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Outside the Box

Selected papers from the conference

“Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact”

Liège, 27-29 October 2014

Andreas DORN & Stéphane POLIS (eds.)



Presses Universitaires de Liège

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2018

Table of Contents

Andreas DORN, Todd J. GILLEN & Stéphane POLIS, Deir el-Medina studies. Current situation and future perspectives	7–16
Guillemette ANDREU-LANOË & Jacques PELEGRIN, La <i>fabrique</i> des ostraca en calcaire. Comment scribes et dessinateurs se procuraient-ils ces supports ?	17–25
Anne AUSTIN, Living and Dying at Deir el-Medina: An osteological analysis of the TT 290 assemblage	27–47
Patricia BERG, Textual references to mobility in necropolis journals and notes from Deir el-Medina	49–70
Anne BOUD’HORS, Moines et laïcs dans la nécropole thébaine (VII ^e –VIII ^e siècles). Frontières et interactions entre deux modes de vie	71–82
Massimo CULTRARO & Federica FACCHETTI, A foreign market revisited. New evidence of Mycenaean and Aegean-related pottery from Schiaparelli’s campaigns (1905–1909) at Deir el-Medina	83–96
Paolo DEL VESCO & Federico POOLE, Deir el-Medina in the Egyptian Museum of Turin. An overview, and the way forward	97–130
Rob J. DEMARÉE, A Late Ramesside ship’s log (Papyrus Turin 2098 + 2100/306 verso)	131–140
Andreas DORN, Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine (GMT) 2012/2013: Old and new graffiti from Western Thebes. Report on the 1 st campaign of the “Graffiti in the valleys of Western Thebes project”	141–155
Kathrin GABLER, Can I stay or must I go? Relations between the Deir el-Medina community and their service personnel	157–189
Cédric GOBEIL, Archaeology in the archives. A <i>zir</i> -area at Deir el-Medina and its implications for the location of the <i>khetem</i>	191–216
Pierre GRANDET, Ostraca hiératiques documentaires de l’IFAO : quelques points notables	217–232
Ben HARING, Popular, but unique? The early history of the royal necropolis workmen’s marks	233–244
Khaled HASSAN & Stéphane POLIS, Extending the corpus of Amennakhte’s literary compositions. Palaeographical and textual connections between two ostraca (O. BM EA 21282 + O. Cairo HO 425)	245–264

Christine HUE-ARCÉ, The legal treatment of interpersonal violence in Deir el-Medina	265–279
Paolo MARINI, <i>Shabti</i> -boxes and their representation on wall paintings in tombs at Deir el-Medina	281–300
Bernard MATHIEU, Les « Caractères » : un genre littéraire de l'époque ramesside	301–332
Stephanie E. MCCLAIN, Authorship and attribution. Who wrote the twentieth dynasty journal of the necropolis?	333–364
Aurore MOTTE, Observations on the <i>Reden und Rufe</i> in the workmen's tombs of Deir el-Medina	365–381
Hana NAVRATILOVA, An elusive community: Traces of necropolis workmen in Memphis?	383–406
Chloé C.D. RAGAZZOLI, Graffiti and secondary epigraphy in Deir el-Medina. A progress report	407–420
Anne-Claire SALMAS, Space and society at Deir el-Medina. Delineating the territory of a specific 'social group'	421–445
Deborah SWEENEY, Cattle at Deir el-Medina	447–464
Julia TROCHE, The living dead at Deir el-Medina	465–475
Pascal VERNUS, The circulation of "literary" texts in the Deir el-Medina community. Two opposite cases	477–492
Jean WINAND, Dialectal, sociolectal and idiolectal variations in the late Egyptian texts from Deir el-Medineh and the Theban area	493–524
Index	525–539

Extending the corpus of Amennakhte's literary compositions^{*}

Palaeographical and textual connections between two ostraca (O. BM EA 21282 + O. Cairo HO 425)

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*To Rob Demarée,
Great master of Ramesside hieratic*

Abstract. Two new literary texts 'signed' by the scribe Amennakhte, written respectively on the recto and verso of a single limestone ostrakon, have recently been published (O. Cairo HO 425). In this paper, we show that both witnesses are likely to be the end of larger compositions. Based on palaeographical, phraseological and thematic evidence, we suggest connecting the texts of O. Cairo HO 425 to those of O. BM EA 21282. The composition on the recto of these ostraca is perhaps a second 'teaching' that could be attributed to the scribe of the Tomb Amennakhte, a miscellany-like instruction aimed at several individuals (pupils, referred to as 'you^{pl.}'). The text of the verso, on the other hand, could be an additional hymn by this scribe to an individual who is addressed as the 'leader' (Pharaoh?) and praised as the recipient of goods from various regions of Lower Egypt.

Recent years have witnessed growing interest in the life and activities of the 20th dynasty scribe of the Tomb Amennakhte (v) son of Ipuuy (Davies 1999: 105–118). The corpus of literary texts linked¹ to this individual is substantial (Polis 2017: 94–96) and keeps expanding, thanks both to the publication of

^{*} We are very grateful to Laurent Colonna d'Istria (Liège), Andreas Dorn (Uppsala), Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert (Leipzig), Eitan Grossman (Jerusalem), Orly Goldwasser (Jerusalem), Önhan Tunca (Liège), and Jean Winand (Liège) for insightful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

¹ The term 'author' found in modern Egyptological publications has been criticized by Sikora (2015) because of its anachronistic implications and unwarranted uses. Sikora (2015: 200–204) suggests that the ancient concepts 'auctor' and 'auctoritas' are more appropriate in the Egyptian cultural setting (see already Polis 2017: 91–92). Overall, Sikora's reasoning is correct, but it should be emphasized that the case of Amennakhte is highly specific and comes nearly as close as it gets to the individualized modern-style 'author' (Dorn & Polis 2018): his own obsessive use of the *jr.n* formula (Dorn 2017) as a means of self-thematisation definitely points in this direction, and the restricted circulation of his texts (Baines 1996: 167) does not leave much doubt about the individual hiding behind the *auctor* Amennakhte.

new documents (Burkard 2013, Dorn & Polis 2016, Hassan 2017, Dorn & Polis 2018) and to the identification of additional parallels and connections within the published material (Dorn 2013). This paper is situated within this second trend. On palaeographical, phraseological, and thematic grounds, we propose to connect two compositions ‘signed’ by Amennakhte to two texts occurring on another published ostrakon.

Among the *richesses inconnues* published by Rob Demarée in the *Ramesside Ostraca* is O. BM EA 21282,² a limestone ostrakon of Theban provenance tentatively dated to the 19th dynasty. As stated by the editor, one finds “[o]n the recto eight and on the verso nine incomplete lines of literary texts of unknown character (...)” and “there is no clear relation between the recto and the verso texts” (Demarée 2002: 23). We suggest that these two texts are part of larger compositions, since they can be connected to those found on the recto and on the verso of O. Cairo HO 425 (Hassan 2017), both of which are ‘signed’ by the scribe Amennakhte (v) with the *jr.n* ‘made by’ formula and consequently conclude the two literary works. If the links between these texts prove to be correct, the British Museum ostrakon should rather be dated to the first part of the 20th dynasty, namely, the period of activity of Amennakhte (v).

In order to demonstrate the connection between the two documents, we start with a discussion of the striking similarities between the texts appearing on the verso of these ostraca (Section 1). In a second step, we turn to the texts of the recto, which also turn out to be directly connected and can be suggested to have once formed a single miscellany-like instruction (Section 2). In the conclusions, we discuss briefly the copying of literary texts on several ostraca, we evaluate the probability of dealing with a single scribe using different hands for both texts, and we assess the consequences as regards Amennakhte’s life and curriculum.

1. EULOGY TO A ‘LEADER’ AND ‘?RULER?’

Fischer-Elfert (2005: 96) translated and commented the enigmatic text on the verso of O. BM EA 21282 (Plate 1) in his review of the publication of the British Museum ostraca. The content of the composition is summarized as follows:

*“Dieses Fragment ist stark formelhaft und sichert einem nicht eruierbaren Adressaten die Belieferung mit diversen Viktualien zu. Interessant ist dabei die Erwähnung von Äpfeln (geschrieben *dph*). Dokumentarisch ist der Text gewiß nicht.”*

This text shares many features with the verso of O. Cairo HO 425 (Plate 2). From a material point of view, both texts are written on the verso of ostraca inscribed with another literary text punctuated in red on the recto, the layout of the texts is identical — with black verse points in both cases —, and the hand is so strikingly similar that the identification of a single scribe for both pieces hardly requires a detailed discussion: the relatively untidy (but regular) handwriting, which displays quite important traces of dipping (more often than not co-occurring with verse breaks), is the result of a hastily written

² See Demarée (2002: 23, pl. 63–64). As will appear from the discussion below, a provenance from the West bank of Thebes (and more specifically from places where the Deir el-Medina community of workmen was active) is probably to be preferred over the hypothetical ‘Karnak (?)’ one.

text (which is consonant with the use of black ink for the verse point) with a thick rush-pen, and not of an inexperienced scribe, as shown by the neat horizontal layout with regular leading.³

In order to strengthen the argument, the ‘names and words’ methodology developed by van den Berg & Donker van Heel (2000) can be fruitfully applied here. The word (see below) indeed occurs in both texts with identical spellings and a very similar ductus (cf. Tab. 1).

O. BM EA 21282		O. Cairo HO 425	
v° x+3		v° x+3	
v° x+5			

Table 1. Comparison of the spellings and ductus of the word

The same observation applies to the group ‘bring to you’ that occurs on both ostraca (cf. Tab. 2), and is confirmed by the smaller groups and individual signs.

O. BM EA 21282		O. Cairo HO 425	
v° x+4		v° x+1	
v° x+6			

Table 2. Comparison of the spellings and ductus of the groups

In terms of content, both texts have the same threefold structure, which can be reconstructed as follows: (1) a vocative sequence, (2) a nominalized relative clause ‘what one shall bring you’ (*p3 ntj jw=tw r jn n=k*) that introduces (3) a series of products from various regions of Egypt. The vocative sequence is intriguing, since it reads . Fischer-Elfert (2005: 96) translated the first word () as ‘Bohnen,’ *i.e.* ‘beans,’ assuredly considering the word to be a syllabic spelling of *jwr.yt* (*Wb.* I, 56,14–15; Coptic οϣϣ, cf. Crum 1939: 489). This word fits thematically well in a text about natural products and goods brought from Lower Egypt, but it appears problematic in two respects. First, it would be the only product that is mentioned more than once (an argument with admittedly limited bearing in such a fragmentary text). Second, the word *jwr.yt* is consistently spelled with the newborn bubalis (E9), and usually with the classifiers in the available Ramesside material (or the like). One can wonder whether this spelling is not instead the Semitic loanword *ʾirʾira* ‘guide, leader’ (*Wb.* I, 115,1; Hoch 1994: 30, n° 19; Hebrew and Phoenician אראלם/אראל). This word occurs in two parallel versions of the *Satirical letter of Hori* (Fischer-Elfert 1986: 204). The whole passage reads ‘but you are alone, no helper is with you, no army behind you; you did not find the guide (*ʾirʾira*) that could make you a way of crossing (them)’ (23,9–24,1). The spellings of this loanword are (P. Anastasi I, 23,9 = Fischer-Elfert 1992: 149, with for) and (O. DeM 1073, l. 1 = Posener 1938: pl. 41–41a). The orthography

³ On the importance of layout features for recognizing individual hands, see Gasse (1992) and Dorn & Polis (2016: 67–73).

⁴ The first seated man of this spelling is not easy to read (see Posener 1938: pl. 41). The hieratic shape is similar to (A28), but with the arms bent towards the shoulders. As kindly pointed out to us by Orly Goldwasser, this sign could have been used after the component אל, understood as the Canaanite god, and refer somewhat sportively to a kind of praying or adoring man. For the use of (A28) as classifier in Semitic personal names, see, e.g., Schneider (1992: 51–52 [N89]), where it is used in the name אלרם אל is high,’ which demonstrates a pretty good understanding of the Canaanite components.

in the ostraca studied here would combine the graphemic strategy for noting the reduplication of the biconsonantal root found in the Deir el-Medina ostracon (𓂏) with the 𓂏 (A2) classifier of P. Anastasi I. Furthermore, the group 𓂏𓂏 would have been used rather than 𓂏𓂏 for the initial *glottal stop + vowel*, as is not uncommon in Semitic loanwords (Hoch 1994: 17–49 & 506). The first part of the vocative sequence could then be transcribed *j-r-j-r-3* and translated ‘guide’ or ‘leader.’⁵

The second group, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, is also problematic. Hassan (2017: 106) reads it as a sportive spelling of the name ‘Nakht’ preceded by the vocative particle *j* ‘Oh.’ In this lacunary context, it is not easy to determine whether the proper name ‘Nakht’ is meant or rather the noun *nht* ‘strong one, hero’ (*Wb.* II, 318,1-6): *j n3ht zp-2* ‘Oh you hero.’ In favour of the second option, one can quote another occurrence of a very similar sequence of signs in the royal eulogy for Seti Merenptah (Sethos II) of O. DeM 1802 (Gasse 2005: 53–55; Fischer-Elfert 2008: 386), in which one finds 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 (r° x+8). In the obscure eulogy of O. DeM 1802, it might refer directly to the king, which could be an argument for the meaning ‘strong one, hero’ rather than ‘Nakht’ in our ostracon. The alternation between <t> (in this ostracon) and <r> (in O. DeM 1802) might just be an artifact of the hieroglyphic transcription, since the two signs are almost identical in hieratic.

To sum up, the vocative sequence is probably composed of a Semitic lexeme that points to the semantic field of leading and ruling, followed by a native Egyptian word referring to strength and power. As such, the composition on the verso of O. BM EA 21282 and O. Cairo HO 425 could be a hymn a high ranking official at the occasion of the offering of products from Lower Egypt (perhaps during the Feast of the Offering, see under §1.4), which follows the pattern: (1) leader, hero, (2) what one shall bring you: (3) list of products. Whether this high ranking official is Pharaoh himself or the leader of an expedition abroad is problematic:⁶ on the one hand, the divine classifier (G7 or the like) is missing after the vocatives, and the final sentence *mj jry=k th* ‘come and get drunk’ would be quite unexpected if Pharaoh is actually the addressee, but on the other hand the sentence ‘the whole Lower Egypt is in front of you’ (y+5) would not seem appropriate for someone else than the king.

The two ostraca were certainly never parts of a single document as the text of O. Cairo HO 425 reads continuously, with no missing words except for some slightly broken signs on the left-hand side of the verso (end of the lines), and cannot be joined vertically with O. BM EA 21282.

⁵ On rare and unrecognized Semitic loanwords in Ramesside poems, see recently Fischer-Elfert (2016).

⁶ We are very grateful to Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert and Orly Goldwasser for detailed comments and suggestions on this specific point.

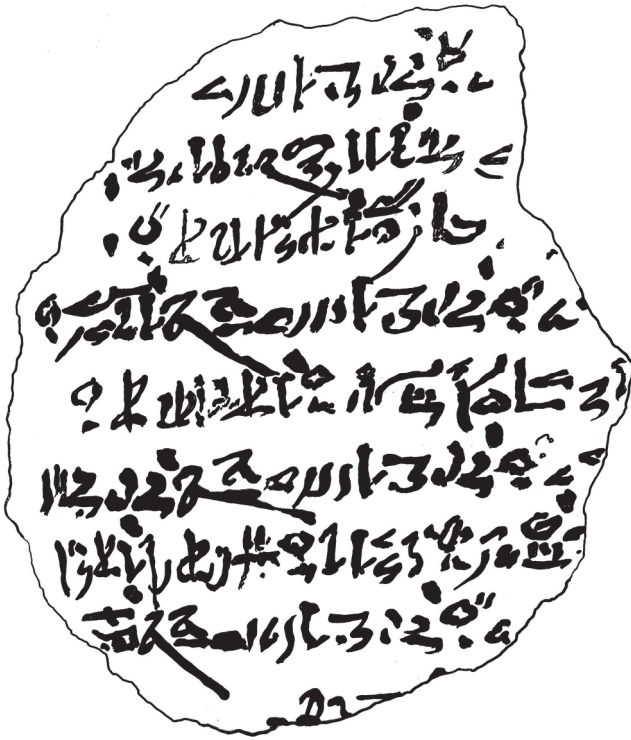


Figure 1. Facsimile of O. BM EA 21282, v^o
(Khaled Hassan^o)

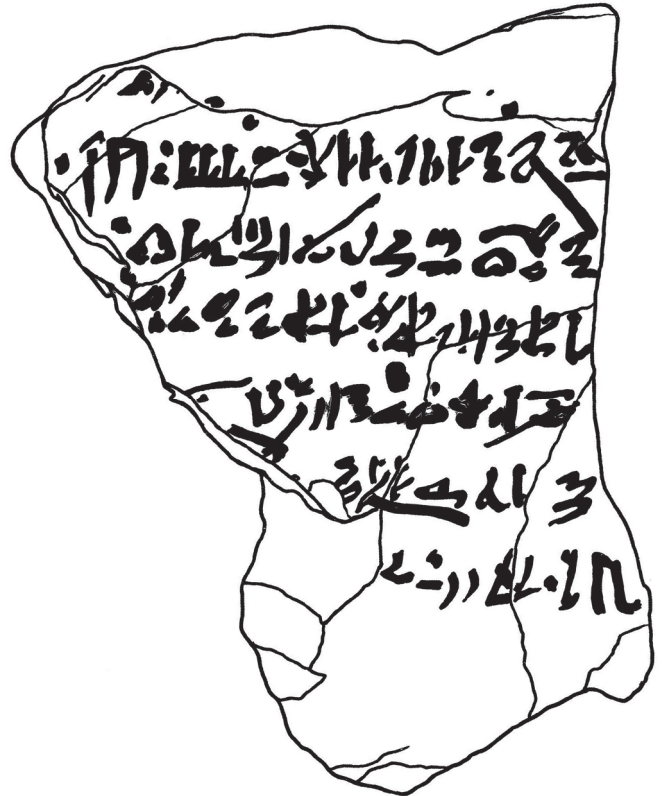


Figure 2. Facsimile of O. Cairo HO 425, v^o
(Khaled Hassan^o)

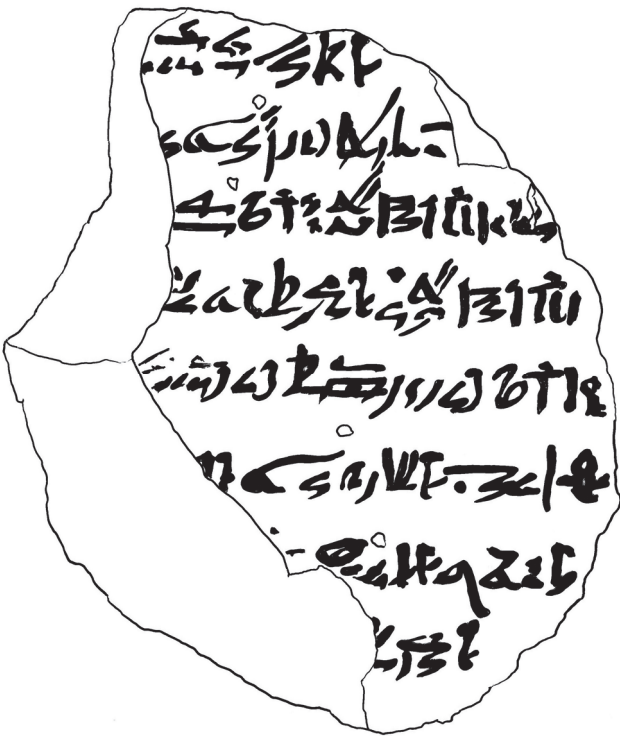


Figure 3. Facsimile of O. BM EA 21282, r^o
(Khaled Hassan^o)

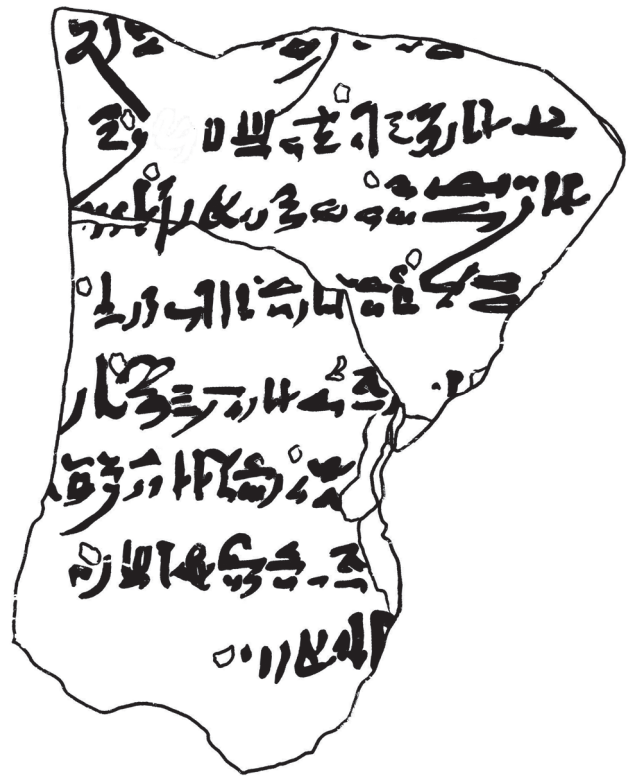
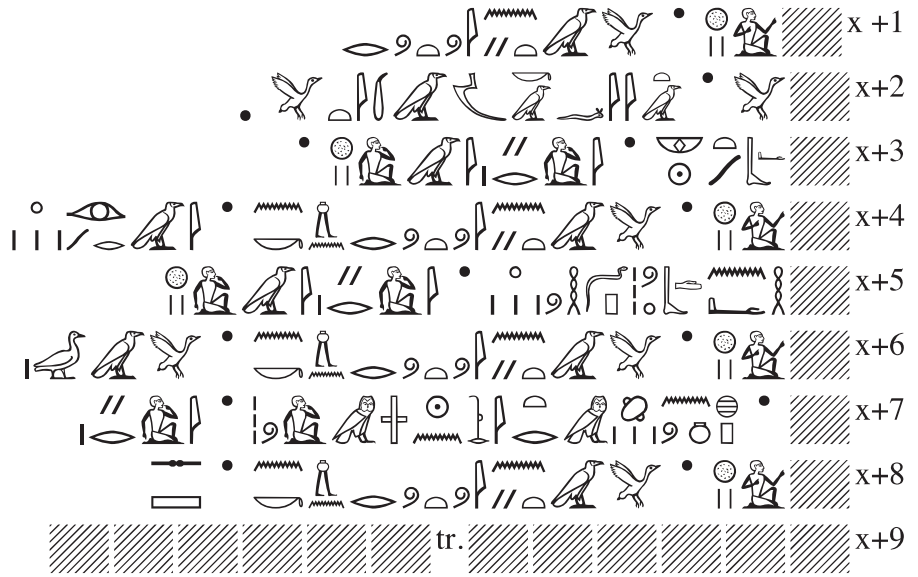


Figure 4. Facsimile of O. Cairo HO 425, r^o
(Khaled Hassan^o)

1.1. *Transcription*

O. BM EA 21282, v^o



O. Cairo HO 425, v^o



x+2. At the beginning of the line, after two signs that are difficult to interpret in this lacunary context, we read rather than (Demarée 2002: pl. 64); compare with the last sign of the same line. Furthermore, we understand the dot that follows at the end of the same line as a verse point rather than as .

x+5. We read which might better suit the hieratic than (Demarée 2002: pl. 64); see the comments in §1.4 below.

x+6. We suggest to read instead of (Demarée 2002: pl. 64), which fits the hieratic better and is consonant with the use of the verb *hpn* 'to be fat' in l. x+7; see the comments in §1.4 below.

y+4. Based on the different spellings of this word in O. BM EA 21282, v^o, read rather than (Hassan 2017: 102).

1.2. Transliteration

x+1: [/// j-r-j-r-3 · j n3ht] zp-2 · p3 nty jw=tw r
 x+2: [jn n=k ///] ^{BIRD} · t3y=f k-m-t.t^{BIRD} ·
 x+3: [///] ʿ(3)b.t · j-r-j-r-3 ·
 x+4: [j n3ht] zp-2 · p3 nty jw=tw r jn n=k · j3r(r.t)
 x+5: [///] hn^c d(3)b.w dph.w · j-r-j-r-3 ·
 x+6: [j n3ht] zp-2 · p3 nty jw=tw r jn n=k · p3 r3
 x+7: [///] · hpn.w m tr n wnm=w · j-r-
 x+8: [j-r-3 j n3ht] zp-2 · p3 nty jw=tw r jn n=k · sš[///]
 x+9: [/// ? ///]

 y+1: [/// p3 nty jw=]tw r
 y+2: jn n=k · n3 jsy n · sh.t-ntr
 y+3: n3 dkr.w n p3 r-š ·
 y+4: j-r-j-r-3 · j n3ht-zp-2
 y+5: t3-mhy · r-dr=f m-b3h=k
 y+6: my jry=k th [///]
 y+7: sš Jmn-nht n p3 [hr]

1.3. Translation

x+1: [Leader, oh you] hero · what one will
 x+2: [bring to you:] ?^{BIRD} · and his k-m-t.t^{BIRD}
 x+3: [///] offering · leader ·
 x+4: [oh you] hero · what one will bring to you: · grapes
 x+5: [///] with figs and apples · leader
 x+6: [oh you] hero · what one will bring to you: · the goose
 x+7: [///] · fattened and ready to be eaten · lea-
 x+8: [der, oh you] hero · what one will bring to you: · ?lo-
 x+9: [tus? ///].

 y+1: [/// what] one will
 y+2: bring to you: · the rushes of · the Divine Field ·
 y+3: the fruits of p3-Rš ·
 y+4: leader · oh you hero ·
 y+5: the whole Lower Egypt · is in front of you [·]
 y+6: come and get drunk [·]
 y+7: the scribe of the [Tomb] Amennakhte.

1.4. Comments⁷

The regular pattern of this hymn⁸ — leader, ruler, what one shall bring you: *list of products* — is seemingly reinforced by a coherent grouping of the different types of goods: two bird-related lexemes (x+2–3), three kinds fruits (namely, grapes, figs, apples; x+4–5), etc. However, the lacunae do not allow us to ascertain the validity of this observation for the entire document. Note that the use of many Semitic loanwords in this poem (for the vocative sequences as well as for toponyms and products), lexically reflects the language contact situation in the Delta at the time and is a quite explicit display of knowledge by the scribe, akin to that of P. Anastasi 1 or of the *Miscellanies*.⁹

x+2: based on the classifier used, the feminine word refers most certainly to a bird (perhaps an offspring given the use of the possessive *ty=f*), but it does not appear to be attested in other ancient Egyptian sources and its precise meaning is accordingly obscure. Note that no Semitic or Hurrian parallel is forthcoming in reference works like Laroche (1980), Militarev and Kogan (2005), or Richter (2012).

x+3: the word *t3 ʕ(3)b.t* (*Wb.* I, 167,10–12) means ‘offering,’ but refers also to the ‘Feast of the Offering,’ which used to occur during the first month of Peret, and metonymically to the first month of Peret itself (Černý 1943; van Walsem 1982: 216–217, 219). Given the fact that the specifics of this feast are still unknown (Jauhiainen 2009: 72, 119–125) and because of the lacunary context, it is difficult to ascertain the precise meaning of *ʕ(3)b.t* in this text, but it would be tempting to tentatively relate the list of products brought from Lower Egypt to this ‘Feast of the Offering,’ hence providing a possible *Sitz im Leben* for the composition.

x+5: (or sim.) is the regular spelling for *d(3)b* ‘fig’ (*Wb.* V, 417,9–15) in the hieratic sources of the Ramesside period. In the present context, this word fits thematically better than the *tbw*-vessel suggested by Demarée (2002: pl. 64). The spelling of the Semitic loanword *dph.w* ‘apples’ (*Wb.* V, 568,10; Hoch 1994: 377, n° 563) with *d* is noteworthy (see P. Chester Beatty V, r° 8,10; *HO* 85, 1,2). In the Ramesside documents, figs and apples are not uncommonly mentioned (together with grapes, e.g., P. Anastasi 4, 17,4–5 = *LEM* 54,2–3) as typical products of the Delta (or as imported goods), especially in relation to the royal Residence of Pi-Ramses (P. Anastasi 3, 2,5 = *LEM* 22,4; P. Rainer 53, 9–10 = *LEM* 138,4–5).

x+6–7: *hpn* ‘to be fat’ (*Wb.* III, 366,12–14) is used in relation to fattened animals (bovines, poultry, and even fishes). It is frequently used as an adjectival epithet and was quite obviously the ideal state for *r3*-geese (Wilson 1997: 763). For a similar spelling with , see for instance P. Harris I, 8,11 (= Erichsen 1933: 11,1).

x+8: the word at the end of the line could be the beginning of ‘*s3r.t*-bread,’ a product which is mentioned in relation to the month *t3 ʕ(3)b.t* in O. DeM 10217, v° (= Grandet 2010: 100–101 & 327). However, this generic type of bread occurs in many sources from Deir el-Medina (Janssen 1997: 22–23), without being linked to specific occasions, and is not known as a typically ‘northern’ product. One could

⁷ The comments in §1.4 and §2.4 are limited to specific points that are not yet addressed in Fischer-Elfert (2005: 96) and Hassan (2017: 105–106).

⁸ The repetition of a sequence in literary compositions appears to be a rhetorical device appreciated by writers at the time. In the framework of Deir el-Medina, see Goldwasser (1995: esp. 195–199) regarding the love letter of Butehamun to his departed wife. Further note that, from a stylistic point of view, the recurrence of substantivized relative clauses (*p3 nty*) is not uncommon in hymnic texts (see for instance the prayer to Amun of O. Cairo s.n. = Černý & Gardiner 1957: pl. V,1).

⁹ On the innovatory linguistic repertoire of the 20th Dynasty literary texts in general, see Goldwasser (1991).

alternatively suggest reading $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (or sim.) *ssn.w* 'lotus blossoms' (*Wb.* III, 485,14–486,5), which is typical of the Delta environment (see, e.g., P. Rainer 53, 12 = *LEM* 138,6), unlike the hartebeest (*ss3*, *Wb.* IV, 543,5–6) suggested by Fischer-Elfert (2005: 96) in his translation.

y+2: the *sh.t-ntr* 'Divine Field' is famous for its many types of plants and vegetables, see Aufrère (1998: 70–72). Located in the neighborhoods of Bubastis (18th nome of Lower Egypt), this toponym (Meeks 2006: 249) anchors geographically the hymn in the Eastern branch of the Delta.¹⁰

y+3: the toponym $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *p3-rs* '(litt.) The head, The summit' (cf. Hoch 1994: 209–210, n° 285) is attested in P. Wilbour, B 18, 22 & 27 (Gardiner 1941, I: pl. 65) for a location in Middle Egypt, which is most probably different from the one meant in this context.

y+6: for the collocation *mj jry=k* in Amennakhte's text, see O. IFAO OL 117, v° x+7 (= Dorn & Polis 2016: 60). Hassan (2017: 102–103) suggested the reading $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (or similar) after *jry=k*, which is palaeographically likely.

2. AN INSTRUCTION TO PUPILS BY AMENNAKHTTE

Once it has been established that the witnesses on the verso of both ostraca are parts of the same text, the link between those of the recto (Plates 3–4) appears quite obvious from both a palaeographical and thematic point of view: (1) the neat and fast handwriting, almost deprived of down and upstrokes, is strikingly similar both as regards the shape and ductus of individual signs or groups (cf. Table 3) and as regards the airy layout with regular leading; (2) the texts on both documents are discourses to unidentified addressees (2PL), and — as already suggested by Fischer-Elfert (2005: 96) for O. BM EA 21282 — '[d]ie Natur dieses nicht identifizierten Textes dürfte im Bereich der Ermahnungen und Lehren liegen (...).' As such, besides his famous teaching (Dorn 2004 & 2013; Grandet 2016), Amennakhte could be the author of another instruction addressed to so-called 'unteachable pupils' in the Miscellanies-style.







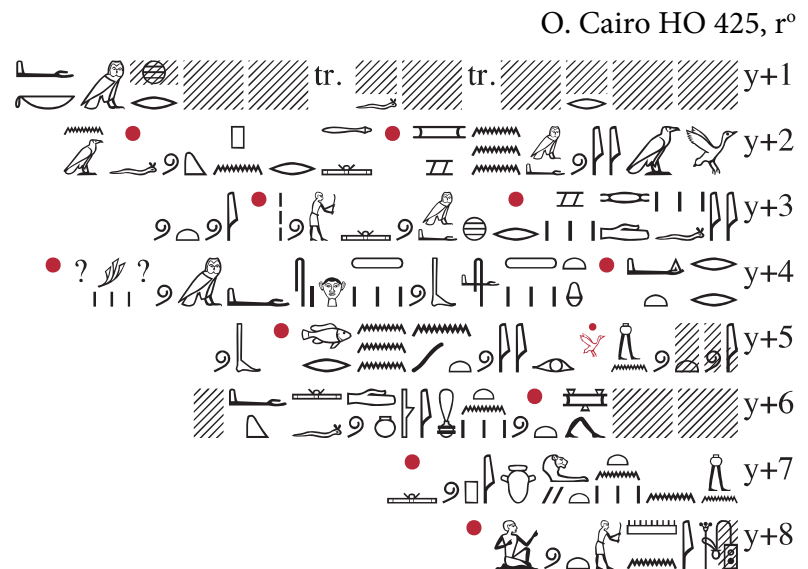
	O. BM EA 21282		O. Cairo HO 425
r° x+2		r° x+5	
r° x+6		r° x+7	
r° x+6		r° x+7	

Table 3. Comparison of spellings and ductus of shared signs and groups

¹⁰ Based on this observation, Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert (p.c.) suggested to us that the hymn might have been composed for welcoming a leader back to Egypt after having been abroad (for whatever purpose).

2.1. Transcription



x+3 & x+5. As noted by Fischer-Elfert (2005: 96, n. 21), some verse points have been omitted in the original transcription (Demarée 2002: pl. 63)

y+4. For rather than (Hassan 2017: 102), see e.g. O. DeM 957, r^o 2. For as an abbreviated spelling, see Janssen (1997: 22).

y+5. If the reading of *n.t* 'water, flood' (Wb. II, 198,10–15) with the [FISH] classifier is correct, it is quite unexpected since (if any) the classifiers (or the likes) are usually used.

2.2. Transliteration

x+1: *j-dd=j n=tn* [///]

x+2: *nty bw sdm.t=w • mtr* [///]

x+3: *p3 msdr.wy ḥnh • jr.n* [///]

x+4: *msdr • r mdw.t=j nb.t* [///]

x+5: *hr ḥnh • mtw=tw ḥš • mtw=tn dd* [///]

x+6: *jb=j nty jp.w • mt[y ///]*
 x+7: *h3^c ky • hr [///]*
 x+8: *md.t [///]*
 y+1: *[/// h]r mk*
 y+2: *p3 ym • 3 r pnk=f • n3*
 y+3: *y=f^cd.w • r hm^c=w • jw=tw*
 y+4: *r rdj.t • t s^cb hr s^cmw •*
 y+5: *[jw=tw] jn •^{2p3?} jry n.t r-b*
 y+6: *[nr] • twtn mj-kd=f^ck[3]*
 y+7: *[jw=tw] jn n=tn h3ty jpw •*
 y+8: *[s]š Jmn-nht •*

2.3. Translation

x+1: which I told you [///]
 x+2: that one did not hear yet, • instruction [///]
 x+3: the two living ears, • that made [///]
 x+4: ear • to all my words [///]
 x+5: [is/are] alive • and one will shout • and you shall say [///]
 x+6: my heart that is shrewd; • exact [///]
 x+7: leave another one • and [///]
 x+8: word [///]
 y+1: [///] but look,
 y+2: the sea is • too big to be emptied, •
 y+3: its shores are • (too large) to be demolished; • one
 y+4: will give • bread, cake, and artemisia; •
 y+5: one will bring the one who created the flood •
 y+6: out • you are just like him;
 y+7: [one will] provide you with a shrewd heart •
 y+8: (by the) scribe Amennakhte •

2.4. Comments

The length of this instruction is difficult to assess precisely due to the lack of direct joins between the two documents and to the fact that the beginning of the text is most certainly missing. Some thematically similar compositions can be relatively short (see e.g. P. Bologna 1094, 3,5–4,1 = *LEM* 3,12–4,2). As such, we might not necessarily have lost much. In any case, even if it resembles the *Teaching of Amennakhte* both thematically and stylistically (Dorn 2013), we refrain from connecting these two witnesses to the *Teaching* because the addressee of this text is a second person singular (*tw=k m z hr sdm md.wt*), while the plural is used for the addressees on both witnesses of the *Instruction to pupils* reconstructed here.

x+1: alternatively, if $j\text{-}d\text{-}d=j\text{-}n\text{-}tn$ is an independent form, read ‘I want to tell you,’ with a modal emphatic $j\text{-}s\text{-}dm=f$ form (Cassonnet 2000).

x+2: $nty\ bw\ s\text{-}dm.t(w)=w$ is perhaps best understood as a $bw\ s\text{-}dm.t=f$ construction in a relative clause without resumptive pronoun ‘that one did not hear yet’ (see Winand 1992: 289–291 [§459–461]), rather than as a negative aorist $bw\ s\text{-}dm.tw=f$ with the meaning ‘that one does not listen’ since this form does not appear to be attested with a suffix pronoun in the Late Egyptian material (Winand 1992: 338–340 [§536–539]). Pupils not listening to instructions is a *topos* of the genre, see e.g. P. Bologna 1094, 3,8–9 (= LEM 3,15) $jw\ bw\ s\text{-}dm=k\ m\text{-}tr.t\ nb.t$ ‘but you do not listen to any instruction’. In the *Teaching of Amennakhte*, see $jw\ bw\ s\text{-}dm=f\ sb\text{-}y.t\ n\ jt$ ‘when he does not listen to the father’s teachings’ (Dorn 2004: 41).

x+3: for $p\text{-}3\ ms\text{-}dr.wj\ \text{‘}nh$ ‘the two living ears’, compare with $p\text{-}3y=s\ ms\text{-}dr\ 2$ ‘her two ears’ in the *Oracular Amuletic Decree* of P. Turin 1983, v^o 60 (Edwards 1960: pl. XXI; sim. see P. BM EA 10587, r^o 23 = Edwards 1960: pl. XII), which resorts to the dual with $\text{‘}nh.wj=s$ ‘her two ears’ (v^o 61). Note that the metonymy of the ‘living ears’ is not infrequent (see, for instance, St. Turin CG 50058 [= Cat. 1593], col. 16–17) and that this collocation leads to a pun between $\text{‘}nh$ ‘to live’ and $\text{‘}nh.wj$ ‘the ears’ (*Wb.* I, 204,18–205,4). On the centrality of ‘ears’ and ‘hearing’ in the *Teaching of Amennakhte*, see Dorn (2013: 122).

x+6: the phrase $jb=j\ nty\ jp.w$ ‘my heart that is shrewd’ (see Toro Rueda 2003: 191, 193, 196, 202, 336) resonates with the compound $jp\text{-}jb$ ‘experienced, astute, shrewd,’ which is one of the epithets of Thot (*Wb.* I, 66,9–11) and hence refers to a posture that is especially well suited for a teacher whose goal is to have his pupil reach this state (cf. y+7 [///] $jn\ n=tn\ h\text{-}3ty\ jp.w$ ‘[...] provide you with a shrewd heart’). The heart, which is considered to be the center of perception and knowledge, is a key concept in ancient Egyptian teachings (Toro Rueda 2003: chap. 5), and in the *Teaching of Amennakhte* in particular (Dorn 2013: 122), where jb and $h\text{-}3ty$ occur no less than 5 times (Dorn 2004: 40–41). These lexemes are not infrequent in other literary texts of Amennakhte (O. Ashmolean HO 25, r^o 1 & v^o 1–2 = HO XXXVIII; O. Turin CG 57001, r^o 4 = López 1978: pl. I). Furthermore, the word jp refers to an ideal that is clearly described in Amennakhte’s *Teaching*: $ndm\ zp\text{-}2\ gm\ z\ jp\ m\ k\text{-}3.t\ nb.t$ ‘It’s so pleasing when a man is recognized competent in every activity’ (Dorn 2004: 40, with Vernus 2012: 420).

y+1–3: Hassan (2017: 102) analyzed the construction as an archaizing future ($mk\ NP\ r\ INF$) and translated the sentence ‘look, the great Sea is going to bale it out, its edges will demolish them.’ While grammatically possible, this interpretation makes it difficult to account for the alternation between the suffix pronoun =f ‘it’ and =w ‘them,’ and the punctuation separating the substantive $p\text{-}3\ ym$ ‘the sea’ from the adjective $\text{‘}3$ ‘big, great’ is problematic. Both issues are avoided if one understands the construction as a First Present with the meaning ‘look, the SUBJECT is too QUALITY to INF’; see e.g., $st\ \text{‘}3.w\ r\ jr=w\ m\ s\text{-}s.w$ ‘they are too numerous to be written down’ (O. Cairo CG 25209 = Erman 1900: 31), see sim. Stela Cairo JE 67377, l. 3 = *Urk.* IV, 1245,2). The suffix pronouns function as reflexives, respectively used with singular and plural subjects.

y+4: the hieratic signs for the classifier(s) following the word $\text{‘}3$ are difficult to read. For this root, two candidates appear possible in this context: $\text{‘}3$ $\text{‘}3$ ‘to swallow’ (*Wb.* IV, 44,9–45,8) and $\text{‘}3$ $\text{‘}3$ ‘artemisia-plant’ (*Wb.* IV, 45,14–18, with Aufrère 1987: 26–29). Hassan (2017: 102, 107) opted for the first option, but one has to assume a faulty construction of the purpose clause $\{h\}r\ s\text{-}m$ ‘for swallowing.’ We follow here the second option, interpreting the preposition hr as a coordinating conjunction, frequently used between mass nouns and uncountable plurals (Peust 2006: 177–178).

3. CONCLUSIONS

The main interest of the connection suggested here between the texts of O. BM EA 21282 and O. Cairo HO 425 lies certainly in the extension of Amennakhte's literary corpus. However, it also sheds some new light on three domains of Deir el-Medina studies, namely (1) the literary scribal practices, (2) Amennakhte's biography, and (3) the palaeographic repertoire of individual scribes:

- (1) It has long been established that literary compositions can be copied on several ostraca — sometimes numbered — that may be envisioned as independent 'pages' of the same manuscript (Posener 1975: 108–112). What is rather exceptional in the present case is (a) that the two texts are respectively inscribed on the recto and on the verso of different ostraca (which points to an inscription of the verso text subsequent to that of the recto), (b) that both compositions must accordingly have approximately the same length, and (c) that they are attributed to the same author. It is remarkable that the features (b) and (c) are shared by O. Ashmolean HO 25 (= HO XXXVIII) on the recto and verso of which one finds two different texts of approximately the same size signed by the scribe Amennakhte.
- (2) It enriches our understanding of Amennakhte's curriculum (Dorn & Polis 2018). Indeed, the Miscellanies-style of the text on the recto as well as the toponyms and Semitic loanwords of the hymn on the verso seem to point to a personal acquaintance with the linguistic, geographical, and cultural environment of northern Egypt. It is therefore tempting to suggest (at least tentatively) that Amennakhte had at some point travelled north for professional¹¹ or educational purposes. Even if theoretically possible, book-knowledge appears to us less likely to yield this kind of literary text.
- (3) The hands on the recto and on the verso are strikingly different (Demarée 2002: 23; Fischer-Elfert 2005: 96), which would naturally lead to the identification of two scribes. However, Hassan (2017: 106–110) suggested that the two sides might be autographs by Amennakhte himself (especially because of the two 'signatures'), and explains the differences in handwriting based on circumstances and time (in this respect, see already Dorn 2015). A similar point has been made by Dorn & Polis (2017: 67–73) regarding O. Ashmolean HO 25, r^o and v^o (= HO XXXVIII), where the overall layout on the one hand, and leading and kerning on the other hand (cf. Gasse 1992) are argued to be as instrumental as similarities in the shape and ductus of hieratic signs for identifying individual scribal habits. In this respect, the variation observed between the hand of the *Instruction to pupils* (on the rectos) and the one of the *Hymn to the leader* (on the versos) is not much bigger than the difference between the hands of O. Ashmolean HO 25, r^o and v^o (see esp. v^o 1–4), which could be an argument in favour of a single scribe. Furthermore, the hand of the *Instruction to pupils* is so similar at every level to the one of O. IFAO OL 117 and O. Ashmolean HO 25, r^o that it would be difficult not to recognize a single scribe at work. Consequently, Amennakhte could indeed be hypothesized to be the *author* and *scriptor* of both texts, pending a detailed analysis of his hieratic repertoire.

¹¹ See Demarée (this volume) for a professional journey to Middle Egypt by the necropolis-scribe Dhutmose.

PLATES

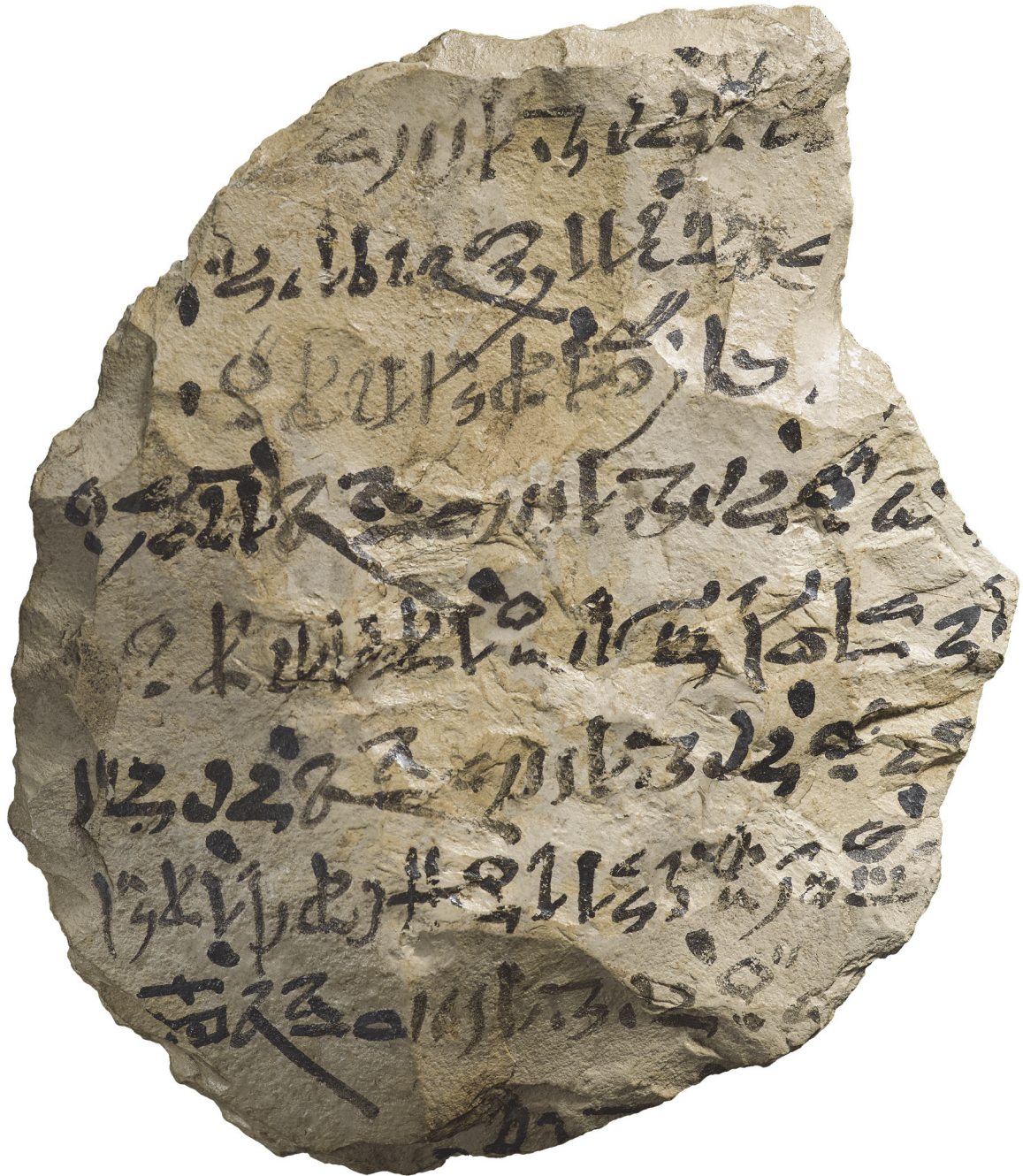


Plate 1. O. BM EA 21282, v°
(London, British Museum®)



Plate 2. O. Cairo HO 425, v°
(Cairo, Egyptian Museum®)

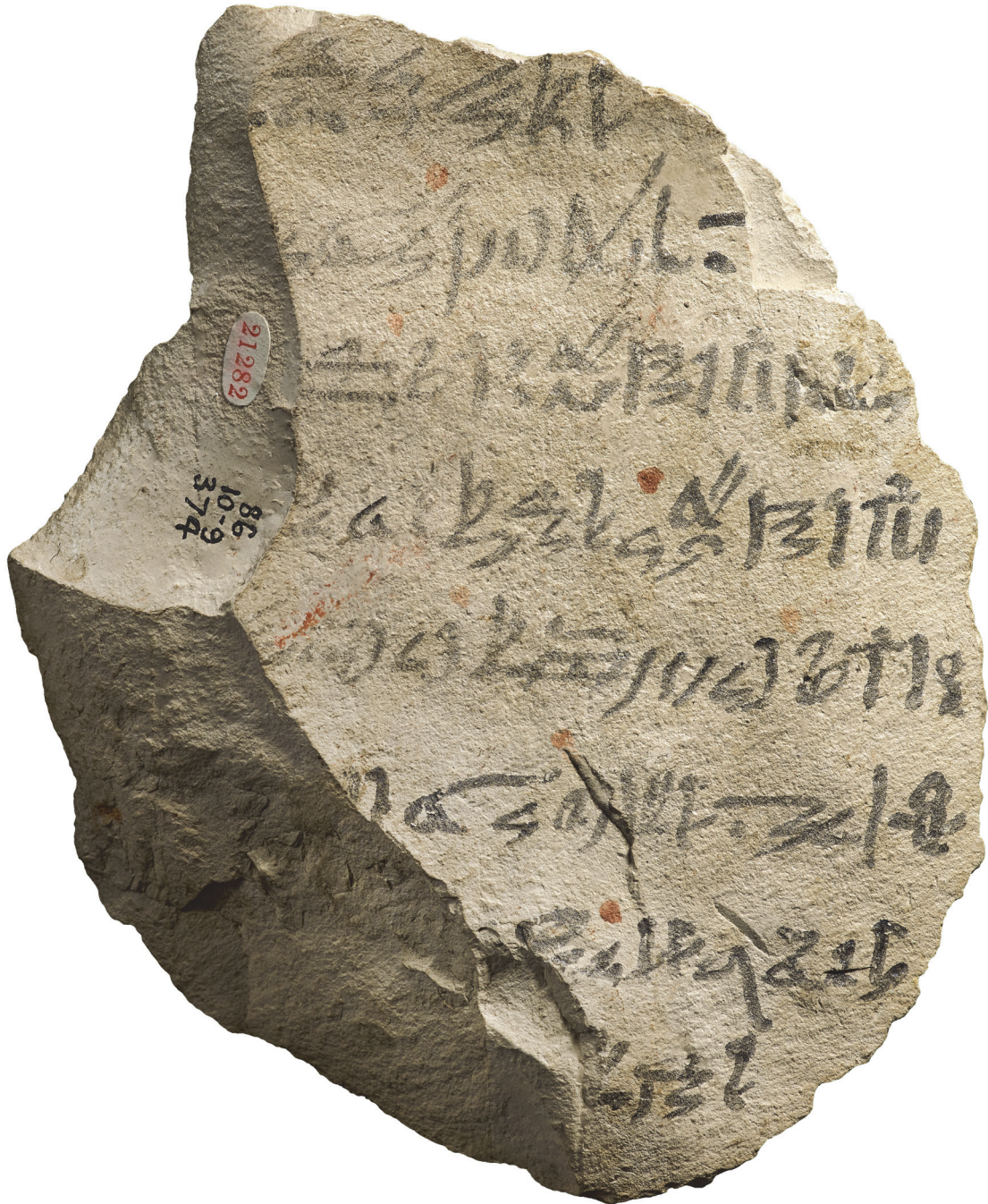


Plate 3. O. BM EA 21282, r°
(London, British Museum®)

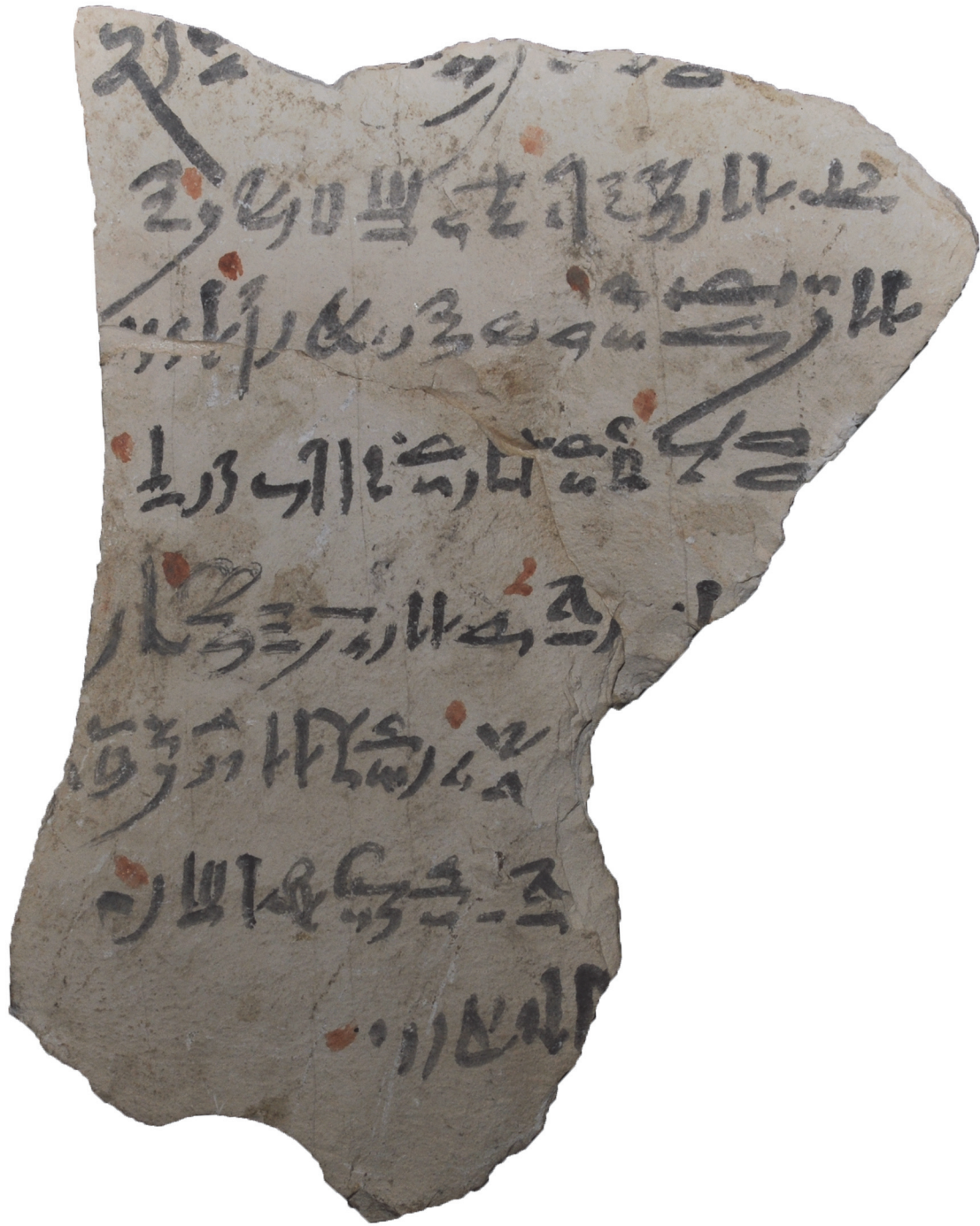


Plate 4. O. Cairo HO 425, r°
(Cairo, Egyptian Museum®)

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COLLECTION
ÆGYPTIACA LEODIENSIA

La collection *Ægyptiaca Leodiensia* — dirigée par Dimitri Laboury, Stéphane Polis et Jean Winand — a pour vocation de publier des travaux d'égyptologie dans les domaines les plus divers. Elle accueille en son sein des monographies ainsi que des volumes collectifs thématiques.

This volume represents the outcome of the conference “Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact: Describing the interactions within and outside the community of workmen” held in Liège in 2014 (27-29 October). The goal of this conference was to encourage a wider perspective on Deir el-Medina, bringing together scholars from all egyptological fields and disciplines who are interested in studying the many types of interactions that the ancient community of Deir el-Medina developed both internally and at the broader (supra-)regional level.

The title of the volume, “Outside the box,” refers to two important dimensions touched on by the papers in this volume. First, it points to the fact that a vast quantity of documents from Deir el-Medina and, more broadly, from the Theban Necropolis has been available for a long time to some restricted academic circles, but are now to be taken *outside the box*: this holds true not only for the publication of papyri and ostraca preserved in many collections across the world, but also for archival material describing the excavations at the site itself, and more broadly for the monuments that remain there still, but are not available to scholars or the general public. Second, most of the papers collected in this volume share a common feature, namely their attempt to think *outside the box*, using new theoretical frameworks, cross-disciplinary approaches, or inno-

vative technological solutions. Accordingly, “Outside the box,” can be read both as a plea for making the fascinating material from Deir el-Medina more broadly available, and as a shout of admiration regarding the creativity and tireless inventiveness of scholars working on the sources stemming from this exceptional socio-cultural setting.

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