal habits, the lexemic criteria will be expressly avoided here in order not to influence the results with elements of content. I will only discuss the formal graphemic and linguistic features that have been identified in the main corpus.

Several features speak in favour of Dorn's hypothesis¹²⁸ regarding O.DeM 1219:

- The spelling of the substantive *sb3y.t* 'teaching' *status pronominalis* with the grapheme ⊙ ($\text{r}^{\circ} 3$) as in T1A, 10 ($\text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙}$).
- The long spelling $\text{⊙} \text{⊙}$ of the 2SG.M suffix pronoun in syntagmatic environments similar to T1: after *mdw/md.wt* 'speak/words' ($\text{r}^{\circ} 4$ $\text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙} \text{⊙}$ identical to T1A, 6) and *ini* 'bring' ($\text{v}^{\circ} 16$ in the *bw sdm=f* construction, cf. T1A, 15); see also $\text{v}^{\circ} 18$ after a lacuna. The short spelling is found after *it* 'father' and *dr.t* 'hand' ($\text{v}^{\circ} 16$ & 17).
- Use of the 3PL suffix pronoun =*sn* ($\text{r}^{\circ} 6$ & 7 [not =*w*]), which is also systematic in T1.
- Identical spellings for almost all the lexemes: *ndm* 'sweet' ($\text{⊙} \text{⊙}$, $\text{r}^{\circ} 5$ = T1A, 11), *k* 'to enter' ($\text{⊙} \text{⊙}$, $\text{r}^{\circ} 6$, always the same spelling in the corpus [6 occ.; see, e.g., TA, 4.2, TB, r°

¹²⁷ Bickel & Mathieu (1993, 32).

¹²⁸ For the lexemic, phraseological, and thematic similarities, see Fischer-Elfert (1997, 12–6).

1.2]), *hpr* ‘to become’ (𐎎𐎍𐎎𐎏¹²⁹, v^o 15 & 19 = T1B, 5 & T1K, 4), *ki n* NP ‘form, nature, manner of NP’ (𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏, v^o 16 = T4.1), *iwty* REL.NEG (𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏, v^o 17 = T1P, 1), *k3.t* ‘work’ (𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏, v^o 18 = T1A, 3), *ib* ‘heart’ (v^o 19 = *passim*), *ts.w* ‘maxims’ (𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏, v^o 20 = T1A, 1).

Against the attribution of this text to Amennakhte himself, or more narrowly to the very *Teaching of Amennakhte*, I am able to mention only one argument: the use of the negation *bn* in the construction *iw=i hpr bn ib=i m h.t=i* ‘lit. it happened that my heart was not in my body anymore’, instead of the negation *nn* that seems to be the norm in T1. However, the negation *bn* occurs in other literary registers very close to that of T1 (see especially T6, r^o 5–6). Moreover, given the fact that we are possibly at the very end of the text, a decrease in the level of indexical formality cannot to be ruled out (see §6). Anyhow, the graphemic and linguistic features of this composition seem to be mostly in agreement with the data collected in the study of Amennakhte’s corpus.

The suggestion made by Bickel and Mathieu regarding O.Gardiner 341 receives less support. The attribution to Amennakhte relies principally on the occurrence of two lexemes that are also found in T1:

- *dni* (l. 3 & 3) ‘dam, dyke’ (𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏) in the expression *dni pw M3^c.t* ‘Maat is a dam’; this lemma also occurs in T1A, 3 (and other witnesses) with a similar spelling;
- *bi3.t* (l. 5) ‘character’ (𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏) that also occurs in T3, 6, with a slightly different spelling: 𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏.

Now that T1N has been connected to T1, one could also quote the spelling of *mri* ‘to love’ on l. 1 (𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏), which seems to be identical to T1N, l. 11. I see no other criteria that would confirm the attribution of this ostrakon to our author, but given the very short size and fragmentary nature of this text, as well as the absence of any strong counterargument, it would be risky to deny the possibility of its attribution to Amennakhte. The question must remain open.

§7.3. O.Berlin P 10633

Several features of this text are closely related to the documentary registers of the main corpus:

- A very good correspondence between the spellings of this text and the ones of the main corpus, see especially *Imn-nht* ‘Amennakhte’¹³⁰, *smi* ‘to make a report’, *is.t* ‘team’, *hrw* ‘day’, *3bd* ‘month’, *diw* ‘rations’, *bd.t* ‘emmer’.
- Same formulation in l. 2 (*20 n hrw k.w m p3 3bd*) and in TB, r^o 1.2 (*iw hrw 18 k m p3 3bd*) with the identical full spelling of *3bd* (𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏) – the different expressions of cardinality are, however, noteworthy.

¹²⁹ On this spelling (cf. Coptic ⲙⲛⲏ), see Erman (²1933, § 49) and Fischer-Elfert (1984a, 89–90). The spelling 𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏 occurs in other witnesses of T1 as well as in T5, 4; 𐎎 in T6, v^o 3.

¹³⁰ To the well-known occurrences of his name, add Grandet (2003, 351) 𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏 and O.DeM 10034, r^o 1: 𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏𐎎𐎏, Grandet (2006, 225).

- The distribution of the 3PL suffix pronouns is that expected for a text from Year 29 of Ramesses III written by Amennakhte, i.e. with the 3PL suffix =*w* after the infinitive and =*sn* after the preposition *n* ‘to’: *iw.tw hr di(.t).w n.sn* ‘and one gave them to them’.

Taken separately, none of these criteria would be meaningful, but once considered together,¹³¹ they could militate for an attribution to Amennakhte or a closely related member of the community, who shared his scribal habits. Furthermore, if we consider the rather unusual introduction of the text [DATE] *in sš imm-nht* ‘[DATE] by the scribe Amennakhte’ and the mention of the nomination of To as Vizier of Upper and Lower Egypt (see n. 8), there seems to be little room left for doubting Amennakhte’s authorship.



The three case studies presented above are definitely not intended to exhaust the subject. Rather, they show that a close look at the scribal habits and, more specifically, at the types of regularities and variations attested for an individual, could be used as a heuristic device when it comes to identifying authors and scribes in the Deir el-Medina community. A large body of convergent evidence (which is not always possible when dealing with small texts on ostraca) will always be needed, and this criterion alone will admittedly never be sufficient. However, as illustrated in this section, it would be worth taking this dimension systematically into consideration.

§8. Conclusions

This paper is first and foremost a plea for a variationist approach to the Ancient Egyptian linguistic material. Indeed, we are lucky enough to have first-hand access to texts that, unlike, e.g., the writings of most of the classical Greek and Latin authors, have not (or have to a very small extent) been standardized by a long homogenizing scribal tradition. This means that, not only writing communities or sub-groups of the Egyptian society, but also individual scribes may come to the fore and that significant patterns of variation become discernable at different levels of linguistic analysis.

In order to fully benefit from these (re-)humanized Egyptological linguistic data, one has to accept the texts as they stand, in their diversity, and to resist the normative temptation to emend the data. The description of variation¹³² at the micro-level of the scribes – that is too often analysed in terms of ‘exceptions to’ or ‘violations’ of ‘rules’ – is one of the keys and a prerequisite for a sound approach of Ancient Egyptian diachrony.

As has been made clear several times, the present study is programmatic. However, the descriptions of Amennakhte’s writing habits quite explicitly showed that the variation at the level of an individual scribe is far from being random and is almost entirely free from

¹³¹ Other less decisive criteria could be added. (1) The occurrence of the construction *bw sdm.w* NP in l. 3 (*bw dy n.n diw* ‘the rations have not been delivered to us’) with a quite unusual spelling of the verb *rdi*:  (a spelling mainly characteristic of the negative verbal complements). This negation is not attested in the main corpus, but the ending of this spelling is not surprising and even quite consonant with what we found in TB, r^o 3.2 with the perfective passive participle: *is ink p3 t3ty didi r nhm*  ‘am I by any chance the kind of vizier appointed in order to deprive?’ (2) The preposition *hr* is always written with the sequential and =*tw* as subject (l. 5, 6, and 7); in TB, the preposition *hr* tends not to be written, but is there when the subject is =*tw*, see r^o 2.5.

¹³² ‘Variation is at the very heart of the mechanism responsible for selected, adaptive evolutionary change’ (Givón (2002, 17–8)).

unmotivated or asystemic idiosyncrasies. On the contrary, a number of intra- and extralinguistic factors have been identified in order to account for the variations within and across registers. As such, if the Ancient Egyptians left us with virtually no meta-comments on their own linguistic system, this type of investigation shows how a scribe of the Ramesside period was, beyond any doubt, conscious of the registers he used depending on the communicative context. He was able to play with linguistic features and indexical markers intentionally selected¹³³ in a wide multiglossic scribal repertoire that had been progressively enriched by the history of the language through textual heritage.

Finally, two promising avenues for future research, which have not been directly addressed on empirical grounds here, can be pointed out. (1) The study of individual scribal practices is a necessary first step, but it is to be complemented and expanded by relating it to the linguistic variation within a community, a broader region or at the level of entire bodies of texts. The dynamics of language in a community, the identification of innovative scribes and agents of propagation and stabilization of features recently integrated in the written repertoire belongs, to be sure, to the future of our field. (2) The present study was mainly oriented towards a synchronic description of register variation, but one of the ensuing goals will be to refine our approach to the Ancient Egyptian diachrony, starting from an accurate description of register variation for each period. Indeed, as Biber puts it ‘a register perspective is crucial to complete an understanding of the processes of language development and change: [...] linguistic change interacts in complex ways with changing patterns of register variation.’¹³⁴ The Ancient Egyptian corpus is a tantalizing one for analysing how structural changes enter a language in particular registers¹³⁵ and subsequently evolve at different rates in different registers, as well as for determining the situational and cultural parameters that make possible and support such evolutions through the permanent mobilization and (re)construction of an evanescent, although pervasive, language ideology.

¹³³ On this point, see Stauder’s (2013a) results regarding the ‘Égyptien de tradition’ of the 18th dynasty.

¹³⁴ Biber (1995, 13); see also Romaine (1980 and 1982).

¹³⁵ See Goldwasser (1991) about ‘dynamic canonicity’ and Junge (2001, 21) who stated that ‘the norms of registers change for written languages also. The speed with which changes appear in particular types of texts depends upon their relative position in the norm hierarchy: the more developed the norm, the slower it changes.’