

# The Scribal Repertoire of Amennakhte Son of Ipuw

## Describing Variation Across Late Egyptian Registers

*Stéphane Polis*

### §1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter<sup>1</sup> aims to investigate diaphasic variation<sup>2</sup> in the texts written by the Deir el-Medina scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuw in New Kingdom Egypt (c.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.<sup>3</sup> 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 (c.1450–1050); at a more methodological level, it is intended as a case study testing the applicability of some historical sociolinguistic methods<sup>4</sup> 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). Following a discussion of graphemic regularities across

<sup>1</sup> 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 the 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.

<sup>2</sup> On the dimensions of linguistic variation in pre-demotic Egyptian, see Polis (this volume, Chapter 4).

<sup>3</sup> 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).

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

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 graphemorphological and constructional levels (§6). This allows a representation of the space occupied by each text within the continuum of registers (or language space<sup>5</sup>). 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.<sup>6</sup> He is known to have been a draftsman<sup>7</sup> before he was promoted to the office of senior scribe of the Tomb (*ss n p3 hr*) in year 16 of Ramses III, third month of the inundation season, by the vizier To.<sup>8</sup> He 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 Ramses VI.<sup>9</sup> He was the founder of a six-generation lineage of scribes who occupied this function within the village<sup>10</sup> down to the Twenty-first Dynasty. Additionally, he

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

<sup>6</sup> 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 and Mathieu (1993), Vernus (1993, 172 n. 21), Nelson and 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 sociocultural milieu of Deir el-Medina in the Twentieth Dynasty. I thank him warmly for the amount of data that he shared with me on the topic.

<sup>7</sup> 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 Ramses III, he is most certainly referred to as *ss-[qd]* 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, 182–8).

<sup>8</sup> See Spiegelberg (1921, nos. 1111 and 1143). The beginning of the draft of one letter written by Amennakhte to the vizier To is preserved on O. Louvre N 696, r<sup>o</sup> (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).

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

<sup>10</sup> See especially the graffiti (no. 1109) left by the scribe Dhutmose: *hsb.t 18 3bd 1 pr.t sww 28, ss-nsw dhwtw-ms n hnw s3 ss-nsw h'-m-hd.t s3 nsw ss hri-sri s3 ss-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 and Bouvier (2006, 23). On the evolution of the status and function of the Deir el-Medina scribes during the Twentieth Dynasty, see Demarée (2008, 51).

was a prominent intellectual figure<sup>11</sup> of the community during the first part of the Twentieth Dynasty (c.1170–1140). 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,<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> This is partly due to the fact that, down to the Twentieth Dynasty, the historical authors of literary pieces are almost completely elusive in the extant written records.<sup>14</sup> 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 back onto the Ancient Egyptian material.<sup>15</sup> A simplified (but quite accurate) way of describing how the Egyptians conceived of the notion of authorship before the Ramesside era is the following:<sup>16</sup> authors of literary texts are to be identified with the figures who are fictively presented as having the *auctoritas* on their content<sup>17</sup> and not with the historical scribe who actually

<sup>11</sup> See Bickel and Mathieu (1993, 48) who quote the famous passage of the Late Ramesside Letters (PBM EA 10326, r<sup>o</sup> 20–2) 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 *ss n pr-nh* '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 (no. 2173) as well as the advice *iry=k ss phr=k pr-nh* '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)).

<sup>12</sup> This dimension of Amennakhte's life received detailed attention in Bickel and Mathieu (1993).

<sup>13</sup> Another case that deserves to be mentioned here is the variety of registers attested in Nebre's writings during the Nineteenth Dynasty; see KRI III, 653–9 for the texts with Goldwasser's comments (1999, 313–14 n. 11).

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

<sup>15</sup> On the notion of authorship in ancient Egypt, see especially Derchain (1996, 84 and 92), who stresses its importance and argues 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, 24–5), Quirke (2004, 29–36), and the references quoted by Moers (2009, 320 n. 8).

<sup>16</sup> I am grateful to Todd Gillen for discussing this topic with me.

<sup>17</sup> 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

composed the text. This provides a side explanation for the mention of authors only in the case of teachings and discourses<sup>18</sup> 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;<sup>19</sup> 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',<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> These relations are often reflected by actual acts of filial piety.<sup>22</sup>

It is only during the Ramesside period that external metareferences to literary texts and figures appear in the documentation.<sup>23</sup> 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'<sup>24</sup> (v° 2.5–3.11), has been tentatively attributed to Amennakhte himself<sup>25</sup> (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-fictional authorships. For the present, this kind of matching has only been possible in the context of Deir el-Medina during the first part<sup>26</sup> of the Twentieth Dynasty,<sup>27</sup> i.e. when the level of literacy was substantially higher than in other places and times,<sup>28</sup> when textuality became

the witnesses of these texts; see Moers (2009, 321), who rightly states that we are studying productive tradition and argues against the excess and aporias of a 'Fehlerphilologie'.

<sup>18</sup> Coulon (1999, 132): '[I]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.'

<sup>19</sup> See the excellent pages about 'authors and authorship' in Parkinson (2002, 75–8).

<sup>20</sup> As expressed by Parkinson (2002, 76).

<sup>21</sup> 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-nht n sš[=f]* 'made by the scribe Amennakhte for his son' in O.DeM 1248 + O.Brux. E. 6444, r° 2.

<sup>22</sup> In this respect, the relationship between Ramose and Qenhirkhopshef immediately springs to mind (see Černý (2004, 325–6) and Vernus (2002, 58)).

<sup>23</sup> See Parkinson (2002, 30–2).

<sup>24</sup> See Moers (2008; 2009, 319–22), Dorn (2009), and Vernus (2010, 365–7), with previous literature.

<sup>25</sup> See Posener (1955, 71; 1980b, 55).

<sup>26</sup> Except for some marginal cases, such as Butehamon's letter to his departed wife (= O.Louvre 698; beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty), see Goldwasser (1995).

<sup>27</sup> 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); Eighteenth 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)).

<sup>28</sup> 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 Twentieth 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,

central in the community,<sup>29</sup> and when it was possible to embed literary production in real life,<sup>30</sup> with concrete functional settings, in other words, when 'the-matizing life experience' became a feature of Egyptian literature.<sup>31</sup>

Besides Amennakhte's compositions, the three main other cases<sup>32</sup> in point are (1) Menna's literary letter-lament to his son Mery-Sekhmet, nicknamed Payiri,<sup>33</sup> (2) Hori's teaching, which was probably addressed to one of Amennakhte's sons after the death of his father,<sup>34</sup> and (3) Hay's hymn to Amen-Ra-Horakhty.<sup>35</sup> These literary pieces are not documented as having been circulated outside the community of Deir el-Medina,<sup>36</sup> i.e. the places where the workmen's activity was taking place.

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;

166). Accordingly, it looks very much as if the times of Amennakhte constituted a kind of acme in the literary life of the community.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> Mathieu (2003, 136–7 and table 3) and Dorn (2009; see especially the figures on pp. 76–7 and the comments on pp. 77–82) have shown how the authors emerge in our documentation under Ramses 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 Nineteenth 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).

<sup>31</sup> Loprieno (2006, 167).

<sup>32</sup> Seven other texts might be included here, following the hypotheses put forward in Mathieu (2003, 136–7, 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° is related to the text on the r°). Possible additional candidates are mentioned in passing when analysing the formula *ir:n sš PN* 'made by the scribe PN', see n. 49.

<sup>33</sup> On the O.OIC 12074, see, for example, Fischer-Elfert (2006) and the abundant literature quoted in Vernus (2010, 469–75).

<sup>34</sup> This short *sbj:t mtr:t* is preserved on a single ostrakon, O.Gardiner 2, r°; see Bickel and Mathieu (1993, 49–51).

<sup>35</sup> See Dorn (2009, 77; 2011, 190–1), with two new parallels from the Valley of Kings (see pp. 457–8, nos. 745 and 746; pls. 648–56) showing that, much like Amennakhte's Teaching, this text was used as a school exercise.

<sup>36</sup> See Loprieno (1996b, 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 serve 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, 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 Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>37</sup> 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 AMENNAKHTHE'S WRITINGS

The corpus used for the present analysis is restricted to a body of texts whose attribution to Amennakhte son of Ipuw, as author (not necessarily as scribe, see below),<sup>38</sup> 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 tries 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):** Teaching of Amennakhte.

Ed.: Synoptic edition in Dorn (2004, 40–2)<sup>39</sup> with new parallels on unpublished ostraca in Ritter (2008, 83–4). **Authorship:** Consensus of the scholars, based on

<sup>37</sup> On this point, see already the comments made by Bickel and 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).

<sup>38</sup> 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).

<sup>39</sup> Abbreviations used here: (A) O.KV 18/3.614 + 627 (Dorn (2004, 40–2 and pls. 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<sup>o</sup> (von Beckerath (1983, 68–9)); (D) O.Cairo s.n. (Posener (1951a, 42–3; 1952, 119)); (E) O.DeM 1248 + O.BruX. E 6444 (Posener (1972, pls. 62–62a)); (F) O.DeM 1036 (Posener (1938, pls. 20–20a)); (G) O.DeM 1249

O.BM EA 41541 (r<sup>o</sup> 2: *ir.n sš imn-nḥt—hry-<sup>c</sup> fḥr-min* 'made by the scribe Amennakhte—his assistant Hormin'; see also O.KV 18/3.614 + 227, r<sup>o</sup> 1; O.Grds., r<sup>o</sup> 1–2; O.München AS 396, v<sup>o</sup> 3; O.DeM 1248 + BruX. E 6444, r<sup>o</sup> 1–2; O.Cairo s.n., r<sup>o</sup> 2–3), with additional prosopographical arguments by Bickel and Mathieu (1993, 37).<sup>40</sup>

**Text 2 (T2):** Lyrical poem that expresses longing for Thebes (O.Ashmolean Museum 25, r<sup>o</sup> = O.Gardiner 25, r<sup>o</sup>).

Ed.: Černý and Gardiner (1957, xxxviii, 1 r<sup>o</sup>) = KRI V, 646. **Bib.:** Černý (2004, 348); Lichtheim (1980); Bickel and Mathieu (1993, 38); Parkinson (1999, 157); Ragazzoli (2008, 31–33). **Authorship:** Consensus of the scholars, based on the formula of r<sup>o</sup> 10–11: *ø sš imn-nḥt [n p3 ḥ] r<sup>o</sup> p3 s3 i[pwy]* 'the scribe Amennakhte of the Tomb, the son of Ipuw'.

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

Ed.: Černý and Gardiner (1957, xxxviii, 1 v<sup>o</sup>) = KRI V, 646–7. **Bib.:** Posener (1964); Guglielmi (1985). **Authorship:** Consensus of the scholars, based on the formula of v<sup>o</sup> 8–9: *ø sš imn-nḥt n p3 ḥ r<sup>o</sup> p3 s3 ipwy* 'the scribe Amennakhte of the Tomb, the son of Ipuw'.

**Text 4 (T4):** Encomium of Ramses IV or V<sup>41</sup> (O.Ermitage 1125, r<sup>o</sup>).

Ed.: Matthieu (1930). **Bib.:** Bickel and Mathieu (1993, 44–5). **Authorship:** Consensus of the scholars, based on the formula of r<sup>o</sup> 9: *ir.n sš imn-nḥt s3 ipwy* 'made by the scribe Amennakhte, son of Ipuw'.

(Posener (1972, pls. 62–62a)); (H) O.DeM 1254 (Posener (1972, pls. 66–66a)); (I) O.DeM 1256 (Posener (1972, pls. 66–66a); with date at the end: *3bd 2 3ḥ.t sw 23 iw.i ḥr ḥt[?m n p3 ḥr?]*, <sup>2008</sup> must be added to the transcription given by Dorn (2004, 41)); (J) O.DeM 1596 (Posener (1978, pls. 47–47a)); (K) O.Grdseloff (Bickel and Mathieu (1993, pls. I–VII); with date at the end: *3bd 1 šmw sw 5*); (L) O.Lacau (Černý and Gardiner (1957, III and 3)); (M) O.Turin N. 57436 (López (1982, pls. 143–143a)); (N) O.DeM 1599 (Posener (1978, pls. 49–49a)); (O) O.DeM 1255 (Posener (1972, pls. 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*]y: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.

<sup>40</sup> Bickel and 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'oeuvre dans l'entourage immédiat de son auteur.' On this point, see Baines (1996, 167) who describes the Teaching of Amennakhte as a 'local text' (and compares it with Menna's literary letter-lament to his son (O.Chicago OI 12074, cf. n. 33)), somehow dismissing the hardly disputable literary qualities of the composition. In the same vein, see McDowell (2000, 233).

<sup>41</sup> 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 and Mathieu (1993, 44) according to whom this text might have been addressed to Ramses IV or V. Based on the 'écriture plus dense et plus rapide', Bickel and 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. superegregatory *hr* at the end of r<sup>o</sup> 2; unexpected spellings, like *pr.w* (r<sup>o</sup> 4), *nšn* (r<sup>o</sup> 7), etc.), some apparently incomplete sentences (e.g. r<sup>o</sup> 6), and *supra lineam* additions (r<sup>o</sup> 7 and 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).

Text 5 (T5): Encomium of Ramses IV (O.Turin CG 57001, r° = cat. 2161).

Ed.: López (1978, pls. 1a–1). Bib.: Assmann (1975, 498–9); Bickel and Mathieu (1993). Authorship: Consensus of the scholars, based on the formula of r° 9: *ir.n sš imn-nht n p3 hr m hsb.t 4 3bd 13ht sw 14* ‘made by the scribe Amennakhte in year 4, first month of Akhet, fourteenth day’.

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

Ed.: López (1978, pls. 3–4a). Bib.: Bickel and Mathieu (1993, 45–7). Authorship: Consensus of the scholars, based on the formula of r° 9–11: *ø sš inm-nht sš ipwy n p3 hr, hsb.t 2 3bd 4 pr.t sw 27 n nsw.t-bity R5* ‘the scribe Amennakhte of the Tomb, son of Ipuw; year 2, fourth month of Peret, twenty-seventh day of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Ramses V’.

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

Ed.: Dorn and Polis (2016). Authorship: Based on the formula of v° 8: *ir.n sš imn-nht n p3 hr* ‘made by the scribe Amennakhte of the Tomb’.

An eighth literary text (hymn to a king of the Twentieth Dynasty),<sup>43</sup> O.Berlin P 14262 r°, <sup>44</sup> is now to be added to Amennakhte’s literary production (*sš imn-nht (sš) 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.<sup>45</sup>

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

<sup>43</sup> 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 (2004, 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.t imn-nht* ‘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, 216–17), 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, 201–2 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.

<sup>44</sup> See Burkard (2013).

<sup>45</sup> A picture of the r° 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

Following other scholars, I assume that the formula (*ir.n*) *sš imn-nht* ‘(made by) the scribe Amennakhte’ that occurs at the end of the literary texts introduces, in the present case, the name of the author,<sup>46</sup> 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 by Bickel and Mathieu,<sup>47</sup> 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,<sup>48</sup> 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 exercise.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, the occurrence 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 and Polis.

<sup>46</sup> 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 (2017).

<sup>47</sup> Bickel and 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’.

<sup>48</sup> Among the well-known *incipits* of earlier texts, see, for example, the post-Middle Kingdom versions of Ptahhotep; see Moers (2009, 323–4) who produces a penetrating analysis of the appearance of *ir.t.n* ‘verfertigen’ (vs the earlier *ḳd* ‘vortragen’).

<sup>49</sup> The same opinion is expressed 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*), and O.DeM 1560 (copy of the Satire of the Trades on the v° with the formula *ir.t.n sš PN sš* PN ‘made by the scribe PN son of PN’ on r° 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° 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° 16.2: *ir.n sš imn-h’w* ‘made by the scribe Amenkhau’) after model letters (see, e.g., O.DeM 1693, r° x+6; signed by one of Amennakhte’s sons, Paneferemdjed), after love songs (see, e.g., O.Turin 57319+O.DeM 1635, if the ‘signature’ on the v° is related to the text on the r°), after a dreambook (P.Chester Beatty III, 10.20; *ir.n sš imn-nht sš h’-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—Kadesh], 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 I (in the love song of r° 16.9 and in the text of Horus and Seth), and 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° 10; O.Turin CG 57396, r° 6; O.Leipzig 23, v° 7; name only in the Hymn to Ra of O.Gardiner 319, r° 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° 5.8; see, e.g., the Hymn to Amun-Ra of the O.Michaelides 82 + O.DeM 1593, l. 5: *irw in sš imn-m* ‘made by the scribe Amenmes’, O.Petrie 6, r° 4–5; in the *dw3w*-hymns, the mere agentive particle *in* may be used directly after 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 Ramses 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 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.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, as has been pointed out several times, the use of palaeographical arguments for dating in general,<sup>51</sup> and for the identification of individual handwritings in particular, still remains a risky business,<sup>52</sup> not least because of the similarities between hands in the Deir el-Medina community of the period.<sup>53</sup>

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

introduction of the prayer like in O.DeM 1197, r<sup>o</sup> 1: *dwꜥ rꜥ ḥtp=fm nḥ in sꜥ kd ḥrꜥ-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 ḥry-ꜥ=f* 'made by his assistant' (v<sup>o</sup> 2)? Finally, one sometimes finds the formula *sꜥ pw PN* 'it is the scribe PN' at the end of literary texts, such as O.Leipzig 8, r<sup>o</sup> 5.

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

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

<sup>52</sup> See, inter alios, Gasse (1992, n. 27); Janssen (1994, 96); Sweeney (1998, 102–3); and van den Berg and 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 witnesses at the end of the first column.'

<sup>53</sup> 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 are 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<sup>o</sup> 2 and comparing it with T1e (*n sꜥ* [LAC.] 'for the son [LAC.]'), one may wonder whether Hormin is actually the dedicatee (Bickel and Mathieu 1993) or rather the copyist of T1 (Dorn (2009, 77)).

strong internal evidence speaks in favour of Amennakhte's authorship that have been kept in the main corpus:<sup>54</sup>

**Text A (TA):** The testamentary deposition of Naunakhte (also known as The Last Will of Naunakhte [Doc. 1] = P.Ashmolean 1945.97 = P.Gardiner 1 [cols. 1–5.8<sup>55</sup>]). Ed.: Černý (1945, viiia–ix) = KRI VI, 236–40. Year 3 Ramses V or VI. **Authorship:** Amennakhte is mentioned as the scribe: *irw in sꜥ imm-nḥt n pꜥ ḥr ḥnꜥ* (col. 5.8).

**Text B (TB):** The Turin Strike Papyrus<sup>56</sup> (= P.Turin Cat. 1880).

Ed. RAD xiv–xvii and 45–58 = n<sup>o</sup> xviii. Year 29–30 Ramses III. **Bib.:** Pleyte and Rossi (1869–76, pls. xxxv–xlvi [fac simile]); Edgerton (1951a); Frandsen (1990); Häggman (2002, 20–2); Müller (2004). **Authorship:** Based on internal evidence,<sup>57</sup> see, for example, Edgerton (1951a, 144–5); Frandsen (1990); Donker van Heel and Haring (2003, 40 n. 3).<sup>58</sup>

**Text C (TC):** Draft of a letter by the scribe Amennakhte (r<sup>o</sup>) and two accounts (v<sup>o</sup>); Doc. A records the amount of fresh vegetables to be delivered by the doorkeeper 'n-ḥr-tr and Doc. B records the amounts of firewood to be delivered by the same doorkeeper = O.Louvre N. 696).

<sup>54</sup> 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 twenty documents attributed to Amennakhte; see *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.

<sup>55</sup> The end of the fifth column perhaps 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'.

<sup>56</sup> 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 *shꜥ* (lit. 'memorandum') only occurs after a later addition (RAD 58.14–16). One finds this term in connection with Amennakhte on O.DeM 761: [DATE] *shꜥ n sꜥ imm-nḥt* end (see Grandet (2000, 162)). On the notion of 'draft' in relation to this document, see Donker van Heel and Haring (2003, 1–2).

<sup>57</sup> The strongest argument in attributing this document to Amennakhte is maybe not so much the preponderant and positive part he plays in it, but the switch from the third to the first person pronoun that occurs in P.Turin Cat. 1880, r<sup>o</sup> 3.12–13 when the narrative resumes after direct speech: *iwꜥ ḥr in.t.w r-ḥry 'n* 'and I brought them back to the upper place'; see also the switch from the first to the third person in v<sup>o</sup> 7.3–4. This phenomenon is also attested in other documents; see, e.g., the second text on the verso of P.Turin 1879 (v<sup>o</sup> 2.7–2.22 = KRI VI, 338.3–339.5); cf. *infra* n. 59 with Janssen (1994, 92): 'the scribe suddenly introduces himself and his companions, here probably the captains of the necropolis. Structure = [DATE] *hrw pn, itꜥ sꜥ ḥrꜥ n pꜥ ḥr m-bḥ pꜥ ḥm-nṯr tpy n immn* [...], *iwꜥ dꜥt sꜥ n nꜥ ḥmty nꜥ ḥnr n pꜥ ḥr*'.

<sup>58</sup> Gardiner, in his publication of the text (RAD xvi), already noticed that 'the handwriting [...] may have been due to the same scribe throughout, though the size of the writing varies in different places [...]. The scribe was a skilled professional.'

Ed.: Koenig (1991, 98–101 and 103) = KRI VII, 321. Ramses III (end of reign).  
**Authorship:** Amennakhte is the sender of this draft of a letter to the vizier *t3* (*r°* 1–2: *ḥy-ḥwy ḥr wnmy-nsw.t mr niw.t ḥty ḥ – sš imn-nḥt*) and his name appears three times on the *v°* (see esp. Doc. B, l. 7–8: *sš imn-nḥt n p3 ḥr r-ḥt mr-niw.t ḥ*).

To the best of my knowledge, apart from these three documentary texts, the name of Amennakhte (son of Ipuy) occurs in more than 120 documents (with many variants in his title: *ø, sš, sš-kdw, sš n p3 ḥr (ḥny)*, etc.). Among these, at least twenty ostraca and one papyrus<sup>59</sup> have been explicitly attributed to him by scholars (notably by Eyre,<sup>60</sup> who combined two types of criteria: palaeography and appearance of the name of Amennakhte in prominence):

1: O.Ashmolean Museum 4 [= O.Gardiner 4].

Ed.: HO xxvii.3 = KRI VI, 142. Year 5 Ramses IV. **Bib.:** McDowell (1999, 181–2); Helck (2002, 394).

2: O.Ashmolean Museum 68 [= O.Gardiner 68].

Ed.: HO lxvii.3 = KRI V, 555–6. Year 31 Ramses 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 Ramses 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 Ramses III.

5: O.Berlin P 10645+10646.

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

<sup>59</sup> One could probably add two rather exceptional papyri to this list, even if these attributions remain problematic. [1] P.Turin Cat. 1879+1969+1899, i.e. the famous map of the mines located in Wadi Hammat. Romer (1984, 129–30) was the first to acknowledge the fact that this map could have been drawn by a scribe from Deir el-Medina. Harrel and Brown (1989; 1992, 86) suggested that this scribe could be Amennakhte son of Ipuy (see the development on pp. 100–3). The name of Amennakhte appears several times on the (mostly unpublished) verso. The first text (*v°* 1.1–3 = KRI VI, 377.12–14), for instance, records an oath sworn by the scribe Amennakhte in his house, certainly in the presence of his wife (*ḥsb.t* [LAC] *ʿrk* [LAC *hrw*] *pn in sš imn-nḥt* (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏) *m ḥy=f.t ḥr [t]r-n-dw3.t m-bḥ 'nḥ-n-niw.t [ḥ-wr.t-]m-ḥb 'nḥ n nb ʿ.w.s ḏd.n=f* BLANK 'year [LAC.] last day [LAC.] this [day] by the scribe Amennakhte in his place at sunset in front of the citizen [LAC.] oath by the lord l.p.h. that he said BLANK'). The second (*v°* 1.3–2.6 = KRI VI, 335.5–337.15; see Hovestreydt (1997)) and third texts (*v°* 2.7–2.22 = KRI VI, 338.3–339.5) are tentatively attributed to the scribe of the necropolis Hori by Janssen (1994, 92–6), but Amennakhte remains a possible candidate (see Hovestreydt 1997, 114; McDowell 1999, 94). [2] P.Turin 1885 (see Carter and Gardiner (1917), and von Beckerath (2000)), i.e. the well-known plan of the tomb of Ramses IV (name of Amennakhte on the verso).

<sup>60</sup> Eyre (1979, 91 n. 57), and see already Černý (2004, 342). Now, add the list provided by Burkard (2013, 67).

6: O.Berlin P 10655.

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

7: O.Berlin P 12630.

Ed.: HOPR pls. 10–11 and DeM-online = KRI V, 594–5. Ramses III (?or IV?). **Bib.:** Wente (1990, 162).

8: O.Berlin P 12654.

Ed.: HOPR pls. 12–15 and DeM-online = KRI VI, 344–5. Year 2 Ramses 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, and Demarée (2002, pls. 187–8). Year 20 Ramses 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 Ramses III. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 40–2); McDowell (1999, 33); Helck (2002, 250).

11: O.DeM 59.

Ed.: Černý (1935, pl. 46–46A). Twentieth Dynasty. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 84–5).

12: O.DeM 73.

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

13: O.DeM 553.

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

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

Ed.: Zonhoven (1979, fig. 1) and Grandet (2000, 212).<sup>61</sup> Year 25 Ramses III. **Bib.:** McDowell (1999, 69–72).

15: O.Florence 2620.

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

16: O.Florence 2621.

Ed.: HOPR pls. 36–9 = KRI V, 478–80. Year 21 Ramses III.

17: O.Florence 2625.

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

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

Ed.: Goedicke and Wente (1962, pl. 11) = KRI V, 451–2. Year 10 Ramses III. **Bib.:** Allam (1973, 204–5); Helck (2002, 227); Janssen (2005, 28).

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



19: O.Nicholson Museum R. 97.

Ed.: Eyre (1979, 88–9) = KRI VI, 151–2. Ramses III<sup>end</sup>–Ramses IV.<sup>62</sup>

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

Ed.: HOPR pl. 68–9; López (1978, pls. 119–119a) = KRI VII, 286–7. Year 18 Ramses III.

Bib.: Helck (2002, 238).

21: P.Berlin P 10496.

Ed.: HOPR pls. 80–4 = KRI V, 476–8. Year 21 and 24 Ramses III. Bib.: Blackman (1926, 177–81) and DeM-online (see the remarks about the hands of this documents).

This list—with select bibliography<sup>63</sup>—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,<sup>64</sup> 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 graphemic and linguistic variations found in the main corpus. However, I explicitly refrain from attributing these texts *en bloc* to Amennakhte.<sup>65</sup>

#### §4. GRAPHEMIC VARIATION: REGULARITY AND MOTIVATED VARIATIONS IN HIERATIC SPELLINGS

At first glance, the examination of this dimension of variation<sup>66</sup> 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

<sup>62</sup> The reason why Helck (2002, 514) suggests dating this document to Year 16? of Ramses IX escapes me.

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



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





<sup>65</sup> Issues linked with identification of hands in the material from Deir el-Medina during the Twentieth Dynasty are discussed in Dorn and Polis (2016).

<sup>66</sup> 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, and Winand (2009), Polis, Honnay, and Winand (2013), and Winand, Polis, and Rosmorduc (2015); see [ramses.ulg.ac.be](http://ramses.ulg.ac.be).

texts paid a great deal of attention to the formal side of their undertaking.<sup>67</sup> 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,<sup>68</sup> and (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.<sup>69</sup> If we exclude some marginal cases, such as the variation between  (TA, 3.11) vs  (SG/PL systematic; *passim*), there is only one example of apparently unmotivated variation in the literary texts (143 lexemes; thirty-three occur in two texts or more [23 per cent]) and one example in the documentary texts (172 lexemes; thirty-two occur in two texts or more [18.6 per cent]):

- *imw* ‘boat’  (T1L, 2; similar in other witnesses of T1) vs  (T3, 5);
- *šgr* ‘wooden ?box?’  (TB, v° 5.15) vs  (TB, v° 5.11), certainly due to a lexical borrowing.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> 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).

<sup>68</sup> On the use of the term ‘classifier’ and its relevance for analysing the Ancient Egyptian writing system, see Goldwasser and Grinevald (2012) and Lincke and Kammerzell (2012).



<sup>69</sup> Proper names have been excluded here.

<sup>70</sup> See Janssen (1975, 200; 2009, 84), who does not acknowledge the spelling with . The alternation between  (Wb. I, 208.11) and  (Wb. I, 97–8) 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 *ⲁⲗ* ‘pebble, stone’ and *ⲁⲛⲉ* ‘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, kš PN<sub>1</sub> hr PN<sub>2</sub>* ‘(  ) *hr tbn n pš is n Wsir PN<sub>3</sub>* ‘but look, PN<sub>1</sub> and PN<sub>2</sub> removed a stone on the top of the tomb of the Osiris PN<sub>3</sub>’ (r° 4.4–6); *hr ptr=tn B s.t-‘h’* (  ) *n šty PN hr B s.t-in inr* (  ) ‘but you have seen (i.e. you are aware of) the position of the vizier PN regarding the removing of stones’ (r° 4.10); *dī ‘n-is.t PN, pšy=i it, rmt r in(.t) inr im=s* ‘the chief of the gang PN, my father, appointed someone to remove stones therein’ (r° 4.11). Additionally, the phrase *in ‘l* (parallel to *in inr* in TB) appears in another document related to the violation of a tomb: *ptr n={tw}tn r in ‘l im=fr-bnr* ‘pay attention, you<sub>pl</sub>, not to remove stones therefrom to the outside’ (Block Edinburgh Society of Antiquities 912.3 [DZA 21.900.630]), and, judging from Crum (1939, 3–4), the meaning ‘hail stone’ is still well attested in Coptic for *ⲁⲗ*. It is worth noticing here that, besides other occurrences in the Ramesside period (P.Anastasi I, 23.3; 24.2; P.Mag.Harris, 4.7; O.Cairo CG 25651, v° 2.2–2.3; O.DeM 1038, v° 3, probably written by the *idnw* Hay who was a contemporary of Amennakhte, see Dorn (2009, 77; 2011, 190–1)), sometimes related to Tomb Robberies (P.BM EA 10052, v° 14.4–5: *mtw=tw gm.t=i iw dgs(=i) pšy ‘l m rd=i, iw=fr tp-ht* ‘if one discovers that I trampled this stone with my foot, I will be impaled’; Block Edinburgh Society of Antiquities 912.7 [DZA 21.900.640]), it occurs in the letter linked to Amennakhte’s circle on the verso of P.Turin 1879 (I, 2.4; see Hovestreydt (1997) and here n. 59).





Except for these two cases, the spellings of the substantives are overwhelmingly regular. This phenomenon may be illustrated with three types of motivated variation at the graphemic level:




### 1. Number





The singular vs plural number is spelled consistently (even when quite infrequent 'orthographies' are used for the plural). For example, *s.t* 'place' is written  (both in literary and documentary texts) and the two occurrences of the plural are written the same way:  (TA, r° 4.10 and TB, r° 4.4; another occurrence of this spelling is P.Anastasi IV, 4.9 (= LEM 39.5)).







### 2. Feminine writings

The absolute vs suffixal states of the feminine substantives have different but coherent spellings. For example: *sb3y.t* 'teaching'  (T1A, 1) vs *sb3y.t=k* 'your teaching'  (T1A, 10; T1L, 5; etc.), here with the second person singular masculine suffix pronoun (2SGM)



### 3. The influence of the discursive environment













The opposition between  (TB *passim*, TC, b, v° 1) and  (TB) is perfectly coherent. One always finds the first spelling in dates and the second when the lexeme is included in the main text; see, e.g., *tw n hkr.(wy) n, iw hrw 18 k m p3 3bd* () 'we are hungry, the eighteenth day of the month is there (and no ration arrived)' (TB, r° 1.2).

The opposition between  (e.g. T1B, 2; TB *passim*; TC, b, v° 1, v° 7; etc.) and  (e.g. T1N, 5; TB, r° 1.3, v° 2.9, 3.26, 3.29, 4.15; etc.), or  (TC, r° 2, b, v° 8) and  (TB *passim*), follows the strict distribution <title in headings and 'signatures'> (sš PN; when it is written, the classifier AI appears after the PN) vs <title or function in the main text> (e.g. *p3 sš n p3 hr* 'the scribe of the Tomb', *iry=k sš* 'may you be a scribe', etc.).

















In TB, the word *is.t* 'gang' ( or ) appears without the quad  in the title *3-n-is.t* 'chief of the gang' solely;  or  are spellings found in the phrase *p3-3-n-is.t* 2, see v° 2.9, 3.25, 3.28, 4.14;  also occurs in *3-n-is.t* PN, see v° 6.6; r° 3.7, 4.2. When Amennakhte refers to the whole gang as such, in the noun phrase *3 is.t*, the classifiers of the seated man and the plural strokes are always present.<sup>71</sup>

Furthermore, it should be stressed that the writings of the substantives are consistent across genres (310 lexemes; 13 per cent (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'

<sup>71</sup> The only exception is to be found in a list of v° 4.16 ( *3 is.t*), which deals with the quantity of vegetables that a gardener has to deliver. It should also be noted that  is the only spelling attested in TA.

 (TA, r° 1.3; also in T5, r° 1) →  (e.g. TB, r° 1.1) →  (e.g. TB, v° 6.6) →  (e.g. TB, v° 8.7)) and processes of abbreviation (*hmty* 'copper'  (TA, r° 5.7; TB, v° 5.18) →  (TB, v° 5.4); *hry* 'superior'  (TB, r° 4.16) →  (e.g. TB, v° 3.5); *smn* 'price'  (TB, v° 5.3) →  (e.g. TB, v° 5.2); *smw* 'vegetable'  (e.g. TB, v° 1.8) →  (e.g. TB, v° 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 script<sup>72</sup>—hieratic is not simply a way to write down a string of spoken language,<sup>73</sup> but a complex semiotic system in its own right.<sup>74</sup> The iconic potential of the hieratic writing system broached thereafter is an illustration of the importance of writing 'beyond its function as [a] vehicle of linguistic sequences'.<sup>75</sup>

Variations in classifiers are found in literary and documentary texts alike in order to specify the referent in context:  (e.g. T1P, 3) vs  (T5, 8);  (T4, r° 8) vs  (TC, 3) vs  (e.g. T5, r° 1; TB, r° 2.4);  (e.g. TB, r° 4.15; TC, 6) vs  (TA, r° 2.1; TB, 1.x+16). The influence of the referent on the classifier is obvious in the alternation between  (*hrd.w h3wty.w* 'the male children', TA, r° 3.10) vs  (*bn i.in.tw By.i 3 hrd.w hr.i* 'my three (female) children will not be allowed to go to court against me', TB, v° 6.4–5) vs  (when the two genders are concerned; e.g. TA, r° 4.7; TB, r° 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'  or  (T4, 6; T6, r° 3) vs 'authority'  (T6); *sb3y.t* 'teaching'  or  (e.g. T1A, 1 or T1K, 1) vs *sb3y.t* 'punishment'  (*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° 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 Amennakhte's corpus. We mostly have to deal with conventionalized spellings or motivated variations.

<sup>72</sup> See especially Loprieno (2001).

<sup>73</sup> 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).

<sup>74</sup> 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.

<sup>75</sup> Loprieno (2006, 167).

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 second person masculine singular suffix pronoun is worth investigating further in this respect. Indeed, the alternation between the spellings , , and (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 is the usual spelling of the second person masculine singular suffix pronoun<sup>76</sup> but, in a proportion of approximately 1 to 3, two other types of spellings occur:

1. ky

ky is consistently used after dual inflexions: ir.ty=ky 'your eyes' (T1A, 4 (= T1B, 7 = T1J, 1 = T1K, 5–6); T3, 7; T4, 5); .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 tb.ty=ky* 'under your feet', e.g. in Urk. IV, 1661.5, 1754.7; KRI I, 96.13, etc. or *hr rd.wy=ky* 'under your legs', e.g. in KRI II, 249.12), is also attested once in a parallel version to P.Anastasi I, 19.4–5 (O.DeM 1005+1662, 7: '.wy=ky), as well as in a parallel version to P.Anastasi IV, 3.4 (O.Gardiner 28, v° 1: ir.ty=ky), and, strikingly, three times in the P.Chester Beatty IV (v° 4.9: rd.wy=ky; v° 4.12 and 5.2: '.wy=ky).

2.

(with its variants and ) is a hieratic spelling usually considered<sup>77</sup> to have been influenced by the first person singular ending of the Stative (also known as Pseudo-Participle inflexion in Late Egyptian).<sup>78</sup> This 'long' spelling is characteristic of the literarily elaborated registers that one finds in the wisdom literature *sensu lato*,<sup>79</sup> in the Love Songs and in the Laudes Urbis, as well as in the closely related registers of the didactic literature<sup>80</sup> during the Ramesside period. If we add to this corpus some ten 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 and 15.2)), the number of occurrences of the long spelling of the suffix pronoun is 147 vs 20 (88 per cent) in favour of the 'literary'

<sup>76</sup> Unfortunately, the 2sg.M suffix pronoun occurs only once in the non-literary corpus, i.e. in TB, r° 2.14.

<sup>77</sup> After Erman (1933, §65–7) who has given the fullest description of the phenomenon to date.

<sup>78</sup> It should be noted that, in the texts where the long spelling of the 2sg.M suffix pronoun occurs, the full spelling of the first person pseudo-participle ending represents less than 50 per cent of the attestations.

<sup>79</sup> See, e.g., P.Anastasi I (twenty occurrences), Teaching of Ani (nine occurrences in P.Boulaq 4), P.Chester Beatty IV, Menna's Laments, Prohibitions.

<sup>80</sup> 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.Leiden 348; P.Turin A, B, and D; T.Brussels E. 580.

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'*).
- After some substantives (especially with dual inflexions<sup>81</sup>).
- After *sdm=f* forms (mainly as subject of the Perfective and the Subjunctive<sup>82</sup>).

When occurring in documentary texts,<sup>83</sup> 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 Ramses III.<sup>84</sup> Consequently, even if some phonological motivations may originally lie behind the use of this spelling,<sup>85</sup> it is safe to assume that the spelling of the 2sg.M 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,<sup>86</sup> T3, 2)<sup>87</sup>; *shr.w=k* 'your course of action' (T1L, 3); *rn=k* 'your name' (T3, 3);
- the subject of the (mostly dependent) Subjunctive ('*m=k* (T1A, 5 = T1B, 8 = T1K, 6, similar spelling in PBM EA 10326, v° 17: *r di.t* '*m=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°

<sup>81</sup> See, e.g., '.wy=k: P.Anastasi I, 19.4; 'nh.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° 6–7.12.

<sup>82</sup> Less often as the object of the infinitive (fifteen occurrences); see the examples already quoted in Erman (1933, §65).

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

<sup>84</sup> See, e.g., P.Northumberland I, r° 4 and v° 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 2sg.M suffix pronoun are very infrequent. Note that, among the clear cases of long writings in non-literary texts after Ramses III (see P.Mallet, 6.11 and P.Mayer A, v° 9.19), three occurrences come from Dhutmose's letters (PBM EA 10326, r° 15 and v° 17; P.BN 196 II, v° 3).

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

<sup>86</sup> But in T1A.

<sup>87</sup> For this spelling, see also PBM 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° 3 (= LRL 22.2).

6)) and of  $rh^{88}$  in the negative construction  $bw\ rh.k$  𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 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 text of the spelling 𓂏 after dual inflexions and of the spelling 𓂏𓂏 (or 𓂏𓂏) 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<sup>o</sup>, 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.<sup>89</sup>

## §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.<sup>90</sup> In a second step, other distinctive linguistic features ('register markers') will be acknowledged so as to

<sup>88</sup> 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:  $di=i\ rh=k\ p\ kth\ i\ y <m> pr\ i\ pwy$ ; O.Petrie 92, r<sup>o</sup> 5 (= HO 42.1); P.Koller, 5.7 (= LEM 120, 14); O.Gardiner 86, 2; P.Leiden 348, v<sup>o</sup> 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).

<sup>89</sup> The text, usually attributed to the early Twentieth 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<sup>o</sup> 4.8 and T3 noted in Vernus (2010, 491).

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

suggest a more fine-grained picture of variation between registers during the first part of the Twentieth Dynasty.

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.<sup>91</sup> 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 Figure 5.1, the range of predicative constructions<sup>92</sup> 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 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

<sup>91</sup> 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, and Polis (2013).

<sup>92</sup> 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.

	<i>i.ir=f sgm</i>	Fut. III	Sequential	Consecutive	<i>i.ir=f sgm</i> (emph.)	Infinitive (narr.)	Perfective	Imperative	Subjunctive	Present I	Adj. Pred.	Subst. Pred.	Exist. Pred.	(i)sgm=f (emph.)	<i>bw</i> (ir=f) <i>sgm</i> (=f)	2nd Pred.	<i>iw=f r NP</i>	<i>mrr=f</i>	<i>sgm=f</i> (unpert.)	<i>sgm.n=f</i>
							+	-	+	-	Inf.	psp.	adv.							
T1																				
T5																				
T6																				
T2																				
T3																				
TA																				
TB																				

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)

in the corpus. This observation alone shows the inadequacy<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup>

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 a different extent, for the other texts.

In T1 (see Figure 5.2), one observes a sharp dominance of verbal morphology with manipulative function: together, the Imperative and the Subjunctive represent approximately 45 per cent 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.

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.<sup>95</sup> This explains some of the occurrences of linguistic features belonging to the higher part of the formality scale in the register of T1.

Figure 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

<sup>93</sup> See, inter alios, Quack (1994, Introduction).

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

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

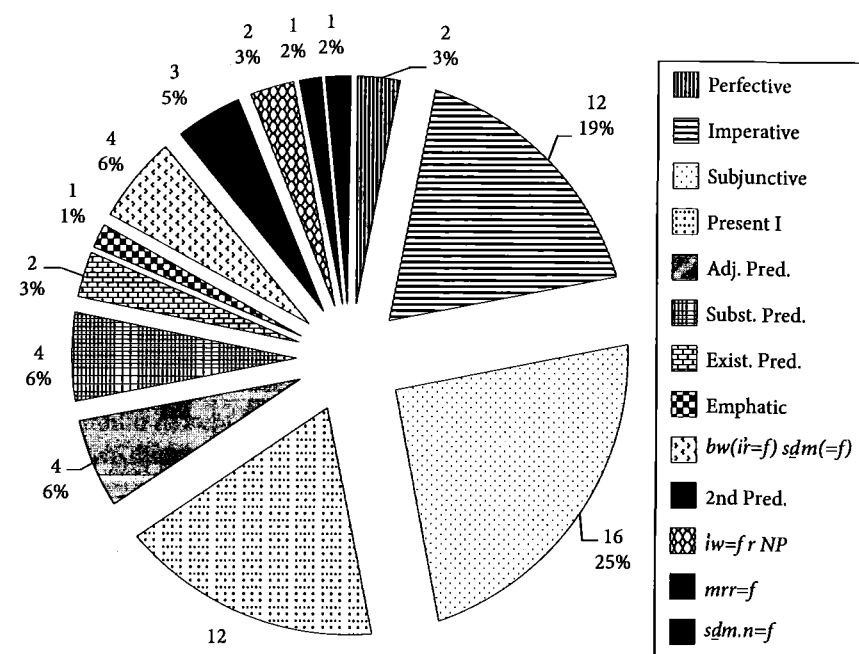


Fig. 5.2. Distribution of the predicative constructions in T1

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 Ramses IV leads to a statistically striking over-representation of the Present I with Stative predicates.

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. Winand<sup>96</sup> 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

<sup>96</sup> Winand (1995a, 193–5), with previous literature.

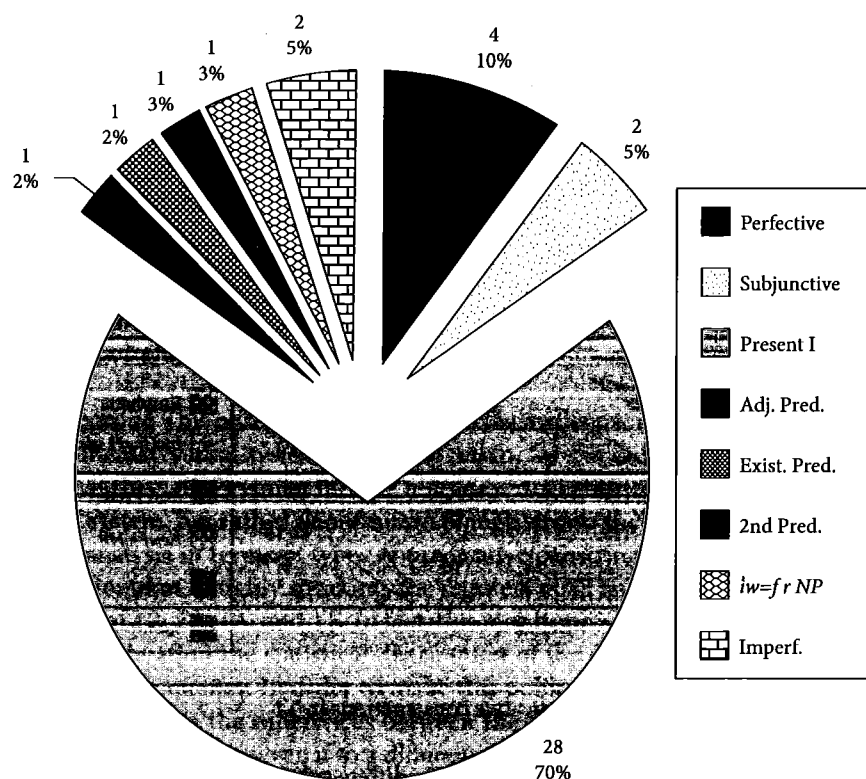


Fig. 5.3. Distribution of the predicative constructions in T5

after *iw* and definitely after the infinitive (*status pronominalis*). In the documentary corpus that he investigated, the replacement is almost completed by the beginning of the Twentieth Dynasty: under Ramses III, *=sn* is limited to two environments, namely after prepositions (two occurrences; 18 per cent) and after *iw* (two occurrences; 5 per cent).

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 (see Figure 5.4). 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,<sup>97</sup> as well as in the possessive determiner *n3y=sn*. This correlates with the above-mentioned distribution of the predicative

<sup>97</sup> One notices that these two cases of *=sn* (r° 5 and 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 corroborated 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° 2.17).

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 above, during the Twentieth 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 TA<sup>98</sup> 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.

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 register<sup>99</sup>—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* (strongly indexical of the higher part of the formality

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

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

<sup>98</sup> For the sole occurrence of *=sn* in TA as a possible trace of formality and written norm, see bullet number 1, p119.

<sup>99</sup> See Biber (1995, 28–9).

scale, see T1A, 6 (= B, 10) and T1A, 14 (= T1L, 8); T6, r° 5–6), instead of the regular Late Egyptian negation *bn* 𓁺, which occurs both in other literary (T5, 5) and documentary texts (eighteen occurrences, never *nn*).

The topicalizing particle *ir* 'as for' is avoided in literary registers. In T5, one finds: *ø n3 h3r.wt, pr.t{t}w wn* 'the widows, their houses are open' (see also T5, 6); in T1A, 6 (= B, 10), *ø smi 3, 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-3* '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=f3h.t=i* 'whoever among them has been a helping hand, I will give him my goods' (TA, 2.6); *ir p3 nty bw pw=f di.t n=i, bn iw=i r di.t n=f m3h.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 'k r pss.t m3h.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° 5.1 and 5.3); *ir p3y=tn dd (...)* 'concerning your<sup>m</sup> saying (...)' (TB, r° 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-existence<sup>100</sup> (see, e.g., the virtual circumstantial clauses in T1A, 15 (= T1L, 9); T5, 6–7: *bn p3 nwh* 'there is no more hauling';<sup>101</sup> and T6, r° 5–6), as well as before the adjunctal stative that is left unconverted<sup>102</sup> 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,<sup>103</sup> is expected to vary across genres and registers.<sup>104</sup> A simple example that focuses on the adjectival category will be sufficient here in order to illustrate the line of reasoning.

<sup>100</sup> 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).

<sup>101</sup> On the so-called 'predicative *bn*', see Vernus (1985, especially pp. 155–63 dealing with the construction *bn* + definite subject).

<sup>102</sup> 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 and 12 (with the other witnesses: *ndm [zp-2] gm + øBj.* and *ndm knkn*) vs T3, 3 (*nfr.wi n=k p3 |'s| rn=k*).

<sup>103</sup> 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, and Kokkinakis (2001, 474–5 and 481–2).

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

	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

There are nineteen different 'adjectives' attested in the corpus (among which four occur both in literary and documentary texts: *wr*, 3, *nfr*, and *3y*): fourteen of them are used in T1–7 and eight in TA–C. As is shown in Figure 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.<sup>105</sup> 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.

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.

<sup>105</sup> 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 eight different prepositions, among which six also occur in the documentary corpus (75 per cent). The Teaching of Amennakhte (T1), on the other hand, has thirteen different prepositions, but only six of them also appear in TA–TC (46 per cent).

## §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.<sup>106</sup>

(a) The imperative plural of *iwi* 'to come'<sup>107</sup> is systematically written with the grapheme or representing the phoneme /n/ in Amennakhte's corpus:<sup>108</sup> *myn* 'come<sup>pl</sup>' (T6, r° 2; the referent is likely to be *ntr.w nb.w* in r° 1; see also *myn* in r° 6); *myn* *r-hnw* 'come<sup>pl</sup> (back) inside' (TB, r° 1.4). This contrasts with the spellings of the imperative singular, where the is not written,<sup>109</sup> see T1L, 14 () and T7, v° 7: *my* *iry.k hb* 'come to celebrate'.

The second person plural 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 or as in Amennakhte's texts:<sup>110</sup> *myn* *r-hn=i*, *di=tn n=i dr.t* 'Come<sup>pl</sup> next to me in order to help me [lit. to give me a hand]' (P.Anastasi I, 5.7); *m3'.ty nb*, *myn* *m3=tn* (...) 'every righteous man, come<sup>pl</sup> so to see (...) ' (P.Sallier I, 8.9 (= LEM 86.14–15)); *myn* *iry=n* *n=f n3y=f hb.w n.w p.t* 'come<sup>pl</sup>, let us celebrate for it its festivals of heaven' (P.Anastasi III, 2.11 (= LEM 22.12–13)); *myn r-dr=w* 'Come<sup>pl</sup> you all (so that we give praise to him together)' (Medinet Habu, Great Inscription of

<sup>106</sup> 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.

<sup>107</sup> For the existence of an isomorphic imperative for *iwi* 'to come', see the arguments for and against respectively in Schweitzer (2008) and Quack (2004).

<sup>108</sup> See also O.IFAO 1255 A, r° 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* *n pr-3* 'write<sup>pl</sup> to Pharaoh!' (TB, r° 2.4). Indeed, it is difficult to ascertain whether this kind of spelling refers to an underlying phonological reality (compare *dd* *sw m-m3'.t* 'say<sup>pl</sup> it truly' (TB, r° 2.17) with *m ir sni* *r mry.t* 'do<sup>pl</sup> not cross in direction of the riverbank' (TB, r° 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 (or the like) and the feminine (see, e.g., LES 48.16: *mi n=i mw.t is.t 3y=i mw.t* 'come to me, mother Isis, my mother'; PBM EA 9997, IV 4: *mi r-hn'-i* 'come with me') of the singular. Whether such spellings relate to the opposition between *amoy* (masc.) and *amh* (fem.) in Coptic remains an open question. On this issue, see Erman (1933, §354) and Junge (2001, 81).

<sup>109</sup> In P.Turin CG 54051, compare similarly §4.22 (pl. ) with §11.6 (sg. )

<sup>110</sup> See Erman (1933, §354 and 362), Caminos (1954, 79), Černý and Groll (1993, 348), and Wb. II, 35.15–17.

Year 8 (= KRI V, 38.7–8)); *myn* *r t3 mry.t* 'come<sup>pl</sup> to the riverbank' (O.Cairo CG 25264, 4); *myn n=i* *hm.wt-nswt, s3.t-nswt, sn.wt-nswt* 'come<sup>pl</sup> to me, royal wives, royal princesses, and royal sisters' (Piankhy, l. 34). Examples of this spelling of the imperative before the reign of Ramses II are highly infrequent (see possible cases such as *my* *m3=tn mnw nfr w3b* 'come<sup>pl</sup> so as to see the beautiful and pure monument', Urk. IV, 862, 12;<sup>112</sup> however cf. n. 108), but they become more and more usual after the New Kingdom<sup>113</sup> and are beyond any doubt to be related to the Coptic *amwini* (Bohairic), *amoini* (Fayumic), and *amh(e)ing* (Akhmimic).<sup>114</sup> 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'.<sup>115</sup> 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 m3'y.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'k m3'y.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 3y=i w3b.t* 'behold, I am giving you my stance' (TB, r° 4, 21; see also r° 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 wr3 iw.w (hr) ssm.t m rn.s* 'they do nothing else but moan all the day long in her name' (T2, 1–2); *i.ir.tw sw3 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);

<sup>111</sup> See Logan and Westenholz (1972, 112–13). The emendation into *mi.<t>n* suggested by Grimal (1981, 63 n. 146) escapes me.








<sup>112</sup> Similar spelling without the *n* occurs in P.Leiden I 343, r° 3.12: *my n=i zp-2* 'come to me, come to me'; see also Kadesh §161 (L2, 42). In Ptolemaic texts, Kurth (2008, 751–3) also mentions, next to a 'Form *mj.n*', the occurrences of a 'Form *m3w*', with spellings such as , , and .

<sup>113</sup> 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).

<sup>114</sup> See Crum (1939, 7b). <sup>115</sup> Winand (1992, 413).



*iw.k (hr) ir.t p3 nty im* 'while you act as someone yonder'; *iw=w (hr) ht hr nhn* *by msy.w n h3i nfr* 'while they are taking care of the full term male children' (T5, 5<sup>116</sup>). A regularity of this kind would deserve checking in a broader corpus in order to specify its spread beyond the idiolectal level,<sup>117</sup> but it has per se the interest of showing how the syntactic environment might have had an influence on the actuation of a construction<sup>118</sup> (here, with or without the preposition *hr*). Additionally, the lack of counter-examples points to a possible awareness of a written norm regarding this construction, one that ultimately led to levelled registers in Amennakhte's case.

The importance of levelling processes may be further illustrated by examining the 'respect' of a norm in a single text. In TA, the elegance of the calligraphy seems to be reflected in the spellings and in the language itself that tends to be highly uniform and overwhelmingly regular. At the graphemic level, an illustration of motivated variations may be found in the *status pronominalis* of the substantive *h.t* 'thing' (see above §4.2). The actual phonetic realization of the /t/ is underlined in the spellings by the systematic appearance of the grapheme :  (1.4),  (2.6; 2.7; 3.8),  (4.8), which contrasts clearly with  (2.3),  (4.9),  (5.2).

The prepositions *hr* and *r* of the analytic predicative constructions (Present I, Future III, Sequential) are always written, which does not match the general evolution trends of these constructions for the period.<sup>119</sup>

It could be argued that these features are not register-dependent, but are rather a general characteristic of Amennakhte's written production (who could turn out to be a rather conservative scribe). This assumption is, however, contradicted by the data of TB: this text was written years before TA and displays several features that are more advanced from a diachronic viewpoint (formality scale) and less regular (standardization scale) than TA (see, e.g., the frequent, but non-regular and apparently non-motivated, omission of the prepositions in the above-mentioned analytical predicative constructions). This constitutes a noteworthy argument in favour of the existence of a rather vivid language ideology that played a decisive part even in the registers that are not located at the higher end of the formality scale.<sup>120</sup> This formal and conventionalized character

<sup>116</sup> See Meeks (1998, 78.2464).









<sup>117</sup> This is compatible with—but markedly different from—the tendency observed by Winand (1992, 415–16) in the broader corpus of the Twentieth Dynasty. He gives the following figures, depending on the syntactic environment: *hr* is present 41 per cent of the time when the Present I occurs in an independent syntactic position while only 22 per cent of the time after the circumstantial *iw*.

<sup>118</sup> 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.

<sup>119</sup> See Winand (1992, 414–19, 449–54, and 504–10).

<sup>120</sup> In this respect, see Winand (1992, 418) who commented on the 'particularismes de scribe' regarding the frequent occurrence of the preposition *hr* with the Present I in some texts. Given the examples quoted, I would be tempted to postulate here register rather than scribal variation and



of the written register of TA, when compared to other documentary texts, is arguably further demonstrable thanks to minor changes that could point to the decreasing attention of Amennakhte in the course of his writing:<sup>121</sup>

- change from 3PL suffix pronoun =*sn* to =*w* after the preposition *n* (a conservative environment, see §5): *iw=i hr di.t n=sn* 'and I gave them' (2.3) vs *r rdi.t rh.tw n3 rmt-is.t hm.wt i.di=s n=w* 'list of the members of the gang and women to whom she gave' (3.1);
- the quantifier *nb* agrees consistently in gender with the antecedent. This is a written hypercorrection, since this type of gender agreement is no longer required during the Twentieth Dynasty, but in column 4.9 we find *3h.t nb* (and again in column 5.7);
- change from  to  as the grapheme of the prothetic yod of the perfective relative form, i.e. from the older and infrequent spelling of the Late Egyptian relative form to the newer and usual spelling:  (3.1),  (3.9),  (3.11),  (4.1),  (4.11),  (5.3).

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 graph<sup>122</sup> (Figure 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.

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.

to link it expressly to a language ideology probably developed through the norm of the didactic literature.

<sup>121</sup> Some mistakes are certainly due to the same phenomenon: (1) omission of the negation: *ir p3y 3 hrd.w ink, <bn> iw=w r k r p3.t m 3h.t=i nb* 'as for these three children of mine, they shall <not> participate in the division of any of my goods' (4.7–8); (2) *p3y=i*  written instead of  (5.3). See Winand (this volume, Chapter 6) for similar changes of the scribal practices in the course of writing a document in the Tomb Robberies corpus.

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

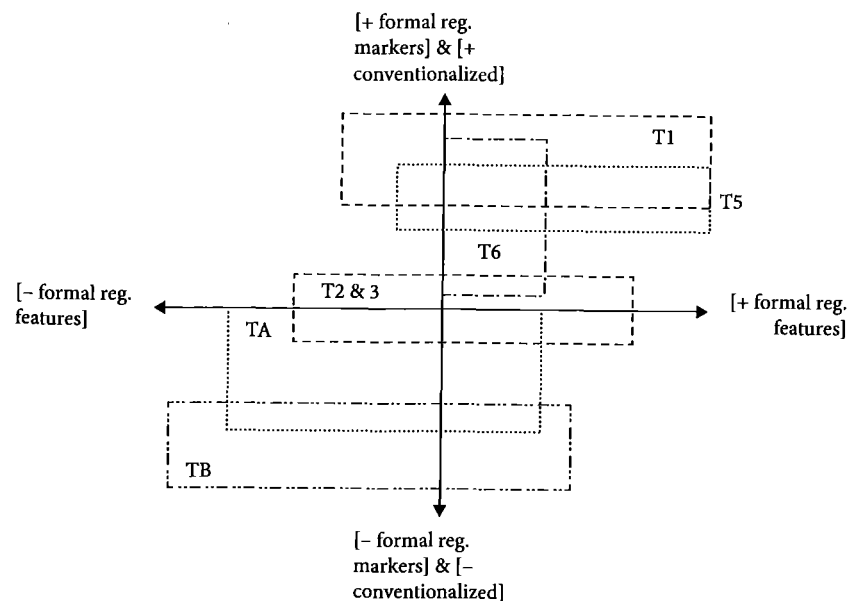


Fig. 5.6. Two-dimensional representation of the register variation in Amennakhte's corpus

## §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 identifying a scribe or an author in the community of Deir el-Medina, especially during the first part of the Twentieth Dynasty.

The construction of abstract deverbal substantives with the substantive *s.t* 'place' (𓂏𓂛) + verbal root is a well-known derivational strategy in Ancient Egyptian.<sup>123</sup> 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<sup>o</sup> 4.10: *hr ptr=tn t3 s.t-ḥ' (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛) n t3ty PN hr t3 s.t-in inr.w (𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛)* 'but you are aware of the position of the vizier PN regarding the fact of bringing stones'. This 'particularism' is coherent and expected, but in the documentation at our disposal seems to be peculiar to Amennakhte.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>123</sup> See already Firchow (1954, 93–4).

<sup>124</sup> 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

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, these need be supplemented by a close study of the handwriting, by an examination of the other dating criteria, and by taking into consideration thematic similarities<sup>125</sup> 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, cols. 5.9–sq. (§7.1), i.e. the end of TA that directly follows Amennakhte's text and has been written by another hand, perhaps 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',<sup>126</sup> whereas Bickel and 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 apparenté'.<sup>127</sup> Both hypotheses will be reviewed here in order to see whether the texts 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).

in KRI VI, 571.7–8: [DATE] *wsfn t3 is.t (n) p3 hr iw=sn ḥkr.w g3b.w m ḥtr.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 *-3*, que l'on retrouve cinq fois (*dhj-3* et *smj-3* dans l'*Enseignement* [T1], *b3.t-3.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, *b3.t nfr.t*, in P.Chester Beatty IV, v<sup>o</sup> 5.6], *nb-3* dans l'hymne de l'O.CGT 57001)' (Bickel and Mathieu (1993, 48)).











<sup>125</sup> Here, thematic similarities are to be distinguished from phraseological similarities. One may think, for example, of the use of *i.nw 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 and Mathieu (1993, 48).

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

<sup>127</sup> Bickel and Mathieu (1993, 32).

### §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  vs  (TA, 1.4) and *rmt-is.t* is written  vs  in TA (eleven occurrences, no variation).
- As regards the spellings, one can also quote: *'nh-n-niwt*  (5.10) vs  in TA (eight occurrences, no variation); *niwt-nht*  (5.10) vs  in TA (1.5).
- The *status pronominalis* of feminine substantives is written without the grapheme  (see 5.9–10: *n3 ss i.ir 'nh-n-niwt* PN *hr 3h.t.s* () '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 *ø ps 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 and 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 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 hypothesis<sup>128</sup> regarding O.DeM 1219:


- The spelling of the substantive *sb3y.t* 'teaching' *status pronominalis* with the grapheme  (r° 3) as in T1A, 10 (.
- The long spelling  of the 2SGM suffix pronoun in syntagmatic environments similar to T1: after *mdw/md.wt* 'speak/words' (r° 4  identical to T1A, 6) and *ini* 'bring' (v° 16 in the *bw sdm=f* construction, cf. T1A, 15); see also v° 18 after a lacuna. The short spelling is found after *it* 'father' and *dr.t* 'hand' (v° 16 and 17).
- Use of the 3PL suffix pronoun *=sn* (r° 6 and 7 (not =w)), which is also systematic in T1.

- Identical spellings for almost all the lexemes: *ndm* 'sweet' (, r° 5 = T1A, 11), *'k* 'to enter' (, r° 6, always the same spelling in the corpus (six occ.; see, e.g., TA, 4.2, TB, r° 1.2)), *hpr* 'to become' (,<sup>129</sup> v° 15 and 19 = T1B, 5 and T1K, 4), *ki n* NP 'form, nature, manner of NP' (, v° 16 = T4.1), *iwtj* REL.NEG (, v° 17 = T1P, 1), *k3.t* 'work' (, v° 18 = T1A, 3), *ib* 'heart' (v° 19 = *passim*), *ts.w* 'maxims' (, v° 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° 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 and 3) 'dam, dyke' ( in the expression *dni pw M3.t* 'Maat is a dam'; this lemma also occurs in T1A, 3 (and other witnesses) with a similar spelling;
- *b3.t* (l. 5) 'character' () that also occurs in T3, 6, with a slightly different spelling: .

Now that T1N has been connected to T1, one could also quote the spelling of *mri* 'to love' on l. 1 () 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:

<sup>129</sup> On this spelling (cf. Coptic ⲙⲁⲛⲁⲕⲁⲧⲉ), see Erman (1933, § 49) and Fischer-Elfert (1984a). The spelling  occurs in other witnesses of T1 as well as in T5, 4;  in T6, v° 3.

<sup>128</sup> For the lexemic, phraseological, and thematic similarities, see Fischer-Elfert (1997, 12–16).

- A very good correspondence between the spellings of this text and the ones of the main corpus, see especially *imn-nḥt* 'Amennakhte',<sup>130</sup> *smi* 'to make a report', *is.t* 'team', *hrw* 'day', *ḥbd* 'month', *dīw* 'rations', *bd.t* 'emmer'.
- Same formulation in l. 2 (*20 n hrw ḥk.w m p3 ḥbd*) and in TB, r° 1.2 (*iw hrw 18 ḥk m p3 ḥbd*) with the identical full spelling of *ḥbd* (𐎃𐎠𐎡𐎢)—the different expressions of cardinality are, however, noteworthy.
- The distribution of the 3PL suffix pronouns that is expected for a text from Year 29 of Ramses 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,<sup>131</sup> 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 imn-nḥt* '[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 subgroups 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 variation<sup>132</sup> 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 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 metacomments 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 selected<sup>133</sup> 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, such as 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

<sup>130</sup> To the well-known occurrences of his name, add Grandet (2003, 351) 𐎃𐎠𐎡𐎢 and O.DeM 10034, r° 1: 𐎃𐎠𐎡𐎢, Grandet (2006, 225).

<sup>131</sup> Other less decisive criteria could be added. (1) There is the occurrence of the construction *bw dy n=n dīw* 'the rations have not been delivered to us' with a quite unusual spelling of the verb *rdi*: 𐎃𐎠𐎡𐎢 (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° 3.2 with the perfective passive participle: *is ink p3 ḥty di r nhm* 𐎃𐎠𐎡𐎢 '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 (ll. 5, 6, and 7); in TB, the preposition *hr* tends not to be written, but is there when the subject is =*tw*; see r° 2.5.

<sup>132</sup> 'Variation is at the very heart of the mechanism responsible for selected, adaptive evolutionary change' (Givón (2002, 17–18)).

<sup>133</sup> On this point, see Stauder's (2013a) results regarding the *Égyptien de tradition* of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

variation.<sup>134</sup> The Ancient Egyptian corpus is a tantalizing one for analysing how structural changes enter a language in particular registers<sup>135</sup> 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.

<sup>134</sup> Biber (1995, 13); see also Romaine (1980 and 1982).

<sup>135</sup> 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.'