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Linguistic Heterogeneity in the Ramesside Royal Inscriptions

Julianna Kitti Paksi

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Édesanyámnak

"As all historians know, the past is a great darkness, and filled with echoes. Voices may reach us from it; but what they say to us is imbued with the obscurity of the matrix out of which they come; and, try as we may, we cannot always decipher them precisely in the clearer light of our own day."

Margaret Atwood. 1985. *The Handmaid's Tale*.

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Preface and Acknowledgments

This monograph is a revised and corrected version of my doctoral dissertation in Egyptology, submitted in June 2020 at the University of Basel and the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE) – Université PSL, Paris, and defended a few months later, in November 2020. The study was conducted under a *cotutelle de thèse* agreement between the University of Basel and the EPHE in Paris. My research year in Paris in 2016 was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation, while later visits in France were supported by a grant from swɪssunɪversɪtɪes.

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Basel, January 2026

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1 Introduction

1.1 Purpose of the Present Study in Light of Previous Research

By the early Nineteenth Dynasty (1292–1191 BCE),[1] Egypt had more than one written linguistic norm. While earlier stages of the Egyptian language were retained as a prestige idiom in and also beyond the New Kingdom (ca. 1539–1077 BCE), Late Egyptian emerged in the early New Kingdom or slightly before and gradually spread from lower written registers to higher ones.[2] By Ramesside times (1292–1077 BCE), linguistic change resulted in a complex interaction of the different stages of the Egyptian language in the written production of the era. Late Egyptian was often employed simultaneously with the language of earlier times, but the use of the different written standards was not fully discrete or exclusive of one another—on the contrary. Their dialogue resulted in a wide and complex range of linguistic registers,[3] which, at the level of individual texts, often translated into the heterogeneity of their linguistic profile. The interaction of Late Egyptian with earlier stages of the language is to a varying degree present in all genres and text types of the Ramesside era and is therefore integral to the written production of the time. The phenomenon of linguistic heterogeneity—the concurrent use of simultaneously existing written varieties of the Egyptian language—is, however, seen to take particularly rich and productive forms in the Ramesside royal inscriptions, to the study of which the present work is devoted.

1.1.1 State of General Research

In sociolinguistics, the term register relates to "a variety of a language distinguished according to use,"[4] as opposed to the variations in language characterized according to the user (e.g., dialect). The word register thus describes how language is used for a particular purpose or in a particular situation. Studies by Friedrich Junge[5] and Jean Winand[6] mark the beginning of a more differentiated consciousness of the existence of various linguistic registers within the Egyptian written production. Junge and Winand worked out a similar set of concepts to describe the partially diachronic and partially contemporaneous spheres of written performance,[7] depending on the degree of

1 The dates indicated in the present study follow those in the chronological table compiled by Hornung, Krauss & Warburton (2006).

2 Cf. Kruchten (1999: 92) and Stauder (2013b: 5–17). For a brief overview of the history of the Egyptian language, see, e.g., Vernus (1982a: 81 and 1988: 162–163); Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 85); Loprieno (1995: 5–8); and Allen (2013: 2–4). On the concept of register and its applicability in the present study, see §1.1.1 and §1.2.1.3 below.

3 Explicitly noted by Stauder (2013a: 83, n. 40 and 2013b: 30). Cf. also Baines (1996: 166 and 169).

4 Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens (1964: 87).

5 Junge (1984: 1190–1191; 1985: 27–33; and 1987: 47–49).

6 Winand (1992: 10–13, §§18–22).

7 Terminology from Stauder (2013b: 28–31; 2020a: 932–936).

innovative morphosyntactic and orthographic features present in them. They devised a scale ranging from *Spätmittelägyptisch* or *néo-égyptien partiel* over *Medio-Neuägyptisch* or *néo-égyptien mixte* to *Neuägyptisch* or *néo-égyptien complet*.[8] Arlette David adapted Junge's and Winand's text analysis model and developed a similar graduated system to describe "Neo-Egyptian registers:"[9] she established three possible degrees of deviation (degrees 1–3) from "the 'classical' language of Middle Egyptian (degree 0)," which for her is "represented by its two central prototypes, the tale of *Sinuhe* and the *Coffin Texts*."[10] Unlike Junge and Winand, David differentiates between registers within a text. Her method of dividing texts into several segments representing different registers and applying her model to each of them individually[11] is symptomatic of the problem that Junge called "gewisse Entscheidungsunsicherheiten"[12] concerning the classification of individual texts depending on their degree of innovative formulations. The main issue with linguistic registers is that they are generally not homogeneous units. Lately, different scholars have developed different strategies for dealing with these fluid linguistic boundaries. Stéphane Polis promotes the use of quantitative methods and argues that the relative frequency of certain morphological, syntactic, and lexical features is decisive in the identification of registers.[13] A similar technique was adopted by Todd J. Gillen, who proposes "to describe in detail the linguistic features of various individual texts and define registers according to observable clusters of regularities."[14]

The presence of the earlier stages of the Egyptian language in the Ramesside royal inscriptions is in part to be analyzed in terms of a nascent tradition of *égyptien de tradition*.[15] After Pascal Vernus, the concept *égyptien de tradition*—as Antonio Loprieno's *Late Middle Egyptian*[16]—refers to the later imitation or emulation of past layers of language conceived of as being associated with the primeval times (*sp tpj* "First Occasion").[17] Karl Jansen-Winkeln's *Spätmittelägyptisch*[18] and Junge's *Neo-Mittelägyptisch*[19] specifically relate to the use of Middle Egyptian in the Late Period,

8 Junge (1984: 1190–1191 and 1985: 27–29 with fig. 3) and Winand (1992: 13, §22 with a figure on p. 30). Compare Junge's *Spätmittelägyptisch* and Winand's *néo-égyptien partiel* with Jansen-Winkeln's (1995: 90–93; 102; 105; 111; and 114) *Frühneuägyptisch* or Quack's (forthcoming) *Early Late Egyptian*.

9 David (2006: 12–14).

10 David (2006: 13).

11 David (2006: 12–14).

12 Junge (1985: 29).

13 Polis (2018a: 74–77 and 2018b: 108–120).

14 Gillen (2014: 44).

15 The connection between *égyptien de tradition* and the continued use of Middle Egyptian in Thutmoside times has recently been analyzed by Stauder (2013a: 116–119).

16 Loprieno (1995: 6).

17 Vernus (1978: 139, n. 136; 1982a: 81–82; 1982b: 18; 1985a: 74–76; 1988: 163; 1996a: 557; 2016a: 223; 2016b; and 2024: 117 and 124).

18 Jansen-Winkeln (1996: 1–7).

19 Junge (1985: 29–33). Compare with *Neo-Classical Egyptian* used by Peter Der Manuelian (1994: 103; 391; 406–408) for the archaizing texts of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.

while Frank Kammerzell's *Neoaltägyptisch*[20] concerns the Late Period use of Old Egyptian. The idea that earlier stages of the language could have been employed productively in later times has, however, been challenged by a few scholars. While Leo Depuydt disputes the linguistic coherence of texts using past idioms in general,[21] Alexandra von Lieven proposes to interpret the linguistic heterogeneity of post-Middle Kingdom texts as a result of the patchwork nature of their composition drawing in part on earlier textual models.[22] Lieven's theory has found only a few advocates[23] and has since been rejected on various occasions.[24]

With respect to the study of registers, the concept of genre as a parameter was introduced by Orly Goldwasser with an analysis of the grammatically different layers of language in a literary letter of early Ramesside times.[25] Goldwasser coined the concept "dynamic canonicity" in relation to a process that predominantly took place during the Amarna period (1353–1319 BCE), designated by the reign of Akhenaten and his successors, but is equally tangible in Ramesside times: the elevation of Late Egyptian to an equal status with Middle Egyptian in the literary tradition.[26] The concept stands for the legitimization and standardization process through which new genres and new ways of expression are granted access to the canonized written repertoire. The term is best interpreted against the more gradual and more organic process of "slow infiltration" of novel formulations into the canon during earlier periods. For slightly earlier times than Ramesside ones, a similar approach has been taken by Philippe Collombert, Laurent

20 Kammerzell (1995: xxvii).

21 In Depuydt's (1999: 35) opinion, "a past idiom need not be more than the linguistic fancy of an isolated scribe." Elsewhere, in the same article (Depuydt 1999: 44): "Texts exhibiting past idioms are of chaotic diversity. It is unlikely that such texts exhibited systems […]."

22 Lieven (2007: 223–250 and 2013: 161–176). According to Lieven, the Egyptians were simply not interested in writing new texts in earlier stages of the language: "each text indeed reflects the language at the time when it was composed. […] To prevent any misunderstandings, this is not to absolutely deny the possibility that a scribe in the Late Period theoretically could have been able to learn Middle or Old Egyptian as good as to be able to compose a text in that language. *But*, […] it does not seem that the Egyptians actually would have bothered to do so!" (Lieven 2013: 167–168; emphasis in the original). Similarly elsewhere: "die Ägypter nicht deshalb nicht in der Lage gewesen seien, alte Sprachstufen zu imitieren, weil sie dazu wesenhaft unfähig waren, sondern daß sie sich gar nicht darum bemühten, weil es ihnen […] wenig bedeutete" (Lieven 2007: 249). For the refutation of these statements in particular, see Moers (2013: 38–39).

23 Cf. Graefe (2009: 424–425); Pries (2011: 445); and Spalinger (2012: 379–380). For Spalinger's skepticism regarding the Ramesside scribes' ability to fully master earlier stages of the Egyptian language, see his remark on column 61 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*: "A reason for the intrusion of a more colloquial presentation—or at least one which reveals a Late Egyptian presence—might be due to the singularity of the narrative at this point. The speech differs from Ramesses' in that it is less dependent upon earlier models and the theme, or at least set phrases, perhaps could not be found in standard eulogistic texts" (Spalinger 2009: 38).

24 Cf., e.g., Jansen-Winkeln (2011); Werning (2011: 254, n. 30); Moers (2013: 37–39); Stauder (2013a: 79, n. 15; 92, nn. 107 and 108; and 2013b); and Vernus (2016b: 3 and 2017: 494).

25 Goldwasser (1990).

26 Goldwasser (1991 and 1999: 315–317). See also Junge (2008: 19–20).

Coulon,[27] and Andréas Stauder,[28] who identified early domains of linguistic innovation in the written registers pertaining to the genres of mythological tale and military narrative. At present, the importance of genre as a parameter in the study of written linguistic registers[29] lies at the core of a vibrant discussion on registers in Ramesside texts other than royal inscriptions,[30] while the concept of genre in relation to register in a broader, non-linguistic sense is also receiving increased attention. Gillen understands genre "as clusters of conventionalized features whose deployment activates certain sets of socially recognised options that may be experienced as expectations about […] discourse organization and language use."[31] In Gillen's interpretation, the concept is thus "not completely deterministic in specifying obligatory responses to conventional forms, but rather it is probabilistic in generalising common patterns of use."[32] Polis defines genre as "the reflex of social practices" that "can be envisioned as an analytical abstraction based on the structural regularities of the written production depending on the situation of use."[33] Similarly, according to Stauder, "un genre est, par excellence, un objet dialogique bakhtinien, déterminé par la chaîne de ses actualisations successives."[34] Recently, the concept of register has also been considered in relation to the linguistic consciousness of Egyptians.[35]

The linguistic registers and the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions have, however, thus far been studied only in an overview article by Karl Jansen-Winkeln—titled *Diglossie und Zweisprachigkeit im alten Ägypten*—published in 1995 in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.[36] This paper presents a brief description of the diverse linguistic typologies of the corpus, with an attempt to give comprehensive explanations for the presence of innovative linguistic formulations in the texts. According to Jansen-Winkeln, the subject matter, the type of text or subtext—i.e., the underlying genre—and the degree of emotionality were the key factors in attracting new grammatical features in the Ramesside royal texts.[37] He argued, furthermore, that the linguis-

27 Collombert & Coulon (2000: 224–226).

28 Stauder (2013a: 88–89; 94; 104 and 2013b: 33–35; 50–54).

29 Polis (2018a: 75) even suggests "restricting the term 'register' to the description of the regular selections of linguistic features in the scribal repertoire in accordance with text genre."

30 Cf. David (2010); Gohy (2011–2012); and Polis (2018a: 78–88 and 2018b).

31 Gillen (2014: 51).

32 *Ibid.*

33 Polis (2018a: 73).

34 Stauder (2021: 100).

35 "Consciousness of registers and sociolects must have been a constant element of the day-to-day dealings of Egyptians generally" (Uljas 2013: 1).

36 Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 92–102 and 106–115).

37 As Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 94–99) puts it: "Von besonderer Wichtigkeit ist die Art des Inhalts, das Thema: Wo Dinge zur Sprache kommen, die einen weltlichen, profanen, technischen Charakter haben, wie etwa das Errichten von Bauwerken oder Juristisches, da wird auch in Situationen und Textsorten, die an sich das Mittelägyptische verlangen (z.B. Biographien, Götterreden an den König etc.), oft das Neuägyptische oder doch ein sehr neuägyptisch beeinflußtes Mittelägyptisch verwendet. […] Ebenso wichtig wie das Thema und […] mit dieser Frage eng verflochten bzw.

tic choices of the inscriptions may generally be explained along the following oppositional categories: traditional/old vs. new; divine/otherworldly vs. mundane/earthly; and high vs. low prestige. In Jansen-Winkeln's understanding, an old text type thus called for older formulations as did a communication situation involving the gods unless a mundane subject matter required otherwise.[38]

The idea that the character of the topic had an influence on linguistic selections corresponds to Vernus's hypothesis on the disposition of Late Egyptian features in texts written in *égyptien de tradition*. Vernus found that such intrusions would usually underscore the actual relevance of the subject matter and explained this effect as a conscious stylistic exploitation of the linguistic difference between the passages concerned.[39] Concerning the importance of the subject matter, Jansen-Winkeln's and Vernus's findings also coincide with the results of Anthony Spalinger's research on the sequence system of the inscriptions in Medinet Habu and the *Great Papyrus Harris*.[40]

Nonetheless, prior to the present study, Jansen-Winkeln's broad outline was the only available description of the linguistically heterogeneous nature of the Ramesside royal texts and thus constituted a main motivation and point of departure for this work. The ideas put forward in his work had to be tested and refined with respect to actual details. Apart from Colleen Manassa's grammatical analysis of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*[41] and her observations on the heterogeneity of its language,[42] the phenomenon is addressed only sporadically in the works of a few other scholars, including Masakatsu Nagai,[43] Günther Roeder,[44] Siegfried Schott,[45] and Spalinger.[46]

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dadurch bedingt, ist die Art, die 'Sorte' des Textes, bzw. des Teiltextes: […] Ein weiterer Faktor, der die Wahl oder den Einfluß der Sprachstufe beeinflussen kann, ist der Grad der Emotionalität eines Textes oder einer Passage: Besonders emotional gefärbte Texte neigen zu verstärktem Gebrauch des Neuägyptischen, und besonders expressive Stellen werden oft auch in mittelägyptischem Kontext neuägyptisch formuliert."

38 Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 106–107).

39 Vernus (1996a: 560–561 and 2017: 498). Vernus (1996a: 561) illustrates his point with an example from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty: "[D]ans une inscription de Taharqa l'hymne invoquant Amon, rédigé dans une langue mimétique du moyen égyptien, contraste avec la supplique que le pharaon présente au dieu, laquelle est fortement influencée par le vernaculaire parce qu'elle participe de la thématique de la piété personnelle, née au Nouvel Empire, et aussi parce qu'elle aborde des questions d'actualité. Souvent, cette différence linguistique est surcodée, c'est-à-dire qu'elle est consciemment utilisée comme procédé stylistique et investie d'une signification particulière."

40 Spalinger (1988: 113–114).

41 Manassa (2003: 135–152).

42 Cf. Manassa (2003: 4; 16–17, n. a; 118–119; 135; and 151–152).

43 Cf. Nagai (2006: 225–231).

44 Roeder (1954: 353–355).

45 Schott (1961: 160).

46 Cf. Spalinger (2009: 9, 31, 33, 37, and 38).

1.1.2 Goals of the Present Study

The present study has two major objectives: one philological and the other cultural in nature. First, with the help of several in-depth case studies (see below, §1.1.3), it aims to establish a detailed description of the heterogeneous nature of the Ramesside royal texts with particular attention to their grammar, lexicon, and (ortho)graphy.[47] Linguistic heterogeneity is generally described at the level of grammar, as manifest in the simultaneous use of morphosyntactic features associated with different stages of the Egyptian language in a certain corpus or a certain text. In the present framework, a novel multidimensional approach has been adopted that—besides grammar—also takes into account the lexical and graphical choices of the inscriptions, assuming that the language of grammatically heterogeneous texts must show variations in their lexical and graphical selections as well. While the detailed individual case studies will help us move beyond the existing schematic interpretations of the heterogeneous nature of these texts, the three-dimensional methodological approach is expected to lead to a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon.

Second, based on the linguistic data gathered through the detailed analysis of several major royal inscriptions, the goal is to produce results concerning the cultural background of the phenomenon by exploring the cultural dynamics behind the linguistic selections employed in these texts. The study thus also aims at finding the factors that influenced or even determined the linguistic choices in the texts and intends to provide general as well as specific answers to the question why there are more Late Egyptian linguistic features—whether grammatical, lexical, or graphical—in certain sections of the Ramesside royal inscriptions than in others. In the framework of the present study, cultural phenomena are, however, only explored insofar as they are directly relevant to this purpose. The focus of the work remains philological.

1.1.3 Definition of the Corpus

The chronologically and thematically wide corpus of the Ramesside royal inscriptions encompasses hundreds of monumental inscriptions written in hieroglyphs and inscribed on stone surfaces, either on stelae or on temple walls.[48] The corpus has been published

47 As the word "orthography" tends to connote correct spelling conventions (cf. the entry "orthography," for instance, in the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*) rather than the full scope of the visual dimension of written language, less restrictive formulations—such as (ortho)graphy or graphical dimension—are preferred in the present study to refer to the visual component of the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions. In the case of spelling mistakes, however, the term "orthography" has been retained (cf. "orthographic anomalies and imprecisions" under §3.4.3.6 and §6.5.3.5), since such instances cannot be regarded as variations of more common written forms but are the result of human error or oversight.

48 The only Ramesside hieratic royal text written on papyrus is the *Great Papyrus Harris* from the reign of Ramesses IV (see Grandet 1994 and 1999). Besides, a single hieratic royal text is also known from stone, namely, from a stela from Amarah West (MMA 1939.552). For the latter, a dating to the reign of Ramesses III has been proposed by Popko (2016: 218).

and translated—often, however, with only few further comments. The texts are generally known from Kenneth Kitchen's text editions,[49] while translations of greater segments of this large body of texts were prepared by Kitchen,[50] Miriam Lichtheim,[51] Alexander Peden,[52] and Benedict Davies.[53] The Ramesside royal inscriptions represent a diverse group of texts that combines elements of various genres from the literary, religious, and administrative spheres. The concept of genre is understood here in the broad sense of the word—as a loose set of more or less standardized features—according to the definitions of Gillen, Polis, and Stauder cited above (see under §1.1.1). Royal inscriptions are thus not regarded as a separate genre[54] but rather as a category of texts that mobilizes and combines several genres.

For the purpose of the present study, a sample of ten major royal inscriptions was selected in consideration of the entire time span of the Ramesside period and bearing in mind the diversity of the available text types. These ten texts were further divided into a main and a secondary corpus. While five of them were subject to in-depth individual case studies, the grammatical, lexical, and graphical data of the other five texts were used as complementary material for the research conducted on the core sample. The five inscriptions constituting the basis of the research (main corpus) are:

1) Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (Chapter 2),
2) Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (Chapter 3),
3) Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (Chapter 4),
4) Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (Chapter 5), and
5) Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods*[55] (Chapter 6).

Further linguistic data were systematically collected from Seti I's *Nauri Decree*,[56] Ramesses II's main record and abridged version of the *First Hittite Marriage*,[57] the *Second Hittite Marriage*[58] as well as the *Great Dedicatory Inscription*[59] of the same king, and Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*[60] (secondary corpus). In short, the present research is in essence an exploratory one, a qualitative study based on a relatively small sample aiming for a deep understanding of the phenomenon at hand (§1.2.1).

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49 K*RI* I–II and IV–IX. K*RI* III contains texts from the private monuments of Ramesses II's contemporaries.
50 *RITA* I–II and IV–VII. The notes and comments to Kitchen's first two and fourth translation volumes have been published by Kitchen and Davies (*RITANC* I–II and IV).
51 *AEL* II 25–78.
52 Peden (1994a).
53 Davies (1997).
54 Differently Baines (1989: 136 and 2007: 188).
55 In the present work, often abbreviated as the *Great Abydos Stela*.
56 K*RI* I 45–58.
57 K*RI* II 233–256 and 256–257.
58 K*RI* II 282–284.
59 K*RI* II 323–336.
60 K*RI* IV 2–12.

The inscriptions selected for detailed case studies (main corpus) stem from the reigns of four kings of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties in total and employ elements of a wide spectrum of different genres, including expeditionary reports, royal eulogies, administrative accounts, legal decrees, hymns, prayers—among which, also intercessory and personal prayers—military and dedicatory inscriptions, imprecation texts, god-king speeches, *Königsnovellen*, funerary texts, and magical spells.

Besides aiming for a reasonably large chronological breadth, covering a wide range of different genres was a decisive factor when compiling the core sample of this study, since previous research suggests that linguistic selections are strongly genre-sensitive (§1.1.1). Giving preference to longer texts over shorter ones and to the well-preserved over the fragmentary were further important aspects to consider. The inscriptions whose linguistic choices are analyzed in detail are therefore all rather lengthy and relatively complete or sufficiently reconstructable royal texts (see, e.g., §3.1)—with one exception: Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (§4.1). The latter was admitted to the main corpus because of its unique—distinctly dual—linguistic profile (§4.4.2).

Furthermore, as Jansen-Winkeln's research on the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions[61] served as one of the starting points for the present study (§1.1.1), testing his interpretations with regard to the heterogeneity of the language of these texts required at least a partial overlap between his set of texts and mine. In addition to the factors mentioned above, this consideration therefore equally played a role in defining the corpus.[62]

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 General Methodological Considerations

1.2.1.1 Following a Holistic Approach

In the present study, the heterogeneity of the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions is explored in detail within a small number of selected texts (§1.1.3). This approach is grounded in the idea that the function of a linguistic feature cannot be fully understood without its context. If linguistic choices were examined as abstract units, their relations to their immediate and broader linguistic environments and thereby also a large part of their function would necessarily go unnoticed. In the framework of this study, individual linguistic selections are therefore considered as integral parts of the larger structures they

61 Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 92–102 and 106–115).

62 For example, Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 95–96) listed Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* and *Nauri Decree*, Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, and Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* among the inscriptions in which—in his view—a mundane or technical subject matter was responsible for the presence of new linguistic formulations. At the same time, he considered the heterogeneity of the language of Ramesses II's *First* and *Second Hittite Marriages* and Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* puzzling and refrained from providing an explanation for their linguistic choices—other than the possible influence of their "Sitz im Leben" (Jansen-Winkeln 1995: 100–101).

belong to. The inscriptions are equally recognized as smaller units of a larger structure reflecting the forces and alignments of the cultural and historical reality in which they were composed. Accordingly, the main endeavor of every case study is to investigate the driving forces that shaped the corresponding composition and—in light of these—to understand how the individual grammatical, lexical, and graphical selections fit into the overall picture of the inscription as a complex whole. In this regard, the work builds on the basic tenet of linguistic discourse analysis, namely, on the notion that language only signifies in context.[63]

The multidimensional approach to language, which—besides grammar—also takes into account its lexical and graphical features (§1.1.2), similarly seeks a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon. However, since the novelty of a linguistic feature is defined differently in each of the three linguistic dimensions (§1.2.1.2), the grammatical, lexical, and graphical selections of the inscriptions have to be analyzed separately for methodological reasons (§1.2.2). The results of these analyses are, nevertheless, considered together in the overall assessment of the heterogeneous linguistic profile of each text (§1.2.3). The limitations of distinguishing between the three different layers of language often become apparent in this second step. Separating grammatical, lexical, and graphical phenomena is not always as easy in practice as in theory, as the three linguistic dimensions are closely intertwined in reality. Consider, for instance, the graphical interchange between two different grammatical morphemes, the prepositions *m* and *n*; or the use of the non-enclitic particle *jst* as a structural marker. Is the former a grammatical or a graphical phenomenon and the latter a lexical or a grammatical one? There is hardly ever a fully satisfactory answer to such questions in a multidimensional philological study. As a result, some of the decisions taken in this study in separating the three linguistic dimensions might not be considered irrefutable.[64] Despite its constraints, the three-

63 Williamson, Given & Scifleet (2018: 469).

64 For example, I list particles and some other grammatical words—such as the complementizer *r-ḏd*—under lexical choices (see *jsk*/*jst*(*w*), *jst*, *rf*, *swt*, *tr*(*j*), and the particle *mj* under §2.4.2.2, §4.3.3.2.2, §5.4.2.2, and §6.5.2.2; see *r-ḏd* under §3.4.2.2 and §4.2.3.2.2), even though their function is purely grammatical. I do so because the meaning, function, and use of these words evolved over time. Thus, each occurrence requires a short note on why they are considered relevant for the heterogeneity of the language of a given inscription—much like in the case of the texts' lexical selections. Furthermore, some new variants of older words are discussed under the lexical dimension of texts, even if the variation resulted from an orthographical change. See, for example, the verb *nw* under §4.3.3.2.6 and the preposition *r-ḥnꜥ* under §5.4.2.5. Similarly, Late Egyptian independent pronouns are listed under the new grammatical features of texts (cf. §3.4.1, §4.3.3.1, §6.5.1), although they represent the new graphical forms of their Earlier Egyptian counterparts. This classification was necessary in order to allow for addressing salient features in their spelling (see *mntk* under §4.3.3.3.1 and §4.3.3.3.4). In the same manner, the negative morpheme *bw* is not thematized as the recent graphical form of *n* when discussing the graphical dimension of a text but is rather treated as an integral part of the grammatical constructions of which it forms part (§2.4.1, §4.2.3.1, §6.5.1). Consequently, all *bw*-headed negative constructions are listed in the grammatical tables of the present work. This approach helps to maintain an overview of the different realizations of the relevant grammatical constructions in the texts.

dimensional approach to language was kept as a working method. Considering language as an overarching monolithic category was not a real alternative to using grammar, lexicon, and (ortho)graphy as subcategories, for it would have resulted in less analytical clarity. The results presented as originating from the analysis of the data on any of the three variables should, nonetheless, be interpreted as showing just one side of the linguistic triangle (grammar–lexicon–(ortho)graphy).

1.2.1.2 The Definition of Old and New in the Three Linguistic Dimensions

Classifying and organizing the linguistic data of Ramesside royal texts systematically into categories that describe their linguistic heterogeneity constituted an important step in the research process. In the framework of the present study, linguistic heterogeneity is perceived as the simultaneous use of old and new grammatical, lexical, and graphical features. Old and new are categories that are meant to represent the viewpoints of the composers of the inscriptions in all three linguistic dimensions. The preference for an emic (perspective of the subject) over an etic (perspective of the observer) approach is motivated by the aim to understand the ancient motives behind the linguistic selections of these texts. Although "every word in them vibrates with the intentions in which they originate,"[65] the composers' perceptions are not explicitly stated in the texts. The fact, however, that such perceptions actually existed and that the ancient actors indeed differentiated between a contemporary and a more ancient variety of their language is evident from the written production of the Ramesside era that attests to the existence of a wide spectrum of written linguistic registers. Late Egyptian was recognized as a formal written standard in and after the Amarna period and was used "for compositions in new genres and in different styles within existing genres,"[66] while works in Earlier Egyptian "continued to be transmitted and to form the ongoing core of written high culture."[67] The ancient perspectives and the native definitions of old and new are, nevertheless, only indirectly available and must be deduced from the inscriptions themselves. The main limitation of this method lies in the fact that despite every effort made to bring out the viewpoint of the composers of these texts, the results will invariably remain somewhat subjective, as it is impossible to fully suppress the preconceptions of the researcher.

In the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions, the emic categories of old and new call for slightly different definitions in the three linguistic dimensions. Regarding grammar, the heterogeneity of the language of these texts is usually described as the simultaneous use of two particular stages of the Egyptian language: Middle Egyptian, originally the language of the Middle Kingdom (ca. 1980–1760 BCE), and Late Egyptian, "the language of written records from the second part of the New Kingdom."[68] Considering the use of the past idiom, as the occasional presence of archaic linguistic

65 Kracauer (1952: 641).
66 Baines (1996: 159).
67 Baines (1996: 158).
68 Loprieno (1995: 7).

features in the inscriptions indicates,[69] the Ramesside practice seems to have been directed towards past layers of the language in general and not towards a specific developmental stage of Egyptian in particular.[70] The validity of this statement is not restricted to the grammatical selections of the texts but also applies to their lexicon and (ortho)graphy. Patterns and regularities in the linguistic data, nevertheless, strongly suggest that the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty served as a point of reference in terms of language use in the Ramesside period (§7.4.1). When referring to old, that is, pre-Late Egyptian, morphosyntactic features in the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions, the term Earlier Egyptian is preferred here over Middle Egyptian, since it is a more encompassing designation that includes both Old and Middle Egyptian. Note, however, that the labels Earlier and Late Egyptian, old and new or relatively recent, early and late, traditional and innovative are used interchangeably in this work.

In order to minimize the potential for classification error resulting from the gap between the emic and etic perspectives, besides the grammatical features that are clearly identifiable as typically new or typically old, only those grammatical solutions were considered relevant for the purpose of the present study about which it could be reasonably assumed that they imitate earlier grammatical forms or constructions.[71] Diachronically neutral grammatical features—as, for instance, adverbial or adjectival phrases, prospective *sḏm=f*'s, pseudoparticiples—were therefore commonly disregarded. As old and new grammatical selections differ from text to text and had to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis, no fixed list of forms was used during the study of the inscriptions.

While with regard to grammar, the heterogeneity of the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions can easily be described as the simultaneous presence of old (genuine or emulated Earlier Egyptian) and new (Late Egyptian) morphosyntactic features in the texts, the composers' intent to link a text or passage of text to past layers of the language specifically through its lexical or graphical selections is harder to grasp (see, however, §7.2.1 and §7.3.1). When analyzing the lexical choices of an inscription, the focus thus lay on identifying its new words and expressions and on understanding their placement against a more conventional lexical background, but only limited attempt was made to distinguish old lexical features from diachronically neutral ones. Accordingly, in studying the lexical choices of the selected texts, the main goal was to find the words and

69 Consider, for example, the archaic spelling of the particle *jst* in line 6 of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (see under §5.4.3.1) or the use of the bare construction of the first-person singular pseudoparticiple in paragraph-initial position in lines 10 and 13 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (see §3.2.3.3; discussed under §3.5.2.1). On the origins of the latter, see Stauder (2013a: 94–95).

70 Cf. Vernus (2017: 493) and Winand (2017b: 36 with fig. 11) on the models and roots of *égyptien de tradition*. On the artificiality of *égyptien de tradition*, Uljas (2013: 4) notes that "the purpose of the texts was to (re-)create an idealized 'primeval' language rather than to directly emulate a specific diachronically earlier stage of Egyptian." Similarly, Stauder (2020a: 935).

71 Winand (2017b: 37) compared the use of past idioms to a black box and pointed out that "scribes sometimes elaborated new paradigms and assigned new uses to old forms, which do not conform to Earlier Egyptian nor to Late Egyptian."

expressions that stand out against an available or expected background of traditional choice of words either because of their pattern of attestation or because of the way they had been used in earlier times. Since such comparisons are by definition impossible to make in the case of *hapax legomena*, these lexemes were not considered part of the new lexica of the corresponding texts.[72] Moreover, the phraseological selections of the inscriptions were not studied systematically, only the most conspicuous phraseological choices were noted[73] because a detailed phraseological analysis of the texts would have gone beyond the scope of this work.

Regularities in the lexical data suggest that the majority of new words and expressions can be assigned to one of the following two main categories within the corpus: 1) lexical items seldom or not attested before the Amarna period and 2) lexical items that are not documented before Ramesside times or, if they are, only rarely or not at all in monumental inscriptions. For the sake of greater analytical precision, the latter category may be further divided into three sub-categories: a) lexical items seldom attested in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times; b) lexical items not attested in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times; and c) lexical items not at all attested before Ramesside times. With regard to the use of lexical items seldom or not attested before the Amarna period, the words and expressions that refer to conceptually new things or entities—although they would fulfill the requirements of this category—were filtered out from the corresponding inventories. Accordingly, Shepsy[74] and Nehmet-away[75] on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, and Min-Horus-Nakht,[76] Anhur-Shu,[77] and Apophis[78] on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* were not considered relevant

72 For the few *hapax legomena* in the corpus, see the entries under §3.4.2.7, §4.3.3.2.7, and §6.5.2.7.

73 These are discussed under the lexical choices of each text, as the lexical dimension is understood here in its broadest sense, encompassing not only individual words but also phraseological combinations.

74 See in the scene (§3.2.2.4; §3.3, n. v) and in line 23 (§3.2.3.4; §3.3, n. lxxxix) of the *Hermopolis Stela*. The deity is not documented before the Eighteenth Dynasty (see *LGG* VII 67a–b and Westendorf 1984: 584).

75 See in the scene (§3.2.2.5) and in line 23 (§3.2.3.4; §3.3, n. lxxxvi) similarly of the *Hermopolis Stela*. The goddess appears in the record in the Eighteenth Dynasty (see *LGG* IV 284b–285a and Roeder 1954: 374).

76 See in the scene of the *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* (§6.3.1). Min, Horus the strong or victorious, already exists in the Middle Kingdom (see *LGG* III 293b–294a and Olette-Pelletier 2023: 806–816), but Min-Horus-Nakht as a compound is only known from the New Kingdom onwards (Jean-Guillaume Olette-Pelletier, personal communication with author, February 21, 2019; see also Olette-Pelletier 2023: 807–813).

77 See similarly in the scene of the *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* (§6.3.1). The deity, which is absent from the pre-New Kingdom record (see *LGG* I 380b–381b), also appears in line 5 of the Koptos version of Ramesses II's *Second Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 282, 16) and in line 3 of Rameses IV's *Year 2 Hammamat Stela* (K*RI* VI 10, 6).

78 The name of the sun god's enemy is mentioned in lines 24 and 25 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* (see under §6.3.3.3.3). Apophis is first documented in the *Book of the Dead* (see *Wb. Belegst.* I 167.14–15 and Wilson 1997: 137–138).

for the purpose of the present research because it is strictly speaking not the expressions that are new but the concepts they refer to.

Old words and expressions with extended applicability are lexical items that acquired new functions by the beginning of the New Kingdom. This is an ambiguous lexical category from an emic perspective, for it includes both new as well as old lexemes. Whether these items were employed with an innovative intent (new) or represented a demonstrable link to the past (old) was generally evaluated on a case-by-case basis with the help of textual parallels. The available lexical data indicate that the few lexical items in the corpus that may be convincingly linked to past layers of the language are words and expressions that were primarily associated with higher written registers since the early Eighteenth Dynasty (§7.2.1 and §7.4.1). Concerning the lexicon, the heterogeneity of the language of the Ramesside royal texts may thus be defined as the simultaneous use of lexical items with innovative intent, on the one hand, and lexical items with archaizing[79] intent, on the other hand. While the former category refers to words and expressions that gained particular relevance after the Amarna period or in Ramesside times, the latter consists of lexical selections that have their roots in and point to the higher written registers of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty (cf. §7.4.2 and §7.4.1).

Although orthography was considered an important component of linguistic variation by both Junge and Winand,[80] their categories ranging from *Spätmittelägyptisch* to *Neuägyptisch* and from *néo-égyptien partiel* to *néo-égyptien complet* remained too generic to account for the diversity of graphical selections of any individual text. For instance, according to Junge's classification, the orthography of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* as well as that of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* are "largely Middle Egyptian."[81] Such labels are by definition simplistic and are not suited for a nuanced description of the graphical selections of individual texts. A more differentiated picture on the (ortho)graphy of these two texts—as well as on the (ortho)graphy of any other Ramesside royal text—has, nonetheless, for long been a desideratum. Besides grammar and lexicon, (ortho)graphy therefore constitutes the third focus of the present study.

The heterogeneity of the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions is indeed demonstrable not only in the grammatical and lexical but also in the graphical selections of these texts. In the same way as on the grammatical and lexical levels, the linguistic heterogeneity of the inscriptions is characterized by the simultaneous use of old and new

79 In this work, the word "archaizing" refers to the composers' intention to emulate earlier stages of the language. In other words, archaizing linguistic features are those that seek—or, at times, actively construct and thus invent—a connection with the past.

80 Junge (1984: 1190–1191 and 1985: 27–29 with fig. 3) and Winand (1992: 13, §22 with a figure on p. 30).

81 Junge (1985: 28) classified the language of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* as *Medio-Neuägyptisch*—defined as having "weitgehend 'neuägyptische' Satzstruktur mit zahlreichen 'mittelägyptischen' Syntagmen und Formen; weitgehend 'mittelägyptische' Orthographie." The language of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* was, on the other hand, categorized as *Spätmittelägyptisch*: "mittelägyptische Satzstruktur und mittelägyptische Orthographie; gelegentliche Verwendung 'neuägyptischer' Formen, Wörter und Schreibungen" (Junge 1985: 28).

graphical features. Conforming to the emic approach adopted for this study, spellings that follow or imitate early Eighteenth Dynasty or yet older written traditions primarily associated with the monumental sphere were regarded as archaizing and thus "old," even if they do not represent genuinely old, that is, truly ancient, graphical solutions that actually existed in earlier times (§7.3.1).[82] If a spelling sought to establish a link to the past by either reviving or inventing—that is, artificially reconstructing—earlier graphical traditions, it was recognized as an old feature in accordance with the composers' presumed original intention. Since, however, such motives are often difficult to substantiate, the number of spellings labelled as old remains very limited in the present framework. Their mere existence, nonetheless, underlines the composers' awareness of the dissimilarity between Ramesside and more ancient scribal practices and orthographical conventions.

Hence, it is assumed that the composers of the Ramesside royal inscriptions must have been able to identify more recent and contemporary graphical features as well as spellings atypical of monumental texts in earlier times as relatively new spellings. To what extent these features were employed intentionally or simply reflected contemporary scribal practices is, however, an altogether different issue (§7.4.3). For defining old and new along the graphical dimension, it suffices to know that the composers of these texts had a certain awareness of the dichotomy between Ramesside and pre-Ramesside scribal practices and orthographical conventions. Patterns and regularities in the linguistic data suggest that new spellings in the Ramesside royal inscriptions were either typically Ramesside written forms or graphical features already documented in pre-Ramesside times that do not appear often in the record and especially not in monumental inscriptions.[83] The high density of typically Ramesside spellings in the data and the pattern of attestation of these features in the record call for further analytical precision within this particular category. Accordingly, we may further differentiate among Ramesside spellings common in both monumental and non-monumental texts, those common only in non-monumental ones, and spellings that are rarely found in any of the two text types. Many typically Ramesside spellings, moreover, seem to carry the influence of homonyms and similar-sounding words.[84]

Graphical features linked to a specific text or a specific group of texts belonging to the reign of a certain king are generally labelled as idiosyncratic graphical solutions. These spellings may be categorized as either old or new depending on the nature of their function (archaizing or innovative) in the context they occur. In abstract terms, all idiosyncratic spellings are, of course, innovative, since they represent rare and often creative

82 Cf. n. 79 above.

83 Unless otherwise specified, monumental texts refer to monumental hieroglyphic texts and non-monumental ones to hieratic non-monumental works in the present study.

84 As Ramesside scribes "might have been increasingly conceptualizing hieratic as being composed of fixed ligatures and groups rather than single distinct signs" (Kilani 2023: 6–7), the above observation likely reflects the influence of this group-based thinking on Ramesside orthography more broadly.

graphical solutions of their time. These features are closely associated with a particular textual context and commonly represent a visual enhancement thereof (§7.3.4).

The definitions of old and new, which aim at reflecting the phenomenon under study—namely, the heterogeneity of the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions—in a reliable manner, were developed through a process "of constant iteration and verification"[85] in all three linguistic dimensions. The above-described analytic categories were, in other words, formed through repeated examination of the data: through several rounds of close reading of the ten selected texts (§1.1.3). Since the linguistic heterogeneity of the Ramesside royal inscriptions has not yet been studied systematically in detail (§1.1.1), the present work had an exploratory character from the outset. Considering the fragmented nature of former knowledge on the phenomenon, inductive qualitative research techniques had to be applied in order to allow for findings to emerge through observing patterns and regularities in the raw data. The categories best suited to describe linguistic heterogeneity in the Ramesside royal texts were thus constructed by using an interpretivist methodology that allowed for a subjective interaction with the material.[86]

This technique has a lot in common with the research approach called constructivist grounded theory, a popular method for research studies primarily in social sciences. One of the key characteristics of this methodology is the lack of any particular hypothesis to prove.[87] This means "putting aside preconceived notions about what the researcher expects to find in the research, and letting the data, and the interpretation of it, guide analysis."[88] In practice, this translates into an iterative approach to data collection and data analysis and means constantly questioning the categories developed. Accordingly, the definitions of old and new presented in this section are results of several rounds of analysis, comparison, and detailed interpretation of the linguistic data of the corpus.

1.2.1.3 The Definition of Registers

In identifying the different linguistic registers within and across texts, an intuitive, bottom-up approach is followed, in line with Gillen's approach:[89] the definition of linguistic registers is always preceded by the detailed description of the language of the corresponding text. Irrespective of the level of granularity chosen,[90] defining registers, however, necessarily requires a certain degree of simplification in order to allow the comparison of various textual units. Since the primary goal of the research is not to identify textual units with similar linguistic patterns and to compare them with one another but rather to understand how and why these patterns become dissimilar (§1.1.2), the use of the term register is generally avoided in this study when reference is made to the different segments of the texts because of its limited practicability as an operational concept

85 Williamson, Given & Scifleet (2018: 466).
86 Williamson, Given & Scifleet (2018: 463).
87 Herring (2018: 228).
88 Corbin & Strauss (2008: 160).
89 See n. 14 above.
90 Cf. Polis (2018a: 76–77).

(see also §1.2.3).[91] The term is, nevertheless, regularly employed in the looser sense of the word for differentiating between higher and lower written registers.

1.2.2 The Philological Groundwork

Although all selected texts have already been transliterated and translated before (§1.1.3), the usability of these works is limited for the purpose of the present research. Since every translation is by definition an interpretation of the corresponding text, secondary works can often be misleading—especially so if the grammatical analysis of the original text is unclear. The data relevant for the study of the linguistic heterogeneity of the Ramesside royal inscriptions thus had to be identified in and directly obtained from the original, hieroglyphic versions of the texts. To this end, an independent transliteration[92] and translation[93] were prepared for the five texts in the core sample, both reflecting the syntactic structure of the text on a clause-by-clause basis. These were subsequently contrasted with other existing works to reveal and identify differences in the interpretation of particular passages. If several interpretations were possible or, if a passage appeared ambiguous, translation notes were added.

This step seemed necessary for yet another reason. Several Ramesside royal inscriptions that form the corpus of the present study—both main and secondary—still lack a detailed philological treatment, although most of them have been known for several decades. While Ramesses II's Qadesh and Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions probably count as the most extensively studied Ramesside royal texts to date,[94] recent individual philological studies have mainly concerned Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*[95] and Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*.[96] The language of other texts has received altogether modest scholarly attention so far. Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*,

91 See also Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 108) on the usability of the concept for complex, multilayered registers: "Außerdem wird dieser Begriff dann wenig praktikabel und eigentlich überflüssig, wenn man von der Möglichkeit eines 'multilayered register' […] ausgeht, *innerhalb* [emphasis in the original] dessen die Sprachstufen wechseln können."

92 Since the transliterations of the texts were established before 2023, they do not follow the guidelines adopted at the 13th International Congress of Egyptologists in Leiden. The transliterations of the signs 𓇋 (*j* instead of *i*) and 𓏲𓏲 (*jj* instead of *y*) constitute the main difference compared to the rules of the *Leiden Unified Transliteration*.

93 In the translations, preference was given to fidelity to the formulations in the source language over eloquence in the target language. Nevertheless, to avoid the excessive use of cleft sentences, emphatic constructions were generally not translated as such in English.

94 On the former, see, e.g., Gardiner (1960); Hartman (1967); Davies (1997: 55–96), Spalinger (2002: 204–316), and Brand (2023: 115–180). On the latter, see most recently, Gillen (2009, with an overview of the earlier studies on pp. 11–18 in vol. 1; 2014; 2015); Israeli (2015); and Redford (2018).

95 Cf. Sweeney (1985) and Spalinger (2009). Spalinger's (2009) comments regarding grammar are spread over the following pages of his monograph: 9; 14, nn. 61 and 63; 24; 33; 36–38; 51, n. 226; 53, n. 239; 57, n. 274; 68; 72; 80; 84, n. 464; and 112. His notes concerning the lexicon are found on pages 36; 51; 55, nn. 247, 248, 258; 69, n. 351; and 82, n. 451. Those on the graphical dimension of the inscription are on 24, n. 49; 25, n. 57; 26; 51, n. 226; 53, n. 239; and 68.

96 Manassa (2003: 5–75).

for instance, has not been subject to any further study—apart from Kitchen's English translation from 2003—ever since Roeder published the text in 1954 (§3.1). Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* has been similarly neglected since the 1950s (§4.1). In the case of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods*, and Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*, modern scholarly interest primarily focused on certain single motifs in the texts.[97] In the five case studies below (Chaps. 2–6), the transliteration, translation, and philological commentary of the inscriptions are thus presented as an integral part of their analysis in line with the holistic approach adopted for the present work (§1.2.1.1).

While collecting the data relevant for investigating the heterogeneous nature of the language of the Ramesside royal texts, three different linguistic layers were examined—grammar, lexicon, and (ortho)graphy—as outlined above (§1.1.2 and §1.2.1.2). Since Egyptian is a language the description of which is still very much in progress, the grammatical selections of the texts were analyzed as much in light of the most current discussions on individual topics[98] as with the help of the available textbooks on Egyptian grammar.[99] When studying the grammatical selections of individual inscriptions, particular attention was paid to constructions that qualify as transitional or hybrid from an etic perspective (see §7.1.2). The presence of such constructions in the texts implies that the composers of the Ramesside royal inscriptions did not have a specific "correct" version in mind when they thought of earlier stages of the language and tried to emulate them. The abundance of—according to our understanding—hybrid grammatical constructions in the corpus may thus be explained by the non-existence of a standardized old variety of the language, which leads to a considerable amount of scribal freedom in defining old and new and exploring the gray area in between. Due to the detailed, microscopic view on the texts, not only hybrids but also otherwise uncommon constructions could be spotted, which would have likely remained unnoticed, had a more generous approach been followed. In search of parallels for any of these, *Ramsès*, the annotated database of Late Egyptian texts developed at the University of Liège,[100] proved to be an invaluable tool.

97 On the threat formulae in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (Morales 2010), on the potential mention of personal casualties during a mining expedition in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (see Paksi 2018 with references to previous literature), and on the theme of royal legitimacy on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* (§6.1 below). In the case of the latter monument, a new hypothesis has been proposed recently regarding its dating (Paksi 2023).

98 See, e.g., Cassonnet (2000); Collombert (2000); Kroeber (1970); Loprieno, Müller & Uljas (2017); Neveu (2001); Oréal (2011); Peust (2002 and 2006); Polis (2008–2009); Stauder (2014, 2015, and forthcoming); Uljas (2007); Vernus (1990a and 2010); and Winand (1992, 1996, 1997, 2009, 2001, 2015, and forthcoming).

99 See the works of Allen (1984, 2013b, and 2015a), Beylage (2018), Borghouts (2010), Černý & Groll (1975), Edel (E*AG*), Erman (E*NG*), Frandsen (1974), Gardiner (G*EG*), Groll (1967), Junge (2008), Loprieno (1995), Malaise & Winand (1999), and Neveu (1998), among others.

100 Cf. Polis, Honnay & Winand (2013); Polis & Rosmorduc (2013a); and Winand, Polis & Rosmorduc (2015). Currently, only a beta version of the database is available online (http://ramses.ulg.ac.be/).

For the lexical analysis of the texts, the information necessary for deciding whether a particular word or expression belongs to any of the categories defined above (§1.2.1.2) is not readily available in the Egyptological literature. For this reason, keeping lexicon in the focus of investigation required a brief lexicographical research on every potentially relevant lexical candidate in the language of the selected texts in the corpus. This step was performed in each case with the help of the currently available major lexical tools[101] and online textual databases.[102] Since, however, none of these tools or databases cover all texts in the extant record, the information drawn from them is inevitably incomplete. This condition is further aggravated by the vagaries of preservation the Egyptian record has been subject to. One may therefore argue that the research on the lexical component of the linguistic heterogeneity of Ramesside royal texts should be abandoned altogether. The present study intends to show, however, that, although the means at our disposal may be flawed, the work can already commence with prudence. At the level of some individual lexemes, the results may indeed be imprecise and should be interpreted with caution,[103] the presence of recurring patterns in the global trends (§7.2), nevertheless, suggests that the tools available to us are suitable for describing the bigger picture with regard to the lexical selections of these inscriptions.

The graphical data of the texts of the corpus were processed in a similar way to the lexical data. In deciding whether a certain spelling is a relatively recent graphical variant of a word or is otherwise relevant for the purpose of this research (§1.2.1.2), I had to rely on the information available in the major lexical tools and online textual databases. Among them, the *Digital Slip Archive* of the *Wörterbuch* (*DZA*) and *Ramsès* turned out to be the most revealing: the former because it contains structured information on the changes over time in the spelling of each individual lexeme in the *Wörterbuch*; and the latter because of its searchability for signs and sign combinations. Since the analysis of the graphical selections of the texts in the corpus is thus ultimately based on information that comes from sources that are incomplete, the considerations specified above regarding the accuracy and reliability of the corresponding findings also apply in the case of the texts' graphical dimension. All the more so than in the case of lexicon because the lexicographical tools at our disposal provide only fragmentary information on the differ-

101 Among the lexical tools, the *Wörterbuch*, together with its *Belegstellen* (*Wb.* I–V and *Wb. Belegst.* I–V) and its *Digital Slip Archive* (*DZA*); the dictionaries of Raymond Faulkner (F*CD*), Rainer Hannig (H*ÄW* II), Leonard Lesko (I–V), Dimitri Meeks (*AL* I–III), and Rami van der Molen (*DCT*); the information collected by Barbara Lüscher from numerous Egyptological journals within the framework of the project *Wortdiskussionen*; the online digital dictionary *VÉgA*; and Penelope Wilson's (1997) lexicographical study for the Ptolemaic period proved most helpful. On the Semitic loan words in Egyptian, James Hoch's (1994) seminal work served as a main reference.

102 Among the databases, the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (*TLA*), *Ramsès*, and the online repository of the *Karnak Project* were used regularly.

103 In the case of lexical items that are only rarely or not at all attested in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times, some words or expressions may, for example, leave a degree of uncertainty as to whether they reflect the composers' attitude towards language use or rather their willingness to draw upon a broader range of topics.

ences in spelling among the examples of a word recorded. Nonetheless, recurring patterns in the case studies below (§7.3) demonstrate that the quality of the data thus obtained is sufficiently reliable for defining the major trends in the graphical selections of the Ramesside royal inscriptions.

Furthermore, as part of the investigations on the graphical dimension of the inscriptions, particular attention was paid to all sorts of spelling mistakes and oversights in the language of the texts.[104] The instances of orthographic anomalies and imprecisions were systematically collected for two inscriptions: for Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (§3.4.3.6) and for Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* (§6.5.3.5). The main purpose of these surveys was to explore whether a systematic proofreading was part of the inscription process (§7.3.6 and §7.4.3).

1.2.3 The Interpretative Phase[105]

Once an inscription had been transliterated and translated, and its grammatical, lexical, and graphical data relevant for the study of the heterogeneity of its language had been extracted (§1.2.2), the preparatory work necessary for exploring the factors influencing its diverse linguistic selections was considered accomplished. With the philological groundwork done, the focus of the research could shift to interpreting the large amount of information gathered in the preparatory phase of the research—at the level of individual texts as well as globally.

The first step towards making sense of the data consisted of determining the structure of the corresponding inscription. Without being able to tell how the information is organized in a given text, into how many larger and smaller textual units it can be divided, and how these units relate to each other, the analysis of its linguistic selections would have been meaningless (§1.2.1.1). In working out the structure of a text, linguistic structural markers together with changes in the subject matter, the narrative modes, and the identity of the speaker in direct speech situations were considered as some of the most important indicators for the beginning of a new section. Although the major structural units of a text often naturally overlap with sections marked out by different genres, the use of the term register was generally avoided because of its limitations as an operational concept (§1.2.1.3). An exception was made in the case study on the language of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*, given the unusually clear delineability of its two main registers (§5.5.3.1). The analysis of the poetic form of literary genres was not done systematically, but the potential of the approach was tested on the royal eulogy of

104 By mistakes and oversights in spelling, I refer to occurrences that cannot be interpreted as legitimate variations of more common written forms of the word in question. They are usually attributable to human error. Cf. also n. 47 above.

105 In line with Clifford Geertz's (1975) interpretative theory of culture, one of the main tasks of this research project was to understand the rationale behind the heterogeneous linguistic profile of the Ramesside royal inscriptions. Geertz (1975: 5) famously wrote that "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun." He took "culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore […] an interpretive one in search of meaning" (*ibid.*).

Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (§5.5.1) and on Ramesses IV's declaration of innocence on the *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* (§6.6.2.1.1).

Understanding the core message of an inscription was a step as important as delineating its structure before moving on to the analysis of its linguistic data. This phase of the work was an essential intermediary step in changing the focus and zooming out of the single details of individual inscriptions. In accordance with the three-dimensional approach followed in this study, the grammatical, lexical, and graphical selections of each text were first analyzed independently of one another. In a further step, the results from the three linguistic layers were brought together and were synthesized (§1.2.1.1). In practical terms, the analysis of the linguistic selections of the five selected texts meant identifying and describing recurring patterns in their use of the different grammatical, lexical, and graphical features and exploring the rationale behind them. If a linguistic feature was recognized as relevant for the purpose of the study during the philological analysis, the feature was added to the corresponding list of relevant linguistic features included in each case study after the transliteration, translation, and commentary of the text. At the level of individual inscriptions, these inventories serve as important entry points to understanding the linguistic selections of a text, since they provide a brief outline of the occurrence frequency, the distribution, and the character of the relevant features within its language.

The concept "linguistic dissimilation" gained key importance in the interpretative phase of the research, because the ancient actors' ambition to reflect "the richness and diversity of reality"[106] by linguistic means turned out to be a major driving force behind the linguistic heterogeneity of the Ramesside royal inscriptions (cf. §7.1.3, §7.2.5, §7.3.5). Linguistic dissimilation is a term adapted from the field of historical linguistics, where it describes phonological change. It was introduced into Egyptology by Vernus in 1996, who borrowed it to describe a phenomenon that he first observed in the *Coffin Texts*, namely, the deliberate use of functionally identical but morphologically different grammatical elements in some parts of the corpus.[107] By extension, the phrase is used here to describe similar phenomena not only in the grammatical but also in the lexical and graphical dimensions of the language. In other words, the concept indicates the co-occurrence of functionally identical but morphologically, lexically, or graphically different linguistic selections in the present corpus. Linguistic dissimilation enhances the stylistic complexity of texts, displays the composers' high language proficiency, and serves as a linguistic means by which the diversity and richness of reality can be expressed.[108] A related term, linguistic inclusiveness,[109] refers to this expressive capacity of the phe-

106 Vernus (1996b: 165).

107 Vernus (1996b: 164–168). The phenomenon is not at all limited to the *Coffin Texts* but is already attested in the *Pyramid Texts* and survives into the Ptolemaic times. For further thoughts on the concept and for examples from different periods and genres, see Vernus (2013: 288 with n. 133; 2016a: 209–213, 221–222; and 2017: 497–498 with n. 131), Stauder (2013b: 36; 41; 98–99; 114; 262; 268, n. 103; 310–313; and 424, n. 287), and Winand (2014: 219).

108 Cf. Paksi (2015: 177).

109 First mentioned in Paksi (2015).

nomenon and is usually employed to describe an unusually high degree of linguistic dissimilation in a composition—whether in a text, a part of a text, or across texts belonging to the same composition (cf. §6.6.2.1.1, §7.1.1.2.3, §7.1.3, §7.2.5, §7.3.5).

Although the present research is primarily qualitative in nature, its aspiration for an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon, which resulted in the collection of large data sets, presented a unique opportunity to experiment with quantitative methodological techniques in the interpretative phase of the research. In order to explore the potential of quantitative methods, basic statistical analyses were performed on the linguistic data of individual texts and numerous attempts were made to graphically represent the grammatical, lexical, and graphical information of the main corpus (§1.1.3). The chart below (see Fig. 1) illustrates this approach by demonstrating the profoundly different linguistic preference of the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* with the help of its morphosyntactic data.

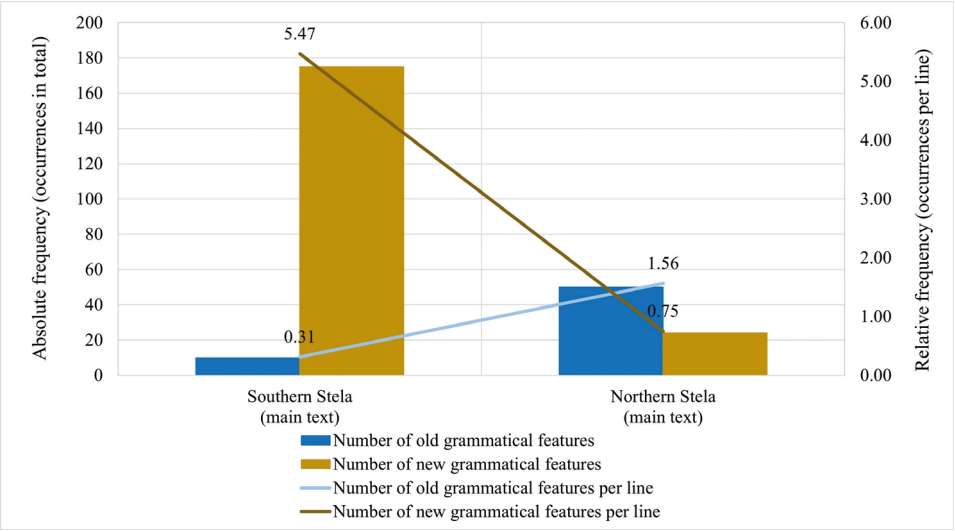


Fig. 1: Absolute and relative frequency of old and new grammatical features (details under §4.2.3.1 and §4.3.3.1) in the main texts of the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (discussed under §4.4.2).

The yellow ochre and dark blue columns show the absolute number of Late and Earlier Egyptian grammatical features (measured on the left vertical axis) in the main texts of the two (southern and northern) halves of the double monument, while the dark ochre and light blue solid lines measure (on the right vertical axis) the number of occurrences of old and new grammatical features per line in the same units. Focusing on the grammatical dimension of the language, the diagram reveals the Southern Stela's greater relative openness to novel linguistic forms when compared to its northern counterpart.

Although the values represented by such charts unavoidably appear as exact figures, they should by no means be perceived as such.[110] They are approximations of one particular aspect of a complex phenomenon in a given text. Since data are collected with the help of qualitative research methods, what such diagrams measure will always in part depend on our individual judgment. Nonetheless, applied prudently, quantitative methods coupled with the graphical representation of the heterogeneous linguistic data can yield important insights into the phenomenon studied here. The visuality of the approach seems to offer straightforward benefits: the graphical representation of the information provides a quick overview of the linguistic choices in different parts of individual texts; allows us to zoom in on the linguistic selections of individual sections and compare them with those of the rest of the text; facilitates the comparison between the use of grammar, lexicon, and (ortho)graphy within and across texts; and helps identify local and global trends associated with any of the three linguistic layers. The reduction of the complexity of linguistic information, which makes the use of graphs so appealing, however, comes at a cost. For the visual reproduction of linguistic data, using charts means having to decide if a certain feature qualifies as old or new, which translates into an either-or approach without allowing for gray areas between these two main categories (cf. §7.1.2 and §7.3.1) unless additional, refined categories are introduced, which in turn would increase the complexity of the linguistic information displayed and eventually force the researcher to make the same decision but at a more granular level. Furthermore, when applying descriptive statistics, all linguistic features are treated as equal irrespective of their overall frequency in the record. The reasons behind this simplification are practical: assigning weights to individual features by trying to quantify their salience would not only be arbitrary considering their high variability but also inappropriate in light of the intrinsically qualitative nature of the research. Lastly, while the graphical representation of the frequency distribution of selected linguistic features may provide valuable insights into the linguistic choices of individual inscriptions, it remains silent about these features' exact syntactic position in the texts as well as about their interaction with one another. Nevertheless, with awareness of their limitations in the present context, descriptive statistics prove to be a valuable and novel auxiliary means to enhance our understanding of the linguistic selections of Ramesside royal texts. In the words of Margarete Sandelowski, summarizing qualitative data numerically with descriptive statistics "is a means to an end, not the end itself. […] [T]he end result of counting is not a quasi-statistical rendering of the data, but rather a description of the patterns and regularities in the data that have, in part, been discovered and then confirmed by counting."[111]

1.3 Notes on the Structure of the Present Study

Five case studies distributed over five chapters constitute the core of the present study. Each of them is devoted to the language of a major Ramesside royal inscription: to

110 For this reason, the charts are not accompanied by tables listing the exact numerical values.
111 Sandelowski (2000: 338).

Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (Chapter 2), Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (Chapter 3), Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (Chapter 4), Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (Chapter 5), and Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* (Chapter 6). The chapters follow each other in the order presented here, starting with the oldest and ending with the youngest or—at least—second youngest inscription in the selection.[112] The basic structure of the five case studies is largely similar. The length and detailedness of individual chapters may, however, vary according to the level of complexity of the corresponding inscription. Minor variations in the structure likewise result from the different specificities of individual texts.

Each case study opens with a general introduction on the cultural and historical significance of the corresponding inscription, its state of preservation, and a brief summary of the relevant previous research. This step plays a central role in contextualizing the research object specific for each case study. In two instances, in the case of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (§2.1) and Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (§4.1), these general remarks are complemented with a new proposal on the sequence of reading of the different parts of the text.

After setting the stage, the text itself is presented. In each case study but one, the transliteration, translation, and commentary thus constitute the second major part of the analysis. In the case of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, a short section is inserted between the introduction and the transliteration, translation, and commentary of the inscription offering a new hypothesis on the dating of the monument (§6.2). The transliteration and translation of the main inscription are in each case preceded by a tabular overview of the main structural elements of the text in order to help the reader not lose sight of the general structure of the composition. This overview constitutes one of the main outputs of the structural analysis performed on each text (§1.2.3).

The philological commentary to the transliteration and translation of every inscription is succeeded by the lists of its selected grammatical, lexical, and graphical features considered relevant for the study of the heterogeneity of its language.[113] Since, considering the lexical and graphical dimensions of a text, these selections are the final products of various singular rounds of lexicographical research (§1.2.2), a short note accompanies each entry explaining the relevance of the feature by summarizing the outcome of this

112 The relative age of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* and *Great Abydos Stela* is difficult to ascertain. While the *Great Hammamat Inscription* dates to year 3, day 27 of the second month of *shemu* (§5.2.2.2), there are four possible dates for the *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.2 and §6.3.3.2 with nn. xix, xx, and xxi under §6.4; cf. also Paksi 2023: 129): year 3, first day of the first, second, or third month of *shemu*; or year 4, first day of the fourth month of *shemu* (cf. Fig. 40 and Paksi 2023: 236, fig. 60). With a date to year 3, first day of the first or second month of *shemu*, the *Great Abydos Stela* would predate the *Great Hammamat Inscription*, however, with a date to year 3, first day of the third month of *shemu* or with one to year 4, first day of the fourth month of *shemu*, it would post-date it. See also n. 1167 below.

113 On the definition of relevance for the three linguistic layers here studied, see the discussion above (§1.2.1.2).

intermediary step.[114] In the chapter on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, all above steps (introduction; transliteration, translation, and commentary; collection of relevant linguistic features) are executed separately for the two halves of the inscription (§4.2 and §4.3). For two royal texts in the corpus, for Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* and Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, the catalogue of relevant graphical features is complemented with a list of orthographic anomalies and imprecisions in the texts (§3.4.3.6 and §6.5.3.5).[115]

The last section is in each case dedicated to the evaluation of the linguistic data of the corresponding text. As a first step on the way to understanding the reasons behind the diverse linguistic selections of a given inscription, the structure of the text is explored (§1.2.3). The key results of this structural analysis are represented in a tabular overview before the transliteration and translation of the main inscription. The grammatical, lexical, and graphical data are then analyzed in light of the composition of the inscription, and in a final step, the motives behind the heterogeneity of the language are investigated.

A general discussion (Chapter 7) synthesizes the findings of the five individual case studies with regard to their grammatical, lexical, and graphical selections, takes the discussion to a global level on the heterogeneous linguistic profile of the Ramesside royal texts, and examines the cultural dynamics of their textual production. The work ends with a brief synthesis of the major findings and offers an outlook for future research (Chapter 8).[116]

114 Hieroglyphic signs are generally referenced by their Gardiner (G*EG*, Sign-list) and *JSesh* codes in this study.

115 For the rationale behind this decision, see §1.2.2 above.

116 Owing to the open-access publication of this monograph, no index was prepared, as the manuscript is digitally searchable.

2 Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*

(K*RI* I 65–70 = Pls. I–VI)

2.1 Texts A, B, and C or Texts B, C, and A?

The *Kanais Inscription* is a threefold royal text[117] carved on the walls of the temple of Kanais (Fig. 2, left), a small, partially rock-cut sanctuary of Seti I, which stands in the Wadi Abbad, ca. 55 km east of Edfu, in the Eastern Desert.[118] The three inscriptions in the temple—generally labelled Texts A, B, and C after Schott[119]—commemorate three events: a successful gold mining expedition from the ninth regnal year of the king, the erection of a temple, and the foundation of a settlement. The gold production of the mines at Kanais was meant to benefit Seti's memorial temple in Abydos.[120]

Text A consists of a votive text dedicating the temple to Amun-Re and the Ennead, and an intercessory prayer to the gods from future generations on behalf of the king. It was inscribed in five relatively wide columns on the eastern side of the doorway between the forecourt and the main hall of the sanctuary. The two longer inscriptions, Texts B and C, were carved into the north wall of the main hall, to the left and to the right of the doorway. Text B, which was written in 14 columns on the eastern side of the north wall and is flanked by the figure of Seti I,[121] contains a dated record of the king's initiative and undertaking and ends with a royal address to the gods. Although separated by the doorway, Text C, a 19-column-long address to the king's forefathers and successors, is a logical continuation of Text B. The address to past and future kings serves as a framework for Seti's legal arrangements concerning the upkeep of his new endowment. The regulations embedded in the royal speech include provisions for future kings and state functionaries, and, additionally, deal with the status of the gold washers' newly established transport contingent as well as with that of its chief.

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117 K*RI* I 65, 1 − 70, 4. Earlier text editions include L*D* III 140; Sander-Hansen (1933: 25–29); and Schott (1961: pl. 19). On the translation, compare Gunn & Gardiner (1917: 244–248), Schott (1961: 182–187), Lichtheim (*AEL* II 52–57), Kitchen (*RITA* I 56–60), Davies (1997: 205–220), and Hafemann (*TLA*).

118 For the description of the temple, see Brand (2000: 279–281, monument no. 3.127) and PM VII 323–324. The word *al-kanais* means "churches, shrines" in Arabic (see Gauthier 1920: 6). On the site in general, see the entry "El-Kanais" of the *Desert Networks* project with an extensive bibliography (http://desertnetworks.huma-num.fr/sites/DN_SIT0094; accessed 15 June 2025).

119 Schott (1961: 139–159).

120 The *Kanais Inscription* (see C9, C17, and C18–19 under §2.2.3) establishes a strong economic link between the temple of Kanais and the king's memorial temple in Abydos. Cf. Haring (2007: 169, n. 26) with reference to Stadelmann (1984: 914).

121 Cf. Paksi (2015: 188, n. 67).

The inscription is generally well preserved, except for the upper part of columns 3–11 of Text C, which is affected by a major lacuna.[122] A few groups of signs are similarly missing from columns 12 and 13 of Text C as well as from columns 7–11 of Text B. Furthermore, approximately three groups were left blank for a door-bolt socket in the final column of Text A, but the socket was never carved.[123]

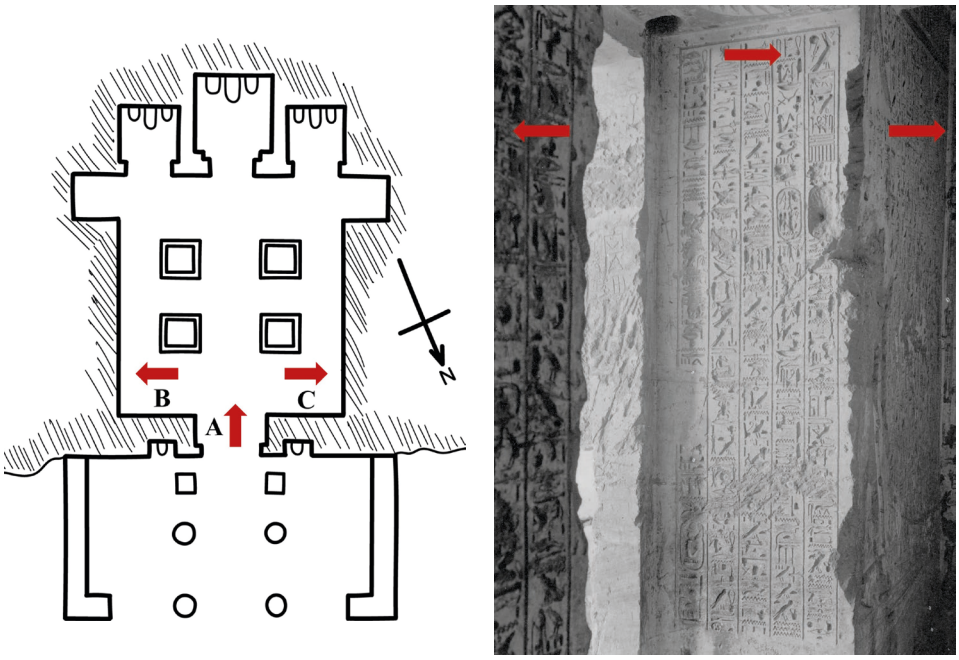


Fig. 2: Orientation of the different parts of the *Kanais Inscription*. The arrows show the direction in which the signs face within the three texts. Plan modified after Gauthier (1920: 10, fig. 1), PM VII 322, and Morales (2010: 395, fig. 1); photo by Schott (1961: pl. 12; *DSA*, photo no. 4794; © Schott-Archiv, Ägyptologie der Universität Trier).

Since Schott, Text A has been generally read before Texts B and C.[124] The disposition of the three inscriptions within the temple and their orientation suggest a different sequence of reading, however (see Fig. 2, right). Texts B and C are symmetrically arranged on the eastern and western sides of the north wall of the main hall: Text B faces right, while Text C faces left. Accordingly, Text B is read from right to left and Text C

122 L*D* IV 79: "der Fels war schadhaft und daher mit Steinen ausgeflickt worden; diese sind später herausgefallen, sodaß die Inschrift Lücken aufweist." See also Gunn & Gardiner (1917: 246) and Schott (1961: 149, n. a).

123 Cf. Schott (1961: 141, n. a) and K*RI* I 65, n. 12a.

124 Cf. Schott (1961: 182–187); *AEL* II 52–57; *RITA* I 56–60; Davies (1997: 205–220); and Hafemann (*TLA*). Earlier propagators of this sequence were Gauthier and Meyer, while Lepsius, Reinisch, and Breasted read Text A after Texts B and C, and Gunn & Gardiner as well as Sander-Hansen placed Text A in the middle of the sequence (cf. Schott 1961: 137, n. 1).

from left to right. In both cases, the reading advances from the sidewalls towards the exit, so that the two texts meet in the middle and point towards the doorway leading out to the forecourt—in the direction of Text A. Text A was carved on the eastern side of the doorway with its signs facing towards the inner side of the temple. Its orientation thus indicates that it should be read while leaving and not while entering the main hall, that is, *after* Texts B and C.

A passage in Text B provides further evidence for reading the *Kanais Inscription* in an altered sequence, namely, Texts B and C before Text A. In the dated report of the history of the well and the temple, the king anticipates the future generations' positive reaction to his deeds: *dwꜣ=sn nṯr ḥr rn=j n m-ḫt rnpwt jw.t=sn jwt ḏꜣmw ntjj r ḫpr r swhꜣ jm=j ḥr tl=j*… "They (i.e., the travelers) shall thank the god in my name for (the time) after the years (§2.3, n. xiii) that will come, (and) the generations that will exist shall come to praise me (§2.3, n. xiv) because of my prowess, …" (B4). Text A closes with precisely that: the future travelers' expression of gratitude predicted by the king many years before (§2.2.4.2). The future generations' thanksgiving prayer hence constitutes a logical ending to the threefold inscription and establishes a strong link between the beginning and the end of the text.

In 2015, I explored the linguistic complexity of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* through the perspective of linguistic dissimilation (cf. §1.2.3) with particular attention to the different grammatical realizations of future relative constructions in the text.[125] The present chapter has a much broader focus: it seeks to understand the general principles of language use in the inscription as a whole.

2.2 Transliteration and Translation of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*

2.2.1 Overview of the Main Structural Elements of Texts B, C, and A

Text B: Dated report of the king's initiative and undertaking

Dateline and titulary	column 1
royal name	column 1
History of the well and the temple	columns 1–11
hrw pn jst ḥm=f smꜣ=f ḫꜣswt…	column 1
"Now, on this day, his majesty surveys the desert…"	
jst grt nṯr ḥr sšmtw=f…	column 5
"Now, the god was guiding him…"	

125 Paksi (2015: 175–196).

The king's address to the gods — columns 11–14

jr m-ḫt mnqw mn{n}w… jw.jn ḥm=f r dwꜣ… — column 11
"After the monument had been finished, … his majesty came to praise…"

Text C: The king's address to his forefathers and successors

Purpose and motivation of the king's legal arrangements — columns 1–8

royal name — column 1

jr nbw… — column 3
"As for the gold, …"

jr thh sp n kjj… — column 5
"As for (any)one who interferes with the deed of another, …"

Provisions for future kings — columns 8–14

jr nsw nb… — column 8
"As for every king…"

ḫr jr nsw nb… — column 11
"However, as for any king…"

Provisions for future officials — columns 14–16

ḫr jr sr nb… — column 14
"Now, as for any official…"

ḫr jr sr nb… — column 15
"Whereas, as for any official…"

Status of the transport contingent and its chief — columns 16–19

wpw-ḥr wnn pꜣ qrw n jʿw-nbw… — columns 16–17
"Rather, the transport contingent of gold washers…"

wpw-ḥr wnn pꜣ ḥr-pḏt n pꜣ qrw n jʿw-nbw… — column 18
"On the other hand, the leader of the transport contingent of gold-washers…"

Text A: Dedication and future reception

Dedication formula	columns 1–2
royal name	column 1
jr.n=f m mnw=f n jt=f…	column 1
"he has made (this) as his monument for his father…"	
Future generations' prayer for the king	columns 2–5
ḏd.jn=sn m r3 n r3	column 2
"So they said from mouth to mouth:"	
royal name	column 5

2.2.2 Text B: Dated Report of the King's Initiative and Undertaking

2.2.2.1 Dateline and Titulary

[1]|*ḥsbt 9 3bd 3 šmw sw 20 ḫr ḥm n*
Ḥr k3 nḫt ḫʿ m W3st sʿnḫ t3wj
nbtj wḥm mswt sḫm ḫpš dr pḏt 9
Ḥr nbw wḥm ḫʿw wsr pḏwt m t3w nbw
nsw bjtj Mn-m3ʿt-Rʿ
s3 Rʿ Stšjj Mr-n-Ptḥ dj ʿnḫ ḏt nḥḥ

[1]|Year 9, third month of summer, day 20 under the majesty of
Horus: strong bull who appears in Thebes and sustains both lands;
Two Ladies: who repeats births, powerful of sword who repels the Nine Bows;
Golden Horus: who repeats appearances, strong of bows in all lands;
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: Menmaatre;
son of Re: Seti Merenptah—given life forever and ever!

2.2.2.2 History of the Well and the Temple

hrw pn jst ḥm=f sm3ʿ=f ḫ3swt r r3-ʿ ḏww
3b.n [2]|*jb=f m33 ḫ3wt jnnw ḏʿm jm=sn*
jr m-ḫt ḥm=f m tsjj m rḫw jtrjjw ʿš3w
jr{t}.jn=f sḫnjj ḥr w3t
r w3w3 sḥ ḥnʿ jb=f
ḏd.jn=f

Now, on this day, his majesty reviews (i.e., surveys)[i] the desert to the confine(s) of the mountains,
(for) his heart [2]|has desired to see[ii] the mines from which electrum is brought.

After his majesty had climbed[iii] a great (lit., sums of)[iv] many *iterus*,[v]
he made a rest on the way
to forge plan(s) with his heart
(and) said:

qsn.wj w3t jwtjj mw=s
ḫpr=ø[vi] *mj m m-ꜥ* 3|*mšꜥw*
sswn{rf}<.tw>[vii] *jrf nḏ3 ḫḫ=sn*
jn-m ꜥḫm=f jbt=sn
t3 w3w.w
ḫ3st wsḫ.t
jꜥnw n=f
s jbjj ḥr j3wt
jsjj m
4|*nḏ=j ḫrwt=sn*
jrjj=j n=sn ꜥn sꜥnḫ=sn
dw3=sn nṯr ḥr rn=j n m-ḫt rnpwt jw.t=sn
jwt ḏ3mw ntjj r ḫpr
r swh3 jm=j ḥr tl=j
ḥr-ntjj js jnk nꜥꜥ jb ꜥnn ḥr 5|*pḫr.tjw*

"How difficult is a road without[viii] water!
How will (it) happen to 3|the travelers
that the parching of their throat may indeed be abolished?
Who will quench their thirst?
The land is far away,
the desert is wide.
Woe for him—
the thirsty man on the hills![ix]
Go anyway![x]
4|I will inquire after them[xi]
(and) will ensure their sustenance.[xii]
They shall thank the god in my name for (the time) after the years[xiii] that will come,
(and) the generations that will exist shall come
to praise me[xiv] because of my prowess,
because in fact I am lenient of heart who turns towards 5|those who will travel around.[xv]"

jr m-ḫt ḏdw ḥm=f nn
mdww=f ḫr jb=f ḏs=f

dbnbn.jn=f ḥr ḫ3st ḥr wḫ3 st jrt ḫnw
jst grt nṯr ḥr sšmtw=f[xvi]
r rdt sprt mr.n=f
sḥnw k3wtjw [6]*|m jnr*
r šd.tw ḫnmt ḥr ḏww
n-mrwt stz=f wrdw
sqbb=f jb n nwḫ m šmw
ꜥḥꜥ.n ḫws st tn ḥr rn wr Mn-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ
bꜥḥ[7]*|.n=st mw r-ꜥ3t-wrt mj tpḥ(t) qrtj 3bw*
ḏd.jn ḥm=f

After his majesty had said this,
his words (being) in front of his own heart,
he walked around in the desert seeking out a place (for) making a cistern.[xvii]

Now, the god was guiding him
to grant the request of the one he has loved.
Stone workers [6]|have been commanded
so that a well would be dug[xviii] in the mountains,
in order that he (i.e., the king) may raise the weary
(and) refresh the heart of him who burns in the summer (heat).[xix]

Then this place has been built in the mighty name of Menmaatre
(and) has [7]|flooded water in great quantities like the cavern of the twin holes in Elephantine.[xx]

His majesty said:

mk jrjj.n nṯr sprwt=j
[bsw]=f n=j mw ḥr ḏww
ḏr nṯrw
w3t qsn.tj snḏm.tj ḫft nsjjt[8]*|=j*
3ḫ j3dwt n mnjw
s{qb}<bq>[xxi] *wsḫ t3*
nsw m pr-ꜥ
sp nb wn bw rḫ.tw=f
djw [nṯr jr.tw]=f ḫr=j
kjj sp nfr jw r jb=j ḥr wḏ nṯr m-r3-ꜥ grg njwt
jw ḫnw [9]*|m-ḫnw=s*
špssjj dmjt ḫr ḥwt-nṯr
jw=j r qd ḫnt m st tn ḥr rn wr jtw [ntrw]
k3 dj=sn
mn jrwt=j
rwd rn=j pḫrw ḥr ḫ3swt

"Look, the god has fulfilled (lit., made) my requests:
he [made] the water [emerge][xxii] for me from the mountains.
Ever since the gods,
the road has been difficult, (but it) has been made pleasant under my [8]|kingship.
Beneficial are the herds[xxiii] for the herdsman;
splendid and wide is the land,
(when) the king is brave.
Every deed that had not been known,[xxiv]
[the god] shall cause it [to be done][xxv] under me.
Another good deed that came to my mind, likewise upon the god's decree, was founding a settlement
that has a sanctuary [9]|in it;
(for) a town is made splendid by[xxvi] a temple.
I am to build a sanctuary in this place in the mighty name of the fathers, [the gods],[xxvii]
and they shall cause
what I had done to endure
(and) my name circling in the deserts to prevail."

ꜥḥꜥ.n wḏ.n ḥm=f [10]*|rdt m ḥr n ḫrp n kꜣ(w)t(j)w nsw ḥnꜥ=f m ḫrtjw-nṯr*
jr.jn.tw m šꜣdjj m ḏw pn ḥwt-nṯr nn [*n nṯrw*]
Jmn jm=s Rꜥ m-ḫnw=s Ptḥ Wsjr m ḥwt-ꜥꜣt=s Ḥr ꜣst Mn-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ psḏt [11]*|jmt ḥwt-nṯr tn*

Then his majesty has commanded [10]|that instructions be given to the director of the royal workmen[xxviii] who were with him as quarrymen,
(and), by (being) hollowed out from this mountain,[xxix] the temple of thes[e gods][xxx] was made:
Amun in it, Re within it, Ptah and Osiris in its sanctuary,[xxxi] and Horus, Isis, and Menmaatre are the Ennead [11]|in this temple.[xxxii]

2.2.2.3 The King's Address to the Gods

jr m-ḫt mnqw mn{n}w
sjqr
jrw sšjjwt=f
jw.jn ḥm=f
r dwꜣ jtw [*nṯrw*] *nbw*
ḏd=f

After the monument[xxxiii] had been finished,
having been made excellent,
(and) its inscriptions had been done,[xxxiv]
his majesty came
to praise the fathers, all [the gods][xxxv]
(by) saying:

j.nḏ ḥr=tn
nṯrw wrw grgw pt tȝ n jb=sn
ḥsjjw=tn wj [12]*|r rȝ-ꜥ nḥḥ*
sḏdw=tn rn=j ḏt
mj ȝḫ=j
mj nfr=j n=tn
mj nhs=j ḥr ḫrwt mr=tn
jḫ ḏd=tn n jw.t=sn m nsjjw srw rḫjjw
smn[13]*|=sn n=j jrwt=j ḫr st-ḥr ḥwt=j m ȝbḏw*
nfr jr ḥr rȝ n nṯr
pȝ-wnn bw (*w*)*hȝ.n=sn sḫrw=f*
ḏdw ḏs=tn
jrjj=tw ḥr rȝ=tn
ḥr-ntjj nttn nȝ nbw
jr.n=j ꜥḥꜥw=j
qn=j n=tn
[14]*|r wḫȝ snfr=j m-dj=tn*
jmm mn n=j mnww=j
jw rn=j ḏd.wj ḥr=sn

"Hail to you,
(O) gods, the great,[xxxvi] who founded heaven and earth at their wish!
You shall favor me [12]|until the end of eternity,
(and) make my name endure forever,
as I am beneficial,
as I am good to you,
(and) as I watch over the matters that you care for (lit., love).
Therefore, you shall tell those who will come as kings, officials, and commoners,
that they [13]|shall make what I had done under the control of my temple in Abydos endure for me.
Good is he who acts on the word of god,
for (then) they[xxxvii] cannot fail,[xxxviii] his plans.
Speak yourselves,
(and) one shall act upon your word
because you are the lords.
I have spent my lifetime
being valiant for you
[14]|to seek my improvement by you.
Make my monuments last for me:
(and) my name endures upon them!"

2.2.3 Text C: The King's Address to His Forefathers and Successors

2.2.3.1 Purpose and Motivation of the King's Legal Arrangements

[1]|*nsw bjtj Mn-mꜣʿt-Rʿ sꜣ Rʿ Stšjj Mr-n-Ptḥ ḏd=f ḫr jtw=f nsjjw nbw bjtjw ḥqꜣw rḫjjw*

[1]|The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre, son of Re, Seti Merenptah, says in front of his fathers, all the Upper Egyptian kings (and) the Lower Egyptian kings, the rulers of the commoners:

j.sḏm n=j
ḥrw-pḏw(t) tꜣ-mrj
kꜣ sḏm n=tn [2]*|ktḫw*
jhjj kꜣ=tn
mj mr.n=j
ḏbꜣ.tw sp=tn m-mjtt
nttn pw mj nṯrw
ḥsb.tw nb m psḏt

"Listen[xxxix] to me,
(O) leaders[xl] of the Beloved Land,
and others [2]|will listen to you![xli]
'Hey!,'[xlii] you shall say,[xliii]
as I have wished,
and your deed will be rewarded likewise.
You are like the gods:[xliv]
a lord is counted among the Ennead.

ḏd.n=j nn ḥr ḥn nꜣjj=j qrw n jʿw-nbw r ḥwt-nṯr=j
r dj.tw=w ḥr stꜣt [3]*|n ḥwt=j* […*11 groups lost*…] [*rꜣ*]*-pr=j*

I have said this (i.e., the following)[xlv] about assigning my transport contingent[xlvi] of gold-washers to my temple
so that they be placed[xlvii] on the (supply) flow[xlviii] [3]|of (i.e., to) my temple […11 groups lost …][xlix] my [sanc]tuary:[l]

jr nbw ḥʿw nṯrw
bn n sj ḫrwt=tn
sꜣw ḏd=tn ḏdw.n Rʿ m-šꜣʿ=f n mdwt
jnm=j m ḏʿm wʿb
ḫr Jmn pꜣ nb ḥwt-nṯr=j [4]*|r s*[*gb*] […*10 groups lost*…]
jrtj=fj ḥr ḫwt=f
bn mr=sn sʿḏꜣ m ḫrwt=sn
sꜣw tn r tḫnj rmṯ=w
ḥr-ntjj rf st mj dpjjw

m-jr [5]*|ršt* [… *10 groups lost* …]

jr thh sp n kjj
ḫpr n=f pḥwj m jr mjtt
ḥḏ=tw m mnww n ḥḏ
bw mn sp n grgjjw
[*n*]*ḫtw* [6]*|nsw m*[*ꜣꜥt*]

As for the gold, the flesh of gods,[li]
it does not belong to your affairs (i.e., it is none of your business).
Beware of saying what Re had said when he began to speak (lit., at his beginning of the speech):
'My skin is pure electrum,'
for Amun, the lord of my temple, [4]|is going to sh[out][lii] [… 10 groups lost …]!
His eyes are on his property,
(and) they[liii] will not approve of the destruction of[liv] their possession.
Beware of harming their people
because indeed they are like crocodiles!
Do not [5]|rejoice [… 10 groups lost …]!

As for (any)one who interferes with (lit., harms) the deed of another,
in the end, the same will happen to him:[lv]
one will destroy the[lvi] monuments of a destroyer,
(for) the deed(s) of a liar cannot last,
(and) the [st]rength [6]|of a king is jus[tice].[lvii]

[… *9 groups lost* …] […]*t*
r djt rḫ=tn srw.n=j wꜣww
r swḏꜣ=tn

[… ca. 10 groups lost or illegible …][lviii]
to let you know what I had announced long ago
(and) to keep you safe.

jr.n=j qrw m jꜥw-nbw m [*š*]*ꜣw* [7]*|ḥr rn*[*=j*]
[… *9 groups lost* …] [*nsw*] *ḥr ḫw=j*
jr.n=j sn m qrw m mꜣw
n-mrwt mn=sn ḫr=j
bw jn=j m kjj q[8]*|rw*
r d[… *8 groups lost* …] [*m*]*kt=w m msw n ḥwt=j m wnḏwt n rꜣ-pr=j*

I have established a transport contingent from gold-washers in [fitt]ing manner,[lix] [7]|in [my] name,
[… 9 groups lost …] [king][lx] except me.[lxi]
I have newly established them as a transport contingent
in order that they may endure under me;

I have not availed myself of[lxii] another transport [8]|contingent
to ʾp[laceʾ] [… 8 groups lost …] [pro]tect[lxiii] them as children of my temple and as dependents[lxiv] of my sanctuary.

2.2.3.2 Provisions for Future Kings

jr nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr ḥnʿ ntf sw3ḥ jrwt=j
[9]*|r rdt mn [ḥn qrw n jʿw-nbw m ḥwt]=j*
jw=f ḥr st3 b3kw=f r t3 ḥwt Mn-m3ʿt-Rʿ
r nb ʿšmw=sn nbw
jr Jmn Rʿ-Ḥr-3ḫtj Ptḥ-[10]*|T3-(t)nn Wn-[nfr] […ˍ5ˍgroupsˍlost…] [r]wd=sn*
ḥq3=sn t3w m nḏm-jb
ḫtbw=sn dšrtj <t3>-stj
wnn k3w=sn mn
w3ḥ ḏf3w=sn
ss33=f [11]*|tpw-t3*
sḏm Rʿ […ˍ5ˍgroupsˍlostˍ…] [t]m ḏd ḥ3 n=j

As for every king who will exist and will make my deeds endure
[9]|so as to maintain [the organization of the transport contingent of gold-washers in] my [temple],[lxv]
while supplying its (i.e., the contingent's) deliveries to the temple of Menmaatre
to gild all their (i.e., the gods') cult images,
Amun, Re-Harakhte, Ptah-[10]|Tatenen,[lxvi] Wen[nufer] […ˍ5ˍgroupsˍlostˍ…] will create their[lxvii] [st]rength.
They will rule the lands in joy,
they will overthrow[lxviii] the two deserts and Nubia,[lxix]
their provisions will last,
their sustenance will endure,
satisfying [11]|those on earth.
Re will hear […ˍ5ˍgroupsˍlostˍ…] [n]ot say 'If only I had!'

ḫr jr nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr sḫnn.t=f sḫrw=j nb ḥnʿ ntf ḏd
t3w r-ḫt=j
jnk sn
mj wn=sn [12]*|ḫr=f*
sp qsn ḥr jb ntrw
mk tw=[t]w r wšbw=f m Jwnw
mntsn ḏ3ḏ3t […ˍ…]
jr=sn wšb ḥr ḫwt=w
dšr=sn mj bs{j} n sḏt
n snwḫ=sn ḥʿw=sn tm[13]*|w sḏm n=j*

st r sswn ḥḏ sḫrw=j
r rd.tw=f r ḫbt dw3t

However, as for any king who will exist, will destroy all my plans, and will say:
'The lands are under my authority;[lxx]
they are mine,
as they used to be [12]|his.'
(This is) a terrible deed in the opinion of the gods.[lxxi]
Look, he will be prosecuted[lxxii] in Heliopolis:
they[lxxiii] are the tribunal [… …].
They will protect[lxxiv] their property
(and) will become red[lxxv] like a flame[lxxvi] of fire
because[lxxvii] they will braze[lxxviii] their[lxxix] flesh, (i.e.,) of those who do no[13]|t listen to me.
They will punish the one who destroys my plans,
so that he will be given[lxxx] to the place of execution[lxxxi] in the netherworld.

ḏ[*d.n*]*=j* [*nn*]
[…]*=j ḫr=tn*
jmm nḥm sw šw m bt3=f
ḫjj-r3-ꜥ kjj sbn [14]*|ḥ3tj*
m psḏt sḫn=sn ḥnꜥ=f

I [have s]aid [this],
[…][lxxxii] before you.
Let the one who is without his misdeed (i.e., who is faultless) rescue himself!
Meanwhile,[lxxxiii] the other, the straying [14]|of heart,[lxxxiv]
it is[lxxxv] the Ennead who will contend with him.

2.2.3.3 Provisions for Future Officials

ḫr jr sr nb ntjj jw=f r spr nsw ḥnꜥ ntf djt sḫ3 nfr r smnt jrwt=j ḥr rn=j
dj nṯr jm3ḫjj=f tp t3
pḥ(*wj*)*=fj ḥtp*[15]*|.w m sjj n k3=f*

Now, as for any official who will approach a king and will give a kind reminder regarding the maintenance of my arrangements[lxxxvi] in my name,
the god will arrange his veneration upon earth;
his end shall be peace[15]|ful in going to his *ka*.

ḫr jr sr nb ntjj sw r stkn jb pn n nb=f r nḥm ḥsbw
r dj.tw=w ḥr kjj sdf m sḫr n mtjj bjn
jw=f n nsrt
tk3=s ḥꜥw=f n 3ḫt

[16]|*wnmw=s ꜥwt=f*
ḥr-ntjj jr.n ḥm=f nn r-ḏr=sn n kꜣ=sn nꜣ nbw ḥwt=j

Whereas, as for any official who—in manner of a false witness[lxxxvii]—will lure[lxxxviii] this[lxxxix] heart of his lord into seizing the assigned personnel[xc]
so that they be placed[xci] on another endowment,
he will be doomed to fire:[xcii]
it will burn up his flesh with[xciii] flame[xciv]
[16]|(and) will eat up his limbs
because his majesty[xcv] has done all this for their[xcvi] *ka*, (i.e., of) the lords of my temple.

bw(*t*) *n nṯr th*(*t*) *rmṯ=f*
bw tm.n=f ꜥn ḏrt ḥḏ

The god's abomination is the harm done to his people;[xcvii]
he never fails[xcviii] to repulse the hand of a destroyer.

2.2.3.4 Status of the Transport Contingent and Its Chief

wpw-ḥr wnn pꜣ qrw [17]|*n jꜥw-nbw jr.n=j r tꜣ ḥwt Mn-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ ḫw.w mk.w*
nn ḫꜥm=tw n=f jn rmṯ nb ntjj m tꜣ r-ḏr=f jn ḥr-pḏt nb n pꜣ nbw jn rwd nb n ḫꜣst
jr pꜣ ntjj nb jw=f r th rmṯ jm=sn [18]|*dj.w r kt st*
jr n=f nꜣ nṯrw nṯrjjw nbw ḥwt=j r jrjj-n-ꜥḥꜣ
pꜣ-wn ḫwt<=j> nb{=j}[xcix] *m jmjj-pr ḫr rdwj=sn r nḥḥ ḥnꜥ ḏt*

Rather,[c] the transport contingent [17]|of gold-washers that I have set up for the temple of Menmaatre ought to be safeguarded and protected.
One shall not approach it[ci]—neither anyone in the whole land nor any troop commander of the gold nor any inspector of the desert.

As for anyone who will interfere with (lit., will harm) the people among them, [18]|(so that they be) relocated[cii] to another place,
all the gods and goddesses of my temple will be an adversary to him,
for all my property is—by means of a transfer-document[ciii]—under their authority[civ] forever and ever.

wpw-ḥr wnn pꜣ ḥr-pḏt n pꜣ qrw n jꜥw-nbw n tꜣ ḥwt [19]|*Mn-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ ḥr ḏrt=f ḥr ḫrp bꜣkw=sn m nbw r tꜣ ḥwt Mn-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ*
jr pꜣ ntjj nb jw=f r sḫ ḥr r wḏt (*t*)*n*[cv]
jr Wsjr m-sꜣ=f
jw ꜣst m-sꜣ ḥmt=f
jw Ḥr m-sꜣ ḫrdw=f
m nꜣ wrw nbw tꜣ ḏsr jr=s(*n*)[cvi] *wp=sn ḥnꜥ=f*

On the other hand, the leader of the transport contingent of gold-washers of the temple of [19]|Menmaatre shall himself[cvii] be in charge of their deliveries of gold to the temple of Menmaatre.

As for anyone who will neglect[cviii] this order,
Osiris will be after him,
while Isis is after his wife
(and) Horus is after his children:
It is[cix] all the great ones of the necropolis who will make their charge[cx] with him."

2.2.4 Text A: Dedication and Future Reception

2.2.4.1 Dedication Formula

[1]|*Ḥr kꜣ nḫt ḫˁ m Wꜣst sˁnḫ tꜣwj*
nsw bjtj [*Mn-mꜣˁt-Rˁ*]
jr.n=f m mnw=f n jt=f Jmn-Rˁ ḥnˁ psḏt=f
jr[*t*] *n=sn ḥwt-nṯr m mꜣwt*
nṯrw hr.w m-ḫnw=s
šd.n=f ḫnmt m-bꜣḥ=s

[1]|Horus, the strong bull who appears in Thebes and sustains both lands,
the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Menmaatre],
he has made (this)[cxi] as his monument for his father, Amun-Re, with his Ennead,
the mak[ing][cxii] of a temple for them anew,
in which the gods are content;
(and) has dug a well in front of it.

nn-sp jr.t [2]|*mjtt=s jn nsw nb wp-ḥr nsw jr ꜣḫwt*
sꜣ Rˁ Stšjj Mr-n-Ptḥ
mnjw nfr sˁnḫ mšˁ=f
jt mwt n ḥr-nb

Nothing [2]|like this has ever been done by any king—apart from the king who did the benefactions:
son of Re, Seti Merenptah,
the good shepherd[cxiii] who sustains his troops,
everyone's father and mother.[cxiv]

2.2.4.2 Future Generations' Prayer for the King

ḏd.jn=sn m rꜣ n rꜣ

So they (i.e., the future generations)[cxv] said from mouth to mouth:[cxvi]

Jmn
jmm n=f nḥḥ
qb n=f ḏt
nṯrw jmw tȝ ḥnmt
[3]|*dj=tn n=f ꜥḥꜥw=tn*
mj wn(.n)[cxvii]*=f n=n tȝ wȝt*[cxviii] *r šmt*
wn=s šrj.tj n ḥr=n
tȝ wn=n ḥr (ḏd)[cxix]
sn=n s(j)
wḏȝ=n
tw=n ḥr (ḏd)
pḥ=n s(j)
ꜥnḫ=n
tȝ wȝt štȝ wn m jb=n [4]|*ḥpr.ṯ m wȝt nfrt*
dj=f wn tȝ ṯst pȝ nbw mj pȝ mȝȝ pȝ bjk

"(O) Amun,
give him eternity
(and) double the everlasting time for him!
(O) gods in the well,
[3]|you shall give him your lifespan
because he has opened for us the road to travel.
It had been barred from our face,
the one (about which) we used to say:
'May we pass it,
(while) being safe!'
(and about which)[cxx] we (can now) say:
'We reached it,
(while) being alive.'[cxxi]
The secret[cxxii] road that used to be on our mind [4]|has become an excellent road,
(for) he caused the transportation[cxxiii] of the gold to be as the sight of the falcon."[cxxiv]

ḏȝmw nb ntjj r ḫpr ḥr nḥt n=f nḥḥ
jr=f ḥbw-sd mj Jtm
rnp=f mj Ḥr Bḥdt
[5]|*mj jr.n=f mnw ḥr ḫȝswt n nṯrw nbw*
šd.n=f mw ḥr ḏww wn wȝw r rmṯ
ꜥ nb ḫnd.w ḥr ḫȝswt m ꜥnḫ ḏd wȝs n nsw bjtj Mn-mȝꜥt-Rꜥ mr Jmn-Rꜥ nsw nṯrw

All generations that will exist are praying for eternity for him,
(so that) he may celebrate jubilees like Atum
(and) may rejuvenate like the Horus of Edfu

[5]|because he has made a monument in the desert for all the gods
(and) has dug water in the mountains that used to be far away from the people.
Every track[cxxv] is trodden in the desert in[cxxvi] life, stability, and dominion of (/ because of) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods.

2.3 Translation Notes to Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*

i The present interpretation is based on the idea originally put forward by Gunn & Gardiner (1917: 244, n. 2). They were the first to propose that the verb *sm3ˁ* "to present; to put in order, to correct," i.e., "to review," is "perhaps [used] here in the sense of surveying, investigating," although this semantic nuance is otherwise unparalleled in the record.

ii On *jb* "heart" as the subject of verbs expressing intellectual activity or desire and wish, see Polis & Stauder (2014: 214). The absence of the allative preposition *r* before the object of the heart's activity is characteristic of the pre-Ramesside examples of these constructions (see Polis & Stauder 2014: 214, exx. 33 and 35 vs. exx. 34 and 36). Here, the infinitive *m33* is introduced directly.

iii The construction *subject* + *m* + *infinitive* occurs almost exclusively with verbs of motion and generally conveys a progressive meaning. Here, the addition of a second argument affects the telicity of the event by introducing a goal to the activity. Cf. Winand (2006: 130–135).

iv Cf. *Wb.* II 449.1–2.

v Until the Late Period, one *iteru* equals 10.5 km (Beinlich 1987: 1).

vi A zero pronoun marks the subject of the clause. Vernus (2014: 277, ex. 72) attributes the cataphoric use of ø in a similar syntactic environment—in another interrogative sentence with *mj m* "how?"—to prosodic reasons.

vii The passage seems to contain two consecutive examples of the enclitic particle (*j*)*rf* () wedged between the first two elements of a complex possessive construction: "How will (it) indeed happen to the travelers—the abolishment of the parching of their throat?" It is not only the placement of the two particles that is highly unusual about the original reading of the section: the twofold use of (*j*)*rf* is also otherwise unparalleled in the record (see Oréal 2011: 61–101). Gunn & Gardiner (1917: 244, n. 5) saw a faulty transcription of the preliminary hieratic draft in the first example of (*j*)*rf* and proposed to read the signs () as the written mark of the *sḏm.tw=f* passive (): *sswn.tw jrf nḏ3 ḫḥ=sn* "that the parching of their throat may indeed be abolished." The above translation is based on the emendation suggested by Gunn & Gardiner.

viii On the construction (*jwtjj* + *noun* + *suffix pronoun*), see G*EG* §203.3.

ix Contrary to previous opinions (Gunn & Gardiner 1917: 244; Schott 1961: 143, n. 8; Lesko I 17), the group  is not a *hapax legomenon*. It probably represents a ludic graphical solution for *j3wt* "mounds, hills" (see below, under §2.4.3.3.4).

x Contra Schott (1961: 143, n. 9). Following the interpretation of Gunn & Gardiner (1917: 244), the group  is understood here as an imperative reinforced by the enclitic particle *m*. The spelling of the first element () points to the imperative of the verb *si* "to go" (see under §2.4.3.1) rather than the interrogative pronoun (*j*)*sjj* "what? who?" (see *DZA* 28.576.620–630). Although the latter often features a prothetic *yod* in Ramesside texts (see, e.g., pAnastasi IV 12.6 and 12.8 in *LEM* 48, 6 and 48, 9), the present combination of signs would otherwise be unparalleled. Likewise, the spelling of the second element () favors the enclitic particle occasionally found after imperatives (see *DZA* 23.902.740–760) over the preposition *m*.

xi *Nḏ ḥrt* is an idiomatic expression for "to greet, to inquire after" (*Wb.* II 373.12–20).

xii Literally, "I will make for them a means of their sustenance." The expression *ꜥ n sꜥnḫ* "means of sustenance" is analogous to *ꜥ n ꜥnḫ*, known from the *Eloquent Peasant* R 18.1 (see F*CD* 36: "means of subsistence" vs. Parkinson 2012: 95: "portion of sustenance"). The phrase *ꜥ n ꜥnḫ* is also documented on the *Turin Strike Papyrus* (recto 2.5 and 3.17 in *RAM* 54, 3 and 57, 5) and on an ostracon from Deir el-Medina from the time of Ramesses IV (K*RI* VI 79, 8). The here attested *ꜥ n sꜥnḫ* appears at least once more in the record: on a Deir el-Medina ostracon from the reign of Ramesses III (K*RI* V 560, 11–12).

xiii Cf. *Wb.* III 346.13.

xiv The object of the clause is introduced by the preposition *m* (see Winand 2015: 536–538).

xv Following Boorn's (1988: 204–207) analysis of a similar example in the *Duties of the Vizier* R 21–22 (*Urk.* IV 1112, 6), the group  is interpreted here as the plural form of a *sḏm.tj* participle (see G*EG* §364) of the verb *pḥr* "to travel around, to circulate."

xvi The spelling of the group  corresponds to the Late Egyptian *status pronominalis* form of an infinitive preceding a direct object expressed by a suffix pronoun (Winand 1992: 98–100, §§184–186).

xvii The present translation builds on Eichler's (1998: 263) understanding of *ḫnwt*, presumably the Old Kingdom equivalent of *ḫnw*. The word *ḫnw* refers to a type of water reservoir (see also *Wb.* III 373.5–8: "Ausdruck für Gewässer;" Gunn & Gardiner 1917: 245 with n. 1: "watering-station;" Allen 2008: 36: "canal") and perhaps constitutes a more generic term than the word *ḫnmt* "well," which is used three times elsewhere in the text (B6, A1, and A2).

The exact location of Seti's well is unknown. On its whereabouts, see most recently Davies (2022: 144, n. 30) with further references.

[xviii] The *-tw* of the group  is either a constituent of a *sḏm.tw=f* passive—as translated above—or represents an unusual *status nominalis* infinitival ending of the 3ae. inf. *šdi* "to dig" (see Winand 1992: 60–61, §106). Interpreting *šdtw* as an infinitive would result in the following reading: *r šdtw ḫnmt ḥr ḏww* "to dig a well in the mountains."

[xix] Although the word is indeed written as *šmw* "summer" () and not as its later derivative, *šmw* "heat" (cf. *Wb.* IV 469.9–10; e.g., ), the context suggests an interplay between the two semantics.

[xx] On the active-passive alteration as a means of narrative texturing, see Stauder (2014: 148–153).

[xxi] The word *sbq* "to be splendid, precious" was written with the metathesis of its second and third consonants:  .

[xxii] Reconstruction after Schott (1961: 144, n. a).

[xxiii] Contra *Wb.* I 35.20; *DZA* 20.241.320; and all other previous translations (Gunn & Gardiner 1917: 245; Schott 1961: 144; *AEL* II 54; *RITA* I 57; Davies 1997: 211; and Hafemann [*TLA*]). In Ramesside times, the words *jdr* "herd" and *jꜣdt* "pasture" are often conflated in writing. Parallels and their contexts show that whenever the word *jꜣdt*, originally for "pasture," carries sign E1 () or sign F27 () as a classifier, the intended meaning is "herd" (see *jꜣdwt* under §2.4.3.3.4).

[xxiv] The preterite converter *wn* is followed by a passive Negative Accomplished, a *bw sḏm.tw=f* construction. Comparable examples are found in a Twentieth Dynasty letter from Deir el-Medina (pBerlin P 10497, verso 1; Sabek 2002: 80) as well as in a fragmentary inscription of Taharqa in Karnak (Vernus 1975a: 4, fig. 4, col. 4; 29; 31; and 38, n. ai). In the latter, the past converter precedes an active Negative Accomplished, a *bw sḏm=f* construction (*rmṯ j.wn b*(*w*) *rḫ=w s*(*j*) *ḥr=j* "people who had not known that about me"), while in the earlier example, *wn* is followed by a Late Egyptian "not yet" form, a *bw jr.t=f sḏm* construction. I thank Jean Winand for these references.

[xxv] Reconstruction of the missing signs after Schott (1961: 144, n. b and 145, n. 10).

[xxvi] On the preposition *ḫr* in the agent-expressing phrase of a passive construction, see Stauder (2014: 83–91).

[xxvii] Reconstruction after Schott (1961: 145, n. a).

[xxviii] The group  is interpreted here as a transposition with honorific intent.

[xxix] The clause has an unconventional word order. Understanding *m šꜣdjj m ḏw pn* as an adverbial phrase (see Schott 1961: 146, n. 7; *AEL* II 53; *RITA* I 57; Davies 1997: 211; and Hafemann [*TLA*]) means that the adverbial expression of the clause precedes its object, or rather, its subject, if—as above—the predicate is analyzed as a passive *sḏm.jn.tw=f* and not as an impersonal active *sḏm.jn=tw*. If, however, the

phrase *šȝdjj m ḏw pn ḥwt-nṯr nn* [*n nṯrw*] is interpreted as the syntactic object of the clause (see Gunn & Gardiner 1917: 245; *DZA* 24.406.920–930), which is given additional emphasis by the preceding preposition *m* (Winand 2015: 536–538), the position of the adverbial phrase *m ḏw pn*—wedged between the first and second constituents of a genitive construction—is still troublesome. Furthermore, in this case, the predicate can only be understood as an active impersonal *sḏm.jn=tw* construction: *jr.jn=tw m šȝdjj m ḏw pn ḥwt-nṯr nn* [*n nṯrw*] "(and) one did the hollowing out—from this mountain—of the temple of thes[e gods] (see n. xxx below)."

[xxx] The reconstruction of the passage follows Schott's (1961: 146, n. a) suggestion.

[xxxi] The same phrase (*ḥwt-ʿȝt*) can be translated as "Great Mansion" in line 25 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (§3.2.3.4) and in line 21 of the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (§4.3.1.3.5). On the difficulty of determining the exact meaning of the term, see Spencer (1984: 111–112).

[xxxii] The three adverbial expressions of the passage (*jm=s* "in it," *m-ḫnw=s* "within it," and *m ḥwt-ʿȝt=s* "in its sanctuary") are interpreted as attributes of the preceding nouns rather than as predicates. The clause is thus a larger identifying bipartite nominal sentence with several nominal phrases as subjects ($A_{1–4}$) and a single nominal phrase as predicate (B): A_1 (*Jmn jm=s*); A_2 (*Rʿ m-ḫnw=s*); A_3 (*Ptḥ Wsjr m ḥwt-ʿȝt=s*); A_4 (*Ḥr ȝst Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ*) = B (*psḏt jmt ḥwt-nṯr tn*).

The translation is supported by material evidence. In the temple of Kanais, the Ennead is made up of six deities (Amun, Re, Ptah, Osiris, Horus, and Isis) and three separate manifestations of the king. The statue of the king shares each of the three sanctuary niches with two deities: the central niche with Amun and the falcon-headed Horus, the Eastern niche with Osiris and Ptah, and the Western niche with Isis and an unidentified deity, who was presumably Re-Harakhte (see Schott 1961: 136 and 167; Brand 2000: 280–281).

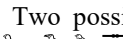
[xxxiii] The passage seems to contain the word *mnnw* "fortress" instead of the expected *mnw* "monument." Kitchen proposes to read *mnnw* as "compound" (*RITA* I 57), standing for "the miners' compound around well and temple" (*RITANC* I 62). Since, however, the following clauses seem to refer specifically to the building of the temple itself, the group  is interpreted here as the word *mnw* "monument," written with a scribal mistake, the dittography of the *n*.

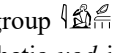
[xxxiv] Contrary to Schott (1961: 146 vs. 147, nn. a and 4), Lichtheim (*AEL* II 54), Kitchen (*RITA* I 57), and Hafemann (*TLA*), I read the group  as one containing two different verbs: *sjqr* "to make excellent" and *jrj* "to do." A similar segmentation was proposed by Gunn & Gardiner (1917: 245), the *Wörterbuch* (see *Wb.* III 479.12 and *DZA* 28.734.840), and Davies (1997: 210–211).

[xxxv] Reconstruction after Schott (1961: 147, n. b).

[xxxvi] The spelling of the word (see *wrw* under §2.4.3.3.3) suggests a noun rather than an adjective.

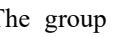
[xxxvii] The pronoun *=sn* is cataphoric; it refers to the noun *sḫrw=f* "his plans" within the same clause.

[xxxviii] Two possibilities present themselves for the reading of the verb in the group  : it is either *hꜣi* "to fall" (see also Schott 1961: 148, n. 8; Paksi 2015: 189, n. 74) or *whi*—written as *whꜣ* at the time of Seti I (see under §2.4.3.3.1)—"to fail" (see also *DZA* 22.545.940; Davies 1997: 212–213; and Hafemann [*TLA*]). Although the second option presupposes a minor scribal mistake, the haplography of the *w*, it seems to fit the context better semantically than the first.

[xxxix] As Text C represents the most innovative part of the inscription (§2.5.2.1), the group  is interpreted here as a Late Egyptian imperative, even though the prothetic *yod* is seldom documented with triliteral verbs (Winand 1992: 163 and 165, §§269–271 and §274). The form is not unexpected in a section that also contains two Late Egyptian vetitives (a negative optative and a negative imperative in C4–5). Alternatively, the signs could be read as the particle *j* for "o," a vocative interjection (G*EG* §258), followed by an Earlier Egyptian imperative. This option is less likely, however, since the particle *j* would be expected to accompany—that is, to directly precede—the vocative in the sentence, but the phrase *ḥrw-pḏw*(*t*) *tꜣ-mrj* "(O) leaders of the Beloved Land" (see n. xl below) stands unintroduced.

[xl] The word *ḥr*(*j*)*-pḏt*, originally, "troop commander," is understood in a more generic sense, as "leader," in the text.

[xli] Winand's interpretation (1992: 161, n. 29; 166, ex. 391; and 170, ex. 414) of the second clause of the paragraph, in which he understands the classifier (sign A2) of *kꜣ* as a defective writing for a prothetic *yod* of another Late Egyptian imperative, is regarded here as unlikely for various reasons. First, it requires emendation, although the text seems to be legible and complete in its actual form; second, the translation thus obtained would ignore the notion of reciprocity, which is the king's main argument in this section; and last, *kꜣ* as a conjunction (*Wb.* V 84.5 – 85.2) is more likely to be followed by a *sḏm=f* than by an imperative (G*EG* §242).

[xlii] The group  is interpreted here as an idiosyncratic spelling (see under §2.4.3.4) for the interjection *jhjj*, a word used for emphatic exclamation (*Wb.* I 117.12–14).

[xliii] Cf. G*EG* §436.

[xliv] An adverbial sentence is embedded as a predicative complement of the subject element *pw* in a bipartite nominal sentence. The construction is used to topicalize the subject of adverbial sentences (Loprieno, Müller & Uljas 2017: 88–89; 151–152). In the present example, *nttn* "you" thus receives additional emphasis.

xlv The demonstrative pronoun is used as a cataphora: it refers to the subsequent speech of the king. See also David (2006: 116). The same morpheme is used as an anaphora in column 13 of Text C: *ḏ*[*d.n*]*=j* [*nn*]… "I [have s]aid [this], …" (see n. lxxxii below).

xlvi On the semantics of the word *qrw*, see Paksi (2015: 181, n. 34) with further references. In the present context, *qrw* is best interpreted as "transport workers" or as a collective noun, "transport contingent" (see the example in C16 with *pꜣ*).

xlvii The group  and its equivalent () in C15 (see n. xci below) are analyzed as *sḏm.tw=f* constructions by analogy with the case of *r rd.tw=f* in C13 (see n. lxxx below).

xlviii The group  presents an uncommon post-Amarnian spelling for the infinitival form of the verb *stꜣ* "to pull, to drag; to flow" (see *DZA* 29.849.630–740). In the present context, *stꜣt* is understood as the infinitive of the intransitive *stꜣ* "to flow," presumably referring to the flow of supplies transported from the Eastern Desert to Abydos. Alternatively, could also be interpreted as an unusual graphical variant of the noun *stꜣ* "passage:" *r dj.tw=w ḥr stꜣ*{*t*} *n ḥwt=j*… "so that they be placed on the passage of (i.e., to) my temple." This possibility is less likely, however, because the noun is otherwise not attested with a final *-t* (see *DZA* 29.856.090 and 110).

xlix Schott (1961: 149 with n. 7) suggests reading "für mein Haus [in Abydos, für die Lieferung von Gold an] mein Heiligtum." See also *AEL* II 55; *RITA* I 58; and David (2006: 114). While column 13 of Text B provides a parallel for reading *ḥwt=j* [*m ꜣbḏw*] "my temple [in Abydos]" at the beginning of the lacuna, the reconstruction of the rest of the sentence—however plausible—cannot be substantiated.

l The reconstruction of the first part of the word follows Schott's (1961: 149, n. b) suggestion.

li In the present translation, *ḥꜥw nṯrw* "the flesh of gods" is understood as a non-restrictive appositive to the preceding *nbw* "gold," the extraposed subject of the subsequent clause (*bn n sj ḫrwt=tn* "it is not of your belongings"). Stauder (2013b: 290–291) and Loprieno, Müller & Uljas (2017: 464, ex. 221a) provide an alternative interpretation. They read *jr nbw ḥꜥw nṯrw* as a bipartite nominal sentence with an anticipated subject and the omission of *pw* after the predicate (*jr A B*): "As for the gold, (it is) the flesh of gods." On the latter construction, see also Vernus (1978: 140) with reference (n. 146) to Satzinger (1976: 7–17).

lii The reading is insecure; restoration after Schott (1961: 150, n. b).

liii The antecedent of the third-person plural suffix and dependent pronouns of the present and subsequent two clauses is either the phrase *jrtj=fj* "his (i.e., Amun's) eyes" or another expression that disappeared in the lacuna at the beginning of column 4.

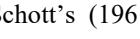
[liv] In Egyptian, the object of the verb *sʿḏ3* "to demolish, to ruin" (see under §2.4.2.3) is introduced by the preposition *m* expressing the partitive (see Winand 2015: 538–541). See also n. lvi below.

[lv] In close translation, "the end will happen to him in doing the same."

[lvi] The *m* preceding the syntactic object of the clause () is unlikely to be a phonetic complement or—as Polis & Rosmorduc (2015: 167–168) would put it, a phonemographic interpretant—to  (see *DZA* 24.059.370–420). It rather stands for the partitive (see Winand 2015: 538–541). See also n. liv above.

[lvii] The reconstruction of the missing signs follows Schott's (1961: 150, nn. e and f) suggestions.

[lviii] The general structure of Text C (§2.5.1) does not support Schott's (1961: 151–152 with nn. a and 1) reconstruction of the lacuna: "[Hört auf mich, Ihr Könige, die nach mir sein werden. Ich sage eindringlich], Euch wissen zu lassen, …"

[lix] Lichtheim's (*AEL* II 55) translation suggests reading *m* [*m*]*3w* "a[n]ew" instead of *m* [*š*]*3w* "in [fitt]ing manner." The epigraphical evidence, however, rather supports Schott's (1961: 151, n. b) interpretation (): the two examples of *m m3w*(*t*) "anew" (A1 and C7) both employ the sickle sign () in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (see under §2.4.3.3.1). On the adverb *m š3w* "in fitting manner, properly," see §2.4.2.6.

[lx] Restoration after Schott (1961: 151, n. c).

[lxi] Cf. G*EG* §178.

[lxii] The verb *jnj* together with the preposition *m* has a rare idiomatic use meaning "to have recourse to, to avail oneself of" (Gunn 1921: 105–107; cited by F*CD* 22). The passage is similarly translated by David (2006: 114).

[lxiii] If Schott's (1961: 151, n. e) reconstruction is correct, the group  either represents the infinitive of *mki* "to protect" followed by a third-person plural Late Egyptian suffix pronoun =*w* or the noun *mkt* "protection" (*DZA* 24.427.840–880). The context gives a strong preference to the former interpretation. Cf. also David (2006: 114, n. 19).

[lxiv] Translation after Franke (1983: 289–295). See also *AEL* II 55; *RITA* I 58; and Davies (1997: 215).

[lxv] The signs in the lacuna were reconstructed after Schott (1961: 152–153, nn. a, b, 3).

[lxvi] From the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, the  and its equivalents may be omitted from the name of Tatenen (see *DZA* 31.261.300–430). The name of the deity is written similarly () in column 6 of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription* (K*RI* IV 3, 4).

[lxvii] The expression *nsw nb* "any/every king" is referenced by third-person plural pronouns from this point onwards in the text. On the shift in pronoun use between the first and the second halves of the sentence, see earlier in Paksi (2015: 181, n. 37).

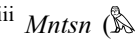
[lxviii] In  ,  is apparently a correction written over an (see *DZA* 28.366.250; Gunn & Gardiner 1917: 251). Gunn & Gardiner (1917: 251) argued that both signs (i.e., and) were an erroneous transcription of a badly made of the hieratic draft (see also Schott 1961: 152, n. e; Kitchen [K*RI* I 68, n. 14a]; and Davies 1997: 214). Although several examples—one also in line 3 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 46, 9), originally noted by Fairman & Grdseloff (1947: 27, n. 5)—prove that *ḫtb* "to overthrow" and *ḫdb* "to slay" were subject to confusion already in antiquity, the context in column 10 of Text C would support reading *ḫtb* as an archaizing spelling for *ḫtb* "to overthrow." The emendation suggested by Gunn & Gardiner, on the other hand, although equally plausible, presupposes a threefold scribal mistake in the text: one in the hieratic draft (*ḫdb* "to slay" written instead of *ḫtb* "to overthrow") and another two during the carving process (*ḫrb* and *ḫtb* written instead of *ḫdb* "to slay").

[lxix] The group represents a defective spelling for *t3-stj* "Nubia."

[lxx] Cf. G*EG* §178. The expression is also found in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription* (K*RI* II 328, 10 and 332, 13), *Qadesh Bulletin* (K*RI* II 115, 15 and 16), and in Ramesses II's and Ramesses III's *Blessing of Ptah* (K*RI* II 272, 11 and 13).

[lxxi] The king's reflection on the attitude of possible future royal transgressors employs a Late Egyptian grammatical construction. The clause is a bipartite nominal sentence with the ellipsis of the subject element (see Loprieno, Müller & Uljas 2017: 462–467).

[lxxii] Morschauser (1991: 72) argues that the verb *wšb* "to answer" refers to the formal arraignment of a criminal here. See also Paksi (2015: 179, n. 27).

[lxxiii] *Mntsn* () is a hybrid form of the Earlier and Late Egyptian third-person plural independent pronouns, *ntsn* and *mntw*. See also David (2006: 119).

[lxxiv] *Jrj wšb ḥr* is a relatively recent idiomatic expression meaning "to protect" (see under §2.4.2.3).

[lxxv] The group  in *DZA* 31.455.660 and 540; Schott (1961: pl. 19); and K*RI* I 69, 4 appears to be a modern reinterpretation of (see *DSA*, photo no. 4803). The classifier at the end of the word is a badly executed abbreviation () for a more elaborate sign, the flamingo (). The word *dšr* "to be(come) red" is often written with a simple stroke instead of sign G27 in the non-monumental texts of the Ramesside era (see under §2.4.3.3.2).

[lxxvi] The spelling of the word *bs* "flame, blaze" () includes at least one, possibly two minor scribal mistakes: while the orientation of the *s* is reversed, the final *yod*,

which is never attested anywhere else in the spelling (see *DZA* 22.930.060), most likely represents a confusion for sign Q7 (), the missing classifier.

lxxvii The *n* is interpreted here as a causal conjunction (see E*NG* §602 and G*EG* §164.9). The subsequent verbal form can thus be analyzed as a prospective *sḏm=f* (contra Verhoeven 1984: 188).

lxxviii For the semantics of the verb *snwḫ*, see Verhoeven (1984: 181–189).

lxxix The third-person plural suffix pronoun used as a possessive after the noun *ḥʿw* "flesh" (*ḥʿw=sn* "their flesh") is a cataphoric reference to the subsequent negative participial phrase, *tmw sḏm n=j* "who do not listen to me." Contra Schott (1961: 154, n. 9). See also n. xcvi below.

lxxx The group  can either be interpreted as a *sḏm.tw=f* construction (*r rd.tw=f* "so that he (will) be given") or as an infinitive carrying the masculine third-person singular suffix pronoun as an object (*r rdt=f* "to give him"). Both interpretations would be equally plausible grammatically. The compositional structure of the paragraph would, however, rather support the former analysis. The first stipulation addressed to the king's disloyal descendants employs an early Late Egyptian Third Future construction with the impersonal subject pronoun: *tw=*[*t*]*w r wšbw=f* "he will be prosecuted" (see n. lxxii above). A synthetic *sḏm.tw=f* passive in the final clause of the paragraph would thus be a matching pair for the analytic *tw=tw r sḏm* construction at the head of the section, and the two would form a skillful compositional frame for the king's arrangements concerning possible future royal transgressors. Compare the present example with the two instances of *r dj.tw=w* "so that they be placed" in the text:  in C2 (see n. xlvii above) and in C15 (see n. xci below).

lxxxi More precisely, "a place of detention where the criminal is to be confined pending execution of sentence. In Egyptian threats it has eschatological reference; indicating a locale in the Netherworld where the condemned awaits final annihilation" (Morschauser 1991: 80).

lxxxii Schott's (1961: 154, nn. a and b; 155, nn. 1 and 2) suggestions for the reconstruction of the missing signs in the lacuna were only partially adopted, since reading [*nḏ*]*=j ḫr*<*wt*>*=tn* "[inquiring] after you" (see B4 with n. xi under §2.3 above) after *ḏ*[*d.n*]*=j* [*nn*] "I [have s]aid [this]" would require an emendation. Schott's solution perceives  as a mistake for .

lxxxiii The particle *ḫjj-r³-*ʿ "meanwhile, but indeed" is a rare, Late Egyptian compound (see below, under §2.4.2.6), which is employed here in the same function as *ḫr jr* in the previous paragraph (C11): it introduces the second part of a bipolar legal arrangement and precedes a topical expression. Similarly, David (2006: 121): "coordinator + topic marker."

lxxxiv That is, "ill-intentioned," as Kitchen (*RITA* I 59) put it. *Sbn* literally means "to steer off course, to diverge" (see F*CD* 220).

lxxxv *M* stands for the agent-introductory particle *jn*. See also Kitchen (*RITANC* I 62).

lxxxvi Kitchen's (K*RI* I 69, 8) "so" under the *r* () inserted as a phonetic complement to the preceding logogram () in *jrwt=j* is unjustified. All examples of *jrwt=j* are spelled similarly in the text (see B9, B13, C8, and C14).

lxxxvii Gardiner (1948: 117, n. 1) suggests a less literal translation: "by way of bad advice."

lxxxviii Literally, "who will cause this heart of his lord to draw near to seizing…" The *s*-causative *stkn* means "to cause to approach, to cause to draw near" (see *Wb.* IV 346.6).

lxxxix *Pn*, the usually anaphoric Earlier Egyptian demonstrative pronoun, is used here in a cataphoric position (see Černý & Groll 1975: 40–41). Similarly noted by David (2006: 123).

xc On the *ḥsbw*, see Helck (1977b: 333).

xci Contra Winand (1992: 87, §160, ex. 212) and Paksi (2015: 182, n. 39), the group  is understood here as a *sḏm.tw=f* construction by analogy with the case of *r rd.tw=f* in C13 (see n. lxxx above). *R dj.tw=w* in C2 is similarly understood as a final clause with a *sḏm.tw=f* construction as predicate (see n. xlvii above): "so that they be placed."

xcii The future temporal value of the clause is not inherent to the construction. It is the context and the overall structure of Text C that suggest the above translation (see also Paksi 2015: 186 with n. 55): "he will belong to the fire," that is, "he will be doomed to fire." Nonetheless, a more generic, tense-neutral reading, as, for instance, that of David (2006: 123 and 124) or Morschauser (1991: 30–32; 32, ex. 5), would be equally conceivable: "he belongs to fire."

xciii The preposition *m* is written as *n* (see also under §2.4.3.2).

xciv The spelling of the word *ꜣḫt* "flame" contains a small scribal mistake. While the phonetic complement of sign G25 () seems to have been forgotten, the feminine ending of the word was carved twice:  . The first is thus probably a confusion for an .

xcv The sudden shift from the first person to the third (*ḥm=f* "his majesty") and back again (*ḥwt=j* "my temple") is remarkable. It is, however, impossible to decide whether it represents a deliberate stylistic effect (see David 2006: 125) or a scribal mistake (see Gunn & Gardiner 1917: 248, n. 2; *AEL* II 57, n. 17). Quack (2012: 289–291) has suggested that royal inscriptions were delivered orally during inauguration ceremonies, with a high official reciting the third-person passages and the king himself the first-person ones. A shift in pronouns may have marked a change of speaker between larger sections of these texts in performance, but such an explanation can hardly account for abrupt, isolated shifts like the one noted above.

[xcvi] The third-person plural suffix pronoun *=sn* constitutes a cataphoric reference to the subsequent noun phrase, *nꜣ nbw ḥwt=j* "the lords of my temple." See also n. lxxix above.

[xcvii] The bipartite nominal sentence consists of two genitival constructions: the first one indirect (*bw*(*t*) *n nṯr* "abomination of the god"), the second one direct (*th*(*t*) *rmṯ=f* "violation of his people"). The second genitival construction is understood here as an objective and not as a subjective genitive. In other words, the god's people are the ones being harmed and not the ones doing harm.

[xcviii] Translation after G*EG* §346.3. Literally, "he cannot not repulse…" The last sign of the negative verb *tm* is reversed: it faces right ().

[xcix] The context suggests that *ḫwt=j nb* "all my property" and not *ḫwt nb=j* "the property of my lord" was meant here. The group  thus must contain a metathesis of signs. Compare Kitchen's "so" in K*RI* I 69, 16.

[c] On the contrastive force of the conjunction *wpw-ḥr*, see David (2006: 126) and G*EG* §179.

[ci] After Winand (1992: 337, §534, ex. 826), the verbal construction is analyzed here as a negative active prospective *sḏm=f* with the impersonal subject pronoun *=tw*. As an afterthought, the predicate is followed by three noun phrases introduced by the particle *jn*, making the reference of the impersonal subject explicit (cf. Stauder 2014: 105–108).

[cii] Literally, "given." The group  is understood here as the pseudoparticiple of *rdi* "to give" (see under §2.4.3.3.2).

[ciii] Translation after Logan (2000: 66 and 71). The expression is also found at the end of line 9 on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (§3.2.3.3).

[civ] Cf. Théodoridès (1972: 188–192).

[cv] The group contains a haplography; the *t* is only written once:  .

[cvi] The *n* was omitted from the group  .

[cvii] Literally, "on his (own) hand," that is, "single-handedly, independently" (see *Wb.* V 583.19). See also under §2.4.2.6.

[cviii] *Sḫi ḥr r* "to be deaf of face towards" is an idiomatic expression for negligence (see F*CD* 244). In threats, it usually refers to criminal negligence concerning the upkeep of an institution (Morschauser 1991: 60).

[cix] *M* stands for the agent-introductory particle *jn*.

[cx] Translation after Morschauser (1991: 71, ex. 1).

[cxi] On the different interpretations of the dedication formula, see the overview by Depuydt (2001: 85–111) and Grallert (2001: 34–66).

[cxii] The *t* is missing from Schott's (1961: pl. 19) facsimile drawing but is present in Lepsius's (L*D* III 140d), Sander-Hansen's (1933: 27), and Kitchen's (K*RI* I 65, 4) text editions—although in the latter, with a question mark. According to Schott's photograph of the doorway (Schott 1961: pl. 12), the  was part of the group.

The group  is understood here as the infinitival form of the verb *jrj* "to make." Alternatively, the *t* in the lacuna could also be interpreted as the written mark of the *sḏm.t*(*w*)*=f* passive: *jr*[*.t*] *n=sn ḥwt-nṯr m mɜwt*… "a temple [was] made for them anew, …" At the end of the first column, another formulaic expression uses the shorter allograph of the morpheme (§2.4.3.1): *nn-sp jr.t mjtt=s*… "Nothing like this has ever been done…"

[cxiii] The sign used for *mnjw* "shepherd, herdsman" in A2 ( ; see also under §2.4.3.4) is a visual representation of the qualities required from a "good shepherd" in the present context: he provides goods and—most of all—water (see Text B under §2.2.2). The first explicit reference to the uniqueness of the spelling comes from Polis & Rosmorduc (2013b: 60–61; 2015: 165), but the particular nature of the logogram has already been pointed out by Schott (1961: 140, n. b; pl. 14).

[cxiv] See under §2.4.2.1.

[cxv] The third-person plural suffix pronoun can either be interpreted as a cataphoric reference to the phrase *ḏɜmw nb ntjj r ḫpr* "all generations that will exist" mentioned in the next column (A4) or as an anaphora referring back to *ḏɜmw ntjj r ḫpr* "the generations that will exist" in column 4 of Text B (§2.2.2.2). Since Text B should be read before Text A (§2.1), understanding the pronoun as an anaphora is the preferred option here.

[cxvi] On the expression (*m*) *rɜ n rɜ* "(from) mouth to mouth," see the corresponding entry under §2.4.2.1.

[cxvii] The preposition *mj* is used here as a clause connector and is followed by a *sḏm.n=f* form (see Uljas 2007: 265–266), as in A5 and C2 (§2.4.4.1). In the present context, the *-n* infix of the *sḏm.n=f* was dropped because of the proximity of three further *n*'s:  .

[cxviii] Schott (1961: 140, n. 3) suggests reading the group  as *mjt* instead of *wɜt* because of the preceding Late Egyptian definite article *tɜ* (see *Wb.* II 41.13). Although both words mean "path" or "road," the Late Egyptian *mjt* is consistently spelled with its phonetic complements as opposed to the older *wɜt*. See, for instance, the examples of  in line 87 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 56, 11), in column 74 of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription* (K*RI* IV 11, 10), in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions (K*RI* V 65, 4), and in line 4 of Ramesses III's *Rhetorical Stela* from Deir el-Medina (K*RI* V 91, 7).

[cxix] On the idiomatic omission of *ḏd* after *ḥr*, see G*EG* §321. The same construction is used further below in the same column, in the clause *tw=n ḥr* (*ḏd*).

[cxx] The context and the parallel formulation of the present and the subsequent two clauses with the previous three (two First Present constructions followed by two *sḏm=f* forms or by a *sḏm=f* form and a pseudoparticiple [see n. cxxi below]) suggest that the present First Present construction (*tw=n ḥr* (*ḏd*)) inherits the relative semantics of the preceding one (*wn=n ḥr* (*ḏd*)). In other words, both First Present constructions are governed by the Late Egyptian demonstrative pronoun *t3* despite the absence of the relative adjective *ntjj*/*ntt*, which was omitted from the previous clause due to its incompatibility with the preterite converter (Winand 1992: 409–412, §632 and §634): *p3 wn=n ḥr* (*ḏd*)… "the one (about which) we used to say…"

[cxxi] The passages following the two First Present constructions (*wn=n ḥr* (*ḏd*) and *tw=n ḥr* (*ḏd*)) constitute a quote-within-a-quote situation and have a parallel formulation. The predicate of the main clause is a *sḏm=f* form in both cases. In the first example, it is a subjunctive *sḏm=f* with a modal, optative reading: *sn=n s*(*j*) "may we pass it!" In the second case, it is either a Middle Egyptian prospective or a Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f*: *pḥ=n s*(*j*) "we will reach it" or *pḥ=n s*(*j*) "we reached it." Although both interpretations would be acceptable grammatically, the context would rather support a past, accomplished reading of the activity. The *sḏm=f* form of the main clause is followed either by a circumstantial *sḏm=f* (*wḏ3=n* "(while) being safe" and *ꜥnḫ=n* "(while) being alive") or by a pseudoparticiple construction in the first-person plural (*wḏ3.n* "safely (lit., being safe)" and *ꜥnḫ.n* "alive (lit., being alive)") in both passages. A slight preference is given to analyzing the predicates of the subordinate clauses as circumstantial *sḏm=f*'s because of the spelling of their personal morpheme, a simple  in both cases. For the sake of comparison, the spelling of the first-person plural pseudoparticipial ending includes a *waw* in all versions of Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem* (K*RI* II 67, 12–16). In non-monumental contexts, however, the group  constitutes the regular spelling. See, for example, pLeiden I 362, recto 5 (K*RI* II 927, 4).

[cxxii] Kitchen (*RITANC* I 61) understands the word *št3* as "difficult" in the present context.

[cxxiii] The group  is the infinitival form of the verb *ṯsi* used either transitively ("to raise, to lift up") or intransitively ("to go up, to climb") in the present context. At the time of Seti I, the transitive and intransitive forms of *ṯsi* were no longer consistently differentiated in spelling (see *DZA* 31.300.680–810). Hence, *ṯst* means either "elevation" or "ascent" literally. The translation above ("transportation") was originally suggested by Schott (1961: 141, n. 10) and was also taken up by Lichtheim (*AEL* II 53), Lesko (IV 118), Kitchen (*RITA* I 56), Davies (1997: 207), and Hafemann (*TLA*).

[cxxiv] The efficiency of the gold transport to the Nile valley is compared to catching sight of a falcon. Although the metaphor is somewhat obscure, it presumably refers to the

ease of shipping as a result of the king's endeavor. The upward movement (see n. cxxiii above) of both the gold and the falcon serves as the basis of comparison.

[cxxv] Translation after Smither (1945: 6, n. 2). On the collocation *ḫnd ꜥ* "to tread a track," compare Smither (1945: 9, n. 8).

[cxxvi] Contra Schott (1961: 141, n. 8). While the word *ḏd* is regularly omitted from the expression *ḥr ḏd* (see n. cxix above), the phrase *m-ḏd* (see G*EG* §224) is invariable.

2.4 Selected Grammatical, Lexical, and Graphical Features from Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*

2.4.1 Selected Grammatical Features from the Text

Late Egyptian definite article preceding…

- a noun

B13[126]	*ḥr-ntjj nttn* ***n3*** *nbw*
C3	*ḫr Jmn* ***p3*** *nb ḥwt-nṯr=j r s*[*gb*] (§2.3, n. lii)
C9	***t3*** *ḥwt Mn-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ*
C16 (2x)	***n3*** *nbw ḥwt=j*
	p3 *qrw n jꜥw-nbw jr.n=j…*
C17 (2x)	***t3*** *ḥwt Mn-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ*
	ḥr-pḏt nb n ***p3*** *nbw*
C18 (4x)	***n3*** *nṯrw nṯrjjw nbw ḥwt=j*
	p3 *ḥr-pḏt n p3 qrw n jꜥw-nbw n t3 ḥwt Mn-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ*
	p3 ḥr-pḏt n ***p3*** *qrw n jꜥw-nbw n t3 ḥwt Mn-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ*
	p3 ḥr-pḏt n p3 qrw n jꜥw-nbw n ***t3*** *ḥwt Mn-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ*
C19 (2x)	***t3*** *ḥwt Mn-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ*
	n3 *wrw nbw t3 ḏsr*
A2	*nṯrw jmw* ***t3*** *ḫnmt*
A3 (2x)	*mj wn*(*.n*)*=f n=n* ***t3*** *w3t r šmt* (§2.3, nn. cxvii and cxviii)
	t3 *w3t št3 wn m jb=n*
A4 (2x)	*dj=f wn t3 ṯst* ***p3*** *nbw mj p3 m33* ***p3*** *bjk* (§2.3, nn. cxxiii and cxxiv)

126 The sigla A–C combined with a number refer to the corresponding lines of Texts A–C of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* in the present work.

- a relative expression[127]	C17	*jr* ***p3*** *ntjj nb jw=f r th rmṯ jm=sn*
	C19	*jr* ***p3*** *ntjj nb jw=f r sḫ ḥr r wḏt (t)n* (§2.3, nn. cv and cviii)
- an infinitive	A4 (2x)	*dj=f wn* ***t3*** *ṯst p3 nbw mj* ***p3*** *m33 p3 bjk* (§2.3, nn. cxxiii and cxxiv)
Earlier Egyptian demonstrative pronouns		
- *pn*	B1	*hrw pn jst*
	B10	*m š3djj m ḏw pn* (§2.3, n. xxix)
	C15	*jb pn n nb=f* (§2.3, n. lxxxix)
- *tn*	B6	*st tn*
	B9	*st tn*
	B11	*ḥwt-nṯr tn*
- *nn* (*n*)	B5	*jr m-ḫt ḏdw ḥm=f nn*
	B10	*ḥwt-nṯr nn* [*n nṯrw*] (§2.3, n. xxx)
	C2	*ḏd.n=j nn*… (§2.3, n. xlv)
	C13 (?)	*ḏ*[*d.n*]*=j* [*nn*]… (§2.3, n. lxxxii)
	C16	*ḥr-ntjj jr.n ḥm=f nn r-ḏr=sn*… (see under §2.4.2.6)
- *pw*	C2	*nttn pw mj nṯrw* (§2.3, n. xliv)
Late Egyptian demonstrative pronoun	A3	*t3 wn=n ḥr* (*ḏd*)… *tw=n ḥr* (*ḏd*) (§2.3, nn. cxix and cxx)
Late Egyptian possessive article	C2	*n3jj=j qrw n jʿw-nbw* (§2.3, n. xlvi)
Earlier Egyptian independent pronoun	B13	*ḥr-ntjj nttn n3 nbw*
	C2	*nttn pw mj nṯrw* (§2.3, n. xliv)
Hybrid forms of the independent pronoun	C12	*mntsn ḏ3ḏ3ṯ* [… …] (§2.3, n. lxxiii)

127 On the cataphoric use of *p3* as the antecedent of a relative expression, see Paksi (2015: 183, n. 44) with further references.

Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun…[128]

-	after a noun (genitival use)	C4	*sꜣw tn r tḫnj rmṯ=w*
		C12	*jr=sn wšb ḥr ḫwt=w* (§2.3, n. lxxiv)
-	in a *sḏm.tw=f*	C2	*r dj.tw=w ḥr stꜣt n ḥwt=j…* (§2.3, nn. xlvii and xlviii)
		C15	*r dj.tw=w ḥr kjj sdf…* (§2.3, n. xci)
-	after an infinitive	C8	*[m]kt=w m msw n ḥwt=j…* (§2.3, n. lxiii)

Future relative constructions

-	*sḏm.tj*	B5	*pḫr.tjw* (§2.3, n. xv)
-	*sḏm.tj=fj*	B4	*rnpwt jw.t=sn*
		B12	*jw.t=sn m nsjjw srw rḫjjw*
		C11	*nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr sḫnn.t=f sḫrw=j nb*
-	*ntjj r sḏm*[129]	B4	*ḏꜣmw ntjj r ḫpr*
		C8	*nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr*
		C11	*nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr*
		A4	*ḏꜣmw nb ntjj r ḫpr*
-	*ntjj tw=j/sw r sḏm*[130]	C15	*sr nb ntjj sw r stkn jb pn n nb=f r nḥm ḥsbw…*
-	*ntjj jw=f r sḏm*	C14	*sr nb ntjj jw=f r spr nsw*
		C17	*pꜣ ntjj nb jw=f r th rmṯ jm=sn*
		C19	*pꜣ ntjj nb jw=f r sḫ ḥr r wḏt (t)n* (§2.3, nn. cv and cviii)

Third Future constructions in main clauses

-	*tw=j/sw r sḏm*[131]	C12	*mk tw=[t]w r wšbw=f m Jwnw* (§2.3, n. lxxii)
		C13	*st r sswn ḥḏ sḫrw=j*

128 Cf. Kroeber (1970: 38–40) and Winand (1995: 193–195).

129 On the construction's pattern of attestation in the record, see Paksi (2015: 178, n. 18) with further references.

130 See n. 131 below.

131 On the rarely attested early Late Egyptian Third Future, see Kroeber (1970: 93–97); Stauder (2013b: 45, 94–95 and 2014: 366); Paksi (2015: 178, n. 20); and Vernus (2024). For further examples, see Paksi (2015: 180, n. 29) and Vernus (2024: 120–124) with references.

- *jr NP r sḏm / jr NP AP*[132]	C18	*jr n=f nꜣ nṯrw nṯrjjw nbw ḥwt=j r jrjj-n-ꜥḥꜣ*
	C19	*jr Wsjr m-sꜣ=f*
Early Late Egyptian conjunctive (*ḥnꜥ ntf sḏm*)[133] after future relative clauses		
	C8	*nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr ḥnꜥ ntf swꜣḥ jrwt=j…*
	C11	*nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr sḫnn.t=f sḫrw=j nb ḥnꜥ ntf ḏd…*
	C14	*sr nb ntjj jw=f r spr nsw ḥnꜥ ntf djt sḫꜣ nfr r…*
Subject sḏm=f construction[134]	B1	*hrw pn jst ḥm=f smꜣꜥ=f ḫꜣswt…* (§2.3, n. i)
	C1	*nsw bjtj… sꜣ Rꜥ… ḏd=f ḫr jtw=f…*
First Present construction with the new subject pronouns[135]		
	A3	*tꜣ wn=n ḥr* (*ḏd*)*… tw=n ḥr* (*ḏd*) (§2.3, nn. cxix and cxx)
Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f*	A3 (?)	*pḥ=n s*(*j*) (§2.3, n. cxxi)
Earlier Egyptian *sḏm.n=f* as predicate	B1–2	*ꜣb.n jb=f mꜣꜣ ḫꜣwt…* (§2.3, n. ii)
	B6–7	*bꜥḥ.n=st mw r-ꜥꜣt-wrt…* (§2.3, n. xx)
	B7	*mk jrjj.n nṯr sprwt=j*
	B9	*ꜥḥꜥ.n wḏ.n ḥm=f…*
	B13 (2x)	*pꜣ-wnn bw* (*w*)*hꜣ.n=sn sḫrw=f* (§2.3, nn. xxxvii and xxxviii)
		jr.n=j ꜥḥꜥw=j
	C2 (2x)	*mj mr.n=j ḏd.n=j nn…* (§2.3, n. xlv)
	C6	*jr.n=j qrw m jꜥw-nbw…*
	C7	*jr.n=j sn m qrw…*

132 On the analogical construction of the Third Future with full noun subjects, see Kroeber (1970: 138–139); Winand (1996); and Kruchten (2010).

133 Cf. Kroeber (1970: 140–170).

134 For a detailed discussion on the *subject sḏm=f*, see Vernus (1990a: 163–193).

135 Cf. Kroeber (1970: 84–85). On the origin of the new subject pronouns, see Stauder (2016a).

	C13	*ḏ*[*d.n*]=*j* [*nn*]… (§2.3, n. lxxxii)
	C16 (2x)	*ḥr-ntjj jr.n ḥm=f nn r-ḏr=sn*… (§2.3, n. xcv)
		bw tm.n=f ꜥn ḏrt ḥḏ (§2.3, n. xcviii)
	A1 (2x)	*jr.n=f m mnw=f*… (§2.3, n. cxi)
		šd.n=f ḫnmt…
	A3	*mj wn*(*.n*)=*f n=n tȝ wȝt r šmt* (§2.3, nn. cxvii and cxviii)
	A5 (2x)	*mj jr.n=f mnw*… *šd.n=f mw*…
Sḏm.n=f as relative form	B5	*r rdt sprt mr.n=f*
	C3	*sȝw ḏd=tn ḏdw.n Rꜥ m-šȝꜥ=f n mdwt*
	C6	*r djt rḫ=tn srw.n=j wȝww*
	C17	*pȝ qrw n jꜥw-nbw jr.n=j r tȝ ḥwt Mn-mȝꜥt-Rꜥ*
Passive *sḏm=f*[136]	B5–6	*sḥnw kȝwtjw m jnr*
	B6	*ꜥḥꜥ.n ḫws st tn ḥr rn wr Mn-mȝꜥt-Rꜥ*
	B9	*špssjj dmjt ḫr ḥwt-nṯr* (§2.3, n. xxvi)
	B11 (2x)	*jr m-ḫt mnqw mn*{*n*}*w*… *jrw sšjjwt=f* (§2.3, nn. xxxiii and xxxiv)
sḏm.jn=f	B2 (2x)	*jr*{*t*}*.jn=f sḫnjj ḥr wȝt*
		ḏd.jn=f
	B5	*dbnbn.jn=f*…
	B7	*ḏd.jn ḥm=f*
	B10 (?)	*jr.jn=tw m šȝdjj m ḏw pn ḥwt-nṯr nn* [*n nṯrw*] (§2.3, nn. xxix and xxx)
	B11	*jw.jn ḥm=f*
	A2	*ḏd.jn=sn m rȝ n rȝ* (§2.3, n. cxv)

136 Although ancient, at the beginning of the Ramesside period, the passive *sḏm=f* may still have been considered a regular form. Its use recedes gradually (cf. Winand 1992: 303–310, §§476–486).

sḏm.jn.tw=f	B10 (?)	*jr.jn.tw m šȝdjj m ḏw pn ḥwt-nṯr nn* [*n nṯrw*] (§2.3, nn. xxix and xxx)
ʿḥʿ.n sḏm.n=f	B9	*ʿḥʿ.n wḏ.n ḥm=f…*
ʿḥʿ.n + *passive sḏm=f*[137]	B6	*ʿḥʿ.n ḫws st tn ḥr rn wr Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ* (§2.3, n. xx)
Late Egyptian imperative	C1	*j.sḏm n=j* (§2.3, n. xxxix)
Late Egyptian negative imperative[138]	C4–5	*m-jr ršt…*
Negative optative constructions		
- *sȝw sḏm=f*	C3	*sȝw ḏd=tn ḏdw.n Rʿ m-šȝʿ=f n mdwt*
- *sȝw sw r sḏm*	C4	*sȝw tn r tḫnj rmṯ=w*
Active Negative Accomplished		
- *bw*[139] *sḏm=f*	C7	*bw jn=j m kjj qrw* (§2.3, n. lxii)
Passive Negative Accomplished		
- *bw sḏm.tw=f*	B8	*sp nb wn bw rḫ.tw=f…* (§2.3, n. xxiv)
Negative Aorist		
- *bw sḏm.n=f*	B13	*pȝ-wnn bw* (*w*)*hȝ.n=sn shrw=f* (§2.3, nn. xxxvii and xxxviii)
	C16	*bw tm.n=f ʿn ḏrt ḥḏ* (§2.3, n. xcviii)
- *bw sḏm=f*	C5	*bw mn sp n grgjjw*

137 On the *ʿḥʿ.n* + *passive sḏm=f* (mostly with nominal subjects or used impersonally) expressing a final state of a situation and being the ordinary passive form of *ʿḥʿ.n sḏm.n=f*, see G*EG* §481. A few examples were noted by Winand (1992: 309–310, §486) in non-monumental Ramesside texts. The construction is still used for an archaizing narrative effect more than five hundred years after the time of Seti I, on the *Victory Stela of Piankhy* (Delhove 2012: 231–232).

138 Cf. Vernus (2010: 315–335).

139 The negative morpheme *bw*—although a recent graphical form of *n*—is kept together with the grammatical constructions it belongs to and is not treated separately as a new graphical choice for reasons explained in n. 64.

Negative adjectival clause	C3	*bn n sj ḫrwt=tn*
Negative prospective		
- *bn sḏm=f*	C4	*bn mr=sn sʿḏ3 m ḫrwt=sn* (§2.3, n. liv)
- *nn sḏm=f*	C17	*nn ḫʿm=tw n=f jn rmṯ nb ntjj*… (§2.3, n. ci)
jw used according to Earlier Egyptian syntax…		
- *jw=f r sḏm* expressing the ineluctable occurrence of an action[140]	B9	*jw=j r qd ḫnt m st tn*…
- co-textual anchoring function	B14	*jw rn=j ḏd.wj ḥr=sn*
- as a morphological necessity at the head of adverbial or pseudoverbal sentences with pronominal subjects	C15	*jw=f n nsrt* (§2.3, n. xcii)
jw used according to Late Egyptian syntax…		
- introducing a virtual relative clause	B8	*grg njwt jw ḫnw m-ḫnw=s*
- as circumstantial converter	C9	*jw=f ḥr st3 b3kw=f*…
	C19 (2x)	*jw ȝst m-s3 ḥmt=f* *jw Ḥr m-s3 ḫrdw=f*
wn as preterite converter	B8	*sp nb wn bw rḫ.tw=f*… (§2.3, n. xxiv)
	C11	*mj wn=sn ḫr=f*
	A3 (3x)	*wn=s šrj.tj n ḥr=n* *t3 wn=n ḥr* (*ḏd*)… *tw=n ḥr* (*ḏd*) (§2.3, nn. cxix and cxx) *t3 wȝt št3 wn m jb=n*
	A5	*ḏww wn wȝw r rmṯ*
ḫr		
- as causal conjunction[141]	C3	*ḫr Jmn p3 nb ḥwt-nṯr=j r s*[*gb*] (§2.3, n. lii)

140 Vernus (1990a: 9–15).

141 Neveu (2001: 157–166). Cf. also Paksi (2015: 188 with n. 66; 192).

- as macro-syntactic structural marker[142]	C11	*ḫr jr nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr sḫnn.t=f sḫrw=j nb…*
		Compare with *ḫjj-r³-ꜥ kjj sbn ḥ³tj…* in C13–14 (§2.3, nn. lxxxiii and lxxxiv).
	C14	*ḫr jr sr nb ntjj jw=f r spr nsw ḥnꜥ ntf djt sḫ³ nfr r…*
	C15	*ḫr jr sr nb ntjj sw r stkn jb pn n nb=f r nḥm ḥsbw…*
mj as clause connector[143]	B12 (3x)	*mj ³ḫ=j* *mj nfr=j n=tn* *mj nhs=j ḥr ḫrwt mr=tn*
	C2	*mj mr.n=j*
	A3	*mj wn(.n)=f n=n t³ w³t r šmt* (§2.3, nn. cxvii and cxviii)
	A5	*mj jr.n=f mnw… šd.n=f mw…*
Topicalized expressions (with *jr*)	C3	*jr nbw ḥꜥw ntrw…* (§2.3, n. li)
	C5	*jr thh sp n kjj…*
	C8	*jr nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr ḥnꜥ ntf sw³ḥ jrwt=j…*
	C11	*ḫr jr nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr sḫnn.t=f sḫrw=j nb…*
		Compare with *ḫjj-r³-ꜥ kjj sbn ḥ³tj…* in C13–14 (§2.3, nn. lxxxiii and lxxxiv).
	C14	*ḫr jr sr nb ntjj jw=f r spr nsw ḥnꜥ ntf djt sḫ³ nfr r…*
	C15	*ḫr jr sr nb ntjj sw r stkn jb pn n nb=f r nḥm ḥsbw…*

142 Neveu (2001: 97–125). Cf. also Paksi (2015: 180 with n. 30).

143 On "*mj* zur Einführung bekannter Information" in the New Kingdom, see Peust (2006: 511–512) and E*NG*, 310–311 in §621. On *mj sḏm.n=f* specifically, see Uljas (2007: 265–266) with an example (no. 317) from the annals of Thutmosis III and another (no. 318) from the *Berlin Leather Roll*. On the linguistic dating of the latter, see Stauder (2013b: 249–257). *Mj* as a clause connector clearly qualifies as a new grammatical feature from an etic perspective; whether it was also perceived as such from an emic perspective, however, cannot be determined with full certainty, since the lexeme already existed as a preposition in earlier times. The example illustrates the difficulty of establishing the emic perspective with regard to grammatical and lexical items whose meaning and function evolved over time.

	C17	*jr pꜣ ntjj nb jw=f r th rmṯ jm=sn…*
	C19	*jr pꜣ ntjj nb jw=f r sḫ ḥr r wḏt (t)n…* (§2.3, nn. cv and cviii)
Feminine for the neuter[144]	B9	*kꜣ dj=sn mn* ***jrwt=j****…*
	B13	*smn=sn n=j* ***jrwt=j****…*
	C8	*nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr ḥnᶜ ntf swꜣḥ* ***jrwt=j***
	C14	*r smnt* ***jrwt=j****…* (§2.3, n. lxxxvi)
Masculine for the neuter[145]	C3	*sꜣw ḏd=tn* ***ḏdw.n Rᶜ*** *m-šꜣᶜ=f n mdwt*
	C6	*r djt rḫ=tn* ***srw.n=j*** *wꜣww*
Agent-introductory particle *jn* written as *m*	C14	*m psḏt sḫn=sn ḥnᶜ=f* (§2.3, n. lxxxv)
	C19	*m nꜣ wrw nbw tꜣ ḏsr jr=s(n) wp=sn ḥnᶜ=f* (§2.3, nn. cvi, cix, cx)

2.4.2 Selected Lexical Features from the Text

2.4.2.1 Lexical Items Primarily Associated with Higher Written Registers Since the Early Eighteenth Dynasty

js
(encl. part.)
"in fact"

B4

On the combination of the causal conjunction *ḥr-ntt*/*ḥr-ntjj* with the enclitic particle *js*, see the corresponding entry below, under §2.4.2.2.

jst
(non-encl. part.)
"now"

B1 *hrw pn jst ḥm=f smꜣᶜ=f ḫꜣswt…*
B5 *jst grt nṯr ḥr sšmtw=f* (§2.3, n. xvi)

On the particle *jst* used as a structural marker, see the corresponding entry below, under §2.4.2.2.

jt mwt n ḥr-nb
"everyone's father

A2

The earliest known phraseological parallel of the present

144 The inscription contains several examples of a single form (*jrwt=j*), on which specifically, see Paksi (2015: 188, n. 72).

145 Cf. G*EG* §511.4.

and mother" — epithet comes from the early Eighteenth Dynasty: Amenemhab called Mahu addresses Thutmosis III as *mwt rsw jt* [*mḥtjw*] "mother of the southerners and father of the [northerners]" in his tomb in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 85).[146] The earliest attestation of the phrase in a religious context, referring to Amun-Re, similarly dates to the reign of Thutmosis III: *jt mwt n rdj sw m jb=f* "father and mother of the one who places him into his heart."[147] Although the motif becomes more frequent in the Amarna period,[148] the present example is the first one documented in a royal text. Further parallels are known from Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*[149] and from Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*.[150]

jtrw "*iteru*" — B2 (§2.3, n. v)
The nautical mile is not attested in the record before the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[151] It is, however, also present in Amenhotep II's *Great Sphinx Stela*,[152] in Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*,[153] and in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[154]

bs "flame, blaze" — C12 (§2.3, n. lxxvi)
The earliest examples of the word *bs* "flame, blaze" date to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty:[155] the first non-monumental ones come from the *Book of the Dead*,[156] while the oldest monumental one is found in line 15 of Thutmo-

146 *Urk.* IV 909, 3–4.
147 See lines 9–10 of Intef's hymn to Amun-Re on his round-topped stela now in Chicago (no. 14053 under https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/819d5f10-17eb-4dbd-afed-992f01b8eeaa; accessed 1 July 2025). Intef, the owner of TT 164, was the scribe of recruits during the reign of Thutmosis III. I thank Guilherme Borges Pires for calling my attention to this reference.
148 Cf. Assmann (1983b: 156). For further examples from private context, see Assmann (1999: 217, n. 21).
149 K*RI* II 238, 14.
150 K*RI* IV 10, 15.
151 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 33360; *Wb. Belegst.* I 147.2–4.
152 *Urk.* IV 1280, 1 and 6.
153 K*RI* II 22, 13–16.
154 K*RI* V 26, 3; 43, 10; and 50, 4.
155 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 856590; *Wb. Belegst.* I 476.1–5.
156 Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* (see *BoD* 125, 87 in pNu [Lapp 1997: pl. 69]) uses the same phrase as Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*: *bs n sḏt* "flame of fire" (see *Wb. Belegst.* I 476.2). The phraseological parallel was also pointed out by Schott (1961: 154, n. 8) and Verhoeven (1984: 186, n. 2).

sis III's *Poetical Stela*.[157] The paragraph containing *bs* "flame, blaze" in the text of Thutmosis III shares close phraseological parallels with the inscriptions of Seti I and Ramesses III at Karnak, which thus provide further Ramesside royal parallels to the present example.[158]

(*m*) *r3 n r3*
"(from) mouth to mouth"

A2
The expression is first documented in Hatshepsut's *Punt Expedition*[159] and has only a few attestations in the record—all in royal texts. The earliest Ramesside example appears in column 12 of Seti I's *Speos Artemidos Dedicatory Inscription*.[160] Later parallels are found in Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*[161] and on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods*.[162]

sḏf3/*sdf*
"endowment, foundation"

C15
The noun *sḏf3* "endowment, foundation"—in the present text written as *sdf* (see under §2.4.3.3.2)—is first attested in pre-Amarnian royal texts.[163] One of the earliest examples of the word is found in Thutmosis III's *Annals*.[164]

dpjj
"crocodile"

C4
Dpjj is a relatively recent word for "crocodile" with its oldest examples on Kamose's *Carnarvon Tablet*[165] and in the inscriptions of Thutmosis I and Thutmosis III.[166] The word never became as widespread as the more ancient *msḥ*; its use remained primarily associated with higher written registers of the New Kingdom.[167] The Karnak inscriptions of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III;[168] Merenptah's *Israel Ste-*

157 *Urk.* IV 615, 14.
158 K*RI* I 27, 6 = KIU 1012, 37; K*RI* V 109, 1 = KIU 4325, 20.
159 *Urk.* IV 344, 9.
160 K*RI* I 42, 15; Chappaz & Bickel (2024: 226, fig. 9.3; 228, fig. 9.5; 233).
161 K*RI* II 254, 1–3.
162 See below, in line 7 under §6.3.3.3.1.
163 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* IV 384.1. See also Paksi (2015: 182, n. 40).
164 *Urk*. IV 750, 14 = KIU 3475, 22.
165 Helck (1983: 86).
166 *Urk.* IV 84, 12 and 616, 9.
167 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no.179100; *Wb. Belegst.* V 447.13–16.
168 K*RI* I 27, 8 = KIU 1012, 39; K*RI* II 164, 8 = KIU 994, 20; K*RI* V 109, 3 = KIU 4325, 22.

la;[169] and Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions[170] provide further royal examples of the lexeme.

2.4.2.2 Old Words and Expressions with Extended Applicability

js (encl. part.) "in fact"

B4

The combination of the Earlier Egyptian causal conjunction *ḥr-ntt*/*ḥr-ntjj* with the enclitic particle *js* as *ḥr-ntjj js* is probably a conscious but incorrectly applied archaism in clauses with a nominal predicate. *Ḥr-ntt*/*ḥr-ntjj js* is attested in royal and private monumental texts from the early Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.[171]

jst (non-encl. part.) "now"

B1 *ḥrw pn jst ḥm=f sm³ʿ=f ḫ³swt…*

B5 *jst grt nṯr ḥr sšmtw=f* (§2.3, n. xvi)

The particle *jst* is used here as a structural marker, a function it acquired by the early New Kingdom.[172] *Hrw pn jst* "now, on this day" (B1) is a fixed expression that first appears in the record in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty (see under §2.4.2.3). The complementary function of the structural marker *jst* and the macrostructural connector *grt* (B5)[173] is, on the other hand, already present on Amenhotep II's *Great Sphinx Stela*.[174]

rf (encl. part.) "indeed"

C4

The enclitic particle *rf* combined with the Earlier Egyptian causal conjunction *ḥr-ntt*/*ḥr-ntjj* is not securely attested before the Eighteenth Dynasty, but its use is not limited to higher written registers.[175] The present example is the first occurrence of *ḥr-ntt*/*ḥr-ntjj rf* in a royal monumental inscription.

169 K*RI* IV 17, 12.
170 K*RI* V 97, 16.
171 Uljas (2007: 283–284, n. 51) and Oréal (2011: 165) cited also by Paksi (2015: 187, n. 62).
172 Oréal (2011: 242–243).
173 Oréal (2011: 450).
174 *Urk.* IV 1279, 8.
175 For examples from the time of Hatshepsut and Horemheb, see Stauder (2013b: 166–167). For further references, see Paksi (2015: 187, n. 63; 192, n. 95).

2.4.2.3 Lexical Items Seldom or Not Attested Before the Amarna Period

jrỉ wšb ḥr
"to protect"

C12 (§2.3, n. lxxiv)

Jrỉ wšb ḥr, as a set expression meaning "to protect,"[176] is not attested in the record before the Eighteenth Dynasty.[177] Its currently known oldest example is preserved on Intef's autobiographical stela, now in the Louvre (C26).[178] A pillar base from Memphis, from the time of Merenptah, contains another Ramesside royal example of the idiom.[179]

wꜣwꜣ sḏ ḥnʿ jb=f
"to forge plan(s) with his heart"

B2

The earliest examples of the expression *wꜣwꜣ sḏ ḥnʿ jb=f* "to forge plan(s) with his heart" belong to Tutankhamun's *Restauration Stela*[180] and to the *Horemheb Decree*.[181] The use of the phrase is typically associated with the genre of the *Königsnovelle*.[182] Ramesside parallels have been documented in Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*,[183] in the inscriptions of the same king in the forecourt of the Luxor temple,[184] and on Ramesses IV's *Festal Wall Stela*.[185]

nʿi
"to be mild, lenient"

B4

The word is not documented before the New Kingdom. While from the Eighteenth Dynasty, only one attestation has been noted so far,[186] several examples are known from the Ramesside period.[187] The verb is not infrequent in the Ramesside royal inscriptions.[188]

176 Cf. David (2006: 120) with further references.
177 Cf. *Wb. Belegst*. I 372.5; F*CD* 70.
178 *Urk.* IV 970, 16.
179 Gohary (1978: 193); also cited by Meeks (*AL* 78.1115).
180 *Urk.* IV 2028, 9 = KIU 3450, 27–28.
181 *Urk*. IV 2142, 15.
182 Kruchten (1981: 26, n. 34). Loprieno (1996c: 295) mentions that it is a typically New Kingdom development that the king is pulled down to the level of human history and has to rely on his individual judgement by taking counsel with his own heart. On the *Königsnovelle* in general, see Stauder (2021) and Hofmann (2004).
183 K*RI* II 249, 1–3.
184 K*RI* II 616, 9.
185 K*RI* VI 7, 8–9.
186 At the end of line 9 of Amenhotep II's letter to Usersatet (*Urk.* IV 1343, 11). The example was first noted by Helck (1955: 27–28, n. r).
187 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 80340; *Wb. Belegst.* II 206.4–6; *DZA* 24.679.140; and *AL* 79.1468.
188 *Nʿi* "to be mild, lenient" is also present in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription* (K*RI* II 327, 8 and 329, 6), in Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription* (K*RI* IV 11, 2), and in line 11 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (see under §3.2.3.3), for instance.

rmṯ nb ntjj m tȝ r-ḏr=f
"anyone in the whole land"

C17

Seti I's *Nauri Decree*[189] already contains five instances of the phrase *rmṯ nb ntjj m tȝ r-ḏr=f* "anyone in the whole land," although the first examples of this expression do not occur in the record before the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. They were documented in Akhenaten's *Earlier Proclamation*[190] and in the *Horemheb Decree*.[191] On papyri, the phrase is generally written with an additional definite article, as *rmṯ nb ntjj m pȝ tȝ r-ḏr=f*. Compare, for instance, the examples in *The Tale of the Two Brothers*[192] and in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*.[193]

hrw pn jst
"now, on this day"

B1

The expression *hrw pn jst* "now, on this day" first appears in the record in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[194] It is generally used to underline the singularity of an event and thereby can be classified as an optional generic marker of a *Königsnovelle*.[195] Seti I's *Second Beth-Shan Stela*,[196] his *East Silsileh Stela* from year 6,[197] Ramesses II's *Year 8 Heliopolis Stela*,[198] and the *Hittite Treaty*[199] provide further Ramesside parallels to the present example.

ḫtb
"to overthrow"

C10 (§2.3, n. lxviii)

The verb *ḫtb* "to overthrow" is attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards in both monumental and non-monumental texts.[200] Amenhotep III's *Semneh Stela* provides one of the earliest examples of the word from a royal text.[201] Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*,[202] his *Hittite Treaty*,[203] and the main

189 K*RI* I 54, 4–5; 55, 5; 56, 4; 57, 9–10 (contra Kitchen's restoration, David 2006: 96); 58, 1.
190 K13 and X15–16 (Murnane & Siclen III 1993: 24).
191 *Urk.* IV 2144, 16 and 2152, 12. Cf. Kruchten (1981: 31–32).
192 *LES* 25, 6–7.
193 *LES* 55, 2–3.
194 One of the earliest examples of the expression, the one in line 2 of the *Memphis Stela of Meri-Meri* (*Urk.* IV 2078, 9), dates to the reign of Tutankhamun.
195 Stauder (2021: 102–104 and 123–124).
196 K*RI* I 16, 8.
197 K*RI* I 60, 7–8.
198 K*RI* II 361, 2.
199 K*RI* II 226, 4.
200 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 124890; *Wb. Belegst.* III 402.12–15.
201 *Urk*. IV 1661, 5.
202 K*RI* II 101, 7–9.
203 K*RI* II 226, 6.

record of the *First Hittite Marriage* of the same king[204] similarly make use of the verb.

sʿḏ3
"to demolish, to ruin"

C4
The verb *sʿḏ3* "to demolish, to ruin" is first documented in the Amarna period, in the tomb of Tutu.[205] The word occurs seldom in the record before the Third Intermediate Period;[206] only Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions provide further royal parallels to the present example.[207]

sḏdi
"to make endure"

B12
The verb *sḏdi* "to make endure" first appears in the record in the time of Tutankhamun.[208] Its use remains very sporadic in the New Kingdom,[209] but it is frequently attested in Ptolemaic and Roman times.[210]

ṯsi (intrans.)
"to go up, to climb"

B2 and ?A4? (§2.3, n. cxxiii)
The intransitive form of the verb *ṯsi* "to raise, to lift up" is not documented before the Eighteenth Dynasty.[211] One of the oldest attestations of the word comes from the tomb of Amenemhab called Mahu, TT 85,[212] but examples dating before the Amarna period are scarce. *Ṯsi* "to go up, to climb" is, however, also present in line 11 of Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*,[213] for instance.

2.4.2.4 Lexical Items Seldom Attested in Monumental Inscriptions Before Ramesside Times

m-r3-ʿ (adv.)
"as well, likewise"

B8
Although the adverbial expression *m-r3-ʿ* meaning "as well, likewise" is documented since the late Second Intermediate Period, its use remains sporadic until the dawn of the Nine-

204 K*RI* II 243, 1–3.
205 Davies (1908: pl. 19, right pane, column 6).
206 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 129390; *Wb. Belegst.* IV 57.2–5.
207 K*RI* V 15, 1; 22, 5 and 14.
208 *Urk.* IV 1523, 6.
209 A few other Ramesside examples are cited under *Wb. Belegst.* IV 396.1–7; *DZA* 29.921.750 and 770; and *AL* 79.2900. Besides, the verb also occurs in a Twentieth Dynasty hymn, in pBerlin P 3049, 8.9 (Gülden 2001: 46).
210 Wilson (1997: 981).
211 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 600467; *Wb. Belegst.* V 406.15 – 407.15.
212 *Urk.* IV 893, 3.
213 K*RI* II 355, 6.

teenth Dynasty.[214] One of the earliest pre-Ramesside monumental examples of the phrase belongs to Thutmosis I's *Tombos Inscription*.[215] Among the Ramesside royal inscriptions, Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods*[216] and Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*[217] provide parallels to the present example.

m-dj (prep.)
"with; through, by, because of"

B14
M-dj, a typically Late Egyptian compound preposition,[218] is seldom attested in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times.[219]

mnq
"to complete, to finish"

B11
While line 21 of Horemheb's *Coronation Inscription*[220] on the back of his double-statue with queen Mutnedjmet (Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 1379)[221] has the first attestation of the verb *mnq* "to complete, to finish" in a royal context, Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* apparently contains only its second example in a New Kingdom royal inscription.[222] The word itself is not new; it is attested once in the Middle Kingdom but in a completely different linguistic register, in the *Illahun Letters*.[223] The verb became more frequent in the Nineteenth Dynasty. For instance, it is also present in columns 36 and 56 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*.[224]

rf
(encl. part.)
"indeed"

C4
On the enclitic particle *rf* combined with the Earlier Egyptian causal conjunction *ḥr-ntt*/*ḥr-ntjj*, see the corresponding entry above, under §2.4.2.2.

214 Cf. Stauder (2013b: 214 and 254–255). For a selection of Late Egyptian non-monumental examples, see Winand (2009: 522–533).
215 *Urk*. IV 82, 14. Noted by F*CD* 146 and Stauder (2013b: 214 and 255).
216 There are overall three examples in the text: one in line 8 (see under §6.3.3.3.1; §6.4, n. xli) and two in line 9 (see also under §6.3.3.3.1).
217 K*RI* II 79, 6–9. Cf. also Winand (2009: 531, ex. 34).
218 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 600056; *Wb. Belegst.* II 176.14 – 177.19.
219 See, e.g., *Urk.* IV 373, 2.
220 *Urk.* IV 2119, 8.
221 See Gardiner (1953a: pls. 1–2).
222 Although the classifier is not fully preserved, line 36 of the *Horemheb Decree* (*Urk.* IV 2153, 12) probably contains the homonym *mnq* "to reward" (see Kruchten 1981: 135).
223 Line 6 of pLondon UC 32215 in Collier & Quirke (2002: 150–151).
224 K*RI* II 326, 3 and 328, 14.

ḥr(j)-pḏt
"troop commander; leader"

C1, C17, C18 (§2.3, n. xl)
The first attestation of the word dates to the Second Intermediate Period and comes from Abydos, from the *Stela of Nakht*.[225] In royal monumental texts, however, it first appears in Ramesside times, in the inscriptions of Ramesses I and Seti I.[226]

sgb
"to shout, to shriek"

C4 (§2.3, n. lii)
The earliest known example of the verb *sgb* "to shout, to shriek" is found in line 21 of Horemheb's *Coronation Inscription*.[227] The verb also occurs in a few further royal texts: for instance, in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*,[228] on Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*[229] and in his *Qadesh Poem*,[230] on Merenptah's *Israel Stela* and on its counterpart in Karnak.[231]

2.4.2.5 Lexical Items Not Attested in Monumental Inscriptions Before Ramesside Times

pꜣ-wn
(caus. conj.)

B13[232] and C18
Pꜣ-wn, the characteristically Late Egyptian causal conjunction,[233] is only rarely attested in royal texts, but besides Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, Ramesses II's Qadesh inscriptions[234] also employ the morpheme.

ḫꜣt
"mine, quarry"

B2
The word *ḫꜣt* "mine, quarry" is already documented on ostraca in the Eighteenth Dynasty[235] but does not appear in monumental inscriptions until the time of Seti I. The present king's *Year 9 Larger* and *Lesser Aswan Stelae*,[236] and his successor's *Year 8 Heliopolis Stela*[237] as well as his inscrip-

225 Helck (1983: 75, line 3). Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 108660; *Wb. Belegst.* I 571.1–5.
226 Further examples are found, for instance, in Ramesses I's *Strasbourg Stela* (K*RI* I 4, 3) and in Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 50, 13; 51, 7; 51, 10; 51, 14; 52, 3; 52, 12; 52, 14; 53, 10; and 56, 11).
227 *Urk.* IV 2119, 5. Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 147160; *Wb. Belegst.* IV 321.4–5; Lesko III 109.
228 K*RI* I 49, 2–3.
229 K*RI* II 357, 15.
230 K*RI* II 41, 2–5.
231 K*RI* IV 18, 11 and 12.
232 On the long spelling (*pꜣ-wnn*) in B13, see §2.4.3.3.2 below.
233 Cf. Paksi (2015: 187, n. 64) with references.
234 K*RI* II 105, 5 and 6.
235 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 122280; *Wb. Belegst.* III 360.11–15.
236 K*RI* I 74, 14 and 73, 12 and 13 (2x) respectively.
237 K*RI* II 361, 8; 362, 10 (3x) and 11.

tions in the forecourt of the Luxor temple[238] contain further Ramesside royal examples of the word.

snwḫ
"to braze, to anneal"
C12 (§2.3, n. lxxviii)
In its literal sense, the verb is often attested in medical texts already in pre-New Kingdom times.[239] The example in Text C of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* is its first figurative use and the only one documented in a monumental inscription before the Third Intermediate Period.[240]

sšjjwt
"writings, inscriptions"
B11
The word is absent from the pre-Ramesside monumental record but is relatively well documented from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards; it is first found on the *Book of the Dead* papyri.[241]

tl
"prowess, vigor"
B4
The word first appears in stone in the Ramesside period but is attested elsewhere since the Eighteenth Dynasty.[242]

dbnbn
"to walk around"
B5
The verb *dbnbn* "to walk around" occurs only sporadically in the record. Although it is present in the *Coffin Texts*,[243] the example in column 5 of Text B represents its first attestation in a royal inscription and the only one known from Ramesside monumental texts so far.[244]

2.4.2.6 Lexical Items Not Attested Before Ramesside Times

jʿw-nbw
"gold washers"
C2, [C9], C17, C18
The title is not attested before the Nineteenth Dynasty.[245] It often forms a compound with the word *qrw* "transport

238 K*RI* II 669, 10. The example is cited by Meeks (*AL* 79.2306).
239 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 136860; *Wb. Belegst.* IV 157.12–17; H*ÄW* II 2257c–2258a; Verhoeven (1984: 181–185).
240 Cf. Verhoeven (1984: 185–187) and Wilson (1997: 858). See also Verhoeven (1984: 146–147) contra Meeks (*AL* 77.3632).
241 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 144670; *Wb. Belegst.* III 479.10–13; and *AL* 79.2769.
242 The word is present on *Papyrus Astarte* (line 1.3), a manuscript with a dating to the time of Amenhotep II (Collombert & Coulon 2000: 210–216), as well as on the chariot of Thutmosis IV (Schneider 1999: 694, fig. 1).
243 *DCT* 789 and H*ÄW* II 2776a.
244 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 178710; *Wb. Belegst*. V 439.1–3; Lesko IV 129.
245 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 21590; *Wb. Belegst.* I 39.19.

workers, transport contingent" not only in the present text but also elsewhere—for instance, in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*,[246] on Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*,[247] and on a late Ramesside papyrus.[248]

jrjj-n-ꜥḥ3
"opponent, adversary"

C18
Jrjj-n-ꜥḥ3 "opponent, adversary" is a relatively rare expression, which is absent from the pre-Ramesside record.[249] It occurs in at least one more Ramesside royal inscription, in line 13 of the abridged version of Ramesses II's *First Hittite Marriage*.[250] Line 112 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* contains a similar construct: *jrjj-n-wp* "(legal) opponent."[251]

m-šȝꜥ
"at the beginning; since"

C3
M-šȝꜥ is a Late Egyptian compound with its first examples from the Nineteenth Dynasty.[252]

m šȝw (adv.)
"in fitting manner, properly"

C6
M šȝw is not attested before Ramesside times as a fixed adverbial expression.[253] It is similarly found in Seti I's *Speos Artemidos Dedicatory Inscription*,[254] *Hermopolis Decree*,[255] and in Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*.[256]

mšꜥw
"travelers"

B3
The noun *mšꜥw* "travelers" is not documented before Ramesside times.[257] The word has merely a handful of examples in the record, but it occurs twice in Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*[258] as well as in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[259]

246 K*RI* I 52, 8.
247 K*RI* II 355, 4–5.
248 K*RI* VI 520, 2.
249 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 853895.
250 K*RI* II 257, 9.
251 K*RI* I 58, 5.
252 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 65700; *Wb. Belegst.* IV 407.7; *AL* 78.4031 and 79.2914.
253 See Fairman & Grdseloff (1947: 27, n. 7); Caminos (1958: §80, e); and Quaegebeur (1975: 60–61).
254 Col. 6 in K*RI* I 42, 2–3; Chappaz & Bickel (2024: 227, fig. 9.4; 229, fig. 9.6; 232, n. 638).
255 K*RI* I 126, 5.
256 K*RI* II 237, 9 and 11; 12.
257 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 76380; *Wb. Belegst.* II 156.13; *AL* 78.1875 and 79.1375.
258 K*RI* II 253, 11 and 12; 254, 5.
259 K*RI* V 23, 15 and 38, 6.

nn r-ḏr=sn
"all this"

C16
The expression *nn r-ḏr=sn* "all this" and its equivalent with the Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun, *nn r-ḏr=w*, do not occur in the record before the Nineteenth Dynasty. To my knowledge, there are only four examples in total, and all of them are Ramesside. Besides the one in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, Ramesses II's *Year 8 Heliopolis Stela*[260] contains another monumental example—however, of *nn r-ḏr=w*. The other two examples are non-monumental and are similarly formed with the new suffix pronoun.[261]

ḥr ḏrt=f
"single-handedly, independently"

C19 (§2.3, n. cvii)
Ḥr ḏrt=f is a relatively seldom documented Ramesside idiomatic expression;[262] it also occurs in pHarris I 59.11.

ḥjj-r3-ꜥ
"meanwhile, but indeed"

C13 (§2.3, n. lxxxiii)
The particle *ḥjj-r3-ꜥ* is a rare Late Egyptian construct, an infrequent variant of the similarly late *ḥr-r3-ꜥ*.[263] While it has been identified in a few non-monumental texts,[264] the present example remains the only one known to date from a royal inscription.

sḫn (*ḥnꜥ*)
"to contend (with)"

C14
Sḫn "to contend" is a Late Egyptian legal term that first appears in the record in the Nineteenth Dynasty.[265] The *Great Legal Text* in the tomb-chapel of Mes at Saqqara provides further monumental examples from the time of Ramesses II.[266]

qrw
"transport workers, transport contingent"

C2, C6, C7, C7–8, [C9], C16, C18 (§2.3, n. xlvi)
The word *qrw* does not appear in the record before the Nineteenth Dynasty.[267] Its currently known earliest exam-

260 K*RI* II 362, 8–9.
261 See pAnastasi IV 3.2 (*LEM* 37, 5; cited by E*NG* §117) and its parallel in pKoller 3.3 (*LEM* 118, 12).
262 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* V 538.19; David (2006: 130) with further references.
263 E*NG* §683.2; Caminos (1954: 178 and 342).
264 See, e.g., pAnastasi IV 10.10 (*LEM* 46, 6) and pAnastasi VIII 2.6 (K*RI* III 501, 12–13). For further references, see Caminos (1954: 178) and Vernus (1978: 124, n. 50 with fig. 2).
265 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 142520; *Wb. Belegst.* IV 254.10.
266 N4 (K*RI* III 425, 10); N5 (K*RI* III 425, 15); N13 (K*RI* III 427, 15); N32 (K*RI* III 431, 1); and N33 (K*RI* III 431, 3).
267 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 159970; *Wb. Belegst.* V 21.9–11.

ple is found in line 40 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*.[268] While line 10 of Ramesses II's *Quban Stela* provides another monumental example of the word,[269] *qrw* is also present in the lower written registers of the Ramesside era.[270]

2.4.3 Selected Graphical Features from the Text

2.4.3.1 Spellings Following or Imitating Earlier Written Traditions

jn-m  B3
"who?"

The spelling of the interrogative pronoun *jn-m*, which is usually written as *n-m* or *njm* from the New Kingdom onwards,[271] imitates older spelling conventions in Seti's *Kanais Inscription*. The longer spelling combined with the use of the Lower Egyptian crown for the *n*, a practice that only becomes common in the New Kingdom,[272] results in an artificial graphical solution, which has a single parallel known to date—in column 62 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*.[273]

jsjj  B3 (§2.3, n. x)
"go!"

The spelling of the imperative of *sj* "to go" imitates earlier spelling conventions.[274] *Jsjj* "go!" is written similarly twice in its plural form in the *Pyramid Texts*.[275]

rn wr  B6
"mighty name" vs.  vs. B9

The expression *rn wr* "mighty name" receives the cartouche determinative[276] as a compound in column 6 but not in column 9 of Text B. The word *rn* "name, identity" is consistently spelled without the cartouche sign in the entire

268 K*RI* I 52, 8.
269 K*RI* II 355, 4–5.
270 See, e.g., K*RI* II 668, 1 and 5; K*RI* IV 151, 12; K*RI* VI 520, 2.
271 Cf. *DZA* 20.909.170–190.
272 Gardiner (G*EG*, Sign-list, S3).
273 K*RI* II 329, 9.
274 Cf. *DZA* 21.267.800–820.
275 Pyr. 153a and 155a (PT 217).
276 The labels "determinative" and "classifier" are used interchangeably in the present work. Compare the latest discussions on the topic by Kammerzell (2015: 1396–1399) and Polis & Rosmorduc (2015: 165).

text (B4, B6, B9, B12, B14, C14).[277] While Amenhotep II's *Great Sphinx Stela*[278] and a duplicate of his *Amada Stela*[279] provide the currently known only graphical parallels to the present example, the presence of the extra sign after the phrase *rn wr* might as well have been prompted by the spelling of the subsequent words in column 6 of Text B: the king's *prenomen* written in a cartouche.

ḫtb
"to overthrow"

 C10 (§2.3, n. lxviii)

The use of a instead of a in the spelling of the verb *ḫtb* "to overthrow" (see under §2.4.2.3) is analyzed here as an archaizing feature in column 10 of Text C.[280] For a different interpretation of this spelling, originally put forward by Gunn & Gardiner, see n. lxviii under §2.3.

.t
(written mark of the *sḏm.t=f* passive)

 A1 (?) *jr*[*.t*] *n=sn ḥwt-nṯr m m3wt* (§2.3, n. cxii)

A1 *nn-sp jr.t mjtt=s jn…*

Instead of the long spelling (*.tw*) expected at the time of Seti I[281] and indeed used in Texts B and C,[282] the written mark of the *sḏm.t=f* passive features the shorter allograph (*.t*) in Text A.

tpḥ(*t*)
"cavern"

 B7

From the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, the spelling of the word *tpḥt* "cavern" occasionally includes a round-shaped cartouche. In two early Eighteenth Dynasty private tombs,

277 Compare the spelling of the same word () on the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSN 4, [7], 21, 32; see under §4.3.3.3.1) and on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* (right margin, column 2 and line 17; see under §6.5.3.1).

278 *Urk.* IV 1283, 14.

279 *Urk.* IV 1295, 8.

280 On the hypercorrection of *t*'s to *ṯ*'s in the written production of the Eighteenth Dynasty, see Stauder (2013a: 106, nn. 240 and 243; 114, n. 289).

281 Cf. Stauder (2014: 10–16).

282 Possibly once in B3: *sswn*{*rf*}<*.tw*> *jrf nḏ3 ḫḫ=sn* "that the parching of their throat may indeed be abolished" (§2.3, n. vii); once in B6: *r šd.tw ḫnmt ḥr ḏww* "so that a well would be dug in the mountains" (§2.3, n. xviii); twice in B8: *sp nb wn bw rḫ.tw=f* "every deed that had not been known" (§2.3, n. xxiv) and *djw* [*nṯr jr.tw*]*=f ḫr=j* "[the god] shall cause it [to be done] under me" (§2.3, n. xxv); once in B10: *jr.jn.tw…* "…was made" (§2.3, n. xxix); three times in C2: *ḏb3.tw sp=tn m-mjtt* "your deed will be rewarded likewise;" *ḥsb.tw nb m psḏt* "a lord is counted among the Ennead;" and *r dj.tw=w* "so that they be placed" (§2.3, n. xlvii); once in C13: *r rd.tw=f* "so that he will be given" (§2.3, n. lxxx); and once more in C15: *r dj.tw=w* "so that they be placed" (§2.3, n. xci).

the word is written similarly ().[283] The example in Text B may thus imitate a rare graphical solution associated with the Eighteenth Dynasty private monumental record.

2.4.3.2 Graphical Features Uncommon Before Ramesside Times

ȝbi B1

"to desire, to wish"

From the early Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, the verb *ȝbi* "to desire, to wish" is occasionally spelled with sign R15 () instead of sign U23 ().[284] Although the altered spelling is rarely attested in the first half of the New Kingdom, one of its earliest monumental examples appears in line 10 of Ahmose's *Abydos Stela for Tetisheri*.[285] In Ramesside times, this graphical variant is often employed in non-monumental texts.[286] Further Ramesside royal examples can be found, for instance, in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*,[287] on Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*,[288] and in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[289] Compare also the spelling of the noun *jȝbw*/*ȝbw* "wish" in line 11 of the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (see under §4.3.3.3.3.2 below).

m (prep.) C15 *tkȝ=s ḥ‹w=f n ȝḫt* (§2.3, n. xciii)

"in(to), as, with"

The preposition *m* is occasionally spelled as *n* since the Middle Kingdom,[290] but the use of this graphical variant remains sporadic in monumental inscriptions even in Ramesside times.

dmjt  B9

"town, harbor"

Sign O49 () is a rare occurrence in the spelling of the noun *dmjt* "town, harbor" in monumental texts before the

283 In the biographical inscriptions of TT 84 (*Urk.* IV 938, 2) and TT 85 (*Urk.* IV 919, 11).

284 Cf. *Wb.* I 6.24 – 7.7.

285 *Urk.* IV 28, 1. The example is mentioned by Faulkner (F*CD* 2).

286 Cf. *Ramsès*, lemma no. 100181. See, for instance, the examples in *The Tale of the Two Brothers* (*LES* 10, 15; 19, 11; 23, 5).

287 K*RI* I 50, 5.

288 K*RI* II 357, 1.

289 See K*RI* V 27, 5; 65, 3; 97, 4; and 98, 1.

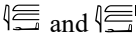
290 Kroeber (1970: 42–44).

Ramesside era.[291] The earliest royal example of this spelling known to date comes from line 21 of the *Horemheb Decree*.[292]

2.4.3.3 Selected Ramesside Graphical Features

2.4.3.3.1 Regularly Attested Ramesside Graphical Features

jmm
"give!"

 and C13, A2, and B14

The imperative of *rdi* "to give" is written according to Ramesside spelling conventions in Seti's *Kanais Inscription*.[293] The plural strokes in B14 mark the plural number of the addressee.

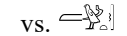
whi/*wh3*
"to fail"

 B13 (§2.3, n. xxxviii)

From the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards, the verb *whi* "to fail" is often written with a final *3*.[294] Column 42 of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*[295] features a similar spelling.

m m3w(*t*) (adv.)
"anew"

 C7

vs.  vs. A1

The omission of the final *-t* from the spelling of the adverb *m m3w*(*t*) "anew" is a post-Amarnian characteristic in column 7 of Text C.[296] While the first column of Text A as well as Seti I's *Nauri Decree* feature an older spelling of the expression,[297] column 68 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription* provides a very similar example to the one in C7.[298] For further examples of the post-Amarnian spelling of the adverb in the corpus, see line 17 of Meren-

291 On the semantic evolution of the lexeme and its reflection in the spelling, see Chantrain (2014: 49–50).

292 *Urk*. IV 2146, 17. It is possible that Horemheb's stela had another example of the spelling in column 2 of its right margin (see *Urk.* IV 2155, 3).

293 Cf. Winand (1992: 173–174, §288) and *DZA* 20.711.650–700.

294 Cf. *DZA* 22.545.600–640.

295 K*RI* IV 7, 6.

296 Buchberger (2006: 17).

297 There is one example () in line 13 (K*RI* I 48, 4) and there are two (both spelled as) in line 21 (K*RI* I 49, 9).

298 (K*RI* II 330, 7).

ptah's *Hermopolis Stela*[299] and line 14 of the southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*.[300]

mnjw
"shepherd, herdsman"

 [301] B8
vs.  vs. A2
(§2.4.3.4)

Column 8 of Text B contains a typically Ramesside spelling of the word *mnjw* "shepherd, herdsman."[302] A similar graphical solution is found, for instance, in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[303]

nbi
"to gild"

 C9

The verb *nbi* "to gild" follows a characteristically Ramesside spelling in column 9 of Text C.[304] The word is written similarly, for instance, also in lines 7 and 10 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*.[305]

nn-sp
"never"

 A1

The negative particle *n-sp* written as *nn-sp* is attested only once before the New Kingdom, in the *Story of the Herdsman*, where it is employed in its rare future sense.[306] The long spelling is regularly used since the time of Amenhotep III and becomes fairly standard in the Ramesside period.[307] Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*[308] and the main record of his *First Hittite Marriage*[309] provide further Ramesside royal parallels to the spelling documented here.

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299 See the corresponding entry under §3.4.3.3.1.

300 See §4.2.3.3.3.1 with the corresponding entry.

301 The shepherd logogram at the head of the group has one of his arms behind his torso on the wall (see Schott 1961: pl. 13 and *DSA*, photo no. 4804) but the exact equivalent of the sign is not available in *JSesh*.

302 Cf. *DZA* 24.050.270–370.

303 K*RI* V 39, 12.

304 Cf. *DZA* 24.976.350–360.

305 K*RI* I 47, 4 and 11.

306 Cf. Goedicke (1970: 245; 249, commentary to line 6). Similarly, G*EG* §457. The Sixth Dynasty example cited by *DZA* 24.516.440 is not confirmed by *Urk*. I 132, 17.

307 Cf. *DZA* 24.557.400–460. On *DZA* 24.516.440, see n. 306 above. Lines 2, 17, and 21 of Amenhotep III's building inscription stela (*Urk.* IV 1648, 5; 1652, 16; and 1654, 7), the reverse of Merenptah's *Israel Stela* (CG 34025), and line 11 of his *East Silsileh Stela* (*Urk.* IV 1679, 15) contain the first monumental examples of the long spelling. From Ramesside times, Seti II's *Karnak Decree* provides the only short spelling known to date (K*RI* IV 265, 7).

308 K*RI* II 358, 9 and 359, 7.

309 K*RI* II 246, 1 and 3.

nhsi
"to be awake, watchful"

 B12

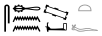
The verb features a typically Ramesside spelling in the text.[310]

ḥsbw
"assigned personnel"

 C15 (§2.3, n. xc)

From the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards, the seated woman classifier becomes a regular element in the spelling of the word *ḥsbw* "assigned personnel."[311]

sšn/*sẖnn*
"to destroy"

 C11

Sšn "to destroy," although seldom attested, is regularly written as *sẖnn* in Ramesside times.[312] The verb has a similar spelling, for instance, in line 13 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*.[313]

qrtj
"twin holes"

 B7

The noun *qrtj* "twin holes" is the shorter, New Kingdom variant of the earlier *qrrtj*.[314] Both *qrtj* and *qrrtj* originate in the older words for "cavern" already found in the *Coffin Texts*: *qrt* and *qrrt*.[315]

kṯẖw
"others"

 C2

The plural form of the word *kjj* "other" is written with a post-Amarnian graphical variant in column 2 of Text C.[316] The spelling documented here only becomes frequent in the Ramesside period but is already attested, for instance, in the *Horemheb Decree*.[317] The word is written similarly also in Ramesses II's *Year 8 Heliopolis Stela*,[318] *Qadesh Poem*,[319] and *Hittite Treaty*[320] as well as in Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*.[321]

310 Cf. *DZA* 25.184.390–420.
311 Cf. *DZA* 27.343.540.
312 Cf. *DZA* 29.612.960–980 and Paksi (2015: 180, n. 32).
313 See under §3.2.3.3 with n. lxii under §3.3.
314 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 161610; *Wb. Belegst.* V 58.2–4; *DZA* 30.398.410–450. The older *qrrtj* is used, for instance, by Sesostris I in Elephantine, in his temple for Satet (Helck 1978: 74, column 12). Helck translates it as "Quellöcher."
315 *DCT* 655.
316 *Wb.* V 114 ("seit Amarna  ").
317 *Urk.* IV 2156, 14.
318 K*RI* II 361, 10.
319 K*RI* II 58, 2, 3, 4.
320 K*RI* II 229, 10.
321 K*RI* IV 4, 12 and 11, 9.

t3wj  B1 and A1
"two lands"
In Ramesside times, the phrase *t3wj* "two lands" is often written with the combination of sign M127 () and sign M13 (): .[322] The spelling documented here is also attested elsewhere in the temple of Seti I at Kanais[323] as well as in several other texts of the same king.[324] For Twentieth Dynasty royal parallels, compare the examples in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[325]

2.4.3.3.2 Ramesside Graphical Features Uncommon in Monumental Inscriptions

ꜥ  A5 (§2.3, n. cxxv)
"track, trace"
The word ꜥ "track, trace" is spelled in the text the way it regularly appears on Ramesside hieratic papyri.[326] In the monumental versions of Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*, sign D56 () is, for instance, omitted from the spelling.[327]

p3-wn(*n*)  B13
(caus. conj.) vs. vs. C18
Column 13 of Text B features a relatively seldom attested spelling of the Late Egyptian causal conjunction *p3-wn*. The spelling *p3-wnn* is otherwise only known from non-monumental texts[328] and bears witness to the morphological origins of the second component of the phrase: *wnn* is the infinitival form of the verb *wn* (2ae-gem.) "to be." *P3-wnn* is thus the newly grammaticalized old form still showing the reduplication of the infinitive of *wn*.

322 Cf. *Wb.* IV 474 and V 217.

323 K*RI* I 35, 6; 36, 4; 71, 3.

324 For instance, in his *First Beth-Shan Stela* (K*RI* I 11, 15; also noted by Beckerath 1999: 148–149), in some of his Karnak inscriptions (e.g., K*RI* I 14, 2; 16, 2; 201, 3 and 8), in his *East Silsileh Stela* from year 6 (K*RI* I 60, 4), in his *Hunting Stela* from Giza (K*RI* I 77, 5), in his temple in Qurna (K*RI* I 116, 13 and 15), and in his temple in Abydos (e.g., K*RI* I 129, 10; 130, 7; 131, 4; 132, 5; 133, 2; 134, 2; 135, 2; 136, 4; 154, 10 and 11; 156, 7).

325 K*RI* V 26, 1; 41, 8; 42, 16; 47, 10; 73, 5; 76, 5; 77, 6.

326 See, e.g., pAnastasi I 20.6 (Fischer-Elfert 1992: 130); pAnastasi V 20.4 (*LEM* 67, 6); and pLansing 6.4 (*LEM* 105, 2).

327 K*RI* II 98, 5 and 6.

328 Further examples are known from pBologna 1086, line 25 (K*RI* IV 81, 8–9); pCairo CG 58054, verso 1 and 8 (K*RI* I 323, 15 and 324, 6; cited by Polis 2008–2009: 444, n. 1090); pCairo CG 58055, recto 8 (K*RI* I 325, 3; cited by Polis 2008–2009: 444, n. 1090); pLeiden I 371, recto 7 (Troy 2015: pl. 9); oBM EA 5631, recto 8 (for references, see Paksi 2015: 189, n. 76); oGardiner 362, recto 6 (K*RI* III 638, 5); and oGlasgow D 1925.83 = oColin Campbell 17, recto 4 (K*RI* VII 192, 15).

mnw(*w*)
"monument(s)"

 C5

vs.  and vs. B11 (§2.3, n. xxxiii) and B14;

 vs. A1 and A5

vs. 

The word *mnw*(*w*) "monument(s)" is written with a stone determinative (▭) in column 5 of Text C. Sign O39 (▭) is a rare Ramesside characteristic that usually appears in non-monumental texts in the spelling of the word.[329] The sign is omitted in the monumental version of Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem* but is present on pSallier III.[330]

msw
"children"

 C8

A simple stroke (\ ) is used instead of the child classifier () at the end of the word *msw* "children" in column 8 of Text C. The hieratic abbreviation of sign A17 is frequently employed in the non-monumental texts of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties but is practically absent from the monumental record of the Ramesside era.[331]

mtjj
"witness"

 C15

The word *mtr*(*w*) "witness" is occasionally written as *mtjj* in Ramesside times, however, usually only in non-monumental texts.[332]

ḥr-ntjj
(caus. conj.)

 and  B4 and B13,[333] C4, C16

Ḥr-ntjj is a Late Egyptian spelling for the Earlier Egyptian causal conjunction *ḥr-ntt*.[334] While also Seti I's *Great Dedicatory Stela for Ramesses I* presents the later spelling,[335] the Eighteenth Dynasty royal inscriptions in general,[336] Seti I's *Nauri Decree*,[337] and Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*, together with its duplicate in the Aksha temple,[338] still employ the more conventional  .

329 Cf. *DZA* 24.059.370–420. For a non-monumental late Ramesside parallel, see pAbbott = pBM EA 10221, recto 6.4 (K*RI* VI 477, 9–10).
330 See K*RI* II 36, 1–3 and 4.
331 Cf. *DZA* 24.366.300–380.
332 Cf. *DZA* 24.453.010–040.
333 The passage was erroneously referenced as B12 in Paksi (2015: 187).
334 E*NG* §680, *Anmerkung*. The reference in Paksi (2015: 187, n. 61) is incorrect.
335 K*RI* I 113, 1.
336 See, e.g., *Urk*. IV 836, 17.
337 K*RI* I 47, 6 and 58, 12.
338 K*RI* II 357, 7 and 8.

sḏꜣ/*sdf*  C15
"endowment, foundation"
The word *sḏꜣ* "endowment, foundation" (see also under §2.4.2.1) is sometimes written as *sdf* in the Ramesside period.[339] The *Great Papyrus Harris* provides further royal examples to this spelling.[340]

dj.w  C18 (§2.3, n. cii)
(pseudop. of *rdi*)
In non-monumental Ramesside texts, the pseudoparticiple of *rdi* "to give" is often spelled with the duplication of sign D37 in the third-person singular masculine and in the third-person plural.[341] Although the spelling documented here is a rare occurrence in the Ramesside royal inscriptions, Seti II's *Karnak Decree*[342] contains two further examples thereof.

dšr  C12 (§2.3, n. lxxv)
"to be(come) red"
The classifier of the verb *dšr* "to be(come) red," usually a flamingo (), is abbreviated with a simple stroke () in column 12 of Text C. The spelling documented here is generally found on papyri from the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards.[343] The present occurrence is the only monumental Ramesside royal example to my knowledge.

2.4.3.3.3 Seldom Attested Ramesside Graphical Features

wrw  B11 (§2.3, n. xxxvi)
"the great"
The spelling of the word *wrw* "the great" reflects the honorable nature of its referents, the gods. A similar graphical solution is found in line 3 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*.[344]

bjn  C15
"bad"
The use of the Lower Egyptian crown in the spelling of the word *bjn* "bad" is not attested in pre-Ramesside times.[345] The feature is typically monumental. Another example of this spelling is found, for instance, in Ramesses III's Me-

339 Gardiner (1948a: 20, n. 4; 1948b: 116–118). For further references, see David (2006: 123).
340 pHarris I 31.4; see also pHarris I 10.12 and 52a.7 (Grandet 1994: II, 54, n. 217 and 181, n. 732).
341 Cf. E*NG* §332; Winand (1992: 149); and Junge (2008: 86, *Anmerkung*).
342 K*RI* IV 266, 3 and 4. Contra Helck (1956: 85) and David (2006: 140).
343 Cf. *DZA* 31.455.500–570.
344 See the first entry under §6.5.3.3.3.
345 Cf. *DZA* 22.827.250–260.

dinet Habu inscriptions.[346]

špss  B9
"to make splendid, to enrich"
The transitive *špss* "to make splendid, to enrich" only rarely features a dual stroke in its spelling.[347] The only parallels known to date are found in Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*.[348]

qb  A2
"to double, to multiply"
In Ramesside times, the verb *qb* "to double, to multiply" is sometimes spelled with sign M11 (𓋴) as a classifier.[349] For instance, Seti I's *Nauri Decree*[350] and an inscription in Ramesses III's temple at Karnak[351] provide further royal parallels to this rare graphical variant.

2.4.3.3.4 Ramesside Spellings Influenced by Homonyms or Similar-Sounding Words

j3wt  B3 (§2.3, n. ix)
"mounds, hills"
The spelling of the plural *j3wt* "mounds, hills" demonstrates the influence of a similar-sounding verb, *j3ṯ* "to injure, to be injured," in column 3 of Text B. The word *j3t* "mound, hill" is spelled similarly () at least once more in the record: in the *Turin Necropolis Journal* in the reign of Ramesses IX.[352] In Seti's *Kanais Inscription*, the context suggests scribal intentionality behind the blending of the two different semantics.

j3dwt  B8 (§2.3, n. xxiii)
"herds"
From the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards, the word *j3dt* "pasture" is often used for the semantically related and presumably similar sounding *jdr* "herd." Examples with sign E1 () are found also outside Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*: for instance, in a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty royal inscription[353]

346 K*RI* V 63, 14.
347 Cf. *DZA* 30.046.040–070.
348 K*RI* II 238, 9 and 10; 239, 12 and 13.
349 Cf. *DZA* 30.309.150–190.
350 The verb *qb* "to double, to multiply" occurs five times in Seti I's *Nauri Decree* in total. Except for the first occurrence (line 12; K*RI* I 48, 2), all other examples of the verb are written with sign M11 (𓋴) as a classifier (line 18 [1x]; K*RI* I 48, 16 and line 21 [3x]; K*RI* I 49, 8 and 9).
351 K*RI* V 108, 14 = KIU 4325, 15.
352 K*RI* VI 571, 1.
353 *Urk.* III 87, 5.

and a few Ramesside non-monumental texts.[354] The altered semantics of *j3dt* may equally be signaled by the presence of sign F27 (𓌙). Line 57 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*[355] and a Ramesside ostracon[356] aptly illustrate this scenario.

sswn 𓋴𓊃𓀀 B3
"to abolish, to destroy" See below, under §2.4.3.4.

š3d 𓈙𓎛𓏏 B10
"to hollow out" See below, under §2.4.3.4.

tḫnj 𓐍𓅱𓎟𓈖 C4
"to harm, to injure" See below, under §2.4.3.4.

2.4.3.4 Idiosyncratic Graphical Solutions

jhjj 𓇋𓀀𓂋𓏺𓀀 C2 (§2.3, n. xlii)
"hey!" The exclamative *jhjj* "hey!" has a typically Ramesside element (𓇋𓀀 instead of 𓇋) and a minor simplification (𓏺 instead of 𓏺𓏺) in its spelling. The present graphical solution seems to be specific to this text.[357]

mnjw 𓄤 A2 (§2.3, n. cxiii)
"shepherd, herdsman" vs. 𓄤𓂝𓏏[358] vs. B8 (§2.4.3.3.1)
The second column of Text A includes a unique logographic spelling for the word *mnjw* "shepherd, herdsman,"[359] which visually resonates with the content of the passage (§2.3, n. cxiii). The sign has no further examples in the record.[360]

sʿnḫ t3wj 𓋴𓋹𓏏 A1
"who sustains both lands" vs. 𓋴𓋹𓏏 vs. B1
The two signs of the verb *sʿnḫ* "to sustain, to make live" (𓋴𓋹) are intertwined with those of the phrase *t3wj* "two

354 See, e.g., oGardiner 86, verso 4 (K*RI* III 139, 14) or pLansing 11.7 (*LEM* 110, 7).
355 K*RI* I 54, 14.
356 oDeM 1076, 8 (Posener 1938: pl. 43).
357 Cf. *DZA* 21.181.160–170 and 250.
358 Cf. n. 301 above.
359 For the exact execution of the sign, see Schott (1961: pl. 14 and *DSA*, photo no. 6438).
360 Cf. *DZA* 24.050.270–370.

lands" (; see §2.4.3.3.1 above) in the epithet *sᶜnḫ tɜwj* "who sustains both lands" in Seti's Horus name in column 1 of Text A. This graphical solution occurs regularly in Seti I's texts.[361]

sbn
"to steer off course, to diverge"

 C13–14

In the inscriptions of Seti I, the third consonant of the verb *sbn* "to steer off course, to diverge" is sometimes written with the red crown of Lower Egypt ().[362] Another example of this spelling is found in the stairway corridor of Seti I's Abydos temple, in the speech of Thoth.[363]

sswn
"to abolish, to destroy"

 B3

The verb *sswn* "to abolish, to destroy" has an otherwise unparalleled spelling in column 3 of Text B.[364] Considering the semantics of the verb, sign A2 () is an unconventional choice as a classifier. The context, however, and the word's conceivable phonetic similarity[365] with *sswr* "to drench" may account for the unusual written form.

šɜd
"to hollow out"

 B10

The presence of the dual strokes in the spelling of the infinitival form of the verb is highly unusual. The feature is either an incidental scribal mistake, or it attests to the influence of the verb *šdi* "to dig."

tḫnj
"to harm, to injure"

 C4

The example in Seti's *Kanais Inscription* is the only one to include signs D56 () and D54 () in the spelling of the verb *tḫn*(*j*) "to harm, to injure."[366] The idiosyncrasy may be explained by the influence of *thi*/*thɜ* "to transgress, to violate," a semantically and phonetically similar verb used in C5, C16, and C17.

361 It is present, for instance, on the interior walls of the portico of his temple at Kanais (K*RI* I 35, 6 and 36, 4), in his *First Beth-Shan Stela* (K*RI* I 11, 15; similarly noted by Beckerath 1999: 148–149), and in some of his inscriptions at Karnak (e.g., K*RI* I 14, 2) and in Abydos (e.g., K*RI* I 129, 10; 130, 7; 131, 4; 132, 5; 133, 2; 134, 2; 135, 2; 136, 4; 154, 10 and 11; 156, 7).

362 Cf. *DZA* 28.595.380–400.

363 K*RI* I 190, 15–16; cited by *DZA* 28.595.390 and *DZA* 28.596.020.

364 Cf. *DZA* 29.562.350–370.

365 Although *n* and *r* do not occur as variants of one another, they are both commonly associated with the phoneme *l* (see Allen 2013b: 39–42).

366 Cf. *DZA* 31.143.970.

2.5 Discussion of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*

2.5.1 The Threefold Inscription as a Single Composition

Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* consists of three separate units of text—Texts B, C, and A—written on three different wall sections in the temple of Kanais (§2.1). Despite their physical disengagement, the three texts constitute a single composition.

The inscription begins with a dateline and the king's titulary (B1, §2.2.2.1) at the head of the expeditionary report on the eastern side of the north wall of the main hall (Text B, §2.2.2). The history of the well and the temple (B1–11, §2.2.2.2) employs some of the typical motifs of a *Königsnovelle*.[367] The section opens with the expression *hrw pn jst* "now, on this day" (see also under §2.4.2.2 and §2.4.2.3), which serves to underline the singularity of the event, namely, that the king set out to survey the desert: *hrw pn jst ḥm=f sm3ʿ=f ḫ3swt r r3-ʿ ḏww*… "Now, on this day, his majesty reviews (i.e., surveys; §2.3, n. i) the desert to the confine(s) of the mountains, …" (B1). The formulation *3b.n jb=f m33 ḫ3wt jnnw ḏʿm jm=sn* "his heart has desired to see (§2.3, n. ii) the mines from which electrum is brought" (B1–2) specifies the royal objective and thereby creates a further associative link to texts belonging to the *Königsnovelle*. The modification of another generic marker of the genre, nonetheless, demonstrates that the text itself is not a *Königsnovelle*; it merely uses some of the motifs of the genre for their indexical value as a framing device.[368] Columns 2 and 5 of Text B emphasize that the king was alone in the desert, so he consulted his own heart instead of presenting his plans to the courtiers—as would be expected in a *Königsnovelle*: *jr{t}.jn=f sḫnjj ḥr w3t r w3w3 sḥ ḥnʿ jb=f*… "he made a rest on the way to forge plan(s) with his heart…" (B2); *jr m-ḫt ḏdw ḥm=f nn mdww=f ḥr jb=f ḏs=f*… "After his majesty had said this, his words (being) in front of his own heart, …" (B5).

The history of the well and the temple is divided into two major parts by the non-enclitic introductory particle *jst* used as a structural marker (§2.4.2.2): *hrw pn jst sm3ʿ=f ḫ3swt*… "Now, on this day, his majesty reviews (i.e., surveys; §2.3, n. i) the desert…" (B1) and *jst grt nṯr ḥr sšmtw=f* (§2.3, n. xvi)… "Now, the god was guiding him…" (B5). The text is further segmented by the use of *jr m-ḫt* and the continuative *ʿḥʿ.n sḏm.n=f* / *ʿḥʿ.n + passive sḏm=f* constructions: *jr m-ḫt ḥm=f m ṯsjj*… *jr{t}.jn=f sḫnjj*… "After his majesty had climbed (§2.3, n. iii)…, he made a rest…" (B2); *jr m-ḫt ḏdw ḥm=f nn*… *dbnbn.jn=f ḥr ḫ3st*… "After his majesty had said this, … he walked around in the desert…" (B5); *ʿḥʿ.n ḫws st tn ḥr rn wr*… "Then this place has been built in the mighty name of…" (B6); and *ʿḥʿ.n wḏ.n ḥm=f rdt m ḥr n*… "Then his majesty has commanded that instructions be given to…" (B9–10).

The narrative part of the history of the well and the temple is interrupted by two royal monologues expressing the king's personal commitment to building a well and founding a settlement with a sanctuary in it. First, in columns 2–5, Seti contemplates the

367 On the *Königsnovelle* in general, see Stauder (2021) and Hofmann (2004).
368 Cf. Stauder (2021: 110–114).

difficulties of crossing the desert (B2: *qsn.wj w3t jwtjj mw=s* "How difficult is a road without (§2.3, n. viii) water!") and commits himself to taking care of future travelers by providing them with water (B4: *jrjj=j n=sn ꜥn sꜥnḫ=sn* "I will ensure their sustenance" (§2.3, n. xii)).[369] Second, in columns 7–9, he promises to erect a temple (B8–9: *kjj sp nfr jw r jb=j… grg njwt jw ḫnw m-ḫnw=s* … "Another good deed that came to my mind, … was founding a settlement that has a sanctuary in it; …").[370]

The king's dated report ends with Seti's prayer to the gods (B11–14, §2.2.2.3) asking them to take care of his achievements by telling future kings, officials, and commoners to make his deeds endure: *jḫ ḏd=tn n jw.t=sn m nsjjw srw rḫjjw smn=sn n=j jrwt=j ḫr st-ḥr ḥwt=j m 3bḏw* "Therefore, you shall tell those who will come as kings, officials, and commoners, that they shall make what I had done under the control of my temple in Abydos endure for me" (B12–13). The section is introduced by the phrase *jr m-ḫt*, a recurring structural marker that appears three times in Text B (B2, B5, B11). In each case, it is used for an interim summary by turning previously recounted events into a setting for the subsequent clause, which—with a *sḏm.jn=f*—continues the story: "After (*jr m-ḫt*) his majesty had climbed (§2.3, n. iii)…, he made (*jr{t}.jn=f*) a rest…" (B2); "After (*jr m-ḫt*) his majesty had said this, … he walked around (*dbnbn.jn=f*) in the desert…" (B5); "After (*jr m-ḫt*) the monument (§2.3, n. xxxiii) had been finished, … his majesty came (*jw.jn ḥm=f*) to praise…" (B11).

After Seti's address to the gods, the *Kanais Inscription* continues with the king's speech to his forefathers and successors (Text C, §2.2.3). The royal address to past and future kings covers the entire western side of the north wall and serves as a framework for the king's legal arrangements concerning his newly established endowment. Contrary to Schott's interpretation,[371] Text C is regarded here as a single monumental address to Seti's ancestors and descendants and not as a sequence of addresses to royal forefathers and successors, future officials, and all possible future evildoers. The first column of Text C defines the king's audience as follows: *jtw=f nsjjw nbw bjtjw ḥq3w rḫjjw* "his fathers, all the Upper Egyptian kings (and) the Lower Egyptian kings, the rulers of the commoners," who are addressed together as *ḥrw-pḏw*(*t*) *t3-mrj* "(O) leaders (§2.3, n. xl) of the Beloved Land."[372] Since the rest of the text does not introduce further addressees, all other entities mentioned in the text must be understood as mere objects of the king's legal arrangements.

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369 The name of the person in charge of excavating the well is fragmentarily preserved in the lower register of a small rock-cut stela near the temple (Brand 2000: 281, monument no. 3.128; PM VII 325 (27)). He was probably called Nebseny (K*RI* I 72, 8). Cf. n. 373 below.

370 The formulation *kjj sp nfr* "another good deed" is reminiscent of the wording of CT Spell 1130 (see CT VII 462b–d). I thank Susanne Bickel for the reference.

371 Cf. Schott (1961: 182–187), who argued (173) that the lack of explicit mention of addressees beyond those in C1 is a deliberate omission in Text C. Previously, I also agreed with him and followed his segmentation (see Paksi 2015: 175–196).

372 This vocative precludes a different segmentation for *jtw=f nsjjw nbw bjtjw ḥq3w rḫjjw* (C1)—for instance, as "his fathers, all the Upper Egyptian kings (and) the Lower Egyptian kings, the rulers, *and* the commoners."

The formulation of the introductory words leading up to the king's address at the beginning of Text C represents an important cohesive link between the two texts on the north wall of the main hall. Both Texts B and C open with a *subject sḏm=f* construction—an Earlier Egyptian grammatical solution characteristic of the lapidary sphere, expressing a specifically inscriptional, non-anchored temporality—which is not used anywhere else in the inscription: *hrw pn jst ḥm=f sm3ʿ=f ḫ3swt…* "Now, on this day, his majesty reviews (i.e., surveys; §2.3, n. i) the desert…" (B1) and *nsw bjtj Mn-m3ʿt-Rʿ s3 Rʿ Stšjj Mr-n-Ptḥ ḏd=f ḥr jtw=f…* "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre, son of Re, Seti Merenptah, says in front of his fathers, …" (C1).

Text C begins with stating the purpose and the motivation behind the king's legal arrangements (C1–8, §2.2.3.1). Here, two warnings constitute the key statements—one against the misuse of gold and another against the interference with the king's deeds and arrangements: *jr nbw ḥʿw nṯrw bn n sj ḫrwt=tn…* "As for the gold, the flesh of gods (§2.3, n. li), it does not belong to your affairs (i.e., it is none of your business)" (C3); *jr thh sp n kjj ḫpr n=f pḥwj m jr mjtt…* "As for (any)one who interferes with (lit., harms) the deed of another, in the end, the same will happen to him (§2.3, n. lv): …" (C5).

The introductory part of the king's speech serves as a preamble to the specific regulations concerning the behavior of future kings (C8–14, §2.2.3.2), the behavior of future officials (C14–16, §2.2.3.3), and the status of the transport contingent and its chief (C16–19, §2.2.3.4). The main points of these sections are organized in two paragraphs each, which thereby give a straightforward binary structure to the last three units of Text C. As the warnings in the preamble, the stipulations concerning the actions of different future groups are consistently introduced by a topic-promoting construction in the last three sections of Text C. The recurring character of these expressions in left dislocation plays an important role in defining the structure of the text on the western side of the north wall of the main hall.

The units containing the provisions for future kings and future officials (C8–14, §2.2.3.2 and C14–16, §2.2.3.3) juxtapose rewards for the righteous with curses for the offender: *jr nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr ḥnʿ ntf sw3ḥ jrwt=j… ḥq3=sn t3w m nḏm-jb…* "As for every king who will exist and will make my deeds endure…. They will rule the lands in joy, …" (C9–10) and *ḫr jr sr nb ntjj jw=f r spr nsw ḥnʿ ntf djt sḫ3 nfr r smnt jrwt=j ḥr rn=j dj nṯr jm3ḫjj=f tp t3…* "Now, as for any official who will approach a king and will give a kind reminder regarding the maintenance of my arrangements (§2.3, n. lxxxvi) in my name, the god will arrange his veneration upon earth; …" (C14) contrast with *ḫr jr nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr sḫnn.t=f sḫrw=j nb… mk tw=*[*t*]*w r wšbw=f m Jwnw…* "However, as for any king who will exist, will destroy all my plans, … look, he will be prosecuted in Heliopolis: …" (C11–12) and *ḫr jr sr nb ntjj sw r stkn jb pn n nb=f r nḥm ḥsbw… jw=f n nsrt…* "Whereas, as for any official who—in manner of a false witness (§2.3, n. lxxxvii)—will lure (§2.3, n. lxxxviii) this (§2.3, n. lxxxix) heart of his lord into seizing the assigned personnel (§2.3, n. xc) …, he will be doomed to fire (§2.3, n. xcii): …" (C15).

The last section of Text C (C16–19, §2.2.3.4) includes only two punitive clauses (C17 and C19: *jr pȝ ntjj nb*… "as for anyone…")—both directly linked to the statements about the status of the transport contingent and its chief. These statements form the cornerstone of the king's legal arrangements. The first one concerns the immunity of the gold washers' transport contingent and defines the king's memorial temple in Abydos as the sole beneficiary of the gold extraction at Kanais: *wpw-ḥr wnn pȝ qrw n jʿw-nbw jr.n=j r tȝ ḥwt Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ ḫw.w mk.w* "Rather, (§2.3, n. c) the transport contingent of gold-washers that I have set up for the temple of Menmaatre ought to be safeguarded and protected" (C17–18). At the same time, the second one gives exclusive authority to the chief of the transport contingent[373] in delivering the gold to Abydos: *wpw-ḥr wnn pȝ ḥr-pḏt n pȝ qrw n jʿw-nbw n tȝ ḥwt Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ ḥr ḏrt=f ḥr ḫrp bȝkw=sn m nbw r tȝ ḥwt Mn-mȝʿt-Rʿ* "On the other hand, the leader of the transport contingent of gold-washers of the temple of Menmaatre shall himself (§2.3, n. cvii) be in charge of their deliveries of gold to the temple of Menmaatre" (C18–19).

The issue of whether the *Kanais Inscription*—and particularly, Text C thereof—shall be regarded as a legal decree has often been discussed;[374] nonetheless, there is no truly satisfying answer to this question. In the broader sense of the term, the wording and the structure of the text containing the king's regulations would certainly qualify as such.[375] The final part of Text C stands closest to the genre, while the preceding two sections rather resemble an imprecation text. The difference between the regulations concerning the status of the transport contingent and its chief and those about the behavior of future kings and officials lies in the presence or absence of rewards for positive behavior. Legal decrees usually do not include blessings for law-abiding action; they focus on punishing the lawbreakers.[376] Strictly speaking, however, the entire Text C represents an imprecation text as far as its content is concerned, since the king's legal arrangements entirely lack this-worldly punishments: the law enacted by Seti's *Kanais Inscription* is enforced by divine agents.

Text A (§2.2.4), the final part of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (§2.1), consists of the formal dedication of the temple to the gods (A1–2, §2.2.4.1) and the future generations' prayer for the king (A2–5, §2.2.4.2). A connection between the two is established phraseologically. The dedication theme (A1) reappears once again at the end of the text: *mj jr.n=f mnw ḥr ḫȝswt n nṯrw nbw*… "because he has made a monument in the desert for all the gods…" (A5).

The votive text, besides offering the temple to Amun-Re and his Ennead (A1: *jr.n=f m mnw=f*… "he has made (this) as his monument (§2.3, n. cxi)…"), also emphasizes the

373 The name of the person who oversaw the transport of the god to Abydos is preserved in the upper register of a small rock-cut stela near the temple (Brand 2000: 281, monument no. 3.128; PM VII 325 (27)). The man was called Anena (K*RI* I 72, 4). Cf. n. 369 above.

374 Cf. David (2006: 112–113) citing earlier literature.

375 In David's (2006: 112) understanding, both Texts B and C belong to the decree.

376 David (2006: 117, n. 22) with reference to Assmann (1992: 151). For an overview on the form, content, and function of Egyptian curse and blessing formulae, see Nordh (1996: 69–105).

singularity of the event (A1–2: *nn-sp jr.t mjtt=s*… "Nothing like this has ever been done…").

The future generations' intercessory prayer is introduced by a continuative *sḏm.jn=f* form, which serves as a long-distance link between Texts A and B. The clause *ḏd.jn=sn m r³ n r³*… "So they (i.e., the future generations; §2.3, n. cxv) said from mouth to mouth (§2.3, n. cxvi): …" (A2) points back to the following passage at the beginning of the inscription: *dw³=sn nṯr ḥr rn=j n m-ḫt rnpwt jw.t=sn jwt ḏ³mw ntjj r ḫpr r swh³ jm=j ḥr tl=j*… "They (i.e., the travelers) shall thank the god in my name for (the time) after the years (§2.3, n. xiii) that will come, (and) the generations that will exist shall come to praise me (§2.3, n. xiv) because of my prowess, …" (B4).

The royal name, which is present at the beginning of each major unit (B1, C1, A1), occurs also at the very end of the text (A5) and thereby functions as a textual framing device for the entire inscription.

2.5.2 The Language of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*

2.5.2.1 Grammar

Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* is a linguistically heterogeneous royal text with a varying density of Earlier and Late Egyptian grammatical features in its major textual units. The charts below (see Fig. 3 and Fig. 4) illustrate the absolute and relative frequency of Earlier and Late Egyptian grammatical features in the three main parts (Fig. 3) and in the major textual units (Fig. 4) of the inscription. The vertical axes on the left show the total number of Earlier and Late Egyptian characteristics (§2.4.1) in the different parts of the text, whereas the vertical axes on the right demonstrate the number of occurrences of these features per column calculated for each unit.[377] Accordingly, the absolute frequency of Late and Earlier grammatical features—illustrated by the height of two clustered vertical columns—is measured on the left vertical axes, while the relative frequency of these features—illustrated by two solid lines—is traceable on the right vertical axes. In each section, the yellow ochre column represents the total number of Late Egyptian grammatical features, whereas the dark blue column stands for all occurrences of Earlier Egyptian grammatical characteristics. The relative frequency of these features is measured by the dark ochre and the light blue solid lines respectively.

The first chart (see Fig. 3 below) reveals that Text C has by far more Late Egyptian grammatical features than Texts B and A in absolute terms. The average density of these

377 Text B contains 13.7 columns in total (see Schott 1961: pl. 13), Text C 19, and Text A five. The number of columns assigned to the major textual units of the three texts are as follows (see Schott 1961: pl. 19): 0.7 to the dateline and titulary, 9.4 to the history of the well and the temple, 3.6 to the king's address to the gods (0.7 + 9.4 + 3.6 = 13.7), 7.6 to the purpose and motivation of the king's legal arrangements, 5.6 to the provisions for future kings, 2.5 to the provisions for future officials, 3.3 to the statements about the status of the transport contingent and its chief (7.6 + 5.6 + 2.5 + 3.3 = 19), 1.6 to the dedication formula, and 3.4 to the future generations' prayer for the king (1.6 + 3.4 = 5).

features—expressed as occurrences per column—is, nevertheless, the largest in Text A, as indicated by the dark ochre solid line. Text B, by contrast, has the highest absolute and relative frequency of Earlier Egyptian grammatical features among the three texts. Furthermore, the diagram shows a strong negative correlation between the relative frequency of Late and Earlier Egyptian grammatical features:[378] stronger reliance on Late Egyptian grammar implies less frequent usage of Earlier Egyptian grammar and vice versa.

The second chart (see Fig. 4 below) gives a more differentiated picture by representing the data at the level of the major textual units of the inscription. For instance, the negative correlation between the values of the relative frequency of Late and Earlier Egyptian grammatical features—albeit still present—appears significantly weaker than above.[379] This more detailed chart also reveals a gradual increase in the relative density of Late Egyptian grammatical features from the beginning towards the end of the text. From the head of Text B to the end of Text C, each section contains more relatively recent grammatical elements per column than the preceding one. The trend is interrupted by the formulaic language of the dedicatory inscription at the beginning of Text A (§2.2.4.1), which—together with the dateline and titulary at the beginning of Text B (§2.2.2.1)—turns out to be one of the least innovative sections grammatically. In contrast, the final part of Text C specifying the status of the transport contingent and its chief (§2.2.3.4) and the future generations' prayer for the king at the end of Text A (§2.2.4.2) stand out as the richest in Late Egyptian grammatical elements in both absolute and relative terms.[380] At the other end of the spectrum stands the central part of the king's expeditionary report, the history of the well and the temple (§2.2.2.2). This section employs more typically Earlier Egyptian grammatical features than any other part of the inscription, in both absolute and relative terms.

Text B (§2.2.2) counts as the grammatically most conservative part of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*. The dateline and titulary (§2.2.2.1) by nature lack any characteristically early or late grammatical elements. The history of the well and the temple (§2.2.2.2), on the other hand, strongly relies on older grammatical traditions. Here, the predicates of the main clauses are either diachronically indistinct (e.g., adverbial or adjectival phrases, prospective *sḏm=f*'s, pseudoparticiples) or typically older grammatical constructions (e.g., *sḏm.n=f*'s, passive *sḏm=f*'s,[381] continuative *sḏm.jn=f*'s, and *ꜥḥꜥ.n sḏm.n=f* / *ꜥḥꜥ.n* + *passive sḏm=f* constructions). The former prevail in the king's monologues, while the latter dominate the narrative passages of the section.

Besides, this part of the text also contains some less conventional classical grammatical solutions. In the king's speech, there is a pseudoverbal construction with a double pseudoparticipial predicate: *ḏr nṯrw wꜣt qsn.tj snḏm.tj ḥft nsjjt=j* "Ever since the gods, the road has been difficult, (but it) has been made pleasant under my kingship" (B7–8).

378 The correlation coefficient of the two data sets is -0.99.

379 The correlation coefficient of the two data sets is now -0.15.

380 Cf. Schott (1961: 160); Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 95 and 2011: 177–178).

381 Cf. n. 136 above.

The initial adverbial phrase (*ḏr nṯrw* "ever since the gods") before a pseudoverbal construction with a double predicate is balanced by another adverbial expression at the end of the clause (*ḥft nsjjt=j* "under my kingship"), which results in a chiastic sentence pattern.[382] The same elevated style may be recognized in a rare classical grammatical construction in column 8, where two *nfr sw* constructions stand in asyndetic position with the omission of the subject of the first verb: *s{qb}<bq>* (§2.3, n. xxi) *wsḫ t3* "splendid and wide is the land." The verbs *sbq* and *wsḫ* share the subject, *t3*. Comparable parallels are known from Middle Egyptian literary texts, from the *Eloquent Peasant* and *Khakheperreseneb*.[383] While in column 7, there is an adverbial phrase in left dislocation (*ḏr nṯrw*… "Ever since the gods, …"), column 8 features a similarly preposed object: *sp nb wn bw rḫ.tw=f djw* [*nṯr jr.tw*]*=f ḫr=j* "Every deed that had not been known (§2.3, n. xxiv), [the god] shall cause it [to be done] (§2.3, n. xxv) under me." The word order is not unparalleled in either case; both types of anticipatory emphasis are also attested, for example, in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*.[384]

382 Cf. *AEL* II 56, n. 6.

383 *Eloquent Peasant*, B1 282–283 (Parkinson 1991): *n ḥqs n wbn m3ʿt* "that *maat* may not be defrauded nor made extreme" (translation after Vincent A. Tobin, in Simpson 2003: 39); and *Khakheperreseneb*, verso 4 (Parkinson 1997): *3ww wdn mn=j* "long and burdensome is my suffering" (translation after William K. Simpson, in Simpson 2003: 213).

384 For a fronted adverbial phrase, see column 63 (K*RI* II 329, 11), and for an object in left dislocation, see columns 56 (K*RI* II 328, 13–14), 64 (K*RI* II 329, 14), and 69 (K*RI* II 330, 9).

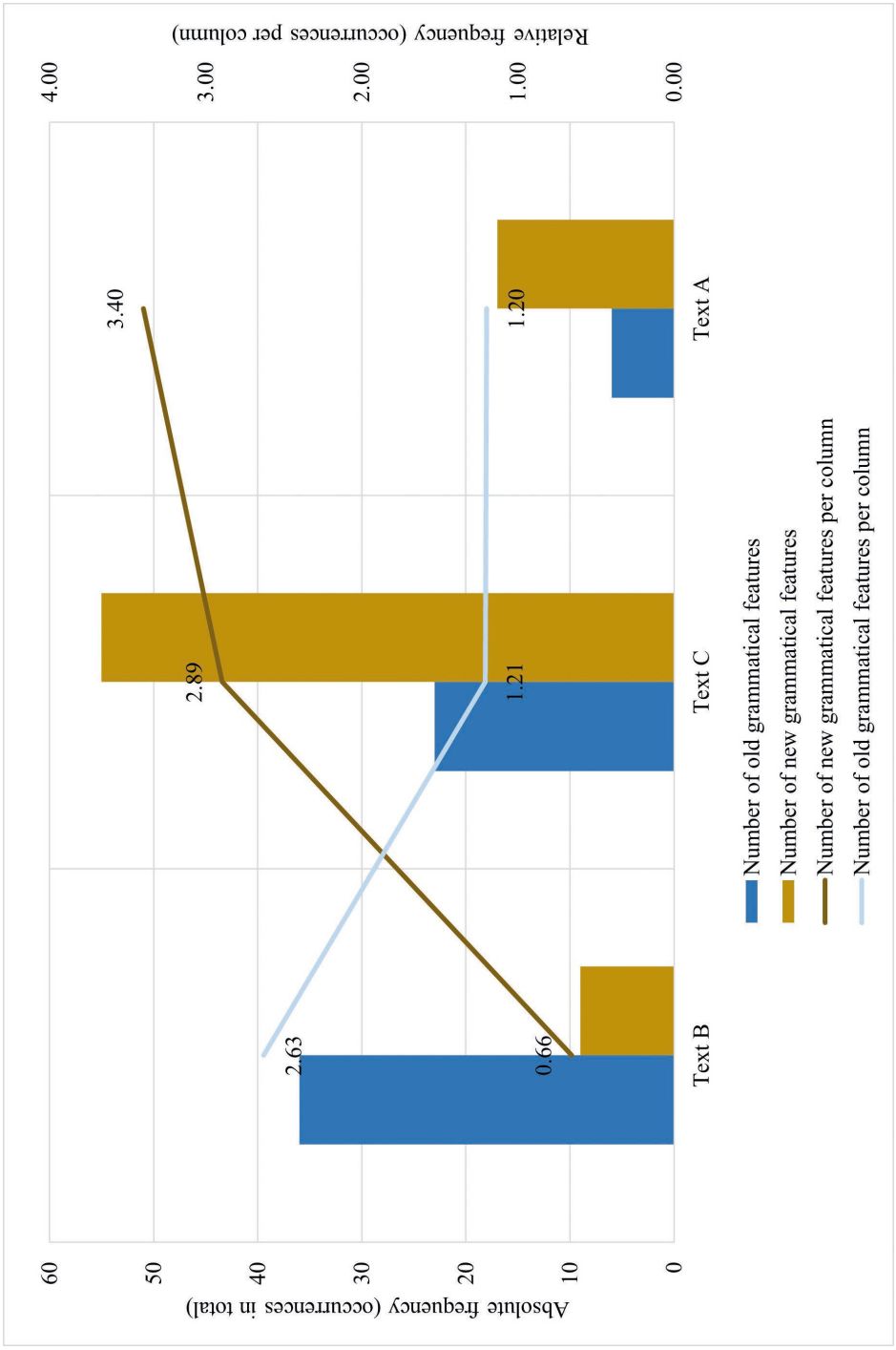


Fig. 3: Absolute and relative frequency of old and new grammatical features (details under §2.4.1) in the three main parts of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*.

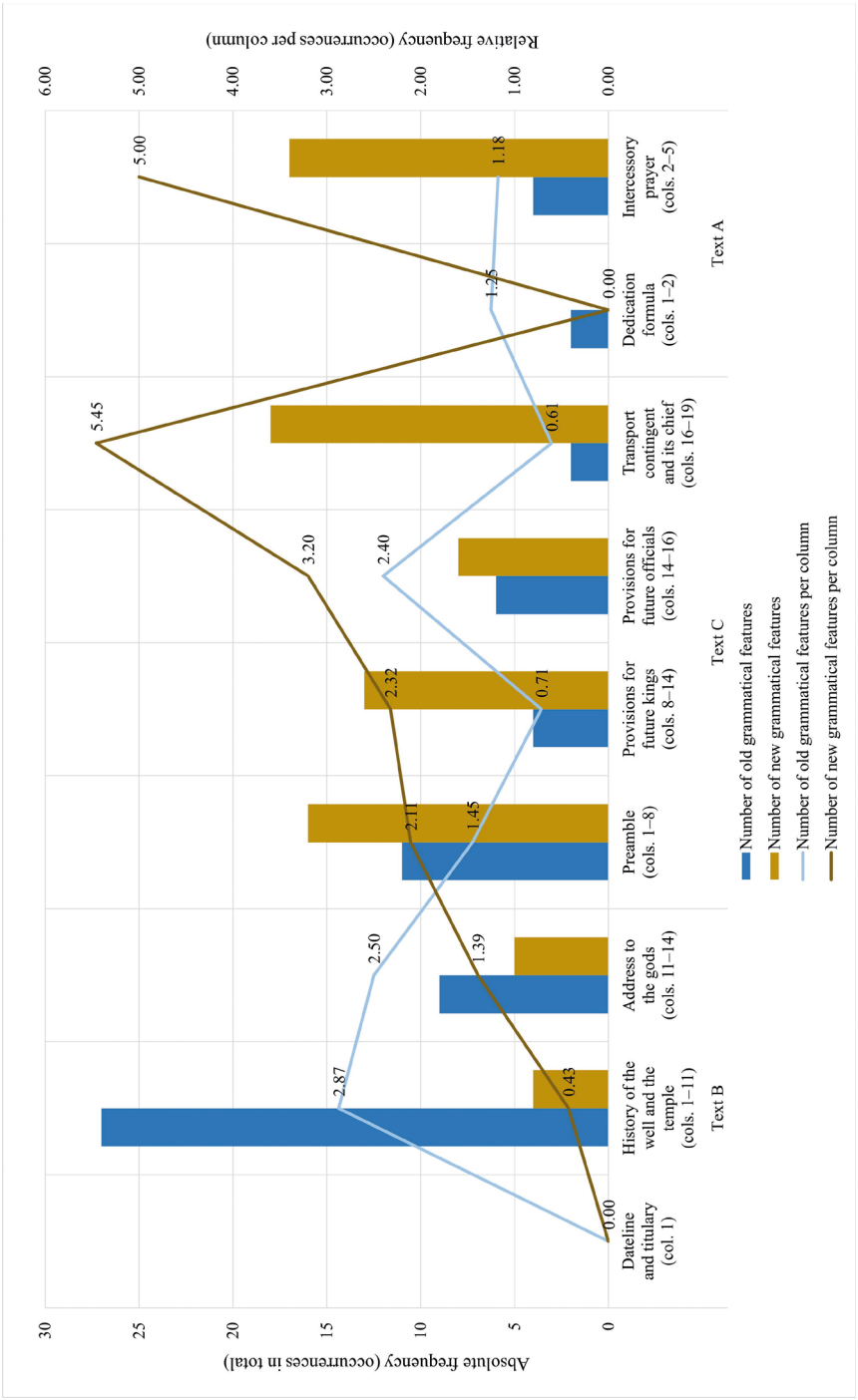


Fig. 4: Absolute and relative frequency of old and new grammatical features (details under §2.4.1) in the major textual units of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*.

Despite the prevalence of Earlier Egyptian grammatical constructions, the history of the well and the temple (§2.2.2.2) is not fully without Late Egyptian grammatical characteristics. Nevertheless, these are not prominently placed. They carry subordinate information in various relative expressions: in a *ntjj r sḏm* construction (B4: *ḏ3mw ntjj r ḫpr* "generations that will exist"); a passive Negative Accomplished *bw sḏm.tw=f* preceded by the preterite converter (B8: *sp nb wn bw rḫ.tw=f* "every deed that had not been known;" §2.3, n. xxiv); and a virtual relative clause (B8–9: *njwt jw ḫnw m-ḫnw=s* "a settlement that has a sanctuary in it").

The closing part of the king's expeditionary report, the king's address to the gods (§2.2.2.3), follows the same linguistic logic as the preceding section. The short narrative passage leading up to the king's speech employs some characteristically old grammatical constructions (e.g., a *sḏm.jn=f* and passive *sḏm=f*'s[385]), whereas the address itself mainly builds on diachronically neutral linguistic solutions (e.g., subjunctive *sḏm=f*'s with optative reading) and also incorporates a few Late Egyptian grammatical features or constructions: three examples of the preposition *mj* used as a causal conjunction,[386] a *bw sḏm.n=f* Negative Aorist,[387] and a Late Egyptian definite article. Again, all of them are confined to lower-order syntactic positions—to causal clauses, specifically: *mj 3ḫ=j mj nfr=j n=tn mj nhs=j ḥr*… "as I am beneficial, as I am good to you, (and) as I watch over…" (B12); *p3-wnn bw* (*w*)*h3.n=sn sḫrw=f* "for (then) they (§2.3, n. xxxvii) cannot fail (§2.3, n. xxxviii), his plans" (B13); and *ḥr-ntjj nttn n3 nbw* "because you are the lords" (B13).

Text C, the king's address to his forefathers and successors (§2.2.3), constitutes the grammatically most innovative part of the inscription. What sets it apart from Texts B and A is not only its high absolute density in Late Egyptian grammatical features but—more importantly—the way these are employed in the text. Text C is the only section within Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* that allows Late Egyptian grammatical constructions to function as predicates in main clauses.

The remarkably powerful opening of the king's address is due to precisely this factor. The king's introductory words represent the very first clause in the entire inscription that contains a Late Egyptian verbal form—namely, a Late Egyptian imperative—used as predicate: *j.sḏm n=j*… "Listen (§2.3, n. xxxix) to me, …!" (C1). This section, the king's explanation of the purpose and motivation behind his legal arrangements (§2.2.3.1), has yet another linguistically highlighted passage. The warning against the misuse of gold includes two prohibitions formulated with the help of two Late Egyptian vetitives, a negative optative and a negative imperative construction: *s3w tn r tḫnj rmṯ=w*… *m-jr ršt*… "Beware of harming their people, …! Do not rejoice…!" (C4–5). The two independent clauses containing the vetitives are the last two elements in a longer chain of negative statements emphasizing the inviolability of the king's arrangements

385 Cf. n. 136 above.

386 Cf. n. 143 above.

387 Morphologically, the construction corresponds to the Earlier Egyptian *n sḏm.n=f* Negative Aorist but features a more recent spelling of the negative morpheme. Cf. n. 139 above.

concerning the gold. A negative adjectival clause (C3: *bn n sj ḫrwt=tn* "it (i.e., the gold) does not belong to your affairs") is followed by a *sꜣw sḏm=f*, a synthetic negative optative construction (C3: *sꜣw ḏd=tn* "Beware of saying…!"), and—lastly—a negative prospective *sḏm=f* (C4: *bn mr=sn sʿḏꜣ m ḫrwt=sn* "they (§2.3, n. liii) will not approve of the destruction of (§2.3, n. liv) their possession") precedes the above-mentioned analytic *sꜣw sw r sḏm* construction (C4: *sꜣw tn r tḫnj rmṯ=w…* "Beware of harming their people, …!").[388] The section includes two further negative verbal clauses: a *bw sḏm=f* Negative Aorist (C5) and a *bw sḏm=f* Negative Accomplished (C7). Innovative grammatical features are similarly attested in lower-order syntactic positions within the unit (§2.4.1). These include a Late Egyptian definite (C3) and a Late Egyptian possessive article (C2), three new third-person plural suffix pronouns (C2, C4, C8), examples of *mj* and *ḫr* used as clause connectors (C2 and C3), and two hybrid formations of the masculine *sḏm.n=f* relative form expressing neuter meaning (C3 and C6).

There is a stark linguistic contrast between the two paragraphs of the king's provisions for future kings (§2.2.3.2). Although both parts accommodate Late Egyptian grammatical features in lower-order syntactic positions, as far as the higher syntactic levels are concerned, the one dealing with obedient royal successors remains conservative in its formulations, while the one focusing on royal offenders includes several innovative grammatical solutions. In the latter, the prospective *sḏm=f*'s predicting the destiny of law-abiding future kings (C9–11) were in part substituted by early Late Egyptian Third Future constructions when describing the fate of royal transgressors (C12–13): *mk tw=*[*t*]*w r wšbw=f m Jwnw…. st r sswn ḥḏ sḫrw=j…* "Look, he will be prosecuted (§2.3, n. lxxii) in Heliopolis: …. They (i.e., the tribunal of gods) will punish the one who destroys my plans, …" These exploratory Third Future constructions lend additional emphasis to the king's maledictions due to the salience of their form.

The linguistic choices in the king's provisions for future officials (§2.2.3.3) are similar to those found in the regulations concerning the positive behavior of future kings: Late Egyptian features are present at the lower syntactic levels of the text but do not go beyond those. This pattern only changes again in the section about the status of the transport contingent and its chief (§2.2.3.4). Here, the analogical construction of the Third Future forms the predicate of a main clause in the second half of both paragraphs: *jr n=f nꜣ nṯrw nṯrjjw nbw ḥwt=j r jrjj-n-ʿḥꜣ…* "all the gods and goddesses of my temple will be an adversary to him, …" (C18) and *jr Wsjr m-sꜣ=f…* "Osiris will be after him, …" (C19).[389] The two curses are directed against anyone who might put the king's transport contingent into the service of another project or might disrespect the exceptional status and unique responsibility of its chief. As in the case of the curses against royal transgressors, the statements receive additional emphasis via linguistic means: due to their Late Egyptian predicates. In the present case, the linguistic contrast with the rest of the text is perhaps best understood against the immediate linguistic environment of these

388 On the linguistic dissimilation of the different vetitive constructions of this section, see Paksi (2015: 190–192).

389 Cf. Winand (1996: 141, exx. 89 and 90).

statements, namely, against the linguistic profile of the first halves of the corresponding two paragraphs announcing the legal protection of the transport contingent and its chief. Apart from the use of Late Egyptian definite articles, both passages are conservative in their grammatical selections: *wpw-ḥr wnn pȝ qrw n jʿw-nbw… ḫw.w mk.w nn ḫʿm=tw n=f…* "Rather, (§2.3, n. c) the transport contingent of gold-washers… ought to be safeguarded and protected. One shall not approach it (§2.3, n. ci)…" (C16–17) and *wpw-ḥr wnn pȝ ḥr-pḏt n pȝ qrw n jʿw-nbw… ḥr ḏrt=f ḥr ḫrp bȝkw=sn m nbw…* "On the other hand, the leader of the transport contingent of gold-washers… shall himself (§2.3, n. cvii) be in charge of their deliveries of gold…" (C18–19).

Some of the most interesting phenomena regarding language use at the lower syntactic levels of the last three sections of Text C, namely, the linguistic dissimilation and the principled placement of the different future relative constructions, aligned with the social status of the actors concerned, have already been discussed elsewhere.[390] In 2015, I pointed out that the earlier constructions were reserved for the royals, whereas the later ones were used for the state functionaries and other future transgressors mentioned in the final part of Text C.[391] In the description of the behavior of the king's descendants, two *ntjj r ḫpr* phrases alternate with a *sḏm.tj=fj* form and two early Late Egyptian conjunctives: *jr nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr ḥnʿ ntf swȝḥ jrwt=j…* "As for every king who will exist and will make my deeds endure…" (C8) and *ḫr jr nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr sḫnn.t=f sḫrw=j nb ḥnʿ ntf ḏd…* "However, as for any king who will exist, will destroy all my plans, and will say: …" (C11). The characterization of future officials includes an early Late Egyptian relative Third Future, its fully developed counterpart, a Late Egyptian relative Third Future, and an early Late Egyptian conjunctive: *ḫr jr sr nb ntjj jw=f r spr nsw ḥnʿ ntf djt sḫȝ nfr r smnt jrwt=j ḥr rn=j…* "Now, as for any official who will approach a king and will give a kind reminder regarding the maintenance of my arrangements (§2.3, n. lxxxvi) in my name, …" (C14) and *ḫr jr sr nb ntjj sw r stkn jb pn n nb=f r nḥm ḥsbw…* "Whereas, as for any official who—in manner of a false witness (§2.3, n. lxxxvii)—will lure (§2.3, n. lxxxviii) this (§2.3, n. lxxxix) heart of his lord into seizing the assigned personnel (§2.3, n. xc)…" (C15). In the final part of Text C, however, only two Late Egyptian relative Third Future constructions occur: *jr pȝ ntjj nb jw=f r th rmṯ jm=sn…* "As for anyone who will interfere with (lit., will harm) the people among them, …" (C17) and *jr pȝ ntjj nb jw=f r sḫ ḥr r wḏt* (*t*)*n…* "As for anyone who will neglect (§2.3, n. cviii) this order, …" (C19).

The simultaneous use of functionally identical but morphologically different grammatical elements is not limited to the domain of future relative constructions in the text—neither to that of the vetitives or causal conjunctions.[392] Linguistic dissimilation is

390 Paksi (2015: 177–187 and 192–193). My previous inventory of the different future relative constructions in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* should be complemented with the example of a *sḏm.tj* form in column 5 of Text B: *pḫr.tjw* "those who will travel around" (§2.3, n. xv).

391 Paksi (2015: 192–193).

392 Cf. Paksi (2015: 187–192). My analysis of the latter should be augmented with the example of the preposition *n* used as a causal conjunction in column 12 of Text C (§2.3, n. lxxvii).

a widely used stylistic tool in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*. In grammar, it is, for instance, also apparent in the alteration between the Earlier and Late Egyptian morphemes of the third-person plural suffix pronoun. The new pronoun, *=w*, is absent from Texts B and A but occurs five times in Text C (§2.4.1), whereas the older *=sn* is used consistently throughout the entire inscription. The younger allograph of the dependent pronoun *sn*, *st*,[393] is employed only once, in column 4 of Text C: *ḥr-ntjj rf st mj dpjjw* "because indeed they (§2.3, n. liii) are like crocodiles." *St* also appears once as a feminine third-person singular suffix pronoun[394] in the text, in column 7 of Text B: *bʿḥ.n=st mw r-ꜥ3t-wrt*… "it (i.e., this place) has flooded water in great quantities…" (B6–7).

Text C also features some hybrid grammatical formations. The third-person plural independent pronoun *mntsn* in column 12 is, for example, a graphical mix, a hybrid of its Earlier and Late Egyptian counterparts, *ntsn* and *mntw* (§2.3, n. lxxiii): *mntsn ḏ3ḏ3t* [… …] "they (i.e., the gods of Heliopolis) are the tribunal [… …]."[395] The two masculine *sḏm.n=f* relative forms expressing neuter meaning in columns 3 and 6 (*ḏdw.n Rʿ* "what Re had said" and *srw.n=j* "what I had announced") are similarly transitional constructions. Furthermore, the use of Earlier Egyptian demonstratives does not comply with earlier practices in at least two instances within Text C. In column 15, the usually anaphoric *pn* is employed in a cataphoric position: *jb pn n nb=f* "this heart of his lord" (§2.3, n. lxxxix). Likewise, column 16 contains an unconventional collocation involving the Earlier Egyptian *nn*: *nn r-ḏr=sn* "all this." The expression has only a handful of parallels in the record—all of them from Ramesside times (see under §2.4.2.6).

Among the three main parts of the *Kanais Inscription* (see Fig. 3 above), the relative frequency of Late Egyptian grammatical features is the highest in Text A (§2.2.4). The final part of the inscription is not a homogeneous unit, however: the two sections of Text A fundamentally differ from one another in their language use (see Fig. 4 above). While the dedication text (§2.2.4.1) does not contain any characteristically late grammatical elements, the future generations' prayer for the king (§2.2.4.2) has plenty of those (§2.4.1)—although none of them in a truly prominent syntactic position. The intercessory prayer's key sentences have pseudoparticipial predicates in their main clauses, the first of which is preceded by a Late Egyptian preterite converter: *wn=s šrj.tj n ḥr=n*… "It (i.e., the road) had been barred from our face, …" (A3) and *t3 w3t št3 wn m jb=n ḫpr.t m w3t nfrt*… "The secret (§2.3, n. cxxii) road that used to be on our mind has become an excellent road, …" (A3–4). The grammatical profile of the narrative framework, in which the prayer is embedded, is, on the other hand, reminiscent of the language of Text B. The link between the two texts is markedly established by the continuative *sḏm.jn=f* at the head of the section (see also §2.5.1): *ḏd.jn=sn m r3 n r3*… "So they (i.e., the future generations; §2.3, n. cxv) said from mouth to mouth (§2.3, n. cxvi): …" (A2).

393 Cf. E*NG* §95; *DZA* 29.663.850: "häufig seit D.19."

394 Cf. E*NG* §§70–74 and §79. Cf. also Peust (2002: 309–317).

395 On the tribunal of gods in Heliopolis in general and concerning state affairs in particular, see Bickel (1997: 113–122).

2.5.2.2 Lexicon

The linguistic composition of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* is heterogeneous also lexically. The inscription contains several relatively recent words and expressions, although their frequency varies among the different parts of the text. The charts below (see Fig. 5 and Fig. 6) demonstrate the absolute and relative frequency of new lexical items in the three main parts (Fig. 5) and the major textual units (Fig. 6) of the inscription. The vertical axes on the left measure the absolute number of examples of the relevant lexical categories (cf. §1.2.1.2)—lexical items seldom or not attested before the Amarna period (§2.4.2.3), those that are seldom or not attested in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times (§2.4.2.4 and §2.4.2.5), and those that are completely absent from the pre-Ramesside record (§2.4.2.6)—in the different parts of the text, while the vertical axes on the right show their frequency per column in each textual unit.[396]

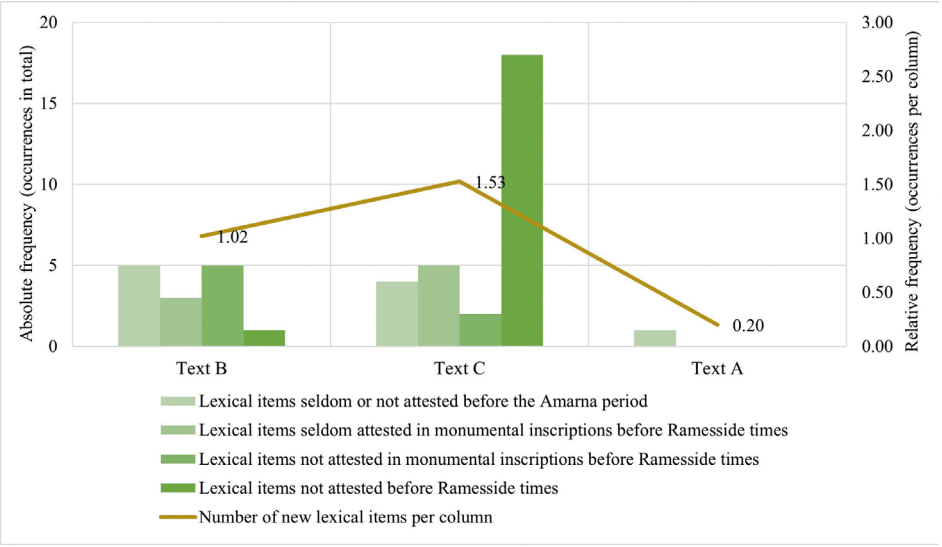


Fig. 5: Absolute and relative frequency of new lexical items (details under §2.4.2.3, §2.4.2.4, §2.4.2.5, and §2.4.2.6) in the three main parts of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*.

Text C (§2.2.3), the grammatically most innovative part of the inscription (§2.5.2.1), also stands out regarding its lexical choices: it presents the highest absolute and relative density of new lexical items among the three main parts of the inscription (see Fig. 5). What is more, it contains by far more typically Ramesside words and expressions than the other two parts of the text (§2.4.2.6). The total number of lexical items that are sel-

396 See n. 377 above.

dom or not at all documented in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times is, nevertheless, almost equal in Texts B and C.[397]

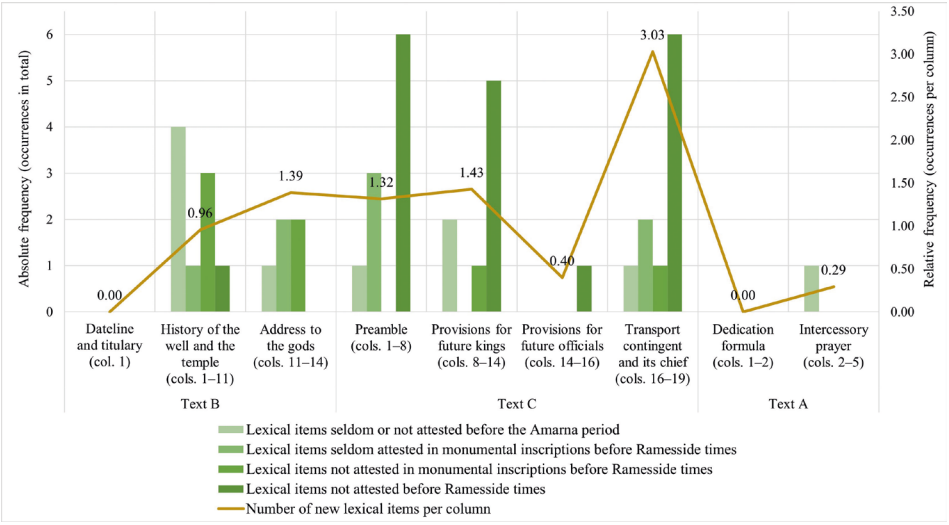


Fig. 6: Absolute and relative frequency of new lexical items (details under §2.4.2.3, §2.4.2.4, §2.4.2.5, and §2.4.2.6) in the major textual units of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*.

The distributional pattern of new lexical items according to the major textual units of the text (see Fig. 6), however, gives a yet more precise picture of the lexical selections of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*. As expected, the formulaic language of the dateline and titulary (§2.2.2.1) and the dedication text (§2.2.4.1) also makes these sections relatively less receptive to innovative wording. More surprising is the comparably low relative frequency of new words and expressions in the future generations' prayer for the king (§2.2.4.2), since this textual unit counts as one of the least conservative parts of the text grammatically (§2.5.2.1). By contrast, the final part of Text C specifying the status of the transport contingent and its chief (§2.2.3.4) represents the most innovative textual unit in the entire inscription both lexically and grammatically (§2.5.2.1).

Although there is a strong positive correlation between the new grammatical and new lexical choices of the inscription,[398] the relative frequency of new lexical items in a given textual unit is generally not proportional to its relative degree of grammatical novelty (see Fig. 7 below). The discrepancy between the two data sets is most striking in the

397 Eight and seven occurrences respectively. See *m-rꜣ-ꜥ* "as well, likewise" (B8); *m-dj* "with; through, by, because of" (B14); *mnq* "to complete, to finish" (B11); the enclitic particle *rf* (C4); *ḥr(j)-pḏt* "troop commander; leader" (C1, C17, C18); and *sgb* "to shout, to shriek" (C4) under §2.4.2.4; and the causal conjunction *pꜣ-wn* (B13 and C18); *ḫꜣt* "mine, quarry" (B2); *snwḏ* "to braze, to anneal" (C12); *sšjjwt* "writings, inscriptions" (B11); *tl* "prowess, vigor" (B4); and *dbnbn* "to walk around" (B5) under §2.4.2.5.

398 The correlation coefficient of the two data sets (number of new grammatical and new lexical features per column) is 0.53.

case of the future generations' intercessory prayer (§2.2.4.2) but is also evident in the case of the provisions for future officials (§2.2.3.3) and the history of the well and the temple (§2.2.2.2). While the king's arrangements for future officials include a high number of Late Egyptian grammatical elements, the lexical novelty of this section remains relatively low. Contrarily, even if the first part of the king's expedition report may be grammatically rather conservative, it proves to be more open to lexical innovations than, for instance, certain parts of the grammatically more innovative Text C. The same holds true for the entire expeditionary text. This part of the inscription even contains some passages with diachronically contrasting grammatical and lexical features. In column 5 of Text B, for instance, an Earlier Egyptian continuative *sḏm.jn=f* is formed with the verb *dbnbn* "to walk around," a word that makes its first appearance here in monumental texts (see under §2.4.2.5). Similarly, the verb *mnq* "to complete, to finish," featuring only its second example in royal inscriptions at Kanais (see under §2.4.2.4), is used in a passive *sḏm=f* in column 11 of Text B.

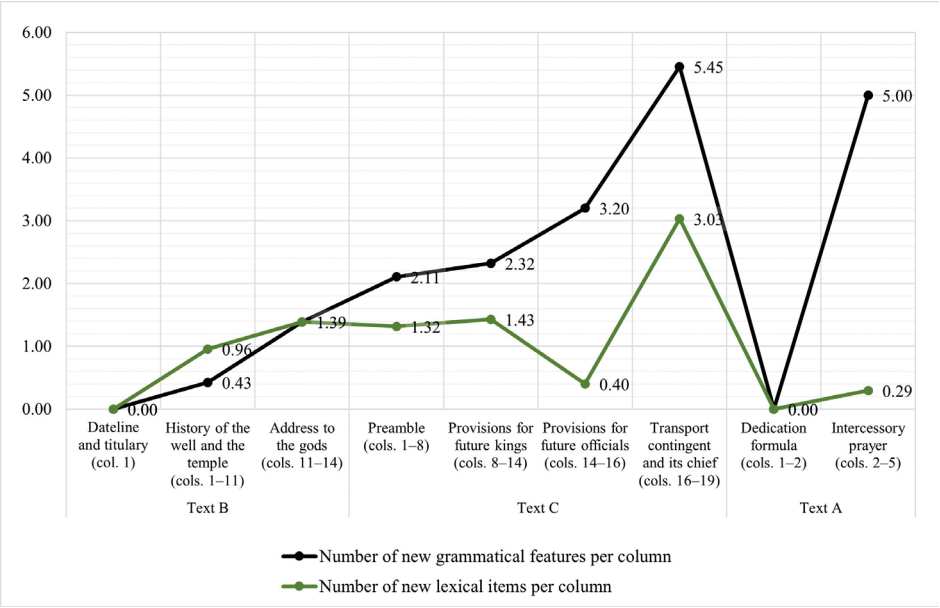


Fig. 7: Relation between the new grammatical and new lexical choices in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (details from Fig. 4 and Fig. 6).

The first part of Text A, the dedication formula (§2.2.4.1), is one of the grammatically and lexically most conservative sections of the inscription. Besides the lack of new lexical items in this part of the text, the presence of lexical selections that point to past layers of the language is another indicator of the unit's preference for traditional wording. The two royal epithets at the end of this section (*mnjw nfr* "good shepherd" and *jt mwt n ḥr-nb* "everyone's father and mother") illustrate how some of the more conservative lexical selections of a text may look back on very different phraseological traditions.

The expression *mnjw nfr* "good shepherd" (A2) has its roots at least as far back in time as the Twelfth Dynasty,[399] whereas the origins of the metaphor *jt mwt n ḥr-nb* "everyone's father and mother" (A2) are strongly linked to the higher written registers of the early Eighteenth Dynasty (see under §2.4.2.1).

Various factors indicate that Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* is a carefully assembled lexical composition. The ample use of synonyms demonstrates that linguistic dissimilation as a stylistic device was also applied beyond grammar. An example from the gray area between grammar and lexicon, namely, the alternating use of the different third person plural suffix and dependent pronouns, has already been mentioned above (§2.5.2.1). Likewise, Text B employs two complementary strategies for saying "to make endure." While in column 9, the construction *rdi + sḏm=f* is combined with the verb *mn* "to endure," column 12 makes use of the *s*-causative *smn* "to cause to endure:" *kꜣ dj=sn mn jrwt=j*… "and they shall cause what I had done to endure…" (B9) and *smn=sn n=j jrwt=j ḫr st-ḥr ḥwt=j m ꜣbḏw* "they shall make what I had done under the control of my temple in Abydos endure for me" (B12–13). Text B also contains both the masculine and the feminine forms of the word *ḫnw*/*ḫnt* "sanctuary, resting place:" *njwt jw ḫnw m-ḫnw=s* "a settlement that has a sanctuary in it" (B8–9) and *jw=j r qd ḫnt m st tn*… "I am to build a sanctuary in this place…" (B9). Although, following Jean-Jacques Clère,[400] Schott[401] argued that *ḫnt* was the Late Egyptian variant of the earlier *ḫnw*, the feminine form of the word is not necessarily younger than the masculine,[402] it is only less frequent. For a further Ramesside example of *ḫnt* in a royal monumental text, see column 79 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*.[403] In Seti's *Kanais Inscription*, the use of *ḫnw* precisely in B8 may be explained by the prosody of the following phrase, with which it likely created an alliterative effect: *njwt jw ḫnw m-ḫnw=s* "a settlement that has a sanctuary in it" (B8–9). A further instance of alliteration is found in the second half of Text C: *bw*(*t*) *n nṯr*… *bw tm.n=f ꜥn*… "The god's abomination is…; he never fails to repulse…" (C16).[404]

Moreover, the richness of Text C in verbs and nouns associated with the semantic field of fire is remarkable: *dšr* "to be(come) red" (C12; §2.3, n. lxxv); *bs*{*j*} "flame, blaze" (C12; §2.3, n. lxxvi); *sḏt* "fire" (C12); *snwḫ* "to braze, to anneal" (C12; §2.3, n. lxxviii); *nsrt* "fire" (C15); *tkꜣ* "to burn up" (C15); and *ꜣḫt* "flame" (C15; §2.3, n. xciv). The lexical variation on the themes fire and death by fire—essential for the deterrence of future malevolent actors—may be considered a result of the composers' intention to

399 Compare *zꜣw=n* "our guardian" in the *Illahun Hymns* to Sesostris III (pLondon UC 32157, 3.14 in Collier & Quirke 2004: 19). The epithet *mnjw nfr* "good shepherd" is also present on Rahotep's *Koptos Stela* (London UC 14327) dating to the Second Intermediate Period (Helck 1983: 60). On various aspects of this metaphor, see Müller (1961: 136–138).

400 Clère (1957: 25).

401 Schott (1961: 145, n. 8).

402 Cf. H*ÄW* II 1893b; *Wb. Belegst.* III 288.12–15 for *ḫnw* and *Wb. Belegst.* III 288.11 for *ḫnt.*

403 K*RI* II 331, 13. Spalinger (2009: 57, n. 273) refers to Schott's analysis mentioned above (n. 401).

404 David (2006: 124); similarly pointed out by Susanne Bickel during our discussion of the text on June 3, 2015.

capture as many aspects of these motifs by linguistic means as possible[405] and thereby highlight the importance of the subject matter.[406]

Phraseologically, Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* demonstrates a couple of similarities with Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*. The passage *ḫ3wt jnnw ḏʿm jm=sn* "the mines from which electrum is brought" in column 2 of Text B resonates with the phrase *ḫ3swt jnn nbw jm=sn* "desert (lands) from which gold is brought"[407] in line 8 of the *Quban Stela*. The formulaic expression emphasizing the singularity of an event in the first two columns of Text A (*nn-sp jr.t mjtt=s*… "Nothing like this has ever been done…") has its origins in the private discourse of the late Fifth Dynasty.[408] In royal inscriptions, it becomes widely used in the Eighteenth Dynasty,[409] although a similar formulation is already found in the *Annals* of Amenemhat II.[410] Among the Ramesside royal texts, Ramesses II's *Quban Stela* provides the only parallels known to date: *nn-sp jr.t mjtt ḏr nsjjw jmw*[ʔ*-b3ḥ*ʔ] "Nothing alike has ever been done since the kings who were [ʔbefore ʔ]"[411] (line 29) and *nn-sp jr.t* [… … … …] "[… …] has ever been done [… …]"[412] (lines 33–34). The singularity of the events recounted by the threefold inscription at Kanais is also underlined at the beginning of the expedition account (B1) by *hrw pn jst* "now, on this day," an expression that first appears in the record in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty (see under §2.4.2.3).

In addition to Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*, Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* is connected phraseologically to a handful of other Ramesside royal inscriptions as well. The end of the paragraph dealing with law-abiding future kings in column 11 of Text C ([…] [*t*]*m ḏd ḥ3 n=j* "[…] [n]ot say 'If only I had!'") is comparable to a passage in column 10 of Seti I's *Speos Artemidos Dedicatory Inscription*: *nn ḏd ḥ3 n=j* "without (anyone) saying: 'If only I had!'"[413] Both texts still treat *ḥ3 n=j* as a direct quote introduced by *ḏd*. The situation is different in line 12 of Ramesses II's *Year 8 Heliopolis Stela*: *nn ḥl-n*(*=j*) *r=s* "There is no deficiency to that regard."[414] Here, the exclamation is already a lexicalized unit and functions as a substantive.[415]

The formula *wpw-ḥr wnn* in columns 16 and 18 of Text C is characteristic of legal language and is often found in royal decrees. It is similarly present in Seti I's *Nauri*

405 Cf. Vernus (1996b: 165).

406 On the lexical dimension of linguistic dissimilation, see §7.2.5 below.

407 K*RI* II 355, 2.

408 Cf. Vernus (1995a: 62–70).

409 See, e.g., *Urk.* IV 357, 8; 623, 14; 766, 3; 843, 12; 1233, 17; 1648, 5; 1652, 16 (with *ḫpr*); and 1654, 7.

410 *N-sp ḫpr mjtt ḫr nṯrw jmw-b3ḥ* "Never had the like occurred under the gods who were before" (column x+24 in Altenmüller 2008: 2).

411 K*RI* II 358, 9 and 11.

412 K*RI* II 359, 7.

413 K*RI* I 42, 10; Chappaz & Bickel (2024: 227, fig. 9.4; 229, fig. 9.6; 232–233).

414 K*RI* II 362, 1.

415 On *ḥ3 n=j* with further references, see Vernus (1973–1977: 221–222, n. r). On citations and lexicalizations, similarly, Vernus (2003: 272–273).

Decree,[416] in Ramesses II's *Armant Decree*,[417] and—in an abbreviated version—in the *Elephantine Decree*[418] attributed to Ramesses III.[419] The idiom *sḫi ḥr r* "to neglect, to be neglectful towards" (§2.3, n. cviii) used in column 19 of Text C is equally employed in line 116 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*.[420]

The threat with a divine pursuit at the end of Text C (C19), evoked with the help of the preposition *m-sꜣ* "after" (*jr Wsjr m-sꜣ=f jw ꜣst m-sꜣ ḥmt=f jw Ḥr m-sꜣ ḫrdw=f* "Osiris will be after him, while Isis is after his wife (and) Horus is after his children"), finds a similar expression in some other Ramesside monumental texts:[421] for instance, in line 113 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*,[422] on Merenptah's *Israel Stela* and its counterpart in Karnak,[423] and in a Twentieth Dynasty private tomb.[424]

In Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, the king's address to his forefathers and successors starts as follows: *j.sḏm n=j ḥrw-pḏw*(*t*) *tꜣ-mrj*… "Listen (§2.3, n. xxxix) to me, (O) leaders (§2.3, n. xl) of the Beloved Land, …!" (C1). Explicitly asking for the attention of the audience is an addressivity[425] technique that aims at engaging the listeners for one's cause. This communication strategy is often found in Eighteenth Dynasty royal inscriptions, particularly in the texts of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III,[426] but it also survives into the Twentieth Dynasty. It occurs in the Medinet Habu inscriptions of Ramesses III[427] as well as on the *Great Papyrus Harris*.[428]

The *Kanais Inscription* shares further phraseological parallels with one specific Thutmoside royal text, namely, the *Punt Expedition*. A clause in the introductory part of Text C (C6: *r djt rḫ=tn srw.n=j wꜣww*… "to let you know what I had announced long ago…") strongly resembles an earlier, Hatshepsutian formulation: *sr.n*(*=j*) *n=t st wꜣ*(*w*) "I (i.e., Amun) have announced this to you (i.e., Hatshepsut) long ago."[429] Likewise, the expression (*m*) *rꜣ n rꜣ* "(from) mouth to mouth," introducing the future generations' prayer for the king in column 2 of Text A, first occurs in Hatshepsut's *Punt Expedition* (see under §2.4.2.1).

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416 K*RI* I 52, 9.
417 K*RI* II 712, 12.
418 K*RI* V 344, 11.
419 Iskander & Rohim (2016: 191) have recently raised doubts about the dating of the text.
420 K*RI* I 58, 8.
421 Cf. Gardiner (1930: 224–225) and Morschauser (1991: 79–80).
422 K*RI* I 58, 5–6; cited in Paksi (2015: 184–185, n. 53).
423 K*RI* IV 15, 5–6.
424 K*RI* VI 352, 1–2.
425 Cf. Morson (2006: 55–58).
426 The earliest parallel is known from Ahmose's *Karnak Eulogy* (*Urk.* IV 20, 9). Examples from the time of Hatshepsut include *Urk*. IV 351, 1–2; 364, 11; 367, 13; and 390, 2. On the latter, see Bickel (2014: 25–29). For examples from the reign of Thutmosis III, see *Urk.* IV 165, 10; 1234, 7; and 1238, 6.
427 K*RI* V 39, 6–8; 66, 7; 73, 3–4; 83, 11.
428 pHarris I 75.2.
429 *Urk.* IV 344, 2.

In Text B, the establishment of the well is presented as a wondrous event that could not have happened without divine guidance. This is a literary motif, a *topos* characteristic of expedition inscriptions in general. As in one of the Wadi Hammamat inscriptions of Mentuhotep IV,[430] it is the divine grace that reveals things previously hidden to Seti at Kanais:[431] *jst grt nṯr ḥr sšmtw=f* (§2.3, n. xvi) *r rdt sprt mr.n=f* "Now, the god was guiding him to grant the request of the one he has loved" (B5).

The phraseological similarity between the *Teaching for Merikare* E 131[432] (*jr.n=f pt tȝ n jb=sn* "for their sake, he has made heaven and earth") and a formulation in column 11 of Text B (*grgw pt tȝ n jb=sn* "who founded heaven and earth at their wish") has already been pointed out elsewhere.[433] Furthermore, column 3 of Text A shares lexical items (*sni* "to pass" and *pḥ* "to reach) with another literary composition, the *Shipwrecked Sailor* 8–11.[434]

2.5.2.3 (Ortho)graphy

Relatively recent spellings are as much omnipresent in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* as are Late Egyptian grammatical features and new words and expressions (§2.5.2.1 and §2.5.2.2). The charts below (Fig. 8 and Fig. 9) present an overview of the absolute and relative frequency of new spellings in the three main parts (Fig. 8) and in the major textual units (Fig. 9) of the inscription. On both diagrams, the vertical axes on the left show the absolute number of new spellings in the different parts of the text according to the above-defined categories (cf. §1.2.1.2)—graphical features uncommon before Ramesside times (§2.4.3.2), regularly and seldom attested Ramesside spellings (§2.4.3.3.1 and §2.4.3.3.3), Ramesside spellings uncommon in monumental texts (§2.4.3.3.2), Ramesside spellings influenced by homonyms or similar-sounding words (§2.4.3.3.4), and graphical solutions that are specific either to this particular text or to the texts of Seti I in general (§2.4.3.4)—while the vertical axes on the right measure the number of relevant examples per column in the different sections of the text.[435]

In light of the grammatical and lexical profile of the inscription (§2.5.2.1 and §2.5.2.2), the frequency distribution of the relatively recent graphical features is surprisingly counterintuitive in the text. As the diagrams below (Fig. 8 and Fig. 9) suggest, it is not the grammatically or lexically most innovative textual units that demonstrate the highest absolute or relative density of new graphical characteristics in Seti's *Kanais Inscription*. On the contrary, Text C (§2.2.3) falls behind both Texts B and A (§2.2.2 and §2.2.4) in terms of its relative frequency of new spellings (see Fig. 8). Besides, the section that has the highest relative frequency of innovative grammatical and lexical features, namely, the final part of Text C, which specifies the status of the transport contin-

430 Couyat & Montet (1912: 97–98 and pl. 36, no. 191).
431 Enmarch (2011: 107–111).
432 Quack (1992: 195).
433 Paksi (2015: 188, n. 69). Cf. also *Wb. Belegst.* V 186.4.
434 Blackman (1932: 42, 1–2).
435 See n. 377 above.

gent and its chief (§2.2.3.4), seems to include fewer graphical novelties than any other part of the inscription.[436]

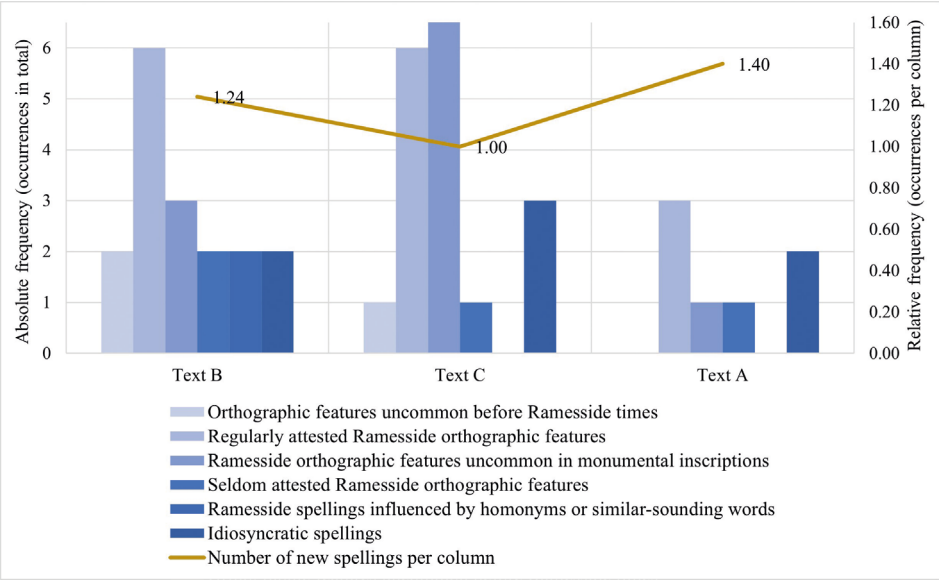


Fig. 8: Absolute and relative frequency of new spellings (details under §2.4.3.2, §2.4.3.3,[437] and §2.4.3.4) in the three main parts of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*.

Moreover, the number of relatively recent graphical features per column is lower in three of the four major units of Text C (§2.2.3.1, §2.2.3.2, and §2.2.3.4) than what is the overall average[438] for the entire inscription. On the other hand, the dedication formula (§2.2.4.1), which—relatively speaking—qualifies as one of the least innovative sections of the whole text both grammatically and lexically, contains a comparatively high number of new spellings. Undoubtedly, there is no positive correlation between the relative frequency of new spellings and the relative frequency of new grammatical or lexical

436 This may be in part explained as an artifact of the data, resulting from the strictly three-dimensional methodological approach of the present study. This section is particularly rich in new lexical items (Fig. 10). New words and expressions, however, only appear in the (ortho)graphic data if there is something unusual about their spelling; otherwise they are registered only under the lexical category in order to avoid redundancies. The (ortho)graphic data focuses on graphical novelties in old or diachronically neutral lexemes, of which this section has relatively few.

437 The spelling of the words *sswn* "to abolish, to destroy" (B3); *š3d* "to hollow out" (B10); and *tḫnj* "to harm, to injure" (C4), discussed above, under §2.4.3.3.4 and §2.4.3.4, is only considered here as an idiosyncratic feature to avoid redundancies.

438 The *Kanais Inscription* consists of 37.7 columns of text (see n. 377 above) and contains (at least) 43 examples of relatively new graphical solutions (see data under §2.4.3.2, §2.4.3.3, and §2.4.3.4). Thus, on average, there are 1.14 new graphical features per column in the text.

features in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (see Fig. 10 below).[439] The placement of relatively new spellings appears generally independent of the new grammatical and new lexical selections of the text.

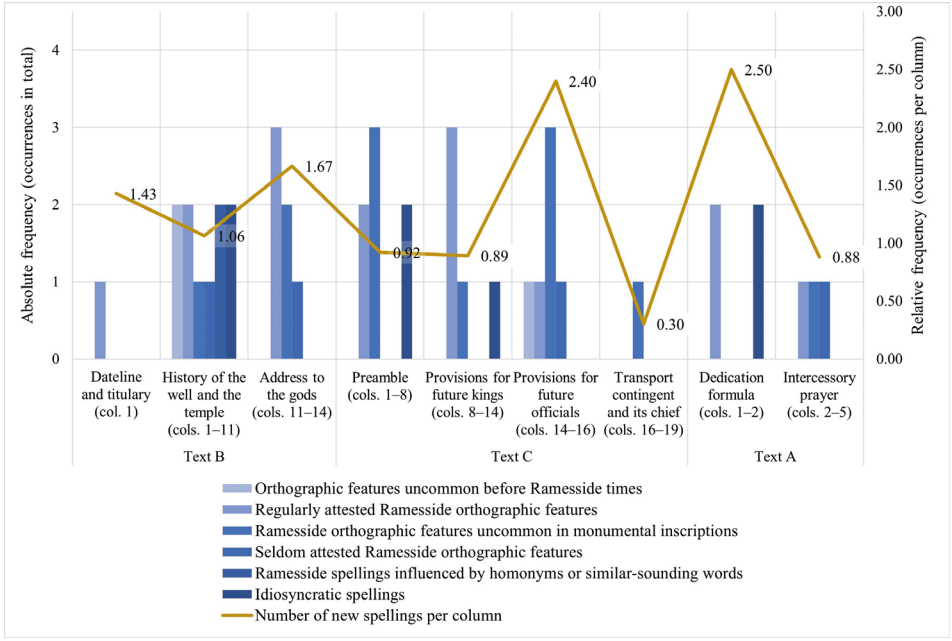
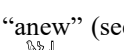


Fig. 9: Absolute and relative frequency of new spellings (details under §2.4.3.2, §2.4.3.3, and §2.4.3.4) in the major textual units of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*.

The inscription's general receptivity to innovative graphical features is not incompatible though with the use of spellings that follow or imitate earlier written traditions (§2.4.3.1). However, the placement of these apparently does not enjoy the same level of independence of the other two linguistic variables—grammar and lexicon—as do their comparably younger counterparts. Genuinely older spellings and those that only imitate earlier graphical solutions cluster in the grammatically least innovative parts of the text and are thereby indicative of the composers' effort to add an archaizing touch to these sections—regardless of the simultaneous presence of later graphical features or less traditional wording. Accordingly, the history of the well and the temple (§2.2.2.2) emulates earlier written traditions in the spelling of the interrogative pronoun *jn-m* "who?" (B3) and the imperative *jsjj* "go!" (B3; §2.3, n. x). The dedicatory inscription (§2.2.4.1) similarly follows older conventions when using the shorter allograph (*.t*) as the written mark of the *sḏm.t=f* passive (A1).

439 The correlation coefficients of the two pairs of corresponding data sets are -0.68 (new lexicon and new spelling) and -0.51 (new grammar and new spelling). The strong positive correlation between the new grammatical and new lexical choices in the text has been discussed earlier (§2.5.2.2 with Fig. 7 and n. 398 above).

The same trend is observable in the case of certain words that occur with more than one spelling in the text. The more traditional graphical variant will be found in one of the two textual units towards which also archaizing spellings gravitate,[440] namely, in the dedication formula at the head of Text A (§2.2.4.1). For instance, the adverb *m mɜw(t)* "anew" (see under §2.4.3.3.1) has two different spellings in the text:  (C7) and  (A1). The one in the preamble of the king's legal arrangements (C7) is post-Amarnian, whereas the one in the dedicatory inscription (A1) is pre-Amarnian. Likewise, the word *mnw*(*w*) "monuments" (see under §2.4.3.3.2) is written in four different ways in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*. The dedication formula (A1) has the most conventional written form (), while the beginning of the king's address to his forefathers and successors (C5) has the most innovative example, a rare Ramesside spelling (). The two spellings of the word in Text B (B11 and B14) represent transitional graphical solutions ( and) between those of Texts C and A. The graphical variant employed in the dedication formula (A1: *jr.n=f m mnw=f*… "he has made (this) as his monument (§2.3, n. cxi)…") occurs once more at the end of Text A, in a passage reiterating the dedication theme: *mj jr.n=f mnw ḥr ḫɜswt n nṯrw nbw*… "because he has made a monument in the desert for all the gods…" (A5). The phraseological link between the two passages (see also §2.5.1) is thus reinforced by the identical spelling of their key expression ().

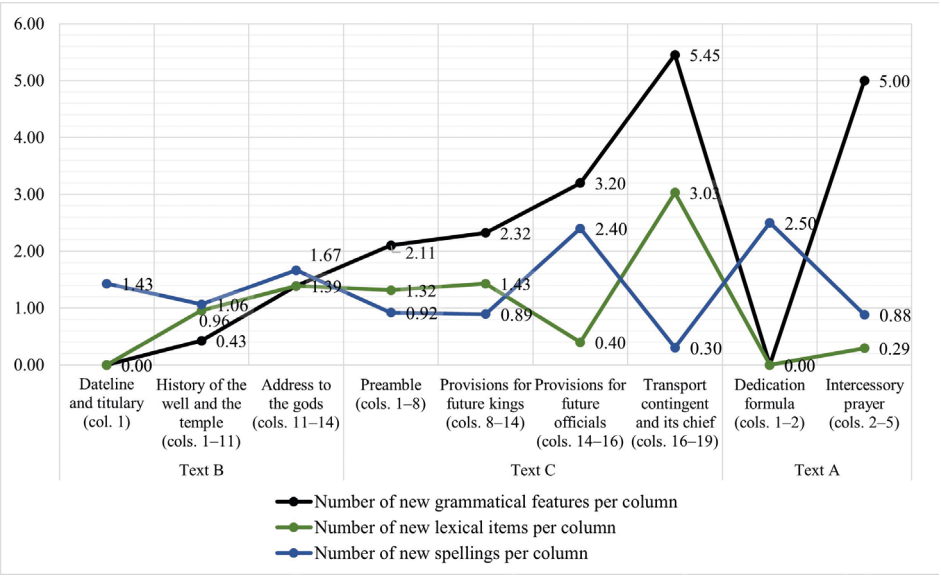


Fig. 10: Relation between the new grammatical, new lexical, and new graphical choices in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (details from Fig. 4, Fig. 6, and Fig. 9).

440 The use of a instead of a in the spelling of the verb *ḫtb* "to overthrow" (see under §2.4.3.1) in the king's provisions for future kings (C10) may be an isolated example of an archaizing written form in Text C—if at all (§2.3, n. lxviii).

The distributional pattern of the different third-person singular feminine pseudoparticipial endings is equally revealing. The younger *-tw* is not used at all, but the older *-tj* and its graphical variant, *-ṯ*,[441] are both present in Texts B and A, in the history of the well and the temple (§2.2.2.2) as well as in the future generations' prayer for the king (§2.2.4.2). The passages concerned are the following: *ḫ3st wsḫ.ṯ* "the desert is wide" (B3); *ḏr nṯrw w3t qsn.tj snḏm.tj ḥft nsjjt=j* "Ever since the gods, the road has been difficult, (but it) has been made pleasant under my kingship" (B7–8); *wn=s šrj.tj n ḥr=n…* "It had been barred from our face, …" (A3); and *t3 w3t št3 wn m jb=n ḫpr.ṯ m w3t nfrt…* "the secret (§2.3, n. cxxii) road that used to be on our mind has become an excellent road, …" (A3–4). The choice for the older spelling in the first half of Text B is in agreement with the presence of further archaizing graphical features in this section (§2.4.3.1) as well as with the unit's general preference for older grammatical solutions (§2.5.2.1). The use of the endings *-tj* and *-ṯ* (instead of the later *-tw*) in the future generations' prayer for the king is, on the other hand, somewhat surprising in light of the section's rather innovative grammatical profile (§2.5.2.1). Here, the older third-person singular feminine pseudoparticipial endings are found in the immediate vicinity of some Late Egyptian grammatical features, two preterite converters and a definite article.

At the same time, those parts of the text that are most inclined to employ older spellings and constitute some of the grammatically most conservative units of the entire inscription, namely, the dedicatory inscription (§2.2.4.1) and the history of the well and the temple (§2.2.2.2), are also the sections that contain some of the most creative graphical solutions in the text. The unique logographic spelling of the word *mnjw* "shepherd, herdsman" (see under §2.4.3.4) in the second column of Text A (§2.3, n. cxiii) is a visual representation of the qualities required from a *mnjw nfr* "good shepherd" (§2.5.2.2) in the present context. He provides his subjects with goods and—most importantly—water:  . There is a similar playfulness involved in the spelling of the word *j3wt* "mounds, hills" (see under §2.4.3.3.4) found in the third column of Text B (§2.3, n. ix). In a passage lamenting the dangers of crossing the desert without water (*jʿnw n=f s jbjj ḥr j3wt* "Woe for him—the thirsty man on the hills!"), the written form of the word *j3wt* "mounds, hills" () creates a visual link to the verb *j3ṯ* "to injure, to be injured." In the same context (B3), the spelling of the verb *sswn* "to abolish, to destroy" (see under §2.4.3.4) may likewise attest to a creative blending of two similar-sounding words, *sswn* "to abolish, to destroy" and *sswr* "to drench:" *ḫpr=ø* (§2.3, n. vi) *mj m mꜥ mšꜥw sswn{rf}<.tw>* (§2.3, n. vii) *jrf nḏ3 ḫḥ=sn* "How will (it) happen to the travelers that the parching of their throat may indeed be abolished ()?" (B2–3).

Despite the apparent elaborateness of its language, Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* is not faultless. The presence of orthographic anomalies and imprecisions suggests that no systematic proofreading took place after the execution of the text.[442] Sign omissions (see *<t3>-stj* "Nubia" [C10; §2.3, n. lxix]; *bw*(*t*) "abomination" [C16]; *th*(*t*) "harm" [C16];

441 Cf. E*NG* §333.

442 The minor adjustment in the case of *ḫtb* "to overthrow" in column 10 of Text C (§2.3, n. lxviii) represents an isolated example.

and *jr=s*(*n*) "who will make" [C19; §2.3, n. cvi]) and sign confusions (see *sswn{rf}<.tw> jrf nḏ3 ḫḥ=sn* "that the parching of their throat may indeed be abolished" [B3; §2.3, n. vii]; *3ḫt* "flame" [C15; §2.3, n. xciv]; and potentially also *ḫtb w=sn* "they will overthrow" [C10; §2.3, n. lxviii] and *bs{j} n sḏt* "a flame of fire" [C12; §2.3, n. lxxvi]) are the most common mistakes, but the text also has some other types of oversights. These include metatheses of signs (see *s{qb}<bq> wsḫ t3* "splendid and wide is the land" [B8; §2.3, n. xxi] and *ḫwt<=j> nb{=j}* "all my property" [C18; §2.3, n. xcix]), insertions of superfluous signs (see *jr{t}.jn=f sḫnjj* "he made a rest" [B2] and *mn{n}w* "monument" [B11; §2.3, n. xxxiii]), lack of gender accord (see *ḫ3wt jnnw ḏ^rm jm=sn* "the mines from which electrum is brought" [B2] and *ḫrwt mr=tn* "the matters that you care for (lit., love)" [B12]), and sign reversals (see *bs{j} n sḏt* "a flame of fire" [C12; §2.3, n. lxxvi]; *bw tm.n=f* "he never fails" [C16; §2.3, n. xcviii]; and the classifier in *qb* "to double, to multiply" [A2]). The latter is most frequent in Text C, the only part of the inscription written from left to right (§2.1).

2.5.3 Understanding the Linguistic Heterogeneity of the Text

In 2015, I looked at the linguistic dissimilation of future relative constructions in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* and argued that the distributional pattern of the different grammatical solutions was principled in the text.[443] Besides demonstrating the linguistic richness of the inscription (§2.5.2), the present study arrives at the conclusion that the potential provided by the heterogeneous nature of the language of the text was exploited also globally in order to accentuate the central message of the inscription.

The relatively conservative grammatical formulation of Text B, the introductory part of the *Kanais Inscription* (§2.1), links the threefold inscription to earlier textual traditions and thereby functions as an anchor to the past. Nonetheless, as the entire inscription, also this part of the text was devised as linguistically heterogeneous (§2.5.2.1). Late Egyptian grammatical features are present in nearly all units of the text; the analysis of grammatical data, however, suggests that the distribution of Late and Earlier Egyptian constructions respected certain syntactic and compositional hierarchies (§7.1.1.2.1). Late Egyptian grammatical elements were generally avoided in more prominent syntactic positions but were often found at lower syntactic levels, as, for instance, in subordinate clauses. There are only a few passages in the inscription where younger grammatical features were allowed to step to the fore and dominate the main clauses. Due to the scarcity of these instances and their contrast with the linguistic organization of the rest of the text, main clauses employing Late Egyptian constructions as predicates carry additional emphasis (§7.1.1.2.2). All these examples cluster in the king's address to his forefathers and successors in Text C: they are found in the Seti's warnings against the misuse of gold, in his curses for future royal offenders, and in his threats directed against anyone who may disrespect his arrangements concerning the status of the transport contingent and its chief (§2.5.2.1). The common motive of these statements is deterrence: they in-

443 Paksi (2015: 177–187 and 192–193).

tend to dissuade future actors—apparently, most of all royal ones[444]—from interfering with the king's newly established endowment. The fact that the law will be enforced by divine agents gives additional force to the prohibitions constituting the central message of Seti's inscription.

In the language of the *Kanais Inscription*, the interplay between older and younger linguistic elements is perhaps most apparent in the case of grammar (§2.5.2.1). Nevertheless, several further factors indicate in the language of the text that innovation and adherence to tradition were not mutually exclusive concepts in Ramesside times. The high absolute and relative density of new lexical and new graphical elements in the grammatically rather conservative parts of the text (§2.5.2.2 and §2.5.2.3), its wide phraseological repertoire (§2.5.2.2), and the coexistence of archaizing and innovative graphical features (§2.5.2.3) provide further evidence for this conclusion.

444 Seti I's intuition that royal actors represented the biggest threat to his arrangements seems to have been confirmed by history. On a short hieroglyphic note carved on one of the columns of the temple suggesting that already Ramesses II used his father's endowment for his own benefit, see Paksi (2015: 186–187) with further references.

3 Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*

(*Dedicatory Stela* of Merenptah, Hermopolis; K*RI* IV 27–30 = Pls. VII–X)

3.1 Attempts to Recover a Lost and Nearly Forgotten Text

Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, a 3.22 m high and 2.65 m wide monument,[445] was inscribed in sunk relief on the outer facade of the northern wing of the pylon in the Amun temple of Hermopolis Magna.[446] The stela was discovered and excavated in 1901 by Mohammed Chabân, who was also the first to publish it in the form of a hieroglyphic transcript in 1907 based on James Quibell's hand copy and photographs, which were taken six years earlier.[447] In 1954, Roeder devoted a longer study to the stela, which comprised a revised text edition together with the first translation and first commentary of the text.[448] The fact that Kitchen has been the only one to translate it since Roeder's publication is indicative of the limited scholarly attention Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* received in the last decades.[449]

At the time of its discovery in 1901, only a few groups of signs were missing from the text due to the small damage done to it in Late Antiquity (see Fig. 11 below).[450] As the stela was carved into limestone, its excavation had disastrous consequences for its state of preservation. The weathering of the limestone caused by salt crystallization led to a rapid deterioration of the carved surface. We know from Roeder's notes that the text had become illegible in less than three decades. His in-situ investigations in the early 1930s could only yield results concerning the physical dimensions of the monument but no longer regarding the reading of the text.[451] Quibell's photographs from 1901 and Ernesto Schiaparelli's from around 1904, which Roeder mentions as an additional source to his hieroglyphic transcription along with an unpublished hand copy of the text done

445 On the physical dimensions of the stela, see Sourouzian (1989: 121).

446 On the location of the stela within the temple district of Hermopolis Magna, see Roeder's sketches (1954: 359, fig. 1, D; 362, fig. 2, D).

447 The hieroglyphic transcript of the stela was integrated into Chabân's excavation report (1907: 216–218).

448 Roeder (1954: 319–374).

449 *RITA* IV 22–26; Kitchen also prepared his own hieroglyphic transcript (K*RI* IV 27–30), to which a brief commentary was added by Davies (*RITANC* IV 16–18).

450 The damage mostly affected line 4 of the main text (§3.3, nn. xxi, xxiv, and xxvi) and part of the right margin (see Roeder 1954: pl. 2). In Roeder's (1954: 320) opinion, the four holes struck into the text served for the wooden beams of the roof of a Coptic house.

451 Roeder (1954: 322): "Ein Vergleich mit dem Original ist sowohl im Frühjahr 1932 von H. Balcz wie wiederholt von mir versucht worden. Aber die Oberfläche des Kalksteins ist in drei Jahrzehnten seit der Freilegung so stark verwittert, dass schon 1930 viel von ihr zerfressen oder ganz abgebröckelt war. Von den meisten Zeichen war nur ein undeutlicher Umriss vorhanden, von grösseren Teilen ganzer Zeilen überhaupt nichts mehr. Deshalb hat meine Nachprüfung des Originals nicht viel mehr als die äussere Gestalt, die Abmessungen und einige Einzelheiten ergeben."

by Quibell, thus had become the only direct sources to the inscription by the 1930s.[452] Consequently, Roeder had to reconstruct the text by relying on low-resolution photographs and yet older hand-written copies. The text of the stela, as we know it today, must therefore always be regarded with a certain degree of circumspection. Since, however, no future philologist will ever be able to consult the original text, the chances of improving the reading of a given passage or correcting potential modern transcription mistakes remain very limited. Kitchen's text edition could, for instance, only present minor adjustments to Roeder's transcription.[453] The contributions of the present study also remain modest in this regard but are, nevertheless, more numerous than Kitchen's.[454]

Notwithstanding its poor state of preservation, the stela is worthy of further investigation. The cultural and historical significance of the text lies in the fact that it bears witness to Merenptah's building activities in an ancient city, which by its geographical proximity to *Akhetaten*, played a central role in reinstalling Amun at the head of the Egyptian pantheon after the failure of the Amarna revolution.[455] Archeological evidence suggests that it was Merenptah's father, Ramesses II, who laid the foundation of the small Amun temple, on the pylon of which Merenptah's stela was inscribed.[456] The *Hermopolis Stela* informs us that Merenptah completed the construction of the temple, namely, the temple of the *ka* of Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat, and dedicated it to the major local deity, Thoth. The decoration of the monument was continued under the reign of Seti II, but as the blank walls of the temple indicate, was never finished.[457]

The present chapter is devoted to the analysis of the compositional logic and the language use of the stela. This case study is a classic example of how detailed philological analyses can deliver important new insights into inscriptions considered well known. One of our findings, for instance, has fundamental relevance for how the text is referenced in the Egyptological literature. The key word in the passage (*ḥsjj* in line 1), on which one of the modern titles of the stela is based, does not support our contemporary designation of the text as "Festival/Festal Song of Thoth."[458] The word *ḥsjj* should be read as "praise" and not as "song" in the given context (§3.3, n. viii). The title "Festival/Festal Song of Thoth," furthermore, is not only unfortunate because it originates in a misinterpreted word but also because it disregards 50% of the inscription. The main text

452 For Quibell's and Schiaparelli's pictures of the stela, see Chabân (1907: pl. 1) and Roeder (1954: pls. 1–6). Roeder (1954: 321–322) writes that he had received Quibell's photographs and handwritten copy of the text from Battiscombe Gunn, while Schiaparelli's pictures from Giulio Farina, the director of the Egyptian Museum of Turin. The photographs and the handwritten copy of the inscription are kept today in the Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim.

453 See, e.g., K*RI* IV 30, n. 13a.

454 See, e.g., notes xi, xxii, xxix, xxxi, xxxvii, l, lviii, lxi, lxii, lxvii, lxx, lxxii, lxxviii, lxxxi, lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvi, lxxxvii, xcii, xciii, xcvii, and xcviii under §3.3 to the transliteration and translation of the text presented below (§3.2).

455 *RITANC* IV 17.

456 Sourouzian (1989: 120).

457 Sourouzian (1989: 120).

458 Originally by Roeder (1954: 327; 327–328, n. b) and Kitchen (K*RI* IV 27, 1; *RITA* IV 22), already taken over by Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 95), Klug (2002: 119), and Davies (*RITANC* IV 16).

of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* contains more than just Thoth's praise of the king: the text is equally divided between Thoth's and the Ogdoad's addresses to Merenptah. Hence, this study suggests that preference should be given to more neutral titles, such as *Hermopolis Stela* or *Dedicatory Stela*, in the future.

Besides improving the reading of the text, the second main goal of the philological analysis below is to arrive at a better comprehension of the linguistic choices made during the compositional process of the inscription and to thereby refine Roeder's and Jansen-Winkeln's statements about the language use of the stela. Both Roeder and Jansen-Winkeln insisted, namely, that the language of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* generally followed Middle Egyptian syntax except for one specific section: a paragraph in the second half of the Ogdoad's address to the king which describes the architectural details of the newly built temple.[459] The present study aims to show that the picture is more complex than previously assumed.

459 Cf. Roeder (1954: 353–355) and Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 95).



Fig. 11: Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* as seen and photographed by Ernesto Schiaparelli at the beginning of the twentieth century (Roeder 1954: pl. 2; © Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim).

3.2 Transliteration and Translation of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*

3.2.1 The Margins

3.2.1.1 The Left-Hand Margin

Ḥr kꜣ nḫt ḥ^{ꜥ} m mꜣ^{ꜥ}t
nsw bjtj nb tꜣwj Bꜣ-[*n*]*-R^{ꜥ}* [*Mr*]*-Jmn*
sꜣ R^{ꜥ} nb ḫ^{ꜥ}w Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣ^{ꜥ}t mrjj Jmn-R^{ꜥ} nsw nṯrw nb pt

Horus: strong bull, who rejoices in *maat*;
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: lord of the two lands, Ba[en]re [Meri]amun;
son of Re: lord of diadems, Merenptah Hetephermaat, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven.[i]

3.2.1.2 The Right-Hand Margin

[*Ḥr*] *kꜣ nḫt ḥ^{ꜥ} m mꜣ^{ꜥ}t*
nsw bjtj nb tꜣwj Bꜣ-n-R^{ꜥ} Mr-Jmn
sꜣ R^{ꜥ} nb ḫ^{ꜥ}w Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣ^{ꜥ}t mrjj Ḏḥwtj nb Ḫmnw

[Horus:] strong bull, who rejoices in *maat*;
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: lord of the two lands, Baenre Meriamun;
son of Re: lord of diadems, Merenptah Hetephermaat, beloved of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis.

3.2.2 The Opening Scene

The king, in the right side of the scene, facing left, stands in front of the seated figure of Thoth, handing him the—iconographically identical—*sḫm*- or *ḫrp*-sceptre with his right and holding an *ꜥnḫ* sign with his left. Between the deity and the king, the name of the temple is written in a stylized representation of a temple. The caption describes the action: the dedication of the temple to its lord. Thoth, in return, gives many jubilees to Merenptah. Behind Thoth, there are six divine figures seated in two rows, similarly facing the king.

3.2.2.1 The King

[*nb*] *tꜣwj Bꜣ-n-R^{ꜥ} Mr-Jmn*
[*nb ḫ^{ꜥ}*]*w Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-*[*Mꜣ^{ꜥ}t*]

[Lord] of the two lands, Baenre Meriamun;
[lord of diadem]s, Merenptah Hetepher[maat].

dj pr n nb=f

Giving[ii] the temple to its lord.

3.2.2.2 The Text within the Stylized Representation of a Temple

(*ḥwt*) *kꜣ n Jmn Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣʿt*

(Temple) of the *ka* of Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat.

3.2.2.3 Thoth

Ḏḥwtj nb Ḫmnw

Thoth, lord of Hermopolis.

Thoth is holding a palm-branch (*rnpt* "year") in his left with the following phrase attached to it:

ḥb(*w*)-*sd* ʿšꜣ*wt*

many jubilee(s)[iii]

3.2.2.4 The Upper Row of Gods

[*Jmn n*] *Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣʿt*
[… … …]
[… … …]

[Amun-of][iv]-Merenptah-Hetephermaat
[ʔShepsyʔ][v]
[ʔRe-Harakhteʔ][vi]

3.2.2.5 The Lower Row of Gods

Ḥr ḥr-jb Ḫmnw
Ḏḥwtj n Rʿ-ms-sw Mr-Jmn
Nḥm[*t-*ʿ]*wꜣjj*

Horus residing in Hermopolis
Thoth-of-Ramesses-Meriamun (i.e., Thoth of Ramesses II)
Nehm[et-a]way

3.2.3 The Main Text

3.2.3.1 Overview of the Major Structural Elements

Introductory heading	line 1
Thoth's address to Merenptah	lines 1–14
jj.n(=j) ḫr=k…	line 2
"I have come to you…"	
royal name	line 3
jj.n(=j) ḫr=k…	line 3
"I have come to you…"	
royal name	line 6
dj=j n=k…	line 6
"I shall grant you…"	
royal name	line 10
ʿq.k m-bꜣḥ=k…	line 10
"I am entered in front of you…"	
royal name	line 14
The Ogdoad's address to Merenptah	lines 14–26
ḫjj pꜣ ms.tw=k nfr…	line 14
"How good it is (the fact) that you were born…"	
royal name	line 18
ḫr qd=k ḥwt-nṯr šps	line 18
"Now, you built an august temple…"	
royal name	line 26

3.2.3.2 Introductory Heading

[1]|*mjtt n pꜣ ḥsjj nsw bjtj Bꜣ-n-Rʿ Mr-Jmn sꜣ Rʿ Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣʿt*
jr.n Ḏḥwtj m ḥb Ḏḥwtj
n-ḏr ḥtp=f m [*pr*] *Jmn n Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣʿt ḥnʿ psḏtj=f*

[1]|Record[vii] of the praise[viii] of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt: Baenre Meriamun; son of Re: Merenptah Hetephermaat
that (i.e., the praise) Thoth has given on the festival of Thoth,
after he had settled in the [temple] of Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat together with his Dual Ennead.

3.2.3.3 Thoth's Address to Merenptah

ḏd-mdw jn Ḏḥwtj nb Ḫmnw smt [*sprw*]
ḫr sꜣ=f Bꜣ-n-Rʿ Mr-Jmn sꜣ Rʿ Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣʿt

Words spoken by Thoth, lord of Hermopolis,[ix] the one who heeds[x] [petitions],[xi]
in front of his son, Baenre Meriamun, son of Re: Merenptah Hetephermaat:

[2]|*jj.n(=j) ḫr=k m mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*
ḥqꜣ.n=j n=j
smjw snn tꜣw nbw
ḥsjj=f ḥr jr n=j
pr.k m-bꜣḥ=f
jb<=j> m rswt{=j}[xii]
jj.k
r mꜣꜣ nfrw=k
r šsp ꜥ(ꜣ)b(wt) jr.n=k m hrww n ḥb Ḏḥwtj

"[2]|I have come to you in triumph,
having started to rule[xiii] for myself,
(O) who gives account of all lands,[xiv]
whose praise is due to what was done for me:
I am come forth to his (i.e., the king's) presence,
as my heart was in joy.
I am come
to see your perfection
(and) to receive the offerings[xv] that you had made on the days of the festival of Thoth.

tw=j m ḥb
jb=j m ṯḥḥwj
ḥs=k Ḏḥwtj
[3]|*dwꜣ nb-r-ḏr m hrw pn nfr*
sw m hnn nb tꜣwj Bꜣ-n-Rꜥ Mr-Jmn nb ḫꜥw Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣꜥt dj ꜥnḫ

I am at feast;
my heart is in exultation,
as you praise Thoth.
[3]|The Lord of All has been adored on this perfect day:
he approves the lord of the two lands, Baenre Meriamun, the lord of diadems, Merenptah Hetephermaat—given life!

jj.n(=j) ḫr=k
jw jb=j nḏm
ḥnꜥ ḫmnjjw m wpt n ḥm n Rꜥ
r qb n=k ḥbw-sd
gm.n<=j> t[w]{=j}[xvi] *m wsḫt nt pt m ḫpr=k* [4]|*n Jtm*
sḥḏ.n=k pr-nsw m stwt qj=k nb m hrw ḥw-ꜥ
wꜥb ꜥwt=k

twrj [… …][ʾ=*k*ʾ]
jrw ʿbw=k m pr-ḥrjj

I have come to you
—my heart being joyful—[xvii]
together with the Ogdoad on the commission of[xviii] the majesty of Re,
to multiply for you the jubilees,
having found you in the breadth of heaven[xix] in your form 4|of Atum,
(after) you had illuminated the palace with the brilliance of all your nature on the day of the striking ceremony,[xx]
your limbs being pure
(and) [ʾyourʾ] […][xxi] being clean;
(and) your purification had been done in the upper part (of the temple).[xxii]

mk pr ʿnḫ […… …]*tj n wꜣḏwꜣḏ mj Mḥw* […]
ḥtpw nbw [ʾnʾ]*sw*[ʾwʾ] *m ḥḥw* 5|*m šbnw nb nfr m jwꜣw rnnw n rꜣ-ʿ=sn sprwt wnḏw gḥsw nr*(*ꜣ*)*w mꜣw ḥḏ jrjjw* [ʿ]*wt qnw rꜣw ḫpnw* […].*w smꜣʿ.w n kꜣ=j*
[*ḏ*]*t=j ꜣḫꜣḫ*6|*.w ḥr šsp=w*

mj jnk jt=k šps
nb tꜣwj Bꜣ-n-Rʿ Mr-Jmn
nb ḥʿw Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣʿt dj ʿnḫ
dj=j n=k {*šwtj*}<*jsw*>*=sn m ḥbw-sd wsr* [*q*]*n nḫt*
bsjj=k ḫntj [*s*]*šm nb*
dj=j bsjj=sn ḥr-ʿ
prr 7|*nb m rꜣ=k spd*{*d*}[xxiii] *sšꜣ m sḫrjj sḥ nfr*
ꜣb=k wḏ=j djt ḫpr=sn

Look, the House of Life […… …][xxiv] with[xxv] green plants like (those of) the North [……];[xxvi]
All the offerings of the [ʾkʾ]ing[ʾsʾ] by millions, 5|with all good varieties in long-horned cattle (and in) calves without their end, *seprat*-[xxvii] and short-horned cattle, gazelles, ibex, white antelopes, rams,[xxviii] many small domestic animals, and fat geese have been […]ed[xxix] and presented[xxx] for my *ka*;
and my [body][xxxi] has become verdant 6|upon receiving them.

As I am your august father,[xxxii]
lord of the two lands, Baenre Meriamun,
lord of diadems, Merenptah Hetephermaat—given life!—
I shall grant you their reward[xxxiii] (i.e., the reward for the offerings) in jubilees, strength, [va]lor,[xxxiv] and victory:
When you enter[xxxv] in front of any holy [i]mage,
I cause them (i.e., your reward in jubilees, etc.) to flow forth straightaway.

Whatever comes out [7]|of your mouth is effective and wise as (are the statements of)
an advisor of perfect counsel(s);
your wish is my decree of making them (i.e., your statements)[xxxvi] happen.

jrjj=j ḫprj m hb šps
r jrt ꜥpꜣjj(=j) ḥr tp=k
ḫw(=j) tw m šwwt dnḥwjj(=j)
jrjj=j sꜣw=k mj Rꜥ
[8]|*jrjj=j {kn}<n=k> ḏt ḥr wpt=j*
dj=k m ḥr=j
r ḥr
m spr r jt=k Rꜥ
r sꜥꜣ n=f nfrw=k
r sḥḏ n=f nꜣjj=k ꜣḫw
r sqꜣ nꜣjj=k tl

I shall transform into a noble ibis
to stretch my wings[xxxvii] above your head,
protecting[xxxviii] you with the feathers of my wings;
I shall make your protection (i.e., I shall protect you) like Re;
[8]|I shall be for you the cobra on my (*sic*) brow,[xxxix]
when you instruct me:[xl]
'To the sky!'
—in reaching your father, Re,
to extol him your beauty,
to highlight him your benefactions,
(and) to exalt your mighty deeds.[xli]

gm.n(=j) sw wbn m ḥꜥꜥ m-ḫnw wjꜣ n ḥḥw
[9]|*dwꜣ sw*
dj=j ḫntš jb=f m swhꜣ nꜣjj=k ꜣḫw
dj=j ꜥm=f r-ḏd
sš n=k ꜥḥꜥw pt m nsjjt
hnn sḫrw=j
ḏd=tw tjw
pꜣ dj n=k ḏt
wbn nb pt ḥr=sn
jrjj(=j) m jm(jj)-pr [10]|*m sšw Ḏḥwtj m ḏbꜥw=f ḏs=f ḥr wnmj n Jtm*
wnn=sn n kꜣ=k rḫ m wḏ n jt=k Rꜥ
nsw bjtj Bꜣ-n-Rꜥ Mr-Jmn
sꜣ Rꜥ Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣꜥt dj ꜥnḫ

I have found him shining in joy in the Bark of Millions
[9]|—adore him!—;[xlii]
I made[xliii] him delight in[xliv] the boast of your benefactions,
(and) I let him know that
the heaven's timespan had been inscribed for you in kingship
(and) my plans had been approved,
when One (i.e., Re)[xlv] said 'yes'
—the one who gives you eternity—
(and) the lord of heaven shone upon them (i.e., my plans).
It is[xlvi] a transfer-document[xlvii] that I shall create [10]|of what Thoth wrote with his own fingers on the right side of Atum,
(and) it is[xlviii] as a decree of your father, Re, that they (i.e., Thoth's words)[xlix] shall be known to your *ka*,
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: Baenre Meriamun;
son of Re: Merenptah Hetephermaat—given life!

ꜥq.k m-bȝḥ=k m ḫprj n ꜥnꜥn ꜥȝ ꜥȝ
hr.kw
tȝjj=j [11]|*nmtt wȝḥ.tw twt.tw*
ḥr=j nꜥ
sfnw ṯswt(=j)
wnf(=j)[l] *r sbj*
n-ḏr dgȝ<=j> tw{=j}[li] *m Rꜥ*
ḥtpw ḫr=j
hrjj ḫr=j

I am entered in front of you in the form of a baboon, the twice great;
being satisfied,
my [11]|stride steady and composed,
my face mild
and my utterances gentle,
being (so) joyful to laugh
since I beheld you as Re.
Peace is with me,
contentment is with me.

jw=j m ḥb n ptr=k srw n nb nḥḥ
m nsjjt [12]|*ḥr nstj Rꜥ bjȝjjt nb nfrt n jb=k*
jw=k mn.tw ḫꜥ.tj m ḥqȝ n tȝw nbw mj jt=k Jtm
ḥȝt nḥḥ šsp ḏt jnn
ḏr sš(=j) n=k r ꜥrjjt n nbw Jwnw
mtnw(=j) ḥr [13]|*štȝ-st*

I am at feast because you witnessed[lii] the annunciations of the lord of eternity
regarding the kingship [12]|on the double throne of Re (and) all the beautiful wonders of your heart (i.e., that you wished);
you are established and have appeared as a ruler of all lands like your father, Atum.
Ours are the beginning of eternity and the commencement[liii] of infinity,[liv]
since I wrote for you[lv] (i.e., on your behalf) to the courtroom[lvi] of the lords of Heliopolis
(and) inscribed on [13]|the sacred grove.[lvii]

pr.k
sw mršrš
pꜣ jrw nb mnḫt
jnk pꜣ sš mꜣꜥ n Rꜥ sšm nṯrw
jr=tw m wḏ n jt=k
hnn=tw [*r*]*-tp-ꜥ=j*
[*n*]*n-wn s*[*ḫ*]*nnw sḫrw=j*
nn [14]*|ḫsf-ꜥ=j m=k ḥr sš n=k ḥbw-sd qnw*
r mn pt ḥr sḫnwt=s
nb tꜣwj Bꜣ-n-Rꜥ Mr-Jmn
nb ḫꜥw Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣꜥt dj ꜥnḫ

I am come forth;[lviii]
he is rejoicing
—the creator, the lord of excellence.
I am the true scribe of Re, leader[lix] of the gods:
one acts in (accordance with) your father's[lx] decree
(and) assents in my presence.[lxi]
There are no de[st]royers[lxii] (to) my plans
and there is no [14]|warding me off from you in ascribing you many jubilees
as long as the heaven endures on its poles;
lord of the two lands, Baenre Meriamun,
lord of diadems, Merenptah Hetephermaat—given life!"

3.2.3.4 The Ogdoad's Address to Merenptah

ḫmnjjw ḥr ḏd m rꜣ wꜥ

The Ogdoad is speaking with one voice (lit., mouth):

ḫjj pꜣ ms.tw=k nfr n jt=k [15]*|Jtm*
r sḥb psḏtj
nꜣ jtw nꜣ mwwt n jt=k Rꜥ-Ḥr-ꜣḫtj
jw.n=k r-šꜣꜥ Ḫmnw hrw sḏm sprwt=k
sḥtp=k kꜣ=w m bw-nfr

r šsp jr n=k
st ḥᶜᶜwj n mɜ3 jrwt=k
st gɜ3gɜ3wjj [16]*|n nfrw=k*
twt=sn ḥr ḏd m rɜ wᶜ n jt=k Ḏḥwtj
jr.n=k jrwt nbt n nṯr Ḏḥwtj mj-qdw
wšbt ḥr-ᶜ mj ḏdwt nɜ n ḫmnjjw

"How good is (the fact) that you were born[lxiii] to your father, [15]|Atum,
to make the Dual Ennead festive,
the fathers and mothers of your father, Re-Harakhte!

You have come down to Hermopolis (on) the day of (the) hearing (of) your petitions,
satisfying their *ka*[lxiv] with good things
to receive what was done for you.
They rejoice because of seeing your deeds
(and) are amazed [16]|by (lit., because of) your beauty;
They together[lxv] are telling with one voice (lit., mouth) to your father, Thoth:
you have absolutely done all that was (to be) done for the god, Thoth.
The response (i.e., Thoth's reaction) is immediate, corresponding to what the Ogdoad says:

jw jr.n=f m ḥr mrw
mrwt=k [17]*|ḫntj jb=f*
ḥrw Ḫmnw m mɜ[*w*]*t* (*n*) *nɜ n nbw Ḥsrt*
qd=k pr Jmn n Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mɜᶜt ḥr Ḫmnw
jr=t(*w*) *nfr* [ʔ*m*ʔ …]*w qdw ṯɜw m mḏɜt r ḥnwtj nḥḥ*
ḫr psḏtj Ḫmnw ḥtp [18]*|m-ḫnw=f*
hrjj jb=sn ḥr=f
wḏw n=k nsjjt n Rᶜ
mj ɜḫ=k n kɜ=w
nb tɜwj Bɜ-n-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn
nb ḫᶜw Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mɜᶜt dj ᶜnḫ

He (i.e., Thoth) has acted with loving face,[lxvi]
the love for you being [17]|in the forefront of his mind.
Hermopolis has been prepared anew (for)[lxvii] the lords of *Hesret*:[lxviii]
you built the temple of Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat in Hermopolis,
which was made[lxix] beautiful [ʔwithʔ …]s[lxx] outlined[lxxi] and engraved with a chisel till the bounds of eternity.[lxxii]

Now, the Dual Ennead of Hermopolis rests [18]|within it,
their heart being content with it.
Re's kingship has been decreed for you
because you are beneficial to their *ka*,[lxxiii]

lord of the two lands, Baenre Meriamun;
lord of diadems, Merenptah Hetephermaat—given life!

ḫr qd=k ḥwt-nṯr šps m pȝ wbȝ [19]*|n Ḏḥwtj*
ḥms=f m st=f wrt
jw=s ḥr wnmj n pr=f
sw bȝk.tj m jnr ḥḏ nfr m kȝwt nb mnḫt
nȝjj=k sḫmw m nṯrw m-ḫnw nṯr[*j*] [20]*|ḥr sḏm nḥwt*
nȝjj=s bḫnw (*ḥr*) [*t*]*kn ḥrj*
ȝbḫ ḥr sbȝw wrw n nbw q(*ȝ*)*rwt m ḥmt*
[*m*]*tnw nȝjj=s rwtj wrtj*
sw dgȝjj.tw [21]*|m šnw nb bnrw sṯḥn.ṯ m ḥrrw*
nȝjj=s kȝmww ḫr sšnjjw prḫw jsjjw nḥmw ṯwfjjw
ḫrp.tw=w m pȝ ms n-mn[*t*] *r pȝ* [22]*|wbȝ n Ḏḥwtj*
dj=w wȝḏwȝḏw pr Ḏḥwtj m rnpj

Now, you built an august temple in the domain[lxxiv] [19]|of Thoth,
(so that) he shall dwell in his shrine,[lxxv]
which is on the right side of his house.

It (i.e., the temple)[lxxvi] has been wrought in limestone[lxxvii] with all (sorts of) excellent work.
Your cult images are as gods in the sanctuary,[lxxviii] [20]|hearing prayers;[lxxix]
its pylons reach the sky,
equipped[lxxx] with large doors of gold and bolts of copper;
(and) its double portals are [in]scribed.[lxxxi]

It (i.e., the temple)[lxxxii] has been planted [21]|with all (sorts of) fruit trees[lxxxiii] and made glisten with flowers.
Its gardens are full of lotuses, blossoms, reeds, lotus buds, and papyrus flowers:
they are presented dail[y] as the floral offering to the [22]|domain of Thoth;
(and) make Thoth's house be green with freshness.

nfrw n Jmn n Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mȝꜥt dj ꜥnḫ ḥtp m-ḫnw=s
jw=f mj šw ḥr wbn
sḥb.n=f Ḫmnw m mȝwt=f
dj=f [23]*|nṯrj Ḥs*[*rt*] *r nḥḥ*
jw=f mj tȝ[lxxxiv] [*Nḥm*]*w-*[*jnjj*]*t n rmw* [*Šmꜥw*]*t*
sw […]*h*[…] *mj Ḏḥwtj*
sw m Šps[*jj*] [… … …]*=s*
sw m nṯr ꜥȝ ḥr Ḫmnw
jṯ.n rn=f mn […] *r* [24]*|nḥḥ wnn ḏt*

jw Ḏḥwtj m Ḫmnw
jw=f rd r-ḫ{tf}<ft>-ḥr=f
ḫᶜ.w ḥr st=f wrt

The beauty of Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat—given life!—rests within it:
he is like the rising sun,
he has made Hermopolis festive with his rays
(and) makes [23]|*Hes*[*ret*][lxxxv] forever sacred;
he is like ʔ[Nehm]u-[iny]tʔ[lxxxvi] for/of the ʔweepersʔ[lxxxvii] of the ʔ[South];ʔ[lxxxviii]
he is […] like Thoth,
he is as Sheps[y][lxxxix] [… …] its […],
he is as the great god in Hermopolis,
his name has seized permanence […] for [24]|an everlasting eternity.
Thoth is in Hermopolis,
he is strong in front of him (i.e., in front of Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat),[xc]
having appeared in his shrine.[xci]

Jmn n Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mɜᶜt dj ᶜnḫ ḥtp m-ḫnw=s mj Rᶜ m-ḫnw pt
nfr ḥrw n nbw Ḥsrt
Ḏḥwtj rš.w
ḫft [25]|*ḏd=tw r=s*
jw=s r ḏt mj ḥwt-ᶜɜt n [*Rᶜ m*][xcii] *ḥbw nw pt*
wɜḥw nb [*jr*][xciii] *n jt=k mɜᶜ.w m-ḫnw=s*
nṯrw nbw jm(*j*) *Wnt* (*ḥr*) *ḫᶜ m ɜḫt=s*
tnw ḥtp[… …]*r*[…]*r hrw nfr*

Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat—given life!—rests within it like Re (does) in heaven:
beautiful are the faces of the lords of *Hesret*
(and) pleased is Thoth
when [25]|one says about it:
'It will last forever like [Re]'s Great Mansion [at] the festivals of heaven.'
All the offerings [made] for your father have been presented in it;
all the gods in *Wenet* appear[xciv] on its horizon
every time […] rest(/s)[xcv] [… … …] perfect day.

ḫr šsp Ḏḥwtj [26]|[…]*w=f*
[*r*] *sᶜšɜ rnpwt=k*
[*r*] *dj*[*t*] *n=k ḥbw-sd n Rᶜ nsjjt Jtm*
nsw bjtj nb tɜwj Bɜ-n-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn
sɜ Rᶜ n ḫt=f mr=f Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mɜᶜt ḫᶜ ḥr st Ḥr n ᶜnḫw ḏt sp-2 nḥḥ

Now, Thoth shall seize his [26]|[…]s[xcvi]
[to][xcvii] make your years numerous
(and) [to][xcviii] grant you the jubilees of Re, the kingship of Atum:
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: lord of the two lands, Baenre Meriamun;
bodily son of Re: his beloved, Merenptah Hetephermaat who appears on the Horus throne of the living forever and ever, eternally."

3.2.4 The Base

The relatively large, ca. 25 cm high,[460] base between the last line of the main text and the bottom of the stela contains the royal cartouches in the middle and a palace facade motif alternating with the heraldic plants for Upper and Lower Egypt on the sides. The symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt—the lotus on the left, southern, and the papyrus on the right, northern, side of the cartouches—are each complemented with a *rḫjjt*-hieroglyph turned towards the royal name, adoring the king:[461]

[*Bꜣ-n-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn*]
[*Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣᶜt*]

[Baenre Meriamun];
[Merenptah Hetephermaat].

3.3 Translation Notes to Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*

i Although the word *pt* "heaven" is spelled only with the logogram 𓉔 at the bottom of the left margin, a sign that could also be interpreted as *ḥrt* "sky," the invariability of the epithet *nb pt* "lord of heaven" secures the reading. For New Kingdom parallels of the same phrase, compare, for instance, the inscriptions of Thutmosis III (e.g., *Urk.* IV 620, 4; 832, 10; 844, 14), the *Horemheb Decree* (*Urk.* IV 2140, 5), or Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions (e.g., K*RI* V 82, 4).

ii The infinitive of the verb *rdi* "to give" is written only with sign X8 (𓂝). The *-t* ending is not explicitly marked.

iii Even though the grammatical gender mismatch between the noun and the adjective appears to be a mistake, the same phrase occurs with the feminine ending of ᶜšꜣ "many" also in other Ramesside royal inscriptions (e.g., several times in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions: K*RI* V 9, 16; 85, 13; 96, 9).

iv Kitchen's (K*RI* IV 27, 11) reconstruction of the lacuna with the signs 𓁹𓁷 instead of 𓁹𓉔—as parallels in lines 1, 17, 22, and 24 of the main text would suggest—follows the equally more logographic spelling of *Ḏḥwtj n Rᶜ-ms-sw Mr-Jmn* "Thoth-of-

460 Roeder (1954: 326).

461 After Roeder (1954: 326–327); the quality of the available photographs of the base (Chabân 1907: pl. 1; Roeder 1954: pls. 1–2) does not allow for a detailed analysis of its decoration elements.

Ramesses-Meriamun" in the lower row of gods in the scene. On the spelling of the latter, compare also n. 601 below.

v Roeder (1954: 325 and 368) and Davies (*RITANC* IV 17) interpret the figure of the second deity in the upper row of gods as that of Shepsy, the last missing deity from the Hermopolitan triad in the scene of the *Hermopolis Stela*. The god is in all likelihood also mentioned in line 23 of the main text of the stela (see n. lxxxix below).

vi Roeder (1954: 325 and 368) suggests Re-Harakhte as the last deity in the upper row of gods by reason of the god's iconographic representation.

vii It must be emphasized that the word *mjtt*, commonly translated as "copy," is not understood here as synonymous with a duplicate of a written text (contra *Wb*. II 39.10–11: "Abschrift, Kopie eines Schriftstückes"). The Egyptian word *mjtt*, literally meaning "likeness," has a much broader semantic range than the English "copy." In the present context, *mjtt* indicates that the following section constitutes a reproduction of Thoth's praise of the king's deeds, irrespective of whether this praise previously existed in written form. The original composition underlying this passage may well have had a different *Sitz im Leben*—for instance, in the context of ritual performance—before being incorporated into the monumental inscription. In this broader sense, *mjtt* may indeed be understood as referring to a "copy," though not necessarily of a written *Vorlage*. For parallels of rare metatextual mentions that describe monumental texts as copies of non-lapidary originals, see Stauder-Porchet & Stauder (2020: 79).

viii For grammatical reasons and for reasons that have to do with the content of the passage, the group  can only mean "praise" (*Wb.* III 157.8 – 158.12) in the present context. And that is exactly what follows: Thoth's appreciation of the king's deeds. Should the group be interpreted as "song" (*Wb.* III 165.2), as was done by Roeder (1954: 327–328, n. b) and Kitchen (*RITA* IV 22), the direct genitive construction (*ḥsjj nsw bjtj*) would require translating "the song of (*sic*) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt," although the king remains silent in the entire text. The spelling of the two verbs, the substantival derivatives of which here are considered (*ḥsi* "to praise, to favor" vs. *ḥsi* "to sing"), has already become interchangeable by the Middle Kingdom (*Wb.* III 164: "Seit M.R. in der Schr. mit *ḥsi* 'loben' zus. gefallen" on *ḥsi* "to sing"). Comparative data show that the present spelling, *ḥsjj*, was regularly used for *ḥs*(*w*)*t* "praise" in Ramesside times (see *ḥsjj* under §3.4.3.3.4). Furthermore, also the nature of the collocation (*p³ ḥsjj… jr.n Ḏḥwtj* "the praise… that Thoth has given") suggests reading *ḥsjj* "praise" over *ḥsjj* "song:" *jri ḥs*(*w*)*t* is a frequently documented set expression for "giving praise" (see, e.g., *Urk.* IV 80, 16; 181, 3; 531, 9; 903, 11; 923, 8).

ix Although the spelling of the word () is fundamentally different from that of all other occurrences of *Ḫmnw* "Hermopolis" on the stela ( and variants on the right

margin; in the opening scene; and in lines 15, 17, 22, 23, and 24 of the main text), the vertical strokes without further complements represent Hermopolis and not a late graphical variant of the word *ḥmnjjw* "Ogdoad" (see *DZA* 27.852.370). The graphical complements of *Ḫmnw* "Hermopolis" were similarly omitted in the opening scene of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, in the caption to Thoth (K*RI* VI 21, 2): *Ḏḥwtj nb Ḫmnw* "Thoth, lord of Hermopolis" (). The phrase *nb Ḫmnw* "lord of Hermopolis" is used also elsewhere on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*: on the right margin and in the opening scene of the monument. In addition, also the word *ḥmnjjw* "Ogdoad" is written differently in all its examples on the stela ( in line 3 and  in lines 14 and 16).

x The group  is interpreted here as an example of an infrequently used ancient verb, *smt* "to hear, to heed" (see *Wb.* IV 144.5–8 and Wilson 1997: 850).

xi If the reading of the preceding signs is correct (see n. x above), the word *sprw* "petitions" is expected in the lacuna. See also Roeder (1954: 328) and *RITA* IV 22. The space available points to a rather compact spelling (e.g., ). Compare the passage with a similar formulation in line 15: *hrw sḏm sprwt=k* "the day of (the) hearing (of) your petitions" ().

xii The group is difficult to interpret unless we assume that the first-person singular suffix pronoun was misplaced and shifted by mistake to the end of the phrase: *jb<=j> m ršwt{=j}* "as my heart is/was in joy." See also Roeder (1954: 330, n. c and 356).

xiii The reading of the group  as an early graphical variant of the verb *ḥ3q* "to plunder, to seize" seems to fit the context better than understanding it as *ḥq3* "to govern, to rule:" *jj.n(=j) ḫr=k m m3ʿ-ḫrw ḥ(3)q.n=j n=j…* "I have come to you in triumph, which I have seized for myself…" Since, however, all other occurrences of a similar spelling of the verb *ḥ3q* date to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty or later (see *DZA* 26.570.100 and 120), it is more likely that the verb *ḥq3* was meant here. The semantics of *ḥ3q*, which link the word to the military sphere, is a further argument against its use in the present context. On the inchoative aspect of the *sḏm.n=f* with atelic verbs, see Winand (2006: 205–214).

xiv The translation proposed here interprets the phrase *smjw snn t3w nbw* as a vocative referring to the king ("who gives account of all lands").

xv *ʿ(3)b(wt)* () is a New Kingdom graphical variant of *ʿ3bwt* "offerings" (see *DZA* 21.655.710–730). Cf. §5.3, n. xxxviii.

xvi Due to a scribal or carving mistake (see also Roeder 1954: 332, n. b; 356), the subject (*=j*) and the object (*tw*) of the verb *gm* "to find" (*gm.n=j tw* "I have found you") were reinterpreted as a first-person Late Egyptian subject pronoun *tw=j* (). The metathesis of and in  could have been influenced by the proximity of *tw=j* immediately above, at the end of the previous line in the phrase *tw=j m ḥb* "I am in

festival." The same mistake happens once more later in the text: in line 11 (see n. li below).

[xvii] The parenthetic information is introduced by a diachronically neutral *jw*. Although the particle already possessed parenthetic functions in Earlier Egyptian due to its contextually assertive value, *jw* could also be perceived here as a Late Egyptian circumstantial converter.

[xviii] The preposition *n* slipped between the two determinatives of the preceding word *wpt* "commission." The group  was similarly interpreted by Roeder (1954: 332, n. a; 356).

[xix] The phrase *wsḫt nt pt* may refer to an actual place, a hall in the palace called "Breadth-of-Heaven" and not a celestial location. This interpretation would fit the context, as reference is made to the king having illuminated the palace on the day of the striking ceremony. I thank Fredrik Hagen for this suggestion.

[xx] Cf. *Wb.* III 47.2–3 and 49.13.

[xxi] These groups were destroyed in Late Antiquity (see Roeder 1954: 320).

[xxii] The last group in the sentence—although with reservations—was previously interpreted as *pr ꜥnḫjj*[*w*] "House of the Living" (see *RITA* IV 23 and Roeder 1954: 332 with n. e), that is, as a synonym expression to the more widespread *pr ꜥnḫ* "House of Life" used in the subsequent clause of the text. Quibell's photograph (Roeder 1954: pl. 4) suggests a different reading, however:  , that is, *pr-ḥrjj* "upper part (of a building)" (see *Wb.* I 511.9–10 and F*CD* 90).

[xxiii] The present spelling () of the verb *spd* (3-lit.) "to be sharp, effective" results from its confusion with *spdd* (3ae-gem.) "to equip."

[xxiv] The signs—along with the presumably pseudoparticipial predicate of the clause—were destroyed in Late Antiquity (see Roeder 1954: 320). The interpretation of the group immediately following the lacuna is very insecure. Although Roeder (1954: 331) transcribed it as  , his question marks placed around the signs, which were only partially kept by Kitchen (K*RI* IV 28, 8), reflect his reservations. The group is only faintly visible on the photograph Roeder (1954: pl. 4) worked from and—together with the rest of the text—is entirely lost today.

This lacunose passage is usually cited as evidence of the existence of a House of Life associated with the local temple (cf. Hagen 2019: 256 with further references).

[xxv] The context suggests a graphical interchange between *n* and *m* for the preposition *m* (see under §3.4.3.2).

[xxvi] The signs are lost due to the damage done to the text in Late Antiquity (see Roeder 1954: 320).

[xxvii] The text seems to contain a fragmentarily preserved *hapax legomenon* (see also Roeder 1954: 333, n. h): . Since sign D24 () is never complemented by a pre-

ceding *s*, the group must be read as *sprwt* (). The context and the determinative of the word suggest that a type of cattle was meant. Interpreting *sprwt* as "cattle ribs" is therefore not an option.

[xxviii] The most plausible reading for the signs  is *jrjjw* "rams" despite the apparent determinative mismatch (see *DZA* 20.996.680 vs. *Wb. Belegst.* I 106.5). Note, however, that this part of the stela had already been strongly damaged at the beginning of the twentieth century when the hieroglyphs were still visible (see Roeder 1954: pl. 3). It is therefore not to be excluded that the four-legged animal above the plural strokes was a ram. The passage is similarly interpreted by Hoch (1994: 29). Kitchen's (*RITA* 23) preference for *jrjjw*(*t*) "milk cows" (see *Wb.* I 114.18) relies on earlier interpretations of the determinative in the group  (Chabân 1907: 216; *DZA* 20.996.680; Roeder 1954: 331) and disregards the dissimilar spelling of the two words.

[xxix] Kitchen (*RITA* IV 23) suggests reading "[consecrated?]." Perhaps [*swꜥb*].*w* "[purifi]ed" would be a better fit.

[xxx] The spelling of the verbal form () blends the written morphology of *sm3ꜥ* "to present" (*Wb*. IV 125.7–9) with the determinative of *sm3* "to slay" (*Wb.* IV 122.7 – 123.11). The context of later graphical parallels (see KIU 4453, 1 and 4561, 2 with the expression *sm3ꜥ ꜥ3bt* "to present an offering") indicates that the verb *sm3ꜥ* "to present" was meant here, and therefore Kitchen's translation of the passage, "slaughtered for my Spirit" (*RITA* IV 23), has to be rejected.

[xxxi] The shape and the size of the lacuna as well as the context make the reconstruction plausible.

[xxxii] The context suggests that a causal subordination (on the preposition *mj* used as a conjunction, see n. 143 above) precedes the main clause. If the interpretation of the passage is correct, it is a unique grammatical solution, to which no parallels are known to date.

[xxxiii] The signs are best read as *šwt*(*j*) "feather, plumage" (see *DZA* 29.978.860 and 890), a word that is difficult to interpret in the present context. The here suggested emendation, which was originally brought forward by Roeder (1954: 335, n. a) and was later adopted by Kitchen (K*RI* IV 28, n. 11a), presupposes an ancient carving or transcription mistake, during which  (H6A) was confused with  (M40), and  (D3) with  (M2). If Roeder is right, the mistake could have been influenced by the presence of the word *šwwt* "feathers" () at the end of the next line (contamination due to eye-skip).

[xxxiv] See also Roeder (1954: 335: "Kraft [*ḳn*]").

[xxxv] The identical spelling of *bs* "to enter" and *bsi* "to flow forth" ( and), or rather, the seemingly 3ae-inf. nature of the originally 2-lit. *bs* "to enter" (),

results from the relatively recent reinterpretation of the two verbs as homonyms (see *DZA* 22.921.320 and 330).

xxxvi Although the antecedent of the suffix pronoun is singular syntactically (*prr nb m r3=k* "whatever comes out of your mouth"), its semantic plurality is reflected in the choice of the referent pronoun (=*sn*).

xxxvii The emendation suggested by Roeder (1954: 336, n. g: "in *ʿpi* 'fliegen' hatte der Vorzeichner gewiss richtig ein 𓅱 angegeben, aber der Steinmetz hat nur einen dünnen Strich eingeschlagen") and adopted by Kitchen (K*RI* IV 28, n. 14a: "𓇋 incomplete for 𓅱"), which formed the basis of previous translations (Roeder 1954: 335: "um den Schwebenden über deinem Haupte zu bilden;" *RITA* IV 23: "to fly up over your head"), is unnecessary, the passage is correct. It contains a seldom attested expression: *jri ʿp(3)jj* "to stretch the wings" (see *TLA*, lemma no. 854179), in which the word *ʿp(3)jj* "wing," derived from the verb *ʿpi* "to fly," features an ordinary late New Kingdom spelling—with a minor mistake concerning the reverse orientation of the determinative (). The 𓇋 is thus not an incomplete sign for 𓅱. For a comparable graphical (and phraseological) parallel, see line x+20 of Seti I's *Great Dedicatory Stela for Ramesses I* (K*RI* I 114, 1–2): *tw=j mj bjk ḥr ms wj šww=j ḥr=f m ʿp3jj* () "I am like a falcon over the one who fashioned me, my feathers over him as wings."

xxxviii Alternatively, the signs 𓂝 may also be interpreted as a defectively written infinitive of the verb *ḫwi* "to protect" (*ḫw* instead of *ḫwt*) governed by the same preposition as *jrt*: *r jrt ʿp3jj(=j) ḥr tp=k ḫw tw m šwwt dnḥw(=j)* "to stretch my wings above your head and to protect you with the feathers of my wings." Considering the presence of similar syntactic situations in the text that consistently repeat the preposition *r* at the head of each individual final clause (line 2: *r m33… r šsp…* "to see… (and) to receive…" and line 8: *r sʿ3… r sḥḏ… r sq3…* "to extol…, to highlight…, (and) to exalt…"), the above-suggested translation, which understands 𓂝 as a circumstantial *sḏm=f*, appears more likely.

xxxix The clause  has presented difficulties also to previous translators. Roeder (1954: 335) read "ich mache dir ein Geschenk auf meinem Scheitel"—an interpretation that suggests a haplography for 𓁹 and an otherwise unparalleled spelling for *nḏt-ḥr* "gift" (see also Roeder 1954: 336, n. h). Kitchen (*RITA* IV 23) proposes "I shall make <for you> protection(?) from my brow"—a similarly problematic interpretation, for it is based on an unattested spelling of *nḏt* "protection" and presupposes a haplography for 𓈖. Since the stela contains several other orthographic mistakes of various sorts (§3.4.3.6 below), it seems plausible to assume that *k* and *n*, written as 𓎛, stand for the dative of the second-person singular pronoun in a reversed order of sequence (implied also by Roeder and Kitchen). If we presume that the stroke (sign Z1) was forgotten after the 𓌃, or was contracted with the tail of the cobra, 𓌃 is to be read as a logogram. The word *ḏt* "cobra" would therefore serve as

the object of the verb *jri*, which is used here in the sense "to act as / to be" (see *Wb.* I 109.26–28): "I shall be for you the cobra on my (*sic*) brow." The reading thus obtained would fit the context and would require only minimal modification of the text.

xl Cf. *Wb*. II 468.4.

xli The context-specific reading of *tl*—generally meaning "prowess, vigor"—is based on its juxtaposition with *ȝḫw* "benefactions" and is supported by a similar use of the word on the southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSS 6; see n. xxx under §4.2.2).

xlii *Dwȝ sw* is probably an interjection, an abrupt invitation to the king to praise the sun god (see also Roeder 1954: 337, n. l and *RITA* V 24). Purely grammatically, *dwȝ sw* could also be interpreted as a relative clause with *dwȝ* being a defectively spelled plural active participle with reference to *ḥḥw* "millions" in *wjȝ n ḥḥw* "Bark of Millions" (*wjȝ n ḥḥw dwȝ*(*w*) *sw* "bark of the millions who adore him"). Since, however, *wjȝ n ḥḥw* "Bark of Millions" is considered as a set expression, any further specification to its second constituent would be unexpected. In Roeder's (1954: 335) understanding, *dwȝ* is a participle referring to the expression as a whole ("in dem Schiff von Millionen von Jahren, das ihn verehrt"). The interpretation is plausible although it presupposes that "the bark," was used metonymically for "the millions."

xliii In the given context, it is impossible to decide which *sḏm=f* form opens the present and the subsequent clause. As translated above, the two  's can be interpreted as Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f*'s used by functional analogy to the preceding Earlier Egyptian *sḏm.n=f*. In this case, the three verbal forms would be asyndetically linked to one another (*gm.n*(*=j*) *sw…dj=j ḫntš jb=f…dj=j ꜥm=f…* "I have found him…; I made him delight…, (and) I let him know…"). On the other hand, the two  's could also be understood as circumstantial *sḏm=f*'s standing in syntactic subordination to an initial *sḏm.n=f* and thereby forming part of an emphatic construction:

gm.n(*=j*) *sw wbn m ḥꜥꜥ m-ḫnw wjȝ n ḥḥw…*
dj=j ḫntš jb=f m swhȝ nȝjj=k ȝḫw
dj=j ꜥm=f r-ḏd…

It is by making him delight in the boast of your benefactions
and by letting him know that…,
that I have found him shining in joy in the Bark of Millions…

xliv On the expression *ḫntš jb m* "to delight in/over," see the corresponding entry under §3.4.2.1.

[xlv] In the Ramesside royal corpus, it is not uncommon to find the impersonal pronoun *=tw* referring to a deity. Compare, for instance, its use in line 11 of the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSN 11; see under §4.3.1.3.5 below with n. xliv under §4.3.2). In several other cases, however, as, for instance, in line 12 of Ramesses II's *Quban Stela* (K*RI* II 355, 10) or in columns 10, 55, and 71 of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription* (K*RI* IV 3, 11; 8, 14; 11, 1), the impersonal pronoun stands for the king.

[xlvi] The preposition *m* adds extra emphasis to the direct object of the present clause (Winand 2015: 536–538).

[xlvii] The translation of this legal term follows Logan's (2000: 66 and 71) suggestion, as in the case of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (C18 under §2.2.3.4).

[xlviii] The emphatic converter *wnn* transfers the rhematic load to the adverbial complement of the sentence. Cf. Vernus (1990a: 45).

[xlix] The relative form of the previous clause, *sšw Ḏḥwtj* "what Thoth wrote," is explicitly plural in its spelling () and therefore qualifies as antecedent to the third-person plural suffix pronoun of the present clause (*wnn=sn*… "they shall be…").

[l] Contemporary graphical parallels—for instance, in Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 250, 4–6)—and the traces of signs visible on old photographs of the stela (Roeder 1954: pl. 3) indicate that the classifier missing from the end of the word *wnf* "to be joyful" in Roeder's (1954: 338) and Kitchen's (K*RI* IV 29, 4–5) transcript was V12 ():  .

[li] Metathesis of and ; the same mistake can be observed also in line 3 above (see n. xvi).

[lii] The object of the verb, *srw* "annunciations," suggests that *ptr* "to behold" is used in a figurative sense in the present context. Compare with *Wb.* I 564.10 ("etw. erfahren").

[liii] On this semantic nuance of the verb *šsp*, see Fairman & Grdseloff (1947: 25–26) with further examples and references. A similar expression in the dateline of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* is cited below, under §4.3.2, n. xi.

[liv] The word *jnn* is interpreted here as a first-person plural independent pronoun for syntactic reasons: *jnn* as a particle introducing a conditional clause would be incompatible with the following *ḏr sḏm.n=f* construction (see Collier 2006: 186–196 and Collier 2015: 172–176). *Jnn* is thus used in a genitive construction and expresses the possessor. The singular first-, second-, and third-person independent pronouns were commonly employed in possessive expressions in both Earlier and Late Egyptian. In earlier times, they were regularly used as predicates preceding a noun or a pronoun (G*EG* §114.3), whereas in later times, we also find them in second position, placed after substantives (E*NG* §§107–109; Gardiner 1912: 115–116). The occurrence of plural independent pronouns in possessive expressions is relatively less frequent

than the use of singular ones and is not explicitly discussed in the grammars. Nonetheless, some Ramesside non-monumental texts provide parallels even to the present, second-position use of *jnn*: pTurin 1981, verso 2 (in Bakir 1970: pls. 27 and XXXV; similarly, Wente 1990: 136, no. 165); pBM EA 10052, recto 3.8 (K*RI* VI 773, 9; similarly, *RITA* VI 542); pLeiden I 370, verso 8 (*LRL* 11, 2; Wente 1967: 28 and 31, n. ad; and Ingelore Hafemann in her translation commentary in *TLA*); and potentially also pDeir el-Medina 24, 4 (in K*RI* VI 134, 12; differently interpreted by Kitchen in *RITA* VI 112).

lv From a grammatical point of view, reading *ḏr sš.n=k*… "since you had written…" would also be possible, but this interpretation would require a change in the identity of the speaker, a solution that is not supported by the context.

lvi The context-specific translation of *ꜥrjjt* adheres to the results of Spencer's (1984: 147–155) lexicographical analysis of the word.

lvii Irrespective of the presence or absence of a tree determinative (see n. lviii below) after  , the context makes it clear that the group stands for *št3-st* "sacred grove" (*TLA*, lemma no. 158140), an alternative designation for the *ished*-tree (Gutbub 1979: 431; Wilson 1997: 1035–1036).

lviii The obscure vertical sign directly following in the previous clause (Roeder 1954: pl. 5) could potentially be the usual tree determinative ( or ) of the group (see n. lvii above) and not the first consonant () of the following word, as it was previously interpreted by Roeder (1954: 338) and Kitchen (K*RI* VI 29, 8). Although the *s*-causative form of *pri* "to come forth" is highly infrequent (see *TLA*, lemma no. 132930; *Wb. Belegst.* IV 105.3–5), the context would not object a reading with *spri* "to cause to come forth:"

ḥ3t nḥḥ šsp ḏt jnn
ḏr sš(=j) n=k r ꜥrjjt n nbw Jwnw
mtnw(=j) ḥr št3-st
spr=k () *sw m ršrš p3 jrw nb mnḫt*

Ours are the beginning of eternity and the commencement of infinity,
since I wrote for you to the courtroom of the lords of Heliopolis,
inscribed on the sacred grove,
(and) **you caused** him **to come forth** rejoicing—the creator, the lord of excellence.

jnk p3 sš m3ꜥ n Rꜥ…

I am the true scribe of Re…

The strongest argument against the here presented segmentation of the text is the presence of a god-determinative after the second-person suffix pronoun in *spr=k* "you (i.e., the king) caused to come forth" (in). In Thoth's address to Merenptah, the sign is consistently used to graphically reference Amun-Re or Thoth. The group is therefore best read as a first-person pseudoparticipial ending, which is only possible if the illegible vertical sign following is understood as a tree determinative.

lix Sign A40 (), a context-specific graphical complement to the participle *sšm* (), which establishes a visual link between the verbal form and its antecedent (Amun-Re), calls for a less generic translation for the passage ("leader" instead of "who leads").

lx The reading of the group is insecure. If the signs previously supplied by Roeder (1954: 338; 340, n. h) and Kitchen (K*RI* IV 29, 9) as well as their order of sequence are correct, A40 is to be read as a logogram or a defective spelling for "father" in (see also Roeder 1954: 339 and Kitchen in *RITA* 24). If, on the other hand, the ancient composers of the text made a mistake by swapping the pronoun and the—in this case—graphical complement to the second-person suffix pronoun in , would have to be read as *jr=tw m wḏ.n=k* "one acts as you (i.e., the king) have decreed." The fact, however, that the god determinative () is consistently used as a visual reference to either Thoth or Amun-Re in Thoth's address to Merenptah suggests that this interpretation is unlikely. Furthermore, a passage in line 10 explicitly states that Thoth's words shall be known to the king as a decree of his father, Re.

lxi The missing first sign of the compound preposition must have been *r* and not *n*, as it is still suggested by Kitchen's text edition (K*RI* IV 29, 9). *R-tp-ꜥ* is a rare variant of *r-tp* (*n*) "in(to) the presence of" (G*EG* §178; see also under §3.4.2.1), whereas *n-tp-ꜥ* does not seem to be documented in the record. The necessary adjustment in the hieroglyphic transcript has already been contemplated by Roeder (1954: 340, n. i).

lxii The restoration of the lacunae in is reinforced by a similar phraseological formulation in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (C11): *ḫr jr nsw nb ntjj r ḫpr sḫnn.t=f sḫrw=j nb*… "However, as for any king who will exist and will destroy all my plans…"

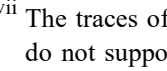
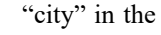
lxiii When used in an exclamation, the particle *ḫjj* is usually followed by a definite article and a substantive (*Wb.* III 238.10–11). In the present context, the place of the substantive is taken by a passive *sḏm.tw=f* construction: *ms.tw=k* "you were born" ( ), that is, "your being born" or "the fact that you were born" if read en bloc. An emendation to the group , supposing that it is garbled, would not result in a satisfying solution: *ḫjj pȝ ms{tw=k} nfr n jt=k Jtm* "How good is the child (*sic*) for your father, Atum!" The grammatical gender of the definite article (*pȝ*) and the lack

of the feminine ending of the pseudoparticipial predicate (*nfr*) also indicate that the signs cannot be read as *mst=k* "your birth," a possessive noun phrase consisting of the infinitive of the verb *msi* "to give birth" and a second-person singular suffix pronoun (on the *-tw* ending of feminine infinitives preceding a suffix, see E*NG* §403).

lxiv Although the group  could be read in two different ways, either as *kꜣ=w* "their *ka*" or as *kꜣw* "(the) *ka*s," the context makes it clear that the phrase refers to the *ka*s of the Dual Ennead.

lxv Literally, "they unite / they are together when telling…" On the expression, see *Wb.* V 259.12: "Personen, Dinge: 'sie sind versammelt' = 'sie insgesamt, zusammen.'"

lxvi Kitchen's (*RITA* IV 25) more poetic rendering highlights the essence of the phrase: "He has acted with evident love."

lxvii The traces of signs visible on earlier photographs of the stela (Roeder 1954: pl. 5) do not support the reconstruction of the lacuna () suggested by Kitchen's translation of the passage (*RITA* IV 25: "furnished afresh is Hermopolis, [city] of the Lords of Hesret"):  . The lower part of the lacuna seems to have contained a straight horizontal line that could not have formed part of the word *njwt* "city" in the given constellation. Instead, the traces more likely belonged to the adverb "anew," written as *m mꜣwt*:  . In this case, the missing signs would have been Z7 and N23. The spelling of *m mꜣwt* "anew" that thus results (see also *Wb.* II 26, bottom: "irrig") has parallels in the Ramesside non-monumental record: for instance, in *Khonsemhab and the Spirit* (*LES* 92, 6–7) or in a praise of the Delta residence (oQueen's College 1116, verso 7; Ragazzoli 2008: 54). This interpretation is, however, only possible if we presume that the passage contained a haplography, and the dative *n* before the phrase *nꜣ n nbw Ḥsrt* "lords of *Hesret*" was contracted with the first sign of the Late Egyptian plural definite article (): *ḥrw Ḫmnw m mꜣ*[*w*]*t* (*n*) *nꜣ n nbw Ḥsrt* "Hermopolis has been prepared anew (for) the lords of *Hesret*."

lxviii The toponym refers to a sacred precinct—conceivably, the ancient cemetery—of Hermopolis (cf. *RITANC* IV 18 with further references).

lxix If the group  is correct (see n. lxxii below), the *t* must stand for a defectively written impersonal pronoun. The phrase *jr=t*(*w*) would thus be a "passive" relative form: "which one made," in other words, "which was made."

lxx According to the context (see n. lxix above), the size of the lacuna, and the remaining signs (), the preposition *m* and a plural noun referring to a wooden object—potentially, *sbꜣw* "doors," *ḥtrw* "door-jambs," *snwt* "flagpoles," or *wḫꜣw* "columns"—would be expected after the *nfr* sign.

lxxi The noun *qd*(*t*) "outline"—often spelled as  from the New Kingdom onwards (*DZA* 30.439.460–490)—is well attested in the record (see *Wb. Belegst.* V 81.2–9), but the verb *qdi* "to outline" is not listed in any of the dictionaries. The semantically related *qdi* "to surround, to go around" (see *Wb.* V 78.1–8), is, on the other hand, never written with signs D51 and D40 (*DZA* 30.441.460–480) because it concerns the activity of the feet and not of the hands. Nonetheless, the present context (see n. lxix above) requires interpreting  as a verbal form, more precisely, as a passive participle modifying the word in the preceding lacuna (see n. lxx above) together with the following  . Note that the expression *ṯ3i m mḏ3t* "to engrave with a chisel" is associated with a similar phrase, *sš m qdw*(*t*) "to inscribe with outlines," in Seti I's *Great Dedicatory Stela for Ramesses I* (K*RI* I 113, 4–5) as well as in the plans of the tomb of Ramesses IV on pTurin 1885, recto (corridor W, text b [K*RI* VI 58, 14]; hall X, text b [K*RI* VI 59, 3]; hall Y, text b [K*RI* VI 59, 7]; and corridor Z, text b [K*RI* VI 59, 15]) and on pTurin CGT 55002, verso (B, C, F, G, and H in Demichelis 2004: 125–127 with pls. 14 and 16).

lxxii If Roeder rightly assumed that the *t* in  at the head of the clause (see n. lxix above) was merely a scribal mistake (Roeder 1954: 344, n. d: "Die Schreibung mit dem weiblichen *-t* ist aus dem Hieratischen falsch übertragen."), the group has to be interpreted as a pseudoparticiple: *jr*{*.t*} *nfr* "made beautiful." This possibility has a bearing on the reading of the rest of the clause, for it allows understanding all subsequent verbal forms not only as passive participles but also as pseudoparticiples, which in turn opens the door for an alternative reconstruction of the lacuna (see n. lxx above). Accordingly, the remaining signs in  could conceal a—however atypical third-person singular—pseudoparticipial ending of a verb, for instance, that of *mḏḥ* "to hew" (similarly in *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*, *LES* 70, 16):

ḥrw Ḫmnw m m3[*w*]*t* (*n*) *n3 n nbw Ḥsrt*
qd=k pr Jmn n Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-M3ʿt ḥr Ḫmnw
jr{*.t*} *nfr*
[*ʾmḏḥʾ*].*w* [*m*] *qdw* ()
ṯ3.w m mḏ3t r ḥnwtj nḥḥ

Hermopolis has been prepared anew (for) the lords of *Hesret*:
you built the temple of Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat in Hermopolis—
made beautiful:
[ʾhewn (i.e., carved)ʾ with] outlines (see n. lxxi above)
and engraved with a chisel till the bounds of eternity.

[lxxiii] See n. lxiv above.

[lxxiv] The context requires a broad interpretation for the term *wbȝ* "open court" (see also Davies in *RITANC* IV 18). The translation suggested here is based on Spencer's (1984: 7) argument that *wbȝ* "referred to the entire temple temenos, and, by extension, to all land sacred to the god."

[lxxv] According to Spencer (1984: 108–114), the phrase *st wrt*—originally meaning "throne," literally, "great seat"—acquired a more figurative connotation ("shrine") by the New Kingdom. See also under §3.4.2.2.

[lxxvi] The feminine pseudoparticipial ending of the predicate makes it clear that the antecedent of the seemingly masculine third-person pronoun at the head of the First Present construction is the temple (*ḥwt-nṯr*) itself. In grammatical terms, the shrine (*st wrt*) would be an equally suitable candidate for the role of the antecedent, but the context implies the entirety of the building structure.

[lxxvii] The phrase *jnr ḥḏ nfr* is translated here as "limestone" after Harris (1961: 69–71).

[lxxviii] The preposition *m-ḫnw* "in, in the interior of" requires a noun to follow which would refer to a particular place within the temple. The group  is strongly suggestive of a relatively seldom attested word: *nṯrj* "sanctuary" (see H*ÄW* II 1411b; *TLA*, lemma no. 90430; *Wb.* II 365.1–2).

[lxxix] *Nḥt* "prayer" is the feminine variant of the earlier *nḥ.* The word is present in the record in both monumental and non-monumental texts from the early New Kingdom onwards (see F*CD* 136; *TLA*, lemma no. 85920; *Wb. Belegst.* II 289.12–16). For monumental examples from the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, see *Urk*. IV 367, 8 and 1245, 8.

[lxxx] The translation of *ȝbḫ ḥr*—literally meaning "to mix/mingle with"—follows Kitchen's (*RITA* IV 25) interpretation in the present context. Roeder (1954: 347; 349, n. g) arrives at a similar solution ("verbunden") as Kitchen.

[lxxxi] The verb *mtn* "to inscribe" seems to fit both the lacuna and the context:  . For a similar formulation, compare pLansing 12.2–3 (*LEM* 110, 16–17): *ḥtrw nfrw m jnr-n-ʿn mtnw ṯȝjj* <*m*> *mḏȝt* "The beautiful door jambs are of limestone, inscribed and engraved with a chisel." If the missing signs have been supplied correctly, the example in line 20 is the second instance of the use of the verb on the *Hermopolis Stela*. The first occurrence of *mtn* "to inscribe" is in line 12. In line 20, the form can be interpreted either as a finite passive *sḏm=f* ("its double portals have been [in]scribed") or as a *nfr ḥr* construction with a passive participle ("[in]scribed are his double portals") grammatically. In the translation above, preference was given to the latter, for the clause belongs to the elaborative part of the section, which favors non-dynamic verbal constructions.

[lxxxii] See n. lxxvi above. The third-person singular form of the new subject pronoun is not differentiated according to gender in the text. *St* is reserved for the third-person

plural. Compare line 15: *st ḥ‘wj… st gꜣgꜣwjj…* "They (i.e., the Dual Ennead) rejoice… (and) are amazed…"

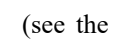
lxxxiii The seldom attested phrase *šn bnr*(*w*), whose earliest occurrence to date is associated with pHarris I 27.11, is generally interpreted as "palm tree" (Wallert 1962: 45, n. 8; Grandet 1994: II, 119, n. 495). The present formulation, however, with the presence of the adjective *nb* after the first constituent of the compound, renders the ordinary interpretation unlikely. Therefore, a more generic translation is preferred by analogy with *ḫt bnr*, a phrase that can stand either for "fruit tree" (*Wb.* I 462.10 and III 341.8) or for "palm tree" (Wallert 1962: 45) depending on the context and on the exact formulation of a text. For a similar argument against translating *ḫtw=sn nb bnr* as "all their palm trees" in line 10 of Thutmosis III's *Gebel Barkal Stela* (*Urk.* IV 1231, 16) and *ḫt nb bnr* as "every palm tree" in the *Annals* of the same king (*Urk.* IV 749, 5 = KIU 3475, 19), see Wallert (1962: 45–46 with n. 11). As in the case of the examples from the reign of Thutmosis III, the presence of *nb* is decisive in translating *šꜣw nb bnr* as "all (sorts of) fruit trees" in pHarris I 8.3 (Wallert 1962: 46, n. 4; Grandet 1994: II, 45, n. 173).

lxxxiv The two signs after the preposition () are probably to be read as a Late Egyptian feminine definite article and not as the first two signs of the following word. This assumption is supported by the—at least, graphically—feminine ending of the subsequent word:  or if the two groups are to be interpreted as a compound (see n. lxxxvi below).

lxxxv The reconstruction, written as  or as according to the parallels in lines 17 and 24 respectively, is made plausible by the context and the size of the lacuna.

lxxxvi Following Davies's (*RITANC* IV 18) interpretation, the present clause should contain the name of Nehmet-away. If this is the case, the name of the goddess would be expected after the preposition *mj* "like," in the group  . Although the remaining signs would not support an ordinary spelling for the deity's name (see *LGG* IV 284b; similarly in the scene of the *Hermopolis Stela* [K*RI* IV 27, 14]), they would allow for reconstructing *tꜣ* [*Nḫm*]*w*-[*jnjj*]*t* ( or), a reading that resembles an alternative, apparently Nineteenth Dynasty spelling, which has only been documented twice in the record (see also Parlebas 1984: 28): on the statue of Siptah ( ; K*RI* II 908, 2) and in pAnastasi I 10.17 ( ; Fischer-Elfert 1992: 96).

lxxxvii The group  after the lacunose could potentially represent the phonemes of the word *rmw* "the weepers" (), a plural participle of the verb *rmi* "to weep." As a less likely option, could exemplify a typically New Kingdom spelling (see *DZA* 25.892.970–980) of the word fish *rmw* "fish" (), which is, for instance, also present in line 37 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 52, 2), in the expression *wḥ‘-rmw* "fowler-fisherman" (context-specific translation of the

phrase after Gardiner 1952: 29). The context (see n. lxxxvi above), however, would favor *rmw* "the weepers" over *rmw* "the fish," even though the word that follows (see n. lxxxviii below) evokes the semantic field of water through one of its determinatives (). By all means, since the preceding morpheme is the preposition *n* (see the group), the *r* of  cannot be interpreted as a preposition and must form the first consonant of the subsequent word.

lxxxviii Kitchen (*RITA* IV 26) and Roeder (1954: 347) suggest reading *Šmʿw* "South" in . The spelling would be conceivable but so far unparalleled (see *DZA* 30.083.070–130; *Ramsès*, lemmas nos. 101348 [noun] and 105135 [verb/adjective]).

lxxxix The context would allow the reconstruction of *Šps*[*jj*] "Sheps[y]," the name of a deity in the Hermopolitan triad (*LGG* VII 67a–b). See also Davies in *RITANC* IV 18.

xc The divine nature of the referent of the third-person singular suffix pronoun is signaled at the graphical level with the help of sign A40 (). Context and syntax suggest Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat, the main deity of the temple, as antecedent of the pronoun. The use of the god determinative after the third-person suffix pronoun in the present clause—in light of its omission in the preceding ones and the subsequent one—seems justified by its contrasting quality between the different referents of the same pronoun used twice within the same clause: *jw=f* (without graphical complement, referring to Thoth) *rd r-ḫft-ḥr=f* (with , referring to a different deity, Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat).

xci See n. lxxv above.

xcii Since the context makes it clear that the name of a deity and a preposition are missing, the lacuna can be reconstructed either as or as . Intratextual distribution renders the former option more likely. Outside the royal title and the royal name, the name of the solar god is written with a single logograph, sign C2, in the majority of the cases (see examples in lines 3, 10, 12, 13, 18, 24, and 26). Only the examples in lines 7 and 8 use the more traditional spelling: .

xciii The position and the size of the lacuna call for the passive participle of *jrj* after *nb*: . The space alone would be equally adequate for a plural ending of *nb* (*w3ḥw nb*[*w*] *n jt=k* "all the offerings for your father"), yet it is unlikely that the plural strokes alone would have been separated from and placed to the top of the neighboring group.

xciv The word *tnw* at the head of the subsequent clause is most probably employed here as a clause connector meaning "every time that" (see also n. xcv below). The semantics of *tnw*, on the other hand, require a habitual aspect of the predicate of the present clause. *Ḫʿ* of the verb *ḫʿi* "to appear, to rise" is therefore understood here as the

infinitival part of a Late Egyptian First Present construction with the preceding *ḥr* being omitted.

[xcv] The conjunction *tnw* was quite certainly followed by a *sḏm=f* form (see G*EG* §181).

[xcvi] The transcript of the grammatical object of the clause as  is probably corrupt. The signs in their present form and sequence appear to be meaningless (see also Roeder 1954: 351, n. p: "Die Lesung *ḥ ʿr* kann nicht richtig sein."). Supposing that at least the determinatives have been supplied correctly, the word in question was a plural noun, presumably belonging to the semantic sphere of offerings and provisions or scribal utensils.

[xcvii] The size of the lacuna and the context suggest a lost *r* at the head of a final clause.

[xcviii] Like in the previous clause (see n. xcvii above), reconstructing an *r* at the head of the clause seems to be a reasonable option. The feminine ending of the subsequent infinitive was probably marked:  .

3.4 Selected Grammatical, Lexical, and Graphical Features from Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*

3.4.1 Selected Grammatical Features from the Text

Late Egyptian definite article preceding…

-	a noun	line 1	*pꜣ ḥsjj*
		line 13	*pꜣ sš mꜣʿ n Rʿ*
		line 15 (2x)	*nꜣ jtw nꜣ mwwt n jt=k*
		line 16	*nꜣ n ḫmnjjw* (§3.5.1)
			Compare with *ḫmnjjw* in lines 3 and 14.
		line 17	*nꜣ n nbw Ḥsrt*
			Compare with *nbw Ḥsrt* in line 24.
		line 18	*pꜣ wbꜣ n Ḏḥwtj*
		line 21 (2x)	*pꜣ ms*
			pꜣ wbꜣ n Ḏḥwtj
		line 23	*tꜣ* [*Nḥm*]*w*-[*jnjj*]*t* (§3.3, nn. lxxxiv and lxxxvi)
-	a participle	line 9	*pꜣ dj n=k ḏt*
		line 13	*pꜣ jrw*
-	a *sḏm.tw=f* construction	line 14	*ḫjj pꜣ ms.tw=k nfr n jt=k* (§3.3, n. lxiii)

Earlier Egyptian demonstrative pronouns		
- *pn*	line 3	*hrw pn nfr*
Late Egyptian possessive article	line 8 (2x)	*n3jj=k 3ḫw* *n3jj=k tl*
	line 9	*n3jj=k 3ḫw*
	line 10	*t3jj=j nmtt*
	line 19	*n3jj=k sḫmw*
	line 20 (2x)	*n3jj=s bḫnw* *n3jj=s rwtj wrtj*
	line 21	*n3jj=s k3mw*
Late Egyptian independent pronoun	line 12	*ḥ3t nḥḥ šsp ḏt jnn* (§3.3, nn. liii and liv)
Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun…		
- after an infinitive	line 6	*ḥr šsp=w*
- in a *sḏm=f*	line 22	*dj=w w3ḏw3ḏw pr Ḏḥwtj m rnpj*
- in a *sḏm.tw=f*	line 21	*ḫrp.tw=w m p3 ms n-mn*[*t*]
- after a noun (genitival use)	lines 15 & 18	*k3=w* (§3.3, nn. lxiv and lxxiii)
Earlier Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun…		
- after a noun (genitival use)	line 5	*n r3-ꜥ=sn*
	line 6	*{šwtj}<jsw>=sn* (§3.3, n. xxxiii)
	line 18	*jb=sn*
- in a *sḏm=f*	line 6	*dj=j bsjj=sn ḥr-ꜥ*
	line 7	*3b=k wḏ=j djt ḫpr=sn* (§3.3, n. xxxvi)
	line 16	*twt=sn ḥr ḏd…* (§3.3, n. lxv)
- after a preposition	line 9	*ḥr=sn*
- after *wnn*	line 10	*wnn=sn n k3=k rḫ m wḏ n jt=k Rꜥ* (§3.3, n. xlviii)
Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f*	line 1	*n-ḏr ḥtp=f*
	line 9 (2x)	*dj=j ḫntš jb=f* (§3.3, n. xliii and xliv) *dj=j ꜥm=f r-ḏd*

		(§3.3, n. xliii)
	line 11	*n-ḏr dgꜣ<=j> twꜥ{=j} m Rᶜ* (§3.3, n. li)
	line 12 (2x)	*ḏr sš(=j) n=k* *mtnw(=j) ḥr štꜣ-st*
	line 17	*qd=k pr Jmn n Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣᶜt ḥr Ḫmnw*
	line 18	*ḥr qd=k ḥwt-nṯr šps*
Earlier Egyptian *sḏm.n=f* as predicate	line 2 (2x)	*jj.n(=j) ḥr=k* *ḥqꜣ.n=j n=j* (§3.3, n. xiii)
	line 3 (2x)	*jj.n(=j) ḥr=k* *gm.n<=j> t[w]{=j} m wsḫt nt pt…* (§3.3, n. xvi)
	line 4	*sḥḏ.n=k pr-nsw…*
	line 8	*gm.n(=j) sw…*
	line 15	*jw.n=k r-šꜣᶜ Ḫmnw…*
	line 16 (2x)	*jr.n=k jrwt nbt…* ***jw*** *jr.n=f m ḥr mrw*
	line 22	*sḥb.n=f Ḫmnw…*
	line 23	*jṯ.n rn=f mn…*
Sḏm.n=f as relative form	line 1	*pꜣ ḥsjj nsw bjtj… jr.n Ḏḥwtj…* (§3.3, n. viii)
	line 2	*ᶜ(ꜣ)b(wt) jr.n=k…* (§3.3, n. xv)
First-person pseudoparticipial constructions in main clauses	line 2 (2x)	*pr.k m-bꜣḥ=f…* *jj.k…*
	line 10	*ᶜq.k m-bꜣḥ=k…*
	line 13	*pr.k…* (§3.3, n. lviii)
Passive *sḏm=f*	line 3	*dwꜣ nb-r-ḏr m hrw pn nfr*
	line 4	*jrw ᶜbw=k…*
	line 9 (2x)	*šš n=k ᶜḥᶜw pt m nsjjt* *hnn sḫrw=j*
	line 17	*ḥrw Ḫmnw m mꜣ[w]t…*
	line 18	*wḏw n=k nsjjt n Rᶜ*
	line 20	*[m]tnw nꜣjj=s rwtj wrtj* (§3.3, n. lxxxi)

First Present construction with the new subject pronouns[462]

	line 2	*tw=j m ḥb*
	line 3	*sw m ḥnn nb t3wj…*
	line 13	*sw m ršrš* (§3.3, n. lviii)
	line 15 (2x)	*st ḥ^{cc}wj n m33 jrwt=k*
		st g3g3wjj n nfrw=k
	line 19	*sw b3k.tj m jnr ḥḏ nfr m k3wt nb mnḫt* (§3.3, n. lxxvi)
	lines 20–21	*sw dg3jj.tj m šnw nb bnrw sṯḥn.ṯ m ḥrrw* (§3.3, n. lxxxii)
	line 23 (3x)	*sw* […]*ḥ*[…] *mj Ḏḥwtj*
		sw m Šps[*jj*] [… … …]*=s*
		sw m nṯr ^{c}3 ḥr Ḫmnw

Existential negation with…

- *nn-wn*	line 13	[*n*]*n-wn s*[*ḫ*]*nnw sḫrw=j* (§3.3, n. lxii)
- *nn*	lines 13–14	*nn ḫsf-^{c}=j m=k…*

jw used according to Earlier Egyptian syntax…

- as a morphological necessity at the head of adverbial or pseudoverbal sentences with pronominal subjects	line 11	*jw=j m ḥb*
	line 12	*jw=k mn.tw ḫ^{c}.tj m ḥq3 n t3w nbw*
	line 22	*jw=f mj šw ḥr wbn*
	line 23	*jw=f mj t3* [*Nḥm*]*w-*[*jnjj*]*t…* (§3.3, nn. lxxxiv and lxxxvi)
	line 25	*jw=s r ḏt mj ḥwt-^{c}3t n* [*R^{c} m*] *ḥbw nw pt*
- *jw sḏm.n=f*	line 16	*jw jr.n=f m ḥr mrw*
- co-textual anchoring function	line 24	*jw Ḏḥwtj m Ḫmnw*

Diachronically neutral *jw*:

- for the introduction of parenthetic information	line 3	*jw jb=j nḏm* (§3.3, n. xvii)

462 See n. 135 above.

jw used according to Late Egyptian syntax…		
- as circumstantial converter	line 3	*jw jb=j nḏm* (§3.3, n. xvii)
- at the head of a virtual relative clause	line 19	*ḥms=f m st=f wrt* ***jw****=s ḥr wnmj n pr=f*
ḫr as clause connector		
- preceding a First Present construction[463]	line 17	*ḫr psḏtj Ḫmnw ḥtp m-ḫnw=f*
- preceding a preterite *sḏm=f*[464]	line 18	*ḫr qd=k ḥwt-nṯr šps*
- preceding a subjunctive *sḏm=f*[465]	line 25	*ḫr šsp Ḏḥwtj⸗* […]*w=f*
mj as clause connector[466]	line 6	***mj*** *jnk jt=k šps… dj=j n=k…* (§3.3, n. xxxii)
	line 18	*wḏw n=k nsjjt n Rᶜ* ***mj*** *ꜣḫ=k n kꜣ=w*
tnw as clause connector	line 25	*tnw ḥtp*[…]
(*n*-)*ḏr sḏm=f* construction[467]	line 1	*mjtt n pꜣ ḥsjj… jr.n Ḏḥwtj⸗… n-ḏr ḥtp=f…*
	line 11	*wnf*(*=j*) (§3.3, n. l) *r sbj n-ḏr dgꜣ<=j> tw{=j} m Rᶜ* (§3.3, n. li)
	line 12	*ḥꜣt nḥḥ šsp ḏt jnn ḏr sš*(*=j*) *n=k…* (§3.3, nn. liii, liv, lv)
Feminine for the neuter	line 15	*st ḥᶜᶜwj n mꜣꜣ* ***jrwt****=k*
	line 16 (2x)	*jr.n=k* ***jrwt*** *nbt n nṯr Ḏḥwtj⸗ mj-qdw*
		wšbt ḥr-ᶜ mj ***ḏdwt*** *nꜣ n ḫmnjjw*

463 On *ḫr* in Late Egyptian First Present constructions with pseudoparticipial predicate, see Neveu (2001: 13–15).

464 On *ḫr* + preterite *sḏm=f*, see Neveu (2001: 25–29).

465 On *ḫr* + subjunctive *sḏm=f*, see Neveu (2001: 39–43).

466 See n. 143 above.

467 Collombert (2000: 355).

Masculine for the neuter[468]	line 2	*ḥsjj=f ḥr* ***jr*** *n=j*
	lines 6–7	***prr*** *nb m rꜣ=k*
	line 10	***sšw*** *Dḥwtj m ḏbʿw=f ḏs=f*
	line 15	*r šsp* ***jr*** *n=k*

3.4.2 Selected Lexical Features from the Text

3.4.2.1 Lexical Items Primarily Associated with Higher Written Registers Since the Early Eighteenth Dynasty

bḫn(*t*) line 20

"pylon" The word is not securely attested before the Eighteenth Dynasty[469] but is frequently used in royal texts from the reign of Hatshepsut onwards.[470]

mꜣwt line 22

"rays" The earliest attestations of the lexeme date to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[471] The first royal example comes from Buhen, from line 2 of Thutmosis III's pillar inscription of year 23,[472] while the first Ramesside royal examples date to the reign of Ramesses II: these appear in the Corridor of the Bull of Seti I's temple in Abydos[473] and in a bandeau text in Karnak.[474] The use of the word is typically associated with higher written registers, in both monumental and non-monumental texts.[475]

r-tp-ʿ (*n*) (prep.) line 13 (§3.3, n. lxi)

"in(to) the presence of" The preposition seems to be a rare, New Kingdom variant of the earlier *r-tp* (*n*).[476] The first examples of *r-tp-ʿ* (*n*) date to

468 See n. 145 above.

469 Spencer (1984: 192–196).

470 Cf. F*CD* 84; *Wb. Belegst.* I 471.9–11. The word is regularly used also in the Ramesside royal inscriptions. It is, for instance, present in Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 47, 12) as well as in Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem* (K*RI* II 38, 1–4) and *Great Dedicatory Inscription* (K*RI* II 329, 1). For further examples, see Lesko I 161 and *AL* 79.0927.

471 The first example of *mꜣwt* "rays" known to date has been documented on the so-called *Northampton Stela* found in the forecourt of TT 11, the tomb of Djehuty (*Urk.* IV 424, 11).

472 *Urk.* IV 806, 14. The wording of Merenptah's passage containing the word *mꜣwt* "rays" is reminiscent of this early, Thutmoside example (*Urk.* IV 806, 14–15): *sḥb.n mꜣwt=f tꜣwj mj wbn Rʿ m ꜣḫt nt pt* "His (i.e., Amun-Re's) rays have made the two lands festive, as Re shines on the horizon of heaven."

473 K*RI* II 511, 1.

474 K*RI* II 580, 14.

475 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 66870; *Wb. Belegst.* II 28.1–4.

476 G*EG* §178.

the early Eighteenth Dynasty and occur in the biographical inscriptions of Iamunedjeh (TT 84)[477] and Rekhmire (TT 100).[478]

ḫntš jb m
"to delight in/over"

line 9
Although the verb *ḫntš* "to be glad, to rejoice" already exists in the Middle Kingdom,[479] the expression *ḫntš jb m* "to delight in/over" has only a handful of attestations before Ptolemaic and Roman times and apparently none before the reign of Thutmosis III.[480] The example in line 9 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* seems to be merely its second occurrence in a royal text: the phrase is also present in line 8 of Horemheb's *Coronation Inscription*.[481]

3.4.2.2 Old Words and Expressions with Extended Applicability

r-ḏd
"that"

line 9
R-ḏd is employed as a grammaticalized complementizer introducing the object of the verb *ḥm* "to know" as a separate clause in line 9—a function it did not possess before the early Eighteenth Dynasty.[482] Its association with the verb *ḥm* is typical of the Ramesside non-monumental written production[483] but is also found on the southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*.[484]

st wrt
"shrine"

lines 19 and 24 (§3.3, n. lxxv)
The expression *st wrt*, originally meaning "great seat, throne," developed more abstract significations by the early New Kingdom.[485] For an example of the phrase with its original

477 *Urk*. IV 943, 13.
478 *Urk.* IV 1074, 1.
479 On a possible etymology of the verb, see Gardiner (1908: 129–130, n. v).
480 The first one seems to come from TT 82, the tomb of Amenemhat in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (*Urk.* IV 1064, 7). Besides the one in line 9 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* and the one in line 8 of Horemheb's *Coronation Inscription* (see n. 481 below), two further attestations are known to me: pAnastasi I 16.1 (Fischer-Elfert 1992: 115) and pChester Beatty I, verso C 4.2 (Mathieu 1996: pl. 4).
481 *Urk.* IV 2115, 11.
482 Uljas (2007: 284–286).
483 Examples include those in *The Tale of the Two Brothers* (*LES* 17, 12–13 and 18, 3); in pLee 2.4 (K*RI* V 363, 7); pBM EA 10326, verso 17–18 (*LRL* 20, 9–10); pPhillipps, verso 8 (*LRL* 30, 11); and pGeneva D187, verso 3 (*LRL* 42, 4).
484 See the corresponding entry under §4.2.3.2.2.
485 Spencer (1984: 108–114).

meaning on the right margin of the southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, see §4.2.1.2.1.

3.4.2.3 Lexical Items Seldom or Not Attested Before the Amarna Period

m-mnt (here: *n-mnt*) (adv.) "daily"
line 21
The adverb is absent from the record before the Amarna period.[486]

nʿi "to be mild, lenient"
line 11
The verb is not documented before the New Kingdom and only becomes frequent in the Ramesside period.[487]

r-ḫft-ḥr (*n*) (prep.) "in front of"
line 24
R-ḫft-ḥr (*n*) is a Late Egyptian compound preposition deriving from *ḫft-ḥr*. It is only sparsely present in the pre-Ramesside New Kingdom written production and is not attested before the Amarna period.[488]

ḫjj (exclamatory particle)
line 14
The exclamatory use of the particle is first documented in the *Kamose Inscriptions*,[489] but it only becomes frequent in the texts of royal ideology and personal piety of the New Kingdom—particularly in the second half of it.[490]

st wrt "shrine"
lines 19 and 24 (§3.3, n. lxxv)
On the expression *st wrt* with the meaning "shrine," see the corresponding entry above, under §3.4.2.2.

sṯḥn "to make glisten"
line 21
The root of the *s*-causative *sṯḥn* is the equally transitive *ṯḥn* "to make glisten," an old word that is already present in the *Pyramid Texts*.[491] The *s*-causative variant of the verb is absent from the record until the time of Amenhotep III[492] and Horemheb,[493] and its use is typical of higher written registers.

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486 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 64850; *Wb. Belegst.* II 65.9–11.
487 Compare the references under §2.4.2.3 for the same entry.
488 Bissing & Blok (1926: 92–93). Cf. also *Wb. Belegst.* III 276.1–3.
489 Cited by Stauder (2013b: 44).
490 Stauder (2013b: 44, n. 193) with reference to Vernus (2006: 156, n. 84).
491 Pyr. 699c (PT 403); see also the intransitive *ṯḥnḥn* "to glitter" in Pyr. 454a (PT 301).
492 *Urk.* IV 1653, 14.
493 *Urk.* IV 2161, 13.

šn line 21

"tree" The word as a generic term for "tree" has been attested since the Eighteenth Dynasty. Although it is already present in Thutmosis III's *Gebel Barkal Stela*,[494] it becomes frequent only with the Amarna period.[495] On the reasons behind translating *šnw nb bnrw* as "all (sorts of) fruit trees" in line 21 of the *Hermopolis Stela*, see §3.3, n. lxxxiii above.

ṯḥḥwj line 2

"exultation" The noun *ṯḥḥwt* "exultation," here with a tendentially recent spelling (),[496] is not securely attested before the time of Thutmosis III and only becomes frequent from the Amarna period onwards.[497]

3.4.2.4 Lexical Items Seldom Attested in Monumental Inscriptions Before Ramesside Times

wjꜣ n ḥḥw line 8

"Bark of Millions" The designation of the solar bark as *wjꜣ n ḥḥw* "Bark of Millions" first appears in the *Book of the Dead* manuscripts of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[498] It is not attested in royal monumental inscriptions until the Ramesside period.[499] The phrase is, nevertheless, already present on Horemheb's scribal statue from Memphis (MMA 23.10.1).[500]

qnw lines 5 and 14

"many, numerous" The word appears in the record already in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, but its use remains sporadic until Ramesside

494 *Urk.* IV 1231, 19.

495 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 155240.

496 Cf. *DZA* 31.283.900–950.

497 The Middle Kingdom example in CT IV 61g cited by *Wb. Belegst.* V 396.3 contains a verbal form and not yet the noun (cf. also *DCT* 767). The earliest known example of the word *ṯḥḥwt* "exultation" to date comes from the tomb of Amenemhab called Mahu, TT 85 (*Urk.* IV 894, 15). For examples from the Amarna period, see the first few entries under *TLA*, lemma no. 176750. The word is also present in the royal inscriptions of the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (*Urk.* IV 2096, 3 and KIU 3450, 40) and has further parallels also in the Ramesside royal texts: for instance, in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions (K*RI* V 68, 7), in lines 9 and 12 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 47, 8 and 48, 1), and in column 106 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription* (K*RI* II 335, 2).

498 Jones (1988: 243, no. 22).

499 Before the time of Merenptah, it appears in Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 239, 6–8), in the abridged version of the same text (K*RI* II 257, 7), as well as in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription* in Abydos (K*RI* II 333, 13).

500 *Urk.* IV 2091, 17.

times.[501] Its first monumental royal example is found in the *Horemheb Decree*.[502]

3.4.2.5 Lexical Items Not Attested in Monumental Inscriptions Before Ramesside Times

ʿm
"to know"

line 9

The verb *ʿm* with the meaning "to know" first appears in the record in the Eighteenth Dynasty but is only sporadically attested before the Ramesside era.[503] Its first monumental examples date to the time of Merenptah,[504] but the verb also occurs in Twentieth Dynasty royal inscriptions, for instance, on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSS 4, 10, 11, 14–15).[505]

r-ḏd
"that"

line 9

On *r-ḏd* employed as a grammaticalized complementizer introducing the object of the verb *ʿm* "to know" as a separate clause, see the corresponding entry above, under §3.4.2.2.

tl
"prowess, vigor"[506]

line 8

The word enters the monumental record in Ramesside times but is documented since the Eighteenth Dynasty.[507]

dgȝ
"to overlay, to plant"

line 20

The verb *dgȝ* "to overlay, to plant" is the Late Egyptian variant of the earlier *dqr* "to fasten."[508] In Ramesside times, it gradually replaces the older verb *srd* "to plant, to let grow" in association with words signifying trees.[509] The present

501 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 161060; *Wb. Belegst.* V 46.7–47.10.

502 *Urk.* IV 2144, 4.

503 *DZA* 21.717.740; *Wb. Belegst.* I 184.16–22. Cf. also Chantrain (2014: 45–46).

504 Apart from its presence on the *Hermopolis Stela*, the verb is also attested on the *Israel Stela* (K*RI* IV 13, 9) and in the *Great Karnak Inscription* (K*RI* IV 4, 5).

505 See under §4.2.1.3.

506 On the context-specific translation of the word ("mighty deeds"), see §3.3, n. xli.

507 See n. 242 above.

508 *Wb.* V 496.4 on *dqr*: "Wohl ältere Form des späteren *dgȝ*." Cf. also *Wb. Belegst.* V 499.7–14, particularly, 499.10–11.

509 *Wb. Belegst.* IV 205. 4 (*srd*) vs. *Wb. Belegst.* V 499.10–11 (*dgȝ*). For example, line 12 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* still uses the verb *srd* (K*RI* I 47, 16) in a similar collocation. In addition, pHarris I has it once (29.3) but uses *dgȝ* instead in four other instances (4.3; 7.7; 7.12; 60.7). See also the two other examples of *srd* from the reigns of Amenhotep III and Seti I mentioned below (§3.5.2.2, nn. 633 and 634).

example is, nonetheless, to my knowledge, the only one from a royal monumental context.

3.4.2.6 Lexical Items Not Attested Before Ramesside Times

jri ꜥp(ȝ)jj
"to stretch the wings"

line 7 (§3.3, n. xxxvii)
The present example appears to be the earliest known occurrence of the expression *jri ꜥp(ȝ)jj* "to stretch the wings," which has so far only been noted on a single document from the Late Period.[510]

jrjjw
"rams"

line 5 (§3.3, n. xxviii)
The Semitic loan word *jrjj* "ram" is absent from the pre-Ramesside record.[511] The present example accounts for 50% of all attestations and is the only known royal occurrence to date.[512]

ꜥȝ ꜥȝ
"twice great"

line 10
If the reading of the passage is correct,[513] this could be one of the earliest attestations of the epithet *ꜥȝ ꜥȝ* "twice great" mentioned in relation to Thoth.[514]

ꜥnꜥn
"baboon"

line 10
ꜥnꜥn is a rare, reduplicated, later variant of *jꜥnj* "baboon."[515] The word has at least one more attestation before Ptolemaic and Roman times, in *Heavenly Cow* 73.[516]

wȝḏwȝḏ
"to be green"

line 22
The verb is not securely attested before the Ramesside period.[517] Furthermore, apart from a single, insecure Eighteenth

510 See the pattern of attestation of lemma no. 854179 in *TLA*.

511 Hoch (1994: 29, lemma no. 18).

512 The word is also present in pAnastasi IV 14.5 (*LEM* 50, 11).

513 Both Roeder (1954: 338 and 339, n. a) and Kitchen (K*RI* IV 29, 4) marked the signs  with two small question marks.

514 Cf. *LGG* II 15b–c and Quaegebeur (1986: 537 with n. 97).

515 *Wb.* I 191.10 vs. *Wb.* I 41.5–6.

516 In Seti I's tomb, the word is spelled similarly as in line 10 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, that is, with the seated baboon determinative (), whereas the spelling of *ꜥnꜥn* features the generic animal determinative () in Ramesses III's tomb (see also *DZA* 21.733.310). *Wb. Belegst.* I 191.10 mentions an early attestation for *ꜥnꜥn* "baboon" in Pyr. 1304a (PT 539). The passage, however, has to be interpreted differently: *msḏrwj Ppjj pn m n*[*j*]*w* [*ḥ*]*nꜥ Nw* "this Pepi's ears are those of the Watery One and Nu" (translation after Allen 2005: 169; cf. also Allen 2015b: 173).

Dynasty occurrence[518] and the present example, it has not yet been noted in royal texts.

w3ḏw3ḏ "green plants"

line 4

Like the verb *w3ḏw3ḏ* "to be green," the noun *w3dw3d* "green plants" probably did not exist before Ramesside times.[519] The present example is the earliest royal occurrence of the word to date.[520]

prḫ "blossom"

line 21

Prḫ "blossom" is a Ramesside Semitic loan word.[521] Despite its presence in line 21 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, it seems to be otherwise absent from the royal record.

mtn "to inscribe"

lines 12 and 20 (§3.3, n. lxxxi)

Although the verb is not attested before Ramesside times,[522] it appears relatively often in the Ramesside royal inscriptions due to its semantics and, in particular, its association with the royal name.[523]

nḥm(*t*) "lotus bud"

line 21

The word is a Ramesside variant of the earlier *nḥbt* "lotus bud."[524]

r-š3ʿ (prep.) "until, down to"

line 15

The preposition is a Late Egyptian compound.[525] Further monumental examples are known, for instance, from Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*,[526] Ramesses III's *Great Dou-*

517 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 43940; *Wb. Belegst.* I 270.4–5 with a cautious reference ("oder nur *w3ḏ*?") to an example from the time of Hatshepsut (*Urk.* IV 260, 11), which probably contains only the simplex of the verb: *w3ḏ* "to be green" (). Similarly listed by Faulkner (F*CD* 55).

518 See n. 517 above.

519 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 43950; *Wb. Belegst.* I 270.6–7 and 408.1.

520 Meeks (*AL* 79.0620) notes another occurrence in Ramesses III's version of *Blessing of Ptah* (K*RI* II 281, 3).

521 Hoch (1994: 119–120 on lemma no. 152).

522 Cf. Wilson (1997: 475–476); *DZA* 24.450.910; and *TLA*, lemma no. 77610.

523 It occurs, for instance, in Ramesses II's *Blessing of Ptah* (K*RI* II 268, 13–14), in Ramesses III's *Gold Tablet Prayer* (K*RI* V 224, 16 and 225, 15), and on Ramesses IV's *Festal Wall Stela* in Karnak (K*RI* VI 6, 3).

524 *Wb.* II 297.10. See also *DZA* 25.202.600 on *nḥbt*, "die ältere Form zu *nḥmt*," a statement congruent with the patterns of attestation of *nḥbt* (lemma no. 86230) and *nḥmt* (lemma no. 86440) in *TLA*.

525 Cf. E*NG* §656; *TLA*, lemma no. 92360; and *Wb. Belegst.* IV 408.9–11.

526 K*RI* II 16, 9–12 and 64, 6–9.

ble Stela (GDSS 24),[527] and Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela*.[528]

sḫrjj
"advisor, counsellor"

line 7
The *Wörterbuch* has two different entries for *sḫrjj* depending on its usage in non-royal or royal context: *sḫrjj* "captain"[529] for the former and *sḫrjj* "advisor, counsellor"[530] for the latter. The example in the present text demonstrates that the distinction is justified: the expression *sḫrjj sḥ nfr* "advisor of perfect counsel(s)" is a genitive and not a *nfr ḥr* construction. Interpreting the phrase as "captain (i.e., governor) of perfect counsel(s)" would only be possible with a different word order: *sḫrjj nfr sḥ*. All currently known examples of *sḫrjj* referring to the king date to the Ramesside period and occur in royal inscriptions. Further examples may be found in the texts of Ramesses II[531] and Ramesses III.[532]

šṯȝ-st
"sacred grove"

line 13 (§3.3, n. lvii)
This very example of the expression at the beginning of line 13 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* seems to be its earliest known attestation so far.[533] A further, pre-Ptolemaic occurrence of *šṯȝ-st* appears in another Ramesside royal inscription, on an obelisk of Ramesses IV from Heliopolis.[534]

ṯȝi m mḏȝt
"to engrave with a chisel"

line 17
The expression *ṯȝi m mḏȝt* "to engrave with a chisel" is not attested before Ramesside times.[535] In royal inscriptions, it first appears under the reign of Seti I.[536]

ṯwfj
"papyrus flower"

line 21
The word seems to be absent from the record before the Ramesside period.[537] As in the case of the formulation in

527 See under §4.2.1.3.5.
528 In line 16, in a fragmentary context (K*RI* VI 19, 5).
529 *Wb*. IV 260.17.
530 *Wb*. IV 260.18.
531 K*RI* II 151, 5 and 734, 4.
532 K*RI* V 59, 9.
533 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 158140; *Wb. Belegst.* IV 553.9–10.
534 K*RI* VI 31, 4.
535 *Wb. Belegst.* II 188.9.
536 It is present in line x+15 of Seti I's *Great Dedicatory Stela for Ramesses I* (K*RI* I 113, 5).
537 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 174970; *Wb. Belegst.* V 359.6–10.

line 21 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, the lexeme appears together with the words *sšnjj* "lotus" and *jsjj* "reed" in line 11 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*,[538] which constitutes its first known occurrence in a royal inscription, and in pHarris I 27.11.

3.4.2.7 *Hapax Legomenon*

sprwt line 5 (§3.3, n. xxvii)

"*seprat*-cattle" If the traces of signs belonging to this word were correctly understood (§3.3, n. xxvii), the stela contains a *hapax legomenon*.

3.4.3 Selected Graphical Features from the Text

3.4.3.1 Spellings Following or Imitating Earlier Written Traditions

rnpwt  line 26

"years" Although the spelling of the plural form of *rnpt* "year" with a triple palm-branch followed by sign Z2A () has not yet been documented in the record,[539] the triplication of the logogram for marking the plural as well as the double marking of the form are both archaizing orthographic strategies originating in pre-Ramesside times.[540] The northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSN 1, 2, and 12/C6:[541]  ,  , and ) provides the closest parallels to the present graphical variant.[542]

ḥtpw  line 11

"peace" The spelling of the word *ḥtpw* "peace" with a triple *ḥtp*-sign was characteristic of higher written registers since the earliest of times.[543] The word *ḥtpw* "peace" is written simi-

538 It appears in line 11 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 47, 15).

539 Cf. *DZA* 25.967.730–820. For Eighteenth Dynasty examples of double notations of the plural, a comparable phenomenon, see Stauder (2013a: 97, n. 150).

540 Cf. G*EG* §73. For general remarks on the phenomena, see Stauder (2013a: 97, nn. 149 and 150; 114 with n. 291) with examples from the inscriptions of the Eighteenth Dynasty. On the use of older plural formations in Hatshepsut's inscriptions specifically, see Roth (2015: 547).

541 The two parts of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (Chapter 4) are referenced in the present work as the Southern and the Northern Stelae (GDSS and GDSN respectively). GDSN 12/C6 indicates that the cited passage belongs to line 12 of the Northern Stela and is found in line 6 of the so-called Fragment C (Paksi 2017: 119, fig. 1; 128, fig. 2; 129, fig. 3; cf. also Fig. 22). On the significance of the latter block belonging to the Northern Stela, see Paksi (2017).

542 See the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.3.1.

543 See n. 540 above.

larly in several Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty royal inscriptions.[544]

t3w nbw  line 12
"all lands"
The spelling of the phrase *t3w nbw* "all lands" with the triplication of the corresponding signs emulates earlier written traditions and is generally associated with higher written registers.[545] The phrase is written with the triple *t3*- and *nb*-signs also in two non-monumental Ramesside royal hymns, for example.[546]

3.4.3.2 Graphical Features Uncommon Before Ramesside Times

m (prep.) line 4 *n w3ḏw3ḏ*
"in(to), as, with" (§3.3, n. xxv)
See above, under §2.4.3.2.

3.4.3.3 Selected Ramesside Graphical Features

3.4.3.3.1 Regularly Attested Ramesside Graphical Features

wnf  line 11 (§3.3, n. l)
"to be joyful"
The use of sign F18 () in the spelling of the word is characteristic of its Ramesside orthography.[547]

wḏ  lines 7, 18[548] (vb.)
"to decree" (vb.) and and and 10, 13 (n.)
"decree" (n.)
The spelling of *wḏ* "to decree" / "decree" with sign M13 () instead of signs V24 () or V25 () is a New Kingdom phenomenon.[549] The verb is spelled similarly in the first line of the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSN 1).[550]

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544 Examples from the Eighteenth Dynasty include the following: *Urk.* IV 166, 4 = KIU 944, 28; KIU 1710, 8; *Urk.* IV 1657, 4; KIU 1288, 8 and 1309, 5. For examples from the Nineteenth Dynasty, see K*RI* II 226, 5; KIU 599, 6; 612, 9; 660, 18; 796, 14; 802, 10; 5483, 9; 5490, 12; and 5494, 14.

545 See n. 540 above.

546 K*RI* VI 153, 3 and 391, 1.

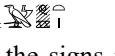
547 Cf. *DZA* 22.382.280–300.

548 Line 18 of the *Hermopolis Stela* presents the verb in a passive *sḏm=f* construction, which explains the additional *w* in the spelling ().

549 On the new spelling of the verb, see *Wb.* I 394; *DZA* 22.680.640 and 680: is used from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards. On that of the noun, see *Wb.* I 396; *DZA* 22.692.150 and180: appears in the spelling only in the Ramesside period.

550 See the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.3.3.1.

bḫn(*t*)  line 20
"pylon"
The plural form of this architectural term (see under §3.4.2.1) is spelled without its feminine ending in line 20 of the *Hermopolis Stela*. The omission of the final *-t* is characteristic of the Ramesside examples of *bḫnt*.[551]

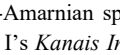
m mɜw(*t*) (adv.)  line 17 (§3.3, n. lxvii)
"anew"
If the signs in the lacuna following the group  have been supplied correctly (§3.3, n. lxvii), the adverb *m mɜw*(*t*) "anew" had a typically post-Amarnian spelling on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*.[552]

mɜɜ  lines 2 and 15
"to see"
The verb features a typically Ramesside spelling in both occurrences on the stela.[553] An example in line 3 of Merenptah's *Israel Stela* and several others in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions provide further royal parallels to this graphical variant.[554]

mjtt  line 1 (§3.3, n. vii)
"record, copy"
Mjtt is a Ramesside graphical variant of the earlier *mjtj* "record, copy."[555] The noun is still written as *mjtj* in the Eighteenth Dynasty monumental record, in Amenhotep II's letter to Usersatet.[556] By contrast, Ramesses II's *Hittite Treaty*, also spells it as *mjtt* ().[557]

sɜ line 1 (2x)
"son"
At the head of the main text, a typically Ramesside spelling is used twice for the word *sɜ* "son" (see under §3.4.3.5).[558]

551 Cf. *DZA* 22.918.440–460.

552 Note, however, that also Kitchen's (*RITA* IV 25; cited under §3.3, n. lxvii) interpretation of the passage would require a post-Amarnian spelling of the adverb (Buchberger 2006: 17):  . Compare the examples in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (A1 and C7; see under §2.4.3.3.1) as well as on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSS 14; see under §4.2.3.3.3.1).

553 *DZA* 23.636.570, 750, and 770.

554 K*RI* IV 13, 12; K*RI* V 60, 13; 70, 13; 71, 9; 93, 11, 12, 13, 15; 97, 15 and 16; 98, 1 and 2.

555 See also Roeder (1954: 327, n. a).

556 *Urk.* IV 1343, 11.

557 K*RI* II 226, 9.

558 Cf. *DZA* 28.385.690–710.

sᶜš3  line 26
"to increase, to make numerous"
The spelling of the verb documented here—by omitting sign G1 () as a phonetic complement and arranging the plural strokes horizontally—is characteristic of the Nineteenth Dynasty written production.[559]

sš3  line 7
"to be wise"
Line 7 of the stela contains a typically Ramesside spelling of the word *sš3* "to be wise."[560]

k3mw  line 21
"garden"
K3mw, the by-form of the earlier *k3nw* "garden," first appears in the *Kamose Inscriptions*.[561] The new spelling becomes widespread in Ramesside times.[562]

dgi  line 11
"to behold"
The spelling of the verb *dgi* "to behold" corresponds to Ramesside graphical conventions.[563]

3.4.3.3.2 Ramesside Graphical Features Uncommon in Monumental Inscriptions

ḥr (prep.)  line 9
"on"
In line 9 of the stela, the preposition *ḥr* features its Late Egyptian, long graphical variant in the *status pronominalis*.[564] This spelling is characteristic of the hieratic script and is only rarely attested in monumental royal inscriptions.[565]

559 Cf. *DZA* 28.972.610 and 640–670. Line 23 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* has a similar graphical solution (K*RI* I 49, 14:), whereas line 20 of the same text presents a spelling (K*RI* I 49, 7: ) that apparently has not been specifically noted for the first half of the Ramesside period (cf. *DZA* 28.972.650) and is rather typical of the Twentieth Dynasty and the Third Intermediate Period (*DZA* 28.972.650–660).

560 Cf. *DZA* 30.246.440–490. Line 14 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 48, 6) similarly includes a later graphical variant (), while the Abu Simbel version of Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 240, 12) presents a more classical spelling of the word (). In the latter case, the word is missing in the parallel texts (see K*RI* II 240, 13).

561 See end of line 11 on Stela II (Helck 1983: 93).

562 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* V 106.4–9; *DZA* 30.556.800. On the related *k3mwjjw* "gardeners" () in line 39 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 52, 7), see David (2006: 45).

563 Cf. *DZA* 31.466.440–530. The word is spelled similarly with sign D6 () as a determinative in line 9 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 47, 10).

564 The spelling was also noted by Roeder (1954: 357).

565 Cf. E*NG* §613. The preposition is spelled similarly, for instance, in line 15 of Ahmose's *Karnak Stela* (KIU 575, 17; *Urk.* IV 18, 15), in column 41 of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription* (K*RI* IV 7, 4), and at least once in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions (K*RI* V 70, 8–9).

ḥrr(*t*)  line 21
"flower"
Apart from an ambiguous example from a lacunose context on a private statue from the Second Intermediate Period,[566] the word is not attested before the New Kingdom, but it is used in both monumental and non-monumental texts right from the start.[567] The spelling documented here is characteristic of the non-monumental written production of the Ramesside era.[568]

3.4.3.3.3 Seldom Attested Ramesside Graphical Features

psḏtj  lines 1, 15, 17
"Dual Ennead"
The text consistently features an infrequent Ramesside spelling for *psḏtj* "Dual Ennead."[569] For a further royal example of the same graphical variant, see line 2 of Ramesses II's *West Silsileh Stela*.[570]

m3ʿ line 13
"true"
Sign H6 is not represented in the spelling of the adjective *m3ʿ* "true" in pre-Ramesside texts.[571] No other monumental example of this graphical solution has been noted so far.

n-mnt  line 21
"daily"
In Ramesside times, *m-mnt* is occasionally spelled as *n-mnt*.[572] However, all other examples, including the one in column 22 of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*,[573] use N35 () instead of S3 ().[574]

566 The end of column 6 of Dedu-Sobek's biographical text has (Kubisch 2008: 332).

567 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 109110; *Wb. Belegst.* III 149.8–18; *DZA* 27.264.100. The word is attested in the inscriptions of Thutmosis III (KIU 7208, 33 and 35 after Gabolde & Gabolde 2015: 72–73; *Urk.* IV 775, 15) and Amenhotep III (*Urk.* IV 1651, 12 and 1668, 19). Under Ramesside kings, it already appears in the texts of Seti I (K*RI* I 109, 16 and 114, 5).

568 Cf. *DZA* 27.264.100–140.

569 Cf. *DZA* 23.500.960.

570 K*RI* I 85, 6.

571 According to Gardiner (G*EG*, Sign-list, H6), "in the adjective 'true' and related words is not written, nor has it been found in M.E. hieratic in any words from this stem." Be that as it may, the spelling is not infrequent in non-monumental Ramesside texts. Compare, for instance, the written form of the same phrase (*sš m3ʿ* "true scribe") in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (*LES* 53, 13): .

572 *Wb.* II 65: "vereinzelt auch mit statt ," which itself would qualify as a Ramesside spelling.

573 K*RI* IV 4, 15.

574 In *Ramsès*, approximately 4% of the examples (eight out of 181) of *m-mnt* (lemma no. 103068; accessed 26 August 2025) are spelled with *n* instead of *m*, and, what is more, with instead of .

(*t3*) [*Nḥm*]*w*-[*jnjj*]*t*  or  line 23 (§3.3, n. lxxxvi)
"[Nehm]u-[iny]t"

The name of the goddess Nehmet-away, "She who rescues the bereft one"[575] probably features a rare Ramesside spelling in line 23 of the text (§3.3, n. lxxxvi).

ḥwt-nṯr  line 18
"temple"

In the New Kingdom,[576] the word is at times spelled with sign O21 (). Two further occurrences are known to me: one from an early Ramesside royal text[577] and another from a late Ramesside private stela.[578]

sb3  line 20
"door"

From the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, sign N14 () is often used as an abbreviation for *sb3* "door."[579] Its association with the classifier M3 () has, however, apparently not yet been noted,[580] although two late Ramesside hieratic papyri provide graphical parallels to the present spelling.[581]

sbj  line 11
"to laugh"

The spelling *sbj* reflects the phonetic change the verb *zbṯ*/*sbṯ* "to laugh" underwent over time.[582] Apart from the present example, this graphical variant has so far only been documented in one further Ramesside royal inscription, in line 8 of Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela*.[583]

šwt(*j*) { and} line{s 6 and} 7
"feather, plumage"

The spelling of the word includes sign D3 (), which is a Ramesside phenomenon and is only rarely attested in the

Furthermore, none of the New Kingdom examples of *n-mnt* included in *Ramsès* originate in monumental context.

575 Davies (*RITANC* IV 17) after Gardiner (1916: 42). See also Parlebas (1984: 22–25).

576 Cf. *Wb.* III 4.

577 Line 10 of Ramesses I's *Buhen Stela* (K*RI* I 3, 2) has the exact same spelling as Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*: .

578 The word is spelled as in the vignette of Merimaat's stela (Cairo, *JdE* no. 91927) from the time of Ramses VI (Vernus 1975b: 104; pl. 13).

579 *DZA* 29.088.580 and 700.

580 Cf. *DZA* 29.088.590–730.

581 pRochester MAG 51.346.1, B11, B12, B18, and B25 (Quack 2000: 221); pBM EA 10053, verso 3.21 (K*RI* VI 761, 5) and 4.9 (K*RI* VI 762, 3).

582 Cf. *Wb.* IV 89.4: "belegt seit D.19 als jüngere Schreibung oder Form für altes *sbṯ* 'lachen.'"

583 K*RI* VI 18, 8. *Sbj* is otherwise known from a handful of non-monumental textual sources, among others, from *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (*LES* 41, 9 and 53, 9).

record.[584] The example in line 6 is, however, probably a mistake for *jsw* "reward" (§3.3, n. xxxiii).

3.4.3.3.4 Ramesside Spellings Influenced by Homonyms or Similar-Sounding Words

bs
"to enter"

 line 6 (§3.3, n. xxxv)

In Ramesside texts, the 2-lit. *bs* "to enter" is no longer consistently distinguished from the 3ae-inf. *bsi* "to flow forth."[585] The two verbs are also etymologically related: they share the same root.[586]

m3ʿ
"to present"

 line 25

Line 25 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* contains the currently known earliest example of a rare spelling of the verb *m3ʿ* "to present,"[587] which puts a visual emphasis on the sacrificial aspect of the activity.[588] In line 5 of the text, the causative *sm3ʿ* "to present" is spelled similarly (see below).

ḥsjj
"praise"

 and  lines 1 (§3.3, n. viii) and 2

In Ramesside times, the word *ḥs*(*w*)*t* "praise" is no longer consistently differentiated from *ḥst* "song;" both words can be written as *ḥsjj*.[589] The example in the first line of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, the one written with two diagonal strokes instead of a double reed leaf, represents the spelling generally preferred by non-monumental texts.[590]

spd
"to be sharp, effective"

 line 7 (§3.3, n. xxiii)

The gemination of the final consonant of the verb *spd* (3-lit.) "to be sharp, effective" probably results from the pho-

584 Cf. *DZA* 29.978.820–960; pLeiden I 344, verso 2.7 similarly has  .

585 Cf. *DZA* 22.921.300–340.

586 Cf. Kruchten (1989: 147–149).

587 On the pattern of attestation of the present spelling, see *DZA* 23.784.180–250. All other Ramesside examples date later and come from a non-monumental context, like, for instance, from *The Tale of the Two Brothers* (*LES* 26, 9 and 26, 10) or from *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* (*LES* 85, 12).

588 See also *Wb.* II 22.12: "Nä. für 'schlachten.'"

589 Cf. *DZA* 27.309.890–310.000 and *DZA* 27.334.160–200. The verbal forms, *ḥsi* "to praise, to favor" and *ḥsi* "to sing," were graphically interchangeable since the Middle Kingdom (see *Wb.* III 164).

590 Hieratic papyri from the reign of Merenptah and Seti II provide several examples of the word "praise" written as (see pBologna, recto 8.3, 8.6, 9.1, 9.3, 9.7, 11.10 in *LEM* 7, 15; 8, 2; 8, 11; 8, 12; 9, 4; 11, 5 and pAnastasi IV 4.3 in *LEM* 38, 12). Rock-cut inscriptions, however, usually favor reed leaves over diagonal strokes at the end of the word (see also K*RI* V 395, 5).

netic influence of *spdd* (3ae-gem.) "to equip."

sm3ʿ  line 5 (§3.3, n. xxx)
"to present"
The spelling of the verb *sm3ʿ* "to present" on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* bears witness to a graphical contamination by the—in Ramesside times presumably already—homophone *sm3* "to slay." Further examples of this spelling are so far only known from the temple of Ramesses III in Karnak.[591] The word *m3ʿ* "to present" is spelled similarly in the text (see above).

qnw  and lines 5 and 14
"many, numerous"
From the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards, the word occasionally features a new written form that does not become predominant before Ptolemaic times.[592] Spelling *qnw* "many" as or instead of the regular and more frequent or could have resulted from an associative confusion or an intentional wordplay with the potentially homophone *qni* "to be strong" and its related forms like *qnw* "valor," for instance.

3.4.3.4 Idiosyncratic Graphical Solutions

n-mnt  line 21
"daily"
See above, under §3.4.3.3.3.

rnpwt  line 26
"years"
See above, under §3.4.3.1.

ḥʿi  left and right margins
"to rejoice"
The here featured spelling of the verb *ḥʿi* "to rejoice" is often found in Merenptah's Horus name also elsewhere[593] but does not become widespread before Ptolemaic and Roman times.[594]

591 KIU 4453, 1 and 4561, 2.
592 Cf. *DZA* 30.385.390–440. Another example of a similar spelling is found at the end of line 8 of Seti I's *East Silsileh Stela* from year 6 (K*RI* I 60, 13).
593 See, e.g., K*RI* IV 43, 16; 44, 1; 50, 9 and 12; 56, 3 and 4; 63, 8 and 9; and 77, 6.
594 Cf. *DZA* 26.600.370–450.

ḫwi  line 7
"to protect"
The verb is written with sign D44 () instead of sign D43 ().[595] The motive behind this graphical choice is unclear.

Šmʿw(*t*)  line 23 (§3.3, n. lxxxviii)
"South"
If the word was correctly identified (§3.3, n. lxxxviii), the spelling is unique.

ḏbʿw=f  line 10
"his fingers"
In the genitival construction *ḏbʿw=f* "his fingers," the third-person suffix pronoun is placed over the three vertical signs (T14) signifying "fingers." The usage of T14 for *ḏbʿ* "finger" is not new,[596] the present, playful combination of signs is, however, remarkable.[597] A conventional graphical solution for a similar passage with the same signs is present, for example, in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[598]

3.4.3.5 Context-Dependent Graphical Solutions

Nḥm[*t*-ʿ]*wjj* vs. *t3* 
[*Nḥm*]*w*-[*jnjj*]*t* vs.  or  (§3.3, n. lxxxvi)
"Nehm[et-a]way" vs. "[Nehm]u-[iny]t"
opening scene, lower row of gods
vs. line 23

If the signs have been supplied correctly for the corresponding lacuna in line 23 (§3.3, n. lxxxvi), the name of the goddess Nehmet-away, "She who rescues the bereft one,"[599] has a less canonical spelling in the main text than in the opening scene of the stela.

Rʿ lines 7, 8
"Re"
vs.  vs. lines 3, 10, 12, 13, 18, 24, [25] (§3.3, n. xcii), and 26

Leaving aside the spelling of the king's *prenomen* and that of the title *s3 Rʿ* "son of Re," the name of the sun god fea-

595 For an overview of possible diachronic variations of the determinative of *ḫwi* "to protect," see *DZA* 27.705.450. Note, however, that the slip does not include the present option.
596 According to *DZA* 31.607.050, T14 () could already stand for D50 () in the Middle Kingdom.
597 The unusual spelling was also noted by Roeder (1954: 337, n. o; 356).
598 K*RI* V 76, 6:  .
599 Davies (*RITANC* IV 17) after Gardiner (1916: 42). See also Parlebas (1984: 22–25).

tures two different spellings in the text.[600] The spelling , which only appears in lines 7 and 8 of the inscription, may have served to emphasize the solar aspect of the deity with reference to the celestial flight of the ibis towards Re, i.e., the sun (§3.2.3.3).

Ḫmnw "Hermopolis"		line 1 (§3.3, n. ix)
	vs. and variants	vs. right margin; opening scene (2x); and lines 15, 17 (3x), 22, 23, and 24

The name of Hermopolis is spelled differently in the first line of the main text than in all its other occurrences (ten in number) on the stela.

sꜣ "son"		left and right margin; lines 1, 10, 26
	vs.	vs. line 1 (2x)

On the margins and twice within the main text (lines 10 and 26), the word *sꜣ* is written with the pintail duck in the title *sꜣ Rᶜ*. The same title has a less conventional spelling only at the head of the text: twice in the first line. In other collocations, like *sꜣ=f* "his son" (line 1), sign G39 () is still preferred.

Ḏḥwtj "Thoth"		line 1 (*ḏd-mdw jn Ḏḥwtj* "words spoken by Thoth")
	vs. and	vs. all other occurrences in the main text[601]

The one-time use of sign C3 to write *Ḏḥwtj* "Thoth" contrasts with all other occurrences (14 in number) of the god's name in the main text.

600 Compare also the spelling of Re-Harakhte in line 15: .

601 is used in lines 1 (2x), 2 (2x), 10, 16 (second mention), 19, 22 (2x), 23, 24 (2x), and 25. The same group without the *ᶜnḫ* sign () appears only once, in line 16 (first mention). Outside the main text, the word *Ḏḥwtj* "Thoth" is present three times on the stela: once on the right-hand margin, where it is written as ; and twice in the scene, where stands for the name of the main god in the middle of the scene (*Ḏḥwtj nb Ḫmnw* "Thoth, lord of Hermopolis") and appears in the name of a minor deity in the lower row of gods (*Ḏḥwtj n Rᶜ-ms-sw Mr-Jmn* "Thoth-of-Ramesses-Meriamun").

3.4.3.6 Orthographic Anomalies and Imprecisions

3.4.3.6.1 Reverse Orientation of Signs or Groups of Signs

ꜥpꜣjj  line 7 (§3.3, n. xxxvii)
"wings" The determinative of the word faces right instead of left.

wnmj  lines 10 and 19
"right side" Sign R14 is reversed (instead of) in both occurrences of the word *wnmj* "right side." The sign is not used in other words in the text.

mꜣꜥ  line 25
"to present" The knife classifier was added to the verb *mꜣꜥ* "to present" with a reverse orientation, facing right.

nb ḫꜥw  opening scene, king's titulary
"lord of diadems" Sign N28 () and the plural strokes have been interchanged in the epithet *nb ḫꜥw* "lord of diadems." The phrase thus reads from right to left and not from left to right as the rest of the caption.

smꜣꜥ  line 5 (§3.3, n. xxx)
"to present" The spelling of the verb *smꜣꜥ* "to present" includes a knife determinative with a reverse orientation, facing right.

dnḥwjj  line 7
"wings" The two wing determinatives of the word face the opposite direction than the preceding signs.

3.4.3.6.2 Misplaced Signs or Groups of Signs

=j (suff. pron.) misplaced  line 2 (§3.3, n. xii)
The first-person suffix pronoun has been shifted to the end of the phrase in *jb=j m rš̈wt* "my heart is/was in joy" in line 2 of the text.

=j (suff. pron.) and *tw* (dep. pron.) interchange  line 3 (§3.3, n. xvi)
The signs and have been interchanged in the expression *gm.n=j tw* "I have found you."

 line 11 (§3.3, n. li)
The signs and appear in a reverse order of sequence in the phrase *n-ḏr dgꜣ=j tw* "since I beheld you."

n (prep.) misplaced  line 3 (§3.3, n. xviii)
The preposition *n* in the phrase *wpt n ḥm n Rᶜ* "the commission of the majesty of Re" in line 3 slipped in between the two determinatives of the preceding word *wpt* "commission."

3.4.3.6.3 Defective Spelling

jt "father" line 13 (§3.3, n. lx)
The sign most probably represents a defective spelling for *jt* "father" in the following group:  .

3.4.3.6.4 Sign Confusions

jsw "reward"  line 6 (§3.3, n. xxxiii)
In line 6, the group is understood as an ancient carving or transcription mistake for *jsw* "reward."

wbȝ "domain"  lines 18–19 and 22 (§3.3, n. lxxiv)
The spelling of the word *wbȝ* "domain" with the present sequence of signs, that is, with the quail chick as a phonetic complement or phonemographic interpretant,[602] has not yet been noted outside Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*.[603] The intrusive could be a result of a confusion of signs: G43 () for G1 () or G29 ().

3.5 Discussion of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*

3.5.1 The Stela as a Composition

The main text of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* can be divided into two approximately equal parts: Thoth's and the Ogdoad's addresses to the king (§3.2.3.3 and §3.2.3.4). Contrary to Roeder's opinion,[604] the text provides no reason for splitting off a third main structural unit from the Ogdoad's speech in line 16: *wšbt ḥr-ᶜ mj ḏdwt nȝ n ḫmnjjw*… "The response is immediate, corresponding to what the Ogdoad says: …" It is clear from the context and from the previous sentence that the word *wšbt* "response" refers to

602 See Polis & Rosmorduc (2015: 167–168). The designations "phonetic complement" and "phonemographic interpretant" are used interchangeably in the present work. The same category of signs is sometimes labelled as "phonetic determinatives" after Gardiner (*GEG* §54).

603 See also Spencer (1984: 4, n. 11) with reference to Roeder's (1954) publication of the present text.

604 Roeder (1954: 342–343). Roeder (1954: 352): "Der Verfasser des Textes von Mer-en-Ptah hat ihn, abgesehen von der Einleitung […], in drei Reden gegliedert […]: Thot spricht zum König, […] die Acht-Götter sprechen zum König, und […] nochmalige Ansprache an den König auf die Rede der Acht-Götter."

Thoth's reaction to what he heard from the Dual Ennead (*twt=sn ḥr ḏd m r3 wꜥ n jt=k ḎḥwtjDḥwtj jr.n=k jrwt nbt n nṯr ḎḥwtjDḥwtj mj-qdw* "They together (i.e., the Dual Ennead) are telling with one voice to your father, Thoth: you have absolutely done all that was (to be) done for the god, Thoth."). In the given section, the Ogdoad reports about the Dual Ennead's and Thoth's reaction to Merenptah's deeds. Similarly, nor is the fact that the Ogdoad refers to itself in the third person in its own speech sufficient grounds for Roeder's structuring. Thoth also does so in his own address to the king, in line 10 (*jrjj*(*=j*) *m jm*(*jj*)*-pr m sšw ḎḥwtjDḥwtj m ḏbꜥw=f ḏs=f*… "It is a transfer-document that I shall create of what Thoth wrote with his own fingers…"). Moreover, the use of the plural definite article in front of the word *ḫmnjjw* "Ogdoad" in line 16 contrasts with the bare mentions of the same word earlier, in lines 3 and 14 (*ḥnꜥ ḫmnjjw* "together with the Ogdoad" and *ḫmnjjw ḥr ḏd m r3 wꜥ* "the Ogdoad is speaking with one voice"). The difference in language use between these phrases suggests additional deictic force associated with *n3 n* in line 16, which, if also reflected in the translation, makes the Ogdoad's self-reference more apparent: *wšbt ḥr-ꜥ mj ḏdwt n3 n ḫmnjjw*… "The response is immediate, corresponding to what *this* Ogdoad says: …"

In their speech, Thoth and the Ogdoad welcome the newly built temple of Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat in their domain, honor the king's deeds, and make sure that he is rewarded for them. The opening scene of the stela is an apt visual summary of the text, for it eternalizes the moment when Thoth receives the temple from the king in the company of six local deities and offers him many jubilees in return (§3.2.2). Curiously, the six gods arranged in two rows behind Thoth (§3.2.2.4 and §3.2.2.5) do not represent the Ogdoad but are best interpreted as a local version of the Ennead.[605] The two major deities whose favor Merenptah sought with his building activities in Hermopolis Magna, Amun-Re and Thoth, are also evoked on the margins of the stela: Amun-Re on the left, southern, and Thoth, on the right, northern side of the monument (§3.2.1.1 and §3.2.1.2).

The stela's exclusive focus on Thoth's and the Ogdoad's acknowledgement of the king's endeavors is reflected in the unconventional structure of its main text, which lacks the otherwise common elements of most Ramesside royal inscriptions: the opening dateline followed by the titulary of the king, the royal eulogy, and the narrative description of the events the inscription commemorates. Since the king does not respond to the deities' laudatory speeches, and a royal address does not precede them either, the stela does not present a dialogue situation between Merenptah and the gods. The number of royal texts where the whole composition is centered on divine words is very limited. Eight-

605 The reason behind this discrepancy between the image and the text is not immediately evident. The composition of the Ogdoad is fairly stable during the history of ancient Egypt (Zivie-Coche 2016: 68–70), and no visual representations of the group are known before the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (Zivie-Coche 2016: 85). The first preserved image of the Ogdoad from Hermopolis dates to Ptolemaic times (Zivie-Coche 2016: 63). By contrast, it is Thoth and "his Dual Ennead" (*psḏtj=f*) who settle in the temple (line 1), and the text refers to the Dual Ennead (*psḏtj*) three times: in lines 1, 15, and 17. In this sense, the depiction of a local Dual Ennead in the scene is not entirely unexpected.

eenth Dynasty examples include only Thutmosis III's *Poetical Stela*[606] and Amenhotep III's inscription at Mahatta.[607]

The importance of the introductory heading of the text lies in its self-defining character. The first few words of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* refer to the text—or, more precisely, to the first part thereof—as a record of the king's praise by Thoth (*mjtt n pȝ ḥsjj nsw bjtj*… "record of the praise of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt…"). The word *mjtt*, generally translated as "copy," occurs in two further Ramesside royal inscriptions: in line 4 of Ramesses II's *Hittite Treaty*[608] and, provided that the missing signs were rightly supplied by Seele,[609] at the head of the excerpt text of Ramesses III's *Gold Tablet Prayer*.[610] While in the latter two cases a more specific rendering of *mjtt* as "copy" is contextually justified, the present context prefers a broader understanding of the word as "record" or "reproduction" (§3.3, n. vii). Grammatical and contextual evidence suggests, furthermore, that the key word of the section, *ḥsjj*, has to be translated as "praise" rather than as "song," as suggested by earlier interpretations (§3.3, n. viii). The introductory heading contains another piece of information that helps to anchor the text—or more precisely, its origin—in time. Although the year is not specified, Thoth—and therefore presumably also the Ogdoad—voiced Merenptah's praise on the festival of Thoth (*m ḥb Ḏḥwtj*), that is, on day 19 of the first month of inundation.[611]

Both Thoth's and the Ogdoad's addresses to Merenptah (lines 2–14 and lines 14–26 respectively) are further divided into several subsections by the mention of the royal name (lines 3, 6, 10, 14, 18, and 26).[612] Although the two divine speeches are equally long (both occupy 13 lines), Thoth's address to the king has twice as many paragraphs, four in number, whereas that of the Ogdoad has only two (§3.2.3.1). The royal cartouches in lines 3, 6, 10, and 14 define the major structural points of Thoth's praise. Merenptah's name in line 14 has a double function: it marks the end of the last paragraph of Thoth's address to the king as well as the end of the first major section of the stela. Simi-

606 *Urk.* IV 610–619.

607 *Urk.* IV 1663–1665.

608 K*RI* II 226, 9.

609 Seele (1935: 232, n. 1).

610 K*RI* V 221, 6.

611 *RITANC* IV 17.

612 On the similarly central role of the royal cartouches in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions, see Gillen (2014: 64–67 and 74–76). "Referentially, the cartouches are the symbolisations *par excellence* of the king, and it is from this referential basis that their various conventionalised textual and aesthetic roles derive (indeed, they are particularly multivalent: not narrowly textual, but participating more freely in the realms of the iconic and pictorial). In the case of the Medinet Habu texts, the appearance of the cartouches is rooted deeply in the primary metafunctions of eulogistic speech, which retains a significant referentiality: in a praising description of the king, they are the core message around which epithets and other linguistic ornaments are elaborated, and their regular repetition in the present corpus should be considered as a refrain that anchors the various thematic directions explored in the text" (Gillen 2014: 64; emphasis in the original). On cartouches used as a structural element on rhetorical royal stelae in general, see Dew (2017). On the structuring function of Ramesses IV's royal name in his *Great Hammamat Inscription*, see §5.2.2.1 and §5.5.1 below.

larly, the royal name in line 26 closes the second part of the Ogdoad's address to Merenptah and, at the same time, signals the end of the main text. The cartouches in line 18 separate the two main paragraphs of the Ogdoad's speech and thereby function as the most important structural point in the second half of the stela.

The first two paragraphs of Thoth's address to the king open with a phrase (*jj.n*(*=j*) *ḫr=k*… "I have come to you…") strongly reminiscent of the anaphora on Thutmosis III's *Poetical Stela* (*jj.n=j*… "I have come…").[613] Since also Thutmosis III's stela has a clear dedicatory aspect[614] and both inscriptions belong to the same subtype of texts among royal inscriptions (divine speech(es)), the similarities between the two monuments suggest that Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* drew inspiration from its more than 200-year-old counterpart. Furthermore, the expression *jj.n*(*=j*) *ḫr=k*… "I have come to you…" links the inscription to the sphere of personal piety, as it resonates with the plea *mj n=j*… "Come to me, (O)…!," addressed to a deity, and often found in personal prayers of the Ramesside period.[615] Thematically, the first two paragraphs of Thoth's address to the king (lines 2–6) focus on Thoth's joy over Merenptah's piety and benefactions and inform the reader that Thoth and the Ogdoad act on the authority of Amun-Re when honoring the king's deeds.

Just as the first two paragraphs of Thoth's speech can be grouped together based on their similar opening phrases (*jj.n*(*=j*) *ḫr=k*… "I have come to you…"), so too do the second two form a unit based on their contents. The latter are both connected to a sacred animal of the god. The third paragraph of Thoth's speech (lines 6–10) gets more specific on the details of the king's reward (*dj=j n=k*… "I shall grant you…") and describes Thoth in his quality as an ibis (*jrjj=j ḫprj m hb šps*… "I shall transform into a noble ibis…"). Thoth protects the king in his form of the sacred bird and soars up to the sky to meet Re in his solar bark and get his approval for his plans to extend Merenptah's kingship to the heaven's timespan (*ꜥḥꜥw pt*). In the fourth paragraph of his praise (lines 10–14), Thoth appears in the form of a baboon (*ꜥq.k m-bꜣḥ=k m ḫprj n ꜥnꜥn*… "I am entered in front of you in the form of a baboon, …"), peaceful and content, as the true scribe of Re, and assures Merenptah of the lasting nature of his kingship due to Amun-Re's consent to his plans to ascribe him many jubilees.

As much as Thoth's address to the king is about Thoth's intercession to Amun-Re on behalf of Merenptah, the first part of the Ogdoad's speech (lines 14–18) is an account of the Dual Ennead's and Thoth's appreciation of the king's deeds. The Ogdoad thus

613 *Urk.* IV 614, 15; 615, 4, 10, 17; 616, 6, 12, 17; and 617, 5, 11, 17. The parallelism was noted before by Roeder (1954: 352, n. 1) and Klug (2002: 119, n. 924).

614 Compare lines 24–25 of the text: *sꜥḥꜥ.n=k jwnn=j m kꜣt nḥḥ sꜣw.w swsḏ r pꜣt ḫpr sbꜣ wr* [*Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥ*] *sḥb.n nfrw=f* [*pr*] *Jmn*{*-Rꜥ*} "You have set up my sanctuary as a work of eternity, which has been made longer and wider than it used to be, and the large door (called) '[Menkheperre] whose beauty the [temple] of Amun has made festive'" (*Urk.* IV 618, 12–14; emendation after Klug 2002: 116, with nn. 903 and 904; differently emended by Beylage 2002: 341, with n. 1016).

615 Cf. Ragazzoli (2008: 143). See, e.g., oCairo CG 25766, 2 (K*RI* IV 286, 5); pAnastasi II 10.1 and 10.2 (*LEM* 18, 8 and 18, 9); pAnastasi IV 5.2 and 10.1 (*LEM* 39, 12 and 45, 6); or pAnastasi V 9.2 and 9.3 (*LEM* 60, 4 and 60, 5).

relates that the Dual Ennead celebrates the king's benefactions (*st ḥᶜᶜwj n*… "They rejoice because of…") and convinces Thoth that the king has done everything for him (*twt=sn ḥr ḏd m rꜣ wᶜ n jt=k Ḏḥwtj*… "They together are telling with one voice to your father, Thoth: …"). Thoth, in return, expresses his graciousness towards Merenptah (*jw jr.n=f m ḥr mrw*… "He has acted with loving face, …").

The second half of the Ogdoad's address to the king (lines 18–26) starts with the description of the architectural details of the newly built temple (*ḫr qd=k ḥwt-nṯr šps*… *sw bꜣk.tj m*… *sw dgꜣjj.tw m*… "Now, you built an august temple… It has been wrought in… It has been planted with…") and continues with comparing the lord of the temple, Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat, to other deities (*nfrw n Jmn n Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣᶜt dj ᶜnḫ ḥtp m-ḫnw=s*… "The beauty of Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat—given life!—rests within it: …"). The Ogdoad's speech ends with an appeal to Thoth, asking him to make Merenptah's years numerous and grant him many jubilees (*ḫr šsp Ḏḥwtj*… "Now, Thoth shall seize…").

Besides the mention of the king's name in line 18, which marks the most important structural point within the Ogdoad's address to the king, the second part of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* includes some further strategies to define additional structural units within the text. The use of the particle *ḫr* as a structural marker is one of them. The particle appears three times in the Ogdoad's speech, in lines 17, 18, and 25, as follows: *ḫr psḏtj Ḫmnw ḥtp m-ḫnw=f*…. *ḫr qd=k ḥwt-nṯr šps m pꜣ wbꜣ n Ḏḥwtj*…. *ḫr šsp Ḏḥwtj*… "Now, the Dual Ennead of Hermopolis rests within it, …. Now, you built an august temple in the domain of Thoth, …. Now, Thoth shall seize…" Likewise, the use of a recurring theme in lines 17–18, 22, and 24, which specifies the identity of the gods who reside in the newly built temple, represents yet another strategy for textual organization: *ḫr psḏtj Ḫmnw ḥtp m-ḫnw=f*…. *nfrw n Jmn n Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣᶜt dj ᶜnḫ ḥtp m-ḫnw=s*…. *Jmn n Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣᶜt dj ᶜnḫ ḥtp m-ḫnw=s mj Rᶜ m-ḫnw pt*… "Now, the Dual Ennead of Hermopolis rests within it, …. The beauty of Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat—given life!—rests within it: …. Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat—given life!—rests within it like Re (does) in heaven: …" The fact that the main and the two secondary strategies to structure the text (the placement of the royal name, the use of the particle *ḫr*, and the use of a recurring theme) do not coincide with one another emphasizes the close connection between the first and second parts of the Ogdoad's speech as well as the interwovenness of the smaller structural units within the inscription in general.

3.5.2 The Language of the Text

3.5.2.1 Grammar

Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* is a grammatically heterogeneous inscription. As the chart below (Fig. 12) illustrates, both Late and Earlier Egyptian morphosyntactic features were used consistently throughout its main text. The absence of any distinctly late

or distinctly early grammatical features on the margins and in the opening scene (§3.2.1 and §3.2.2) is due to the diachronically neutral nominal syntax of these sections.

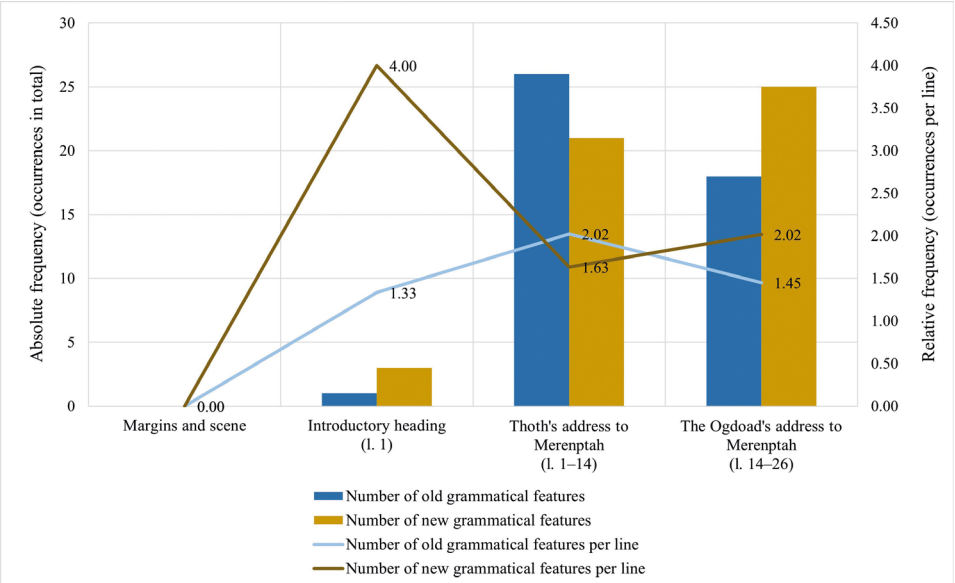


Fig. 12: Absolute and relative frequency of old and new grammatical features (details under §3.4.1) in the major textual units of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*.

By contrast, the introductory heading (line 1; §3.2.3.2) displays an exceptionally high relative frequency[616] of Late Egyptian grammatical features (4 ex./line) compared to the generally more conservative nature of the grammatical selections of the rest of the text. The introductory heading has a label-like function and serves as an explanatory note to the main content. In other words, it carries background information. This function is reinforced by the character of its linguistic profile, which—with the help of linguistic contrast—separates it from the rest of the text and thereby contributes to relegating it to the background (see below, under §7.1.1.2.2). Although the Ogdoad's address to Merenptah (lines 14–26; §3.2.3.4) contains fewer Earlier Egyptian and more Late Egyptian

616 For calculating the relative frequency of Late and Earlier Egyptian grammatical features in the different parts of the text, the length of each textual unit had to be determined. The main text contains 26 lines in total; 0.75 thereof is occupied by the introductory heading, 12.85 by Thoth's address to the king, and 12.40 by the Ogdoad's address to Merenptah. For the sake of comparability with the main inscription, the lengths of the inscriptions on the margins and in the scene were converted into lines corresponding to those of the main text. While all captions of the scene would roughly fit into two lines of the main inscription, each margin contains approximately 60% of the volume of a line, thus the two margins together would correspond to 1.20 lines in the main text. The same values were used also for determining the relative frequency of new lexical items (§3.5.2.2), new spellings (§3.5.2.3), and orthographic anomalies or imprecisions (§3.5.2.3) within the text.

grammatical features than Thoth's address to the king (lines 1–14; §3.2.3.3), the relative and absolute densities of the typically Late and typically Earlier Egyptian grammatical elements differ only slightly between the two major parts of the inscription (see Fig. 13).

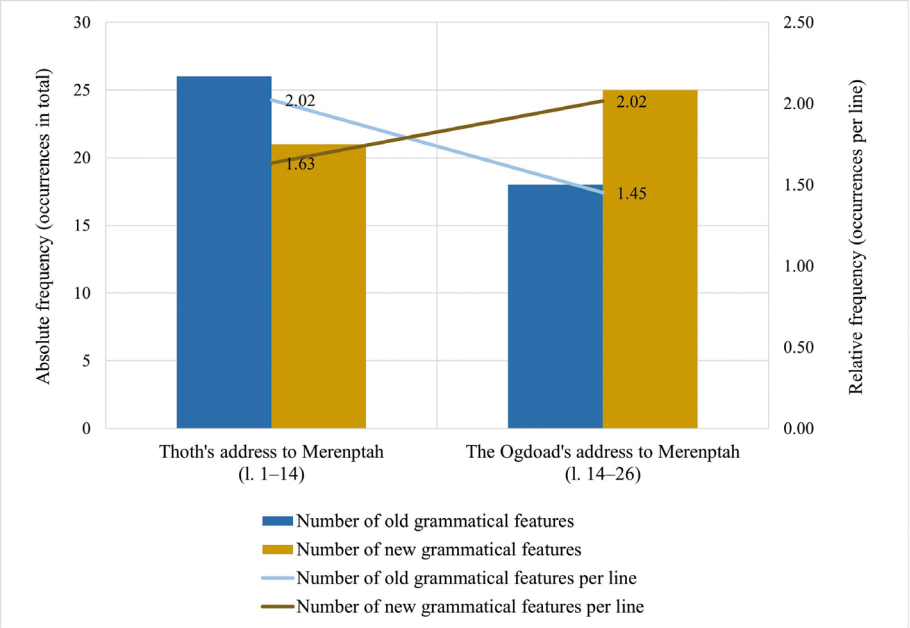


Fig. 13: Absolute and relative frequency of old and new grammatical features (details under §3.4.1) in the two main parts of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, Thoth's and the Ogdoad's addresses to the king.

More revealing of the grammatical choices on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* is the way these features were used in the text. Most main clauses employ Earlier Egyptian or diachronically indistinct constructions in initial position. The most prominent place in a sentence is therefore usually taken by *jw sḏm.n=f*'s,[617] *sḏm.n=f*'s, pseudoparticiples, subjunctive *sḏm=f*'s, or adverbial predicates in the text. The *jw sḏm.n=f* construction is used only once, in line 16, at the point where the Ogdoad turns to describing Thoth's reaction to the king's deeds: *jw jr.n=f m ḥr mrw*… "He has acted with loving face, …" The *sḏm.n=f* form is, on the other hand, more frequent. In initial position, it occurs in line 2 (*jj.n(=j) ḫr=k*… "I have come to you…"), line 3 (*jj.n(=j) ḫr=k*… "I have come to you…"), and line 8 (*gm.n(=j) sw*… "I have found him…"). Pseudoparticiples as predicates of initial main sentences are found in line 4 (§3.3, n. xxiv on *mk pr ꜥnḫ* [… … …]*tj*… "Look, the House of Life [… … …]…"), line 10 (*ꜥq.k m-bꜣḥ=k m ḫprj n ꜥnꜥn*… "I am entered in front of you in the form of a baboon, …"), line 13 (*pr.k*… "I am come forth; …" (§3.3, n. lviii)), and line 14 (*ḫjj pꜣ ms.tw=k nfr*… "How good is (the fact) that you were born…!" (§3.3, n. lxiii)). The bare construction of the first-person singular

617 Cf. Winand (1992: 180, §295).

pseudoparticiple in paragraph-initial position in lines 10 and 13 (*ꜥq.k* "I am entered" and *pr.k* "I am come forth") has an especially archaizing character, for it was originally associated with higher written registers in earlier times.[618] Subjunctive *sḏm=f*'s in initial main clauses are employed in line 6 (*dj=j n=k*… "I shall grant you…"), line 7 (*jrjj=j ḫprj m hb šps*… "I shall transform into a noble ibis…"), line 9 (*jrjj*(*=j*) *m jm*(*jj*)*-pr*… "It is a transfer-document that I shall create…"), and line 25 (*ḫr šsp Ḏḥwtj*… "Now, Thoth shall seize…"). Prominently placed adverbial predicates are, on the other hand, present in line 11 (*jw=j m ḥb*… "I am at feast…"), line 18 (*ḫr psḏtj Ḫmnw ḥtp m-ḫnw=f* "Now, the Dual Ennead of Hermopolis rests within it, …"), line 22 (*nfrw n Jmn n Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mɜꜥt dj ꜥnḫ ḥtp m-ḫnw=s*… "The beauty of Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat—given life!—rests within it: …"), and line 24 (*Jmn n Mr-n-Ptḥ Ḥtp-ḥr-Mɜꜥt dj ꜥnḫ ḥtp m-ḫnw=s*… "Amun-of-Merenptah-Hetephermaat—given life!—rests within it…").

The stela presents only two exceptions to the above rule, namely, to the use of Earlier Egyptian or diachronically indistinct constructions in initial main clauses. The first one is in the first paragraph of Thoth's address to the king, in line 2: *tw=j m ḥb*… "I am at feast; …" Although the clause employs an adverbial predicate, which, in itself, is diachronically indistinct, the use of the new first-person singular subject pronoun *tw=j* defines the construction as a Late Egyptian First Present. The second exception is found at the head of the second part of the Ogdoad's address to the king, in line 18: *ḫr qd=k ḥwt-nṯr šps m pɜ wbɜ n Ḏḥwtj*… "Now, you built an august temple in the domain of Thoth…" This is the only example in the entire text where an unmistakably Late Egyptian finite verb form, a Late Egyptian preterite, serves as the predicate of an initial main clause.

Non-initial main clauses are a less restrictive domain for novel grammatical solutions than their initial counterparts. The Late Egyptian First Present construction regularly appears in non-initial main clauses throughout the whole text. It is equally found in Thoth's as well as in the Ogdoad's addresses to the king, but it has a higher relative frequency in the latter (see exx. in lines 3 and 13 vs. in lines 15 [2x], 19, 20–21, and 23 [3x] under §3.4.1). The second part of Thoth's speech, on the other hand, contains a rather unusual possessive construction (line 12; §3.3, n. liv): *ḥɜt nḥḥ šsp ḏt jnn* "Ours are the beginning of eternity and the commencement of infinity." The *Hermopolis Stela* is so far the oldest noted monumental inscription to contain *jnn*, the first-person plural independent pronoun. The pronoun seems to be unattested before the Ramesside period[619] and was believed to be absent from royal inscriptions as far as the reign of Ramses IV,[620] where it appears in the king's *Festal Wall Stela* in Karnak.[621]

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618 Stauder (2013a: 94–95 and 2013b: 40–41). For royal parallels from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, see Stauder (2013a: 92, ex. iv; 93, ex. i; 94, ex. i; 95, ex. ii).

619 *GEG* §64. Quack (2002: 336–337) argues that in earlier times a different morpheme, *ntn*, was used with the same function.

620 Cf. Černý (1941: 107); *DZA* 20.912.150; and *Wb. Belegst.* I 97.5.

621 *KRI* VI 5, 8.

The subordinate clauses of the stela show a similar relative openness towards Late Egyptian grammatical constructions as do non-initial clauses paratactically juxtaposed to initial predications. The inscription contains three examples of the temporal (*n*-)*ḏr sḏm=f* construction[622] (lines 1, 11, and 12) and potentially two further examples of the particle *jw* heading either a circumstantial or a virtual relative clause (lines 3 [§3.3, n. xvii] and 19). Furthermore, the preposition *mj* and the word *tnw* function as clause connectors[623] in three instances in total (*mj*: lines 6 and 18; *tnw*: line 25).

The slight difference in language use between the two main parts of the text exemplified by the higher relative density of Late Egyptian First Present constructions in the second half of the text is likewise demonstrable in their grammatical choices at the lower syntactic levels. The Ogdoad's address to the king (lines 14–26) contains more Late Egyptian definite articles and more Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronouns than Thoth's address to Merenptah (lines 2–14). Only less than 30% of all Late Egyptian definite articles (4 out of 13) and 20% of all new third-person plural suffix pronouns (1 out of 5) cluster in the first half of the text (see exx. under §3.4.1). Although the Late Egyptian possessive articles are in number equally distributed between the two main parts of the inscription, all the four examples in the Ogdoad's speech are found in one specific section of the text: in the paragraph praising the beauty of the newly built temple (lines 18–22).

The distributional pattern of Late Egyptian possessive articles turns out to be an important clue that suggests a remarkable dissimilarity in language use between one specific section—namely, a paragraph dealing with the esthetic and architectural aspects of the newly built temple—and the rest of the text. Indeed, the real difference in grammatical choices is not between the two main parts of the inscription (see Fig. 13 above) but between the description of the temple and the rest of the text. Fig. 14 below makes this contrast evident. The section between lines 18 and 22 employs approximately twice as many Late Egyptian grammatical features per line than the rest of the text (3.33 ex./line vs. 1.65 ex./line), but the relative frequency of Earlier Egyptian grammatical features is seven times lower in this part of the text than in the rest (0.28 ex./line vs. 1.96 ex./line). Moreover, the section opens with a clause containing one of the two sentence-initial Late Egyptian predicates in the entire text: *ḫr qd=k ḥwt-nṯr šps m pꜣ wbꜣ n Ḏḥwtj*… "Now, you built an august temple in the domain of Thoth…" (line 18). The salient placement of a Late Egyptian finite verb form and the unusually high relative density of Late Egyptian grammatical features serve the same purpose: they direct the reader's attention to the passage and lend extra emphasis to the message thereby conveyed.

622 See n. 467 above.

623 See n. 143 above. On the *tnw sḏm=f* construction, see G*EG* §181.

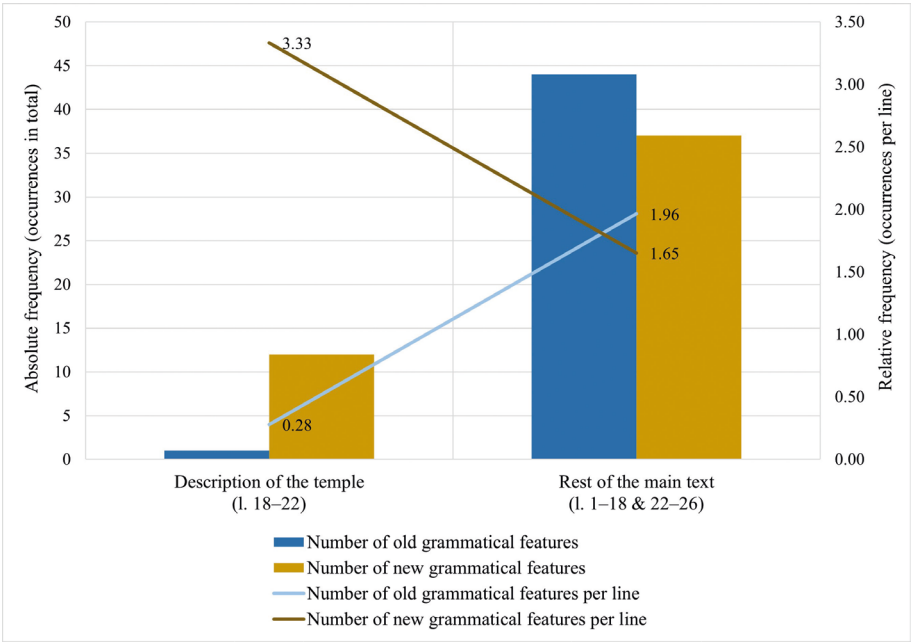


Fig. 14: Absolute and relative frequency of old and new grammatical features (details under §3.4.1) in the description of the temple (lines 18–22) and the rest of the main text.

The abundance of morphologically different but functionally identical grammatical constructions (cf. §1.2.3) is a further important aspect of the heterogeneous nature of the language of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*. In line 2, for instance, the absence of a conjunction results in an asyndetic subordination (*pr.k m-bꜣḥ=f jb<=j> m rswt{=j}* "I am come forth to his presence, as my heart was in joy." (§3.3, n. xii)), whereas the same syntactic dependency is made morphologically overt by the use of *jw* in line 3 (*jj.n(=j) ḥr=k jw jb=j nḏm*… "I have come to you—my heart being joyful…" (§3.3, n. xvii)). The different strategies used for the negation of existence at the end of line 13 represent another example of linguistic dissimilation in the text: [*n*]*n-wn s*[*ḫ*]*nnw sḫrw=j nn ḫsf-ꜥ=j*… "There are no de[st]royers (to) my plans and there is no warding me off…" *Nn* and *nn-wn* alternate in a similar fashion also in some other royal texts—on Thutmosis III's *Gebel Barkal Stela*[624] or in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*,[625] for example—but their sequence is usually inversed. In the present case, the younger Middle Egyptian form (*nn-wn*) precedes the older construction (*nn*).[626] The interaction between the different stages of the Egyptian language is also apparent in the use of two different grammatical solutions for introducing the pronominal subject at the head of adverbial or pseudoverbal sentences in

624 *Nn* and *nn-wn* in line 17 (*Urk.* IV 1233, 18–19).

625 The inscription contains three pairs of parallels with the older form (*nn*) preceding the younger (*nn-wn*) in each case: *nn* in line 15 (K*RI* I 48, 9) and *nn-wn* in line 16 (K*RI* I 48, 12); *nn* in line 19 (K*RI* I 49, 4) and *nn-wn* in line 22 (K*RI* I 49, 12); and *nn* and *nn-wn* in line 26 (K*RI* I 50, 6).

626 Loprieno (1995: 127).

the text. In some cases, the suffix pronouns are employed with the morphological support of the particle *jw* (*jw=j*, *jw=k*, *jw=f*, etc.), whereas, in others, the new subject pronouns head the clause (*tw=j*, *tw=k*, *sw*, etc.). Two clauses are directly comparable on the *Hermopolis Stela* because they communicate the exact same content: *tw=j m ḥb* "I am at feast" in line 2 and *jw=j m ḥb* "I am at feast" in line 11. In the second half of the Ogdoad's address to the king, in lines 22 and 23, the two constructions appear side by side: *jw=f mj šw ḥr wbn… jw=f mj tȝ* [*Nḥm*]*w*-[*jnjj*]*t* (§3.3, nn. lxxxiv and lxxxvi)… *sw* […]*ḥ*[…] *mj Ḏḥwtj sw m Šps*[*jj*]… *sw m nṯr ᶜȝ ḥr Ḫmnw*… "he is like the rising sun, … he is like ʔ[Nehm]u-[iny]tʔ…; he is […] like Thoth, he is as Sheps[y]…, he is as the great god in Hermopolis, …"

The difference between two morphologically dissimilar but functionally identical grammatical constructions is often not as pronounced as in the above examples. It may be as subtle as the presence or absence of a feminine *-t* ending in participles or relative forms. The difference becomes significant when the constructions are used to express neuter meaning. In Earlier Egyptian, neuter meaning is expressed by the feminine, whereas in Late Egyptian, it is expressed by the masculine.[627] On Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, both grammatical solutions are present (see exx. under §3.4.1), but the older strategy is attested only with relatively frequent verbs, with *jri* "to do" (lines 15 and 16) and *ḏd* "to say" (line 16). This suggests that the use of grammatically feminine constructions for neuter meaning was no longer fully productive at the time of Merenptah.[628]

3.5.2.2 Lexicon

The lexical repertoire of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* is as heterogeneous as its grammar. Both halves of the main text contain a large number of new lexical items (see Fig. 15 below), that is, words and expressions that are seldom or not attested before the Amarna period (§3.4.2.3), lexemes that are seldom or not attested in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times (§3.4.2.4 and §3.4.2.5), and lexical items that do not at all appear in the record before Ramesside times (§3.4.2.6). The absence of new words and expressions in the scene and on the margins is not surprising in light of the highly formulaic nature of these textual units.

627 See n. 145 above.

628 The situation is already similar in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, where the older form is only documented with *jri* "to do." See the examples under §2.4.1.

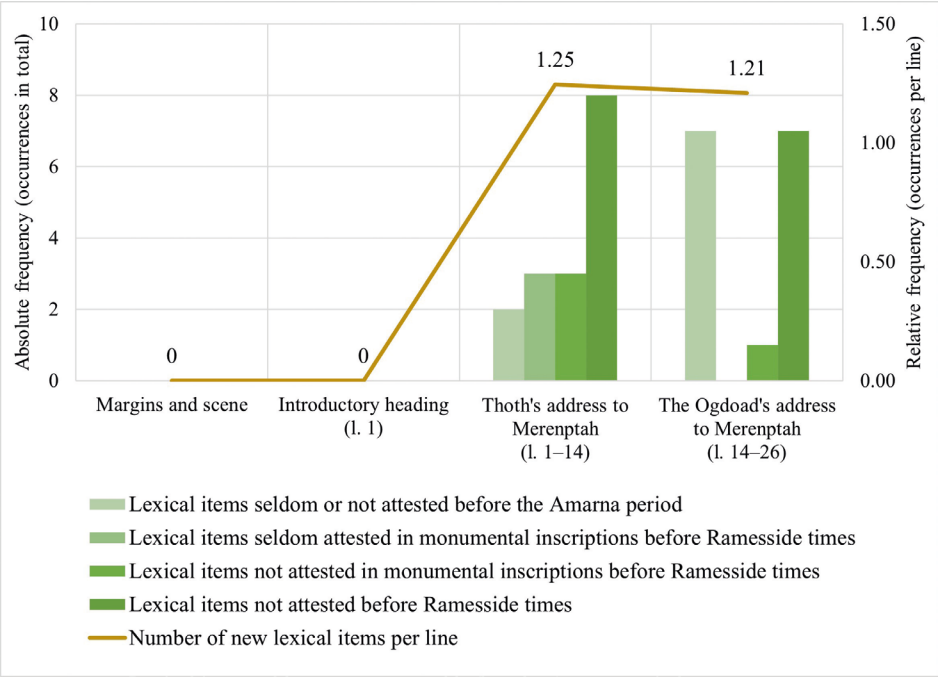


Fig. 15: Absolute and relative frequency of new lexical items (details under §3.4.2.3, §3.4.2.4, §3.4.2.5, and §3.4.2.6) in the major textual units of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*.

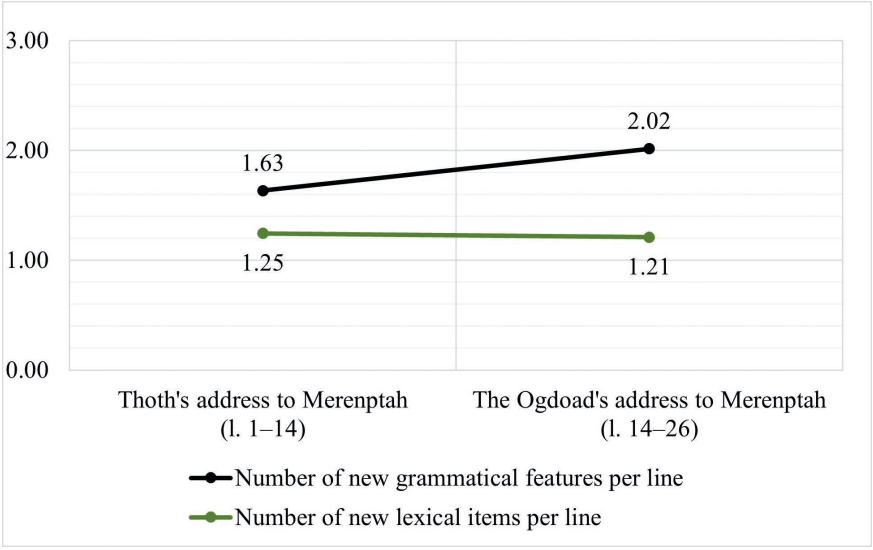


Fig. 16: Relation between the new grammatical and new lexical choices in the two main parts of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, Thoth's and the Ogdoad's addresses to the king (details from Fig. 13 and Fig. 15).

Although the distributional pattern of new lexical items is similar to that of the Late Egyptian grammatical features in the two main parts of the text (see Fig. 16 above), the placement of new words and expressions is largely independent of their immediate grammatical environment. In other words, the use of Late Egyptian grammar does not trigger the use of new words and expressions. They are equally found in passages employing Earlier Egyptian or diachronically indistinct grammatical solutions. The relationship between the two variables (grammar and lexicon) thus cannot be described as causal; it is rather correlational.

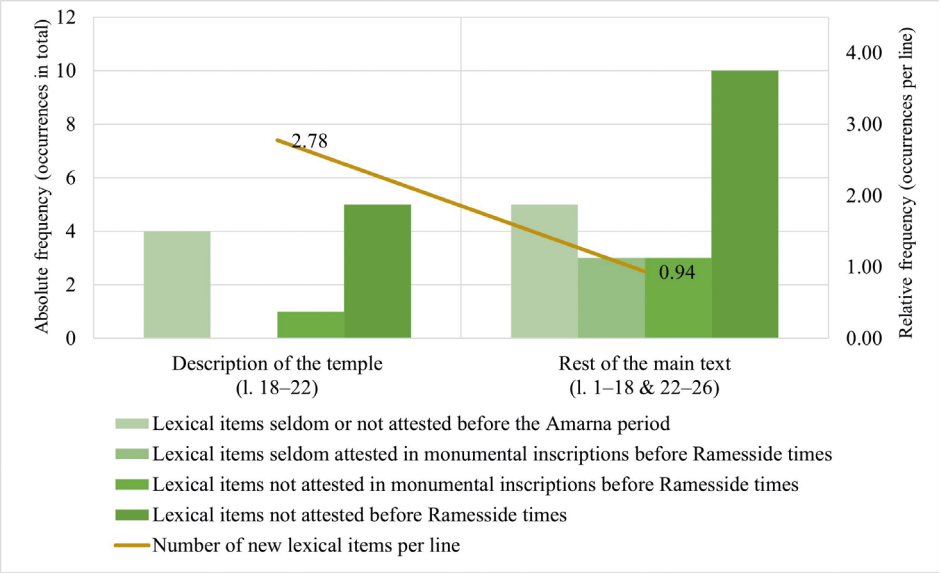


Fig. 17: Absolute and relative frequency of new lexical items (details under §3.4.2.3, §3.4.2.4, §3.4.2.5, and §3.4.2.6) in the description of the temple (lines 18–22) and the rest of the main text.

Nonetheless, the content of a given paragraph and the compositional logic associated therewith did influence the relative frequency of new lexical items in the text.[629] Accordingly, the section that provides a detailed and vivid description of the beauty of the recently built temple (lines 18–22) includes proportionately more new lexical elements than the rest of the main text (see Fig. 17 above). Although the paragraph in question covers less than four full lines of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* and hence represents less than 15% of its main text,[630] it features almost one third of all new words and expressions used on the stela.[631]

629 On calculating the relative frequency of new lexical items in the different parts of the text, compare n. 616 above.

630 The description of the temple covers 3.6 lines, that is, 13.85%, of the 26-line long inscription.

631 32.26%: there are 31 examples listed in total under §3.4.2.3, §3.4.2.4, §3.4.2.5, and §3.4.2.6; ten among these belong to the paragraph describing the beauty of the newly built temple. For instance,

As for the phraseology of the section describing the newly built temple on the stela, the image evoked of trees and flowers in lines 20–21 (*sw dgȝjj.tw m šnw nb bnrw sṯḥn.ṯ m ḥrrw* "It has been planted with all (sorts of) fruit trees and made glisten with flowers.") has several earlier royal forerunners.[632] Amenhotep III, for instance, uses a very similar formulation in a dedicatory inscription for Montu in Karnak: *srd m mnw sṯḥn.w m ḥrrwt nbt* "planted with trees and made glisten with all (sorts) of flowers."[633] Amenhotep III's wording finds a remarkable echo a few generations later on the facade of Seti I's *Chapel for Ramesses I* in Abydos: *swrd m mnw sṯḥn m ḥrrwt* "planted with trees and made glisten with flowers."[634] The comparison of these earlier phraseological parallels with Merenptah's example illustrates the importance of lexicon when analyzing the language of an inscription. Although the contents are the same, there is a striking difference in phrasing: the *Hermopolis Stela* uses later synonyms for the words "trees" and "to plant." Amenhotep III's and Seti I's *mnw*, the older word for "trees,"[635] is replaced by *šnw* (§3.4.2.3). Likewise, while the two earlier texts employ the verb *srd* "to plant, to let grow," Merenptah's version substitutes it with its Late Egyptian variant, *dgȝ* "to overlay, to plant" (§3.4.2.5).

A similar exchange between a classical word and its later alternative also occurs within the inscriptions of the *Hermopolis Stela* itself. The opening scene (§3.2.2.3) contains the word *ꜥšȝ* "many, numerous;" the main text (lines 5 and 14), however, consistently uses its later equivalent, *qnw* (§3.4.2.4). The contrast between *ꜥšȝ* and *qnw* is further amplified by their alternating use within the same phrase: "many jubilees." While in the opening scene the expression is written as *ḥb*(*w*)*-sd ꜥšȝwt* (§3.3, n. iii), in line 14 it appears as *ḥbw-sd qnw.* The stronger phraseological boundedness of the opening scene, compared to that of the main text, is likely to account for the difference in lexical choices in this case.

In other cases, the use of synonyms on the stela is best interpreted as a form of linguistic dissimilation at the lexical level.[636] In lines 3–4 of the inscription, in Thoth's

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almost half of the lexical items labelled above as seldom or not attested before the Amarna period (§3.4.2.3) are used in this section: *m*/*n-mnt* "daily;" one of the two occurrences of *st wrt* "shrine;" *sṯḥn* "to make glisten;" and *šn* "tree." Similarly, half of the words and expressions that first appear in Ramesside times (§3.4.2.6) are employed in this part of the text: *wȝḏwȝḏ* "to be green," *prḫ* "blossom," one of the two examples of *mtn* "to inscribe," *nḥm*(*t*) "lotus bud," and *ṯwfj* "papyrus flower."

632 Intertextual links with this passage can also be established beyond the non-royal written production. The phraseology of the section describing the lush gardens of the temple is reminiscent of the motifs evoked in a Ramesside literary genre, the praise of cities (cf. Ragazzoli 2008: 192–202; 210–212), as well as in Eighteenth Dynasty funerary texts expressing the deceased's wish to return to his house of the living and enjoy the pleasures of his garden (cf. Paksi 2025a).

633 *Urk.* IV 1668, 19.

634 K*RI* I 109, 16. On the confusion between *srd* "to make grow, to plant" and *srwḏ* "to make strong," compare *Wb.* IV 194.7–23 and 205.1–12. *Srwḏ* is often spelled as *swrd* in the New Kingdom (*DZA* 29.063.570).

635 *Wb.* II 71.13–16.

636 On the lexical dimension of linguistic dissimilation, see §7.2.5 below.

address to the king, two neighboring clauses employ the word "form, nature." In the first instance, the word used is *ḫpr*, whereas in the second, it is *qj*: *gm.n<=j> t*[*w*]{=*j*} (§3.3, n. xvi) *m wsḫt nt pt m ḫpr=k n Jtm sḥḏ.n=k pr-nsw m stwt qj=k nb m hrw ḥw-ꜥ*… "having found you in the breadth of heaven (§3.3, n. xix) in your form of Atum, (after) you had illuminated the palace with the brilliance of all your nature on the day of the striking ceremony (§3.3, n. xx), …" Similarly, Thoth's address to the king contains two words for "wings" (*ꜥpꜣjj* vs. *dnḥwjj*) and expresses the notion of "providing protection" in two different ways (*ḫwi* vs. *jri sꜣw*) in line 7: *jrjj=j ḫprj m hb šps r jrt ꜥpꜣjj*(=*j*) *ḥr tp=k ḫw*(=*j*) *tw m šwwt dnḥwjj*(=*j*) *jrjj=j sꜣw=k mj Rꜥ* "I shall transform into a noble ibis to stretch my wings (§3.3, n. xxxvii) above your head, protecting (§3.3, n. xxxviii) you with the feathers of my wings; I shall make your protection (i.e., I shall protect you) like Re." The words *ḫpr* and *qj*, used for "form, nature" in lines 3–4, do not count as particularly new at the time of Merenptah; nor do the two expressions used for "protection" in line 7 (*ḫwi* vs. *jri sꜣw*). Only the synonyms used for "wings" at the end of line 7 (*ꜥpꜣjj* vs. *dnḥwjj*) could potentially be interpreted along the innovative versus classical divide (see *jri ꜥp*(*ꜣ*)*jj* "to stretch the wings" under §3.4.2.6), but since the two words are employed within the same linguistic register, their parallel use is more straightforwardly explained as a result of linguistic dissimilation.

A wordplay on two homonyms in Thoth's address to the king, in line 6, is a further indicator that the lexicon of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* was carefully compiled: *bsjj=k* () *ḫntj* [*s*]*šm nb dj=j bsjj=sn* () *ḥr-ꜥ* "When you enter in front of any holy [i]mage, I cause them (i.e., your reward in jubilees, etc.) to flow forth straightaway." The pun on *bs* "to enter" and *bsi* "to flow forth" results from the graphical and phonetic similarity of the etymologically related verbs (§3.3, n. xxxv).

In terms of lexical choices, the variety and originality of the expressions referring to the endlessness of time are remarkable on the stela. The new temple was, of course, built for eternity, but everlasting time is also Thoth's reward for the king for his benefactions in Hermopolis Magna and thereby it constitutes one of the central themes of the text. The formulations that resume this theme are often unexpected and innovative in the inscription. Their phraseological freshness coupled with a high degree of variation makes these phrases stand out and lends extra emphasis to the message they convey. The singularity of the first expression referring to Merenptah's everlasting reign has already been discussed above (§3.5.2.1). It appears in the second part of Thoth's address to the king, in line 12, and contains a first-person plural independent pronoun in an unusual bipartite nominal construction (§3.3, n. liv): *ḥꜣt nḥḥ šsp ḏt jnn* "Ours are the beginning of eternity and the commencement of infinity." The second reference to eternity occurs in association with the newly built temple in the first part of the Ogdoad's address to the king, in line 17: *ṯꜣw m mḏꜣt r ḥnwtj nḥḥ* "engraved with a chisel till the bounds of eternity." Although none of the words are markedly recent in the phrase *r ḥn*(*w*)*tj nḥḥ* "till the bounds of eternity," the collocation is not attested before the Nineteenth Dynasty.[637] While some

637 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* III 106.8.

of its non-royal parallels date to the reign of Ramesses II,[638] the present example appears to be the oldest in a royal text. Seti I's *Nauri Decree* provides the closest Ramesside royal parallels to Merenptah's wording by featuring two instances of the phrase *r ḏrw ḥntj nḥḥ* "to the uttermost bounds of eternity."[639] Furthermore, the inconspicuous mention of infinity at the beginning of line 23 of the *Hermopolis Stela* (*r nḥḥ* "forever") contrasts with another elaborate expression evoking the endlessness of time at the turn of lines 23 and 24 of the text: *r nḥḥ wnn ḏt* "for an eternity that lasts forever," that is, "for an everlasting eternity." The formulation appears to remain unparalleled until Ptolemaic times. In the Thoth temple of Dakka, a similar phrase is placed into Nehmet-away's mouth: *dj=j n=k nḥḥ wn n=k ḏt* "I (hereby) give you eternity that shall last for you forever."[640] Moreover, the closing words of the stela, which conclude a section with the Ogdoad's plea to Thoth to make the king's years and jubilees numerous, represent another unconventional allusion to infinity: *ḏt sp-2 nḥḥ* "forever and ever, eternally." The formulation is otherwise known from the first line of Ramesses II's *Hittite Treaty*.[641] Finally, eternity as a central theme also finds resonance in the mention of *wjȝ n ḥḥw* "Bark of Millions" (§3.4.2.4) in line 8 of the inscription.

3.5.2.3 (Ortho)graphy

Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* seems to contain a relatively high number of orthographic mistakes (§3.4.3.6), the majority of which clusters in the first half of the main text, in Thoth's address to Merenptah (see Fig. 18 below). The anomalies include several examples of reversals and misplacements of signs or groups of signs (§3.4.3.6.1 and §3.4.3.6.2), defective spellings (§3.4.3.6.3), and sign confusions (§3.4.3.6.4). Since, however, various other graphical aspects of the text indicate that considerable thought was given to the spelling in general (see below), one must caution against a rush judgement on the seemingly inferior quality of the inscription's orthography. Bearing in mind the particularly bad state of preservation of the stela and the circumstances among which today's copy of the text came into being (§3.1), it is not to be excluded that at least part of these mistakes are unintended contributions of the modern copyists. Others, on the other hand, are undoubtedly ancient scribal errors. Among these, the relatively high frequency of accidental sign reversals is understandable (§3.4.3.6.1), knowing that Egyp-

638 See, e.g., K*RI* II 884, 4.

639 In lines 6 (K*RI* I 47, 1) and 27 (K*RI* I 50, 7). Translation after Kitchen (see *RITA* I 40 and 43). On the use of *r ḏrw* in the phrase, compare *Wb.* V 587.1: "noch in der ursprünglichen Bedeutung: bis zur Grenze von…" Note, furthermore, that a bandeau text in Ramesses II's Abydos temple contains a passage that at first sight appears to be comparable to the above examples due to the confusion of the words *ḥnt* "task, affair" (*Wb.* III 102.1–15) and *ḥntj* "bounds" (*Wb.* III 105.10 – 106.16): *pr.n=f m ḫt jp m sḫrw=f sšȝ m {ḥntj}<ḥnwt> nḥḥ* "he has come forth from the womb, shrewd in his plans and wise in the affairs of eternity" (K*RI* II 515, 5–6). Contra Kitchen (*RITA* II 330) and Meeks (*AL* 79.1991). See the expression *<r> ḏrwj nḥḥ* "<to> the bounds of eternity" (§6.4, n. lviii) in line 11 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* under §6.3.3.3.1.

640 Translation after Preys (2006: DA 231).

641 K*RI* II 226, 3.

tian scribes were more accustomed to writing from right to left than from left to right and that the main text of the stela has a left-to-right orientation.

The stela contains a handful of lexical items that stand at the crossroads of errors, interferences, and intentional—often creative—alterations regarding their spelling. Words with the influence of homonyms on their written forms is one of the gray areas considering scribal intentionality (§3.4.3.3.4). In one specific case, the interplay of two different semantics was exploited and turned into a wordplay (*bs* "to enter" vs. *bsi* "to flow forth" in line 6). In another case, the semantic influence of another word resulted in an overt scribal error (*spdd* "to equip" vs. *spd* "to be sharp, effective" in line 7). Often, the interference of different semantics produced an additional, subtle semantic nuance on top of the meaning originally intended (*m3ʿ*, *sm3ʿ* "to present" vs. *sm3* "to slay" in lines 5 and 25), but in most cases, this effect was presumably unintentional (*ḥs*(*w*)*t* "praise" vs. *ḥst* "song" in lines 1 and 2; *qnw* "many, numerous" vs. *qnw* "valor" in lines 5 and 14).

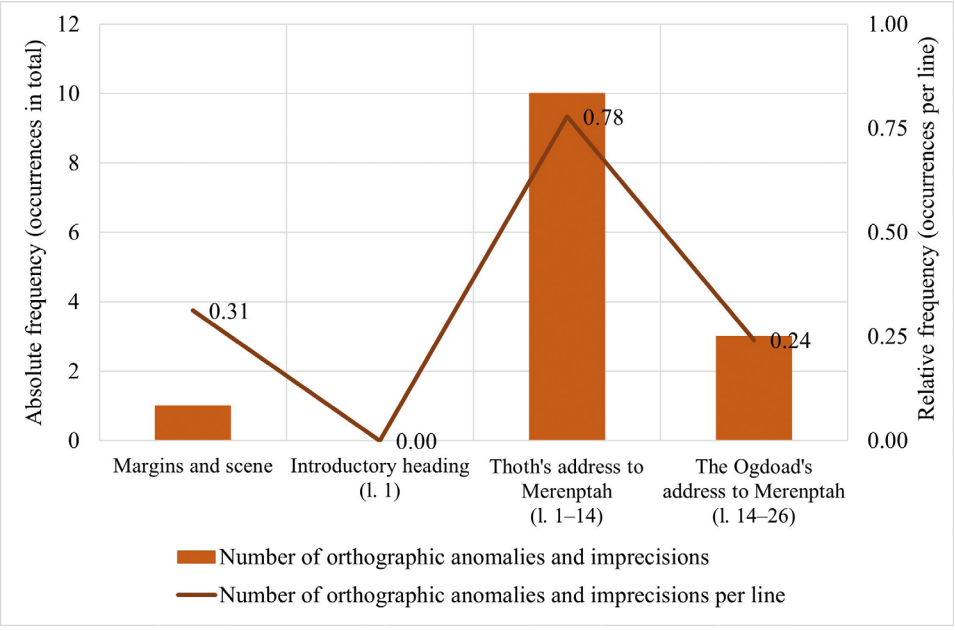


Fig. 18: Absolute and relative frequency of orthographic anomalies and imprecisions (details under §3.4.3.6) in the major textual units of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*.

All spellings on the stela that were influenced by homonyms turn out to be Ramesside graphical characteristics. In other words, none of these graphical solutions existed before the Ramesside era (§3.4.3.3.4). Their unwavering inclusion in the text is indicative of the general picture of the stela's graphical dimension: new graphical solutions were readily adopted and are indeed consistently present in every section of the *Hermopolis Stela* (§3.4.3.2, §3.4.3.3, and §3.4.3.4; see also Fig. 19 below) without considerable difference between Thoth's and the Ogdoad's addresses to the king (see Fig. 20 below) or between the paragraph providing a detailed description of the newly built

temple (lines 18–22) and the rest of the main text (see Fig. 21 below). The unusually high relative density of new spellings in the stela's introductory heading (Fig. 19) is, on the other hand, consistent with the surprisingly high relative frequency of Late Egyptian grammatical features in this unit (§3.5.2.1).[642]

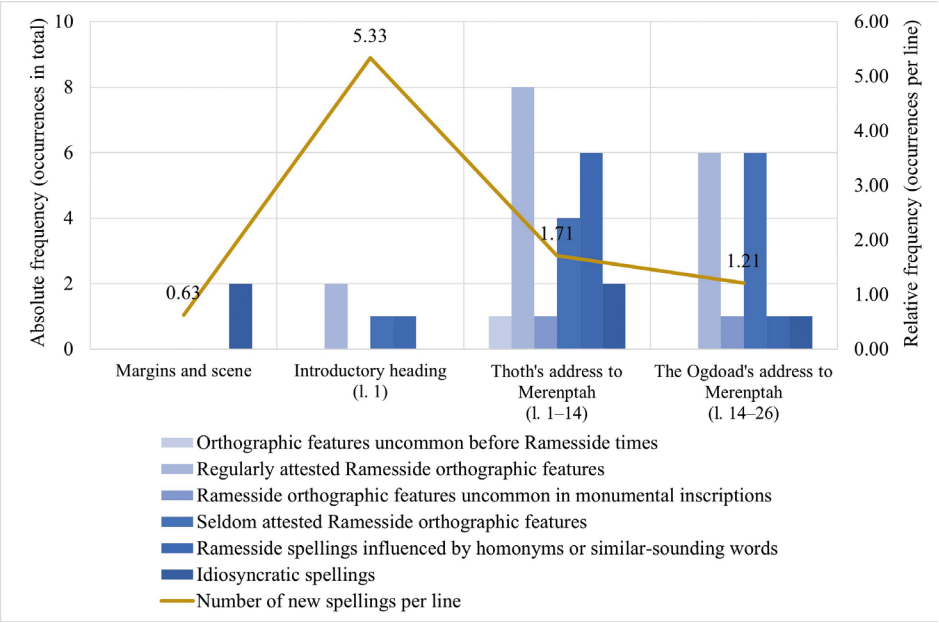


Fig. 19: Absolute and relative frequency of new spellings (details under §3.4.3.2, §3.4.3.3, and §3.4.3.4[643]) in the major textual units of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*.

Nonetheless, the presence and prevalence of typically Ramesside spellings in the text do not imply a lack of conscious effort to link a word or passage, and thereby the entire text, to older written traditions also visually. The two, seemingly opposing trends appear to have been compatible with one another. The spelling of the word *ḥtpw* "peace" with a triple *ḥtp*-sign in line 11 () and the spelling of the phrase *ȝw nbw* "all lands" similarly with the triplication of the corresponding signs in line 12 () are, for instance, both graphical features that were associated with elevated written registers since the earliest of times (§3.4.3.1).

Several other graphical choices equally demonstrate great care in their selection. The spelling of Thoth's name in the first line of the inscription, for instance, contrasts with all other mentions of his name in the main text (§3.4.3.5 above with n. 601). While the first line features the ibis-headed, seated god as logogram (), the other 14 occur-

642 On calculating the relative frequency of new spellings and the relative frequency of orthographic anomalies and imprecisions in the different parts of the text, compare n. 616 above.

643 Although idiosyncratic, since the spelling of the word *rnpwt* "years" (line 26) imitates earlier written traditions (see under §3.4.3.1), the example was excluded from the chart.

rences of the main text use a more conventional sign for writing *Ḏḥwtj* ( or ). The god with the ibis head is found at the most prominent mention of the divine name: in the phrase introducing Thoth's address to Merenptah. The importance of the passage is further emphasized by a singular graphical solution for *Ḫmnw* "Hermopolis" ( vs.  and variants) in Thoth's epithet, *nb Ḫmnw* "lord of Hermopolis," in the first line (§3.4.3.5). Re's central role in the text is reflected in like manner by the nearly consistent logographic writing of his name () outside the royal title and the royal name (§3.4.3.5).[644] Aspects of relative internal hierarchy were similarly considered for the spelling of Nehmet-away's name (§3.4.3.5). The name of the goddess is written in a more traditional way in the opening scene than towards the end of the main text—provided that the signs have been supplied correctly in the latter case (§3.3, n. lxxxvi).

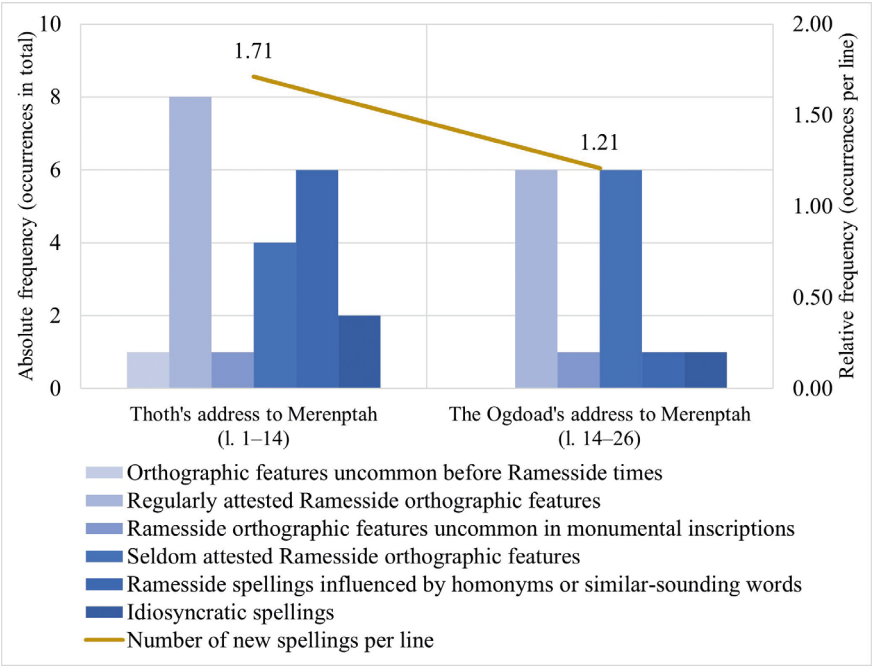


Fig. 20: Absolute and relative frequency of new spellings (details under §3.4.3.2, §3.4.3.3, and §3.4.3.4) in the two main parts of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, Thoth's and the Ogdoad's addresses to the king.

644 The only exceptions to this rule are found in the third paragraph of Thoth's address to the king, in lines 7 and 8, in the phrases *mj Rᶜ* "like Re" and *jt=k Rᶜ* "your father, Re." Since both expressions occur once again with the logographic spelling of the divine name (in lines 24 and 10 respectively), the difference in spelling cannot be phraseological. The spelling  in lines 7 and 8 may, however, be context-dependent and may have been intended to underline the solar aspect of the deity with reference to the celestial flight of the ibis towards the sun (cf. §3.2.3.3).

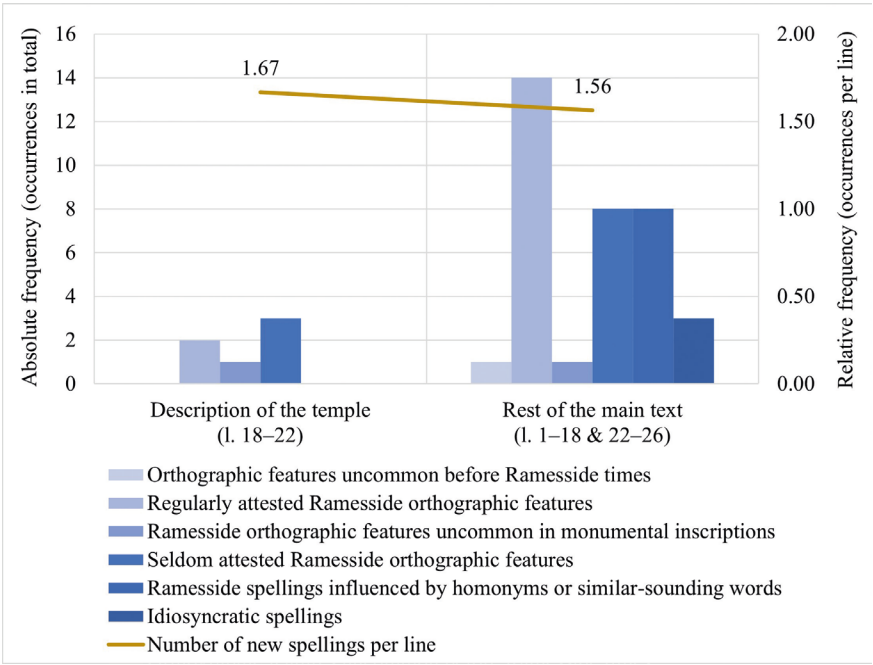


Fig. 21: Absolute and relative frequency of new spellings (details under §3.4.3.2, §3.4.3.3, and §3.4.3.4) in the description of the temple (lines 18–22) and the rest of the main text.

Furthermore, some graphical variations in the text can be regarded as examples of linguistic dissimilation at the graphical level.[645] Some of the most salient examples of this phenomenon are connected to the different graphical realizations of the feminine third-person singular and the masculine second-person singular pseudoparticipial endings on the stela. A clause in the last paragraph of Thoth's address to the king, in line 12, illustrates the parallel use of two different masculine second-person singular pseudoparticipial endings (*-tw* and *-tj*): *jw=k mn.tw ḫ̲ˁ.tj m ḥqꜣ n tꜣw nbw mj jt=k Jtm* "You are established and have appeared as a ruler of all lands like your father, Atum." Another passage in the second half of the Ogdoad's address to the king, in lines 19–21, presents three graphical variants of the feminine third-person singular pseudoparticipial ending (*-tj*, *-tw*, and *-t̲*): *sw bꜣk.tj m jnr ḥd̲ nfr m kꜣwt nb mnḫ̲t… sw dgꜣjj.tw m šnw nb bnrw sṯḥn.t̲ m ḥrrw* "It has been wrought in limestone with all (sorts of) excellent work… It has been planted with all (sorts of) fruit trees and made glisten with flowers." While the example in Thoth's speech, first employs the younger spelling (*-tw* → *-tj*), the one in the Ogdoad's speech does the reverse and closes with *-t̲*, a graphical variant of the older spelling (*-tj* → *-tw* → *-t̲*).[646]

645 On the graphical dimension of linguistic dissimilation, see §7.3.5 below.

646 Cf. E*NG* §331 and §333. The use of the *-t̲* was likely employed with an archaizing intent. Cf. also n. 280. On the prevalence of 𓋴 in Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahri inscriptions, see Roth (2015: 547).

Graphical examples of linguistic dissimilation may also span larger distances. The preposition *ḫntj* "in front of" has two occurrences on the stela, one in line 6 and another at the beginning of line 17. While the first example is written as  , the second one uses a more stylized spelling,  . The case of the expression *nbw Ḥsrt* "the lords of *Hesret*" is similar. It also appears twice on the stela (in lines 17 and 24) and, likewise, the second spelling is less formal than the first, even though the first example of the phrase is headed by the Late Egyptian plural definite article *n3 n*:  vs.  .[647]

3.5.3 Understanding the Linguistic Heterogeneity of the Text

Roeder's[648] and Jansen-Winkeln's[649] claim that the language of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* generally followed Middle Egyptian syntax with a few Late Egyptian attributes except for the paragraph that provides a detailed description of the newly built temple (lines 18–22) paints an overly simplified picture of the language of the text. There are two major problems with this analysis. First, it does not explain the abundance and the distributional logic of the Late Egyptian grammatical elements in other parts of the text, let alone those of the less traditional lexical and graphical characteristics. Second, Roeder's and Jansen-Winkeln's analysis suggests that Late Egyptian features prevail in one particular paragraph *because of* the mundane and technical nature of its subject matter.

It has been demonstrated above (§3.5.2) that the language of the stela represents a balanced mixture between more traditional and more innovative grammatical, lexical, and graphical solutions. The more recent linguistic elements are consistently present in the entire text, although they show a slight variation in their frequency distribution. The analysis of the grammatical data suggests that the distribution of Late and Earlier Egyptian constructions generally respected the clausal hierarchy of the text (§3.5.2.1). In particular, the initial main clauses were less open to accommodate Late Egyptian grammatical constructions than their non-initial and subordinate counterparts. This arrangement illustrates the composers' intention to set a more traditional, Earlier Egyptian framework for the text. The consistent presence of Late Egyptian characteristics at the lower syntactic levels shows, however, that the inscription was meant to be linguistically heterogeneous from the first line to the last. The dialogue of different linguistic norms was intended and carefully managed within the text: the basic logic of their interplay was

647 Note that in the second example of the phrase, also the quail chick () has been replaced by a more abbreviated spelling () of the *waw* in the word *nbw* "lords."

648 Roeder (1954: 353–354): "Die Sprache der Weihinschrift des Königs Mer-en-Ptah ist die in der XIX. Dynastie auch sonst übliche; deshalb ist sie, die an vielen Stellen bewusst 'klassisch' sein will, ist [*sic*] gelegentlich mit neuägyptischen Formen und Redewendungen durchsetzt. […] Dieses letzte Lied hat also eine stärker volkstümliche Ausdrucksweise, und *es beschäftigt sich ja auch mehr mit weltlichen Dingen* [emphasis added] wie der Beschreibung der Bauteile des Tempels."

649 Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 95): "Die Hermopolisstele des Merenptah enthält eine feierliche Rede des Thot […], die grundsätzlich in Mittelägyptisch verfaßt ist (mit einigen Neuägyptizismen). Ab Z. 18 spricht er davon, daß der König ihm eine Kapelle errichtet habe, und dort (und nur dort), wo von den technischen Details dieses Bauwerks die Rede ist, wird der Text ganz deutlich neuägyptisch (Gebrauch von Artikel, Possessivartikel, Präsens I etc.)."

given by the relative internal hierarchy of the syntactic structure. This observation implies a greater grammatical awareness and a more refined analytical approach to language than has previously been assumed for the ancient Egyptians.[650]

Although the distributional pattern of the relatively recent lexical items and that of the newer graphical features followed a different logic—their placement not being confined by syntactic hierarchies—their consistent inclusion in every single part of the text indicates that both the old and the new lexical and graphical features were equally valued (§3.5.2.2; §3.5.2.3). That classical linguistic solutions were associated with more prestige and thus were preferred in the phraseologically more bound opening scene of the stela is observable, for instance, in the case of the different allocation of the two spellings of Nehmet-away's name (§3.4.3.5; §3.5.2.3) as well as in the case of the different placement of the synonyms *ꜥš3* and *qnw* meaning "many, numerous" (§3.5.2.2). The one-time use of the sign  to write the name of Thoth at its most prominent mention in the main text accompanied by a unique graphical solution for the epithet *nb Ḫmnw* "lord of Hermopolis" illustrate, furthermore, that also some more complex aspects of text-internal hierarchies were considered during the compositional process (§3.5.2.3).

There are, however, two sections in the inscription that do not balance the Earlier and Late Egyptian grammatical elements (§3.5.2.1) and in which either the more recent lexical items or the more recent graphical solutions are relatively overrepresented (§3.5.2.2; §3.5.2.3): the introductory heading (line 1) and the paragraph at the beginning of the second half of the Ogdoad's address to the king that describes Merenptah's newly built temple (lines 18–22). Their linguistic selections, which contrast with those of the rest of the text, function as a back- or foregrounding device depending on the nature of the information these sections convey (§7.1.1.2.2). While the former is a metacommentary on what follows, the latter accommodates the central message of the inscription. Accordingly, the introductory heading remains a marginal, parenthetic statement, while the paragraph describing the newly built temple receives additional emphasis due to its linguistic profile.

Roeder and Jansen-Winkeln explain the unusually high density of Late Egyptian features in the paragraph providing a detailed description of the newly built temple by the mundane and technical nature of its subject matter. This reasoning suggests that the Egyptians used more recent formulations *because* the topic was more this-worldly in nature. Such logic ultimately implies the denial of the ancient composers' competence and ability to choose otherwise, although the rest of the text provides plenty of examples that prove they could have decided to use more classical grammatical constructions and more ancient formulations should they have wished to do so. I would therefore argue that the relationship between the subject matter and the linguistic novelty of the section dealing with the esthetic and architectural aspects of the newly built temple is not causal. The decisions behind the linguistic choices reflected by the text lay with the composers and were not dictated by the subject matter. Elsewhere in the inscription, the old and new linguistic features are in constant interaction with one another at all three linguistic

650 See Uljas (2013: 4) with further references.

levels. In lines 18–22, this principle is abandoned for the benefit of the central topic of the stela, which receives additional emphasis particularly because of its different linguistic presentation. The whole purpose of existence of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* is, namely, to inaugurate the king's newly erected temple and to secure its never-ending persistence by presenting it to the gods. The vivid and detailed description of the beauty of the temple, coupled with a linguistic register that was closer to the spoken idiom than the classical written language would have been, bring the temple to life. Language thus assumes a constitutive role in the presentification of the monument and thereby contributes to its claim to everlastingness.

4 Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*

(K*RI* V 237–247 = Pls. XI–XXI; Le Saout 1982: pl. 7; Paksi 2017: 117–129)

4.1 A Monumental Ramesside Puzzle

The *Great Double Stela* of Ramesses III (see Fig. 23 below) is an over ten-meter-wide and seven-meter-high[651] double monument that was carved on the eastern interior wall of the *cour de la cachette*, the court that connects the seventh pylon to the main complex in the temple of Amun at Karnak.[652] The two parts of this inscription are referenced here as the Southern Stela (GDSS), the right-hand text (§4.2), and the Northern Stela (GDSN), the left-hand text (§4.3). The central part of the eastern wall of the *cour de la cachette*—and thus also Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*—was destroyed at the beginning of the fourth century when the so-called Lateran obelisk was removed from Karnak.[653] The first modern reconstruction of the wall was attempted at the beginning of the twentieth century by Georges Legrain.[654] Half a century later, Legrain's efforts were complemented by Wolfgang Helck's suggestions concerning the placement of some of the unmounted blocks.[655] Helck's study also served as a foundation for Kitchen's widely referenced text edition.[656] Helck's—as well as Legrain's[657]—restorations remained uncontested until Françoise Le Saout published a scaled photo montage and a facsimile drawing of the entire double stela in 1982.[658] Le Saout shifted a smaller block from the upper part of the Northern Stela to its lower part,[659] divided the fragmentary groups of signs that had previously been presented as line 13 of the Northern Stela into lines 13 and 14 of the same text,[660] and proposed different overall lengths for the two halves of the inscription than did her predecessors.[661] In 2000, Ben Haring raised further doubts

651 The above figures are estimates based on Helck's figures (1958: 29 and 34) and Le Saout's (1982: pl. 7) scaled photo montage of the entire double stela.

652 PM II 131; KIU 37 and 39 (currently not yet accessible) in the *Karnak Project*.

653 Azim (1980: 124–126 and fig. 13).

654 Christophe (1952: 20–22).

655 Helck (1958: 27–38; pls. 2–3). Photographs of most of the loose blocks were published by Azim & Réveillac (2004: 4–7/132–144).

656 K*RI* V 237–247.

657 See §4.2.2, n. viii below.

658 Le Saout (1982: 238–243; 6c and 6d on pl. 7).

659 Le Saout (1982: 237 and 240) vs. K*RI* V 239, 15 – 240, 3. Cf. Paksi (2017: 118 with nn. 13 and 14).

660 Le Saout (1982: 239) vs. K*RI* V 240, 8–9. The fragmentarily preserved signs previously presented as line 13 were likewise assigned to lines 13 and 14 in Paksi (2017: 124) as well as in the present work (§4.3.1.3.5). The line numbering of the Northern Stela's main text thus shifts by one compared to Kitchen's numbering: Kitchen's line 14 (K*RI* V 240, 9–11) becomes line 15, and so forth.

661 Le Saout (1982: 237) assigned 34 lines to the Southern Stela and 31 to the Northern Stela. Cf. Paksi (2017: 118 with nn. 10 and 11). Probably both halves of the inscription contained 32 lines (§4.2.1.3.6 and §4.3.1.3.6 below).

about the correctness of Helck's positioning of the blocks in the first half of the Northern Stela.[662] In 2017, I put forward a new reading for lines 7–14 of the same text by placing Kitchen's Fragment C[663] to the upper part of the left-hand text and shifting Helck's block no. 5[664] further to the left (cf. Fig. 22).[665] This proposal has been accepted and implemented by the specialists of the *Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak* (CFEETK), who have recently (at the end of 2017, beginning of 2018) rebuilt the *Great Double Stela* from the blocks that have been preserved (Fig. 23).[666]

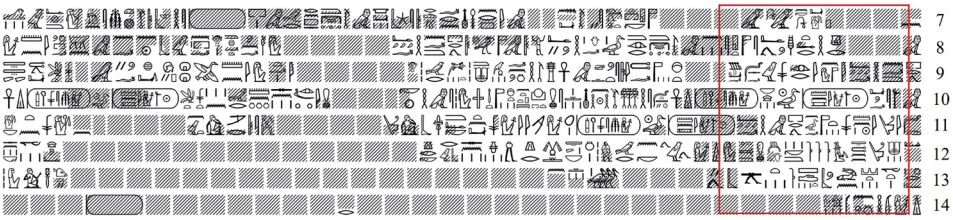


Fig. 22: Hieroglyphic transcript of lines 7–14 of Ramesses III's Northern Stela in the *cour de la cachette* with the text preserved on Fragment C highlighted.[667]

Although all previous translators[668] started by reading the Northern Stela first and thereby followed the sequence of reading given implicitly by Helck,[669] evidence suggests that the reading of the double monument should commence on the opposite side, namely, with the Southern and not the Northern Stela. The two halves of the *Great Double Stela* are not symmetrical; the signs of their main texts face right in both cases.[670] Because of the common orientation, the direction of the signs of the two principal texts also determines the sequence of reading for the whole monument, which, consequently, has to match the direction of reading of its individual texts. Since the hieroglyphs face right in both main inscriptions, they have to be read from right to left, which, in this particular case, means from south to north. Accordingly, the entire double stela should be read from south to north, starting with the right-hand text, the Southern Stela, and finishing with the left-hand one, the Northern Stela. The architectural position of the

662 Haring (2000: 89).
663 K*RI* V 247, 1–8.
664 Numbered as such in Helck (1958: 29).
665 Paksi (2017: 122–124; 128–129, figs. 2 and 3).
666 The transliteration and the translation of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (§4.2.1 and §4.3.1) are presented here by taking into account the new reading I proposed for lines 7–14 of the left-hand text in 2017 (see n. 665 above).
667 Illustration after Paksi (2017: 129, fig. 3).
668 See nn. 672 and 673 below.
669 Helck (1958: pls. 2 and 3).
670 The retention of rightward orientation despite the king facing left in both scenes resembles the orientation of pre-Ramesside stelae. In Ramesside times, the main text is usually reversed in such cases so that it aligns with the representation of the king (Fischer 1977: 16, §9; 26, §13; and 136, §53).

Great Double Stela does not contradict this sequence of reading: the *cour de la cachette* was open in both directions, south and north, also in antiquity.

Since Helck's reconstruction and publication of the text in 1958, the *Great Double Stela* has not been subject to a detailed study. Besides Helck's initial translation and commentary[671] and the translations by Kitchen[672] and Peden,[673] there are only scattered references to shorter, isolated sections of the double inscription in the works of Jan Assmann,[674] Orly Goldwasser,[675] or Eileen Hirsch.[676] The relative lack of academic interest in the inscription may partially be due to the fact that Helck, although stating that the phraseological and religious aspects of the text would merit further research, regarded the *Great Double Stela* as being without any further significance for historians or economic historians.[677]

The Southern Stela contains several divine intercessions on behalf of the king spoken by different deities. All of these use predominantly Late Egyptian syntax. The Northern Stela records a mutual praise between the king and Amun-Re and—unlike the Southern Stela—relies mainly on Earlier Egyptian grammar. In 1995, Karl Jansen-Winkeln briefly called attention to the curious, linguistically heterogeneous nature of the text but left the explanation of the matter to a future detailed study: "Die linke Inschrift ist in fast reinem Mittelägyptisch, die rechte in fast reinem Neuägyptisch gehalten! Auch hier fällt es schwer, den (zweifellos vorhandenen) Grund dafür auszumachen."[678] The present analysis is a belated response to Jansen-Winkeln's invitation, and as such, besides giving a detailed description of the language of the text (§4.4.2), it wishes to provide an explanation for the striking difference in language use between the two halves of the inscription (§4.4.3).

671 Helck (1958: 30–37).
672 *RITA* V 201–209.
673 Peden (1994a: 115–132).
674 Assmann (1978: 42–43; 1983a: 265; and 1989: 79–80).
675 Goldwasser (1991: 140–141).
676 Hirsch (2003: 200–201).
677 "Sowohl dieser Text [i.e., the Northern Stela] wie der der 2. Kolumne [i.e., the Southern Stela] benützt unter teilweise starker Wiederholung bereits gesagter Sätze traditionsgeheiligte Wendungen, so daß weder der Historiker noch der Wirtschaftsgeschichtler ihn interessierende Hinweise erhält. Abgesehen aber von der religiösen Seite der Inschrift mit dem starken Herausarbeiten der Gegenseitigkeit der Beziehungen von Gott und König dürfte sie für denjenigen wichtig sein, der einmal eine 'Phraseologie' der Königsinschriften zusammenstellen wird; hierzu mag sie mit ihrer Fülle altbekannter Wendungen vielleicht wichtige Beiträge liefern können" (Helck 1958: 38).
678 Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 101).

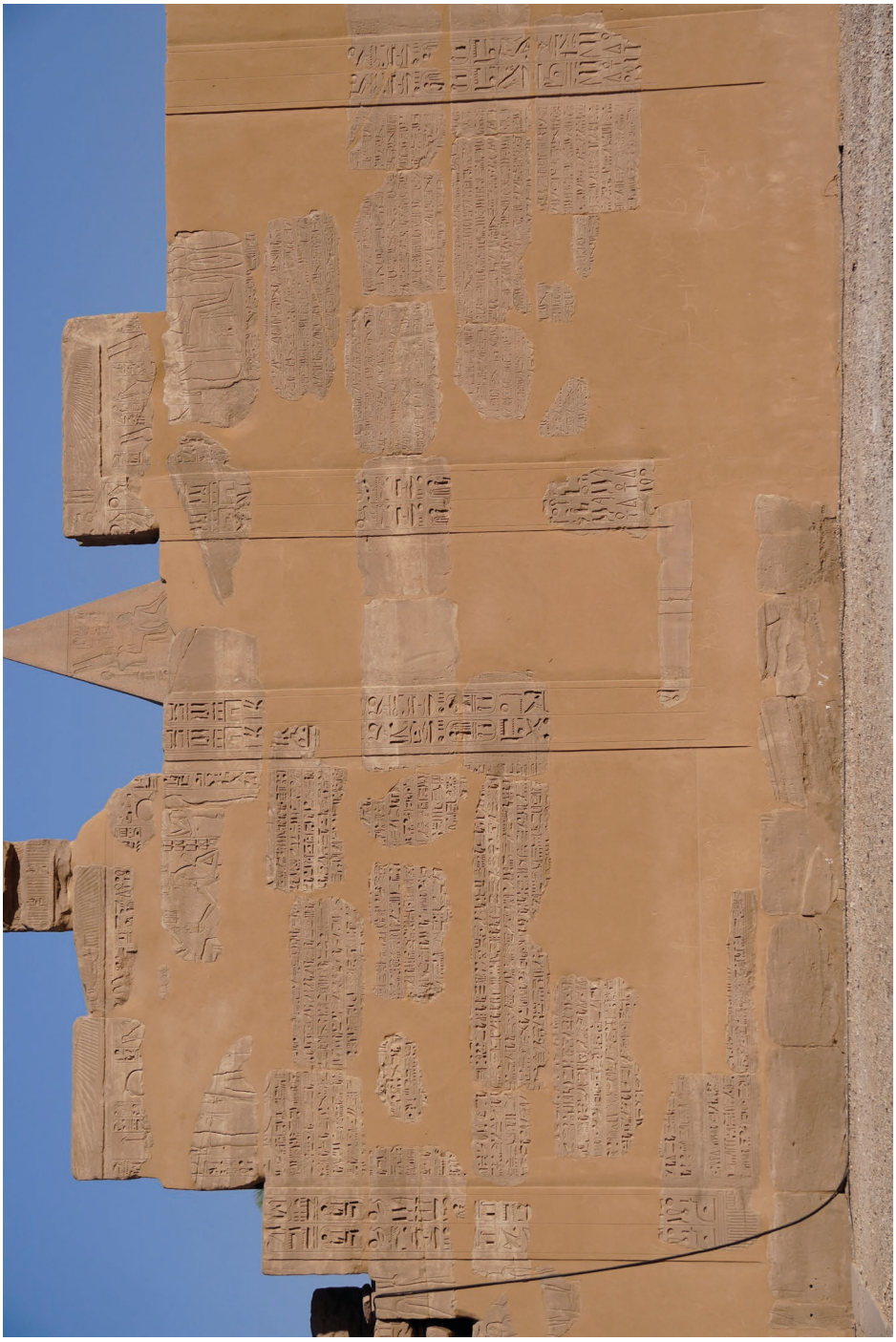


Fig. 23: Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* in the *cour de la cachette* of the temple of Amun at Karnak. Photo by the author, March 2023.

4.2 The Southern Stela

4.2.1 Transliteration and Translation of the Southern Stela

4.2.1.1 The Opening Scene of the Southern Stela

In the fragmentary opening scene, the king is making an offering to the Theban triad, Amun, Mut, and Khons. The king appears in the middle with a male deity—presumably Thoth—on his right side.[679]

Text to the Winged Disk (above the scene):

bḥdt nṯr ꜥ3

Behdetite, the great god.

Amun's speech:

[1]|[*dd-mdw jn Jmn-Rꜥ*] […*all lost* …]
[2]|[*dj.n*(=*j*)] *n*=*k ḥbw-sd ꜥš3w* […*rest lost.* …]

[1]|[Words spoken by Amun-Re], […*all lost* …]:
[2]|"[I hereby[i] give] you many jubilees, […*rest lost* …]."

Mut:

[1]|*Mwt nbt Jšrw* […*rest lost* …]

[1]|Mut, lady of Asheru,[ii] […*rest lost* …].

Khons:

[1]|*Ḫnsw m W3st nfr ḥtp* [2]|*Ḥr nb 3wt-jb nṯr ꜥ3*

[1]|Khons-in-Thebes-Neferkhetep-[2]|Horus, lord of joy, great god.

Caption behind Khons (left side of the scene):

wnn nsw nb t3wj [*Wsr-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ Mr*]*-Jmn ḫꜥ.w m nsw bjtj Šmꜥw Mḥw* [*mj Rꜥ ḏt*]

It is[iii] as the king of Upper and Lower Egypt of the South and the North[iv] that the king, lord of the two lands, [Usermaatre Meri]amun has appeared [like Re forever].[v]

The figure of the king, except for his head,[680] and the male deity are entirely lost.

679 Le Saout (1982: 237; pl. 7).

680 The block with the royal head was still part of Le Saout's (1982: pl. 7) reconstruction but is currently missing from the CFEETK's recent reassembly of the wall (Fig. 23).

Caption behind the lost male deity (right side of the scene):

[*wnn nsw nb tȝwj Wsr-mȝᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn ḫᶜ.w ḥr st Ḥr mj Rᶜ ḏt*]

[It is on the throne of Horus that the king, lord of the two lands, Usermaatre Meriamun has appeared like Re forever.][vi]

4.2.1.2 The Margins of the Southern Stela

4.2.1.2.1 Columns on the Right Side

[1]|[… *beginning lost* …] [*nb tȝwj Wsr-mȝᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn*]
sȝ Rᶜ n ḥt=f mr=f nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-[*sw*] *Ḥqȝ-Jwnw mrjj Jmn-Rᶜ-Ḥr-ȝḫtj nb pt s<ḥ>ḏ*[vii] *tȝwj dj ᶜnḫ mj Rᶜ* [*ḏt*]
[2]|[… *beginning lost* …] [*nb tȝwj Wsr-mȝᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn*]
sȝ Rᶜ n ḥt=f mr=f nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-[*sw*] *Ḥqȝ-Jwnw mrjj Jmn-Rᶜ kȝ mwt=f ḥr st wrt dj ᶜnḫ ḏd* [*wȝs ḏt*]

[1]|[… beginning lost …] [lord of the two lands, Usermaatre Meriamun];
bodily son of Re: his beloved, lord of diadems, Rames[ses][viii] Heqaiunu, beloved of Amun-Re-Harakhte, lord of heaven who illuminates the two lands—given life like Re [forever]!
[2]|[… beginning lost …] [lord of the two lands, Usermaatre Meriamun];
bodily son of Re: his beloved, lord of diadems, Rames[ses][ix] Heqaiunu, beloved of Amun-Re-Kamutef on the throne—given life, stability, and [dominion forever]!

4.2.1.2.2 Columns on the Left Side

[1]|*Ḥr* [*kȝ nḫt*] *ᶜȝ nsjjt*
nsw bjtj [… …] [*nb tȝwj Wsr-mȝᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn*]
sȝ Rᶜ n ḥt=f mr=f nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-[*sw Ḥqȝ-Jwnw*] *mrjj* [*Jmn-Rᶜ*] […] *ḫntj Jpt-swt dj ᶜnḫ mj Rᶜ*
[2]|*Ḥr* [*kȝ nḫt ᶜȝ*] *nsjjt*
nsw bjtj [… …] [*nb tȝwj Wsr-mȝᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn*]
sȝ Rᶜ n ḥt=f mr=f nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-[*sw Ḥqȝ-Jwnw*] *mrjj* [*Jmn-Rᶜ*] […] [*nb*] *pt ḥqȝ psḏt dj ᶜnḫ ḏ*[*t*]

[1]|Horus: [strong bull], great in kingship;
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: [… …] [lord of the two lands, Usermaatre Meriamun];
bodily son of Re: his beloved, lord of diadems, Ramess[es Heqaiunu], beloved of [Amun-Re] […], who presides over Karnak—given life like Re![x]
[2]|Horus: [strong bull, great in] kingship;
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: [… …] [lord of the two lands, Usermaatre Meriamun];
bodily son of Re: his beloved, lord of diadems, Ramess[es Heqaiunu], beloved of [Amun-Re-Harakhte, lord of] the sky, ruler of the Ennead—given life for[ever]![xi]

4.2.1.3 The Main Text of the Southern Stela

4.2.1.3.1 Overview of the Main Structural Elements

Dateline and titulary — line 1

Introductory divine address to Amun-Re — lines 2–5

[… … …] — line 2

royal statement — lines 3–4

ḫr dj=k ꜥm [*tȝ nb ḫȝst nbt*]… — line 4
"Now, you made [every land and every foreign country] know…"

The address of the lords of Heliopolis to Amun-Re — lines 5–17

ḫr ntk r.qd pr-ꜥȝ… — line 5
"Now, you are the one who created the pharaoh…"
jmm n=f ꜥḥꜥw qȝ nsjjt ꜥȝt — line 5
"Give him long lifespan and great kingship!"

[*djw pr-ꜥȝ*]… *ḥȝw n ȝḫw*… — line 6
"[The pharaoh… gave] an increase of benefactions…"
[*jmm n=f ꜥḥꜥw qȝ nsjjt ꜥȝt*] — line 6
"[Give him long lifespan and great kingship]!"

djw pr-ꜥȝ… *ḥȝw* […]… — line 7
"The pharaoh… gave an increase of […]…"
jmm ꜥm pr-ꜥȝ… *m nȝjj=f tl*… — line 10
"Make the pharaoh… (come to) know his mighty deeds, …"
jjȝ dj=k ꜥm tȝ nb ḫȝst nbt… — line 11
"Indeed, you made every land and every foreign country know…"

royal statements — lines 13–15, 16, 17

Amun-Re's address to the gods of Egypt — lines 17–30

[*wrš pr-ꜥȝ*… *ḥr ḥḥ*]*j ȝḫw nb*… — lines 17–18
"[The pharaoh… spent his time] seeking out every benefaction…"
jmm st n=f m ꜥḥꜥw qȝ nsjjt ꜥȝt… — line 19
"Give it to him—long lifespan, great kingship, …"

ḫr ptr wḏ pr-ᶜ3… rmṯ r šn… line 21
"For, look, the pharaoh… dispatched people to investigate…"
jmm p3jj=w b[…]… line 24
"Give [… … …] their […]…"

royal instructions concerning the temple inventory lines 27–30

End of text lines 30–32

[… … …]… *mj rdj.n=s*[*n*]… lines 30–31
"[… … …]… because th[ey] have given…"

4.2.1.3.2 Dateline and Titulary

[1]|[*ḥsbt*] […] [*ḫr ḥm n*
Ḥr k3 nḫt ᶜ3 nsjjt
nbtj wr ḥbw-sd mj] *T3-tnn*
Ḥr nbw wsr rnpwt mj Jtmw jtjj mk Kmt wᶜf [*ḫ3swt*]
[*nsw*] *bjtj nb t3wj nb jrt ḫwt Wsr-m3ᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn*
[*s3 Rᶜ nb ḫᶜw nb ḫpš Rᶜ-ms-sw Ḥq3-Jwnw*] *dj ᶜnḫ ḏt*

[1]|[Year] […][xii] [under the majesty of
Horus: strong bull, great in kingship;
Two Ladies: rich in jubilees like][xiii] Tatenen;
Golden Horus: rich in years like Atum, sovereign, protector of Egypt who curbs [the foreign lands];
[king of Upper and] Lower Egypt: lord of the two lands, lord of doing effective things, Usermaatre Meriamun;
[son of Re: lord of diadems, lord of the sword, Ramesses Heqaiunu]—given life forever!

4.2.1.3.3 Introductory Divine Address to Amun-Re

[2]|[… *ca. 8 groups lost …*] […]=*j* […]*n*[…]*r*[…]*r*[…] *nb p3* […] *m* [*r3*]*w*-[*pr n nṯrw nbw*]
Rᶜ m […]*r*[…]*r*[…]*t* [… … …]
[… … …] *n*[…]*n*[… *ca. 10 groups lost to line end …*]

[2]|[… large loss …] in the [templ]es[xiv] [of every god];
Re […] as [… large loss …]
[… large loss …]

[3]|[… *5 groups lost …*] [*j.*][xv]*jrw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb p3jj=k b3k p3jj=k šrj ḥms*
jw=f (*ḫr*) *ḥn n=k*
jw jb=f mḥ [*jm=k*]
[… *ca. 10 groups lost …*]

[3]|"[… 5 groups lost …] what the pharaoh—life–prosperity–health[681]—your servant, your enthroned son has done,
relying[xvi] on you
and his heart being filled [with you].
[… ca. 10 groups lost …]

[*mntk j.jrr* [4]|*nḫt pꜣ tꜣ n Kmt pꜣj*]*j=k tꜣ*
jw bn ḏrt n rmṯ nb jm=f
[*j*]*w bw jr=f nkt m ḥwrᶜ m ḫmt=k*
mntk jr pꜣ j.jr=k n=j nb

'[You are the one who makes [4]|the victory of the land of Egypt, your][xvii] land,
without having anyone's hand in it,[xviii]
(and) without anyone[xix] ever committing the smallest of[xx] theft without you knowing about it.
You are the one who did all what you have done for me (i.e., the king).'[xxi]

ḫr dj=k ᶜm [*tꜣ nb ḫꜣst nbt r-ḏd*
ntk tꜣ nḫt n pr-ᶜꜣ ᶜnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb pꜣjj=k [5]|*šrj r tꜣ nb r ḫꜣst nbt*]

Now, you made[xxii] [every land and every foreign country] know [that
you are the victory of the pharaoh (l.p.h.), your [5]|son, against every land and every foreign country.]"[xxiii]

4.2.1.3.4 The Address of the Lords of Heliopolis to Amun-Re

[*smtr*] *st nꜣ nbw Jwnw m prjj n rꜣ=sn ḫrtw*

The lords of Heliopolis [bore witness to][xxiv] it with what came out of[xxv] their mouth, a declaration:[xxvi]

ḫr ntk r.qd pr-ᶜꜣ ᶜnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb
jmm n=f ᶜḥᶜw qꜣ nsjjt ᶜꜣt
snb n ᶜwt n [*pr*]*-ᶜꜣ* [*ᶜnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb*
nḏm n ḥꜣtj=f
wbḫt n jrt=f]
[… … … …] [6]|[… … …]

"Now, you are the one who created the pharaoh (l.p.h.):
Give him long lifespan and great kingship!
Health for the limbs of [the phar]aoh [(l.p.h.),
pleasure for his heart,

681 Hereafter abbreviated as (l.p.h.).

(and) brightness for his eye!][xxvii]
[… … … …] [6]|[… … …]

[*djw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb*] *p3jj=k šrj ḥ3w n 3ḫw r p3jj=k pr m-ḥ3w n{m}<3> j.jr=f*
jj3 djw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb ḥ3w n tl [… … … …]

[*jmm n=f ᶜḥᶜw q3 nsjjt ᶜ3t*
[7]|*snb n ᶜwt n pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb*
nḏm n] *ḥ3tj=f*
wbḫt n jrt=f
mtw=k nḫt p3 t3 n Kmt p3jj=k t3
mtw=k s3w=f r h3w pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb

[The pharaoh (l.p.h.)], your son, [gave][xxviii] an increase of benefactions to your temple in addition to what he had (already) done.
Indeed, the pharaoh (l.p.h.) gave[xxix] an increase of mighty deeds[xxx] [… … … …]

[Give him long lifespan and great kingship!
[7]|Health for the limbs of the pharaoh (l.p.h.),
pleasure for][xxxi] his heart,
(and) brightness for his eye!
You shall strengthen the land of Egypt, your land,
(and) protect it in the time of the pharaoh (l.p.h.).

djw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb ḥ3w […*ca. 13 groups lost* …]
[8]|[… *ca. 16 groups lost* …]*r*[…]*mn*[… … … …]*mjj*
ḏr ptr=k pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb
jw=k […]*=f* [… …]
[*jw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb p3jj=k*] [9]|*šrj* (*ḥr*) *šᶜ3* [*m*[xxxii] *tl*] *n=k m jr n=k* […]
[*jw*] *pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb* (*ḥr*) *sḫn p3jj=k pr m* [… … … …] *m mḥ n3 prw-ḥḏ n3 šnwwt m ḫwt*
jw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb (*ḥr*) *qb p3 ḥtp-nṯr*
jw=f m-b3ḥ [*ḥm=k*] [10]|*m-ḥ3w wn m-b3ḥ*
r qb [… …]
[…] [*3*]*bjj sḥtp=k*
r djt hr jb=k

The pharaoh (l.p.h.) gave an increase […large loss …]
[8]|[… large loss …]
since you beheld the pharaoh (l.p.h.),
as[xxxiii] you […] him [… …].
[The pharaoh (l.p.h.), your] [9]|son, began for you [with vigor][xxxiv] by doing [… …] for you.
The pharaoh (l.p.h.) furnished your temple by [… … … …] and by filling the treasuries and granaries with goods.

The pharaoh (l.p.h.) multiplied the divine offering,
which was in the presence of [your majesty],[xxxv] [10]|in addition to what existed before,
in order to increase the [… …],
[…] longing to please you,
(and) to make your heart satisfied.

jmm ꜥm pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–[snb] p3jj=k šrj {p3 kjj}<p3jj=k> b3k m n3jj=f tl m n3jj=f 3ḫw m n3jj=f rdt nb m ḥ3tj=f rꜥ nb
r ṯs [11]*|sḫn nb n p3jj=k pr m n3jj=f ḫrp [n=k b3k]w n t3 nb m jb mrw*
jmm ḏd{=ṯ}<=tw>
ḫjj p3 sp nfr r [ḥḥw] n sp n p3 ntjj hn=f n=k n p3 ntjj mḥ jb=f jm=k

Make the pharaoh (l.p.[h.]), your son, your servant, (come to) know his mighty deeds,[xxxvi] his benefactions, and all his placings in his heart every day,
in order to arrange [11]|every commission of your temple through his controlling [for you the deliveries] of every land with loving heart.
Let one say:
'What a million times better occasion it is for[xxxvii] him who relies on you, for him who fills his heart with you!'

jj3 dj=k ꜥm t3 nb ḫ3st nbt r-ḏd
ntk t3 nḫ[t n] [12]*|pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb p3jj=k šrj r t3 nb r ḫ3st nbt*
mntk j.jrr nḫt p3 t3 n Kmt p3jj=k t3 wꜥ.t
jw bn ḏrt n mšꜥ nb jm=f ḥrw t3jj=k phtj ꜥ3t j.jrr swḏ3=f n-3bjj j.jr=k <n> pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–[wḏ3–snb]
[13]*|ḏr ptr=k sw*
jrjj pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb p3jj=k šrj swꜥb Jwnw n Jtmw
djdj ḫpr pr Rꜥ-Ḥr-3ḫtj ḫrj nt-ꜥw=f

Indeed, you made[xxxviii] every land and every foreign country know that
you are the victor[y of] [12]|the pharaoh (l.p.h.), your son, against every land and every foreign country.
You are the one who makes the victory of the land of Egypt, your land, alone,
without a hand of any soldier in it[xxxix] except for your great strength that has been preserving it because of what you have done <for>[xl] the pharaoh (l.[p.h.]),
[13]|since you beheld him.
The pharaoh (l.p.h.), your son, purified Heliopolis for Atum,
(and) the temple of Re-Harakhte was made[xli] to exist under his regulations."[xlii]

mḥ=j n3[jj]=f prw-ḥḏ n3jj=f šnwwt
dj[w=j] st ngsgs m ḫwt ꜥš3wt
qb=j p3 ḥtp-nṯr wn m-b3ḥ

djw=j ḥ3w [14]*|n jmnjjt n ḫr-ḥ3t*
grg=j Jwnw m m3w
qb=j ꜥ3bwt=st
jrjj=j stḥn=s m mnww šnw ꜥš3w
[*jrjj=j*] *swꜥb Jwnw ḥr bwt=s nb*
qb=j ḥtp-nṯr n psḏt m šnw qbḥ m pr Ḥr
djw=j ḥ3w n Ḥwt-k3-Ptḥ r sp3t nb
[ꜥ][15]*|m n=s 3ḫw m jb* [*mrw*
qb]*=j p3 ḥtp-nṯr n Ptḥ m nfr nb*
mḥ=j n3jj=f prw-ḥḏ n3jj=f [*šnwwt m*] *mnmn*(*t*)
djw=j ḫpr=sn
jw ḥ3w n=w r p3jj=w ḫr-ḥ3t

'I filled its treasuries and its granaries,
I made them be overflown with numerous goods,
I multiplied the divine offering that existed before,
I gave an increase [14]|of the former daily offerings,
I established Heliopolis anew,
I multiplied its[xliii] offerings,
I made it shine with monuments and many trees,
[I] purified Heliopolis because of all its abomination,
I multiplied divine offering(s)[xliv] for the Ennead in the Pool of Libation in the temple of Horus.[xlv]
I gave a (bigger) increase to Memphis than to any (other) nome,
[thin]king out [15]|benefactions for it with [loving][xlvi] heart.
I [multiplied] the divine offering for Ptah with everything good,
I [filled] his treasuries and his [barns with][xlvii] cattle.
I made them (i.e., Heliopolis and Memphis) become
having[xlviii] an increase with regard to their former (state).'

djw pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb ḥ3w n 3ḫw ḥ3w n [*tl n*] [16]*|n3 r3w-pr nbw Šmꜥw Mḥw*
qd pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb r3w-pr wn m w3sj

The pharaoh (l.p.h.) gave an increase of benefactions and an increase of [mighty deeds to] [16]|all the temples of the South and the North;
the pharaoh (l.p.h.) built up the temples that were in ruins.

msjj=j n3jj=sn sšmw-ḫw m nbw nfr
q[… … …] [*n3jj=w*] [… …]
[*r sḏf3*] [… *ca. 12 groups lost* …]

'I fashioned their holy images from fine gold,
[… … …] [their][xlix] [… …]
[to endow][l] [… large loss …].'

[… …] [17]|*pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb p3jj=k šrj wḏw hpw*
[*r*] *ḥn* [*n*]*3 r3w-pr* [*nb*]*w* [ꜥ] *rst mḥtt*
[*r*] *ḫw rmṯ mnmnt* [*ḥr*] […] *n t3*

[17]|The pharaoh (l.p.h.), your son, [… …] decrees and laws
[to] govern [all th]e temples of the southern and northern [region(s)],
(and) [to] protect the people and the cattle [on the] […] of the land.

[*jr*]*jj=j 3ḫw m* [*jb*] *mr*
[*jr*] *n=k* […]*w* [… … … …]

'I [made] benefactions with loving [heart],
[making] […]s for you (i.e., for Amun-Re)[li] [… … … …].'"

4.2.1.3.5 Amun-Re's Address to the Gods of Egypt

[*wrš pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb p3jj=tn*] [18]|*šrj* [*ḥr ḥḥ*]*j 3ḫw nb*
r jr=w r pr Jmn-Rꜥ nsw nṯrw pr Rꜥ-Ḥr-3ḫtj pr Ptḥ ꜥ3 rsw jnb{*t*}[lii]*=f nb ꜥnḫ-t3wj r3w-pr nbw p3 t3 n Kmt m-mnt*
djw pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb ḫpr=w
sḏf3.w bꜥḥ.w m nfr j[…]*r*[…] [… *ca. 8 groups lost* …] [19]|*n=tn pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb*

"[The pharaoh (l.p.h.), your [18]|son, spent his time][liii] seeking out every benefaction
to do them daily to the temple of Amun-Re, king of the gods; to the temple of Re-Harakhte; to the temple of Ptah, the great one, south of his wall, the lord of Life-of-the-Two-Lands; (and) to all the temples of the land of Egypt.
The pharaoh (l.p.h.) made them become[liv]
supplied and flooded with good things [… … … … …] [19]|the pharaoh (l.p.h.) [… … … …] for you.

jmm st n=f m ꜥḥꜥw q3 nsjjt ꜥ3t rnpwt ꜥš3wt
snb n ꜥwt n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb
nḏm n ḥ3tj=f
wbḫt n jrt=f
jmm ḥtp s3w ḥꜥpjw wrw m p3 […*ca. 6 groups lost* …]
[20]|*jmm s3w s3w sp-2*
m ḫrp n=tn b3kw n t3 nb r p3jj=tn wb3
jmm ḏd rmṯ nb n t3 nb
ḫjj p3 sp nfr n p3 ntjj mḥ jb jm=tn r tl[… *ca. 6 groups lost* …]
[21]|*jmm ꜥḥꜥw q3 nsjjt ꜥ3t rnpwt ꜥš3wt n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb p3jj*{*=k*}*<=tn*>[lv] *šrj*
jrjjw pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb 3ḫw nb n tl nb j.jr=f r n3jj=t[*n*] *r3w-pr*

Give it[lvi] to him—long lifespan, great kingship, and many years!
Health for the limbs of the pharaoh (l.p.h.),
pleasure for his heart,

(and) brightness for his eye!
Grant peace, satiety, and great Nile-floods in the [… ca. 6 groups lost …]![lvii]
[20]|Grant satiety, satiety,
as the revenues of every land are brought to you, to your domain![lviii]
Let all the people of every land say:
'What a good occasion it is for him who (i.e., the king)[lix] fills the heart with you concerning the mighty deeds […ca. 6 groups lost …]!'
[21]|Give long lifespan, great kingship, and many years to the pharaoh (l.p.h.), to your son!
The pharaoh (l.p.h.) made every benefaction of every mighty deed that he had done to your temples.

ḫr ptr wḏ pr-ꜥ nḫ–wḏ–snb rmṯ
r šn nꜣ sḥ[*nw*] […… …] [22]|*nꜣjj=tn rꜣw-pr m ḥtp-nṯr prw-ḥḏ šnwwt šnꜥw wšꜣ ꜣpdw sḥn nb n ꜣḫw j.jrw n=tn pr-ꜥ nḫ–wḏ–snb r nꜣjj=tn rꜣw-pr*
[*r djt ḥꜣ*]*w n djt mḥ nt-ꜥw nb j.jrjjw n=tn*
r sꜥ nꜣjj[*=tn*] […*ca. 5 groups lost* …] [23]|*nb*
wrš pr-ꜥ nḫ–wḏ–snb ḥr jr[*=w*] *n=tn r-ḏ*[*d*]
j.jr[*=w*] *m-mnt*
mn spw ꜣḫw […… …]*m*[…] *pr-ꜥ* [*ꜥnḫ–wḏ–snb*] […… …] *ḫꜣꜥ m-kfꜣ* […]*rḫ*[…]
[… *ca. 7 groups lost* …] [24]|*r-šꜣꜥ srw jm-rꜣ ḥmw-nṯr ḥmw-nṯr wꜥbw rmṯ nb n pꜣ* [*tꜣ n Kmt*]
[…… …]

For, look, the pharaoh (l.p.h.) dispatched people
to investigate the affairs […… …] [22]|your temples with divine offering, treasuries, granaries, and poultry farms, and every commission of the benefactions that the pharaoh (l.p.h.) made for you concerning your temples;
[to provide an increa]se to the fulfilling[lx] of all regulations that were made for you;
(and) to expand [your] […… ….] [23]|every […….
The pharaoh (l.p.h.) spent his time doing [them] for you, saying:
'[They] act daily.'
There are no beneficial deeds […… …… …] the pharaoh [(l.p.h.)] […… …] at all abandon[… … …]
[… large loss …] [24]|down to the nobles, the overseer of the prophets, the prophets, the priests, and all the people of the [land of Egypt][lxi] […… …… …]

jmm pꜣjj=w b[*… ca. 9 groups lost* …] *nꜣjj=w ḥm*[*w*]*t* […… …]
[… …] [25]|*pr-ꜥ nḫ–wḏ–snb pꜣjj*{*=k*}*<=tn>*[lxii] *šrj ḫw mk swḏ*[*ꜣ*] […*ca. 5–6 groups lost* …]
wrš pr-ꜥ nḫ–wḏ–snb ḥr jr=w […*ca. 7–8 groups lost* …] […]*tj*
mtn[lxiii] *nꜣ ntjj rḫ* […*ca. 5 groups lost* …] [26]|*pr-ꜥ nḫ–wḏ–snb r nꜣjj=tn rꜣw-pr*
jmm ꜥḥꜥw qꜣ nsjjt ꜥꜣt rnpwt [*ꜥšꜣ*]*wt*
[*sn*]*b* [*n ꜥwt*] *n* [*pr-ꜥ ꜥnḫ–wḏ–snb*

nḏ]m [n] ḥ3tj=f
wbḫt n jrt=f
[… *ca. 4–5 groups lost* …]
[*jmm*] *ḥtp n p3 t3 r-h3w=f*
djw=f [*ḥ3w n 3ḫw ḥ3w n tl*] [27]|*n k3=tn*

Give [… … … …] their [… … … … …] their wives [… …];
[… ….] [25]|the pharaoh (l.p.h.), your son who protects, guards, and keeps [… … … … …] safe, [… …];
(as) the pharaoh (l.p.h.) spent his time doing them [… large loss …],
(for) it is you who know [… …] [26]|the pharaoh (l.p.h.) [… … …] to your temples.

Grant long lifespan, great kingship, and many years!
Health [for the limbs] of [the pharaoh (l.p.h.)],
pleasure [for] his heart,[lxiv]
(and) brightness for his eye!
[… ca. 4–5 groups lost …]
[Give] peace to the land at his time,
(as) he gave [an increase of benefactions and an increase of mighty deeds] [27]|to your sustenance.

mtw=tw djt m ḥr (*n*)[lxv] *n3 rwdw r wḏjj r ꜥrs*[*t*] *mḥtt r-ḏd*
j.wḏ
ḥnw=tn [… *ca. 10 groups lost* …]
mtw=tn jrt {*n*}[lxvi] *n3jj=w wdnw* [*qrrw*
mtw][28]|*=tn šnt t3 wnwt ḥwt-nṯr t3jj=w mnḫt*
mtw=tn sjp p3jj=w [*ḥtp*]-*nṯr* [… *rest of line is lost* …]
[*mtw*][29]|*=tn jrt ḥsbw n n3 r3w-pr ḏrj mj ḥmt*
mtw=tn [… *rest of line is lost* …] [30]|*b3kw n n3 r3w-pr*
mtw=tn jr n3 wdnw qrrw n=sn

And[lxvii] one (i.e., the king) gave instructions to the inspectors to depart to the southern and northern region, saying:
'Set out!
You shall hurry [… ca. 10 groups lost …],
make their oblations and [burnt offerings],[lxviii]
[28]|examine the hour-priesthood of the temple and their clothing,
inspect their divine [offering] [… rest of line is lost …],
[29]|do the accountings for the temples adamantly,[lxix]
[… large loss …] [30]|the revenues of the temples,
(and) make oblations and burnt offerings for them.'"

4.2.1.3.6 End of Text

[… *rest of line is lost* …] [31]|*nsw bjtj nb tꜣwj Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn sꜣ Rᶜ n ḥt=f mr=f nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw*
mj rdj.n=s[*n*] […*rest of line is lost* …] [32]|[… *end of text is lost* …]

[… large loss …] [31]|the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands: Usermaatre Meriamun; bodily son of Re: his beloved, lord of diadems, Ramesses Heqaiunu,
because th[ey] have given […rest of line is lost …] [32]|[… end of text is lost …].

4.2.2 Notes to the Transliteration and Translation of the Southern Stela

i The translation reflects the performative function of the *sḏm.n=f* in ritual scenes (Vernus 1985b: 308–309).

ii Sauneron (1964: 50–57) noted that Mut's epithet *nbt Jšrw* "lady of Asheru" probably referred to a temple or a temple district in Thebes. It is not to be excluded that the place was identical with the horseshoe-shaped sacred lake situated in the temple precinct of Mut south of the temple of Amun at Karnak.

iii *Wnn* is understood here as an emphatic converter (Vernus 1990a: 45) that transfers the rhematic load to the adverbial complement(s) of the sentence.

iv On the expression, see the corresponding entry under §4.2.3.2.1.

v Kitchen (K*RI* V 242, 11) suggests reading merely *ḏt* "forever" in the lacuna at the end of the column. The context, the parallel(s) in the scene of the Northern Stela (§4.3.1.1), and a similar formulation in the scene of Thutmosis III's *Gebel Barkal Stela* (*Urk.* IV 1227, 20), however, clearly favor *mj Rᶜ ḏt* "like Re forever."

vi Although this part of the scene is entirely lost, the reconstruction of the passage is supported by the apparently symmetrical structure of the opening scenes of the two halves of the *Great Double Stela* (visible in Le Saout's publication, see n. 803 below). Since the captions on the left side of both scenes (the columns behind Khons and Thebes respectively [§4.2.1.1 and §4.3.1.1]) are identical, one may assume that those on the right side were also the same. This passage would thus be a duplicate of the column behind the figure of Thoth on the right side of the Northern Stela (see under §4.3.1.1).

vii The spelling  without  appears incomplete for *sḫḏ* "to illuminate" (see K*RI* V 242, n. 13b). Since the "mistake" was never corrected and such misspellings would be unexpected on a scale as large as that of the margins of a monumental royal stela, intentionality is not to be excluded. The possibility that is a wordplay has already been considered by Christophe (1952: 23), who interpreted the group as a blend of two conceptually related words, *sḫḏ* "to illuminate" and *sḏt* "fire, flame."

viii Kitchen (K*RI* V 242, nn. 13a and 14a) argues that Ramesses III's *nomen* was spelled exceptionally with the omission of and that the signs were not lost at the joint be-

tween the stones. If Kitchen were right, this spelling would be unparalleled. In 2010 and 2017, I still saw the blocks of the stela in their original state, the way they were arranged when Kitchen worked on the inscription. A closer look at the joint of the corresponding blocks *in situ* suggested that the stones had been mounted imprecisely by Georges Legrain. The height of lines 16 and 17, that is, the lines at the height of the joint, seemed conspicuously shortened in an inscription where the size of the lines is kept relatively constant. The partially missing tip of the signs in line 17 and the trimmed feet of the signs in line 16 pointed in the same direction. I had the opportunity to discuss this issue with Sébastien Biston-Moulin in March 2017, who assured me that the staff of the CFEETK was planning to adjust the corresponding blocks. For the result of this adjustment, see Fig. 23 above.

ix See §4.2.2, n. viii above.

x If the group  closes the second column, as Le Saout's reconstruction of the left margin would suggest (§4.2.2, n. xi below), the phrase *mj Rˁ* "like Re" must represent the final words of the first column (contra Kitchen [K*RI* V 243, 1]), since the signs  are at the same height as the neighboring on the corresponding block (Le Saout 1982: pl. 7, 6d).

xi Le Saout's reconstruction of the left margin (1982: pl. 7, 6d) implies that the last group of the second column is (contra Kitchen [K*RI* V 243, 3]).

xii It is very likely that the Southern Stela contained a specific date in contrast to the dateline of the Northern Stela (§4.3.2, n. xi). With a minor correction (see §4.2.2, n. xiii below) to Kitchen's completion of the missing signs of the first line (K*RI* V 243, 4), two (if the signs were drawn exactly as Kitchen imagined them) to three (if the carving was more compact than supposed) groups remain free after the word *ḥsbt*—a space big enough for a conventional dateline but too narrow for a less specific formulation.

xiii The *nbtj*-name of Ramesses III must have ended with the phrase "like Tatenen," as is also the case on the Northern Stela (GDSN 2; K*RI* V 239, 3), as opposed to Kitchen's suggestion to read "like Ptah-Tatenen." The last word in the lacuna was thus *mj* and not *Ptḥ*. As a consequence, there remain at least two groups for the signs of the missing date (§4.2.2, n. xii above).

xiv Helck's (1958: pl. 3) and Kitchen's (K*RI* V 243, 6) suggestion for the completion of the lacuna () disregards the fairly consistent text-internal practice regarding the spelling of *r3w-pr* "temples." The word is spelled as nine times outside line 2 (GDSS 16 [2x], 17, 18, 22 [2x], 29, 30) and once as (GDSS 26). The traces of signs still visible on the corresponding block seem to support .

xv Since traces of sign A2 () are still visible, the Late Egyptian morphology of the relative form is certain.

xvi The particle's function as a Late Egyptian circumstantial converter is confirmed by its parallel syntactic position to another *jw*-converted circumstantial clause (*jw jb=f mḥ* [*jm=k*] "his heart being filled [with you]").

xvii The restoration of the lacuna is based on an identical passage in line 12: *mntk j.jrr nḫt pȝ tȝ n Kmt pȝjj=k tȝ* "you are the one who makes the victory of the land of Egypt, your land."

xviii The similarity with the phrase *jw bn ḏrt n kjj jm=j wpw-ḥr=k* "while there was no other hand with me but yours" in line 3 of the Northern Stela, where *jm=j* clearly reads "with me," makes alternative interpretations possible for *jw bn ḏrt n rmṯ nb jm=f*. If *m* is to be interpreted as an associative preposition also on the Southern Stela, two additional readings have to be considered depending on the antecedent of the anaphoric suffix pronoun in *jm=f*. If the pronoun refers to Egypt, expressed as [*pȝ tȝ n Kmt pȝj*]*j=k tȝ* "[the land of Egypt, your] land" in the previous clause, the phrase should be read as "without having anyone's hand with it." If the referent, on the other hand, is the king himself—implied but grammatically not present—the translation would be "without having anyone's hand with him." Since the present section is an interjection within the gods' speech by the king, and the king consistently refers to himself in first person, the latter interpretation is therefore unlikely.

xix The subject of the phrase, the third-person singular suffix pronoun in *jr=f*, is an anaphoric reference to *rmṯ nb* "anyone" in the previous clause. A more literal translation in English would result in having to ascribe a higher level of individuation to the subject than intended in the source language: "without him*sic* ever committing the smallest of theft without you knowing about it."

xx The preposition *n* was written as . On the *m*/*n* interchange, see §4.2.3.3.2 with further references below. On the Late Egyptian indefinite article *nkt* (*n*), see the corresponding entry under §4.2.3.2.2.

xxi The spelling of the dative () leaves no doubt about the referent of the first-person suffix pronoun, even though sign A42 () in particular is not used more than twice (GDSS 4 and 13) to denote the king. As a consequence, this section is understood as a royal intervention—embedded in the introductory divine address to Amun-Re. The referent disambiguation of suffix pronouns at the graphical level is consistent throughout the entire inscription. Generally, signs A42A () and A42B () stand for the king.

xxii Since the passage has been completed based on analogy with a section (§4.2.2, n. xxiii) in which *dj=k ꜥm…* is interpreted as a Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f* followed by a subjunctive *sḏm=f* because of the presence of the introductory Late Egyptian particle *jjȝ* (§4.2.2, n. xxix), it is being assumed that *dj=k* has the same aspectual qualities at the head of this clause as its pendant in line 11 (see also Neveu 2001: 25). The two passages differ though in their introductory particles: *ḫr*

(GDSS 4) vs. *jj3* (GDSS 11). Unlike *jj3*, *ḫr* would allow for interpreting *dj=k* as a subjunctive *sḏm=f* (see n. 465 above), which, with a modal, optative reading (*ḫr dj=k ꜥm*… "Now, you shall inform…"), would equally fit the context and would enhance the supplicative character of the divine intercession on behalf of the king.

xxiii The restoration of the lacuna is based on a similar section in the address of the gods of Heliopolis to Amun-Re (GDSS 11–12): *jj3 dj=k ꜥm t3 nb ḫ3st nbt r-ḏd ntk t3 nḫ*[*t n*] *pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb p3jj=k šrj r t3 nb r ḫ3st nbt* "Indeed, you made every land and every foreign country know that you are the victor[y of] the pharaoh (l.p.h.), your son, against every land and every foreign country."

xxiv Completed after Helck (1958: 34): "das Verb *smtr* ist aus dem Zusammenhang geraten."

xxv The preposition *m* is written as *n*. On the phenomenon in general, see the corresponding entry under §4.2.3.3.2.

xxvi In the present context, the group  is interpreted as an early example of the lexicalized expression *ḫrtw* "declaration, decree, oracle" (Winand 2017a: 477–479). See the corresponding entry also under §4.2.3.2.6. At the end of line 6 on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* (§6.3.3.3.1), the same group is still best read as *ḫr=tw* "(so) one says" (see also §6.4, n. xxxix).

xxvii The lacuna has been restored with the help of line 19. The same theme occurs several times in nearly identical formulations: in lines 5, 7, 19, and 26, out of which the passage in line 19 is the least lacunose.

xxviii The reconstruction of the passage was suggested by similar formulations elsewhere in the text: in lines 7, 13–14, and 15.

xxix The clause is introduced by a Late Egyptian particle with explanatory value: *jj3* (see under §4.2.3.2.6). The particle's pattern of attestation (Neveu 1992: 13) suggests that the subsequent verbal form (*djw pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb*) is a Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f*. The parallel position of the *sḏm=f* of the previous clause requires a similar grammatical interpretation for the predicate in the lacuna at the head of the section.

xxx The word *tl* is a Hurrian loan word meaning "prowess, vigor" (Schneider 1999). In the present context, however—and similarly, also in lines 10, 15, 20, 21, and 26—*tl* is used parallel to *3ḫw* "benefactions." The collocation suggests that—in the proximity of *3ḫw*—*tl* must refer to some other beneficial deeds of the king, which were perhaps specifically associated with prowess and vigor. Thus, *tl* is translated here as "mighty deeds" (similarly in *Wb.* V 384.1–4; cf. also Schneider 1999: 702, A. 43 with reference to a similar use of the word in the vignettes of pHarris I). Note the same juxtaposition with the word *3ḫw* in line 8 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (§3.2.3.3). The plural understanding of the word—despite the absence of plural strokes in its spelling—is confirmed by line 10 of the stela, where it is preceded by a plural possessive article: *n3jj=f tl* "his mighty deeds." Column 56 of Ramesses II's

Great Dedicatory Inscription provides a comparable example: *nꜣjj=j tl* () *n jt=j m ḫrd mnq=j st*… "My mighty deeds for my father as a child, I shall complete them…" (K*RI* II 328, 13–14).

xxxi The restoration is allowed by lines 5, 19, and 26, which contain the same recurring theme. Since, however, the wording changes slightly with each repetition, the beginning of the sentence in line 6 cannot be recomposed with certainty. The reconstruction suggested here was modeled on line 5. In line 19, the object is introduced differently after the imperative (see §4.2.2, n. lvi below). Both line 26 and line 19 include *rnpwt ꜥšꜣwt* "many years" after *ꜥḥꜥw qꜣ* "long lifespan" and *nsjjt ꜥꜣt* "great kingship" as opposed to line 5.

xxxii The context suggests that *šꜣꜥ* and *m* are not parts of the compound preposition *šꜣꜥ-m* "from/since." If they were, an expression of place or time should follow; and *tl* "prowess, vigor" is neither of the two. *Šꜣꜥ* must therefore be an infinitive and thus form part of the predicate, a *jw=f* (*ḥr*) *sḏm* construction, which is the first one here in a chain of three Late Egyptian sequential forms.

xxxiii The structure of the passage allows only a circumstantial *jw* at this point. A Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f* (*djw pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb ḥꜣw* […] "the pharaoh (l.p.h.) gave an increase […]") introduces the section in the second half of line 7. This main clause is continued by three Late Egyptian sequential constructions between the end of line 8 and in line 9. What falls between the initial main clause and the three sequential forms is subordinate content. The immediate antecedent of the *jw*-introduced lacunose clause is a temporal clause with a preterite *sḏm=f* introduced by *ḏr* (compare with exx. 513–514 in Collombert 2000: 355), which itself is subordinate to the main clause.

xxxiv The signs were still seen by Helck (1958: pl. 3), but they are lost today. The adverbial expression *m tl* is translated here literally: "with vigor." Alternative interpretations include "constantly" by Grandet (1994: II 5, n. 7) and "ceaselessly, indefatigably" by Schneider (1999: 702, A. 44).

xxxv The clause *jw=f m-bꜣḥ* [*ḥm=k*] could be read in three different ways. Syntactically, it is either a circumstantial clause or a virtual relative clause introduced by the Late Egyptian *jw*. In the former case, depending on the antecedent of the third-person singular suffix pronoun following the *jw*, there are two possible interpretations: 1) "while he (i.e., the king) was in the presence of [your majesty];" 2) "while it (i.e., the divine offering) was in the presence of [your majesty]." In the latter case—as translated above—the clause is a non-restrictive virtual relative clause (see Müller 2015: 113–117) referring to the divine offering.

xxxvi See §4.2.2, n. xxx above.

xxxvii The expression *ḫjj pꜣ sp nfr n*…—here intensified by the comparative *r* [*ḥḥw*] *n sp*—is generally associated with the lexical repertoire of personal prayers. It appears

once more in line 20 and is also present in Ramesses III's *Gold Tablet Prayer* (K*RI* V 223, 1–2). Assmann (1978: 28 and 30–31, n. m) suggests a less literal translation for the phrase in a non-royal context: "wohl dem, der…" or "oh das Glück dessen, der…"

xxxviii See §4.2.2, n. xxix above.

xxxix The same considerations apply regarding the interpretation of *jm=f* in the clause *jw bn ḏrt n rmṯ nb jm=f* (see §4.2.2, n. xviii above on the options "in it" / "with it" / "with him"), as above, in line 4. The difference in the speech situation—namely, that this part of the inscription is not an interjection by the king but part of the gods' speech to Amun-Re—loses its relevance in light of the parallel formulation of the two sentences. It is unlikely that the antecedent of the pronoun would be different in line 4 than in line 12.

xl The speech situation justifies the emendation. In the present section, the gods of Heliopolis are speaking to Amun-Re. The lack of the dative *n* would mean a sudden shift in the identity of the addressee at this point and would redirect the speech towards the king with a vocative: *n-ꜣbjj j.jr=k pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ*[*–wḏꜣ–snb*] "because of what you have done, pharaoh (l.[p.h.])." The subsequent clause, the referents of which are disambiguated by a parallel in line 8 (*ḏr ptr=k pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb*), supports the emendation by making it clear that it is still Amun-Re who is meant behind the "you:" *ḏr ptr=k sw* "since you (i.e., Amun-Re) beheld him (i.e., the king)."

xli The construction employed here is a passive *sḏm=f* of *rdi* with a subjunctive *sḏm=f* as a completive subject—which itself might employ an adverbial clause as its own completive subject (§4.2.2, n. xlii below). Although the passive *sḏm=f* is generally used with non-pronominal subjects in the New Kingdom (Winand 1992: 305, §481; cf. also Stauder 2014: 339–343), the present grammatical solution is remarkable because the construction is usually found with nominal subjects in the record. It is only rarely attested with clausal subjects. Further examples are found, for example, on a tomb robbery papyrus (pBM EA 10052, recto 7.9; verso 12.13 and 13.1) from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (K*RI* VI 784, 10–11; 794, 2; 795, 6).

xlii Following the most straightforward grammatical analysis of the passage, *pr Rꜥ-Ḥr-ꜣḫtj* functions as the subject and *ḫrj nt-ꜥw=f* as a simple adverbial syntagm of the clause governed by the subjunctive *sḏm=f* serving as the completive subject of the passive *sḏm=f* construction of the verb *rdi* (*djdj sḏm=f*; §4.2.2, n. xli). The subjunctive *sḏm=f* of the verb *ḫpr* might, however, express its own subject with yet another complement clause (see Malaise & Winand 1999: 555–557, §897). In the latter case, *ḫrj nt-ꜥw=f* should be interpreted as the predicate of the adverbial clause employed as the completive subject of the subjunctive *sḏm=f*. The nested syntax of two similar sentences in lines 15 and 18 of the text is what makes the latter interpretation also plausible. Cf. *djw=j ḫpr=sn jw ḥꜣw n=w r pꜣjj=w ḫr-ḥꜣt* "I made them (i.e., Heliop-

olis and Memphis) become having an increase with regard to their former (state)" (GDSS 15; §4.2.2, n. xlviii) and *djw pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb ḫpr=w sḏf3.w bꜥḥ.w m nfr…* "The pharaoh (l.p.h.) made them (i.e., all the temples of the land of Egypt) become supplied and flooded with good things…" (GDSS 18). In line 15, the *jw*-headed clause forms an adverbial complement to the preceding subjunctive *sḏm=f* of the verb *ḫpr*, while in line 18, the adverbial complements are expressed with pseudoparticiples. All three examples follow the following structure: *rdi* (passive / active preterite *sḏm=f*) + *ḫpr* (subjunctive *sḏm=f*) + (pseudo)adverbial clause/phrase.

xliii Heliopolis is referenced with the feminine suffix pronoun *=st* (see E*NG* §§70–74) although the noun itself (*Jwnw*) is masculine. The town determinative in the spelling of the word () could have played a role in the association.

xliv This is the only occurrence of the word *ḥtp-nṯr* "divine offering" as the object of the verb *qb* "to double, to multiply" written without a definite article (cf. GDSS 9, 13, and 15). It cannot be excluded that the *p3* was simply forgotten; in which case, emendation would be appropriate.

xlv The expression has a variant in pHarris I 37b.2: *š qbḥw m pr Rꜥ-Ḥr-3ḫtj* "lake of libation in the temple of Re-Harakhte." The term presumably describes a lake or a pool within the domain of Heliopolis (Grandet 1994: II, 146–147, n. 593). According to Piye's *Victory Stela* (*Urk.* III 37–38), it could possibly refer to a pool of purification at the entrance of the temple of Heliopolis.

xlvi The participle was probably spelled with a final *-w* (contra K*RI* V 245, 1), as in GDSS 11 and in GDSN 4 (). The omission of sign Z7 in GDSS 17 is explained by the different grouping of the corresponding signs ().

xlvii Peden (1994a: 126–127) as well as Kitchen (*RITA* V 207; despite reconstructing  in K*RI* V 245, 2) suggest reading *sḫwt* "pastures" in the lacuna. Since, however, the word *prw-ḥḏ* "treasuries" only appears juxtaposed to the word *šnwwt* elsewhere in the text (GDSS 9, 13, 22), it is likely that the collocation was kept also in line 15. Reconstructing the lacuna with *šnwwt* does not necessarily present a problem in translation: *šnwt* may also stand for "storeroom" or "barn" (*Wb.* IV 510.1–16) besides "granary."

xlviii The present *jw*-headed clause forms an adverbial complement to the preceding subjunctive *sḏm=f* of the verb *ḫpr*. See also §4.2.2, n. xlii above.

xlix The signs that were still seen by Helck (1958: pl. 3) are lost today.

l As in the case above, the signs were still seen by Helck (1958: pl. 3) but are now lost.

li The traces left of the seated sign after the group  suggest that they once formed part of sign A40 () and not sign A41 (). The shape of the beard and the absence of royal regalia strongly indicate a god determinative, which was used here to dis-

ambiguate the referent of the second-person suffix pronoun. For the king, signs A42, A42A, and A42B are used in the text, never A41 (cf. §4.2.2, n. xxi above).

lii The *-t* in the spelling of Ptah's divine epithet (), *rsw jnb=f* "the one south of his wall," appears to be a mistake. It would be unusual to find *jnbt* "fence" substituting *jnb* "wall" in such a standardized collocation.

liii The reconstruction of the missing predicate is facilitated by the phraseological similarity with line 6 of the Northern Stela: *wrš=j ḥr ḥḥj spw mnḫw r jr=w n jt=j Jmn-Rᶜ nb nswt tꜣwj ḫntj Jpt-swt* "as I spend my time seeking out beneficent deeds to do them for my father, Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands who presides over Karnak" (see under §4.3.1.3.3). The context and the use of a second-person plural suffix pronoun at the beginning of line 19 imply that this is the opening sentence of Amun-Re's address to the Heliopolitan and Memphite gods. The possessive article in the lacuna at the end of line 17—immediately preceding the word *šrj* "son" at the head of line 18—must therefore be *pꜣjj=tn* "your (pl.)" and not *pꜣjj=k* "your (sg.)," as Helck (1958: pl. 3) and Kitchen (K*RI* V 245, 6) suggested it, unless the text contains a mistake (like in GDSS 21; see §4.2.2, n. lv below).

liv Cf. §4.2.2, n. xlii above.

lv The speech situation requires a plural ending of the possessive article as in the case of *nꜣjj=*[*t*]*n* preceding *rꜣw-pr* further down the line and *pꜣjj=tn* before *wbꜣ* in the previous line. The fact that singular second-person possessive articles are used about six times more frequently in the text than plural ones makes the "slip of the pen" understandable. The mistake is repeated in line 25 below (§4.2.2, n. lxii).

lvi The object is expressed by the new object pronoun (Peust 2002: 309–317) in the function of a cataphoric reference and is further specified by a partitive construction introduced by the preposition *m*. The formulation differs from the grammatical solutions in lines 5 and 26, where the object is introduced directly. In lines 6–7, the relevant passage is in the lacuna.

lvii Relying on the context, both Helck (1958: pl. 3) and Kitchen (K*RI* V 245, 10) speculated that the definite article would be followed by the word *tꜣ* "land." Although no traces support the reconstruction, if Helck and Kitchen were right, *tꜣ* was likely to be followed by the genitive *n Kmt*, as in lines 4, 7, 12, 18, and maybe also in line 24 (§4.2.2, n. lxi below); or even by the precision *pꜣjj=tn tꜣ*, as in lines 4, 7, and 12.

lviii See §3.3, n. lxxiv above.

lix The king determinative in the group  can be interpreted in three different ways, two of which require an emendation of the text. Sign A42A could be a plain scribal mistake originating from a confusion of the third-person suffix pronoun with the first-person one, in which case, the text should have had  . It is quite likely though that the sign was not meant to be read as a pronoun. The way sign A40 is used twice to refer to Amun-Re after the second-person suffix pronoun in line 4 of

the Northern Stela (§4.3.2, nn. xviii and xx) or the way sign A42A was added as a visual reference to the king after a third-person suffix pronoun in line 26 of the Southern Stela (§4.2.2, n. lxiv below),  could have served as a visual complement either to a forgotten third-person suffix pronoun (): *ntjj mḥ jb=f jm=tn* "who fills his (i.e., the king's) heart with you;" or to the relative expression as a whole (): *ntjj mḥ jb jm=tn* "who (i.e., the king) fills the heart with you." The latter option is preferred here because it requires no emendation.

lx The verb *mḥ* is used figuratively together with *nt-ꜥ* "regulation," namely, in the sense of "to complete" (F*CD* 113).

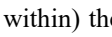
lxi The reconstruction Helck (1958: pl. 3) provided in his transcript was later also taken over by Kitchen (K*RI* V 246, 3). According to this first interpretation, the passage should be read as *pꜣ* [*tꜣ r ḏr=f*] "the [entire land]." Nevertheless, Helck (1958: 36) translated "des [Landes Ägypten]." The discrepancy between the signs supplied and the translation given indicates that Helck changed his mind in the course of redaction but did not update the corresponding plate. Given the parallels in lines 4, 7, 12, 18, and perhaps also in line 19 (§4.2.2, n. lvii above), *pꜣ tꜣ n Kmt* "the land of Egypt" is indeed a better candidate for the missing part of the genitive construction.

lxii The speech situation—still Amun-Re talking to the gods of Egypt—requires a similar emendation to the one in line 21 (§4.2.2, n. lv above).

lxiii The group  represents a defective spelling of the Late Egyptian second-person plural independent pronoun (see E*NG* §103). Line 34 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (see under §6.3.3.3.4) contains another example of this spelling.

lxiv Exceptionally, sign A42A has been added after the third-person suffix pronoun in *ḥꜣtj=f* "his heart:"  . Compare the example with the use of the same sign earlier in line 20 (§4.2.2, n. lix above) as well as with the use of A40 twice in GDSN 4 (§4.3.2, nn. xviii and xx).

lxv The *n* after *ḥr* was probably written with a haplography in  , in the expression *rdi m ḥr n* "to give instructions to someone" (cf. *Wb*. II 468.4.). The phrase after *rdi m* generally takes the form of an indirect genitive when the person whom instructions shall be given is expressed with a full noun.

lxvi The duplication of the *n* before (or within) the possessive article () is a mistake unless  stands for the preposition *m* as a partitive marking (Winand 2015: 538–541). The context does not support interpreting as a dative. Line 31 of the Northern Stela, which contains a similar formulation (*r jrt wdnw qrrw ꜥꜣw* "to make oblations and great burnt offerings"), suggests a dittography.

lxvii The conjunctive cannot be linked to any immediately preceding verbal form in this instance. The present example seems to establish a thematic link with a statement in line 21, that is, six lines above: *ḫr ptr wḏ pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb rmṯ*… "For, look, the pharaoh (l.p.h.) dispatched people…" The cohesive force of the construction (see

Winand 2001: 294–301) thus covers a larger distance here than as usual. See also n. 687 below.

[lxviii] The reconstruction of the lacuna follows line 30 of the Southern Stela and line 31 of the Northern Stela. In both cases, *wdnw* "oblations" and *qrrw* "burnt offerings" are used in association with one another.

[lxix] *Ḏrj mj ḥmt* literally means "as firmly as copper." It is an idiomatic expression for "adamantly" (see *Wb.* V 599.15–16). See also below, under §4.2.3.2.6.

4.2.3 Selected Grammatical, Lexical, and Graphical Features from the Southern Stela

4.2.3.1 Selected Grammatical Features from the Southern Stela

Late Egyptian definite article preceding…

-	a noun	*t3 wnwt*	line 28
		n3 wdnw qrrw	line 30
		n3 prw-ḥḏ	line 9
		p3 ḥtp-nṯr	lines 9, 13, 15
		n3 nbw Jwnw	line 5
		n3 r3w-pr	lines 16, 17, 29, 30
		n3 rwdw	line 27
		t3 nḫt	lines [4] and 11
		p3 sp nfr	lines 11 and 20 (preceded by *ḫjj* in both cases)
		n3 sḥ[*nw*]	line 21
		n3 šnwwt	line 9
		p3 t3	line 26
		p3 t3 n Kmt	lines [4], 7, 12, 18
-	a relative form	line 4	*p3 j.jr=k n=j nb* (§4.2.2, n. xxi)
		line 6	*n*{*m*}<*3*> *j.jr=f*
-	a *ntjj*-introduced relative clause	line 11 (2x)	*p3 ntjj ḥn=f n=k*
			p3 ntjj mḥ jb=f jm=k
		line 20	*p3 ntjj mḥ jb jm=tn*
		line 25	*n3 ntjj rḫ* […]
-	a lacuna	line 2	*p3* […]
		line 19	*p3* […] (§4.2.2, n. lvii)
		line 24	*p3* […] (§4.2.2, n. lxi)

Late Egyptian indefinite article (see under §4.2.3.2.2)	line 4	*nkt m ḥwrʿ* (§4.2.2, n. xx)
Late Egyptian possessive article preceding…		
- a noun	*nȝjj=f ȝḫw*	line 10
	pȝjj=tn wbȝ	line 20
	nȝjj=w wdnw [*qrrw*]	line 27
	pȝjj=k bȝk	lines 3 and 10
	pȝjj=k pr	lines 6, 9, 11
	nȝjj=f prw-ḥḏ	lines 13 and 15
	tȝjj=k pḥtj ʿȝt	line 12
	tȝjj=w mnḫt	line 28
	nȝjj=tn rȝw-pr	lines 21, 22 (2x), 26
	nȝjj=w ḥm[*w*]*t*	line 24
	pȝjj=w [*ḥtp*]-*nṯr*	line 28
	pȝjj=w ḫr-ḥȝt	line 15
	nȝjj=sn sšmw-ḫw	line 16
	nȝjj=f šnwwt	lines 13 and 15 (§4.2.2, n. xlvii)
	pȝjj=k šrj	lines 3, [4–5], 6, 8–9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 21, 25 (for *pȝjj=tn* in lines 21 and 25; see §4.2.2, nn. lv and lxii)
	[*pȝjj=tn*] *šrj*	[lines 17]–18 (§4.2.2, n. liii)
	pȝjj=k tȝ	lines 4, 7, 12
	nȝjj=f tl	line 10 (§4.2.2, n. xxxvi)
- an infinitive	line 10	*nȝjj=f rdt nb m ḥȝtj=f rʿ nb*
	line 11	*nȝjj=f ḫrp* [*n=k bȝk*]*w n tȝ nb m jb mrw*
- a lacuna	line 16	[*nȝjj=w*] [… …] (§4.2.2, n. xlix)
	line 22	*nȝjj*[*=tn*] [… … … … …] *nb*
	line 24	*pȝjj=w b*[…]
Late Egyptian independent pronouns	[line 3]	[*mntk j.jrr nḫt pȝ tȝ n Kmt*…] (§4.2.2, n. xvii)
	line 4	*mntk jr pȝ j.jr=k n=j nb* (§4.2.2, n. xxi)
	line 12	*mntk j.jrr nḫt pȝ tȝ n Kmt*…

	line 25	*mtn nꜣ ntjj rḫ* […] (§4.2.2, n. lxiii)
Earlier Egyptian independent pronouns	[line 4]	[*ntk tꜣ nḫt n pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb*…] (§4.2.2, n. xxiii)
	line 5	*ḫr ntk r.qd pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb*
	line 11	*ntk tꜣ nḫ*[*t n*] *pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb*…
Linguistic dissimilation[682] of independent pronouns	lines 3–4	[***mntk*** *j.jrr*]… ***mntk*** *jr*…. ***ntk*** *tꜣ nḫt*…
	lines 11–12	***ntk*** *tꜣ nḫ*[*t*]… ***mntk*** *j.jrr*…
Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun…		
- after an infinitive	line 18	*r jr=w r pr Jmn-Rꜥ*
	[line 23]	*ḫr jr*[*=w*] *n=tn*
	line 25	*ḫr jr=w* […]
- in a *sḏm=f*	line 18	*djw pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb ḫpr=w*… Compare with line 15: *djw=j ḫpr=sn*…
- in an emphatic *j.sḏm=f*[683]	[line 23]	*j.jr*[*=w*] *m-mnt*
- after a preposition	line 15	*n=w* Compare with line 30: *n=sn*
- in the possessive article	line 15	*pꜣjj=w ḫr-ḥꜣt*
	[line 16]	[*nꜣjj=w*] (§4.2.2, n. xlix)
	line 24 (2x)	*pꜣjj=w b*[…]
		nꜣjj=w ḥm[*w*]*t*
	line 27	*nꜣjj=w wdnw* [*qrrw*]
	line 28 (2x)	*tꜣjj=w mnḫt*
		pꜣjj=w [*ḥtp*]*-nṯr*
Earlier Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun…		
- after a noun (genitival use)	line 5	*n rꜣ=sn* (§4.2.2, n. xxv)

682 On the concept, see §1.2.3.

683 See n. 686 below.

- in a *sḏm=f*	line 15	*djw=j ḫpr=sn…*
- in the possessive article	line 16	*nꜣjj=sn sšmw-ḫw*
- after a preposition	line 30	*n=sn*
Linguistic dissimilation of Earlier and Late Egyptian plural suffix pronouns	line 15	*djw=j ḫpr=**sn** jw ḥꜣw n=**w** r pꜣjj=**w** ḫr-ḥꜣt*
	line 16	*nꜣjj=**sn**…* [*nꜣjj=**w***]… (§4.2.2, n. xlix)
Late Egyptian participle		
- active	line 5	*r.qd* (see *j.* under §4.2.3.3.3.2)
- passive	line 22	*nt-ꜥw nb j.jrjjw n=tn*
Hybrid participles (active)[684]		
- without periphrasis	[line 3]	[*j.jrr*] (§4.2.2, n. xvii)
	line 12	*j.jrr*
- with periphrasis	line 12 (*swḏꜣ*)	*j.jrr swḏꜣ=f*
Linguistic dissimilation of participles	lines 3–4	[*mntk **j.jrr** nḫt pꜣ tꜣ n Kmt*]… *mntk **jr** pꜣ j.jr=k n=j nb*
Late Egyptian relative form	line 3	[…] [*j.*]*jrw pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb…* (§4.2.2, n. xv)
	line 4	*pꜣ j.jr=k n=j nb* (§4.2.2, n. xxi)
	line 6	*n{m}<ꜣ> j.jr=f*
	line 12	*j.jr=k <n> pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ–*[*wḏꜣ–snb*] (§4.2.2, n. xl)
	line 21	*ꜣḫw nb n tl nb j.jr=f…*
	line 22	*sḥn nb n ꜣḫw j.jrw n=tn pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb…*
Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f*		
- without periphrasis	line 4	*ḫr dj=k ꜥm…* (§4.2.2, n. xxii)
	line 5	[*smtr*] *st nꜣ nbw Jwnw* (§4.2.2, n. xxiv)

684 On *j.jrr*, see also Winand (1992: 362, §574) with a further example from line 11 of the Koptos version of Ramesses II's *Second Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 283, 6), to which two other instances may be added from the broader corpus of the present study (§1.1.3): one similarly from line 12 of the Koptos version of the *Second Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 283, 7) and another from line 8 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* (see under §6.5.1).

	line 6 (2x)	[*djw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb*] *p3jj=k šrj*… *jj3 djw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb*… (§4.2.2, n. xxix)
	line 7	*djw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb*…
	line 8	*ḏr ptr=k pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb*
	line 11	*jj3 dj=k*… (§4.2.2, n. xxxviii)
	line 13 (5x)	*ḏr ptr=k sw* *mḥ=j n3*[*jj*]*=f prw-ḥḏ n3jj=f šnwwt* *dj*[*w=j*] *st ngsgs m ḫwt ᶜš3wt* *qb=j p3 ḥtp-nṯr wn m-b3ḥ* *djw=j ḥ3w n jmnjjt n ḫr-ḥ3t*
	line 14 (4x)	*grg=j Jwnw m m3w* *qb=j ᶜ3bwt=st* *qb=j ḥtp-nṯr n psḏt* *djw=j ḥ3w n Ḥwt-k3-Ptḥ r sp3t nb*
	line 15 (4x)	[*qb*]*=j p3 ḥtp-nṯr n Ptḥ m nfr nb* *mḥ=j n3jj=f prw-ḥd n3jj=f* [*šnwwt m*] *mnmn*(*t*) *djw=j ḫpr=sn*… *djw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb*…
	line 16 (2x)	*qd pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb r3w-pr*… *msjj=j n3jj=sn sšmw-ḫw m nbw nfr*
	line 17 (2x)	[*jr*]*jj=j 3ḫw m* [*jb*] *mr* [*wrš pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb*…] (§4.2.2, n. liii)
	line 18	*djw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb*…
	line 21 (2x)	*jrjjw pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb 3ḫw nb*… *ḫr ptr wḏ pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb rmṯ*
	line 23	*wrš pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb*…
	line 25	*wrš pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb*…
	line 26	*djw=f* [*ḥ3w n 3ḫw*…]
- with periphrasis[685]	line 13 (*swᶜb*)	*jrjj pr-ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ–wḏ3–snb p3jj=k šrj swᶜb Jwnw*…
	line 14 (2x: *stḥn* and *swᶜb*)	*jrjj=j stḥn=s m mnww šnw ᶜš3w* [*jrjj=j*] *swᶜb Jwnw ḥr bwt=s nb*

685 Winand (1992: 197–198, §§323–324).

Earlier Egyptian *sḏm.n=f* as predicate	scene	[*dj.n*(=*j*)] *n=k ḥbw-sd ꜥš3w…*
	line 31	*mj rdj.n=s*[*n*]…
Passive *sḏm=f*	line 13	*djdj ḫpr pr Rꜥ-Ḥr-3ḫtj ḫrj nt-ꜥw=f* (§4.2.2, nn. xli and xlii)
	line 20	*m ḫrp n=tn b3kw n t3 nb…*
Emphatic *j.sḏm=f*[686]	line 23	*j.jr*[=*w*] *m-mnt*
Sequential	lines 8–9	[*jw pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb p3jj=k*] *šrj* (*ḥr*) *š3ꜥ…*
	line 9 (2x)	[*jw*] *pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb* (*ḥr*) *sḥn p3jj=k pr…*
		jw pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb (*ḥr*) *qb p3 ḥtp-nṯr…*
Conjunctive in continuation of…		
- an imperative	line 7 (2x)	*mtw=k nḫt p3 t3 n Kmt*
		mtw=k s3w=f
	line 27	*mtw=tn jrt* {*n*} *n3jj=w wdnw…* (§4.2.2, nn. lxvi and lxviii)
	lines 27–28	[*mtw*]*=tn šnt t3 wnwt ḫwt-nṯr…*
	line 28	*mtw=tn sjp p3jj=w* [*ḥtp*]*-nṯr…*
	lines 28–29	[*mtw*]*=tn jrt ḥsbw n n3 r3w-pr…*
	line 29	*mtw=tn* […]
	line 30	*mtw=tn jr n3 wdnw qrrw n=sn*
- no explicit verbal form (cohesive device)[687]	line 27	*mtw=tw djt m ḥr…* (§4.2.2, n. lxvii)
Late Egyptian imperative	line 27	*j.wḏ*
Negative Aorist		
- *bw sḏm=f*	line 4	[*j*]*w bw jr=f nkt m ḫwrꜥ m ḫmt=k* (§4.2.2, nn. xix and xx)

686 Cf. Winand (1992: 265–279, §§420–441) and Cassonnet (2000: 139–140).

687 Cf. E*NG* §585. The use of the conjunctive as a cohesive device, detached from any immediately preceding verbal form, must originate in the basic additive value of the construction, on which see Borghouts (1979: 15) and Winand (2001: 294–301). For similar examples on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods*, see the corresponding entries under §6.5.1 below.

Negative adverbial clause	line 4	*jw bn ḏrt n rmṯ nb jm=f* (§4.2.2, n. xviii)
	line 12	*jw bn ḏrt n mšʿ nb jm=f* (§4.2.2, n. xxxix)
mn for expressing non-existence	line 23	*mn spw ꜣḫw…*
jw used according to Late Egyptian syntax…		
- as circumstantial converter	line 3 (2x)	*jw=f* (*ḥr*) *hn n=k* (§4.2.2, n. xvi) *jw jb=f mḥ* [*jm=k*]
	line 4 (2x)	*jw bn ḏrt n rmṯ nb jm=f* (§4.2.2, n. xviii) [*j*]*w bw jr=f nkt m ḥwrʿ m ḫmt=k* (§4.2.2, nn. xix and xx)
	line 8	*jw=k* […]*=f* [… …] (§4.2.2, n. xxxiii)
	line 9 (?)	*jw=f m-bꜣḥ* [*ḥm=k*]… (§4.2.2, n. xxxv)
	line 12	*jw bn ḏrt n mšʿ nb jm=f…* (§4.2.2, n. xxxix)
- in a virtual relative clause	line 9 (?)	*jw=f m-bꜣḥ* [*ḥm=k*]… (§4.2.2, n. xxxv)
- at the head of a complement clause	line 15	*djw=j ḫpr=sn jw ḥꜣw n=w r pꜣjj=w ḫr-ḥꜣt* (§4.2.2, n. xlviii)
wn as preterite converter	line 13	*pꜣ ḥtp-nṯr wn m-bꜣḥ*
	line 16	*rꜣw-pr wn m wꜣsj*
ḫr as clause connector		
- preceding a preterite *sḏm=f*[688]	line 4	*ḫr dj=k ʿm* [*tꜣ nb ḫꜣst nbt r-ḏd*] (§4.2.2, nn. xxii and xxiii)
- in a cleft sentence, preceding an independent pronoun[689]	line 5	*ḫr ntk r.qd pr-ʿꜣ ʿnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb*
- *ḫr ptr* preceding a preterite *sḏm=f*[690]	line 21	*ḫr ptr wḏ pr-ʿꜣ ʿnḫ–wḏꜣ–snb rmṯ*

688 See n. 464 above. The example in line 4 of the stela is explicitly listed by Neveu (2001: 25) as a *ḫr* + preterite *sḏm=f* construction.

689 On *ḫr* + cleft sentences, see Neveu (2001: 62–64).

690 On *ḫr ptr* + preterite *sḏm=f*, see Neveu (2001: 133–135).

mj as clause connector[691]	line 31	*mj rdj.n=s*[*n*]…
ḏr sḏm=f construction[692]	line 8	[…… ……] *ḏr ptr=k pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb*
	line 13	*jw bn ḏrt n mšꜥ nb jm=f*… *ḏr ptr=k sw*
Masculine for the neuter[693]	line 3	[…] **[*j.*]*jrw pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb*…** (§4.2.2, n. xv)
	line 4	*p3* ***j.jr=k*** *n=j nb* (§4.2.2, n. xxi)
	line 5	*m* ***prjj*** *n r3=sn* (§4.2.2, n. xxv)
	line 6	*n*{*m*}<*3*> ***j.jr=f***
	line 10	***wn*** *m-b3ḥ*[694]
	line 12	***j.jr=k*** <*n*> *pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ–*[*wḏ3–snb*] (§4.2.2, n. xl)

4.2.3.2 Selected Lexical Features from the Southern Stela

4.2.3.2.1 Lexical Items Primarily Associated with Higher Written Registers Since the Early Eighteenth Dynasty

nsw bjtj Šmꜥw Mḥw
"the king of Upper and Lower Egypt of the South and the North"

scene and GDSN, scene

The somewhat redundant designation "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt of the South and the North" appears to be seldom attested in the record. Besides the examples in the two scenes of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, the only parallel known to me is the one in the scene of Thutmosis III's *Gebel Barkal Stela*.[695]

ngsgs
"to overflow"

line 13

The verb *ngsgs* "to overflow" is not attested before the New Kingdom and is not particularly frequent in the record.[696] Its use is strongly associated with higher written registers. One of the earliest examples of the verb occurs in the transverse hall of the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Iamunedjeh in Sheikh Abd

691 See n. 143 above.
692 See n. 467 above.
693 See n. 145 above.
694 Compare with column 31 of Hatshepsut's *Speos Artemidos Inscription* (*Urk.* IV 389, 2; Chappaz & Bickel 2024: 114–115, figs. 5.6–7; 128) where the same expression is still *wnt m-b3ḥ*.
695 *Urk.* IV 1227, 20.
696 Cf. *Ramsès*, lemma no. 109225; *TLA*, lemma no. 89710; *Wb. Belegst.* II 350.3–8.

el-Qurna (TT 84).[697] In the inscriptions of Ramesses III, it is also attested elsewhere: in the Medinet Habu inscriptions[698] and in his *Piety to Amun* I,[699] for instance.

4.2.3.2.2 Old Words and Expressions with Extended Applicability

r-ḏd
"that"

lines [4] (§4.2.2, n. xxiii) and 11

R-ḏd is employed as a grammaticalized complementizer introducing the object of the verb *ꜥm* "to know" as a separate clause in line 11 and conceivably also in line 4—a function it did not possess before the Eighteenth Dynasty.[700] In lines 23 and 27, it introduces a direct quote in accordance with its Earlier Egyptian role.

nkt (*n*)
"some"

line 4

Nkt (*n*) appears in the text in its evolved sense, as a Late Egyptian indefinite article. This usage is significantly more common in the lower written registers of the era than in royal texts,[701] but it is also found elsewhere in the Ramesside royal inscriptions—for example, in line 54 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*[702]—and is already present in the *Horemheb Decree*.[703]

4.2.3.2.3 Lexical Items Seldom or Not Attested Before the Amarna Period

pr-ꜥ3
"pharaoh"

lines 3, 4, 5 (2x), 6 (2x), 7 (3x), 8 (2x), 9 (2x), 10, 12 (2x), 13, 15, 16, 17 (2x), 18, 19 (2x), 21 (3x), 22, 23 (2x), 25 (2x), 26 (2x)

The first examples of *pr-ꜥ3* for "king" date to the time of Thutmosis III,[704] but the use of the word remains sporadic until the Amarna period.[705] On the southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, the word occurs no fewer than 34 times. Ramesside royal parallels exist, for instance, in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*,[706] in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory*

697 *Urk.* IV 951, 13.
698 See, e.g., K*RI* V 306, 7.
699 K*RI* V 277, 4.
700 See n. 482 above.
701 Cf. *Ramsès*, lemma no. 101828; *TLA*, lemma no. 89440.
702 K*RI* I 54, 9.
703 *Urk.* IV 2150, 12; cited by Winand (1992: 156, ex. 345).
704 See, e.g., *Urk.* IV 583, 3 and 10; 770, 16; 1248, 16. Cf. also *Urk.* IV 1618, 13; noted by Stauder (2013a: 83–84).
705 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 60430; *Wb. Belegst.* I 516.5.
706 K*RI* I 53, 4 and 13–14; 55, 6.

	Inscription,[707] and in Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*.[708]
m-mnt (adv.) "daily"	lines 18 and 23 The adverb does not appear in the record before the Amarna period.[709]
ḫjj (exclamatory particle)	lines 11 and 20 The exclamatory use of the particle—although already documented in the Second Intermediate Period—only becomes frequent in the second half of the New Kingdom.[710]
sṯḥn "to make glisten"	line 14 and GDSN 10 The verb does not appear in the record until the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. See above, *sṯḥn* under §3.4.2.3.
šn "tree"	line 14 The word as a generic term for "tree" is attested from the early Eighteenth Dynasty onwards[711] but becomes frequent only in and after the Amarna period.[712] It occurs also in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*[713] and on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*,[714] for instance.
šrj "son, child"	lines 3, 5 (2x), 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 21, 25 *Šrj* used in the sense of "son, child" is first documented in the Eighteenth Dynasty,[715] on *Papyrus Astarte* (lines 1.3 and 3.y), a manuscript that dates to the time of Amenhotep II.[716] In the Amarna period and in Ramesside times, *šrj* becomes a frequent substitute for its more ancient equivalent, *s3*.[717] On the Southern Stela, it is attested 11 times.

707 K*RI* II 327, 4.
708 K*RI* IV 5, 11 and 13; and probably also 9, 12 (see Manassa 2003: 61) and *RITA* IV 8).
709 See n. 486 above.
710 Compare references under §3.4.2.3 for the same entry.
711 See n. 494 above.
712 See n. 495 above.
713 K*RI* I 47, 16.
714 See line 21 of the text under §3.2.3.4 and n. lxxxiii under §3.3.
715 The *Coffin Texts* example listed with the signification "Kind, Kabe" by Hannig (H*ÄW* II 2479b) still has *šrj* in its primary sense, meaning "to be small" (CT VI 40g).
716 Collombert & Coulon (2000: 210–216).
717 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 156650.

4.2.3.2.4 Lexical Items Seldom Attested in Monumental Inscriptions Before Ramesside Times

m-kf3 — line 23
"at all" — The expression first appears on the *Stela of Usersatet*, in the transcription of Amenhotep II's letter to the vizier.[718] Also later on, in the Ramesside era, *m-kf3* remains associated with the non-monumental forms of written production.[719]

nkt (*n*) — line 4
"some" — See above, under §4.2.3.2.2.

4.2.3.2.5 Lexical Items Not Attested in Monumental Inscriptions Before Ramesside Times

ꜥm — lines 4, 10, 11, 14–15
"to know" — The verb *ꜥm* with the meaning "to know" is seldom attested before the Ramesside era[720] and does not occur in monumental texts before the time of Merenptah.[721]

r-ḏd — lines [4] (§4.2.2, n. xxiii) and 11
"that" — On *r-ḏd* employed as a grammaticalized complementizer introducing the object of the verb *ꜥm* "to know" as a separate clause, see the corresponding entry above, under §4.2.3.2.2.

tl — lines 6, [9], 10, [15], 20, 21, [26]
"prowess, vigor"[722] — The word first appears in royal monumental texts in the Ramesside period but is attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.[723]

4.2.3.2.6 Lexical Items Not Attested Before Ramesside Times

jj3 — lines 6 and 11
"indeed" — The Late Egyptian particle *jj3* has so far been observed only in lower written registers of the Ramesside era.[724] In monu-

718 *Urk.* IV 1344, 9 and 11.
719 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 164140; there are only nine Ramesside entries to *m-kf3* (lemma no. 104550) in *Ramsès* (accessed 23 April 2025) besides those on the *Stela of Usersatet*—all of them from non-monumental texts.
720 See n. 503 above.
721 See the first entry under §3.4.2.5 with n. 504 above.
722 On the context-specific translation of *tl* in lines 6, 10, 15, 20, 21, and 26, see §4.2.2, n. xxx; and on its rendering in line 9, see §4.2.2, n. xxxiv.
723 See n. 242 above.
724 Thus, all examples in Neveu (1992: 23–27).

mental inscriptions, *jj3* seems to be uncommon. Besides the examples on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, only Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela*[725] seems to have a few further attestations in the royal corpus, but the word is also documented at least once in the contemporary private monumental sphere.[726]

wbḫt
"brightness, clarity"

lines [5], 7, 19, 26
While the Earlier Egyptian verb *wbḫ* "to be bright" is not infrequent in the record,[727] the noun *wbḫt* "brightness, clarity" is attested in not more than two texts securely so far:[728] in the present inscription and in line 32 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela.*[729] Moreover, the example from the reign of Ramesses IV provides a close phraseological parallel to the recurring passage containing *wbḫt* on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, which suggests that *wbḫt* could be an idiosyncratic expression originating in the time of Ramesses III and first attested on the Southern Stela (see also §4.4.1).

n-ȝbjj (prep.)
"because of,
for the purpose of"

line 12
N-ȝbjj is a Ramesside compound preposition generally associated with lower written registers.[730] In the present corpus, it also occurs on the right margin of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*.[731]

725 K*RI* VI 19, 10 and 13; 20, 1.

726 An example is found in the first column of the text accompanying the Opening of the Mouth ritual in TT 382, the tomb of Usermontu, from the early Twentieth Dynasty. Here, the particle is written as  . A similar spelling—one with a double *alef*—is attested also on a Twentieth Dynasty ostracon from the King's Valley (oKV 18/6.888 = oBTdK 805; Dorn 2011: 478; pls. 709–711). I thank Sayed Soliman for the reference in TT 382.

727 The verb *wbḫ* "to be bright" is already present in CT VII 263a.

728 The example referenced in pHarris 500, recto 7.4 (Mathieu 1996: pl. 13) by *Wb. Belegst.* I 296.1 is probably just another instance of the stem *wbḫ* "to be bright" (similarly understood by Mathieu 1996: 64 and 78, n. 248). In the case of the word *wbḫt* in line 3 of oTurin 57001 (K*RI* VI 68, 15), the context and the determinative of the word () make it clear that the group has to be interpreted as "clean clothing" (similarly, Bickel & Mathieu 1993: 43 vs. *RITA* VI 66).

729 See under §6.3.3.3.4; cited also below, under §4.4.1.

730 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 79040.

731 See under §6.3.2.2.

ḥn(*n*) *n* "to assent to, to rely on"	lines 3, 11, and GDSN 3 The expression *ḥn*(*n*) *n* "to assent to, to rely on" is typically Ramesside.[732]
ḥwrʿ "to steal, to rob"	line 4 The verb *ḥwrʿ*—employed here as an infinitive and therefore translated as "theft"—is not documented before Ramesside times[733] but is also present in line 35 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*,[734] in columns 18 and 19 of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*,[735] in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions,[736] in line 13 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods*,[737] as well as in pHarris I 3.9 and 75.5.
ḥrw (prep.) "except"	line 12 The preposition, which generally occurs as *ḥrw-r* in earlier times,[738] is found in its shortened Ramesside form in the text.[739] Another monumental example of *ḥrw* "except" is found in the Abu Simbel version of Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*.[740] Note the use of the earlier synonym *wpw-ḥr* "except"[741] in a very similar formulation in line 3 of the Northern Stela.[742]
Ḫnsw m W3st nfr ḥtp Ḥr "Khons-in-Thebes-Neferkhetep-Horus"	scene and GDSN, scene (§4.3.2, n. ii); right margin, column 2 (§4.3.2, n. ix) Khons-in-Thebes-Neferkhetep-Horus is a Ramesside composite.[743]

732 Vernus (1978: 135, n. 122) with reference to Lefebvre (1929: 8–9). Cf. also *TLA*, lemma no. 98810; *Wb. Belegst.* II 494.15–16.

733 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 103170; *Wb. Belegst.* III 56.8–13.

734 K*RI* I 51, 13.

735 K*RI* IV 4, 8 and 4, 9.

736 K*RI* V 26, 4; 58, 9; and 76, 6.

737 See under §6.3.3.3.2.

738 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* III 146.7. The royal inscriptions of the Eighteenth Dynasty, for instance, still used the preposition in its earlier, longer form, as *ḥrw-r* (see, e.g., *Urk.* IV 1237, 3).

739 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* III 146.9.

740 K*RI* II 242, 8. The Karnak version of the text has another later variant of the preposition *ḥrw-r* (*see Wb. Belegst.* III 146.8): *ḥrw-ḥr* (K*RI* II 242, 9).

741 G*EG* §179.

742 For the comparison of the two passages, see §4.4.2 below.

743 *LGG* V 765c–766b.

ḫrtw "declaration, decree, oracle"	line 5 (§4.3.2, n. xxvi) From the end of the New Kingdom onwards, the phrase *ḫr=tw* "(so) one says" is often used as a lexicalized expression referring to a declaration made by a divinity.[744] The example in line 5 of the Southern Stela is likely the first attestation in stone.
ḫr-ḥ3t (n.) "former"	lines 14 and 15 The substantival use of the expression is a Ramesside development.[745] As an attributive genitive (as in GDSS 14 and, e.g., in pHarris I 34b.11), the former adverb is first attested in Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*.[746] In pHarris I 37b.3, the expression is preceded by a possessive article, as in line 15 of the present text.[747]
sḥn "order, task, commission"	lines 11, 21, 22 *Sḥn* as a noun is not attested before the New Kingdom.[748] In the monumental record, it is first found under Seti I[749] but is also present in line 18 of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*.[750]
sšmw-ḫw "holy images"	lines 16 The expression *sšmw-ḫw* "holy images" is not documented in pre-Ramesside times,[751] but it also occurs in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions[752] and pHarris I (6.12 and 11.1), for instance.
šnʿw wš3 3pdw "poultry farms"	line 22 The expression is not attested outside the present inscription and pHarris I (8.11, 27.6, 46.3, 48.1).[753]

744 Cf. Winand (2017a: 477–479).
745 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* III 23.21–24.
746 K*RI* II 357, 1; also noted by Meeks (*AL* 79.1877).
747 The similarity was also noted by Grandet (1994: II, 150, n. 594).
748 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 140790; *Wb. Belegst.* IV 217.1–16.
749 In line 8 of Seti I's *Year 9 Larger Aswan Stela* (K*RI* I 74, 12).
750 See under §5.2.2.5.
751 *AL* 79.2779; *Wb. Belegst*. III 245.8–9.
752 K*RI* V 119, 5.
753 *Wb. Belegst.* I 369.5. For further references, see Grandet (1994: II, 49, n. 189). On the practice of poultry fattening in Egypt, see the ancient scene in the tomb of Ti (Wreszinski 1936: pl. 83A).

qrrw
"burnt offering"

lines [27], 30 and GDSN 31
The *Great Double Stela* seems to have the first attestations of *qrrw* "burnt offering," a Semitic loan word with the original meaning "holocaust."[754] In GDSS 27, it falls into a lacuna, but the examples in GDSS 30 and GDSN 31 are unambiguous.

ḏrj mj ḥmt (adv.)
"adamantly"

line 29 (§4.3.2, n. lxix)
Ḏrj mj ḥmt is a set expression for "adamantly," which is not attested in pre-Ramesside times and is predominantly used in lower written registers.[755] The adverbial use of the word *ḏrj* is itself only traceable from the second half of the New Kingdom onwards.[756]

r-hꜣw (prep.)
"at the time of"

line 26
The original meaning of *r-hꜣw* is "in the neighborhood of." The preposition only has a few attestations with temporal value. All these date to the second half of the Ramesside period, and the present example is the only monumental one among them.[757]

r-šꜣʿ (prep.)
"until, down to"

line 24
The preposition is a Late Egyptian compound.[758] For further Ramesside royal examples, see the corresponding entry under §3.4.2.6 above.

nḫt (trans.)
"to strengthen"

line 7
Nḫt as a transitive verb is not attested before the Ramesside period and is typically used in higher written registers.[759]

754 Wilson (1997: 1066–1067).
755 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* V 599.15–16.
756 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 851617.
757 Further examples of *r-hꜣw* with temporal value include another instance from the time of Ramesses III, on an ostracon from Deir el-Medina (K*RI* V 621, 4; noted also by *AL* 78.2470), and two further instances on papyri from the reigns of Ramesses VI (K*RI* VI 337, 2) and Ramesses XI (K*RI* VI 787, 7; noted also by Černý & Groll 1975: 116, ex. 400).
758 See n. 525 above.
759 *Wb. Belegst.* II 315.1–4; *DZA* 25.255.210–310.

4.2.3.3 Selected Graphical Features from the Southern Stela

4.2.3.3.1 Spellings Following or Imitating Earlier Written Traditions

ḥmsi  line 3
"to sit"

An elaborate determinative (A63) has been added to the verb *ḥmsi* "to sit" in the phrase *p3jj=k šrj ḥms* "your enthroned son." Similar spellings are only sporadically attested and seem to be absent from the record before the Eighteenth Dynasty. Just a few meters away from Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, on the door jamb of the seventh pylon, there is another instance of a similar spelling from the time of Thutmosis III written with sign A51B:  .[760] Among the Ramesside royal inscriptions, Ramesses II's *Quban Stela* has the verb with sign A63 (),[761] while the *Hittite Treaty* with sign A63B ().[762] For a non-royal Eighteenth Dynasty example of *ḥmsi* written with the determinative of an official with a stick seated on a block-throne, see *Duties of the Vizier* R1.[763]

4.2.3.3.2 Graphical Features Uncommon Before Ramesside Times

m (prep.)  line 5 [*smtr*] *st n3 nbw Jwnw m prjj n r3=sn* (§4.2.2, nn. xxiv and xxv)
"in(to), as, with"

See above, under §2.4.3.2. The same expression as the one in line 5 of the Southern Stela is written with the preposition *n* for *m* also in pHarris I 44.6. For the comparison of the two passages, see Grandet.[764]

n (prep.)  line 4 *nkt m ḥwrˁ* (§4.2.2, n. xx)
"to, for, (because) of"

The preposition *n* is sometimes spelled as *m* since the Second Intermediate Period,[765] but this direction of the *m*/*n* interchange remains highly infrequent in monumental texts also in the Ramesside era. While this is the only example in the present corpus, parallels are known in line 9 of

760 *Urk.* IV 184, 17.
761 K*RI* II 355, 1 and 356, 11.
762 K*RI* II 227, 9.
763 See *Urk*. IV 1103, 17 with the commentary of Boorn (1988: 17; 25; 40–41; 293).
764 Grandet (1994: II, 165, n. 666).
765 Kroeber (1970: 45).

Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*[766] and column 76 of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*,[767] for instance.

4.2.3.3.3 Selected Ramesside Graphical Features

4.2.3.3.3.1 Regularly Attested Ramesside Graphical Features

jmm
"give!"

 lines 5, [6], 10, 11, 19 (2x), 20 (2x), 21, 24, 26 [2x]

The imperative of *rdi* consistently follows the new spelling of the form.[768]

w3si
"to be ruined, decayed"

 line 16

The spelling of the word corresponds to its Ramesside written form in the whole text (see also GDSN 32).[769]

wḏi
"to depart, to dispatch"

 lines 21 and 27 (2x)
and  ,


The verb is written in accordance with Ramesside graphical traditions on the Southern Stela.[770]

m m3w (adv.)
"anew"

 line 14

The spelling of the adverb *m m3w* "anew" is post-Amarnian.[771]

ngsgs
"to overflow"

 line 13

The spelling of the verb *ngsgs* "to overflow" (see under §4.2.3.2.1) includes features of the Late Egyptian group writing.[772] The word is written similarly in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions[773] and in pHarris I (4.4).

766 K*RI* II 355, 4.
767 K*RI* IV 11, 14.
768 See n. 293 above.
769 Cf. *Wb.* I 261; *DZA* 22.088.860–880 and *DZA* 31.565.990–566.010.
770 Cf. *DZA* 22.701.640–670.
771 See n. 296 above. Compare the present example with the spelling of the adverb in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (A1 and C7; see under §2.4.3.3.1) and on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (line 17; see under §3.4.3.3.1).
772 *DZA* 25.320.340.
773 See, e.g., K*RI* V 306, 7.

r³w-pr "temples"	and	lines [2] (§4.2.2, n. xiv), 16 (2x), 17, 18, 21, 22 (2x), 29, 30 and line 26

The plural form of the word follows Ramesside written conventions.[774]

šnwwt "granaries, barns"	, ,	lines 9, 13, [15], 22

The spelling of the word is kept typically Ramesside throughout the whole text.[775] Also Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription* features a similar spelling of the plural form of *šnwt* "granary, farm:" .[776]

djdj (passive *sḏm=f* of *rdi*)		line 13

The passive *sḏm=f* of the verb *rdi* is generally spelled with the duplication of sign D37 in Ramesside times.[777]

4.2.3.3.3.2 Ramesside Graphical Features Uncommon in Monumental Inscriptions

j. (prothetic *yod*)		line 5

The prothetic *yod* is spelled with an *r* () instead of a *j* (or)[778] in the Late Egyptian participle of the verb *qd* "to build, to form, to create" in line 5 of the Southern Stela: . Monumental parallels are scarce.[779] Another example is attested, however, in line 8 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (see under §6.3.3.3.1).

Jtm(*w*) "Atum"	and	lines 1 and 13

The inclusion of sign Z7 () in the spelling of the name of the deity is characteristic of the Ramesside hieratic practices.[780] The word is written similarly also on the northern half of the inscription (see under §4.3.3.3.3.2).

774 Christophe (1952: 26–28); see also *DZA* 25.803.940. Ramesses III's temple inspection inscription in Tod and Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* have the same spelling of the word (K*RI* V 232, 11 and K*RI* VI 13, 14).

775 *DZA* 30.169.440.

776 K*RI* II 331, 10.

777 Winand (1992: 305, §480).

778 Compare the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.3.1.

779 The statement is based on empirical evidence. In the corpus of the present study, less than 10% of all Late Egyptian participles have a prothetic *yod* spelled as . The distributional pattern of the prothetic *yod*'s graphical variants is not discussed in detail in the Egyptological literature, but Winand (1992: 161, §267 with n. 30; 344–345, §542; 376–377, §596) mentions that the spelling with an *r* () is generally seldom documented.

780 Cf. *Ramsès*, lemma no. 104155.

mnw(*w*)
"monument(s)"

 line 14

The written form of the word with the inclusion of sign A53 () reflects Ramesside non-monumental practices.[781] Under Ramesses II, spelling *mnw* with was, for instance, still limited to the non-monumental version of the *Qadesh Poem*.[782] On the *Great Double Stela*, only the Southern Stela applies the new spelling, line 10 of the Northern Stela has the more conventional .

ḥn
"to go fast, to hurry"

 line 27

The spelling of the verb *ḥn* "to go fast, to hurry" follows graphical conventions characteristic of the Ramesside non-monumental written production.[783]

ḫjj
(exclamatory particle)

 lines 11 and 20

The spelling of the exclamatory particle *ḫjj* employed by the Southern Stela was not yet admitted to the monumental sphere under Ramesses II. The *Qadesh Poem* presents a clear graphical distinction in the spelling of the particle between the monumental and non-monumental versions of the text: or (in stone) vs. (pSallier III).[784] In line 14 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, the particle is similarly spelled without sign A2 (),[785] whereas the two copies of Ramesses III's *Gold Tablet Prayer* already use the two graphical forms parallel to one another.[786]

ḫr (prep.)
"under"

 line 13

The spelling of the preposition may include sign Z4 () from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.[787] The new spelling is mainly used on papyri and ostraca and is only marginally present in stone.[788]

781 Cf. *DZA* 24.059.370–420; see also pHarris I 4.8, 5.6, and 5.7.

782 Compare K*RI* II 36, 1–3 vs. 4 and 62, 1–3 vs. 4.

783 Cf. *DZA* 26.885.660–690.

784 K*RI* II 62, 1–3 vs. 4 and K*RI* II 75, 12–15 vs. 16. On the walls of a Nineteenth Dynasty private tomb (TT 194), the particle is written similarly as (Assmann 1978: 26). Compare the phenomenon with the omission of sign A2 in the spelling of the prothetic *yod* on the northern half of the *Great Double Stela* (§4.3.2, nn. xxxvi and lxxviii; *j.* under §4.3.3.3.1).

785 K*RI* IV 29, 11.

786 in K*RI* V 233, 2 vs. in K*RI* V 233, 1.

787 *Wb.* III 386.

788 Cf. *Ramsès*, lemma no. 103039.

4.2.3.3.3.3 Seldom Attested Ramesside Graphical Features

ʿwt
"limbs"

 lines 5, [7], 19, [26]

The spelling regularly used by the Southern Stela for *ʿwt* "limbs" is highly uncommon.[789] The two other currently known Ramesside examples are found in the Ramesseum version of Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*[790] and in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[791]

Šmʿw Mḥw
"the South and the North"

 scene and line 16

The Southern Stela consistently applies a later graphical variant for writing *Šmʿw Mḥw* "the South and the North."[792] Line 32 of the Northern Stela has the more conventional  . In the *Elephantine Decree* attributed to Ramesses III,[793] the phrase is similarly written as .[794]

4.2.3.3.4 Idiosyncratic Graphical Solutions

wbȝ
"domain"

 line 20 (§4.2.2, n. lviii)

The use of sign D139 () instead of sign D6 () as a classifier is remarkable in the spelling of the word *wbȝ* "domain."[795] The only comparable example that dates before Ptolemaic and Roman times comes from a Nineteenth Dynasty private stela. Here, *wbȝ* is spelled as , that is, with sign D7D as a classifier.[796]

789 Cf. *DZA* 21.557.210 and 230.
790 K*RI* II 54, 1.
791 K*RI* V 85, 2.
792 Cf. *DZA* 30.083.070–130 and *DZA* 24.282.550–590.
793 See, however, n. 419 above.
794 K*RI* V 345, 9.
795 Cf. *DZA* 22.244.770–780 and *DZA* 22.245.150 with the present example. The phenomenon is also observable elsewhere on the Southern Stela. The verb *ʿm* "to know" (see under §4.2.3.2.5) is written, for instance, with sign D138 in line 10 () but not in lines 4, 11, and 14–15. For examples on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, see the spelling of the interjection *ptr* "look, behold" and the verb *ḫsȝ* "to be wild" cited under §6.5.3.4 or the spelling of the verb *dgi* "to behold" under §6.5.3.3.1. For an example on Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela*, see n. 917 below.
796 K*RI* III 653, 9.

rmṯ
"people"

 line 20

The spelling of the word *rmṯ* "people" reflects the semantics of the preceding word, *ḏd*, in a playful manner, by substituting sign A1 () with sign A2 ().[797]

ḥtp-nṯr
"divine offering"

 line 22

The last two signs of the group overlap.[798] The spelling is probably the result of a carving mistake. Sign N18 () was perhaps only added secondarily: over the already incised plural strokes. In lines 9, 13, 14, and 15, the spelling is invariably .

ḫmt
(Late Egyptian infinitival form of *ḫm* "to not know")

 line 4

The Late Egyptian infinitival form of the verb *ḫm* incorporates the word *mw* "water" at the graphical level. The spelling may result from a playful association of *mw* "water" with the closing syllable of *ḫmt*. It is conceivable that the two sounded alike by Ramesside times. The third-person plural pseudoparticiple of the verb *ḫm* "to not know" is spelled in a similar way in GDSN 19 (see under §4.3.3.3.4).

sꜣu
"to protect"

 line 7

Sign A47 () has been confused with A40E (): vs. . The spelling appears to be unparalleled in the Ramesside period.[799]

sḥḏ
"to illuminate"

 right margin, column 1 (§4.2.2, n. vii)

The defective spelling of the verb may result from an intended wordplay between two conceptually related words: *sḥḏ* "to illuminate" and *sḏt* "fire, flame."

šnw
"trees"

 line 14

The spelling of the word *šnw* "trees" in line 14 of the Southern Stela seems to be unprecedented to date.[800]

797 For a similar exchange attested in the spelling of the term *smdt* from the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty onwards due to the influence of the verb *mdw* "to speak," see Gabler (2018: 26–29).

798 Noted also by Kitchen (K*RI* V 245, n. 15a).

799 Compare with later practices from Ptolemaic and Roman times (*DZA* 28.546.210).

800 Cf. also *DZA* 30.147.330. The spelling is not recorded in *Ramsès* (lemma no. 101358; accessed 24 April 2025).

tl lines 6, [9], 10, [15], 20, 21, [26]

"prowess, vigor"[801]

The word *tl* "prowess, vigor" features a defective spelling throughout the text by lacking sign N35 () and the plural strokes (). This spelling is rarely attested in the Ramesside period—and is potentially limited to the present text—but becomes frequent in Ptolemaic and Roman times.[802]

4.3 The Northern Stela

4.3.1 Transliteration and Translation of the Northern Stela

4.3.1.1 The Opening Scene of the Northern Stela[803]

In the fragmentary opening scene, the king appears kneeling in front of the Theban triad, Amun, Mut, and Khons, while receiving life, dominion, and jubilees from Amun. The Theban triad is followed by the figure of Victorious Thebes,[804] whereas behind the king, Thoth is depicted counting the years of Ramesses III's reign.[805]

The royal name above the Winged Disk (above the scene):

Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn
Rᶜ-ms-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw

---

801 On the context-specific translation of *tl* in lines 6, 10, 15, 20, 21, and 26, see §4.2.2, n. xxx; and on its rendering in line 9, see §4.2.2, n. xxxiv.

802 Cf. *DZA* 31.118.160–220. According to *DZA* 31.118.180, the spelling is attested only in Karnak ("Karnak 788, 789, 799"). Two of the internal *DZA*-references point to the southern part of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (see *DZA* 31.120.500 for "Karnak 789" [line 10], *DZA* 31.118.290 for "Karnak 799" [line 20], and *DZA* 31.120.510 [line 21] with the reference "Karnak 800"). I could not locate the third slip (with ref. "Karnak 788"), but it is likely that also that one referred to the present inscription (to its line 6 specifically), which would possibly mean that this spelling remained limited to the *Great Double Stela* until Ptolemaic and Roman times. The spelling is absent from *Ramsès* (lemmas nos. 102879 [verb/adjective] and 102881 [noun]; accessed 24 April 2025).

803 A large part of the scene was first published by Le Saout (1982: pl. 7, 6c) but is, nonetheless, missing from Kitchen's transcript of the text (K*RI* V 238). These sections—the captions to Khons and Thebes, Thoth's speech, the caption behind Thebes, and the beginning of the caption behind Thoth—are translated and commented here for the first time.

804 It is not unusual to find the figure of Victorious Thebes in the lunette of the stela, especially not in the *cour de la cachette* (Le Saout 1982: 237, n. 136). Royal inscriptions regularly employed this motif from the Second Intermediate Period onwards (Vernus 1982c, 133, n. g; pl. 1) to express the king's close and loving relationship to Thebes. One of the famous, dual representations of the personified deity is found in the scene of Thutmosis III's *Poetical Stela* (Spalinger 2008: 252). The concept of Victorious Thebes originates in the middle of the Eleventh Dynasty and survives into the time of Ptolemaios Euergetes II (Spalinger 2008: 248–255 and 2013: 112–114).

805 Le Saout (1982: 237; pl. 7).

Usermaatre Meriamun;
Ramesses Heqaiunu.

Amun's speech:

[1]|*ḏd-mdw jn Jmn*-[*Rᶜ*] […]
[2]|*ḏj.n*(=*j*) *n*=*k ᶜnḫ ḏd* [*wꜣs nb*] […] *mj Rᶜ* [*ḏt*]

[1]|Words spoken by Amun-[Re] […]:
[2]|"I hereby[i] give you [all] life, stability, and [dominion] […] like Re [forever]."

Mut:

Mwt [… *rest lost* …]

Mut [… *rest lost* …].

Khons:

Ḫnsw m [*Wꜣst nfr ḥtp Ḥr*] [… *rest lost* …]

Khons-in-[Thebes-Neferkhetep-Horus],[ii] [… *rest lost* …].

Thebes:

[1]|*Wꜣst nḫtt* [*nbt*] [2]|*ḫpšt ḥnwt tꜣw nb* [… …]

[1]|Victorious Thebes, [lady][iii] [2]|of the sword, mistress of all lands, [… …].

Caption behind Thebes (left side of the scene):

wnn nsw [*nb tꜣwj Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn ḫᶜ*].*w m nsw bjtj Šmᶜw Mḥw mj Rᶜ ḏt*

It is[iv] as the king of Upper and Lower Egypt of the South and the North[v] that the king, [lord of the two lands, Usermaatre Meriamun] has [appeared][vi] like Re forever.

Text above the king:

nb tꜣwj Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ [*Mr-Jmn*] *nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-*[*sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw*] *dj ᶜnḫ mj Rᶜ*

Lord of the two lands, Usermaatre [Meriamun], lord of diadems, Ramess[es Heqaiunu]—given life like Re!

Thoth's speech:

[1]|*ḏd-md*[*w jn*] [… …]
[2]|[… …] *n*=*k ḫfnw* [3]|*m ḥbw-sd ḏt* [4]|[*m*] *qnj* [*n*]*ḫ*[*t*]

[1]|Wor[ds] spoken [by] [… …]:
[2]|"[… …] you hundreds of thousands [3]|of jubilees and an eternity [4]|[in] valor and [vic]to[ry]."[vii]

Caption behind Thoth (right side of the scene):

[*wn*]*n nsw nb tꜣwj Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn ḫᶜ.w ḥr st Ḥr mj Rᶜ ḏ*[*t*]

[It i]s[viii] on the throne of Horus that the king, lord of the two lands, Usermaatre Meriamun has appeared like Re for[ever].

4.3.1.2 The Margins of the Northern Stela

4.3.1.2.1 Columns on the Right Side

[1]|[*Ḥr kꜣ nḫt*] *ᶜꜣ nsjjt*
nsw bjtj ḥqꜣ ꜥwt-jb nb tꜣwj [*Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn*]
sꜣ Rᶜ tjt=f ḏsrt nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw [*mrjj*] *Jmn-Rᶜ pꜣwtj* [*tꜣwj*] [… …] [*dj ᶜnḫ mj Rᶜ ḏt*]
[2]|[*Ḥr kꜣ nḫt*] *ᶜꜣ nsjjt*
nsw bjtj [… …] [*nb tꜣwj Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jm*]*n*
sꜣ Rᶜ n ḥt=f mr=f nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw [*mrjj*] *Ḫnsw m* [*Wꜣst nfr ḥtp Ḥr*] […] [*dj ᶜnḫ mj Rᶜ ḏt*]

[1]|[Horus: strong bull], great in kingship;
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: ruler of joy, lord of the two lands, [Usermaatre Meriamun];
son of Re: his holy image, lord of diadems, Ramesses Heqaiunu, [beloved of] Amun-Re, the primordial one of [the two lands] [… …] [—given life like Re forever!]
[2]|[Horus: strong bull], great in kingship;
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: [… …] [lord of the two lands, Usermaatre Meriam]un;
bodily son of Re: his beloved, lord of diadems, Ramesses Heqaiunu, [beloved of] Khons-in-[Thebes-Neferkhetep-Horus],[ix] […] [—given life like Re forever!]

4.3.1.2.2 Columns on the Left Side

[1]|[*Ḥr kꜣ nḫt ᶜꜣ nsjjt*
nsw bjtj] *ḥqꜣ psḏt 9 nb tꜣwj Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn*
sꜣ Rᶜ mrjj nṯrw nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw [*mrjj*] *Jmn-Rᶜ nb* [… *4 groups lost* …] [*dj ᶜnḫ*] *mj Rᶜ ḏt*
[2]|[*Ḥr kꜣ nḫt ᶜꜣ nsjjt*
nsw bjtj] *tjt Jmn nb tꜣwj Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn*
sꜣ Rᶜ n ḥt=f mr=f nb ḫᶜw [*Rᶜ-ms*]*-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw* [*mrjj*] *Mwt wrt* [… … …] [*dj ᶜnḫ*] *mj Rᶜ ḏt*

[1]|[Horus: strong bull, great in kingship;
king of Upper and Lower Egypt:] ruler of the Nine Bows, lord of the two lands, Usermaatre Meriamun;
son of Re, beloved of the gods, lord of diadems, Ramesses[x] Heqaiunu, [beloved of] Amun-Re, lord of […], [… … …][—given life] like Re forever!

[2]|[Horus: strong bull, great in kingship;
king of Upper and Lower Egypt:] image of Amun, lord of the two lands, Usermaatre Meriamun;
bodily son of Re: his beloved, lord of diadems, [Rames]ses Heqaiunu, beloved of Mut, the mighty and [… … …]—gi[ven life] like Re forever!

4.3.1.3 The Main Text of the Northern Stela

4.3.1.3.1 Overview of the Main Structural Elements

Dateline and titulary	lines 1–2
The king's address to Amun-Re	lines 3–8
jnk sꜣ=k… "I am your son…"	line 3
n ḫꜣst tm jj n=j m [*ks*]… "There is no foreign land that would not come to me in [obeisance]…"	line 5–6
Introduction to Amun-Re's address to the king	lines 8–10
[*wḏ*].*n=f m-ḫ*[*f*]*t-ḥr n pr=f…* "He has [decreed] in front of his temple…"	line 8
jt Jmn pꜣwtj tpjj ḫwjj=f [*Ḥr*]… "The father, Amun, the primordial god, the first one, protects [Horus]…"	line 9
Amun-Re's address to the king	lines 11–30
dj[ʾ.*n*(=*j*) *n=k*ʾ] *ḥbw-sd n Tꜣ-ṯnn…* "[ʾI hereby ʾ] give [ʾyou ʾ] jubilees of Tatenen, …"	line 12/C6[806]
rdj.n=j pḏt 9 ḫr ṯbtj=k… "I hereby place the Nine Bows under your sandals, …"	line 15
šf[*t*]*=k ʿq.n=s m tꜣ=*[*s*]*n…* "Your esteem, it has entered [th]eir land, …"	line 19
jstw […]… "Now, […]…"	line 26

806 In relation to Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, the sigla C1, C2, etc. refer to the text preserved on Fragment C belonging to lines 7–14 of the left-hand text (Paksi 2017). They are always mentioned together with a reference to the corresponding main line in the Northern Stela (cf. n. 541) and thereby differ from the references to Text C of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (Chapter 2), which always stand alone.

End of text lines 31–32

[… … …]… *mj rdj*[*.n*]=*sn*… lines 30–31
"[… … …]… because they [have] given…"

4.3.1.3.2 Dateline and Titulary

[1]|*ḥsbt 20 ꜣbd 2 šmw sw ḥḥw n rnpwt ḫfnw m ḥbw-sd ḏt* [*m qnt nḫt*] […*15 groups lost* …] *tꜣw ḥ*ᶜ*pjw wrw*
*jn Jmn-R*ᶜ *nsw nṯrw wḏ st n sꜣ=f mrjj=f*

[2]|ᶜ*nḫ Ḥr kꜣ nḫt* ᶜꜣ *nsjjt*
nbtj wr ḥbw-sd mj Tꜣ-tnn
Ḥr nbw [*wsr rnpwt*] *mj Jtmw jtjj mk Kmt w*ᶜ[*f*] *ḫꜣswt*
*nsw bjtj nb tꜣwj Wsr-mꜣᶜt-R*ᶜ *Mr-Jmn*
sꜣ [*R*ᶜ] *nb ḫ*ᶜ*w R*ᶜ*-ms-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw mrjj Jmn-R*ᶜ *nb nswt tꜣwj ḫntj Jpt-swt dj* ᶜ*nḫ*

[1]|Year 20, second month of summer, the day[xi] of millions of[xii] years, hundreds of thousands of jubilees, eternity [in valor and victory][xiii] […15 groups lost …] lands, and great Nile-floods:
it is Amun-Re, king of the gods, who decreed these for his beloved son.

[2]|May Horus live: strong bull, great in kingship;
Two Ladies: rich in jubilees like Tatenen;
Golden Horus: [rich in years] like Atum, sovereign, protector of Egypt who curbs the foreign lands;
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: lord of the two lands, Usermaatre Meriamun;
son of [Re]: lord of diadems, Ramesses Heqaiunu, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, who presides over Karnak—given life!

4.3.1.3.3 The King's Address to Amun-Re

[3]|*nsw ḏs=f ḏd=f ḫr jt=f Jmn-R*ᶜ *nsw nṯrw nb pt ḥqꜣ Wꜣst*

[3]|The king himself speaks to his father, Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes:

jnk sꜣ=k
pr.n=j ḫntj=k
rdj.n=k wj r nsw
jw=j m swḥt
jw bn ḏrt n kjj jm=j wpw-ḥr=k
hn=j n {*r*}<*rꜣ*>[xiv]*=k wr*
mḥ=j m sḫrw=k ḥr jrt n=k [4]|*ꜣḫw m jb mrw*

ntk nb ᶜꜣ *n mḥ jb jm=f nḫw n* [*ḫn*]*ḫn=f*
tꜣw mw ᶜ*nḫ m ḫf*ᶜ*=k*

wḏ3 snb ḫr=k
s3w rnpt n p3 sḫ3 rn=k wr
mk ḥ^{c}w p3 ptr=k
dj=k n=j rstw mḥtw [5]*|jmntt j3btt mjtt jrjj*

jnk s3[=k] smsw {r}<jr> ḫr mw=k [hr] n p3 dw3t=k
nw=k r=j m jmjj-sš r pḫjj swt r hrw pn
ḫw=k (w)j
jrjj=k swḏ3 ḥ^{c}w=j
dr=k n=j pḏt 9

"I am your son,
I have come forth before you.
You have assigned me to be king,
while[xv] I was in the egg
(and) there was no other hand with me but yours;
as I rely on your mighty word
(and) fill myself with your devotion[xvi] upon carrying out [4]|benefactions for you with loving heart.

You are the great lord of the one who fills the(/his) heart with him and the protector of the one who [app]roaches him.[xvii]
Air, water and life are in your grip,[xviii]
prosperity and health are with you;
enduring protection[xix] belongs to the one who remembers your mighty name,
secured is the body of the one whom you behold,[xx]
as you give me the southern and the northern territories [5]|as well as the West and the East likewise.

I am [your] eldest son, who acts on your water (i.e., who is loyal to you), [content / and who is content][xxi] with your praise:
you look after me as a fledgling to reach even[xxii] the present day,
protect me,
preserve my body,[xxiii]
(and) subdue the Nine Bows for me.

n ḫ3st tm jj n=j [6]*|m [ks] […* 8 groups lost *…] r[… …] qnj*
wrš=j ḫr ḥḥj spw mnḫw
r jr=w n jt=j Jmn-R^{c} nb nswt t3wj ḫntj Jpt-swt
ḫrp=j n=k b3kw n ḫ3st nb
mntk[xxiv] *jnt=s(n)*

There is no[xxv] foreign land that would not come to me [6]|in [obeisance][xxvi] […8 groups lost …] ?to? […] mighty […],
as I spend my time seeking out beneficent deeds

to do them for my father, Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands who presides over Karnak,
(and) present to you the revenues of every foreign land:
yours being what they bring.

pd.n=j šs
7|[…].*n*[…]
[… …]*p*[xxvii]*=j n=k*
wꜣwꜣ[…] [ʾ*sḥ*ʾ] [… …] [ʾ*ḥwt-nṯr*ʾ]*=k*
[ʾ*gm*ʾ]*=tw* [ʾ*sj wꜣs*ʾ]
n[… …] *m jnr ḥḏ nfr* [*n*] *r*[*wḏ*] *sbꜣw m ḏᶜm*
r[*n*[xxviii]*=s wr m pr Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn / Rᶜ-ms-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw*] *sḥb Wꜣst*
ms[*.n*]*=j ᶜḫmw* 8|*m* [… …] *grḥt* (*/grḥ.t*) *r ᶜḥᶜw=s*
[*ḥwt*]*t-nṯr=s*[*n m*] *ḏᶜm*
m jr sꜣ
jb=f ḥᶜwjj m nṯr ꜣḫ pr.n=f m ḥᶜw=f

I have stretched the cord,
7|[…] have […],
[…] I (i.e., the king)[xxix] […] to you,
[…] forge[…] [ʾplan(s)ʾ][xxx] [… …] your [ʾtempleʾ],
which was [ʾfound ruinedʾ],[xxxi]
[… … …][xxxii] of sandstone,[xxxiii] and the doors of electrum,
[its great name being] [The-House-of-Usermaatre-Meriamun]-who-Makes-Thebes-Festive / [The-House-of-Ramesses-Heqaiunu]-who-Makes-Thebes-Festive.[xxxiv]
I have fashioned cult images 8|in [… …] finished[xxxv] to its stance,
th[eir tem]ple [being of] electrum,
as does a son
whose heart rejoices in the glorious god whose body he has come forth from."

4.3.1.3.4 Introduction to Amun-Re's Address to the King

[… *4 groups lost* …]
[*wḏ*]*.n=f m-ḫ*[*f*]*t-ḥr n pr=f*
wb[*n.n=f m-ḫn*]*w=f*
Jmn 9|*pr*[*.n=f m ḥᶜw*]*=f*
jn nṯr j.jr[xxxvi] *sw ḏs=f*
šsp=f […] *psḏt*{*t*}*=f*
jsw m ᶜnḫ ḏd wꜣs ḫfnw m ḥbw-sd ᶜšꜣwt wrw ḥr[… *4 groups lost* …]

[… 4 groups lost …]
He has [decreed][xxxvii] in front of his temple
[(and) has] appear[ed inside] it:
Amun, 9|whose [body he had] come forth [from].

It was the god who made him (/ did it)[xxxviii] himself,[xxxix]
taking […] his Ennead,
[…][xl] reward in life, stability, and dominion; hundreds of thousands of jubilees, and a great multitude of [… 4 groups lost …].

jt Jmn pꜣwtj tpjj ḫwjj=f [*Ḥr*] […]
[*nsw*] *bjtj jṯ tꜣwj* [10]|*m* [*wsr*]*w=f Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn*
sꜣ Rᶜ nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-[*sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw dj*] *ᶜnḫ ḏt sp-2*
s(*t*)*ḥn Wꜣst nḥḥ*
nfrw=s mj ꜣḫt nt pt
psḏt ᶜꜣt jmw=s m ḥk[*nw*] […. *3 groups lost* …]
mj mꜣꜣ=sn mnw wrw n nsw bjtj Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-[*Jmn sꜣ Rᶜ*] *Rᶜ-ms-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw dj ᶜnḫ*

The father,[xli] Amun, the primordial god, the first one, protects [Horus] […],
[king of Upper and] Lower Egypt: who seizes the two lands [10]|with his [streng]th,[xlii] Usermaatre Meriamun;
son of Re: lord of diadems, Ramess[es Heqaiunu—given] life forever and ever!—
who makes Thebes glisten forever,
its beauty being like that of the horizon of the sky
when the Great Ennead in it is prai[sing] […. 3 groups lost …],
as they see the great monuments of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermaatre Meri[amun; son of Re]: Ramesses Heqaiunu—given life!

4.3.1.3.5 Amun-Re's Address to the King

[11]|*ḏ*[*d*] *jn Jmn-Rᶜ nsw nṯrw n sꜣ=f pr m ḥᶜw=f*

[11]|Spo[ken] by Amun-Re, king of the gods, to his son who came forth from his body:

[*Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ*] *Mr-Jmn*
sꜣ Rᶜ Rᶜ-ms-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw
sꜣ=j mrjj=j nsw nḫt
mk jꜣb n[*… ca. 4 groups lost …*] *šps mr.n=tw* [*… ca. 4 groups lost …*] *n*[*sw*] *nb nsw nb*
[12]|*dj*[ʔ*.n*(*=j*) *n=k*ʔ] *ḥbw-sd n Tꜣ-ṯnn rnpwt=k m ꜣw*[*t*]*-jb mj* [*Jtmw*]
[*dj*]*=j jw n=k wrw nw tꜣ nb dmḏ ḫr jnw=sn r bw* [*ḥ*]*r=k*
[*… ca. 13 groups lost …*] *ḫᶜw=sn nb* [13]|[*nw rꜣ-ᶜ*]*-ḫt ḫꜣswt wnw bšdwt rnpwt sb*[*jj*] […. …. …] *bꜣw*[…] *n* […. *ca. 18 groups lost …*] *ḫnt*[*j*] *ꜣb*(*t*)
[14]|*dj*[*=j*] *Ṯḥnw* [*… large loss …*]*r*[*… ca. 7 groups lost …*] [*Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn / Rᶜ-ms-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw*] […. *ca. 3 groups lost …*] [15]|*ḫᶜ* [*ḥr st ᶜnḫ*]*w mj Ḥr sꜣ ꜣst*

"[Usermaatre] Meriamun;
son of Re: Ramesses Heqaiunu;
my beloved son, victorious king,

look, the desire[xliii] of the […] august [… ca. 4 groups lost …] whom One (i.e., the god)[xliv] has loved [… ca. 4 groups lost …] any ro[yal][xlv] […] or any king.

[12]|[ʔI hereby?] give [ʔyou?][xlvi] jubilees of Tatenen, your years in joy like (those of) [Atum];[xlvii]

and I [cause][xlviii] the chiefs of every land to come to you all together, carrying their tribute to the place [wh]ere you are;

[… ca. 13 groups lost …] all their weapons [13]|[of comb]at[xlix] of the[l] foreign lands that were rebellious,

years have gone by [… … …] might […] of [… ca. 18 groups lost …] in front of the family;

[14]|[and I][li] place the Libyans [… large loss …] ʔtoʔ [… ca. 7 groups lost …] [Usermaatre Meriamun / Ramesses Heqaiunu][lii] [… ca. 3 groups lost …] [15]|who appears [on the throne of the living] like Horus, son of Isis.

rdj.n=j pḏt 9 ḥr tbtj=k
ꜥbꜥ{t}=tw m nḫtw=k m-ḫt {tɜwj}[liii] *<jdbw> ḥɜw-nbw*
dj=j n=k pḥtj mjtt Mntw
šft=k mj [Stš] sɜ Nwt
[16]|*nn nsw jr jr.n=k m tɜ pn ḏr rk jr s(t)*[liv]
pḥ snd(t)[lv]*=k wp(t)w-tɜ*
sd.n=s jbw Ḫntw-ḥn-nfr
whb.n=s tɜw Fnḫw
ꜥq.n=s m Pwnt Ḫrw-[17]|*šꜥ*
dj=j bɜw=k m tɜw nbw mj Ḥr ḫns pḥw tɜ
qfɜw=k m rww ḥrw-jb
jɜdt=k m-ḫt tɜ-tmw
jw n=k ḫɜswt m ks r dbḥ tɜw n fnd=sn
mɜꜥ=sn [18]|*ḥr psd=sn m bw-nfr*
jp.tw=w mḥ r-tnw rnpt m djdj jb=j n sɜ=j mrjj=j
nsw bjtj Wsr-mɜꜥt-Rꜥ Mr-Jmn
sɜ Rꜥ Rꜥ-ms-sw Ḥqɜ-Jwnw

I hereby place[lvi] the Nine Bows under your sandals,

while one boasts of your victory through the shores of everything beyond;[lvii]

and I give you strength like that of Montu,

while your reputation is like that of [Seth],[lviii] son of Nut,

[16]|and there is no king who had done what you have done in this land since the time of the one who created it:

as the fear of you reaches those at the top of the earth,[lix]

after it had broken the hearts of those of Khent-hen-nefer,[lx]

had pierced the lands of the Fenkhu (i.e., the Phoenicians),[lxi]

(and) had entered into Punt and among the sand-[17]|dwellers;

and I put your might into every land like that of Horus that traverses the end of the world,
your fame being in the regions in the middle,
(and) your influence with the whole world,
as[lxii] the foreign lands come to you in obeisance to ask air for their nostrils,
(having) their tribute [18]|on their backs, of (all sorts of) good things,
being fully counted every year according to what my heart gives to my beloved son,
the king of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermaatre Meriamun;
son of Re: Ramesses Heqaiunu.

jnk pꜣ ḏd{tw}[lxiii]
jr
ḫpr=sn ḥr-ꜥ
nn wsf=tw sḫr=j

I am the one who says
'Do (them)!,'
and they[lxiv] happen immediately,
without anyone neglecting my plan.

šf[t]=k ꜥq.n=s [19]|*m tꜣ=[s]n*
wsr=k (ḥr)[lxv] *sbdš ḥꜥw=sn*
dj.n bꜣw=k sdꜣ=sn
[jw] snd(t)=k tꜣ.tj m jb=sn
ḫꜣst nb ḫpw-jb ḫm.w Km[t] ḏr rk [Rꜥ]
[… 8 groups lost …][20]|*r[…]*
dmḏ.n[=sn] m [bw] wꜥ […]
[…] r bw ḫr ḥm[=k]
[… … … … …]m[… …] st ꜥnḫw
mn[… …]f […]w […] tꜣ […] mḫrwt tꜣ nb
snd(t)=f […]r[…]

Your esteem, it has entered [19]|[th]eir land,
as your strength is making their body weak,
your might has made [them tremble],
[while][lxvi] the fear of you is hot in their heart.
All disaffected[lxvii] foreign lands have been ignorant of Egyp[t] since the time of [Re.]
[… 8 groups lost …][20]|[…]
[They] have united at [a place] […],
[…] to the place where [your][lxviii] majesty is.
[… … … … … … …] the throne of the living,
being firm [… … … … …] the land […] the needs of every land;
the fear of him [… …].

[21]|[… *12 groups lost* …] *nsjjt=f r mn gnw=f*
[… … … … …] *n ḏt*
njs m pt
wd[lxix] *m ḥwt-ꜥ3t ḥr jšd špsjj jmjj Jwnw ḥr rn wr ḥr* […]
[22]|[… *9 groups lost* …]
[…] *nrw*
wsr phtj
dj t3 m 3wt-jb Rꜥ-ms-[*sw*] *Ḥq3-Jwnw dj ꜥnḫ ḏt*

[21]|[… 12 groups lost …] his kingship, so that his annals endure
[… … … … …] forever,
having been announced in heaven
(and) having been put in the Great Mansion, on the august *ished*-tree that is in Heliopolis, on the mighty name, on […]
[22]|[… 9 groups lost …]
[…] of awe,
powerful of strength,
who puts the land in joy, Ramesses Heqaiunu—given life forever!

dj=j wn B3qt m ḥbw
jnbw n=k ḫpš=j pḏt 9
rdj=j n=k t3-mrj […] [23]|[… … … …]
[… …]*=j n=k ḫ3st nb m ḏrj ḥr*
jb=sn jrjj t3 n snd(*t*)*=k m phtj* [*j*]*t=k Jmn wḏ n=k qnt nḫt*
nsw bjtj ꜥn m nsw Wsr-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ Mr-Jmn
s3 Rꜥ 3ḫ n jt=f Rꜥ-ms-sw Ḥq3-[*Jwnw dj ꜥnḫ*]

I make[lxx] the Dazzling Eye (i.e., Egypt) be in festivities,
my sword walling off the Nine Bows for you,
(and) I give you the Beloved Land […] [23]|[… … … …]
I […] for you every foreign land stolid of face,[lxxi]
while their hearts, those thereof,[lxxii] are hot for the fear of you, through[lxxiii] the strength of your [fa]ther, Amun, who decreed valor and victory for you,
king of Upper and Lower Egypt, beauteous as king: Usermaatre Meriamun;
son of Re, beneficial to his father: Ramesses Heqa[iunu—given life!]

[24]|[… *5 groups lost* …] [*Jmn-Rꜥ*] *p3wtj t3wj m ršw*
psd Rꜥ hrw
nm[*j*] *r sw3ḏ sjmw*[lxxiv] […]
ḥtp=f dw3t
r st grḥ
r rdt b3kw n {*=k*}<*nb*> {*s*}[lxxv]*b3w ḥnbb Msḫt*[…]
[25]|[… *ca. 15 groups lost* …] *m*[…]*š ḥr sr* […] *ntjj* […].*n*[…]
ntf mw dj ḥꜥpjj n{*t*} *ꜥbw nsw*

[24]|[… 5 groups lost …] [Amun-Re], the primordial one of the two lands is in joy,
as Re shines by day,
travelling to make the vegetation flourish [… …];
(and) rests in the netherworld
to illuminate the night,
(and) to give work to the Lord of Souls (i.e., Osiris) who drives away the Plough.
[25]|[… ca. 15 groups lost …], revealing what […] has/have […],
his being the water[lxxvi] that the Nile-flood provides for the purification of the king.

twꜣ n=k Gbb sꜣtw
jrjj=j pt r db[*ḥ=k*]
[26]|[… *ca. 7 groups lost …*] *ṯꜣw jmjjw=s r s*{*ḫsf*}<*ḫnt*>*jjt*[lxxvii] *n ꜥḥꜥw ḥr mw j.*[*s*]*š*

Geb supports the ground for you
(and) I make the heaven according to [your request].
[26]|[… ca. 7 groups lost …] the wind that is in it to take the ships southwards on the passing[lxxviii] water(s).

jstw […]*w* [… …] *mr* [*Ḏḥwtj*] [… *ca. 5 groups lost …*]
nšnw kꜣ šwt[*j*]
pꜣ nš[*n*]*jj* [… *4 groups lost …*]
[27]|[… *ca. 29 groups lost …*] [*m sḫ*]*rw nfrw* {*n*} {ꜥ*n*}<*jr*>*.n=j*[lxxix] *n=k*
dj=j
jw[28]|[… *large loss …*]
[… *large loss …*] *r-ḥꜣt=sn ḫr jnw=sn*
bs=k st r-ḫft-ḥr=j
[29]|[… *the entire line is lost …*]
[30]|[… *ca. 28 groups lost …*] *wr pḥtj mj Mnṯw m sḫm=f Rꜥ-ms-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw dj ꜥnḫ mj Rꜥ ḏt*

Now, [… … …] beloved of [Thoth] [… ca. 5 groups lost …],
as the twin-feathered bull rages,
the raging one [… 4 groups lost …].
[27]|[… ca. 29 groups lost …] perfect [pla]ns that I have made for you.
I cause
[28]|[… …] to come [… large loss …]
[… large loss …] before them, carrying their tribute,
which/whom[lxxx] you take in front of me.
[29]|[… the entire line is lost …]
[30]|[… ca. 28 groups lost …] mighty of strength like Montu in his power, Ramesses Heqaiunu—given life like Re forever!"

4.3.1.3.6 End of Text

[31]|[… *ca. 15 groups lost* …] *ḥr jp m ḏbᶜw ḫfnw* […]*t* […] [*šb*]*n pꜣ(jj)=sn ḥtp-nṯr*
r jrt wdnw qrrw ᶜꜣw
r sḫtp nṯrw=sn
r ḥn [32]|[… … … …]
[… … … … …]
wn=w wꜣsj
r rdt mn rn n jtw nṯrw nṯr[*w*]*t nbw Šmᶜw Mḥw*
mj rdj[*.n*][lxxxi]*=sn ḫfnw m ḥbw-sd ḏt m qnt nḫt n* [*nsw bj*]*tj nb tꜣwj Wsr-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Mr-Jmn sꜣ Rᶜ nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-sw Ḥqꜣ-Jwnw dj ᶜnḫ*

[31]|[… ca. 15 groups lost …] counting ten and hundred thousands of [vari]ous [… …] and their divine offering
to make oblations and great burnt offerings,
to satisfy their gods,
(and) to equip [32]|[… … … …],
[… … … … …],
which were ruined,
to make the name of the fathers,[lxxxii] all gods and goddesses of the South and the North endure
because they [have] given hundreds of thousands of jubilees and an eternity in valor and victory for the [king of Upper and Low]er Egypt, lord of the two lands: Usermaatre Meriamun; son of Re, lord of diadems: Ramesses Heqaiunu—given life!

4.3.2 Notes to the Transliteration and Translation of the Northern Stela

i The translation reflects the performative function of the *sḏm.n=f* in ritual scenes (Vernus 1985b: 308–309).

ii Probably *Ḫnsw m* [*Wꜣst nfr ḥtp Ḥr*] "Khons-in-[Thebes-Neferkhetep-Horus]," as in the scene of the Southern Stela (§4.2.1.1).

iii The reconstruction of the passage was facilitated by several Ramesside phraseological parallels from Karnak (KIU 709, 14; KIU 1000, 18; KIU 8863, 15; KIU 5357, 9).

iv See §4.2.2, n. iii above.

v On the expression, see the corresponding entry under §4.2.3.2.1.

vi The lacuna can be reconstructed with the help of the column on the left side of the scene of the Southern Stela (§4.2.1.1).

vii The reading of the fragmentary passage is supported by two similar formulations at the beginning (§4.3.2, n. xiii) and at the end of the text (GDSN 1 and 32).

viii See §4.2.2, n. iii above.

ix The name of the deity is fully preserved in the scene of the Southern Stela (§4.2.1.1) and perhaps also fragmentarily in the scene of the present text (§4.3.2, n. ii above).

x The first half of the cartouche is visible in Le Saout's (1982: pl. 7, 6c) publication but not yet in Kitchen's (K*RI* V 238, 12). See also Paksi (2017: 128, fig. 2) and Fig. 23 above.

xi The dateline lacks a specific number assigned to the day. The expression ("the day of millions of years, hundreds of thousands of jubilees…") is thus reminiscent of a formulation in line 4 of the *Horemheb Decree*, *hrw* [*n*] *ḥ3t nḥḥ* "the day of beginning of eternity" (*Urk*. IV 2141, 7) and similarly recalls the dateline of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*, [*ḥsb*]*t 4 tpj prt ḥ3t nḥḥ šsp 3wt-jb ḫfnw m rnpwt ḥtpw ḥḥw m ḥbw-sd* "[year] 4, first month of winter, the beginning of eternity and the commencement of happiness, hundreds of thousands of peaceful years, and millions of jubilees" (K*RI* I 46, 2). The Northern Stela is not the only official inscription in the record dating to the second month of *shemu* without a clearly defined number for the day (Pizzarotti 2011: 611–612). Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* likewise seems to have had a comparable dateline (cf. §6.4, n. xxi below and Paksi 2023: 128–129).

xii The preposition *m* is written as *n* (see under §4.3.3.3.2). Similar formulations—like the immediately following phrase, *ḫfnw m ḥbw-sd* "hundreds of thousands of jubilees"—are usually written with the traditional spelling of the preposition *m*. See also line 1 of the *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 46, 2; cited above, in §4.3.2, n. xi).

xiii The reading proposed here is based on a similar formulation in the scene (§4.3.2, n. vii) and at the end of the text: *ḫfnw m ḥbw-sd ḏt m qnt nḫt* "hundreds of thousands of jubilees and an eternity in valor and victory" (GDSN 32). Helck (1958: 30), on the other hand, completes the phrase following the wording of line 1 of the *Nauri Decree*, which contains the expression *ḏt m nsjjt Jtm* "eternity in Atum's kingship" (K*RI* I 46, 2–3).

xiv The logographic stroke is missing after sign D21 (𓏏). The present, relatively minor emendation has already been proposed by Helck (1958: 30). Assmann's (1978: 42) suggestion to read *rn* "name, identity" instead of *r3* "word," which would require the correction of the passage with two relatively larger signs (see *rn* under §4.3.3.3.1) and would thus render it unintelligible in its current form, is unlikely, since the text does not feature bigger omissions and mistakes of this kind.

xv The syntactic structure of the sentence makes it clear that *jw* is employed here as circumstantial converter: the clause *jw=j m swḥt* stands parallel to a *bn*-negated circumstantial First Present construction.

xvi The translation of the word *sḫrw* as "devotion" in the context of personal piety follows Susanne Bickel's (2003: 26, n. 7; 42–43 with n. 53) recommendation.

xvii The clause has a double nominal predicate. Both of them are complex possessive phrases with the second constituent being a participial expression: *nb ꜥ3 n mḥ jb jm=f* "great lord of the one who fills the(/his) heart with him" and *nḫw n ḥnḫn=f* "protector of the one who approaches him." *Ḥnḫn=f* may be read either as a participle with its object expressed by a suffix pronoun (E*NG* §82), "who approaches him," or as a relative form, "whom he (i.e., the god) approaches." The subject matter of the section, however, which deals precisely with the benefits of actively seeking divine vicinity, makes the reading as a participle with suffixed object more likely.

xviii Sign A40 () was added after the second-person suffix pronoun in *ḥfꜥ=k* "your grip:" . Compare the spelling with that of *ptr=k* similarly in GDSN 4 (§4.3.2, n. xx below) as well as with the use of sign A42A () in GDSS 20 (§4.2.2, n. lix) and GDSS 26 (§4.2.2, n. lxiv).

xix *S3w rnpt* is an attributive genitive construction with its origins in the magical practice (*DZA* 25.973.860; Assmann 1978: 43, n. 90). The phrase is translated here following the suggestion of the *TLA* (lemma no. 126030). See also *Wb*. III 415.23: "Bez. für dauernden Schutz."

xx On purely grammatical grounds, *ptr=k* could be interpreted in two different ways—just as *ḥnḫn=f* earlier in the same line (see above, §4.3.2, n. xvii). *Ptr=k* is either a relative form meaning "whom you behold" or a participle with an object suffix (E*NG* §82) standing for "who beholds you." Intratextually, the agent of the verb *ptr* "to behold" is, however, always Amun-Re (see GDSS 8 and 13), the acknowledging look of whose eyes is pictured as a prerequisite for divine grace. The internal logic of the text thus renders the reading as a relative form more likely. Note that the referent of the second-person suffix pronoun is expressed also at the visual level by the addition of sign A40 (): . For further examples of the phenomenon, see the spelling of *ḥfꜥ=k* earlier in the same line (§4.3.2, n. xviii above) as well as the use of sign A42A () in GDSS 20 (§4.2.2, n. lix) and GDSS 26 (§4.2.2, n. lxiv).

xxi The verb *hru* "to be content" (completed after Sethe by Helck 1958: 30) may be interpreted either as a participle ("who is content") or as a pseudoparticiple ("being content"). Both solutions would fit the context grammatically. On *hru n* vs. *hru ḥr*, see §4.3.3.2.6 below.

xxii The clause includes the enclitic particle *swt* between the infinitival form of the verb *pḥ* "to reach" and its preposition *r*. The context and the spelling () suggest that the word *swt* following the infinitive of *pḥ* is not a third-person Late Egyptian possessive pronoun (Junge 2008: 176), which is regularly spelled as , but indeed the particle. The unusual placement of the morpheme has perhaps a single parallel from the Third Intermediate Period, in *Wermai* 1.11: *nn ḫꜥm=k sw*(*t*) *ꜥrq* "you have not even approached the end" (translation by Caminos 1977: 11), where *swt* would be wedged in between a *sḏm=f* and its direct object. Caminos (1977: 18) reads *sw* as

a defective writing for the particle *swt*, a spelling not uncommon in the Ramesside period and later (Caminos 1977: 18, n. 1). Schad (2006: 86), on the other hand, interprets *sw* as a cataphoric pronoun pointing to the word *ꜥrq* (*AL* 77.0709): an equally possible scenario. Provided that the reading suggested by Caminos was the one originally meant, *Wermai* 1.11 would provide an excellent parallel to our example, since the two verbs with which *swt* was associated, *ḥꜥm* in *Wermai* and *pḥ* on the Northern Stela, are even semantically related. If so, the adversative meaning inherent to the particle (Oréal 2011: 395–429) could be better reflected by the following, less literal translation of the clause: "you look after me as if I were a fledgling even today." The particle would thus place the "fledgling" state of the king in contrast with his mature self.

[xxiii] Note the periphrasis of a—by origin, circumstantial—*sḏm=f* form of the *s*-causative of a 3-lit. verb (*swḏꜣ* "to preserve, to keep safe): *jrjj=k swḏꜣ ḥꜥw=j* "you preserve my body." The same long verb, *swḏꜣ*, forms a periphrastic participle in line 12 of the Southern Stela: *tꜣjj=k pḥtj ꜥꜣt j.jrr swḏꜣ=f* "your great strength that has been preserving it (i.e., the land)."

[xxiv] On the spelling of the second-person singular Late Egyptian independent pronoun *mntk* (), see the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.3.1.

[xxv] *Sic*:  . The short spelling of the negative particle is either an instance of hypercorrection—possibly, for the sake of linguistic dissimilation with the example in line 16—or a mistake. At the head of line 16, *nn* is used as expected.

[xxvi] The completion of the beginning of line 6 suggested here is based on the analogy with a similar formulation in line 17: *jw n=k ḫꜣswt m ks*… "as (§4.3.2, n. lxii) the foreign lands come to you in obeisance…" Helck (1958: 30; pl. 2), on the other hand, proposes to read  at the head of the line—a solution that would result in a slightly problematic reading: *n ḫꜣst tm jj n=j m*-[*m nṯr*] "there is no foreign land that would not come to me in [?the midst of the god?]." The preposition *m-m* "among, in the midst of" usually precedes a plural nominal phrase of some sort. In Helck's reading, *m-m* would be followed by a singular expression, unless *nṯr* "god" is to stand in a honorific transposition with a word in the lacuna, in which case, the presence of the god determinative after the *nṯr* sign () would be unexpected but not unprecedented (Peust 2007: 112).

[xxvii] Paksi (2017: 124, n. a).

[xxviii] Paksi (2017: 124, n. b).

[xxix] Paksi (2017: 124, n. c).

[xxx] *Wꜣwꜣ sḫ* "to forge plan(s)" is an idiomatic expression attested from the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards (see under §4.3.3.2.3). It is equally conceivable though that the verb *wꜣwꜣ* "to counsel about" was used transitively in the passage, as

in Ramesses III's *Piety to Amun* I: *wꜣwꜣ.n=j ḏt ḥnᶜ Rᶜ* "I have counselled (about) eternity with Re" (K*RI* V 276, 9).

[xxxi] The passage is very fragmentary (Paksi 2017: 128, fig. 2). My reconstruction of the missing signs in the present and at the end of the previous clause (Paksi 2017: 129, fig. 3; cf. also Fig. 22) followed Helck's (1958: pl. 2) and Kitchen's (K*RI* V 239, 13) suggestions, since these lacunae were largely unaffected by the placement of Fragment C. The abbreviated spelling of *wꜣsi* "to be ruined, decayed" that results from this reconstruction () may, however, be interpreted as a sign that the reading of the passage should be revised, since the verb is otherwise spelled either as  (GDSS 16) or as  (GDSN 32) on the *Great Double Stela*. Nonetheless, I cannot offer a better solution at present.

[xxxii] Paksi (2017: 124, n. d).

[xxxiii] The phrase *jnr ḥḏ nfr n rwḏ*(*t*) is translated here as "sandstone" after Harris (1961: 71–72).

[xxxiv] Paksi (2017: 125, n. f).

[xxxv] Paksi (2017: 125, n. g).

[xxxvi] Paksi (2017: 125, n. h). See also the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.3.1.

[xxxvii] Paksi (2017: 125, n. i). The group was probably spelled as  and not as contrary to my previous suggestion (Paksi 2017: 129, fig. 3; Fig. 22) following Kitchen's completion of the lacuna (see K*RI* V 240, 1, n. a). The verb is written similarly in line 23 of the stela: . See the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.3.3.1.

[xxxviii] Paksi (2017: 125, n. j).

[xxxix] Paksi (2017: 125, n. k).

[xl] Paksi (2017: 125, n. l).

[xli] Paksi (2017: 125–126, n. m).

[xlii] Paksi (2017: 126, n. n).

[xliii] Paksi (2017: 126, n. o).

[xliv] Paksi (2017: 126, n. p).

[xlv] Paksi (2017: 126, n. q).

[xlvi] Paksi (2017: 126–127, n. r).

[xlvii] The restoration of the first part of the lacuna is suggested by Ramesses III's Golden Horus name (*Ḥr nbw wsr rnpwt mj Jtm*(*w*) *jtjj mk Kmt wᶜf ḫꜣswt* "Golden Horus: rich in years like Atum, sovereign, protector of Egypt who curbs the foreign lands") present in the first line of the Southern and in the second line of the Northern Stela. The spelling of the divine name () likely corresponded to Ramesside hieratic practices, as also elsewhere in the text (see *Jtm*(*w*) under §4.2.3.3.3.2 and §4.3.3.3.3.2).

[xlviii] Paksi (2017: 127, n. t).

[xlix] Paksi (2017: 127, n. u).

[l] Corrected from "all" (Paksi 2017: 124) to "the."

[li] Paksi (2017: 127, n. v).

[lii] Paksi (2017: 127, n. w).

[liii] The spelling of *jdbw ḥ3w-nbw* () illustrates a graphical confusion between the signs for *t3* "land" and *jdb* "shore," a phenomenon that happened frequently since the time of Horemheb (see the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.3.3.1).

[liv] The pronoun following the participate of *jrỉ* in  refers to a masculine expression, namely, to *t3 pn* "this land," therefore ⸗ cannot be interpreted as a third-person singular suffix pronoun. Since a simple *s* would be a fairly unusual way to spell the third-person singular masculine dependent pronoun, it seems reasonable to assume that *s* stands for the new case-based grammatical category, the object pronoun *st* (Peust 2002: 309–317).

[lv] The transliteration *snd*(*t*) intends to reflect that *snḏ* "fear" is treated as feminine in the text (see *Wb.* IV 183.4–22 for *snḏ* and *Wb.* IV 184.1–14 for *snḏt*). The word is mentioned four times in the inscription (GDSN 15, 18, 19, and 22), among which first (GDSN 15), it is referenced with a feminine suffix pronoun (*sd.n=s*… "it has broken…"), and second (GDSN 18), it is followed by a feminine pseudoparticiple (*snd*(*t*)*=k t3.tj m jb=sn* "the fear of you is hot in their heart"). The examples in GDSN 19 and 22 are neutral with respect to the grammatical gender of the noun.

[lvi] *Rdj.n=j*… evokes the performative *dj.n=j n=k* formula in temple inscriptions. The translation, "I hereby place…," reflects this association. The *sḏm.n=f* form of *rdi* is the main predicate of the entire section and is continued by two unaccomplished *sḏm=f*'s of the same verb. The structural pattern of the passage—an accomplished *sḏm.n=f* succeeded by two unaccomplished *sḏm=f*'s—is parallel to that of lines 12–14: *dj*[ʔ*.n*(*=j*) *n=k*ʔ] *ḥbw-sd n T3-ṯnn*… [*dj*]*=j jw n=k wrw nw t3 nb dmḏ*…. *dj*[*=j*] *Ṯḥnw*… "[ʔI hereby ʔ] give [ʔyou ʔ] (§4.3.2, n. xlvi) jubilees of Tatenen, … and I [cause] (§4.3.2, n. xlviii) the chiefs of every land to come to you all together, …. [and I] (§4.3.2, n. li) place the Libyans…"

[lvii] The phrase *jdbw ḥ3w-nbw* "the shores of everything beyond" is translated here after the proposed reading of Bontty (1995). Bontty's translation stands in line with Goedicke's (2002) understanding of *ḥ3w-nbw*, an expression that most probably referred to geographical areas without regular commercial contact with Egypt. See the corresponding entry also under §4.3.3.2.1.

[lviii] Kitchen (K*RI* V 240, n. 11a) notes that the sign () was erased anciently. For its traces on the corresponding block, see Paksi (2017: 128, fig. 2).

[lix] See the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.2.1.

[lx] See the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.2.1.

[lxi] Gauthier (1925: 161).

[lxii] The spelling of the verb *jj* "to come" as *jw* () would traditionally reflect a *mrr=f* form (G*EG* §459), which would require a translation with emphasis on the adverbial phrase of the clause: "it is in obeisance that the foreign lands come to you…" Considering, however, the time of composition of the inscription and its general openness towards including graphical novelties, it is very likely that *jw* is simply a post-classical spelling of a circumstantial *sḏm=f* (see also Winand 1991: 358–372).

[lxiii] Interpreting  as a "passive" relative form ("the one who is said") would semantically be a highly unlikely solution in the present context. The inclusion of the impersonal suffix pronoun must therefore be a scribal mistake, which perhaps originates in a hieratic draft.

[lxiv] The third-person plural suffix pronoun is employed here in a function that Vernus (2014: 286–287) described as a notionally anaphoric reference, frequently used together with the verb *ḫpr* "to happen." The subject of *ḫpr* in *ḫpr=sn ḥr-ˁ* "they happen immediately" is only implied but not expressed previously, therefore *=sn* refers to an antecedent that is only notionally but not explicitly present in the section: the object of the verb *jrj* "to do," that is, the things that will be done. In earlier times, the subject of the verb *ḫpr* would have been marked by the absence of a reference (ø).

This passage may be understood as a metapragmatic commentary on the performative power of the divine word (Stauder 2021: 108). For comparable examples, including this text, see Stauder's (2021: 106–110; esp. 109, n. 35) discussion of the performative power of the royal—and ultimately divine—word.

[lxv] The clause is interpreted as a progressive *subject ḥr sḏm* construction with the omission of *ḥr*. The non-inclusion of the preposition must have been influenced by the regular omission of *ḥr* in the Late Egyptian First Present construction in lower written registers of the era.

[lxvi] The structure of the paragraph (main clauses with accomplished verbal forms as predicates alternate with circumstantial clauses) suggests interpreting *jw* as a Late Egyptian circumstantial converter at the head of this clause.

[lxvii] The interpretation of *ḫpw-jb* "departed of heart, disaffected" (), a *nfr ḥr* construction modifying the phrase *ḫꜣst nb*, has posed difficulties also to previous scholars (see Helck 1958: 31 and 33; Hirsch 2003: 200; Peden 1994a: 121; *RITA* V 204). The expression has no parallels in the record, but its spelling—the  (K4) classifier after *ḫpw* in particular—suggests that it is a unique compound of two semantically related lexemes: *ḫp* "departed one, deceased" (*Wb.* III 259.4–5), originally a participle from *ḫpj* "to depart, to die" (*Wb.* III 258.17–259.3), and *ḫꜣk-jb* "rebel, disaffect-

ed person" (*Wb.* III 363.14–15). While *ḫp* is a relatively rare word (*DZA* 27.736.980), elsewhere never combined with *jb* nor written with the oxyrhynchus fish (), *ḫ3k-jb* is a well-established expression for "rebel" in the Ramesside record (e.g., K*RI* I 30, 10; K*RI* V 97,6) and is regularly spelled with the oxyrhynchus fish (). On *ḫ3kw* "the disaffected" in line 35 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, see the corresponding entry under §6.5.2.6.

lxviii Since Amun-Re is directly addressing the king, one expects a second-person suffix pronoun in the lacuna instead of the third-person suffix pronoun suggested by Helck (1958: 33) and Kitchen (K*RI* V 241, 4).

lxix Kitchen's (K*RI* V 241, 7) interpretation to read  instead of (Le Saout 1982: 239) or (Helck 1958: pl. 2) seems to be correct. The *d* of *wdi* "to put" happens to be badly carved, but this would not be the first example in the text where the execution of sign D46 shows a relatively inferior quality (see the *d*'s in *ḏrt* "hand" in GDSN 3 or in *sbdš* "to make weak" in GDSN 19). Furthermore, the spelling of *wdi* documented here is not unique. It is also attested, for example, in the Karnak and Amarah West versions of Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 243, 12 and 13) as well as on Thutmosis III's *Gebel Barkal Stela* (*Urk.* IV 1238, 14).

lxx Although the directly preceding lacunose context does not allow for a solid syntactic analysis of the passage, it is possible to interpret the two unaccomplished *sḏm=f*'s of this paragraph (*dj=j wn*… "I make…" and *rdj=j n=k*… "I give you…") as the continuation of Amun-Re's chain of performative statements concerning his actions in favor of the king, which started in line 12 with *dj*[ʔ*.n*(*=j*) *n=k*ʔ]… "[ʔI hereby ʔ] give [ʔyou ʔ] (§4.3.2, n. xlvi)…" and continued in line 15 with *rdj.n=j*… "I hereby place (§4.3.2, n. lvi)…"

lxxi Previous translators (Helck 1958: 33; Hirsch 2003: 200; Osing 1976: 609–610; Peden 1994a: 123; *RITA* V 204) interpreted *ḥr* after *ḏrj* as a preposition belonging to the following word, *jb=sn*, misread by Osing (1976: 609) for *ḥr=sn*, and thereby left the subsequent clause without a subject. *Ḥr* is probably not a preposition but a noun that forms a *nfr ḥr* construction with the verb *ḏrj* "to be firm, hard" (see *ḏrj ḥr* "stolid of face" under §4.3.3.2.5).

lxxii The use of the possessive adjective after a third-person plural suffix pronoun appears redundant at first sight, since it contradicts the very function of *jrjj*, namely, to substitute singular and plural third-person suffix pronouns (G*EG* §113.2). There is, however, a series of other texts in which *jrjj* directly follows either *=sn* or *=w*. The textual distribution of these examples indicates that the use of *=sn jrjj* or *=w jrjj* had a stylistic function of some sort. For further details, see §4.4.2 below.

lxxiii Kitchen's translation (*RITA* V 204) implies that he interprets the preposition *m* as the Late Egyptian spelling of the focus marker *jn*. There is, however, a clear seman-

tic constraint on reading *m pḥtj* [*j*]*t=k Jmn wḏ n=k qnt nḫt* as a cleft sentence: the grammatical agent (i.e., Amun's strength) is inanimate and thus cannot decree.

lxxiv Instead of Helck's (1958: pl. 2) and Kitchen's (K*RI* V 241, 12) , reconstructing  would also be possible. On the spelling of the word, see the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.3.3.2.

lxxv The passage was apparently misunderstood and creatively reinterpreted during the compositional process: *r rdt bꜣkw n=k sbꜣw* (*ḥr*) *ḥnbb Msḫt* "to give work to you (*sic*) while the stars are driving away the Plough." The mistake is revealed by  , a unique blend of the words *sbꜣ* "star" and *bꜣ* "soul." *Sbꜣ* "star" is otherwise never spelled with the ram; the word *bꜣ*, on the other hand, appears also elsewhere in the Ramesside record written as  or as  , namely, in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions (e.g., K*RI* V 24, 7; 25, 6).

lxxvi The lacunose context does not allow for an unambiguous interpretation of the group  . Alternatively, the passage could also be read as *n*(*j*) *jt* / *jt=f mw dj ḥᶜpjj n*{*t*} *ᶜbw nsw* "the water that the Nile-flood provides for the purification of the king belongs to the/his father." Helck's (1958: 31) suggestion to read *ntf* "to moisten" in would only work if *ntf* was a passive participle and not an infinitive as Helck (1958: 33) understood it: *ntjj* […].*n*[…] *ntf dj ḥᶜpjj n*{*t*} *ᶜbw nsw* "what/that […] has/have […], the moist […] that the Nile-flood provides for the purification of the king."

lxxvii The group  is a misspelling either for or for  . In the former case, it would stand for the infinitive of the verb *sḏꜣ* "to travel, to depart," which would result in the following reading: *ṯꜣw jmjjw=s r s*{*ḥsf*}<*ḏꜣ*>*jjt n ᶜḥᶜw ḥr mw j.*[*s*]*š* "the wind that is in it towards (the direction of) the sailing of the ships on the passing water(s)." *Sḏꜣ* is, however, practically absent from the record after the Eighteenth Dynasty (*TLA*, lemma no. 150210; cf. also *DZA* 29.879.810). The discontinuity in its pattern of attestation would make its inclusion in the present text unusual even if it could account for its misspelling. It is therefore more likely that the intended word behind was the infinitive of the verb *sḫnti* "to take southwards."

lxxviii The group  should most probably be read as a Late Egyptian participle of the verb *sš* "to pass." For the missing  sign after the prothetic *yod*, compare n. xxxvi above. See also the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.3.1.

lxxix Helck (1958: 31) suggests emending  into  , which—in the present context—would correspond to a first-person singular *sḏm=f* relative form of *jri*. A closer look at the passage as a whole suggests that at least the second *n* of must have formed part of the copy the carver(s) of the stela worked from. Supposing that the group in question is correct, the passage would still make sense, but the reconstruction of the lacuna immediately preceding  would have to be revised: […]

[ʔ*sḫ*]*rw*ʔ *nfrw n ꜥn=j n=k* "[…] ʔ[pla]ns (and)ʔ the perfection of my beauteousness for you." If, on the other hand, the signs in were supplied correctly and is to be read as [*sḫ*]*rw nfrw*, it is very likely that is a scribal mistake for , where the *–n* affix of the *sḏm.n=f* relative form was misinterpreted as a phonetic complement of *ꜥn* "to be beautiful" due to the similar semantic spheres of the two neighboring words, *nfr* and *ꜥn* in  .

[lxxx] The antecedent of the third-person plural dependent pronoun cannot be identified with certainty. It is either the "tribute" mentioned in the previous clause or the people carrying it.

[lxxxi] The size and proportions of the lacuna as well as the faint traces still visible of the sign (K*RI* V 242, n. 6a) support the reading.

[lxxxii] The possibility that the third-person singular suffix pronoun was forgotten from *jtw* "fathers" is not to be excluded (cf. also *RITA* V 205).

4.3.3 Selected Grammatical, Lexical, and Graphical Features from the Northern Stela

4.3.3.1 Selected Grammatical Features from the Northern Stela

Late Egyptian definite article preceding…			
-	a participle	line 4	*pꜣ sḫꜣ rn=k wr*
		line 18	*jnk pꜣ ḏd{tw}* (§4.3.2, n. lxiii)
		line 26	*pꜣ nš*[*n*]*jj*
-	a relative form	line 4	*pꜣ ptr=k* (§4.3.2, n. xx)
-	a noun	line 5	*pꜣ dwꜣt=k*
Earlier Egyptian demonstrative pronouns			
-	*pn*	line 5	*hrw pn*
		line 16	*tꜣ pn*
Late Egyptian possessive article		line 31	*pꜣ*(*jj*)*=sn ḥtp-nṯr*
Late Egyptian independent pronoun		line 6	*mntk jnt=s*(*n*) (§4.3.2, n. xxiv)
Earlier Egyptian independent pronoun		line 4	*ntk nb ꜥꜣ n mḥ jb jm=f*…
		line 25 (?)	*ntf mw dj ḥꜥpjj*… (§4.3.2, n. lxxvi)

Innovative use of the suffix pronoun:		
- expressing the object after a participle[807]	line 4	[*ḫn*]*ḫn=f* (§4.3.2, n. xvii)
Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun…		
- after an infinitive	line 6	*r jr=w n jt=j*…
- in a *sḏm.tw=f*	line 18	*jp.tw=w mḥ r-tnw rnpt*…
- after the preterite converter *wn*	line 32	*wn=w wꜣsj*
Earlier Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun…		
- after a noun (genitival use)	line 8	[*ḥwt*]*t-nṯr=s*[*n m*] *ḏʿm*
	line 12 (2x)	*ḫr jnw=sn*
		ḫʿw=sn nb [*nw rꜣ-ʿ*]-*ḫt* (§4.3.2, n. xlix)
	line 17 (2x)	*tꜣw n fnd=sn*
		mꜣʿ=sn
	line 18	*psḏ=sn*
	line 19	*tꜣ=*[*s*]*n*
		ḥʿw=sn
		jb=sn
	line 23	*jb=sn jrjj* (§4.3.2, n. lxxii)
	line 28	*ḫr jnw=sn*
	line 31	*nṯrw=sn*
- in a *sḏm=f*	line 10	*mj mꜣꜣ=sn mnw wrw n nsw bjtj*…
	line 18	*ḫpr=sn ḥr-ʿ* (§4.3.2, n. lxiv)
	line 19	*dj.n bꜣw=k sdꜣ=sn*
- in a *sḏm.n=f*	line 20	*dmḏ.n*[*=sn*]…
	line 32	*mj rdj*[*.n*]*=sn ḫfnw m ḥbw-sd*… (§4.3.2, n. lxxxi)
- after a preposition	line 28	*r-ḥꜣt=sn*
- in the possessive article	line 31	*pꜣ*(*jj*)*=sn ḥtp-nṯr*
Possessive adjective *jrjj* following a third-person plural suffix pronoun	line 23	*jb=sn jrjj* (§4.3.2, n. lxxii)

807 E*NG* §82.

Late Egyptian participle	line 9/C3	*jn nṯr j.jr sw ḏs=f* (§4.3.2, nn. xxxvi, xxxviii, xxxix)
	line 26	*j.*[*s*]*š* (§4.3.2, n. lxxviii)
Subject sḏm=f construction	line 3	*nsw ḏs=f ḏd=f ḫr jt=f Jmn-Rᶜ*
	line 9	*jt Jmn pꜣwtj tpjj ḫwjj=f* [*Ḥr*] […]
Earlier Egyptian *sḏm.n=f* as predicate	scene	*dj.n*(=*j*) *n=k ᶜnḫ ḏd* [*wꜣs nb*]…
	line 3 (2x)	*pr.n=j ḫntj=k*
		rdj.n=k wj r nsw
	line 6	*pd.n=j šs*
	line 7 (2x)	[…].*n*[…]
		ms[*.n*]*=j ᶜḫmw*…
	line 8 (2x)	[*wḏ*].*n=f m-ḫ*[*f*]*t-ḥr n pr=f* (§4.3.2, n. xxxvii)
		wb[*n.n=f m-ḫn*]*w=f*
	line 12	*dj*[ʾ.*n*(=*j*) *n=k*ʾ] *ḥbw-sd*… (§4.3.2, n. xlvi)
	line 15	*rdj.n=j pḏt 9 ḫr ṯbtj=k* (§4.3.2, n. lvi)
	line 16 (3x)	*sd.n=s jbw Ḫntw-ḥn-nfr*
		whb.n=s tꜣw Fnḫw
		ᶜq.n=s m Pwnt Ḥrw-šᶜ
	line 18	*šf*[*t*]*=k ᶜq.n=s m tꜣ*=[*s*]*n*
	line 19	*dj.n bꜣw=k sdꜣ=sn*
	line 20	*dmḏ.n*[*=sn*]…
	line 32	*mj rdj*[*.n*]*=sn ḥfnw m ḥbw-sd*… (§4.3.2, n. lxxxi)
Sḏm.n=f as relative form	line 8	*nṯr ꜣḥ pr.n=f m ḥᶜw=f*
	lines 8–9/C3	*Jmn pr*[*.n=f m ḥᶜw*]*=f*
	line 11	*mr.n=tw* (§4.3.2, n. xliv)
	line 16	*nn nsw jr jr.n=k*…
	line 25	*ntjj* […].*n*[…]
	line 27	[*sḫ*]*rw nfrw* {*n*} {ᶜ*n*}<*jr*>*.n=j n=k* (§4.3.2, n. lxxix)

Hybrid *sḏm=f*'s	line 5	*jrjj=k swḏ3 ḥ‘w=j* (§4.3.2, n. xxiii)
nn sḏm=f	line 18	*nn wsf=tw sḫr=j*
Negative adverbial clause	line 3	*jw bn ḏrt n kjj jm=j wpw-ḥr=k*
Existential negation with…		
- *n*[sic]	line 5	*n ḫ3st tm jj n=j m* [*ks*]… (§4.3.2, nn. xxv and xxvi)
- *nn*	line 16	*nn nsw jr jr.n=k m t3 pn*…
jw as circumstantial converter	line 3 (2x)	*jw=j m swḥt* (§4.3.2, n. xv)
		jw bn ḏrt n kjj jm=j wpw-ḥr=k
	line 19	[*jw*] *snd*(*t*)*=k t3.tj m jb=sn* (§4.3.2, n. lxvi)
wn as preterite converter	line 13/C7	*ḫ3swt wnw bšdwt*
	line 32	*wn=w w3sj*
mj as clause connector[808]	line 10	*mj m33=sn mnw wrw n nsw bjtj*…
	line 32	*mj rdj*[*.n*]*=sn ḥfnw m ḥbw-sd*… (§4.3.2, n. lxxxi)
Feminine for the neuter	line 6	*mntk* ***jnt=s(n)*** (§4.3.2, n. xxiv)
Masculine for the neuter[809]	line 9/C3 (?)	*jn nṯr* ***j.jr*** *sw ḏs=f* (§4.3.2, nn. xxxvi, xxxviii, xxxix)
	line 16	*nn nsw jr* ***jr.n=k***…
	line 18	*m* ***djdj jb=j*** *n s3=j mrjj=j*

808 See n. 143 above.
809 See n. 145 above.

4.3.3.2 Selected Lexical Features from the Northern Stela

4.3.3.2.1 Lexical Items Primarily Associated with Higher Written Registers Since the Early Eighteenth Dynasty

jst(*w*) (non-encl. part.) "now"	line 26 *jstw* […]*w* […… …]… On the use of the particle *jst*(*w*) as a structural marker in line 26 of the stela, see the corresponding entry below, under §4.3.3.2.2.
jdbw ḥ3w-nbw "the shores of everything beyond"	line 15 (§4.3.2, nn. liii and lvii) The phrase is first documented in the Eighteenth Dynasty royal inscriptions,[810] already under Ahmose.[811]
wp(*t*)*w-t3* "those at the top of the earth"	line 16 The expression *wpt-t3* "top of the earth" occurs in royal inscriptions from the time of Thutmosis II onwards.[812]
m-ḫft-ḥr (*n*) (prep.) "in front of"	line 8 *M-ḫft-ḥr* (*n*) is a compound preposition deriving from the earlier *ḫft-ḥr*.[813] It is already present in the texts of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, including royal inscriptions,[814] but it becomes more frequent in the Ramesside era.[815] The use of *m-ḫft-ḥr* (*n*) was primarily associated with the private and royal monumental sphere in the extant record.
nsw bjtj Šmʿw Mḥw "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt of the South and the North"	scene and GDSS, scene See above, under §4.2.3.2.1.

810 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* III 11.7.
811 *Urk.* IV 21, 4 = KIU 575, 26.
812 Cf. *Wb. Belegst*. I 298.3; F*CD* 59.
813 E*NG* §647.4.
814 For instance, in the texts of Thutmosis III (*Urk*. IV 167, 16) and Amenhotep II (*Urk.* IV 1297, 9–10). The preposition is also attested twice in the tomb of Mery (TT 95), in column 6 of the eastern side of Pillar F and in one of the ceiling inscriptions running from east to west in the middle of the ceiling between the eastern row of pillars and the east wall (personal observations in spring 2018).
815 *Wb. Belegst.* III 275.21–23.

Ḫntw-ḥn-nfr line 16
"those of Khent-hen-nefer" The place name *Ḫnt-ḥn-nfr* is attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty royal inscriptions since the time of Ahmose[816] and is also present in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*[817] and *Quban Stela*.[818] Spalinger calls it "an elevated lexical item for the 'southern limit.'"[819]

4.3.3.2.2 Old Words and Expressions with Extended Applicability

jꜣdt line 17
"influence" By the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the word acquired a figurative meaning and was used in the sense of "influence / divine power" when referring to the king.[820]

jst(*w*) line 26 *jstw* […]*w* [… …]…
(non-encl. part.) The particle *jst*(*w*) is used here as a structural marker, as is often the case from the early Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.[821]
"now"

swt line 5 (§4.3.2, n. xxii)
(encl. part.) The enclitic particle *swt* is placed between the infinitival form of a verb and its prepositional complement in line 5 of the Northern Stela (see n. xxii above, under §4.3.2): *r pḥjj swt r hrw pn* "to reach even the present day."
"even"

4.3.3.2.3 Lexical Items Seldom or Not Attested Before the Amarna Period

jꜣdt line 17
"influence" On the word *jꜣdt* used in the sense of "influence / divine power," see the corresponding entry above, under §4.3.3.2.2.

wꜣwꜣ [*ˀsḫˀ*] line 7/C1
"to forge [ˀplan(s)ˀ]" If the missing signs have been supplied correctly, line7 of the Northern Stela contains a post-Amarnian expression: *wꜣwꜣ sḫ* "to forge plan(s)" (see under §2.4.2.3.).

816 Goedicke (1965: 102).
817 K*RI* II 330, 14.
818 K*RI* II 354, 10.
819 Spalinger (2009: 54–55, n. 246).
820 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* I 36.7. Note the (con)fusion of *jꜣdt* "dew, rain" (*Wb.* I 36.1–7) and *jdt* "perfume, scent" (*Wb.* I 152.7–12).
821 See n. 172 above.

pḥ r
vs. *pḥ*[trans]
"to reach"

line 5
vs. line 16

r pḥjj swt r hrw pn (§4.3.2, n. xxii)
vs. *pḥ snd*(*t*)=*k wp*(*t*)*w-tȝ* (§4.3.2, n. lv)

The non-transitive use of the verb *pḥ* in general and its use with the preposition *r* in particular are not attested before the Amarna period.[822] The same combination is also present, for example, in line 18 of the abridged version of Ramesses II's *First Hittite Marriage*.[823]

r-ḫft-ḥr (*n*) (prep.)
"in front of"

line 28

R-ḫft-ḥr (*n*) is a compound preposition that originates in the Earlier Egyptian *ḫft-ḥr*, which—unlike its somewhat earlier New Kingdom equivalent, *m-ḫft-ḥr* (*n*) (see under §4.3.3.2.1)—is first attested in the record in the Amarna period.[824]

stḥn
"to make glisten"

line 10 and GDSS 14

The verb is absent from the record until the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. See above, *stḥn* under §3.4.2.3.

4.3.3.2.4 Lexical Items Seldom Attested in Monumental Inscriptions Before Ramesside Times

jnb
"to surround (with walls)"

line 22

The verb *jnb* is only rarely attested but survives into Late Antiquity.[825] It is first documented in the *Horemheb Decree*,[826] which is the only other monumental text, to my knowledge, that includes the word.

nḫw
"protector"

line 4

Nḫw as a noun is absent from the record until the reign of Amenhotep III or Amenhotep IV, when it is first attested in a visitor's graffito in TT 63.[827] The word occurs in monumental texts shortly after the Amarna period.[828]

822 *Wb. Belegst.* I 535.1–7.
823 K*RI* II 257, 15.
824 See n. 488 above.
825 *AL* 77.0327.
826 *Urk.* IV 2155, 11. The *Book of the Dead* example referenced by *Wb. Belegst.* I 95.11 is based on an erroneous note referring to Lepsius (1842: pl. 71, 149.3) on *DZA* 20.908.510. The passage contains the word *qd* "to build" and not *jnb* "to surround."
827 Line 3 in Ragazzoli (2008: 27). Cf. also *TLA*, lemma no. 106129.
828 The first example in stone comes from a harper's song in TT 50 (Hari 1985: pl. 26, col. 27). The tomb dates to the reign of Horemheb (Hari 1985: pl. 6).

ḫnḫn line 4
"to approach" The verb *ḫnḫn* "to approach" seems to be documented only once in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times: in TT 67, the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Hapuseneb.[829] The word also occurs in Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*,[830] Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions,[831] and Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*.[832]

qfꜣw line 17
"fame" The word *qfꜣt* "fame"—written here without the final *-t*—first occurs in Hatshepsut's *Speos Artemidos Inscription.*[833] It is relatively seldom attested until Ptolemaic times, but its use is not confined to monumental texts.[834]

4.3.3.2.5 Lexical Items Not Attested in Monumental Inscriptions Before Ramesside Times

whb line 16
"to pierce" The verb is not attested in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times.[835] Another Ramesside royal example has been noted in Medinet Habu.[836]

ḥnb line 24
"to drive away" The verb *ḥnb* "to drive away" first occurs in the *Book of the Dead*[837] but is absent from the monumental record until the time of Seti I.[838] On the unusual spelling of the word in the present text, see the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.3.4 below.

ḏrj ḥr line 23
"stolid of face" *Ḏrj ḥr* is a *nfr ḥr* construction formed with the verb *ḏri* "to be

829 Cf. *DZA* 28.245.840–850 and *Wb. Belegst.* III 384.8–15. The first secure non-monumental examples of the verb are found in pBoulaq 17 = pCairo CG 58038, 2.5 and 11.3 (Luiselli 2004: 52 and 98).
830 K*RI* II 54, 1–5.
831 K*RI* V 60, 13.
832 See line 9 under §5.2.2.4.
833 Col. 10 in *Urk.* IV 385, 4; Chappaz & Bickel (2024: 110–111, figs. 5.2–3; 123, n. 315).
834 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* V 31.6 – 32.7; Wilson (1997: 1055).
835 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* I 340.5–7.
836 *DZA* 22.547.010. I could not locate the example in more recent publications.
837 *DZA* 26.969.410.
838 K*RI* I 42, 12; note the misinterpretation of the word resulting from the erroneous segmentation of the passage by Lesko II 121.

firm, hard" and the noun *ḥr* "face." The resulting expression, "stolid of face," seems to have only two parallels in the record, in *Khakheperreseneb*[839] and in Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*.[840] In line 23 of the Northern Stela and in *Khakheperreseneb*, verso 3, the spelling of the verb is complemented with a sparrow (sign G37) and thereby differs from its regular orthography: vs. the more frequent  and other similar spellings.[841] The negative connotation indicated by sign G37 () is attested in two further instances of the verb *ḏri* and its nominal derivatives in the record.[842]

4.3.3.2.6 Lexical Items Not Attested Before Ramesside Times

jmjj-sš
"fledgling"

line 5

Jmjj-sš "fledgling," literally, "who/that is in the nest," is a rare expression that seems to be completely absent from the pre-Ramesside record and is infrequently attested also thereafter.[843]

Bꜣqt
"Dazzling Eye"

line 22

Although its verbal root (*bꜣq* "to be bright, clear") is ancient,[844] the metaphor *Bꜣqt* "Dazzling Eye" () signifying Egypt seems to occur for the first time in line 22 of the Northern Stela. All other examples of this expression known at present date to Ptolemaic and Roman times.[845]

mjtt (prep.)
"like"

line 15

In Ramesside times, the word *mjtt* can be used as a preposition instead of *mj*.[846] Further royal examples are known, for

839 Verso 3 in Parkinson (1997). The passage was first discussed by Gardiner (1909: 107). For further references, see Peter Dils's translation commentary in *TLA*.

840 K*RI* II 95, 7 and 11. The Abydos and the pSallier III versions of the *Qadesh Poem* (K*RI* II 95, 7 and 11) are all the more remarkable because they combine  with  in a passage where all the other copies have simply (K*RI* II 95, 6, 8, 9, 10).

841 On Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, the graphical contrast is also present text-internally:  (GDSN 23) vs.  (GDSS 29).

842 Once in a letter to the dead from the end of the First Intermediate Period or the early Middle Kingdom (Piankoff and Clère 1934: 160) and once more in an Eighteenth Dynasty manuscript: *Mutter und Kind* 2.4 (Spruch C in Yamazaki 2003). Cf. also *Wb. Belegst.* V 600.1.

843 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 861279; *LGG* I 252a.

844 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 53730; *Wb. Belegst.* I 424.12 – 425.17. The designation *ḫw-bꜣq* "the bright protected one" (see *TLA*, lemma no. 1150660) stands for the reigning king in the Second Intermediate Period (Smither 1948: 33–34).

845 *DZA* 22.796.660–670.

846 E*NG* §642; *Wb. Belegst.* II 40.8.

instance, from Ramesses III's version of *Blessing of Ptah*, where *mjtt* contrasts with *mj-qd* in Ramesses II's Abu Simbel version of the text;[847] Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*;[848] and the *Year 2 Hammamat Stela* of the same king, where *mj* and *mjtt* are used parallel to one another[849] and represent a lexical example of linguistic dissimilation—as does the case in line 15 of the present text.

mk ḥ ʿw — line 4
See below, under *sꜣw rnpt.*

nw
"to look, to watch" — line 5
Nw is the common Late Egyptian variant of the earlier *nwꜣ*.[850] The verb is also present, for instance, in line 21 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*[851] or in line 15 of Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela*.[852]

rww ḥrw-jb
"regions in the middle" — line 17
This might well be the only pre-Ptolemaic example[853] of the phrase. The compound *rww ḥrw-jb* "regions in the middle" originates in a graphical confusion[854] with a somewhat older term, *jww ḥrw-jb* "islands in the middle."[855]

hn(*n*) *n*
"to assent to, to rely on" — line 3 and GDSS 3, 11
See above, under §4.2.3.2.6.

hru n vs. *hru ḥr*
"to be content with" — line 5 [*ḥr*] *n pꜣ dwꜣt=k* (§4.3.2, n. xxi)
The use of the preposition *n* instead of the preposition *ḥr* in combination with the verb *hru* "to be content" is not docu-

847 K*RI* II 265, 13 vs. 15.
848 See the example in line 35 under §6.3.3.3.4.
849 The relevant passage in lines 11 and 12 of the *Year 2 Hammamat Stela* reads as follows: *jstw jr nṯr nfr sw jqr sꜣrt mj Ḏḥwtj sw ʿq m gnjw mjtt jr…* "Now, as for this perfect god, he is excellent of wisdom like Thoth, he is well versed in the annals like the creator, …" (K*RI* VI 10, 15–16).
850 Stella (2012) and Gardiner (1945: 113); similarly in *AL* 77.2023 and *AL* 77.2032. Cf. also n. 64 above.
851 K*RI* I 49, 10.
852 K*RI* VI 19, 3. See also n. 917 below.
853 *DZA* 25.861.310; Wilson (1997: 577).
854 The similarity of the signs for *r* and *jw* in hieratic and their susceptibility to confusion were also noted by Posener (1966: 115, n. 8).
855 Osing (1982: 78) identified the phrase as the Egyptian expression for the Aegean Islands.

mented before Ramesside times.[856] For instance, in line 18 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, the verb still occurs with *ḥr*.[857]

Ḫnsw m W3st nfr ḥtp Ḥr
"Khons-in-Thebes-Neferkhetep-Horus"

scene (§4.3.2, n. ii); right margin, column 2 (§4.3.2, n. ix) and GDSS, scene
The deity is a Ramesside composite.[858]

s3w rnpt and *mk ḥ‹w*
"enduring protection" and "secured is the body"

line 4
S3w rnpt—an attributive genitive construction (§4.3.2, n. xix)—and *mk ḥ‹w*—a *nfr ḥr* construction formed with a passive participle—are two closely related, apotropaic expressions that originate in the magical practice.[859] They occur next to one another also in pHarris I 26.6 but are not attested in pre-Ramesside times.[860]

swt
(encl. part.)
"even"

line 5 (§4.3.2, n. xxii)
On the unusual placement of the enclitic particle *swt* in line 5 of the text, see the corresponding entry above, under §4.3.3.2.2.

qrrw
"burnt offering"

line 31 and GDSS [27], 30
See above, under §4.2.3.2.6.

4.3.3.2.7 *Hapax Legomenon*

ḫpw-jb
"departed of heart, disaffected"

line 19 (§4.3.2, n. lxvii)
The expression seems to be a *hapax legomenon*. For a hypothesis about its origin, see n. lxvii under §4.3.2.

856 *Wb. Belegst.* II 497.10–11; *DZA* 26.366.660–770 and 780–800.
857 See above, under §3.2.3.4.
858 *LGG* V 765c–766b.
859 On *s3w rnpt*, *DZA* 25.973.860; on *mk ḥ‹w* or—more generally—on *mkt-ḥ‹w*, see Grandet (1994: II, 115, n. 476) and Ghattas (1968); and on both, Assmann (1978: 43, n. 90).
860 For the pattern of attestation of *s3w rnpt*, see *Wb. Belegst.* III 415.23, with the first example referring to our text on *DZA* 25.973.870; and *TLA*, lemma no. 126030. For that of *mkt-ḥ‹w*, see *Wb. Belegst.* II 161.1, with the first instance similarly referring to the present example on *DZA* 24.428.580; and *TLA*, lemmas nos. 76950 and 852393. *TLA* (lemma no. 76950) has a slightly earlier, non-monumental Ramesside example of the expression in pChester Beatty IV = pBM EA 10684, recto 8.3 (Gardiner 1935: II, pl. 15).

4.3.3.3 Selected Graphical Features from the Northern Stela

4.3.3.3.1 Spellings Following or Imitating Earlier Written Traditions

j.
(prothetic *yod*)

 lines 9/C3 and 26 (§4.3.2, nn. xxxvi and lxxviii)

The prothetic *yod* is used without sign A2 () on the Northern Stela.[861] For a possible explanation of the use of this allograph in the left-hand text, see §4.4.2 below.

p3(*jj*)*=sn*
(Late Egyptian possessive article)

 line 31

The spelling of the Late Egyptian possessive article *p3jj=sn* documented here seems to be unique, but the writing of the third-person plural suffix pronoun with the above combination of signs (O34–S3–Z3) is attested also in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions ().[862] Ramesside royal texts occasionally omit the double *yod* and/or the phonetic complement of sign G40 () from the spelling of their possessive articles.[863] A possible explanation for the example in GDSN 31 is given under §4.4.2.

mntk
(Late Egyptian independent pronoun)

 line 6 (§4.3.2, n. xxiv)

In line 6 of the Northern Stela, the second-person singular Late Egyptian independent pronoun is spelled with sign G18 () instead of G17 (). This graphical solution is unparalleled in the record.[864] The possible reasons behind this spelling are discussed under §4.4.2.

rn
"name, identity"

 lines 4, [7], 21, 32

The Northern Stela consistently spells the word *rn* "name, identity" with the cartouche determinative in all its occurrences: . The Southern Stela does not have the noun.

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861 Compare the phenomenon with the presence of two different spellings of the particle *ḥjj* in the monumental and non-monumental versions of Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem* (*ḥjj* under §4.2.3.3 with n. 784).

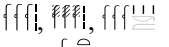
862 K*RI* V 9, 7.

863 See, e.g., *p3*(*jj*)*=sn* written as in line 61 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 55, 3) and in Ramesses III's inspection texts at Karnak and Tod (K*RI* V 232, 9 and 10), and as in column 23 of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription* (K*RI* IV 5, 1); *n3*(*jj*)*=sn* as in line 66 of the *Nauri Decree*; *p3*(*jj*)*=f* as in lines 63, 77, and 81 of the *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 55, 4, 16; 56, 5) and as in Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem* (K*RI* II 11, 1; 78, 4); and *t3*(*jj*)*=f* as in line 61 of the *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 55, 3) and in Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem* (K*RI* II 9, 12; 11, 1; 31, 6 and 7).

864 Cf. *DZA* 25.367.390.

Sign V10 () is frequently used after *rn* in the royal monumental texts of the New Kingdom,[865] but the combination is already attested in the Second Intermediate Period, on Sobekhotep VIII's *Inundation Stela* (face B, 6).[866]

rnpwt
"years"

 lines 1, 2, 12/C6
vs.  vs. line 13

The spelling of the first three examples of the word *rnpwt* "years" on the Northern Stela is rare and apparently typical of the inscriptions of Ramesses III[867]—perhaps even limited to this particular text. The word is written as in all its occurrences on the southern half of the *Great Double Stela* (GDSS 1, 19, 21, 26), but a similar graphical solution () is found in line 26 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*.[868] The triplication of the logogram for writing the plural—combined with the double marking of the form—imitates earlier orthographic strategies.[869]

tjt
"image"

 left margin, column 1; right margin, column 2

The spelling for the word *tjt* "image" was mainly used in Karnak and sporadically also in Medinet Habu from the early Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.[870]

4.3.3.3.2 Graphical Features Uncommon Before Ramesside Times

m (prep.)
"in(to), as, with"

 line 1 *ḥḥw n rnpwt* (§4.3.2, n. xii)

On the occasional spelling of the preposition *m* as *n*, see the corresponding entry under §2.4.3.2. The preposition *n* is, on the other hand, often written with the Lower Egyptian crown () instead of a simple wave line () in monumental inscriptions from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.[871]

865 Cf. *Wb.* II 425. See, e.g., *Urk.* IV 168, 7; 170, 2; 1295, 7; 1296, 11.
866 Helck (1983: 47). I thank Andréas Stauder for this reference.
867 *DZA* 25.967.760.
868 See the corresponding entry under §3.4.3.1.
869 See n. 540 above.
870 *DZA* 30.943.240–250. For a growing list of the examples in Karnak, see vocable no. 253 of the *Karnak Project* (http://sith.huma-num.fr/vocable/253; accessed 15 July 2025).
871 See, e.g., *Urk.* IV 1069, 15; 1307, 1; 1320, 9; 1540, 15; 1676, 5; 1754, 7. For an example within the present text, in line 4 of the Northern Stela, see §4.3.3.3.5 below.

4.3.3.3.3 Selected Ramesside Graphical Features

4.3.3.3.3.1 Regularly Attested Ramesside Graphical Features

jdbw ḥ3w-nbw
"the shores of everything beyond"

 line 15 (§4.3.2, nn. liii and lvii)

The spelling of the phrase *jdbw ḥ3w-nbw* "the shores of everything beyond" (see also under §4.3.3.2.1) bears witness to the graphical confusion between *jdb* and *t3*, a phenomenon that happened regularly since the time of Horemheb.[872] The word *jdbwj* "two shores" is spelled similarly, for example, in Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*.[873]

w3si
"to be ruined, decayed"

 lines 32

vs. (?) vs. [line 7] (§4.3.2, n. xxxi)

The spelling of the verb follows Ramesside spelling conventions in line 32 of the Northern Stela (see also GDSS 16).[874] The abbreviated spelling reconstructed in line 7 of the same text is, however, highly uncertain (§4.3.2, n. xxxi).

wḏ
"to decree"

 line 1

vs. and vs. lines 8 (§4.3.2, n. xxxvii) and 23

Spelling *wḏ* "to decree" with sign M13 () instead of signs V24 () or V25 (), as in line 23 and probably also in line 8 (§4.3.2, n. xxxvii) of the inscription, is a typically New Kingdom phenomenon.[875] The word is written similarly in lines 7 and 18 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*.[876]

bšdwt (fem. pl.)
"rebellious"

 line 13/C7

Bšdwt is a late New Kingdom spelling for *bštwt.*[877] The verb *bšṯ* "to rebel," which in writing quite early became *bšt*, and the verb *bdš* "to be weak, inert" were often con-

872 Cf. *DZA* 21.478.340–360 and *DZA* 30.868.600–870.

873 K*RI* II 236, 4 and 5. The same signs () also stand for the word *t3wj* "two lands" later in the text (K*RI* II 238, 3 and 4). The confusion between the signs for *t3* and *jdb* happens in the reverse order of sequence in line 5 of the abridged version of Ramesses II's *First Hittite Marriage*, where the group should be read as *t3wj* "two lands" (K*RI* II 256, 15).

874 See n. 769 above.

875 See n. 549 above. The *w* is not necessarily a phonetic complement in this case; it may as well be the participial ending of the verb.

876 See the corresponding entry under §3.4.3.3.1.

877 Cf. *DZA* 22.933.400–420.

fused with one another at the end of the New Kingdom.[878] The word *bšdw* "the rebellious" is spelled similarly in line 33 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (see under §6.5.3.3.1).

nrw
"awe, fear"

 line 22

The spelling of the word *nrw* "awe, fear" follows orthographic traditions of the second half of the New Kingdom.[879] Nonetheless, the present combination of signs, to which the Karnak version of Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*[880] provides a parallel, seems to be a rather rare variant of writing *nrw*. Line 4 of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* features a very similar  (see under §5.4.3.2.1).

hrw
"day"

 and  lines 5 and 24

The spelling of the word is typically Ramesside on the Northern Stela.[881] On the Southern Stela, *hrw* is not used.

s3
"son"

 and lines 11, 18, 15

In the phrases *s3=j mrjj=j* "my beloved son" (lines 11 and 18) and *Ḥr s3 3st* "Horus, son of Isis" (line 15), the word *s3* "son" is written in a characteristically Ramesside way, namely, with the egg instead of the pintail duck (see also §4.3.3.3.5 below).[882]

sš
"to pass"

 line 26 (§4.3.2, n. lxxviii)

The spelling of the verb *sš*, originally *sni*, "to pass" is typically Ramesside.[883]

sd
"to break, to crack"

 line 16

The verb features a spelling characteristic of the Twentieth Dynasty.[884]

878 *DZA* 22.960.520 suggests that the difference in their pronunciation must have disappeared by this time.
879 Cf. *DZA* 25.163.460–500.
880 K*RI* II 240, 15.
881 Cf. *DZA* 26.368.290–310 and 330–450.
882 See n. 558 above.
883 Cf. *DZA* 28.671.040–100.
884 *DZA* 29.872.280; cf. *DZA* 29.872.250–290.

t3-tmw  line 17
"the whole world" By including the two human classifiers (signs A1 and B1) and by writing the *m* phonetic complement with a more stylized sign (Aa15) than the owl (G17), the spelling of the phrase is characteristic of the post-Amarna period.[885] The compound is spelled similarly in line 21 of Horemheb's *Coronation Inscription*[886] as well as in column 5 of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*.[887]

tw3  line 25
"to support" The classifier A30 () becomes a regular part of the spelling of the verb *tw3* "to support" by the Ramesside period.[888]

ṯ3w  and  lines 4, 17, 26
"air, wind, breath" The Northern Stela exhibits two different spellings of the word, both characteristic of the Ramesside written production.[889] Similar graphical solutions are found, for instance, also in Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*.[890]

4.3.3.3.3.2 Ramesside Graphical Features Uncommon in Monumental Inscriptions

j3bw/3bw  [891] line 11
"wish"
The carving kept the simplified, hieratic *j3b*-sign in the spelling of the word *j3bw/3bw* "wish."

ji line 17
"to come" The circumstantial *sḏm=f* form of the verb *ji* features a post-classical spelling (§4.3.2, n. lxii).

Jtm(*w*)  lines 2 and [12] (§4.3.2, n. xlvii)
"Atum" The presence of sign Z7 () in the name of Atum is a non-monumental Ramesside feature (see above, under §4.2.3.3.3.2).

885 *DZA* 31.095.860–870; compare with *DZA* 31.096.190.
886 *Urk*. IV 2119, 4.
887 K*RI* IV 3, 3.
888 Cf. *DZA* 30.963.790 and 810–880.
889 Cf. *DZA* 31.180.950–980.
890 K*RI* IV 3, 3 and 11, 1.
891 Detail from Paksi (2017: 128, fig. 2).

pḥ  line 5
"to reach" The spelling of the verb *pḥ* "to reach" is reminiscent of its parallels in Ramesside hieratic documents.[892]

s(*j*)*mw*  or line 24 (§4.3.2, n. lxxiv)
"vegetation" In line 24 of the Northern Stela, the post-Amarnian spelling of the word *s*(*j*)*mw* "vegetation" is closer to Ramesside hieratic traditions than to monumental ones.[893] On a fragment of an endowment stela from the Fayum area, dating to the reign of Ramesses III, *s*(*j*)*mw* is written similarly:  .[894]

gnw(*t*)  line 21
"annals" The spelling of *gnwt* "annals" without the -*t* ending but complemented by the determinative of a band of string or linen corresponds to the Ramesside non-monumental orthography of the word.[895]

grḥ  line 24
"night" The use of the double determinative (complemented with) in the spelling of the word *grḥ* "night" is characteristic of the non-monumental texts of the Ramesside era.[896]

4.3.3.3.3.3 Seldom Attested Ramesside Graphical Features

ḫns  line 17
"to traverse" The final *yod* written as or appears in the spelling of the verb *ḫns* "to traverse" only from the Twentieth Dynasty onwards.[897]

ḫntj (prep./*nisba*)  lines 2, 6, 13
"in front of" vs.  vs. line 3
On the Northern Stela, *ḫntj* is written with one of its less frequent Ramesside graphical variants ( )[898] in three out

892 Cf. *DZA* 23.431.280–310 and *Ramsès*, lemma no. 103648. See, e.g., in pTurin 1882, recto 3.5 (K*RI* VI 73, 8).
893 *DZA* 29.182.150–240; particularly, *DZA* 29.182.230.
894 K*RI* V 270, 9. Compare with the examples in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*: 34  (K*RI* I 49, 11);  (K*RI* I 55, 4); and  (K*RI* I 56, 5).
895 See *Ramsès* (lemma no. 102631) and *DZA* 30.657.940 on the different spellings of the word.
896 Cf. *DZA* 30.671.360 and 930–010; particularly, *DZA* 30.671.960–970. On the evolution of the spelling of the lexeme, see Chantrain (2014: 47–49).
897 *DZA* 27.879.530–570.

of four occurrences in total (see also under §4.3.3.3.5).

4.3.3.3.4 Idiosyncratic Graphical Solutions

j3dt
"influence"

 line 17

The unusual choice of determinative (instead of) befits the figurative sense[899] of the word. *J3dt* is used here to refer to a "radiant" quality of the king rather than to a weather phenomenon. Sign S15 () is regularly used for words built from the stem *ṯḥn* "to be bright, to dazzle."

p3(jj)=sn
(Late Egyptian possessive article)

 line 31

See above, under §4.3.3.3.1.

mntk
(Late Egyptian independent pronoun)

 line 6 (§4.3.2, n. xxiv)

See above, under §4.3.3.3.1.

nmj
"to traverse"

 line 24

The verb *nmj* features an unusual determinative, instead of : . The sign might be a mistake for ,[900] which is already found with *nmj* in pBoulaq 17, 9.6.[901]

rnpwt
"years"

 , , lines 1, 2, 12/C6

vs.  vs. line 13

See above, under §4.3.3.3.1.

ḥnbb[sic]
"to drive away"

 line 24

Ḥnbb () is a mixture of two related verbs: *ḥnb* "to drive away"[902] and *ḥnbb* "to slay,"[903] sharing the classifier of the former but the written morphology of the latter.[904] The present combination seems to be otherwise unprecedented in the record but may be interpreted as a snapshot of a transitional phase of the lexical development. *Ḥnb* occurs first in the *Book of the Dead* but is absent from the monu-

898 Cf. *DZA* 27.968.230 and *Wb.* III 304.
899 See *j3dt* also above, under §4.3.3.2.2.
900 Cf. *DZA* 25.118.230 and 270.
901 pBoulaq 17 = pCairo CG 58038, 9.6 in Luiselli (2004: 93).
902 *Wb*. III 113.3.
903 *Wb.* III 113.15; cf. also *Wb.* III 113.14.
904 Similarly observed by Helck (1958: 31).

mental record until the time of Seti I (see above, under §4.3.3.2.5). *Ḥnbb* with the meaning "to slay" is, on the other hand, not attested before Ptolemaic and Roman times and is most likely a derivation from *ḥnb*.[905]

ḫm.w (pseudoparticiple of *ḫm* "to not know")

 line 19

The pseudoparticiple of the verb *ḫm* features a playful spelling by incorporating the lexeme *mw* "water" at the graphical level. Compare the spelling of the infinitival form of the same verb in GDSS 4 under §4.2.3.3.4.

sbꜣw "stars"

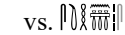
 line 24 (§4.3.2, n. lxxv)

The unique spelling of the word is probably a result of a creative reinterpretation of the corresponding passage (see n. lxxv under §4.3.2).

sṯḥn "to make glisten"

 [906] line 10

vs. GDSS 14

vs. 

The lower part of sign S15 () ends in three forks in line 10 of the Northern Stela (). The unusual detail must have been influenced by the context (*s(t)ḥn W3st nḥḥ* "who makes Thebes glisten forever"), that is, by the neighboring sign () in particular. The spelling is unparalleled.

šs "cord"

 line 6

In line 6 of the Northern Stela, the word *šs* "cord" is written with the stone classifier () in the expression *pḏ šs* "to stretch the cord." The spelling, which is apparently unique,[907] is a visual reference to the building activities, the first step of which—stretching the cord, that is, the mason's line—is evoked here.

4.3.3.3.5 Contrastive Spellings

n (gen.)



vs. 

within line 4 *ntk nb ꜥ3 n* () *mḥ jb jm=f nḫw n* () [*ḫn*]*ḫn=f*

The spelling of the two genitive *n*'s within the two nominal predicates of the above clause contrasts with one another. The

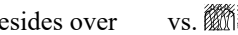
905 Wilson (1997: 653).

906 Detail from Paksi (2017: 128, fig. 2).

907 Cf. *DZA* 30.236.300 and 410.

less traditional spelling—written with sign S3 ()—aligns with the grammatically (§4.3.2, n. xvii) and lexically (see *nḫw* and *ḥnḫn* under §4.3.3.2.4) more novel part of the clause.

ḫntj Jpt-swt
"who presides over Karnak"

 lines 2 and 6
vs.  vs. GDSS, left margin, column 1

The of *ḫntj Jpt-swt* in lines 2 and 6 of the main text of the Northern Stela (see above, under §4.3.3.3.3.3) contrasts with the more conventional  in the same phrase in the first column of the left margin of the Southern Stela.

s3
"son"

 within lines 11 and 18
vs. 

The two different spellings of *s3* "son" in the two different parts of the vocative in line 11 and in the dative in line 18 create a visual contrast between the title and the term of endearment: *s3 Rˁ* () "son of Re" versus *s3=j mrjj=j* ( ) "my beloved son," with the former's frozen combination standing in opposition to the typically Ramesside way of writing *s3* in the latter (see above, under §4.3.3.3.3.1). The spelling of the phrase *s3=j mrjj=j* "my beloved son" is consistent throughout the text (GDSN 11 and 18). Nonetheless, when the same phrase is used in the third- instead of the first-person (*s3=f mrjj=f* "his beloved son" in GDSN 1), the spelling of *s3* is kept as conventional as in the title *s3 Rˁ* in line 11 and elsewhere in the text: .[908]

 within line 15
vs. 

The two different spellings of *s3* contrast with one another in the parallel expressions of *Ḥr s3 3st* () "Horus, son of Isis" and [*Stš*] *s3 Nwt* () "[Seth], son of Nut" within the same line.

4.4 Discussion of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*

4.4.1 The Structure of the Monument

Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* is centered around the main organizing principle of the *do ut des* formula. The two scenes on top of the two halves of the inscription reflect

908 Compare the spelling of the phrase *jnk s3=k mrjj=k* "I am your beloved son" () in Ramesses III's *Piety to Amun* II (K*RI* V 279, 2).

this central point of reference in a very straightforward and tangible way. Each represents one aspect of the reciprocity of the exchange between the king and the gods. The southern scene (§4.2.1.1) shows the king offering in front of the Theban triad—an image that stands *pars pro toto* for all royal benefactions to the gods. The northern scene (§4.3.1.1), on the other hand, focuses on what the king expects for his benefactions in return: it shows him receiving life, dominion, and jubilees from the gods of Egypt. The scenes thus demonstrate two sides of the same coin and establish a strong link between the two halves of the monument. The subject matter of the main inscriptions is in agreement with the corresponding scene in both cases. The Southern Stela focuses on the good deeds of the king—even though this might not be immediately evident, since the presentation of royal benefactions happens in an indirect way, embedded into the gods' addresses directed to one another. The sections dealing with Ramesses III's benefactions thus form part of the gods' supplications, in which they prompt each other to provide the king with well-deserved rewards for his efforts. The Northern Stela, on the other hand, concentrates on the realization of the divine service in return, a subject matter that finds its expression in Amun-Re's performative statements addressed to the king.

The core part of the main text of the Southern Stela (§4.2.1.3) consists of three speeches spoken by the major deities of the Egyptian pantheon (§4.2.1.3.3, §4.2.1.3.4, and §4.2.1.3.5). The first address (§4.2.1.3.3) starts directly after the dateline and titulary (§4.2.1.3.2), presumably already in line 2 or at the latest in line 3. Due to the lacunose context, the identity of the speaker(s) remains unknown. However, since the next section is explicitly reserved for the Heliopolitan gods, and the third one to Amun-Re, it is plausible that these lines also belonged to a collective of gods, most likely to that of Memphis, in which case the major deities expressing acknowledgment of the royal benefactions on the *Great Double Stela* would correspond to the major divine beneficiaries mentioned in the *Great Papyrus Harris*.[909] Lines 14–15 of the Southern Stela, which mention the royal benefactions received by Heliopolis and Memphis side by side, and line 18, similarly of the Southern Stela, which acknowledges the king's support of the temples of Egypt, among which the temples of Amun-Re, Re-Harakhte, and Ptah are mentioned explicitly, support this interpretation. As opposed to the identity of the speaker(s), the context leaves no doubt about the identity of the addressee of the first speech: it is Amun-Re. As for the subject matter, the first divine address encapsulates the central theme of the double stela by setting the king's deeds against divine benefactions in return—here specifically, against the king's victory abroad.

A much longer second speech follows (§4.2.1.3.4), the beginning of which has been preserved (GDSS 5), and therefore we know that this is an address by the gods of Heliopolis to Amun-Re. The second address runs from line 5 to line 17. The relatively good state of preservation and the sufficient length of the section allow us to determine its genre more closely. The second address is an intercessory prayer to the principal deity on behalf of the king. Passages soliciting divine benefits (GDSS 5–6, 6–7, 10–11) alter-

909 pHarris I 5.4–9.7 deals with Ramesses III's benefactions for Amun, 25.7–30.5 for the gods of Heliopolis, and 46.5–50.3 for Ptah.

nate with sections either enumerating the king's benefactions (GDSS 6, 7–10, 13, 15–16, 17) or bringing forward other arguments for the king's worthiness of divine grace (GDSS 5: *ḫr ntk r.qd pr-ꜥ3…* "Now, you are the one who created the pharaoh…" and GDSS 11–13: *ntk t3 nḫ[t n] pr-ꜥ3…* "you are the victor[y of] the pharaoh…").

The third address, Amun-Re's speech to the gods who had spoken before him (§4.2.1.3.5), is another divine intercession on behalf of the king with a structure similar to the previous one. It starts in line 17 and ends in line 30 of the stela. Guided by the *do ut des* principle, Amun-Re turns to the gods of Egypt to ask for their support for his son (GDSS 19–21, 24–27). He does so by emphasizing the king's benevolence towards the temples of Egypt (GDSS 17–19, 23–24) and by making explicit references to the temple inspections that happened in year 15 (GDSS 21–23, 27–30).[910]

The idea of inserting intermediaries between a worshipper and the addressee of his worship already existed before intercessory prayers became common in the Amarna period.[911] In the Ramesside period, prayers, in which the king or a god mediates on behalf of a mortal, appeared in yet greater numbers,[912] and it was not uncommon that the king himself became the object of human or divine intercessions.[913]

The divine intercessions on the Southern Stela have a recurring theme. The passage asking for long lifespan and great kingship for the king, health for his limbs, pleasure for his heart, and brightness for his eye is repeated five times in total in the intercessory prayers (GDSS 5, 6–7, 19, 21, 26). Line 21 contains only an incomplete version of it, reciting not more than the first part of the phrase. Nevertheless, the first part of the refrain-like formula is always complemented with an extra wish in all its occurrences in Amun-Re's speech (GDSS 19, 21, 26): besides "long lifespan" and "great kingship," Amun-Re insists that also "many years" be given to the king. The additional request was perhaps directed to Thoth, who was depicted counting the king's regnal years presumably in both scenes.[914] The recurring theme of the divine intercessions has a small number of phraseological parallels in the record—all Ramesside. A late Ramesside hieratic papyrus from Deir el-Medina, for instance, contains the phrase *ꜥḥꜥw qꜣ jꜣwt nfrt snb ꜥnḫ nḏm n ḥ3tj=k* "long lifespan, good old age, health, life, and pleasure for your heart."[915] More importantly, Ramesses IV also seems to have been inspired by the theme on his father's Southern Stela in the *cour de la cachette*. Both Abydos stelae of his (§6.2) contain a similar formulation. Line 32 of the *Great Abydos Stela* (see under §6.3.3.3.4) includes the following passage: *rwd n ꜥwt=j wbḫt n jrt=j nḏm n ḥ3tj=j m jmnjjt* "vigor for my limbs, brightness for my eye, (and) pleasure for my heart as a permanent service (§6.4, n. cxxxii)." Similarly, in line 15 of his *Year 4 Abydos Stela*, Ramesses IV voices the

910 Cf. K*RI* V 232–234.

911 Bickel (2003: 37). On the Amarna-intercessions, see also Reiche (1998: 338–340).

912 For examples of the king or a god interceding on behalf of ordinary humans, Podemann Sørensen (2015: 312–316).

913 Grimal (1986: 539–544). In the corpus of this study, Text A of the *Kanais Inscription* contains a human intercessory prayer on behalf of Seti I (§2.2.4.2).

914 See §4.2.1.1 with n. vi under §4.2.2 and §4.3.1.1.

915 pDeir el-Medina 8, verso 3 in K*RI* VI 672, 1–2.

following wish: *snb ꜥnḫ ꜥḥꜥw qꜣ nsjjt ꜥꜣt rwd*[916] *n ꜥwt=j nb nw*[917] *n jrtj=j sḏm n ꜥnḫtj=j nḏm* [*n ḥꜣtj=j m-mnt*] "health, life, long lifespan, great kingship, vigor for all my limbs, sight for my eyes, hearing for my ears, (and) pleasure [for my heart daily]."[918]

The words of lesser deities addressed to Amun-Re are interwoven by shorter and longer segments spoken by the king. The king's interruptions happen in a commentary fashion and relate to the actual subject matter of the gods' speech (GDSS 3–4, 13–15, 16, 17). The very end of Amun-Re's address to the gods of Egypt similarly contains a section of direct speech from the king (GDSS 27–30). The latter, on the other hand, is not a royal statement reinforcing the gods' words but a reiteration of the royal order that had been given to the officials responsible for the great temple inventory, and it is also cited as such by Amun-Re.

In comparison to their supplementary function on the Southern Stela, the king's words occupy a central role on the northern half of the monument (§4.3.1.3). The Northern Stela presents a dialogue situation between Ramesses III and Amun-Re. Although the king and the god mutually praise each other, their communication remains strictly indirect, which means that they do not engage in a real conversation. Royal and divine statements remain organized into two separate blocks without any direct contact between the two sections of speech. The phenomenon is not exclusive to god–king speeches: Michela Luiselli observed that real dialogues were only imaginable within the literary sphere—among others, also between mortals and deities.[919] The segmented presentation of royal and divine statements resembles the traditional iconography of Egyptian temple reliefs with the image of the king and the god facing one another. This association is reinforced by the performative character of Amun-Re's language within the main text (see nn. xlvi, lvi, and lxx under §4.3.2).

The idea of having a god and a king engaged in a discourse on a royal monument is—generally speaking—ancient. The very first example of this group of texts is the speech of the Ennead to Djoser in Heliopolis.[920] The number of monumental inscriptions containing an address from both parties is, however, strongly limited. There are only a handful of examples from the Eighteenth Dynasty[921] and possibly a further four from the Ramesside era. Peden noted two Ramesside royal stelae preserving an exchange between a king and a deity: Seti I's *Stela to Khnum* in Elephantine and Ramesses IX's *Karnak Stela*.[922] In the case of the Nineteenth Dynasty example, both royal and divine statements

916 The word is written with a metathesis of *w* and *d*:  .

917 The determinative used is D139 () instead of D6 ():  .

918 K*RI* VI 19, 2–4.

919 Luiselli (2005: 46–47).

920 *Urk.* I 153.12–154.9; Kahl, Kloth & Zimmermann (1995: 116–117).

921 Thutmosis III's stela in Karnak (CG 34011 in *Urk.* IV 619–624); Amenhotep III's southern and northern stelae behind the Memnon colossi (*Urk.* IV 1671–1677 and 1955–1958); and Amenhotep III's building inscription stela, the reverse of Merenptah's *Israel Stela* (CG 34025 in *Urk.* IV 1646–1657).

922 Peden (1994a: 115); K*RI* I 97–98 and K*RI* VI 451–453.

are at least partially preserved,[923] whereas in Ramesses IX's inscription, only the king's address to Amun has survived.[924] To these, two further instances may be added from the reign of Ramesses III. In Ramesses III's Amun temple at Karnak, there are two inscriptions recounting the king's good deeds for Amun.[925] The king's address to the principal deity is juxtaposed to the god's response in both cases.[926]

On the northern half of the *Great Double Stela*, the king's speech (§4.3.1.3.3) follows directly after the titulary and the dateline (§4.3.1.3.2) in line 3. The first half of the royal speech (GDSN 3–5) is a declaration of the king's pious devotion to Amun-Re, whereas the second half of the address (GDSN 5–8) focuses on listing Ramesses III's benefactions to the deity. Besides the restorative temple building activities in Thebes (GDSN 6–8), the king's transfer of all foreign revenues to the treasuries of Amun-Re is also explicitly mentioned (GDSN 6). The two paragraphs after the king's speech leading up to Amun-Re's address (§4.3.1.3.4) echo the *do ut des* principle and anticipate the subject matter of the god's words that follow. The key word in this transitory passage is thus *jsw* "reward" in line 9. Amun-Re's speech to the king (§4.3.1.3.5) occupies the major part—roughly two thirds—of the Northern Stela (GDSN 11–30). Its sheer length, its position—ending the second part of a double monument—and its content make it the culmination of not only the Northern Stela but the entire *Great Double Stela*. Amun-Re's words finally grant the divine service in return for all the royal effort in pleasing the gods of Egypt. That a relatively large weight is given to military victory can be understood in light of the three wars Egypt had to fight earlier during Ramesses III's reign.

The two halves of the double stela are also linked by the formulation of the closing parts of their main text (§4.2.1.3.6 and §4.3.1.3.6). Although the end of the Southern Stela is too lacunose to allow a detailed comparison of the two final sentences, both stelae seem to finish with a similar reasoning in the spirit of the *do ut des* principle: *mj rdj.n=sn*… "because they (i.e., the gods) have given…" The phrase appears in line 31 of the Southern Stela and in line 32 of the Northern Stela. On the Southern Stela, the context is lost, but on the Northern Stela, the causal subordination follows the description of an offering scene: *r jrt wdnw qrrw ꜣw r sḫtp nṯrw=sn…. r rdt mn rn n jtw nṯrw nṯr*[*w*]*t Šmʿw Mḥw mj rdj*[*.n*]*=sn ḫfnw m ḥbw-sd ḏt m qnt nḫt n* [*nsw bj*]*tj nb tꜣwj*… "to make oblations and great burnt offerings, to satisfy their gods, …. to make the name of the fathers (§4.3.2, n. lxxxii), all gods and goddesses of the South and the North endure because they [have] (§4.3.2, n. lxxxi) given hundreds of thousands of jubilees and an eternity in valor and victory for the [king of Upper and Low]er Egypt, lord of the two lands: …" (GDSN 31–32). The very last sentence of the inscription, besides establishing

923 Line 3 (K*RI* I 97, 8) and line 20 (K*RI* I 98, 6) respectively mark the beginning of the king's and Khnum's speech.

924 The king's speech starts in line 2 of the inscription (K*RI* VI 452, 3–4).

925 K*RI* V 276–278 and 278–280.

926 In the king's *Piety to Amun* I and II, columns 17 (K*RI* V 276, 7–8 and 278, 13–14) introduce the speech of the king, while columns 1 (K*RI* V 277, 11–12 and 279, 15 – 280, 1) mark the beginning of Amun-Re's reply. For the arrangement of the two parts of the text on the wall, see Epigraphic Survey (1936: pls. 34A and 35A).

a link to the lunette of the Southern Stela through its offering motif, thus once again illustrates the reciprocal nature of benefactions between the king and the gods.

4.4.2 Differences in Language Use Between the Southern and Northern Stelae

The two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* demonstrate a striking difference in their language use. While the Southern Stela mainly relies on Late Egyptian grammar, the Northern Stela predominantly employs Earlier Egyptian grammatical constructions. Nonetheless, grammatical features of both stages of the language are unmistakably present on both halves of the double monument. The chart below (see Fig. 24) illustrates the difference between the linguistic selections of the two parts of the inscription by measuring the absolute frequency of Late and Earlier Egyptian grammatical features on the left and the relative frequency of Late and Earlier Egyptian grammatical features on the right vertical axis. Since the margins and the opening scenes of the two halves of the double monument are identical in their grammatical selections—apart from a single occurrence of a *sḏm.n=f* form in each scene (§4.2.3.1 and §4.3.3.1), they do not contain any saliently old or new grammatical features—their data were not included in the chart below. The diagram thus focuses on demonstrating the language use of the main texts of the Southern and Northern Stelae. In both cases, the yellow ochre column represents the total number of Late Egyptian grammatical features in the main texts of the double inscription, whereas the dark blue column stands for all occurrences of Earlier Egyptian grammatical characteristics in the same parts of the monument. The relative frequency of these features is, in turn, indicated by the dark ochre and light blue solid lines.

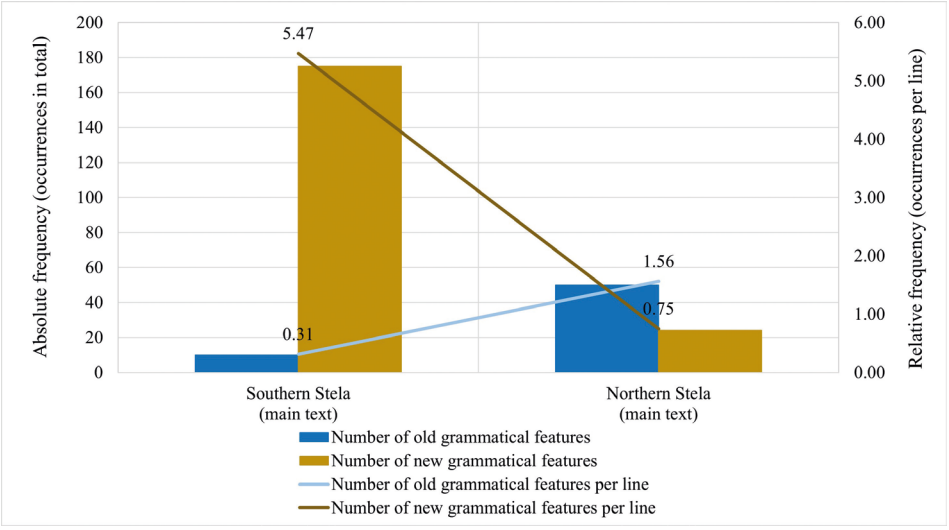


Fig. 24: Absolute and relative frequency of old and new grammatical features (details under §4.2.3.1 and §4.3.3.1) in the main texts of the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*.

The language of the Southern Stela appears as a straightforward, unmuted variant of Late Egyptian with some of the latest features of diachronic linguistic change (§4.2.3.1). The main clauses are dominated by Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f*'s, written with periphrasis in the case of the *s*-causative forms of 3-lit. verbs, and by the imperative of *rdi*, written as *jmm* (see under §4.2.3.3.3.1). The main clauses are often continued by the Late Egyptian conjunctive *mtw=f sḏm* or occasionally even by the sequential *jw=f* (*ḥr*) *sḏm*. Furthermore, most participles and relative forms of the verb *jri* are written with a prothetic *yod*, and possessive articles formed with the Late Egyptian third-person suffix pronoun outnumber those formed with *=sn* (7 exx. vs. 1 ex.).[927] Typically Earlier Egyptian morphology is only very sporadically present in the right-hand text. It often appears either in combination with uncommon or innovative features or is employed for the sake of linguistic dissimilation. The use of the synthetic passive *sḏm=f* construction with a subjunctive *sḏm=f* as a completive subject (GDSS 13) is, for instance, a highly infrequent grammatical combination (§4.2.2, n. xli). The presence of the hybrid participial form *j.jrr* (GDSS 3 and 12 [2x]) is similarly noteworthy in the text.[928] On the other hand, Earlier Egyptian independent pronouns, examples of the third-person plural suffix pronoun *=sn*, and participles without the distinctive Late Egyptian prothetic *yod* are regularly found in the direct environment of their younger morphological counterparts. Compare, for instance, the following examples: *mntk–mntk–ntk* (GDSS 3–4); *ntk–mntk* (GDSS 11–12); *djw=j ḫpr***=sn** *jw ḥ3w n***=w** *r p3jj***=w** *ḫr-ḥ3t* "I made them (i.e., Heliopolis and Memphis) become having (§4.2.2, n. xlviii) an increase with regard to their former (state)" (GDSS 15); *n3jj=***sn***–*[*n3jj=***w**] (GDSS 16; §4.2.2, n. xlix); *j.jrr–jr* (GDSS 3–4). Likewise, at the end of the text, the Late Egyptian imperative of *wḏi* "to depart, to dispatch" is continued by a chain of Late Egyptian conjunctives preceded by a single example of an earlier continuative form, a subjunctive *sḏm=f*: *j.wḏ ḥnw=tn… mtw=tn…* "Set out! You shall hurry…, make…" (GDSS 27). The distinctively older morphology of the Earlier Egyptian accomplished *sḏm.n=f* is generally avoided on the Southern Stela. The form is employed as predicate only in the scene and in the closing part of the main text. The one example in the main text constitutes a phraseological parallel with the ending of the Northern Stela: *mj rdj.n=s*[*n*]… "because th[ey] (i.e., the gods) have given…" (GDSS 31) and *mj rdj*[*.n*]*=sn…* "because they (i.e., the gods) [have] (§4.3.2, n. lxxxi) given…" (GDSN 32).

The language of the Northern Stela, in contrast to that of its southern counterpart, aspires to imitate a more ancient layer of Egyptian (§4.3.3.1), in Vernus's words, a pristine language of the primeval times possessing the performative qualities associated with creation.[929] The importance of the performative aspect of the language on this half of the monument becomes particularly apparent in Amun-Re's statements: *dj*[ʔ*.n*(*=j*) *n=k*ʔ] *ḥbw-sd n T3-ṯnn…* [*dj*]*=j jw n=k wrw nw t3 nb dmḏ….* *dj*[*=j*] *Ṯḥnw…* "[ʔI hereby ʔ] give

927 The possessive article is one of the few linguistic environments where the new third-person suffix pronoun was reluctant to spread. Cf. Winand (1995: 194).

928 See also n. 684 above.

929 Vernus (2016b: 4).

[ʾyouʾ] (§4.3.2, n. xlvi) jubilees of Tatenen, … and I [cause] (§4.3.2, n. xlviii) the chiefs of every land to come to you all together, …. [and I] (§4.3.2, n. li) place the Libyans…" (GDSN 12–14). The main predicate of this section, *dj.n*(*=j*), which is continued shortly by two unaccomplished *sḏm=f*'s of the same verb, evokes the performative *dj.n=j n=k* formulae in temple inscriptions.[930] The exact same structural pattern—a first-person *sḏm.n=f* construction of the verb *rdi* continued by two unaccomplished *sḏm=f*'s of the same verb—is repeated in lines 15–17 of the stela: *rdj.n=j pḏt 9 ḫr tbtj=k…. dj=j n=k pḥtj mjtt Mnṯw…. dj=j bꜣw=k m tꜣw nbw mj Ḥr…* "I hereby place (§4.3.2, n. lvi) the Nine Bows under your sandals, …. and I give you strength like that of Montu, …. and I put your might into every land like that of Horus…" Although the fragmentary nature of the final third of the Northern Stela does not allow for establishing a sound macro-syntactic analysis of the second half of Amun-Re's address, it is not to be excluded that the sequence of performative sentences continued well beyond line 17. See, for instance, the wording of the end of line 22: *dj=j wn Bꜣqt m ḥbw… rdj=j n=k tꜣ-mrj…* "I make (§4.3.2, n. lxx) the Dazzling Eye (i.e., Egypt) be in festivities, … (and) I give you the Beloved Land…" Irrespective of the original length of the chain of performative sentences, the fact that they represent the basic structure of the principal deity's address to the king is remarkable, even though shorter sequences of accomplished *sḏm.n=f*'s continued by unaccomplished *sḏm=f*'s are found in the gods' addresses to kings also in the Eighteenth Dynasty royal inscriptions. Lines 3–6 of Amenhotep III's stela between Aswan and Philae offer, for example, a thematically comparable passage: *wḏ.n*(*=j*) *n=k* [*ḫꜣst nbt*]…. *dj=j n=k rsw…* "I hereby decree for you [every foreign land]…. and I give you the southerners…"[931]

The predicates in the main clauses of the Northern Stela employ Earlier Egyptian or diachronically indistinct grammatical constructions also outside the section containing Amun-Re's speech to the king. In Ramesses III's address to Amun-Re and in the introduction to Amun-Re's "response," *sḏm.n=f*'s, *subject sḏm=f*'s, and nominal cleft- and non-cleft sentences prevail. The difference in language use between the two halves of the *Great Double Stela* is evident also beyond the nature of the predicates of their main clauses (§4.2.3.1 and §4.3.3.1). The Southern Stela indicates adnominal possession with the help of the Late Egyptian possessive article in overall more than 40 instances, whereas the Northern Stela prefers the older *noun + suffix pronoun* construction and uses the possessive article merely once (GDSN 31).[932] For expressing non-existence, the Southern Stela employs the negative morpheme *mn* (GDSS 23), but the older *nn* (GDSN 16) and *n*^{sic} (GDSN 5; §4.3.2, n. xxv) fulfill the same function on the Northern Stela. While neuter meaning is invariably expressed by masculine participles and relative forms on the Southern Stela, the Northern Stela prefers the earlier feminine formulation at least once (GDSN 6). The Earlier Egyptian third-person suffix pronoun *=sn* is used 17 times on the Northern Stela but only four times on the Southern Stela. Its Late Egyp-

930 Vernus (1985b: 308–309).

931 *Urk.* IV 1664, 3–9.

932 A diachronic corpus-based overview on the two strategies is given by Winand (forthcoming).

tian equivalent, *=w*, appears 13 times in the right-hand text but not more than three times in the left-hand one.

At the lower syntactic levels, such nuances as the use of the possessive adjective after a third-person plural suffix pronoun in line 23 (*jb=sn jrjj* "their hearts, those thereof"), which may seem redundant at first sight (§4.3.2, n. lxxii), further demonstrate the elevated nature of the linguistic register of the Northern Stela. The co-occurrence of the two morphemes, although infrequent, turns out to have an indexical value for higher written registers. The combination of a suffix pronoun and the possessive adjective is first documented in the Eighteenth Dynasty *Book of the Dead* manuscripts[933] but is apparently absent from the royal inscriptions of the same period.[934] The simultaneous use of the two morphemes extends to the monumental sphere in the Ramesside era. Nineteenth Dynasty examples are present in line 23 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*,[935] line 3 of a lesser inscription of the same king from year 9 in Aswan,[936] line 10 of Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*,[937] columns 34 and 88 of his *Great Dedicatory Inscription* in Abydos,[938] and line 19 of the *Year 8 Heliopolis Stela* of the same king.[939] From the time of Ramesses III, there is at least one more example known in Medinet Habu.[940] In all above instances, the possessive adjective follows either *=sn* or *=w* but never a singular pronoun.

Although the finite verbal forms on the Northern Stela are all Earlier Egyptian, and Earlier Egyptian grammatical constructions dominate the entire inscription, the text is not exempt from Late Egyptian grammatical characteristics. Some of the innovative features are, however, barely noticeable. An object expressed by a suffix pronoun after a participle is a typical representative of such subtleties: [*ḥn*]*ḫn=f* "who [app]roaches him" (GDSN 4; see §4.3.2, n. xvii). The omission of the feminine ending from the expression of the neuter in two out of three preserved examples (GDSN 16, 18 vs. GDSN 6) is a similarly inconspicuous morphological detail. The periphrastic construction of the circumstantial *sḏm=f* of the *s*-causative form of a 3-lit. verb (*swḏꜣ* "to preserve, to keep safe") in line 5 of the Northern Stela, which constitutes an interference between the two stages of the language here at play (§4.3.2, n. xxiii), is also easy to overlook. In contrast, the few examples of Late Egyptian definite and possessive articles (GDSN 4 [2x], 5, 18, 26 and GDSN 31), third-person plural suffix pronouns (GDSN 6, 18, 32), *wn*'s used as

933 *BoD* 78, 41 and 43 in pNu (Lapp 1997: pl. 41; *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*, *TM 134299*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134299; accessed 3 August 2024).

934 Cf. Brose (2023: 299–301, §85).

935 K*RI* I 49, 13–14. There is an ambiguous example in line 10 (K*RI* I 47, 11):  . The group could be read as *kfꜣw=w jrjj* "their reverse, those thereof." The use of a Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun (*=w*) would, nevertheless, be unexpected—given the conservative linguistic profile of the section (eulogy of the temple). The signs  may as well stand simply for the plural ending of the noun: *kfꜣw jrjj* "their reverse."

936 K*RI* I 73, 12.

937 K*RI* II 355, 5.

938 K*RI* II 325, 14 and 333, 2.

939 K*RI* II 362, 10.

940 K*RI* V 97, 11.

preterite or *jw*'s as circumstantial converters (GDSN 13/C7, 32 and GDSN 3, 19) appear easier to spot—at least, for the modern eye.

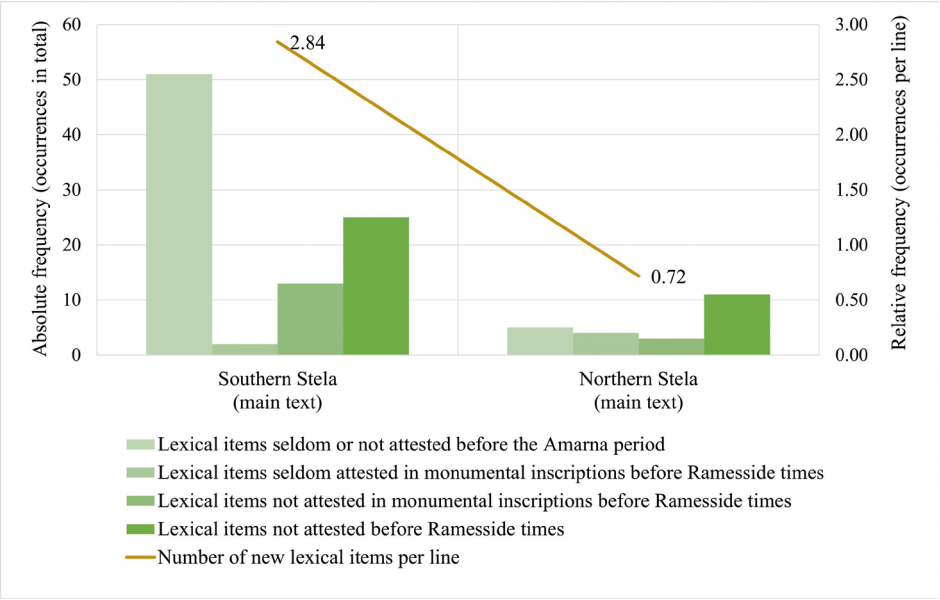


Fig. 25: Absolute and relative frequency of new lexical items (details under §4.2.3.2.3, §4.2.3.2.4, §4.2.3.2.5, §4.2.3.2.6, §4.3.3.2.3, §4.3.3.2.4, §4.3.3.2.5, and §4.3.3.2.6) in the main texts of the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*.

The linguistic dissimilarity of the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* is also apparent in the lexical dimension of their linguistic selections. The Southern Stela contains almost four times as many new words and expressions as its northern counterpart (see Fig. 25 above).[941] The difference in wording between the right- and left-hand texts is perhaps most evident at the level of individual lexemes. The Southern Stela substitutes the word *sꜣ* for "son" with *šrj*, its younger equivalent (see under §4.2.3.2.3), and consistently uses the word *pr-ꜥꜣ* "pharaoh" (see under §4.2.3.2.3) when referring to the king. Instead of the older *rḫ* "to know," which is documented only once on the Southern Stela (GDSS 5), the right-hand text prefers a later synonym, *ꜥm* (GDSS 4, 10, 11, 14–15; see under §4.2.3.2.5). Similarly, while the preposition "except" is expressed by the earlier *wpw-ḥr* on the Northern Stela, the Southern Stela uses the Ramesside *ḥrw* (see under

941 The main text of the Southern Stela contains 91 new lexemes, whereas that of the Northern Stela only 23. For the list of occurrences, see §4.2.3.2.3, §4.2.3.2.4, §4.2.3.2.5, §4.2.3.2.6, §4.3.3.2.3, §4.3.3.2.4, §4.3.3.2.5, and §4.3.3.2.6 above. Since the scenes and margins of the two halves of the double monument are very similar in their lexical selections, their data have been omitted from the chart above. The scenes of the Southern and Northern Stelae contain one relatively recent lexical item each (§4.2.3.2.6 and §4.3.3.2.6). The margins of the Southern Stela lack any typically new words and expressions, but the margins of the Northern Stela include one (§4.3.3.2.6).

§4.2.3.2.6): *jw bn ḏrt n mšʿ nb jm=f* ***ḥrw*** *t3jj=k pḥtj ʿ3t…* "without a hand of any soldier in it (§4.2.2, n. xxxix) except for your great strength…" (GDSS 12) vs. *jw bn ḏrt n kjj jm=j* ***wpw-ḥr****=k* "while there was no other hand with me but yours" (GDSN 3).

The southern half of the *Great Double Stela* contains twice as many lexical items that are only rarely or not at all documented in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times than its northern half.[942] Likewise, the Southern Stela includes more than double the number of words and expressions that are entirely absent from the pre-Ramesside record than the Northern Stela.[943] Among the latter, the twofold occurrence of the particle *jj3* "indeed" on the Southern Stela (GDSS 6 and 11) is, for instance, noteworthy, since the morpheme is characteristic of lower written registers and appears here for the first time in the monumental royal record (see under §4.2.3.2.6).

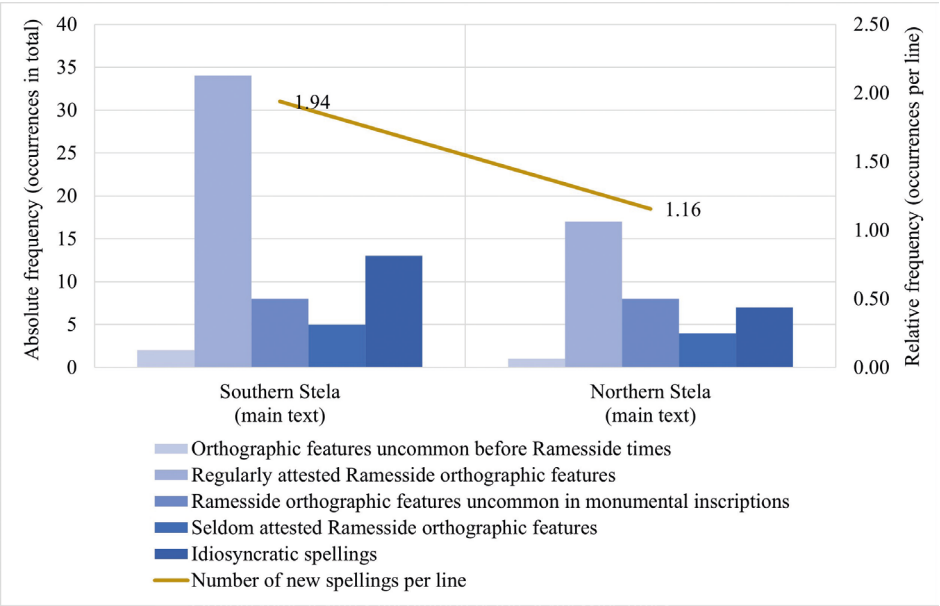


Fig. 26: Absolute and relative frequency of new spellings (details under §4.2.3.3.2, §4.2.3.3.3, §4.2.3.3.4 and §4.3.3.3.2, §4.3.3.3.3, §4.3.3.3.4[944]) in the main texts of the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*.

942 15 exx. vs. 7 exx. in the main texts as well as in total (see under §4.2.3.2.4, §4.2.3.2.5 and §4.3.3.2.4, §4.3.3.2.5).

943 25 vs. 11 exx. in the main texts and 26 vs. 13 exx. overall (see under §4.2.3.2.6 and §4.3.3.2.6).

944 Although idiosyncratic, the first three examples of the spelling of the word *rnpwt* "years" (GDSN 1, 2, 12/C6) imitate earlier written traditions on the Northern Stela (see under §4.3.3.3.1) and were therefore excluded from the chart. The spelling of the Late Egyptian possessive article *p3*(*jj*)*=sn* in GDSN 31 and that of the Late Egyptian independent pronoun *mntk* in GDSN 6 were disregarded for similar reasons.

The difference between the two halves of the inscription is significantly stronger in their grammatical and lexical selections than with regard to their openness to new spellings. Although the Southern Stela is somewhat more receptive to new graphical solutions than the Northern Stela, the two halves of the double monument look rather similar epigraphically (see Fig. 26 above and Fig. 27 below).[945]

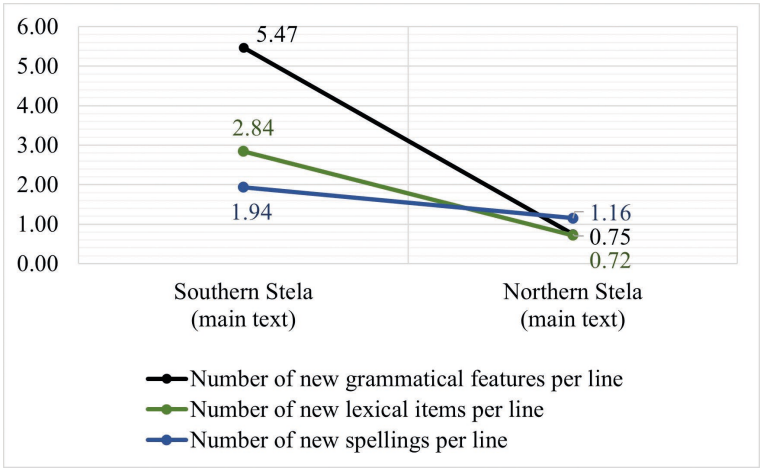


Fig. 27: Relation between the new grammatical, new lexical, and new graphical choices in the main texts of the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (details from Fig. 24, Fig. 25, and Fig. 26).

The real asymmetry between the graphical selections of the Northern and Southern Stelae lies elsewhere. A few graphical details on the Northern Stela are suggestive of the composers' intention to make this half of the monument appear visually more conservative than the southern one. The consequent omission of sign A2 (𓄿) from the spelling of the prothetic *yod* of the two Late Egyptian participles on the Northern Stela (GDSN 9/C3 and 26) is one of these (see also under §4.3.3.3.1). Refraining from sign A2 in 𓇋𓄿 makes the use of a Late Egyptian grammatical feature visually less striking.[946] The defective spelling of the prothetic *yod* on the Northern Stela contrasts with several examples of the regular spelling on the Southern Stela (𓇋𓄿 in GDSS 3, 4, 6, 12, 21, 22, 23, 27; 𓇋𓏏 in GDSS 5).

945 The graphical data of the margins and scenes of the two halves of the double monument have been omitted from the corresponding chart because there are only minor differences between their graphical selections. The scene and the right margin of the Southern Stela contain one new spelling each (see *Šmʿw Mḥw* "the South and the North" under §4.2.3.3.3.3 and *sḫḏ* "to illuminate" under §4.2.3.3.4), while the scene and the margins of the Northern Stela lack any conspicuously new graphical solutions. Both the left and the right margins of the Northern Stela, on the other hand, include a spelling that follows earlier written traditions (see *tjt* "image" under §4.3.3.3.1).

946 Winand's observation (1992: 376–377, §596) that the few examples of this allograph that have been noted so far appear in epigraphic context is particularly significant in this respect.

The second-person singular masculine independent pronoun has two examples on the Northern Stela: an Earlier Egyptian *ntk* in line 4 and a Late Egyptian *mntk* in line 6 of the main text (§4.3.2, n. xxiv). While the two preserved examples of *mntk* are written as  on the Southern Stela (GDSS 4 and 12), the same grammatical morpheme has a unique spelling on the Northern Stela:  (see under §4.3.3.3.1). Since the two owls ( ) were often used as a monogram in the royal inscriptions of the Eighteenth Dynasty,[947] the present example is best understood as an intentional graphical modification of the pronoun that results in a hybrid form. The composers of the text included the younger graphical variant of the morpheme with a creative but artificial visual link to the past instead of repeating *ntk*, its genuinely old counterpart (see GDSS [4], 5, 11 and GDSN 4), already used in line 4 of the Northern Stela. The spelling of *mntk* with the double owls, an ancient graphical element, reduces the visual salience of the morpheme's Late Egyptian character and thereby links it to both linguistic worlds. The example illustrates that the simultaneous presence of old and new linguistic features was by no means accidental but was considered important on both halves of the double monument.

The otherwise unparalleled spelling of the only example of a Late Egyptian possessive article on the Northern Stela (; see *p3*(*jj*)=*sn* under §4.3.3.3.1) fits into the same line of argument. In the spelling of *p3*(*jj*)=*sn* in line 31 of the Northern Stela, the omission of the double *yod* and the phonemographic interpretant[948] of sign G40 () is coupled with an unusual combination of signs in the third-person plural suffix pronoun (O34–S3–Z3:), the first two of which (and) are specifically associated with the monumental sphere at Ramesside times: .[949] The result is once again a singular example of a graphically embellished and visually muted Late Egyptian linguistic feature contrasting with 42 examples of conventionally written possessive articles on the other half of the monument (exx. listed under §4.2.3.1).

Individually, the unusual spelling of the above three grammatical morphemes—the prothetic *yod* of two Late Egyptian participles, a Late Egyptian independent pronoun, and a possessive article—may be dismissed as scribal idiosyncrasies, but taken together, they reveal a systematic scribal effort to decrease the visual salience of certain grammatical morphemes that were not yet part of the more ancient layers of the language that the Northern Stela seeks to imitate. The fact that the composers nonetheless included them in the language of the left-hand text demonstrates that linking the inscription to both

947 See, e.g., the examples under *Urk.* IV 17, 7 and 8; 20, 9; 157, 6; 362, 5; 364, 11; 837, 16; 1294, 11 and 12.

948 See n. 602 above.

949 Substituting the simple wave line () with the Lower Egyptian crown () is a phenomenon characteristic of monumental inscriptions from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards (see n. 272 above). Compare, for instance, the spelling of the interrogative pronoun *jn-m* "who?" in Seti's *Kanais Inscription* under §2.4.3.1 and that of the preposition *m* in the first line of the present inscription under §4.3.3.3.2 (with n. 871). For the /-interchange, see the spelling of the causative prefix of the verb *sḫtp* "to please, to satisfy" on the right margin of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* discussed below, under §6.6.2.3 (with nn. 1473 and 1474).

linguistic worlds was considered more important than recreating and faithfully imitating a genuinely ancient textual layer.

By contrast, Late Egyptian definite articles, the preposition *mj* as clause connector, *jw*'s as circumstantial and *wn*'s as preterite converters, and the new third-person plural suffix pronoun were apparently not considered as visually conspicuous non-classical grammatical features, for they were employed without further graphical modifications on the stela. There may, however, be a straightforward explanation for this selective tolerance. All Late Egyptian grammatical characteristics that were employed with their regular spelling in the language of the Northern Stela are grammatical morphemes that either already existed with different functions in earlier times or were easy to confuse with such. While most of them belong to the previous category, the Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun, which may be mistaken for the plural marking, represents the latter.

It must, nevertheless, be emphasized that the extra effort invested in visually modifying certain Late Egyptian grammatical features instead of using their older equivalents suggests that the new grammatical features were employed on purpose. This observation leads to an important insight into the priorities of the ancient composers of this text. It seems that the simultaneous presence of old and new grammatical features was valued—what is more, was deemed necessary—even if it meant a compromise and required certain adjustments at the graphical level of the language.

The differences in the spelling of numerous words and expressions between the two halves of the inscription give us further cues about the composers' awareness of the graphical dimension. The spelling of *mnw* "monuments" (GDSS 14 and GDSN 10; see under §4.2.3.3.3.2) or that of *Šmʿw Mḥw* "the South and the North" (GDSN 32 and GDSS 16, scene; see under §4.2.3.3.3.3) is, for instance, less conventional on the Southern than on the Northern Stela. The spelling of Amun-Re's epithet, *ḫntj Jpt-swt* "who presides over Karnak," is, however, more innovative within the main text of the Northern Stela (GDSN 1 and 6) than on the left margin of the Southern Stela (see under §4.3.3.3.5), which illustrates that the margins were generally subject to a more standardized orthography than the two main inscriptions. The spelling of certain lexemes could at times also vary depending on the context (§4.3.3.3.5); at other times, playfulness and creativity seem to have motivated the choice. See, for example, the spelling of *sḥḏ* "to illuminate" (GDSS, right margin) and *rmṯ* "people" (GDSS 20) under §4.2.3.3.4; and the writing of the words *šs* "cord" (GDSN 6), *stḥn* "to make glisten" (GDSN 10), *jꜣdt* "influence" (GDSN 17), and *sbꜣw* "stars" (GDSN 24) under §4.3.3.3.4.

4.4.3 Reasons Behind the Linguistic Heterogeneity of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*

Goldwasser's hypothesis[950] that expressions of personal piety account for the linguistic heterogeneity of the *Great Double Stela* has remained uncontested in previous scholar-

950 Goldwasser (1991: 140–141).

ship. Both the Northern and Southern Stelae contain expressions of personal piety.[951] Nevertheless, these motifs do not form a distinct genre, they do not add up to a personal prayer on either part of the stela. The way in which the lexical elements of this new, typically Ramesside[952] genre were used on the *Great Double Stela* is best regarded as an act of recontextualization:[953] these lexical units were extracted from their original context of use and were embedded into a new textual environment. On the Southern Stela, they were placed into a series of divine intercessions on behalf of the king, while on the Northern Stela, they filtered into the king's eulogistic address to Amun-Re. The *Great Double Stela* is thus fundamentally different from another composition of the same king, the *Gold Tablet Prayer*.[954] The latter operates with the same lexical repertoire characteristic of personal prayers as do parts of the *Great Double Stela*, but it does so without doing away with the original textuality of these lexical expressions and by keeping the form of a personal prayer.

The lexical elements of personal piety cluster in lines 3–4, 10–11, and in line 20 of the Southern Stela and similarly, in lines 3–5 of the Northern Stela. They are present with exceptional density in lines 3–5 of the Northern Stela, that is, in the first half of the king's address to Amun-Re. The introductory lines of the king's speech in fact contain an excerpt, a highly condensed version, of a personal prayer and thereby form a textual sub-unit within the king's speech. This section can be further divided into three paragraphs: the first (*jnk sꜣ=k*… "I am your son, …") and the last (*jnk sꜣ*[*=k*] *smsw*… "I am [your] eldest son…") focus on the king, while the one in the middle (*ntk nb ꜥꜣ*… "You are the great lord…") focuses on Amun-Re. The two paragraphs dealing with the king and his pious attachment to Amun-Re thus frame Ramesses III's appreciation of Amun-Re as a personal life god and as the protector of the pious.

The motif of having no hand but god's with the king mentioned in line 3 of the Northern Stela (*jw bn ḏrt n kjj jm=j wpw-ḥr=k* "there was no other hand with me but yours") is the first one in the series of lexical elements reminiscent of the wording of personal prayers in this section. It resonates with line 4 of the Southern Stela (*jw bn ḏrt n rmṯ nb jm=f* "without having anyone's hand in it" (§4.2.2, n. xviii)), in which the same motif is placed into a somewhat different context, into a eulogistic section about Amun-Re that attributes the victory of Egypt exclusively to the god. In this case, an expression originally indicative of a more direct and more personal experience of the divine acquires an additional layer of meaning that overshadows its primary connection to personal prayers.

The first expression on the Southern Stela that evokes associations with personal prayers is the phrase *pꜣjj=k bꜣk* "your servant" in line 3. It occurs once more on the

951 On the lexical elements that are characteristic of a more direct and more personal experience of the divine, see Brunner (1982: 955–956).

952 Although the earliest known literary evidence for personal piety may be traced back in time at least as early as the reign of Amenhotep II (Posener 1975: 195–210), the first examples of the fully developed new genre date to the second half of the New Kingdom (Goldwasser 1991: 138–141).

953 On the phenomenon in general, see also §6.6.3 and n. 1482 below.

954 K*RI* V 221, 1 – 225, 16.

Southern Stela itself, in line 10. Non-royal individuals regularly called themselves gods' servants (*ḥm* or *bȝk*) in the Ramesside period to express their piety.[955] The theme appears, for example, in a prayer of a Nineteenth Dynasty official, Djehutyemhab, to Hathor,[956] but also the king is mentioned as such elsewhere: for instance, Ramesses IV on the left margin of his *Great Abydos Stela*, in his address to Re;[957] and Ramesses VIII on a Twentieth Dynasty private stela.[958] On the Southern Stela, the phrase "your servant" is placed into the gods' mouths as a designation of the king in both of its occurrences. It is thus not the king who says it—directly or indirectly—about himself as would be expected if the phrase were embedded into a personal prayer.

The Southern Stela has two further expressions adopted from the language of personal prayers: relying on god and filling one's heart with god. Non-royal examples of these lexical elements are found, for example, in Samut-Kyky's pious words to Mut.[959] On the Southern Stela, the two motifs appear together in line 3 (*jw=f* (*ḫr*) *ḥn n=k jw jb=f mḥ* [*jm=k*] "relying (§4.2.2, n. xvi) on you and his heart being filled [with you]") and in line 11 (*n pȝ ntjj ḥn=f n=k n pȝ ntjj mḥ jb=f jm=k* "for him who relies on you, for him who fills his heart with you") but not in line 20, where the motif of filling one's heart with god (*n pȝ ntjj mḥ jb jm=tn* "for him who fills the heart with you") stands on its own. None of these examples stem from the mouth of the king: those of line 3 form part of the first divine intercessory prayer on his behalf; the ones in line 11 are placed into an impersonal exclamation prompted by the gods of Heliopolis; and the one in line 20 is equally part of an exclamation, however, this time uttered by "all the people of every land" and motivated by Amun-Re. The motifs of relying on god and filling one's heart with god reappear also on the Northern Stela, in the introductory lines of the king's speech to Amun-Re: *ḥn=j n* {*r*}<*rȝ*>*=k wr*… "as I rely on your mighty word…" (GDSN 3) and *ntk nb ꜥȝ n mḥ jb jm=f*… "you are the great lord of the one who fills the(/his) heart with him…" (GDSN 4).

The lexical elements of personal piety do not account for the linguistic heterogeneity of the *Great Double Stela* in general. Neither are they by any means responsible for the linguistically more innovative nature of the Southern Stela in particular. If the expressions of personal piety had had the influence on linguistic choices that Goldwasser supposed they had, namely, an inherent preference for innovative linguistic features, the introductory lines of the king's address to Amun-Re in lines 3–5 of the Northern Stela, which contain the highest density of these expressions, should be dominated by Late Egyptian grammar. This is clearly not the case. The reasons behind the linguistic dissimilarity between the two halves of the double monument must therefore lie elsewhere.

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955 Vernus (1975b: 109, n. q).

956 Assmann (1978: 26, col. 5).

957 Column 2 (see below, under §6.3.2.1) includes the following passage: *jnk ḥm=k jr ḫr mw=k* "I am your servant who acts on your water (i.e., who is loyal to you)."

958 Line 6 of stela no. 2081 in Berlin reads *m wpwtj n pr-ꜥȝ ꜥnḫ–wḏȝ–snb pȝjj=tn bȝk* "as the messenger of the pharaoh (l.p.h.), your servant" (Roeder 1924: 188–189).

959 See inscription B, col. 7 (Negm 1997: pl. LIV; Vernus 1978: 135) and inscription A, col. 66 (Negm 1997: pl. LII).

A transition from the "specific and actual" to the "timeless and eternal" can be observed at various levels between the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*. Most evidently, it is present in the subject matter of the two stelae. While also being concerned with divine favor, the Southern Stela focuses on the benefactions made by the king for the gods of Egypt and their temples, whereas the central theme of the Northern Stela is the reward the king receives for his deeds: "hundreds of thousands of jubilees and an eternity in valor and victory" (GDSN 32). The Southern Stela is thus bound to an earthly dimension, to actual historical events, whereas the Northern Stela is linked to an atemporal dimension, to eternity, the cyclical time of *ḥbw-sd* "the jubilees."

The datelines of the two stelae demonstrate the same switch between the two dimensions. Despite the fact that the date has not been preserved on the Southern Stela, it is demonstrable (§4.2.2, n. xii) that the first half of the monument had a specific, conventional dateline. The dateline of the Northern Stela, on the other hand, marked the beginning of Ramesses III's everlasting kingship: *ḥsbt 20 ꜣbd šmw sw ḫḥw n rnpwt ḫfnw m ḥbw-sd ḏt* [*m qnt nḫt*]… "Year 20, second month of summer, the day (§4.3.2, n. xi) of millions of (§4.3.2, n. xii) years, hundreds of thousands of jubilees, eternity [in valor and victory] (§4.3.2, n. xiii)…" (GDSN 1).

The dimensional contrast also affected the designation of the king in the two texts. The word used to refer to the king is *pr-ꜥꜣ* "pharaoh" on the Southern Stela, whereas it is *ḥm* "majesty" on the Northern Stela. The word "pharaoh" is first found in the record in the time of Thutmosis III and is already then often associated with innovative linguistic registers (see under §4.2.3.2.3). The older term (*ḥm*) is thus contrasted here with the more recent one (*pr-ꜥꜣ*). The contrast here is, nevertheless, less of a linguistic character than one that refers to the distinction made between the current king (*pr-ꜥꜣ*) and the king as a particular individual in whom the timeless divine power of the kingship is incarnated (*ḥm*).

The language of the *Great Double Stela* respects the overall composition of the monument in general and the dimensional contrast between the southern and northern halves of the inscription in particular. Since the language of the Southern Stela was meant to reflect the present dimension, it was presumably kept relatively close to the spoken variety of the language at the time of composition. By all means, it was meant to resonate with a certain current situation and contrast with the timelessness represented by an older variety of the language used on the other half of the monument. At the same time, the Earlier Egyptian of the Northern Stela served as a linguistic guarantee of the divine grace towards Ramesses III. Together, the two different stages of the language encompassed and united the divine and human spheres symbolically (see also below, under §7.1.1.2.3). The linguistic reflection of the compositional logic of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* is thus an illustrative example of the central role attributed to the simultaneous use of old and new linguistic features in the composition of Ramesside royal texts.

5 Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*

(K*RI* VI 12–14 = Pls. XXII–XXIV)

5.1 Historical and Cultural Significance of the Stela

Ramesses IV led four stone mining expeditions into the Eastern Desert, to the quarries of the Wadi Hammamat, approximately 75 km east of Koptos. These missions took place between his first and third regnal years and constitute the largest and best-documented expeditions to the wadi during the New Kingdom.[960] The *Great Hammamat Inscription* (see Fig. 29 below),[961] dating to Ramesses IV's third regnal year, commemorates his last and—judging by the number of people involved—most extensive stone mining expedition to the wadi.[962] According to the available textual sources,[963] the goal of this endeavor was to obtain graywacke, a type of sandstone,[964] for royal statues and for the king's ongoing building activities in the Theban necropolis.

Since a royal stela in Koptos commemorates the return of the expedition to the Nile valley, there is sufficient evidence to estimate the length of the mission to about two months. While the earliest text related to Ramesses IV's fourth expedition to the wadi is dated to day 26 of the first month of summer,[965] the *Koptos Stela*, being the last inscription associated with the same enterprise, dates to the third month of the same season.[966] The date of the *Great Hammamat Inscription*, day 27 of the second month of summer,[967] can thus be understood as referring to the time when the main contingent finished the work in the wadi.[968]

The object of the present study, Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*, is a 1.4 m high stela with a round top that was carved onto a polished rock surface at the

960 Hikade (2001: 38–46; 2006: 156–161).

961 The stela was first published by Lepsius (L*D* III 219e), later again by Couyat & Montet (1912: 34–39 and pl. 4, no. 12), then by Christophe (1949: 1–38), and most recently by Kitchen (K*RI* VI 12–14). Christophe (1949: 1–38) was also the first to provide a full translation and commentary to the whole text; later interpretations include the works of Peden (1994a: 91–100 and 1994b: 86–90), Lloyd (2013: 371–373), and Kitchen (*RITA* VI 12–15).

962 The last two entries of the list of participants embedded in the *Great Hammamat Inscription* (see below, under §5.2.2.5) mention over 9,000 men (8,368 listed + 900 deceased) as being involved in this last mission.

963 See, e.g., lines 11–12 of the present inscription under §5.2.2.4 and line 5 of the stela of Usermaatre-Nakht (K*RI* VI 16, 1) carved during the same expedition. An ostracon in the Metropolitan Museum mentioning the transportation of a block for a statue (oMMA 14.6.216, verso 11 in Demarée 2017: 101) can similarly be linked to the same expedition (Demarée 2017: 104–105).

964 On this material more precisely, see §5.3, n. xviii below with references.

965 K*RI* VI 12, 5. The text is a private inscription from a charioteer, a servant of Ramesses-Nakht, the high priest of Amun and the leader of the expedition.

966 K*RI* VI 16, 10.

967 See below, under §5.2.2.2.

968 Cf. Hikade (2006: 161).

roadside of the Wadi Hammamat.[969] The stela was placed into an untouched landscape on the southern side of the wadi, several meters away from all other inscriptions (see Fig. 28 below).[970]



Fig. 28: Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* in the Wadi Hammamat. Photo by the author, March 2022.

Apart from its missing lower right corner, which affects the beginning of the last four lines, the monument is overall well preserved (see Fig. 29 below).[971] The carving, however, is relatively shallow. The signs appear almost as if drawn, lightly scratched into the rock surface[972] and cannot be compared with the epigraphic quality of the relief inscriptions of the same king known from the Nile Valley (compare, e.g., Fig. 36 and Fig. 39).

969 On the physical parameters of the stela, see Couyat & Montet (1912: 35).

970 Couyat & Montet (1912: 34). The inscriptions visible today on the left side of the stela (Couyat & Montet 1912: 39–40 and pl. 3, nos. 13–15) date to the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty.

971 For older photographs of the stela, see Couyat & Montet (1912: pl. 4, no. 12), reproduced by Christophe (1949: pl. 1) and Harrell (2002: fig. 143).

972 Personal observation in March 2022.



Fig. 29: Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*. Photo by Vincent Morel, March 2022.

The scene shows the king presenting the figure of *maat* to Amun, who is accompanied by Mut, Khons, and Bastet. Ramesses IV is followed by Min, Horus, and Isis, while a winged uraeus-serpent closes the scene on each side. The main text consists of

22 evenly executed lines and presents a well-structured composition.[973] After the dateline and titulary, a relatively long royal eulogy leads up to the actual expedition account, which reports on the king's journey to the Wadi Hammamat, the erection of the stela, the royal instructions and order concerning the stone material of the wadi, the logistical challenges of the supply transports, and a final thanksgiving to the gods. The account itself is, however, divided into two sections of unequal length by a detailed list providing the function and number of the participants of the mission. It is precisely this embedded list that has made the stela well known among scholars. While it serves as a major source of information on the military administration of the Ramesside era,[974] it also contains an obscure entry that appears to break the rules of *decorum*[975] by shedding light on significant casualties that occurred during Ramesses IV's last mission to the wadi.[976]

The linguistically heterogeneous nature of the text has so far only been addressed by Jansen-Winkeln, who concluded as follows: "In der Expeditionsinschrift Ramses' IV. im Wadi Hammamat sind die einleitende Eulogie sowie die Rahmentexte des Berichts mittelägyptisch; wo es hingegen in die Details der Aufträge der Truppe geht, wird die Sprache deutlich neuägyptischer."[977] The present chapter aims at providing a more differentiated picture of the language of the text by analyzing its grammatical, lexical, and graphical selections and by exploring the historical and cultural factors that could have led to the incorporation of a previously unthinkable content into a royal inscription.

5.2 Transliteration and Translation of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*

5.2.1 The Opening Scene

The king faces Amun, Mut, Khons, and Bastet, while Min, Horus, and Isis stand behind him. A winged uraeus-serpent closes the scene on each side.

Amun:

Jmn-Rᶜ nb nswt tꜣwj

Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands.

Mut:

Mwt

Mut.

973 For an overview of the major structural points of the main text, see §5.2.2.1 below.

974 Christophe (1949: 1).

975 On the concept, see Baines (2007: 14–30).

976 On a new hypothesis concerning the translation and the grammatical analysis of the second-to-last entry in the list in line 18, see Paksi (2018: 199–207).

977 Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 96).

Khons:

Ḫnsw […]

Khons, […].

Bastet:

Bꜣstt nb(*t*) ꜥ*nḫ-tꜣwj*

Bastet, lady of Life-of-the-Two-Lands.

Uraeus on the left:

Nḫbt

Nekhbet (i.e., the one from Elkab).

The king:

[1]|*nb tꜣwj Ḥqꜣ-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ Stp-n-Jmn*
[2]|*nb ḫꜥw Rꜥ-ms-s*(*w*) *mꜣꜥtj mr Jmn* [3]|*dj* ꜥ*nḫ*

[1]|Lord of the two lands, Heqamaatre Setepenamun;
[2]|lord of diadems, Ramesses, the true one, beloved of Amun[3]|—given life!

Min:

Mnw nb Gbt(*jw*)

Min, lord of Koptos.

Horus:

Ḥr sꜣ ꜣst

Horus, son of Isis.

Isis:

ꜣst

Isis.

Uraeus on the right:

Wꜣḏtjj

Wadjet (i.e., the cobra goddess of Lower Egypt).

5.2.2 The Main Text

5.2.2.1 Overview of the Main Structural Elements

Dateline and titulary — lines 1–2
- royal name — line 2

Royal eulogy — lines 3–6
- *nṯr nfr…* — line 3
  "perfect god…"
- *jtjj n ᶜbᶜb m rn=f r qʒ n pt…* — line 3
  "sovereign with the boast of his name to the height of heaven…"
- *jtjj qn sksk ḫʒswt…* — line 5
  "valiant sovereign who destroys the foreign lands…"

Expedition account—Part 1 — lines 6–13
- *jsk jr nṯr nfr pn… pr.n=f m ḫt…* — lines 6–7
  "Now, as for this perfect god, … he has come forth from the womb…"
  - *swn.n=f {r} wʒt <r> tʒ nṯr…* — lines 8–9
    "He has opened the road to the god's land: …"
- *jstw ḥm=f jp m jb=f…* — line 9
  "Now, his majesty was shrewd in his heart…"
  - *pḫr.n=f ḏw špsj…* — line 10
    "He has travelled around the august mountain…"
- royal name — line 10
- *jstw rdj.n ḥm=f m ḫr n…* — line 11
  "Now, his majesty has given instructions…"
- *jw wḏ.n ḥm=f…* — line 12
  "His majesty has decreed…

Embedded list of participants — lines 13–18
- *wbʒw srw ntjj r-ḥnᶜ=f…* — line 13
  "The butlers and officials who were with him: …"

Expedition account—Part 2 — lines 19–22
- [*jw*] *ḫn.n=tw n=sn ḫrwt…* — line 19
  "The supplies have been transported to them…"

jw jn.n=tw n3 wdnw… line 20
"Offerings have been brought…"
ḫr-ḥb ng ḫrw=f… line 21
"The lector priest lets his voice re-sound…"
royal name line 22

5.2.2.2 Dateline and Titulary

[1]|*ḥsbt 3 3bd 2 šmw 27 ḫr ḥm*
Ḥr k3 nḫt ꜥnḫ (m) m3ꜥt nb ḥbw-sd mj jt=f Ptḥ-T3-tnn
nbtj mk Kmt wꜥf pḏt 9
Ḥr nbw wsr rnpwt wr nḫtw jtjj ms ntrwt [2]|*sḫpr t3wj*
nsw bjtj ḥq3 pḏt 9 nb t3wj nb ḫpš Ḥq3-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ Stp-n-Jmn
s3 Rꜥ nb ḫꜥw Rꜥ-ms-s(w) m3ꜥtj mr Jmn
mrjj Jmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw Rꜥ-Ḥr-3ḫtj Ptḥ ꜥ3 rsw jnb=f nb ꜥnḫ-t3wj Mwt Ḫnsw Mnw Ḥr 3st dj ꜥnḫ

[1]|Year 3, day 27 of the second month of summer under the majesty of
Horus: strong bull who lives (in)[i] truth, lord of jubilees like his father, Ptah-Tatenen;
Two Ladies: protector of Egypt who curbs the Nine Bows;
Golden Horus: rich in years, mighty in victories, sovereign, to whom the goddesses gave birth, [2]|who fosters both lands;
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: ruler of the Nine Bows, lord of the two lands, lord of the sword, Heqamaatre Setepenamun;
son of Re: lord of diadems, Ramesses, the true one, beloved of Amun;
the beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, of Re-Harakhte, of Ptah, the great one south of his wall, lord of Ankhtaui, of Mut and Khons, of Min, and of Horus and Isis—given life!

5.2.2.3 Royal Eulogy

[3]|*nṯr nfr spd sḫrw*
jtjj n ꜥbꜥb m rn=f r q3 n pt
wbn=f m mnqbḥ mj 3ḫtj sḥḏ t3wj m nfrw=f
mwt=f 3st mn.tj m-tp=f
mkwt=f nbt ḫr=s
[4]|*nrw=f m ḫwt nw rḫjjwt*
bw nb ms(n)ḥ n ḫꜥw=f
ḥ3tjw ḫntš.w n sp r=f mj ḥꜥpj r-tp nw=f
wtt.n sw nb-r-ḏr m [*wtt*]*w=f*
[*smn*]*=f* [*ḫr nst*]*=f* [5]|*r s3 mr=f jwꜥ=f ḥr-tp t3*
sḫꜥ.n=f sw ḥr wṯst r nb t3wj

ḫnm wꜣḏtj m tp=f
bs=f sw r st[=f] n(w)[ii] *pr-[w]r r sqꜣ n=f mꜣꜥt m-ḫrt-hrw*

[3]|Perfect god, alert of plans:
sovereign with the boast of his name to the height of heaven,
as he rises from the cool place (i.e., the palace)[iii] like the horizon god who illuminates the two lands with his beauty.
His mother, Isis, abiding in front of him,
all his protection being with her;
[4]|The fear of him being in the belly of the people:
everyone being turned towards his appearances;
The hearts being glad at matter(s) concerning him like (they are for) the Nile-flood at its due date;
The Lord of All having begotten him as his [offspri]ng
whom [he established[iv] on] his [throne][v] [5]|to be a son whom he loves, his heir upon earth;
He having made him appear on the throne to be the lord of the two lands
—the two crowns uniting on his head—
(by) introducing him to [his] seat of the Per-[w]er shrine to exalt the truth for him daily.

jtjj qn sksk ḫꜣswt [6]*|ḫf ꜥꜣmw m nꜣjj=w jnw*
qnj nḫt wsr m tꜣ pn
tꜣ-mrj jw r ꜥḥꜥw=f
hꜣw nfr ḫpr n Kmt mj Rꜥ m nsjjt=f

Valiant sovereign who destroys the foreign lands, [6]|who plunders the Asiatic in their valleys;
valiant, victorious, and powerful in this land;
the Beloved Land having come to his lifetime,
a good era having begun for Egypt as (when) Re was in his reign.

5.2.2.4 Expedition Account (Part 1)

jsk jr nṯr nfr pn snn [7]*|n Ḏḥwtj m hpw nb-r-ḏr*
pr.n=f m ḫt
ꜥrꜥr ḥr tp=f
wsrw=f ḥr {r}<t>ks r pt
ms mꜣꜥt
sḥtm jsfw
dj wn grgw r-rwtj
rdj tꜣwj m ḥtpw [8]*|m rk nsjjt=f*
sḫrw=f nb mnḫ
spw=f mꜥr

wstn m nb ḫpš
wr pḥtj
dj=f ḫntš Kmt ḥḥw n spw
jb=f rs ḥr ḥḥj ꜣḫw n jt=f qmꜣ ḏt=f

Now, as for this perfect god, the representation [7]|of Thoth in the laws of the Lord of All,
he has come forth from the womb,
(with) uraeus on his head,
his power reaching[vi] towards the sky;
One who creates justice,
destroys injustice,
(and) causes falsehood to be outside;
One who puts the two lands at peace [8]|during the time of his reign:
all his plans being excellent,
(and) his deeds successful;
One who strides freely as the lord of the sword,
great of power,
as he gladdens Egypt millions of times,
his mind being vigilant in seeking out beneficial deeds for his father who created his body.

swn.n=f[9]*|{r} wꜣt <r> tꜣ nṯr*
n rḫ sw ḫpr ḫr-ḥꜣt
wꜣt swꜣ.tw m ḥr kꜣ(jj)w
jb=sn ḫm r ḫnḫn sw

He has opened[vii] [9]|the road[viii] to the god's land:
—who existed before had not known it—
the road having been removed[ix] from the sight[x] of others,
their mind(s) having been ignorant of (i.e., they did not know)[xi] how to approach it.

jstw ḥm=f jp m jb=f mj jt=f Ḥr sꜣ ꜣst
sšm=f wꜣt r bw mr=f
[10]*|pḫr.n=f ḏw špsj*
r jrt mnw n bjꜣwt n jt n jtw=f nṯrw nṯrwt nbw tꜣ-mrj
smn=f wḏ ḥr-tp ḏw pn ḫt ḥr rn wr n nsw bjtj Ḥqꜣ-mꜣᶜt-Rᶜ Stp-n-Jmn sꜣ Rᶜ Rᶜ-ms-s(w) mꜣᶜtj mr Jmn dj ᶜnḫ mj Rᶜ

Now, his majesty was shrewd in his heart like his father, Horus, the son of Isis,
when he led the way to the place he wished:
[10]|He has travelled around the august mountain
to make a monument[xii] for the marvels of[xiii] the father of his fathers, all the gods and goddesses of the Beloved Land,

(by) erecting[xiv] a stela on top of this mountain carved with the great name of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Heqamaatre Setepenamun, son of Re, Ramesses, the true one, beloved of Amun—given life like Re!

[11]|*jstw rdj.n ḥm=f m ḥr n*
sš pr ꜥnḫ Rꜥ-ms-sw ꜥš3-ḥb-sd
sš Ḥrj n r3w-pr
ḥm nṯr Wsr-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ-nḫt n pr Mnw Ḥr 3st m Gbtjw
r ḥḥj n3 wpw(t) n [12]|*st m3ꜥt m p3 ḏw n bḫn*
m-ḫt [*gm*].*n*[.*t*]*w=w*
jw=w nfr r-jqr
jw=w mnw ꜥ3w n bj3(*w*)*t*
jw wḏ.n ḥm=f rdjt m ḥr n ḥm nṯr tp n Jmn jmj-r3 k3wt [13]|*Rꜥ-ms-sw-nḫt m3ꜥ-ḫrw*
r jn.tw=w r Kmt

[11]|Now, his majesty has given instructions to
the scribe of the House of Life, Ramesses Ashahebsed,
the scribe of the temples,[xv] Hori,
(and) the priest of the temple of Min, Horus, and Isis in Koptos, Usermaatre-Nakht
to seek out commissions (i.e., works)[xvi] for [12]|the Place of Truth[xvii] in the mountain of graywacke[xviii] (i.e., Hammamat).
After they[xix] had [b]een [found][xx]
(being)[xxi] exceedingly fine
and (suitable for) monuments great of marvels,[xxii]
his majesty has ordered that instructions be given to the high priest of Amun and overseer of works, [13]|Ramesses-Nakht, justified,
so that they be brought[xxiii] to Egypt.

5.2.2.5 List of Participants

wb3w srw ntjj r-ḥnꜥ=f
wb3 nsw Wsr-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ-sḫpr
wb3 nsw Nḫt-Jmn
jdnw Ḫꜥ-m-tj-r n p3 mšꜥ
jmj-r3 pr-ḥḏ Ḫꜥ-m-tj-r
[14]|*ꜥ3-n-št ḥ3t-ꜥ Jmn-ms n njwt*
ꜥ3-n-št jmj-r3 jḥw B3=k-n-Ḫnsw n t3 ḥwt Wsr-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ Mr-Jmn
kṯn Nḫt-Jmn n ḫnw
sš sḥw Sw-n-r3 [15]|*n p3 mšꜥ*
sš dnjt Rꜥ-ms-sw-nḫt n p3 mšꜥ
sšw-mšꜥ s 20
ḥr-jḥt n ḫnw s 20
ḥr wꜥrtw n mšꜥ Ḫꜥ-m-m33-l

wʿrtw n mšʿ s 20
kṯn [16]|*nt-ḥtr s 50*
jmj-rꜣ ḥmw-nṯr jmj-rꜣ jḫw
ḥmw-nṯr sšw rwḏw s 50
rmṯ-mšʿ s 5000
wʿw n nꜣ sꜣw n wḥʿw-rmw n ḫnw [17]|*s 200*
ʿprw n nꜣ pḏwt ʿnwt s 800
rmṯ rꜣw-pr pr-ʿꜣ s 2000
jd[*nw*] *s 1*
mḏꜣjjw s 50
jmj-rꜣ ḥmwt Nḫt-Jmn
ḥrw kꜣt n nꜣ kꜣwt jꜣk[18]|*jjw s 3*
jꜣkjjw msw-ʿꜣt s 130
sš-qḏw s 2
ṯꜣ-bšꜣ s 4
j.m(*w*)*tjw ntjj wꜣ r pꜣjj sḫn 900*
dmḏ 8368

The butlers and officials who were with him:[xxiv]
royal butler, Usermaatre-Sekheper;
royal butler, Nakht-Amun;
lieutenant commander of the army, Khamtir;
overseer of the treasury, Khamtir;
[14]|chief taxing master and mayor of the City, Amenmose;
chief taxing master and overseer of cattle of the temple of Usermaatre Meriamun, Bakenkhonsu;
charioteer of the residence, Nakht-Amun;
scribe of assemblage [15]|for the army, Sunero;
scribe of distribution for the army, Ramesses-Nakht;
army scribes: 20 men;
stable masters of the residence: 20 men;
chief of the army administrators, Khaemmale;
army administrators: 20 men;
charioteers [16]|of the chariotry: 50 men;
an overseer of priests and an overseer of cattle;
priests, scribes, and inspectors: 50 men;
army personnel: 5,000 men;
officers of the fishermen troops of the residence: [17]|200 men;
apru workmen[xxv] of the *anut* troops:[xxvi] 800 men;
the personnel of the pharaoh's temples: 2,000 men;
a lieutenant commander: 1 man;
the Medjay-militia: 50 men;
overseer of the craftsmen, Nakht-Amun;

overseers of the miners' [18]|work: 3 men;
miners and stonemasons: 130 men;
draftsmen: 2 men;
stonecutters: 4 men;
(and) the 900 dead[xxvii] who are absent from[xxviii] this commission;
in total: 8,368 (men).

5.2.2.6 Expedition Account Continued (Part 2)

[19]|[*jw*][xxix] *ḫn.n=tw n=sn ḫrwt ḥr Kmt m 10 n ꜥgrt*
jw 6 ḥtrj n jḥw ḫrj ꜥgrt m sṯ3 ḥr Kmt nfrjjt-r p3 ḏw n bḫn
[20]|[… … …]*w ꜥs3*
jw=w 3tp m ꜥqw jwf šꜥjj nn rḫt=sn

[19]|The supplies have been transported to them from[xxx] Egypt in 10 wagons,
while six yokes of oxen were pulling per wagon from Egypt down to the mountain of graywacke (i.e., Hammamat),
[20]|[…] many [… …],[xxxi]
loaded with loaves of bread, meat, and baked goods without their number (i.e., in big quantities).

jw jn.n=tw n3 wdnw n sḥtp n3 nṯrw n pt t3 m njwt rsw
jw=w wꜥb m wꜥb ꜥ3
jw=w ḥr rmn[21]|[… …]
[… …] *djw ḥr ꜥ3t*
n-mr ꜥb=w m wꜥ

Offerings have been brought from the Southern City to please the gods of heaven and earth:[xxxii]
they had been purified with great purification
(and) were on the shoulder[21]|[… …]
[… …] put on a donkey
so that they be purified[xxxiii] as one.

sf jw3w
sḫr wnḏw
snṯr dm.w
ḫt=f r pt
šdḥ jrp mj nw
jrtt ḥnqt ꜥb m st (*t*)*n*[xxxiv]

Long-horned cattle have been slaughtered,
short-horned cattle have been felled;
incense has been bound together,
its fire reaching the sky;[xxxv]

shedeh-wine[xxxvi] and wine (have flowed) like flood,
(and) milk and beer have been offered in this place.

ḫr-ḥb ng ḫrw=f mɜʿ wʿbw n Mnw Ḥr ɜst [22]|[… … … … …] *nṯrw nbw ḏw pn*
jb=w ɜw.w
šsp=w ʿbwt
j(ʿ)b=sn m ḥfnw n ḥbw-sd n sɜ=w mrjj=w
nsw bjtj nb tɜwj Ḥqɜ-mɜʿt-Rʿ Stp-n-Jmn
sɜ Rʿ nb ḫʿw Rʿ-ms-s(w) mɜʿtj mr Jmn dj ʿnḫ ḏt

The lector priest lets his voice resound[xxxvii] while presenting offerings to Min, Horus and Isis, [22]|[… … … … …] and all the gods of this mountain.
Their heart(s) are content,
as they (i.e., the gods) receive the offerings[xxxviii]
and present[xxxix] hundreds of thousands of jubilees to their beloved son,
the king of Upper and Lower Egypt: lord of the two lands, Heqamaatre Setepenamun;
son of Re: lord of diadems, Ramesses, the true one, beloved of Amun—given life forever!

5.3 Translation Notes to Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*

i The elliptical writing of the phrase *ʿnḫ m mɜʿt* "who lives in truth" can be observed in examples of Ramesses IV's Horus name dating to the second half of his reign (Christophe 1949: 4 with n. 1). The royal stela commemorating the previous mission to the wadi from year 2 still has  (K*RI* VI 10, 4). As in the present example, the phrase is written with honorific transposition of the two corresponding signs () on the *Koptos Stela* (K*RI* VI 16, 10) as well as on the *Great Abydos Stela* (K*RI* VI 22, 2). Despite the omission of the preposition *m*, the original sign sequence () was kept on the *Year 4 Abydos Stela* (K*RI* VI 17, 13). See also Paksi (2023: 127).

ii The genitive *n* is written as  (see E*NG* §215).

iii "Seit N.R., sehr oft Gr. als Bez. des Königspalastes" (*Wb.* II 90.18).

iv If the reconstruction of the missing signs is correct (see n. v below), the group  could also be interpreted as a relative *sḏm.n=f* with haplography of the *n*. This would result in a slightly different translation: "whom [he had established on] his [throne]." Note, however, that the structural arrangement of dependent clauses following the epithet *jtjj n ʿbʿb m rn=f r qɜ n pt* "sovereign with the boast of his name to the height of heaven" would favor a relative *sḏm=f* form in this position (§5.5.1, Table 1).

v The reconstruction of the end of the line follows Christophe's (1949: 9) suggestion.

vi The group  reading *rks* (listed as a separate lemma under *Wb.* II 459.8) is in fact a scribal error resulting from the confusion of the hieratic *r* and *t* in the verb *tks* "to penetrate, to reach" (*Wb*. V 335.17; Gardiner 1908: 131, n. aa).

vii The lack of *jw* in front of the *sḏm.n=f* form in this section is an important clue regarding the structure of the inscription. It reveals that the present verbal form is not initial. In other words, the expedition account starts in lines 6 and 7 with a section-opening *jst* (written as *jsk*) followed by a *sḏm.n=f* form with the subject in left dislocation: *jsk jr nṯr nfr pn… pr.n=f…* "Now as for this perfect god, … he has come forth…"

viii In the present section, the word *w3t* "road" is seemingly treated as masculine at the level of the resumptive pronouns (twice referenced as *sw*) but it continues to be perceived as feminine in a pseudoparticipial ending (*sw3.tw*). This means that, by the time of Ramesses IV, the dependent pronoun *sw* was no longer understood as specifically masculine but rather as one of the several ways of writing *s*(*t*/*w*). This passage thus bears witness to one specific aspect of the reduction of grammatical genders in the Egyptian language over time (Junge 2008: 80). On the evolution of the pseudoparticipial endings in Late Egyptian, on the other hand, see Winand (1992: 103–149, §§193–254).

ix The alternative segmentation of the passage offered by *DZA* 22.046.360, *w3t=s w3.tw* "its way was far away," is not supported by the context, since the phrase *t3 nṯr* "god's land" would require a masculine anaphoric suffix pronoun after *w3t*.

x The group preceding the word *k3*(*jj*)*w* "others" is graphically ambiguous (K*RI* VI 13, n. 11a); it could either be read as *ḥr* "face, sight" () or as *jb* "heart" (). Phraseological parallels (see *DZA* 22.046.370 and 390), however, support the former interpretation.

xi After Polis (2008–2009: 333, n. 899).

xii The stela speaks about itself, not about Ramesses IV's *Year 2 Hammamat Stela* (K*RI* VI 9, 11 – 11, 5). Contra Christophe (1949: 15, n. d) and Tiradritti (2002: 109–110).

xiii The grammatical function of the first two *n*'s in this passage is not fully clear. They can be interpreted either as markers of the genitive or of the dative: a) "to make marvelous monuments for the father of his fathers…" or b) "to make a monument for the marvels of the father of his fathers…" Depending on which reading we adopt, the text either refers to future works to be done with the stone material of the wadi (option "a" with plural reading of ) or to the erection of the present stela as a sign of appreciation for the marvels of the gods (option "b" with singular reading of ). Although grammatically both solutions are plausible, a slight preference is given here to option "b" because of the self-referentiality of the passage (see also nn. xii and xiv). To this end, compare lines 13–15 of Ramesses IV's *Year 2 Ham-*

mamat Stela: *m-ḫt rd.n=f m ḥr n… r jrt mnw pn n st nḥḥ m ḏw pn n bḫn m-ḥ3w t3 ntr* "after he (i.e., the king) had given instructions to… to make this monument (i.e., the stela) for the place of eternity in this mountain of graywacke (i.e., Hammamat) in the vicinity of god's land" (K*RI* VI 11, 2–4).

xiv Similarly to the example in line 4 (see n. iv above), the group  can conceal two different forms: one with an *-n* infix and one without. If the signs written are to be taken at face value—as translated above—*smn=f* opens a circumstantial dependent clause. If, however, the final consonant of the verb resulted in the omission of the *n* of a *sḏm.n=f* form, *smn*(*.n*)*=f* would have to be interpreted as the predicate of a main clause asyndetically linked to the one at the beginning of the line:

pḫr.n=f ḏw špsj
r jrt mnw…
smn(*.n*)*=f wḏ ḥr-tp ḏw pn…*

He has travelled around the august mountain
to make a monument…,
(and) erected a stela on top of this mountain…

xv Gardiner's (1938: 162, n. 3) interpretation of the group  as a scribal error for  , which would result in the reading "the scribe of the pharaoh, Hori," must be rejected on the basis of various graphical parallels that secure as the plural of *r3-pr* "temple" (see also Christophe 1949: 18 and §5.4.3.2.1 with n. 1035 below).

xvi The translation of *wpw*(*t*) (*Wb.* I 303.8 – 304.5) given here follows Gardiner's (1938: 163) suggestion. Peden's (1994a: 95) and Kitchen's (*RITA* VI 14) renderings, which both translate *wpw*(*t*) as "materials," adheres to Christophe's (1949: 18, n. f) less literal, context-given interpretation of the word.

xvii The phrase *st m3ʿt* "Place of Truth" occurs twice more in relation to Ramesses IV's fourth mission to the wadi: on the left margin of Ramesses IV's *Koptos Stela* (K*RI* VI 16, 15) and in the rock inscription of a servant of Ramesses-Nakht, the high priest of Amun (K*RI* VI 12, 6). While, for instance, according to Breasted and Lefebvre (cited by Gardiner 1938: 163, nn. 2 and 3), the expression refers to a spot in the mountain of Hammamat, Christophe (1949: 18–19, n. g) identifies it with Ramesses IV's unknown funerary temple. Gardiner (1938: 163) argues, however, that a sentence on the *Gold Mining Papyrus of Turin* makes it clear that the "Place of Truth" is a general name of the Theban necropolis.

xviii The *bekhen* stone of the Wadi Hammamat is identified as graywacke, a dense type of sandstone, often gray-green (Klemm & Klemm 1993: 368–376; Harrell 2002: 239).

xix That is, the works or materials sought out by the three officials mentioned above: Ramesses Ashahebsed, Hori, and Usermaatre-Nakht. The referent of the plural suffix pronoun is *nꜣ wpw*(*t*) at the end of the previous line, for the translation of which, see n. xvi above.

xx The restoration of the passage follows Gardiner's (1938: 162, n. 4) suggestion.

xxi The *m-ḫt sḏm.n.tw=f* construction of the verb *gmi* "to find" is followed by two Late Egyptian complement—in French terminology (see, e.g., Malaise & Winand 1999: 569–570, §918), completive—clauses.

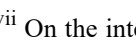
xxii The phrase *n bjꜣ*(*w*)*t* is translated here as an indirect genitive qualifying the preceding adjective (see G*EG* §95). Although the carver of the text apparently forgot the plural strokes from in  , the passage is strongly reminiscent of in line 10. In line with the considerations under n. xiii pertaining to line 10, *mnw ꜥꜣw n bjꜣ*(*w*)*t* could also be translated as "great monuments for marvels" or as "great monuments, to marvel at," as Kitchen (*RITA* VI 14) would put it.

xxiii The group  can either be interpreted as a *sḏm.tw=f* construction (*r jn.tw=w* "so that they be brought") or as an infinitive carrying the new third-person plural suffix pronoun as object (*r jnt=w* "to bring them"). Both solutions are equally possible in the present context.

xxiv Although the context probably refers to the high priest of Amun and overseer of works, Ramesses-Nakht, the person charged with bringing the stone material to Egypt, the antecedent of the third-person suffix pronoun could also be the king syntactically. Similarly, the total number of the participants of the expedition given in line 18 (8,368) requires both the king and the previously mentioned four officials (Ramesses Ashahebsed, Hori, Usermaatre-Nakht, and Ramesses-Nakht) to be added to the sum of those mentioned in the enumeration starting at this point (8,363 + 5 = 8,368). Contrary to Gardiner's (1938: 162, n. 2) opinion ("For my own part I consider it highly unlikely that Ramesses ever went to Ḥammāmāt."), the numbers thus suggest—or were conceived to suggest—that Ramesses IV took part in the expedition.

xxv The *apru* were workmen of ethnically heterogeneous Asiatic origin. On the more precise signification and the etymology of the word, see Giveon (1977: 952–955); Grandet (1994: II, 136–137, n. 534); and Hoch (1994: 61–63, lemma no. 70). For further references, see Di Biase-Dyson (2013: 252, nn. 263–270) and Manassa (2013: 80–81; 234–236, nn. 85–101).

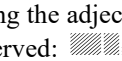
xxvi Christophe (1949: 24, n. o) notes, following Badawi (1943: 22, n. a), that the *anut* were probably prisoners of war from Asia, employed in hard labor. The referenced passage (Badawi 1943: 22, n. a), however, does not mention the *anut*. The basis of Christophe's interpretation therefore remains unclear.

[xxvii] On the interpretation of the group  as a Late Egyptian participle of the verb *m*(*w*)*t* "to die," see Paksi (2018: 199–207).

[xxviii] One would expect the preposition *r* instead of the preposition *n* in this collocation (see *Wb.* I 245.3–11). Kitchen (K*RI* VI 14, n. 9a), for example, notes that it is "probably with scratches above it." I interpret the "scratches" above the horizontal line as an attempted correction of a carving mistake (contra Paksi 2018: 200, n. 9), possibly by adding a semicircle above the line.

[xxix] The traces of signs preserved on the stela and a parallel *jw sḏm.n.tw=f* construction in line 20 (*jw jn.n=tw nꜣ wdnw*… "offerings were brought…") make Christophe's (1949: 26, n. a) reconstruction of the beginning of line 19 virtually certain.

[xxx] Contra Hoch (1994: 83); on this semantic nuance of the preposition *ḥr*, see E*NG* §615.4 and G*EG* §165.2.

[xxxi] Approximately three groups of signs are missing from the beginning of line 20. From the word immediately preceding the adjective *ꜥšꜣ* "many," only the determinatives and the plural signs are preserved:  . Christophe (1949: 27, n. b) suggests restoring *ḫndw* "runners" (*Wb.* III 314.1). Besides Christophe's solution, the words *wpwtjw* "messengers, commissioners" (*Wb.* I 304.6–11) or *mšꜥw* "travelers" (*Wb.* II 156.13) could also come into question. Irrespective of which option we accept, none of these nouns would leave more than one or—at most—two groups left for another word or phrase at the head of the line. The context and syntax would, for instance, support the preposition *ḥnꜥ* (or *r-ḥnꜥ*, as it is spelled in line 13) "together with."

[xxxii] The phrase *n sḥtp nꜣ ntrw n pt tꜣ* is understood here as an indirect genitive qualifying the preceding noun *nꜣ wdnw*. A more literal translation of the clause that reflects this relation would sound as follows: "The offerings of the kind that please the gods of heaven and earth have been brought from the Southern City…"

[xxxiii] Although the translation intuitively suggests a passive *sḏm=f* with pronominal subject after the conjunction *n-mr*—a later variant of *n-mrwt* "in order that"—the group  can no longer be analyzed as such at the time of Ramesses IV (see Stauder 2014: 246–248). The verbal form is better understood as an infinitive followed by the new third-person plural suffix pronoun (see G*EG* §181). The passive nuance is only a result of translation ("in favor of / for the sake of their purification as one" → "so that they be purified as one").

[xxxiv] The spelling of the phrase *st tn* "this place" includes a haplography of the *t*:  .

[xxxv] The group  has been interpreted differently by previous scholars. While Christophe (1949: 27, n. c) left the passage untranslated, Kitchen (*RITA* VI 15), Peden (1994a: 96–97 and 1994b: 89), and Lloyd (2013: 373) suggested a different segmentation: *snṯr d.w m ḫt=f r pt* "incense was cast in(to) its fire, (reaching up) to heaven" (*RITA* VI 15). This solution is not fully satisfactory for several reasons. On

the one hand, it would require the emendation of the text because the preposition *m* and the pseudoparticipial ending of the verb *wdi* "to put, to place" would appear in a reverse order on the stela (). On the other hand, the second adverbial complement (*r pt* "towards the sky") would modify the first one (*m ḫt=f* "into its fire), making the clause unusually compact. Furthermore, also the wording would be unexpected. Egyptian regularly uses the collocation *jri snṯr ḥr ḫt* instead of *wdi snṯr m ḫt* (see, e.g., *Urk.* IV 158, 4).

The translation proposed here understands as a pseudoparticiple of the verb *dmꜣ* "to bind together" (*Wb.* V 451.13–20; on the spelling, compare *DZA* 31.395.540). Formally, the spelling would be more characteristic of the verb *dm* "to sharpen" (*Wb.* V 448.7–9), but the context does not seem to support this reading.

[xxxvi] The tests conducted by Guasch-Jané et al. (2006: 98) on residues from an amphora from the tomb of Tutankhamun reveal that the *shedeh*-wine "was a grape product, specifically made from red grapes."

[xxxvii] A similar formulation in a Ramesside hymn to Amun (pLeiden I 350, recto 4.5–6 in Gardiner 1905: 31) suggests a lexical confusion in the present text. While the Nineteenth Dynasty textual parallel has the verb *ngg* () "to cackle" (*ngg=f ḫrw m ngg-wr* "he cackled (his) voice as the Great Cackler"), the *Great Hammamat Inscription* uses the word *ngi* () "to break open" (*Wb.* II 348.6–14) in the same collocation. On *ng*(*g*) "to cackle, to screech," see *Wb.* II 348.4–5 and 350.9–12.

Syntactically, the sentence either consists of two asyndetically linked *subject* (*ḥr*) *sḏm* constructions without the repetition of the subject (translation as above), or the predicate is in the lacuna at the head of line 22, and the sentence has an unusually long subject with two participles ("The lector priest who lets his voice resound and presents offerings to…").

[xxxviii] *ꜥbwt* () is a New Kingdom graphical variant of *ꜥꜣbwt* "offerings" (see *DZA* 21.655.710–730). Cf. §3.3, n. xv.

[xxxix]  is a defective spelling of the verb *jꜥb* "to (be) unite(d), to present" (see also Christophe 1949: 28, n. c).

5.4 Selected Grammatical, Lexical, and Graphical Features from Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*

5.4.1 Selected Grammatical Features from the Text

Late Egyptian definite article preceding a noun:

nꜣ wpw(*t*)	line 11
pꜣ ḏw n bḫn	lines 12 and 19

Compare with…

ḏw špsj (line10)

ḏw pn (lines 10 and 22)

p3 mšʿ	lines 13 and 15 (2x)
t3 ḥwt Wsr-m3ʿt-Rʿ Mr-Jmn	line 14
n3 s3w	line 16
n3 pḏwt	line 17
n3 k3wt	line 17
n3 wdnw	line 20
n3 nṯrw n pt t3	line 20

Earlier Egyptian demonstrative pronouns

-	*pn*	line 6 (2x)	*t3 pn* *nṯr nfr pn*
		lines 10 and 22	*ḏw pn*
-	*tn*	line 21	*st* (*t*)*n* (§5.3, n. xxxiv)

Late Egyptian demonstrative pronoun — line 18 — *p3jj sḥn*

Late Egyptian possessive article — line 6 — *n3jj=w jnw*

Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun…

-	after *jw*	line 12 (2x)	*jw=w nfr r-jqr* (§5.3, n. xxi) *jw=w mnw ʿ3w n bj3*(*w*)*t* (§5.3, n. xxi)
		line 20 (3x)	*jw=w 3tp m ʿqw…* *jw=w wʿb m wʿb ʿ3* *jw=w ḥr rmn*[…]
-	after an infinitive	line 13 (?)	*jnt=w* (§5.3, n. xxiii)
		line 21	*ʿb=w* (§5.3, n. xxxiii)
-	in a *sḏm=f*	line 22	*šsp=w*
-	in a *sḏm.tw=f*	line 13 (?)	*jn.tw=w* (§5.3, n. xxiii)
-	in a *sḏm.n.tw=f*	line 12	[*gm*].*n*[.*t*]*w=w*
-	after a noun or participle (genitival use)	line 22 (3x)	*jb=w* *s3=w mrjj=w*
-	in the possessive article	line 6	*n3jj=w jnw*

Earlier Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun…

-	in a *sḏm=f*	line 22	*j*(ʿ)*b=sn* …directly following *šsp=w* (line 22)

- after a noun (genitival use)	line 9	*jb=sn*
	line 20	*nn rḫt=sn*
- after a preposition	line 19	*n=sn*
Late Egyptian participle	line 18	*j.m(w)tjw* (§5.3, n. xxvii)
Earlier Egyptian *sḏm.n=f* as predicate	line 4 (2x)	*wtt.n sw nb-r-ḏr…* *sḫˁ.n=f sw ḥr wṯst…*
	line 7	*pr.n=f m ḫt*
	line 8	*swn.n=f…* (§5.3, n. vii)
	line 10 (2x?)	*pḫr.n=f ḏw špsj* *smn(.n)=f wḏ ḥr-tp ḏw pn…* (§5.3, n. xiv)
	line 11	*jstw rdj.n ḥm=f m ḥr n…*
	line 12	***jw*** *wḏ.n ḥm=f…*
Sḏm.n=f as relative form	line 4 (?)	[*smn(.n)*]*=f* [*ḥr nst*]*=f…* (§5.3, n. iv)
Passive *sḏm=f*	line 21 (2x)	*sf jwʾw* *sḫr wnḏw*
sḏm.n.tw=f	line 12	*m-ḫt* [*gm*].*n*[.*t*]*w=w…*[978] (§5.3, nn. xix and xx)
	line 19	[***jw***] *ḫn.n=tw n=sn ḫrwt…* (§5.3, n. xxix)
	line 20	***jw*** *jn.n=tw nʒ wdnw…*
Negative Accomplished		
- *n sḏm=f*	line 9	*n rḫ sw ḫpr ḫr-ḥʾt*
jw used according to Earlier Egyptian syntax…		
- *jw sḏm.n=f*	line 12	*jw wḏ.n ḥm=f…*
- *jw sḏm.n.tw=f*[979]	line 19	[*jw*] *ḫn.n=tw n=sn ḫrwt…* (§5.3, n. xxix)
	line 20	*jw jn.n=tw nʒ wdnw…*

978 On the construction *m-ḫt sḏm.n.tw=f*, see §5.5.2.1 with n. 1084 below.

979 On this remarkable grammatical construction, see §5.5.2.1 with n. 1086 below.

jw used according to Late Egyptian syntax…

-	at the head of a complement clause	line 12 (2x)	*m-ḫt* [*gm*].*n*[.*t*]*w=w* *jw=w nfr r-jqr* *jw=w mnw ꜥ3w n bj3*(*w*)*t* (§5.3, nn. xix, xx, xxi, xxii)
-	as circumstantial converter	line 19	*jw 6 ḥtrj n jḫw ḫrj ꜥgrt m st3*…
		line 20 (2x)	*jw=w wꜥb m wꜥb ꜥ3* *jw=w ḥr rmn*[…]
-	at the head of a virtual relative clause	line 20	[…]*w ꜥš3 jw=w 3tp m*… (§5.3, n. xxxi)

5.4.2 Selected Lexical Features from the Text

5.4.2.1 Lexical Items Primarily Associated with Higher Written Registers Since the Early Eighteenth Dynasty

jsk/*jst*(*w*) (non-encl. part.) "now"
line 6 *jsk jr ntr nfr pn*… (see under §5.4.3.1)
line 9 *jstw ḥm=f jp m jb=f*…
line 11 *jstw rdj.n ḥm=f m ḥr n*…
On the particle *jsk*/*jst*(*w*) used as a structural marker, see the corresponding entry below, under §5.4.2.2.

snn "likeness, representation"
line 6
The word is not documented in any securely dated pre-New Kingdom text[980] but is closely associated with higher written registers since its earliest attestations. The lexeme is found in both private and royal monumental contexts as early as the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[981] In the present corpus, it is fragmentarily preserved also in column 83 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*.[982]

5.4.2.2 Old Words and Expressions with Extended Applicability

jp m jb "to be shrewd / to consider in the heart"
line 9
The use of the expression *jp-jb* "shrewd" as an explicit verbal construction is unattested before Ramesside times.[983] Line 2 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* contains a similar

980 Cf. Stauder (2013b: 489, n. 194); see also Gnirs (2013: 141, n. 112).
981 *Urk*. IV 412, 11; 426, 10; 615, 2; and 1032, 4.
982 K*RI* II 332, 6.
983 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* I 66.17. The extended use of *jp-jb* is similarly observable in *The Teachings of Ani* (see, e.g., pBoulaq 4 = pCairo CG 58042, 15.1 and 18.4 [Quack 1994: 280 and 292]).

example of the phrase (see under §6.3.3.3.1).

jsk/*jst*(*w*)	line 6	*jsk jr nṯr nfr pn*… (see under §5.4.3.1)
(non-encl. part.)	line 9	*jstw ḥm=f jp m jb=f*…
"now"	line 11	*jstw rdj.n ḥm=f m ḥr n*…

The particle *jsk*/*jst*(*w*) is used as a structural marker in the text, i.e., in a function it did not possess before the early New Kingdom.[984]

5.4.2.3 Lexical Items Seldom Attested in Monumental Inscriptions Before Ramesside Times

jdnw n mšʿ
"lieutenant commander of the army"

line 13

Although the title has been attested since the reign of Thutmosis III,[985] it has only rarely been documented in royal inscriptions. Apart from its presence in the *Horemheb Decree*[986] and in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*, there are no further examples known to date.

ʿȝ-n-št
"chief taxing master"

line 14 (2x)

The title first appears in a royal inscription in the Amarna period,[987] which constitutes the only other monumental example of the phrase *ʿȝ-n-št* "chief taxing master" known to date.[988]

ʿprw (pl.)
"*apru* workmen"

line 17 (§5.3, n. xxv)

The earliest mentions of the word, among them an occurrence in a royal inscription,[989] date to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[990] The word is documented in two further Ramesside royal texts: in Seti I's *Second Beth-Shan Stela*[991] and in pHarris I 31.8.

984 See n. 172 above.
985 References in Kruchten (1981: 45, n. 117).
986 *Urk.* IV 2144, 11 and 2146, 10.
987 *Urk.* IV 1962, 18.
988 Cf., e.g., *TLA*, lemmas nos. 35050 and 855692.
989 *Urk.* IV 1309, 1.
990 Giveon (1977: 953).
991 K*RI* I 16, 8.

wʿw
"soldier, sailor; officer"

line 16
Wʿw is a generic term for the ordinary soldier or sailor, from whose ranks also the officer corps was recruited.[992] The title is well attested in all three dynasties of the New Kingdom but is not found in royal monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times.[993] Besides the present example, it occurs in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*[994] and in Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*,[995] for instance.

r-jqr (adv.)
"exceedingly"

line 12
Although adjectival adverbs formed with the preposition *r* are attested also in pre-New Kingdom times,[996] *r-jqr* seems to first occur only in the Amarna period.[997] Earlier post-Amarnian monumental instances can be found in the inscriptions of Ramesses II[998] and in the *Horemheb Decree*.[999]

ḥr-jḫt
"stable master"

line 15
Although the title is already documented in the Eighteenth Dynasty,[1000] its first royal monumental examples seem to appear only in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*.[1001]

ḫnḫn
"to approach"

line 9
The verb is absent from the royal monumental record before Ramesside times.[1002]

kṯn/*kḏn*
"charioteer"

lines 14 and 15
Kṯn/*kḏn* "charioteer," a possibly Hurrian loan word, is attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards but its pres-

992 Cf. Faulkner (1953: 45); Schulman (1964: 36–37); and Jones (1988: 72, no. 94).
993 It is documented in the private monumental record: see, e.g., *Urk.* IV 2, 10; 890, 6; 895, 9; 996, 1.
994 K*RI* I 52, 13; 56, 9 with n. 9a; 56, 10; 57, 4; and 57, 13.
995 K*RI* II 33, 1–5; 59, 6–9: *wpt n wʿw* "military service;" 64, 1–4; 81, 8–12.
996 Cf. G*EG* §205.5.
997 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 600488.
998 The adverb is attested once in line 9 of Ramesses II's *Quban Stela* (K*RI* II 355, 4) and several times in the Qadesh inscriptions of the same king (K*RI* II 19, 5–7; 25, 1–5; 97, 5–9; and 140, 13).
999 *Urk.* IV 2146, 2.
1000 Ayedi (2006: 368–369, no. 1245); *Wb. Belegst.* I 121.7. On the title in general, see Schulman (1964: 51–53). On the pattern of attestation of the title *ḥr-jḫt n ḫnw* "stable master of the residence" specifically, see Ayedi (2006: 371–372, no. 1251).
1001 In lines 29, 36, 42, 45, and 105 (K*RI* I 50, 14; 51, 14; 52, 12; 53, 3; and 57, 13). The title is also present in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions (K*RI* V 13, 11).
1002 For the references, see the same entry above, under §4.3.3.2.4.

ence in monumental texts remains sporadic in pre-Ramesside times.[1003]

5.4.2.4 Lexical Items Not Attested in Monumental Inscriptions Before Ramesside Times

ms(*n*)*ḥ*
"to turn around"

line 4

The verb is absent from the monumental record before Ramesside times.[1004] Two examples in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions[1005] predate the present one and its parallel on Ramesses IV's *Koptos Stela*.[1006]

sḫn
"order, task, commission"

line 18

The noun *sḫn* "order, task, commission" is absent from the pre-Ramesside monumental record.[1007] One of its earliest examples in a royal inscription is found in Seti I's *Year 9 Larger Aswan Stela*,[1008] but it is also present on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSS 11, 21, 22).[1009]

šdḥ
"*shedeh*-wine"

line 21 (§5.3, n. xxxvi)

The word *šdḥ* is not securely attested before the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1010] In monumental royal inscriptions, it first appears under Seti I.[1011]

ṯ3-bš3
"stonecutter"

line 18

The word *ṯ3-bš3* "stonecutter" is first documented on an Eighteenth Dynasty hieratic ostracon and has only two examples in royal texts known to date.[1012] Besides the one in the *Great Hammamat Inscription*, there is another example on the right margin of Ramesses IV's *Koptos Stela*.[1013]

1003 Hoch (1994: 341–345, lemma no. 506); Müller (2002: 42).

1004 *Wb. Belegst.* II 146.3–8. The verb is attested though in *Ipuwer* 2.8 (Enmarch 2005: 23 and 68). While this literary text is preserved on a single Ramesside manuscript (pLeiden I 344, recto), the composition is certainly older. Stauder (2013b: 463–467) proposed a period ranging from the early Thirteenth Dynasty to the mid-Eighteenth for its dating.

1005 K*RI* V 60, 14 and 63, 1.

1006 K*RI* VI 16, 14.

1007 See n. 748 above.

1008 K*RI* I 74, 12.

1009 See under §4.2.1.3.4 and §4.2.1.3.5.

1010 Cf. Tallet (1995: 461–462 with n. 17).

1011 In line 11 of Seti I's *East Silsileh Stela* from year 6 (K*RI* I 61, 2).

1012 Hoch (1994: 110–111, lemma no. 138).

1013 K*RI* VI 16, 16.

5.4.2.5 Lexical Items Not Attested Before Ramesside Times

jp m jb
"to be shrewd / to consider in the heart"

line 9
On the use of the expression *jp-jb* "shrewd" as a verbal construction, see the corresponding entry above, under §5.4.2.2.

ꜥ*nwt* (pl.)
"*anut*"

line 17 (§5.3, n. xxvi)
The word is documented only three times in the record: the other two examples are duplicates in the same text preserved on two different manuscripts in the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*.[1014]

ꜥ*grt*
"wagon"

line 19 (2x)
This Semitic loan word occurs only once more in the record before it surfaces again in Demotic and Coptic: on the lower right edge of a hieratic stela from Amarah West lacking a royal name (MMA 1939.552),[1015] for which a dating to the reign of Ramesses III has been proposed recently.[1016]

r-ḥnꜥ (prep.)
"together with"

line 13
The preposition *ḥnꜥ* occurs in its younger form as *r-ḥnꜥ*[1017] at the beginning of the list of participants in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*. While *r-ḥnꜥ* seems to have been still avoided in the monumental versions of Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*,[1018] it is attested several times in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[1019]

rmṯ-mšꜥ
"army personnel"

line 16
Rmṯ-mšꜥ, a title otherwise absent from royal texts,[1020] is the Ramesside designation for conscripts; it replaces the earlier label ꜥ*nḫw nw mšꜥ*.[1021]

1014 pAnastasi III A 5 (*LEM* 33, 8) and pAnastasi IV 16.4 (*LEM* 52, 15).

1015 K*RI* VI 63, 16 and Popko (2016: 223, y+3). On ꜥ*grt*, see Hoch (1994: 83, lemma no. 100); Peden (1996: 48–51); and Popko (2016: 225, n. j).

1016 Popko (2016: 218).

1017 E*NG* §627.

1018 Compare K*RI* II 49, 1–4 and 49, 5; 56, 5–10 and 56, 11; and see K*RI* II 71, 11.

1019 K*RI* V 11, 12; 47, 13; 59, 14; 64, 4; 83, 13; and 93, 7.

1020 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 94610; *Wb. Belegst.* II 155.11 and 424.1.

1021 Cf. Faulkner (1953: 45) and Schulman (1964: 49, no. 115). Note, however, that the latter excludes the present example from his list of attestations and therefore concludes that the title is "attested only during the Nineteenth Dynasty."

sš sḫw "scribe of assemblage"	line 14 The title is only known from the Ramesside period and is otherwise absent from royal inscriptions.[1022]
sš dnjt "scribe of distribution"	line 15 The title is not attested before Ramesside times and does not have further parallels in royal inscriptions.[1023]

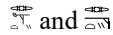
5.4.3 Selected Graphical Features from the Text

5.4.3.1 Spellings Following or Imitating Earlier Written Traditions

jsk (non-encl. part.) "now"	 line 6 Line 6 presents an archaic writing of the particle *jst*.[1024] The use of this spelling was, nevertheless, likely inspired by Thutmoside forerunners in Ramesside times.[1025]

5.4.3.2 Selected Ramesside Graphical Features

5.4.3.2.1 Regularly Attested Ramesside Graphical Features

j³kjjw "quarrymen, miners"	 lines 17–18 and 18 In Ramesside times, the *aleph* is a regular occurrence in the spelling of the word *jk* "quarryman, miner."[1026]
Mnw "Min"	 and scene and lines 2, 11, 21 The spelling of the name of Min is typically Ramesside on the stela.[1027] See Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions[1028] and Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*[1029] for further royal parallels.
mšʿ "army"	 [1030] lines 13, 15 (5x), 16 Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* consistently

1022 Although Schulman (1964: 66, no. 166) states that the title is "known only from the Twentieth Dynasty," Gardiner (1947: I 34*, no. 108) cites a source from the reign of Ramesses II.

1023 Schulman's (1964: 66, no. 167) list of examples—all dating to the Twentieth Dynasty—can presumably be completed with a further occurrence from the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty (see *TLA*, lemma no. 859058).

1024 Cf. G*EG* §230 and Oréal (2011: 171–172 and 234–345).

1025 Cf. §5.5.2.1. For examples from Thutmoside times, see Stauder (2013a: 97 with n. 156).

1026 Cf. *DZA* 21.332.380. See, e.g., pLeiden 348, verso 10.6 (*LEM* 137, 2).

1027 Cf. *Wb.* II 72.11.

1028 K*RI* V 13, 5.

1029 See the corresponding entry under §6.5.3.3.1.

1030 The example was taken from K*RI* VI 14, 5, because the sign is missing in *JSesh*.

spells the sign for *mšʿ* (A12) with two feathers instead of one. Louis Christophe noted that this allograph of the sign was a Ramesside development.[1031]

n-mr
"in order that"

 line 21

N-mr is a later variant of the conjunction *n-mrwt* "in order that."[1032] This shorter, phonetically eroded form is already documented in royal monumental inscriptions as early as the time of Seti I.[1033]

nrw
"awe, fear"

 line 4

The spelling of the word is typically Ramesside.[1034]

rꜣw-pr
"temples"

 and lines 11 and 17

The spelling of the plural form of *rꜣ-pr* "temple" corresponds to Ramesside graphical conventions in the text.[1035]

rḫjjwt
"people"

 line 4

The lapwing is complemented with a pair of human arms raised in a gesture of adoration—a regular graphical feature in the spelling of *rḫjjwt* "people" in the monumental texts of the Ramesside era.[1036] The word is written similarly on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*.[1037]

ḥf
"to lose;
to destroy"

 line 6

Ḥf is a post-Amarnian, relatively less widespread graphical variant of the earlier *fḫ*. Further Ramesside royal occurrences include pHarris I 76.10 and a handful of other examples in various inscriptions in the temple of Amun at

1031 Christophe (1949: 21). The same spelling often occurs in Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*, particularly—but not only—in the monumental versions thereof (see, e.g., K*RI* II 13, 13–14; 15, 11–13; 21, 12–14; 22, 1–4; 23, 6–10 but also 11 [pRaifé]).

1032 Cf. *DZA* 24.221.190–220, 250–330, and 380.

1033 See line 108 of the *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 57, 15). Note, furthermore, that the parallel text of Ramesses II's *Quban Stela* in Aksha has a rare older alloform of the conjunction, *m-mrt* (K*RI* II 358, 12 and 14:  ; cf. G*EG* §181), and that Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* has the conventional (B6) and (C7).

1034 See n. 879 above.

1035 Christophe (1952: 26–28); see also *DZA* 25.803.940.

1036 Cf. *DZA* 26.040.400. Similarly, Christophe (1949: 8, n. a).

1037 See the corresponding entry under §6.5.3.3.1.

Karnak.[1038] The first attestation of this spelling stems from Horemheb's Memphite tomb.[1039]

s3 "son"

 scene; lines 1, 9, 10, 22 (2x)
vs.  vs. line 5

The word *s3* "son" features a Ramesside spelling in the divine compound *Ḥr s3 3st* "Horus, son of Isis" (scene and line 9), the title *s3 Rˁ* "son of Re" (lines 1, 10, 22), and the expression *s3=w mrjj=w* "their beloved son" (line 22).[1040] The more conventional spelling is kept only in line 5, in the phrase *s3 mr=f* "a son whom he loves."

sḥtm "to destroy"

 line 7

Sign Q1 () is a regular occurrence in the spelling of the verb *sḥtm* "to destroy" in Ramesside times.[1041] While the *Horemheb Decree* still writes the word as  ,[1042] Seti I's *Nauri Decree* already has it as  .[1043]

sksk "to destroy"

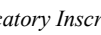
 line 5

The spelling of the verb *sksk* "to destroy" follows Ramesside monumental traditions in the *Great Hammamat Inscription*.[1044] Similar examples are found, for instance, in Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*[1045] and in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[1046]

k3(jj)w "others"

 line 9

Line 9 contains a typically Ramesside graphical alternative for the plural of *kjj* "other,"[1047] which, as opposed to the earlier post-Amarnian variant, *kṯ(w)*,[1048] can in certain contexts be interpreted as "foreigners."[1049]

1038 K*RI* I 23, 8; K*RI* II 155, 16; 156, 16; 157, 16; and K*RI* V 55, 3.
1039 Gardiner (1953b: 7, fig. 2, line 9).
1040 See n. 558 above.
1041 Cf. *DZA* 29.439.870–920.
1042 *Urk.* IV 2142, 18.
1043 K*RI* I 58, 6–7.
1044 Cf. *DZA* 29.658.050–080.
1045 K*RI* IV 5, 8 and 6, 3–4.
1046 K*RI* V 10, 10; 11, 4; 12, 6; 13, 13; 25, 7; 28, 10; 29, 16 – 30, 1; 37, 11; 43, 14; 45, 14; 49, 15; 60, 15; 65, 8; 81, 14; 85, 1; and 93, 7 and 14.
1047 *Wb. Belegst.* V 116.1–5. Line 26 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* has it as  (K*RI* I 50, 6), while in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*, it is spelled as  (K*RI* II 327, 15).
1048 See the corresponding entry under §2.4.3.3.1 with n. 316 above.

5.4.3.2.2 Ramesside Graphical Features Uncommon in Monumental Inscriptions

ḫtn/*ḫdn* lines 14 and15
"charioteer"

The *Great Hammamat Inscription* features a rare monumental spelling of the word with *ṯ*, which is rather characteristic of hieratic scribal traditions.[1050] Monumental hieroglyphic texts generally prefer the spelling with *ḏ*.[1051] Further hieroglyphic examples of *ḫtn* are known from two Ramesside private stelae, one from the time of Ramesses III[1052] and another from the rock inscription of a servant of Ramesses-Nakht,[1053] the high priest of Amun under Ramesses IV, that carries the earliest date associated with Ramesses IV's fourth expedition to the wadi.[1054]

5.4.3.2.3 Seldom Attested Ramesside Graphical Features

mꜥr line 8
"successful"

What Christophe called a defective spelling of *mꜥr* in line 8 of the *Great Hammamat Inscription*[1055] appears to be a less commonly used graphical variant that is at least once more documented in the Ramesside monumental record: in column 45 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription* ().[1056] The word is, nevertheless, spelled as expected, that is, in line with the usual Ramesside standards,[1057] in line 12 of Ramesses IV's *Year 2 Hammamat Stela* ().[1058]

1049 See, e.g., line 24 of Merenptah's *Israel Stela* and line 35 of its counterpart in Karnak (K*RI* IV 18, 13 and 14).

1050 On the interchange between *ṯ* and *ḏ* in *ḫtn*/*ḫdn*, see Hoch (1994: 345).

1051 See, e.g., lines 29, 36, 42, 45, and 105 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 50, 14; 51, 14; 52, 12; 53, 3; 57, 13) or line x+2 of the Abydos version of Ramesses II's *Second Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 283, 15). The different graphical preference of hieratic and hieroglyphic texts is also apparent in the monumental and non-monumental versions of Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem* (K*RI* II 32, 12–13 vs. 16; 64, 2–3 vs. 4; 83, 9 vs. 10).

1052 K*RI* V 433, 3; cited by Hoch (1994: 345, n. 136).

1053 K*RI* VI 12, 5.

1054 See n. 965 above.

1055 Christophe (1949: 13, n. f).

1056 K*RI* II 327, 8.

1057 Cf. *DZA* 23.924.130 and 150–160.

1058 K*RI* VI 11, 1.

šmw  line 1
"summer"
Writing *šmw* "summer" with a final *-t* is a practice characteristic of the Twentieth Dynasty.[1059] A similar graphical solution is found, for instance, in Ramesses III's *Karnak Decree of Year 16*.[1060]

5.4.3.3 Idiosyncratic Graphical Solutions

j.m(w)tjw  line 18 (§5.3, n. xxvii)
"the dead"
I argued elsewhere for interpreting the group as a Late Egyptian participle of the verb *m(w)t* "to die."[1061] If my analysis is correct, the present spelling would provide an example of graphical euphemism due to the omission of determinatives associated with death.

ꜥrꜥr  line 7
"uraeus"
The New Kingdom lexical variant *(j)ꜥrꜥrt* of the word *jꜥrt* "uraeus"[1062] is written here with the omission of the initial *yod* as well as the feminine ending—a spelling that is not documented elsewhere.[1063]

mnqbḥ  [1064] line 3
"cool place"
Line 3 contains a rare spelling of the word *mnqb* "cool place" written with an additional *ḥ* at the end.[1065] Line 4 of Ramesses IV's *Koptos Stela* has the second such variant known to date ().[1066] The spelling in both cases must have resulted from the fusion of closely related lexemes.[1067]

ms(n)ḥ line 4
"to turn around"
The verb *msnḥ* "to turn around" appears with the omission of one of its radicals in the *Great Hammamat Inscription*. The presence of the same spelling in line 6 of Ramess-

1059 Cf. *DZA* 30.113.080 and 110.
1060 K*RI* V 235, 11. Cf. n. 1716 below.
1061 Paksi (2018: 199–207).
1062 On *(j)ꜥrꜥrt* being the result of a morphological renewal of the older *jꜥrt*, see Stauder (2013b: 73).
1063 Cf. *DZA* 20.304.700–720.
1064 Instead of Kitchen's  (K*RI* VI 13, 2).
1065 *Wb.* II 91.3.
1066 K*RI* VI 16, 13.
1067 The verb *qbb* "to (be) cool," a synonym of *qbḥ*, is believed to form the root of *mnqb* "cool place" (*DZA* 24.121.670).

es IV's *Koptos Stela*[1068] suggests a scribal idiosyncrasy as the origin of the mistake.[1069] Since *msnḥ* is also attested with the metathesis of its last two radicals from the Twentieth Dynasty onwards,[1070] and the verb is followed by the preposition *n* in both the *Great Hammamat Inscription* and the *Koptos Stela*, it is not to be excluded that the present spelling is an example of haplography for *msḥ*(*n*) *n*.

5.5 Discussion of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*

5.5.1 The Text as a Composition

Several factors indicate that significant planning preceded the carving of the text and that considerable thought was given to the overall composition of the inscription. When facing the stela, the reader immediately notices that the king's name appears twice outside the titulary: at the end of line 10 and at the very end of the inscription, in line 22 (Fig. 29; §5.2.2.1). The cartouches with the royal names thus divide the text into two sections of approximately equal length and thereby create an effect of horizontal symmetry.[1071]

The date and the full royal titulary (§5.2.2.2) take up exactly two lines at the beginning of the text. As a result, the opening of the royal eulogy (§5.2.2.3) coincides with the beginning of line 3. This section relies on older phraseological traditions and starts accordingly with the expression *nṯr nfr spd sḫrw* "perfect god, alert of plans." This phrase is followed by two similar epithets: *jtjj n ꜥbꜥb m rn=f r qꜣ n pt* "sovereign with the boast of his name to the height of heaven" (line 3) and *jtjj qn sksk ḫꜣswt* "valiant sovereign who destroys the foreign lands" (line 5), each of them governing a chain of dependent clauses. The dependent clauses expanding on each of the two *jtjj*-epithets can be arranged in pairs based on their common syntactic characteristics (see Table 1 and Table 2 below).[1072] The first six clauses of the first chain follow a chiastic ABCCBA pattern. The shared syntactic feature of the two clauses on the outer rim of this arrangement (ABCCBA) is the employment of the preposition *mj* in a clause-internal chiastic position. The second and the second-to-last clauses of this ring structure (ABCCBA) both have a pseudoparticipial predicate, while the two in the middle (ABCCBA) use adverbial phrases in the same syntactic position. By contrast, the last four clauses of the first chain correspond to an alternating DEDE scheme. In this case, the first and third clauses (DE-

1068 K*RI* VI 16, 14.

1069 Cf. §5.5.2.3 below.

1070 See, e.g., pChester Beatty I, verso, C 1.6 (Mathieu 1996: pl. 1).

1071 On the structuring function of the royal name on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, see §3.2.3.1 and §3.5.1. On the central role of royal cartouches in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions, see n. 612 above. On cartouches used as structural elements on royal stelae in general, see Dew (2017).

1072 The following structural analysis of the eulogy builds on a discussion with Andréas Stauder on June 20, 2016.

DE) use *sḏm.n=f* forms, whereas the other two (DEDE) include a relative *sḏm=f* or a—morphologically similar—circumstantial *sḏm=f* at their head:

jtjj n ꜥbꜥb m rn=f r qꜣ n pt   "sovereign with the boast of his name to the height of heaven"
wbn=f m mnqbḥ mj ꜣḫtj… A   "as he rises from the cool place like the horizon god…   *mwt=f ꜣst mn.tj m-tp=f* B   "His mother, Isis, abiding in front of him"   *mkwt=f nbt ḥr=s* C   "all his protection being with her"   *nrw=f m ḥwt nw rḫjjwt* C   "The fear of him being in the belly of the people"   *bw nb ms(n)ḥ n ḫꜥw=f* B   "everyone being turned towards his appearances"   *ḥꜣtjw ḫntš.w n sp r=f mj ḥꜥpj…* A   "The hearts being glad at matter(s) concerning him like (they are for) the Nile-flood…"
wtt.n sw nb-r-dr m… D   "The Lord of All having begotten him as…"   *[smn]=f [ḥr nst]=f r…* E   "whom [he established on] his [throne] to be…"   *sḫꜥ.n=f sw ḥr wṯst r…* D   "He having made him appear on the throne to be…   *bs=f sw r st[=f] n(w) pr-[w]r r…* E   "(by) introducing him to [his] seat of the Per-[w]er shrine to…

Table 1: The compositional structure of the dependent clauses following the epithet *jtjj n ꜥbꜥb m rn=f r qꜣ n pt* "sovereign with the boast of his name to the height of heaven."

The second chain of dependent clauses following the epithet *jtjj qn sksk ḫꜣswt* "valiant sovereign who destroys the foreign lands" is shorter and therefore simpler than the first one. It consists of a single pair of two pseudoparticipial clauses (FF):

jtjj qn sksk ḫꜣswt…   "Valiant sovereign who destroys the foreign lands, …"
tꜣ-mrj jw r ꜥḥꜥw=f F   "the Beloved Land having come to his lifetime"   *hꜣw nfr ḫpr n Kmt…* F   "a good era having begun for Egypt…

Table 2: The compositional structure of the dependent clauses following the epithet *jtjj qn sksk ḫꜣswt* "valiant sovereign who destroys the foreign lands."

The expedition account starting at the end of line 6 (§5.2.2.4) is at least as coherent in its composition as the preceding royal eulogy, although it is interrupted in line 13 by a detailed list of participants that takes up about one fourth of the main text of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*. The account is thus split into two parts: the first running from lines 6 to 13, and the second from lines 19 to 22. In the first part of the account, the king and his deeds are the focus. The narrative is therefore driven by the king's agency that translates into active *sḏm.n=f* forms syntactically. The three major topics covered in this section are the king's journey to the wadi, the erection of the stela, and the royal commissions concerning the start of the expedition. The tripartite structure of the first part of the expedition account is also made apparent by the threefold use of the non-enclitic introductory particle *jsk*/*jst*(*w*) (in lines 6, 9, and 11; see under §5.4.2.2):

jsk jr nṯr nfr pn… pr.n=f m ḫt….
jstw ḥm=f jm m jb=f….
jstw rdj.n ḥm=f m ḥr n…

"Now, as for this perfect god, … he has come forth from the womb, ….
Now, his majesty was shrewd in his heart….
Now, his majesty has given instructions to…"

Furthermore, the visual arrangement of the three introductory particles has a similar optic effect as the placement of the two royal names at the end of lines 10 and 22: they direct attention to the beginning of line 11 (see Fig. 30 below). Line 11 indeed has a special position within the expedition account. This is precisely where the story of the mission begins. The king instructs three officials to find stone material for the Theban necropolis in the Wadi Hammamat. Once they have completed their task, Ramesses IV charges the high priest of Amun and overseer of works, Ramesses-Nakht, to lead a stone mining expedition and bring the material to Egypt.

After the embedded list of participants (§5.2.2.5), the expedition account continues at the beginning of line 19 (§5.2.2.6). The visual arrangement of individual entries in the list of participants (enumeration in continuous text) corresponds to the usual practice in the wadi's more recent (Middle Kingdom and younger) expedition records and their lists.[1073] The second part of the account reports about the organization of the supply transports for the troops from Egypt and describes a major offering made to the gods of the wadi. The details of this final thanksgiving scene also reveal that the king was rewarded with "hundreds of thousands of jubilees" in return. Since the king is only indirectly present in the second part of the report, passive or impersonal accomplished verbal forms prevail in the narrative of the section.

1073 While list entries are displayed in tabulated form in the inscriptions of the Old Kingdom (see, e.g., Goyon 1957: 54–55, no. 20; 59, no. 24; 61–62, no. 27), they form part of a continuous text from the Middle Kingdom onwards (see, e.g., Couyat & Montet 1912: pl. 29, no. 113; pl. 31, no. 114; Farout 1994: pl. 2, fig. 2). I thank Vincent Morel for calling my attention to this development.



Fig. 30: Visual emphasis on line 11 of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (detail from Fig. 29).

5.5.2 The Language of the Text

5.5.2.1 Grammar

Late and Earlier Egyptian grammatical features were regularly used side by side in most textual units of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (see Fig. 31 below). In both absolute and relative terms,[1074] the second part of the expedition account (§5.2.2.6) contains the highest number of Late Egyptian features among the various textual units of the stela, but the list of participants (§5.2.2.5) is the only passage in which the use of Late Egyptian grammar is not counterbalanced by the presence of older grammatical constructions. The complete absence of typically early or typically late grammatical constructions in the opening scene (§5.2.1) and in the dateline and titulary of the main text (§5.2.2.2) is not unusual considering the diachronically indistinct nominal syntax of these sections. All other textual units of the main text contain at least some Late Egyptian grammatical characteristics. They are, however, generally confined to second-order syntactic hierarchies and cluster in subordinate clauses, whereas the main clauses are dominated by Earlier Egyptian or pseudo Earlier Egyptian constructions.

1074 For calculating the relative frequency of the different linguistic features in the text, the following line lengths were assigned to the different textual units of the stela: 0.6 for the scene, 2 for the dateline and titulary, 3.9 for the royal eulogy, 6.3 for the first part of the expedition account, 5.8 for the embedded list of participants, and 4 for the second part of the expedition account. In total, the main text consists of 22 lines (2 + 3.9 + 6.3 + 5.8 + 4 = 22). When determining the number of lines per unit, the scene was given an approximate value for the sake of comparability with parts of the main text.

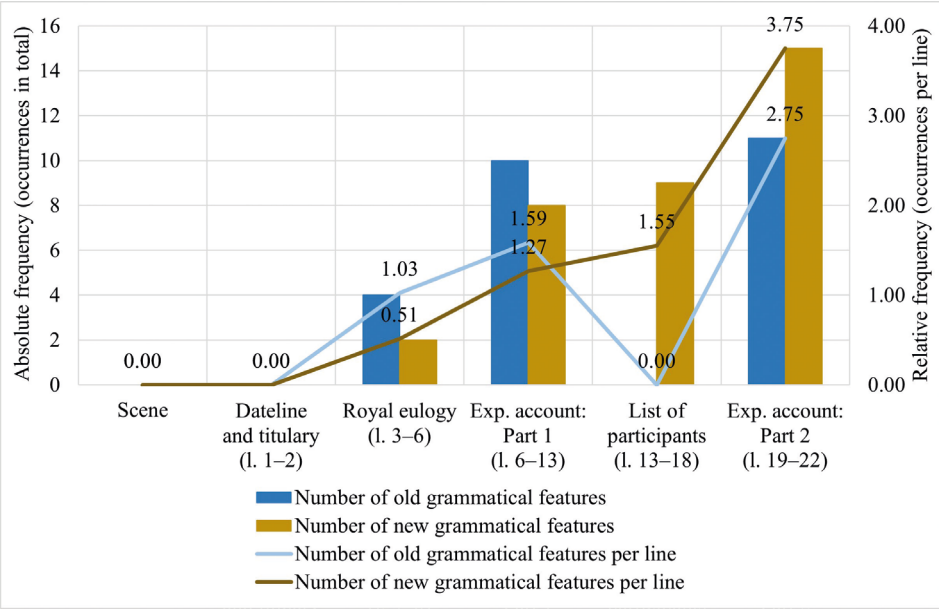


Fig. 31: Absolute and relative frequency of old and new grammatical features (details under §5.4.1) in the major textual units of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*.

Although the royal eulogy of the stela (§5.2.2.3) is strongly dependent on earlier traditions both phraseologically and linguistically, this section is the first one in the text to include a markedly Late Egyptian grammatical feature. The possessive expression "their valleys" in the epithet *ḥf ꜥ3mw m n3jj=w jnw* "who plunders the Asiatic in their valleys" employs a Late Egyptian possessive article, *n3jj=w*. The adnominal possession is thus not only expressed by a later construction (*possessive article + noun*) instead of the earlier *noun + suffix pronoun* pattern (*jnw=sn* / *jnw=w* "their valleys"),[1075] it also uses a more recent variant of the possessive article formed with the Late Egyptian suffix pronoun (*n3jj=w* instead of *n3jj=sn*). The possessive article is one of the few linguistic environments where the Late Egyptian suffix pronoun was most reluctant to spread.[1076] Accordingly, *p3jj=w*, *t3jj=w*, and *n3jj=w* are relatively seldom attested in the Ramesside royal inscriptions.[1077] The presence of *n3jj=w* in the royal eulogy of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* is therefore all the more remarkable. Its co-occurrence with a low-status antecedent, namely, the Asiatic, could, however, account for its use.

1075 See n. 932 above.

1076 Winand (1995: 194).

1077 The southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* features most of the examples in the corpus of this study. For an inventory of these, see §4.2.3.1. Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* has one example in its main inscription: in the phrase *n3jj=w ḫftw* "their enemies" in line 6 (§6.3.3.3.1). Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription* provides some earlier instances in columns 8 (K*RI* IV 3, 8) and 62 (K*RI* IV 9, 10). The possessive article at the bottom of column 76 (K*RI* IV 11, 14), partially in a lacuna, was probably *n3jj*[*=f*] and not *n3jj*[*=w*].

The expedition account (§5.2.2.4 and §5.2.2.6) opens with the particle *jsk*/*jst*(*w*): *jsk jr nṯr nfr pn… pr.n=f m ḫt…* "Now, as for this perfect god, … he has come forth from the womb, …" (lines 6–7). The particle *jsk*/*jst*(*w*) stands at the very beginning of the account, immediately after the eulogical part of the inscription, and thereby indicates the opening of a new section.[1078] Serving as a structural marker is a function the particle did not acquire until the New Kingdom (see under §5.4.2.2). The fact that the *Great Hammamat Inscription* employs an archaic form in this first instance, *jsk* (§5.4.3.1, §5.5.2.3), one that was already absent from Middle Egyptian literary texts,[1079] further accentuates the contrast between form and function and suggests a conscious stylistic choice. Earlier parallels of such archaisms exist in the inscriptions of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III.[1080] The other two examples of *jsk*/*jst*(*w*) in lines 9 and 11 of the expedition account both follow later graphical traditions but are similarly used as structural markers and are responsible for the threefold segmentation of the first part of the report (§5.5.1). A similar example of multiple use of the particle *jsk*/*jst*(*w*) for segmentation is found on Thutmosis IV's *Sphinx Stela*, where the four passages introduced by *jst* form the setting for the actual narrative that follows.[1081]

The main clauses of the first part of the expedition account (§5.2.2.4), which all have the king's actions at their center, employ the earlier *sḏm.n=f* form as predicate: *jsk jr nṯr nfr pn… pr.n=f m ḫt…* "Now, as for this perfect god, … he has come forth from the womb, …" (lines 6–7); *swn.n=f {r} w3t <r> t3 nṯr…* "He has opened (§5.3, n. vii) the road (§5.3, n. viii) to the god's land: …" (lines 8–9); *pḥr.n=f ḏw špsj…* "He has travelled around the august mountain…" (line 10); *jstw rdj.n ḥm=f m ḥr n…* "Now, his majesty has given instructions to…" (line 11); and *jw wḏ.n ḥm=f rdjt m ḥr n…* "his majesty has ordered that instructions be given to…" (line 12). The *sḏm.n=f* has completely disappeared from lower written registers by the Twentieth Dynasty.[1082] So has the Earlier Egyptian *jw sḏm.n=f* construction[1083] that appears only once in the *Great Hammamat Inscription*: at the apex of the text, in the passage about the king's decree appointing the high priest of Amun and overseer of works, Ramesses-Nakht, as the leader of the mission: *jw wḏ.n ḥm=f rdjt m ḥr n…* "his majesty has ordered that instructions be given to…" (line 12).

By contrast, the syntax of the subordinate clauses is more open to accommodate Late Egyptian characteristics. The setting provided to the king's decree by the passive equivalent of an *m-ḫt sḏm.n=f* construction uses the Late Egyptian third-person plural

1078 On such instances of the use of *jsk*/*jst*(*w*) particularly, see Oréal (2011: 239): "On a d'ailleurs remarqué que la transition entre un morceau d'eulogie, qui se caractérise par l'absence de référence temporelle, puisque par définition considérée comme une vérité essentielle et non liée aux contingences de l'histoire, et le récit historique était volontiers marquée par la particule *jsṯ*."

1079 Oréal (2011: 235).

1080 Oréal (2011: 234–235). See, e.g., in an inscription of Thutmosis III at Karnak (*Urk.* IV 157, 3 = KIU 944, 5).

1081 *Urk.* IV 1541, 1; 1541, 8; 1541, 16; and 1542, 5. See also Stauder (2013b: 471, n. 134).

1082 Cf. Winand (1992: 180, §293).

1083 See n. 617 above.

suffix pronoun as object in line 12: *m-ḫt* [*gm*].*n*[.*t*]*w*=*w*… "After they (i.e., the materials; §5.3, n. xix) had [b]een [found] (§5.3, n. xx)…" The construction *m-ḫt sḏm.n.tw=f*, although it consists of a conjunction and a verbal form that are both attested in Earlier Egyptian, is not genuinely ancient.[1084] The composers of the text, nevertheless likely perceived and employed it as such. This construction is further modified by two Late Egyptian complement clauses (§5.3, n. xxi) in which the subject is similarly expressed by the new third-person plural suffix pronoun: *jw*=*w nfr r-jqr jw*=*w mnw ꜥ3w n bj3*(*w*)*t*… "(being) exceedingly fine and (suitable for) monuments great of marvels (§5.3, n. xxii)…" Also, it is once more the Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun that serves as grammatical object in the clause that specifies the purpose to the king's decree in line 13: *r jn.tw*=*w* / *jnt*=*w* (§5.3, n. xxiii) *r Kmt* "so that they (i.e., the materials) be brought to Egypt."

The compositional logic regarding syntax is maintained in the second part of the expedition account (§5.2.2.6) as well. While the subordinate clauses are interspersed with Late Egyptian grammatical features, the main clauses continue to prefer Earlier Egyptian or seemingly Earlier Egyptian constructions. Since the king—having given the leadership of the mission to one of his officials in line 12—is no longer the main actor in this part of the text, passive constructions prevail.

There are two main themes in this section: the organization of the supply transports and the performance of a major offering to the gods. This double focus is also reflected in the structure of the text. The two topics, starting in lines 19 and 20, are organized around two *jw sḏm.n.tw=f* constructions: [*jw*] (§5.3, n. xxix) *ḫn.n*=*tw n*=*sn ḫrwt ḥr Kmt*… "The supplies have been transported to them from (§5.3, n. xxx) Egypt…" (line 19) and *jw jn.n*=*tw n3 wdnw n sḥtp n3 nṯrw n pt t3 m njwt rsw*… "Offerings have been brought from the Southern City to please the gods of heaven and earth (§5.3, n. xxxii): …" (line 20). Although the *jw sḏm.n.tw=f* appears to function as the passive counterpart of the *jw sḏm.n=f* construction (see line 12), it did not exist as such in earlier stages of the language. The particle *jw* is used here in its classical, co-textual anchoring function.[1085] The emphatic passive *sḏm.n.tw=f* form and the particle *jw* are, however, mutually exclusive according to the rules of Earlier Egyptian grammar.[1086] On this account, the verbal form in the *jw sḏm.n.tw=f* construction is best analyzed as an active impersonal *sḏm.n=tw*. Like the *m-ḫt sḏm.n.tw=f* construction, *jw sḏm.n.tw=f* illustrates how certain constructions perceived as belonging to older linguistic layers were partially recomposed in Ramesside times from grammatical elements that would not have been compatible with one another in earlier times.

While the first clause with the *jw sḏm.n.tw=f* construction appears without further main clauses attached to it, thus forming a relatively short subsection, the second one is

1084 The same content would have been expressed by a full noun followed by a pseudoparticiple in earlier times (*m-ḫt* + *NP* + *pseudoparticiple*).

1085 Contra Müller (2002: 36, no. 100), who argues for a circumstantial *jw* for line 19.

1086 Cf. Polotsky (1965: 79–80, n. 22; 87) and Stauder (2014: 273, 318–324, and 331–332; 2023b: 377–383).

followed by a handful of asyndetically appended clauses with passive *sḏm=f*'s and pseudoparticipial or adverbial constructions as predicates, providing further details on how the offerings were performed to the gods: *jw jn.n=tw n3 wdnw…. sf jw3w sḫr wnḏw snṯr dm.w…* (§5.3, n. xxxv) *šdḥ jrp mj nw jrtt ḥnqt ꜥb m st* (*t*)*n* (§5.3, n. xxxiv) "Offerings have been brought…. Long-horned cattle have been slaughtered, short-horned cattle have been felled; incense has been bound together, … *shedeh*-wine (§5.3, n. xxxvi) and wine (have flowed) like flood, (and) milk and beer have been offered in this place" (lines 20–21).

Both main clauses with the *jw sḏm.n.tw=f* construction are, on the other hand, succeeded by *jw*-headed dependent clauses employing the Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix as pronominal subject: [*jw*] (§5.3, n. xxix) *ḫn.n=tw n=sn ḫrwt… jw 6 ḥtrj n jḥw…. jw=w 3tp m…* "The supplies have been transported to them…, while six yokes of oxen…., loaded with…" (lines 19–20); *jw jn.n=tw n3 wdnw… jw=w wꜥb… jw=w ḥr rmn*[…] "Offerings have been brought… they had been purified… (and) were on the shoulder[…]" (lines 20–21).

Although the final paragraph of the text is part of the section on the final thanksgiving to the gods thematically, it forms a separate unit syntactically by abandoning the passive voice and bringing the lector priest's ritual acts to the fore. A precise grammatical analysis of the passage concerning the lector priest is, nevertheless, not possible due to the lacuna at the beginning of line 22 (§5.3, n. xxxvii). The description of the gods' response to the offerings, on the other hand, provides an example of linguistic dissimilation (cf. §1.2.3) between the Early and Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronouns, that is, between two functionally identical but morphologically different morphemes. The suffixes *=sn* and *=w* are used after one another as the subject of two circumstantial *sḏm=f*'s in line 22: *jb=w 3w.w šsp=**w** ꜥbwt j(ꜥ)b=**sn** m ḫfnw n ḥbw-sd n s3=w mrjj=w…* "Their heart(s) are content, as they (i.e., the gods) receive the offerings (§5.3, n. xxxviii) and present (§5.3, n. xxxix) hundreds of thousands of jubilees to their beloved son, …"

The high relative frequency of the Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun is generally noteworthy in the text (see also §5.4.1). The *=w* is attested thirteen times on the stela as opposed to the mere quadruple occurrence of the earlier *=sn*. As expected,[1087] the new plural suffix pronoun is most common after the particle *jw* (twice in line 12 and three times in line 20). It appears three times after a noun or a participle (line 22), twice or three times after a finite verbal form (lines 12, potentially 13 [§5.3, n. xxiii], and 22), once or twice after an infinitive (potentially line 13 [§5.3, n. xxiii] and line 21), and once in the possessive article (line 6). In accordance with the overall trends regarding the spread of *=w*,[1088] the Earlier Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun is found once after a preposition (line 19) and twice in a possessive construction after a substantive (lines 9 and 20). The fourth example is associated with a circumstantial *sḏm=f* (line 22). The word *jb* "heart" is documented with both suffixes in the expedition

1087 Winand (1995: 194–195 and 195, n. 31).
1088 Winand (1995: 193–195).

account: as *jb=sn* in line 9 and as *jb=w* in line 22. In the first case, it refers to the minds of those who did not know how to approach the wadi, while in the second, it indicates the gods' hearts filling with joy when receiving the offerings. The high relative density of third-person plural suffix pronouns in the last three lines of the stela coupled with the general preference for *=w* over *=sn* may account for this difference.[1089]

The inscription also contains twelve Late Egyptian definite articles. All twelve instances precede a noun, and all plural variants show the later spelling (*nꜣ* instead of *nꜣ n*), as expected since the end of Ramesses III's reign.[1090] The fact that the key expression of the text, *ḏw n bḫn* "mountain of graywacke," is always introduced by *pꜣ* (lines 12 and 19) as opposed to other occurrences of the word *ḏw* "mountain" in different collocations (lines 10 and 22) may indicate additional deictic force attached to the phrase.

The use of Late Egyptian definite articles is considerably more frequent in the list of participants (§5.2.2.5) than in the rest of the text: seven out of the overall twelve examples of Late Egyptian definite articles are found in this part of the inscription (lines 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17). The section specifies and enumerates the different groups of individuals that participated in Ramesses IV's last mining expedition to the wadi. By doing so, it refers to concrete entities in the world that are directly involved in the present enterprise. The multiple use of Late Egyptian definite articles is therefore once again best explained by the deictic value of these morphemes: *jdnw Ḥꜥ-m-tj-r n* ***pꜣ*** *mšꜥ* "lieutenant commander of the army, Khamtir" (line 13); *ꜥꜣ-n-št jmj-rꜣ jḥw Bꜣ=k-n-Ḫnsw n* ***tꜣ*** *ḥwt Wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ Mr-Jmn* "chief taxing master and overseer of cattle of the temple of Usermaatre Meriamun, Bakenkhonsu" (line 14); *sš sḫw Sw-n-rꜣ n* ***pꜣ*** *mšꜥ* "scribe of assemblage for the army, Sunero" (lines 14–15); *sš dnjt Rꜥ-ms-sw-nḫt n* ***pꜣ*** *mšꜥ* "scribe of distribution for the army, Ramesses-Nakht" (line 15); *wꜥw n* ***nꜣ*** *sꜣw n wḥꜥw-rmw n ḫnw s 200* "officers of the fishermen troops of the residence: 200 men" (lines 16–17); *ꜥprw n* ***nꜣ*** *pḏwt ꜥnwt s 800* "*apru* workmen (§5.3, n. xxv) of the *anut* troops (§5.3, n. xxvi): 800 men" (line 17); and *ḥrw kꜣt n* ***nꜣ*** *kꜣwt jꜣkjjw s 3* "overseers of the miners' work: 3 men" (lines 17–18). The deixis is made yet more explicit by the use of a Late Egyptian demonstrative pronoun in line 18: *pꜣjj sḫn* "this commission." Besides the deictic morphemes, the list of participants also contains a visually obscured Late Egyptian participle (*j.m*(*w*)*tjw* under §5.4.3.3) but otherwise lacks any further characteristically late or early grammatical features. This is not surprising, since the enumerative nature of the list—being a collection of phrasal, not clausal constructions—by definition limits the scope of potentially available grammatical constructions in this section.

1089 There are 17 third-person plural suffix pronouns on the stela in total. Ten, that is, more than half of them, fall into lines 20, 21, or 22. Eight out of these ten examples are *=w*'s, while only two are *=sn*'s. The numbers thus result in a slightly higher distributional percentage in favor of the new plural suffix pronoun in the last three lines of the stela (80% *=w* – 20% *=sn*) than in the entire inscription (76% *=w* – 24% *=sn*). See §5.4.1 above.

1090 Winand (1995: 192). Note, however, that Iskander & Rohim (2016: 191) have recently proposed a small modification to Winand's findings.

5.5.2.2 Lexicon

In the major textual units of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*, the frequent use of Late Egyptian grammar in lower syntactic positions is generally counterbalanced by the preference for Earlier Egyptian or pseudo Earlier Egyptian grammatical constructions in higher syntactic positions (§5.5.2.1). Although the distinction between higher- and lower-order syntactic levels is not possible in the list of participants (§5.2.2.5), for this section is a compilation of nominal phrases without clausal syntax, it is the only textual unit in the inscription in which the salience of Late Egyptian grammatical elements is not softened by the use of typically earlier grammatical features (see Fig. 31 above). The distributional pattern of new words and expressions among the major textual units of the stela lends a similar prominence to the list of participants (see Fig. 32 below)[1091] because it reveals that the section is significantly more innovative in its lexical selections than any other part of the text.

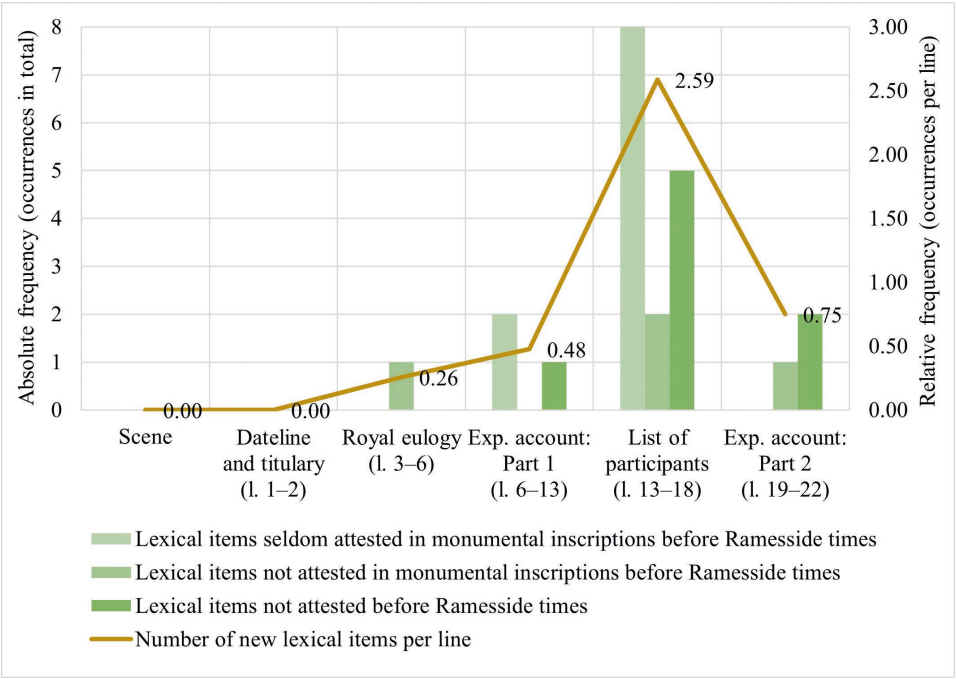


Fig. 32: Absolute and relative frequency of new lexical items (details under §5.4.2.3, §5.4.2.4, §5.4.2.5) in the major textual units of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*.

While there are only a few new lexical items in the expedition account (§5.2.2.4 and §5.2.2.6) and the royal eulogy (§5.2.2.3)—one example every two lines on average—and absolutely none in the opening scene (§5.2.1) or the dateline and titulary (§5.2.2.2), the list of participants has relatively many—more than two and a half examples per line on

1091 Cf. n. 1074 above.

average. Since the titles and occupational groups mentioned in this part of the text convey information about the technical, practical, and organizational aspects of the expedition, the list's strong reliance on contemporary wording is understandable. The section's preference for transparent, down-to-earth diction is reflected in its relatively frequent use of typically Ramesside words and expressions (§5.4.2.5)[1092] and in its similarly frequent use of lexical items that are only rarely or not at all attested in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times (§5.4.2.3 and §5.4.2.4).[1093]

The lexical analysis of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* also revealed that compound prepositions formed with *tp* "head" as their second element are unusually overrepresented in the text. The old compound *m-tp* "at the head of, in front of"[1094] is used in line 3 and, more literally, also in line 5: *mwt=f ꜣst mn.tj m-tp=f…* "His mother, Isis, abiding in front of him, …" (line 3) and *ḫnm wꜣḏtj m tp=f* "the two crowns uniting on his head" (line 5). The otherwise very rare *r-tp* "at, in front of"[1095] is present in line 4: *mj ḥꜥpj r-tp nw=f* "like the Nile-flood at its due date." The preposition *ḥr-tp* "on (the head of)"[1096] is also found no less than three times on the stela, in lines 5, 7, and 10: *jwꜥ=f ḥr-tp tꜣ* "his heir upon earth" (line 5); *ꜥrꜥr ḥr tp=f* "(with) uraeus on his head" (line 7), another more literal rendering; and *ḥr-tp ḏw pn* "on top of this mountain" (line 10).

Ramesses IV's *Koptos Stela* does not only share the *Great Hammamat Inscription*'s strong preference for prepositions with *tp* as part of a compound[1097] but also has numerous other striking similarities with the present text. In terms of lexical selections, the presence of a rare word in both inscriptions suggests a common compositional history. The highly fragmentary right margin of the *Koptos Stela* has a partial overlap with the list of participants of the present text. It contains two entries thereof, including the word *ṯꜣ-bšꜣ* "stonecutter," which has not otherwise been documented in any other royal text so far (see under §5.4.2.4): *sš-qdwt s 2 ṯꜣ-bšꜣ s 4* "draftsmen: 2 men; stonecutters: 4 men."[1098] What is more, lines 4–6 of the main text of the *Koptos Stela* provide a close,

1092 Five of the not more than eight examples in the text belonging to this lexical category appear in the list of participants: *ꜥnwt* (pl.) "*anut*" (line 17; §5.3, n. xxvi); *r-ḥnꜥ* "together with" (line 13); *rmṯ-mšꜥ* "army personnel" (line 16); *sš sḫw* "scribe of assemblage" (line 14); and *sš dnjt* "scribe of distribution" (line 15).

1093 There are overall 14 examples in the text of these two lexical categories, and ten of them occur in the list of participants. See *jdnw n mšꜥ* "lieutenant commander of the army" (line 13); *ꜥꜣ-n-št* "chief taxing master" (line 14 [2x]); *ꜥprw* (pl.) "*apru* workmen" (line 17; §5.3, n. xxv); *wꜥw* "soldier, sailor; officer" (line 16); *ḥr-jḥt* "stable master" (line 15); and *kṯn/kḏn* "charioteer" (lines 14 and 15) under §5.4.2.3. The following words and expressions are listed under §5.4.2.4: *sḫn* "order, task, commission" (line 18); and *ṯꜣ-bšꜣ* "stonecutter" (line 18).

1094 E*AG* §807: "gebraucht wie späteres *m-ḥr*."

1095 G*EG* §178.

1096 *Ibid.*

1097 See lines 5 (*ḥr-tp*) and 6 (*r*-[*tp*]) of the *Koptos Stela* cited below on the next page.

1098 K*RI* VI 16, 16.

almost one-to-one parallel of the first two lines of the royal eulogy of the *Great Hammamat Stela* (lines 3–4 under §5.2.2.3):[1099]

[4]|ꜥnḫ nṯr nfr spd sḫrw
jtjj n ꜥbꜥb jm=f r qꜣ n pt
wbn=f m mnqbḥ[t] [5]|mj ꜣḫtj sḥḏ tꜣwj m nfrw=f
mwt=f ꜣst mn.tj ḥr-tp=f
mkt=f nb {ḥr} ḫr=s
nrw=f m ḫwt nw rḫjjwt
[6]|bw nb ms(n)ḥ n ḫꜥw=f
ḥꜣtjw ḫntš.w n dggw=f mj ḥꜥp[j] r-[tp nw=f]

[4]|(Long) live the perfect god, alert of plans:
sovereign with the boast of him to the height of heaven,[1100]
as he rises from the cool place (i.e., the palace) [5]|like the horizon god who illuminates the two lands with his beauty.
His mother, Isis, abiding in front of him,[1101]
all his protection being with her;
The fear of him being in the belly of the people:
[6]|everyone being turned towards his appearances;
The hearts being glad at beholding him like (they are for) the Nile-flood a[t its due date.][1102]

5.5.2.3 (Ortho)graphy

Overall, the graphical characteristics of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* adhere to contemporary traditions in all sections. In other words, there was no recognizable effort on the part of the stela's composers to follow older graphical traditions, irrespective of the characteristics of the specific genre at play. This tendency is not only apparent in the often relatively late spelling of individual words and expressions throughout the text (see Fig. 33 below)[1103] but is also observable in the spelling of some grammatical morphemes. On the latter, compare, for instance, the spelling of the genitive *n* in line 5 (§5.3, n. ii), the spelling of the plural Late Egyptian definite article throughout the text (§5.4.1 and §5.5.2.1 with n. 1090), or the interchangeability of the dependent pronouns *sw* and *st* in line 9 (§5.3, n. viii).

1099 K*RI* VI 16, 12–15.

1100 Compare with line 3 of the *Great Hammamat Inscription*: *jtjj n ꜥbꜥb m rn=f r qꜣ n pt* "sovereign with the boast of his name to the height of heaven."

1101 Note the use of *ḥr-tp* instead of *m-tp* as in line 3 of the *Great Hammamat Inscription*.

1102 There is a slight difference in formulation compared to the corresponding passage in line 4 of the *Great Hammamat Inscription*: *ḥꜣtjw ḫntš.w n sp r=f mj ḥꜥpj r-tp nw=f* "The hearts being glad at matter(s) concerning him like (they are for) the Nile-flood at its due date." The *Koptos Stela* breaks off at this point.

1103 Cf. n. 1074 above.

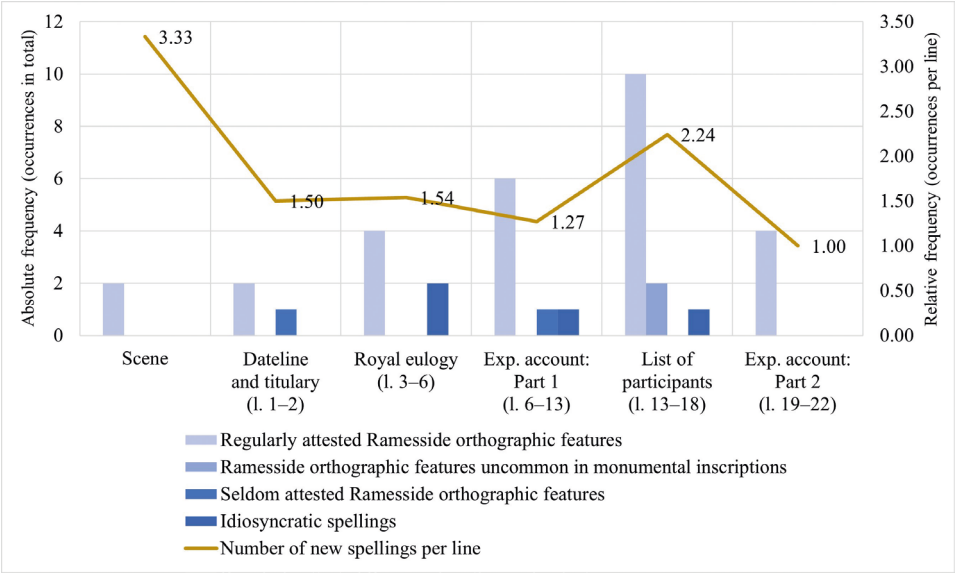


Fig. 33: Absolute and relative frequency of new spellings (details under §5.4.3.2 and §5.4.3.3) in the major textual units of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription.*

There seems to be a single exception to the above rule, namely, the archaizing spelling of the non-enclitic introductory particle *jsk*/*jst*(*w*) (see under §5.4.3.1) in its first instance, in line 6: *jsk jr nṯr nfr pn… pr.n=f m ḫt…* "Now, as for this perfect god, … he has come forth from the womb, …" (lines 6–7). The placement of this archaic form at the head of the expedition account cannot be accidental. Rather, it likely indicates a conscious intent to link the present composition to older textual traditions and, by the salience of its position, underlines the start of the new section (§5.5.2.1).

The spelling of the Late Egyptian participle of the verb *m*(*w*)*t* "to die" in the second-to-last entry of the list of participants also suggests intentionality and conscious manipulation of the available graphical repertoire by the omission of a determinative that would prominently associate the word with the semantic domain of death (see *j.m*(*w*)*tjw* under §5.4.3.3). The message thereby becomes less direct and visually softened.

There is at least one more case on the stela where the context seems to have had a demonstrable—however, presumably less conscious—influence on the graphical choices with respect to a certain word. The embedded list of participants refers to itself as *pȝjj sḫn* "this commission" (line 18). The word *sḫn* "order, task, commission" is not attested in monumental inscriptions before the Nineteenth Dynasty (see under §5.4.2.4) and remains primarily used on papyri and ostraca also in Ramesside times.[1104] The phrase *pȝjj sḫn* "this (co)mission" is often found in late Ramesside administrative docu-

1104 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 140790.

ments.[1105] This self-defining designation together with the evidently administrative and pragmatic nature of the list suggest that this section had its origins in lower written registers (see also §5.5.3). The spelling of the word *kṯn*/*kḏn* "charioteer," which was apparently not adjusted to the altered form of display, reinforces this interpretation. The word is written with *ṯ* instead of *ḏ* in both of its examples (lines 14 and 15), a spelling that is typical of hieratic scribal traditions (see *kṯn*/*kḏn* above, under §5.4.3.2.2).

In another case, the apparent influence of the immediate linguistic environment on the spelling proves to be deceptive. The particle *jw* is present with two different graphical variants in the inscription: as  and as  , the former representing a more classical and the latter a more recent spelling. At first sight, it appears that the choice between the two variants is determined by the actual grammatical function of the particle, for *jw* in its more recently acquired functions—as circumstantial converter or at the head of complement and virtual relative clauses—shows a clear preference for over (see lines 12 and 20). However, all Late Egyptian *jw*'s were spelled as except for one instance, the example in line 19: *jw 6 ḥtrj n jḫw*… "while six yokes of oxen…" This exception demonstrates that it was not the grammatical function of *jw* but rather the esthetics of hieroglyphic writing that determined its spelling. All other Late Egyptian *jw*'s shared one additional feature beyond their grammatical function: they were all succeeded by the Late Egyptian third-person suffix pronoun in the text. The two morphemes could easily be combined into a single group if *jw* took a less classical graphical form:  .

The *Great Hammamat Inscription* contains two atypical written forms that also occur on Ramesses IV's *Koptos Stela*. The rare spelling of the word *mnqb* "cool place" written with an additional *ḥ* and the omission of one of the radicals of the verb *msnḥ* "to turn around" (see under §5.4.3.3) are sufficiently uncommon to point to a shared scribal idiosyncrasy and, by extension, to a common compositional background. Together, these features provide tangible graphical evidence for the close relationship between the two inscriptions (see also §5.5.2.2).

Although structurally, grammatically, and lexically the *Great Hammamat Inscription* is one of the most elaborate textual compositions of its time, it must be pointed out that it is not flawless orthographically. The stela exhibits a handful of carving errors of different origins. There are a few mistakes that result from hieroglyphic–hieratic confusions[1106] but also some that look like oversights and are most likely to be attributed to lack of attention. The latter include omissions of signs,[1107] omissions of parts of signs,[1108] transposition of signs,[1109] and sign reversals.[1110] Although Christophe speaks

1105 See, e.g., pBN 198 3.4 and verso 4 (*LRL* 69, 2 and 69, 15); pBN 199, 3.6 (*LRL* 70, 13); and pBM EA 10375, 20 (*LRL* 45, 16 – 46, 1). The phrase is also present in *The Misfortunes of Wenamun* (*LES* 67, 15), a composition with a clearly administrative tone (see Winand 2011: 543–549).

1106 For an example in line 7, see §5.3, n. vi.

1107 For an example in line 12, see §5.3, n. xxii.

1108 For an example in line 22, see §5.3, n. xxxix. The most immediately evident example of this case is perhaps the one in line 20, where the legs of a vulture were forgotten in the verb *ỉtp* "to load" (K*RI* VI 14, 11:).

of amendments during the carving process in one specific case,[1111] to which perhaps a further example may be added,[1112] it is evident that the execution of the text was not followed by systematic proofreading.

5.5.3 Linguistic or Compositional Heterogeneity?

5.5.3.1 The Question of Registers[1113]

The syntactic structure of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* bears witness to a major organizing principle based on the different hierarchical values attributed to the different stages of the Egyptian language (§5.5.2.1; see also below, under §7.1.1.2.1). Late Egyptian characteristics are confined to lower-order syntactic levels and play a major role only in subordinate clauses.[1114] Main clauses, on the other hand, follow—or at times only appear to follow—Earlier Egyptian syntax. Often, these constructions are only seemingly Earlier Egyptian. There are three such prominent examples in the text: the threefold use of the particle *jsk*/*jst*(*w*) as a structural marker (in lines 6, 9, and 11), the double use of the *jw sḏm.n.tw=f* construction in the second part of the expedition account (in lines 19 and 20), and the singular example of the *m-ḫt sḏm.n.tw=f* construction in the first part of the expedition account (in line 12).

The general principle behind the syntactic structure of the text, according to which Late Egyptian and (perceived) Earlier Egyptian characteristics are assigned to syntactically different hierarchical units, is, nonetheless, clear and is respected throughout the entire inscription. In practice, this organizational logic translates into a balancing act between tradition and innovation allowing the inscription to follow the language of earlier royal inscriptions without having to dismiss more contemporary grammatical features. The balance between the use of Late and Earlier Egyptian grammar is maintained to the point that there is a strong positive correlation between the relative frequency of Late

1109 In the expression *nn rḫt=sn* "without their number" in line 20, for instance, the *ḫ* and the *t* occur in reversed order:  .

1110 For instance, the orientation of sign V4 is reversed in the word *jw3w* "long-horned cattle" in line 21 ().

1111 Christophe (1949: 11, n. j). The case in question is the spelling of the phrase *ʿḥʿw=f* "his lifetime" in line 6 (), where the determinatives of the word *ʿḥʿw* overlap with the horned viper of the possessive suffix.

1112 For the example in line 18, see §5.3, n. xxviii.

1113 Because of its limitations as an operational concept, the use of the term register is generally avoided in the present work when distinguishing the major structural units of a text (cf. §1.2.1.3). An exception was made in the case of the present inscription because of the unusually clear delineability of its two main registers (cf. §1.2.3).

1114 The occasional use of the Late Egyptian definite article and that of the new third-person plural suffix pronoun in two of the main clauses at the end of the text constitute the sole exceptions to this rule (line 20: *n3 wdnw* "the offerings" and *n3 nṯrw* "the gods;" line 22: *jb=w* "their heart"). Nonetheless, also here, the most prominent syntactic position, that of the predicate, is reserved for grammatical constructions that are not typically late, namely, for a *jw sḏm.n.tw=f* construction (line 20) and a pseudoparticiple (line 22).

and Earlier Egyptian grammatical features in the major textual units of the stela (see Fig. 34 below).[1115] The only section in the text, in which the use of Late Egyptian grammar is not counterbalanced by the use of typically older grammatical constructions is the list of participants. The analysis of the lexical and graphical choices on the stela (§5.5.2.2 and §5.5.2.3) shows a similar picture considering the relative openness of the stela's different textual units to new linguistic features: new lexical items and new spellings are most frequent in the list of participants within the main text (see Fig. 35 below).

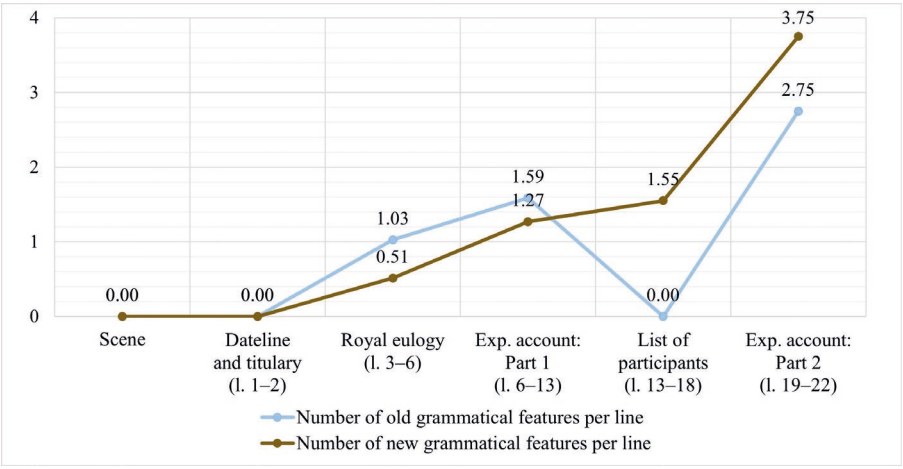


Fig. 34: Relation between the use of old and new grammatical features in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (details from Fig. 31).

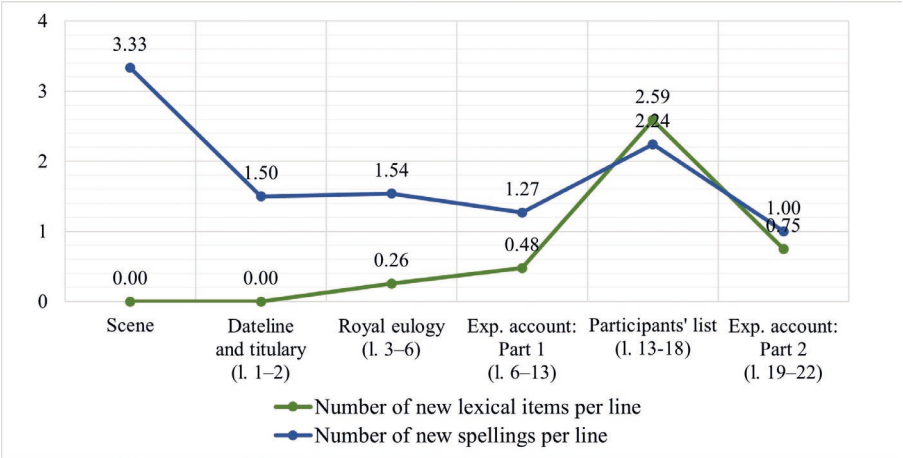


Fig. 35: New lexical and new graphical choices in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (details from Fig. 32 and Fig. 33).

1115 The correlation coefficient of the two data sets is 0.82.

The difference between the list of participants and the rest of the text—considering the nature of their grammatical, lexical, and graphical selections—is indicative of a major structural divide within Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*. Indeed, what makes this composition unique is not its linguistic heterogeneity in the first place but the inclusion of a textual unit that mentions casualties amounting to more than 10% of the personnel taking part in the enterprise described. The contrast of the list of participants with the rest of the text hence defines two major registers on the stela. Although the opening scene, the dateline and titulary, the royal eulogy, and the expedition account are not homogeneous units, neither are they similar to one another, their presence in a royal text is expected as opposed to that of the list. While, in terms of composition, the list of participants is an innovative unit, the rest of the text is, in this correlation, traditional. The *Great Hammamat Inscription* therefore represents an unparalleled combination of a royal inscription and a monumentalized expedition record.

Since the list of participants stands outside the rules of *decorum*[1116] of royal inscriptions, it could carry a content that was previously excluded from these texts. Yet, the graphical euphemism, that is, the visually non-straightforward manner (see *j.m*(*w*)*tjw* under §5.4.3.3) in which the personal casualties were communicated, illustrates that the originally administrative record had to be adapted to its new textual environment as well as to the monumental display. The entry about "the 900 dead" is, nevertheless, not surprising within its own register. The real challenge is to explain why the list of participants was included in a larger, more traditional unit and to account for the dynamics of textual production, which, for the first time in Egyptian history, allowed the incorporation of an administrative record with unexpected content into a monumental royal inscription.

5.5.3.2 Ramesses-Nakht's Possible Influence on the Composition of the Text

Directly preceding the list of participants, lines 12 and 13 of the *Great Hammamat Inscription* mention the appointment of the high priest of Amun, Ramesses-Nakht, as the leader of Ramesses IV's last stone mining expedition to the Wadi Hammamat: *jw wḏ.n ḥm=f rdjt m ḥr n ḥm nṯr tp n Jmn jmj-rꜣ kꜣwt Rᶜ-ms-sw-nḫt mꜣᶜ-ḫrw r jn.tw=w r Kmt* "his majesty has ordered that instructions be given to the high priest of Amun and overseer of works, Ramesses-Nakht, justified, so that they (i.e., the materials) be brought (§5.3, n. xxiii) to Egypt." Ramesses-Nakht served as high priest between the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses IX for several decades.[1117] Also beyond this function, he was among the most powerful individuals in Egypt during the reign of Ramesses IV. According to Daniel Polz, Ramesses-Nakht and his relatives were able to create a second center of power in Upper Egypt by the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.[1118]

Francesco Tiradritti observed that the standing figure of Bastet behind the Theban triad is the only deity in the opening scene of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscrip-*

1116 See n. 975 above.
1117 Note that Hikade (2006: 159) and Perdriaud (2002: 91, n. 13) mention different dates.
1118 Polz (1998: 292).

tion that cannot be related either to the Wadi Hammamat or to the expedition in general (see Fig. 29 above). He argued that the goddess's presence in the scene must be attributed to Ramesses-Nakht's personal influence on the composition, given that the high priest of Amun and overseer of works came from a family of Bubastite or Memphite origin and felt particularly attached to this divinity.[1119] The fact that a private text from the same expedition by a servant of Ramesses-Nakht also includes Bastet's figure in its scene may provide further support for Tiradritti's theory on the composition of the scene of the *Great Hammamat Inscription*.[1120] Bastet's visual presence is, moreover, not the only connection between the two inscriptions. Both of them were placed in a previously uninscribed landscape within the wadi[1121] and share a rare monumental spelling of the Hurrian loan word *kṯn*/*kḏn* "charioteer" (see under §5.4.3.2.2).

If the scene of the *Great Hammamat Stela* indeed reflects the influence of an exceptionally powerful individual of Ramesses IV's reign, it is equally conceivable that the influence of the same individual extended to the composition of the text itself. Since the list of participants immediately follows Ramesses-Nakht's appointment in the inscription, it is plausible to assume that he would have had an interest in having a list of his subordinates included in the inscription, thereby emphasizing his personal authority as an appointed leader acting on the king's behalf. If this hypothesis is correct, Ramesses-Nakht, rather than leaving behind a private expedition inscription in the wadi, as many other expedition leaders had done before him,[1122] would have had his own private record combined with that of the king.

1119 Tiradritti (2002: 110): "La présence de Bastet est presque certainement due à la volonté du premier prophète de Amon-Rê et chef de l'expédition au cours de laquelle la stèle fut gravée, Ramessounakht." Tiradritti's (2002: 108–110) line of reasoning concerning the composition of the scene of Ramesses IV's *Year 2 Hammamat Stela* is, however, less convincing, since it builds on the assumption that line 10 of the *Great Hammamat Inscription* (*ḫr.n=f ḏw špsj r jrt mnw*… "He has travelled around the august mountain to make a monument…") refers to events in the previous year (§5.3, n. xii).

1120 Couyat & Montet (1912: pl. 40, no. 223). For the text, see K*RI* VI 12, 1–6.

1121 Although they are located in different parts of the wadi—Ramesses IV's stela is on the southern (see n. 970 above), whereas Ramesses-Nakht's servant's text is on the northern side of the road (Goyon 1957: 186, no. 223; pl. 7)—both texts were carved several meters away from all other inscriptions.

1122 See, e.g., the Twelfth Dynasty inscriptions of Ameny (Farout 1994: 145–151).

6 Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods*

(K*RI* VI 20–25 = Pls. XV–XXX)

6.1 Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* in the Egyptological Literature

Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods*[1123] is a round-topped limestone monument measuring 2.60 m in height, 1.20 m in width, and 0.38 m in depth (Fig. 36).[1124] It was found by Auguste Mariette with the inscribed side facing down in the Middle Cemetery of Abydos, reused for the pavement of a later private tomb.[1125] Despite the uncertainty about its exact provenance, the temple of Osiris and a chapel in the necropolis have been proposed as possible candidates for the stela's original location.[1126] The stela was until recently kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (*JdE* no. 48831) but is currently exhibited in the Grand Egyptian Museum in Giza (*GEM* no. 6763). While the main text itself is relatively well preserved apart from a few smaller lacunae at the beginning and at the end of some of the lines, most figures and some captions of the opening scene were affected by a major horizontal fracture going through the upper part of the block (Fig. 36).[1127] Both the front and the margins—the left and right sides of the slab—were inscribed with sunk reliefs (Fig. 37). A few traces of paint are still visible in the signs of the inscription on the right[1128] margin (Fig. 38), which suggests that the entire inscription was painted when finished.[1129]

Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* was first published in a facsimile drawing by Mariette.[1130] A hieroglyphic transcript and the first translation of the main text were done in 1884 and in 1885 by Karl Piehl.[1131] In 1947, Mikhaïl Korostovtsev, besides publishing an improved hieroglyphic transcript of the text, provided its first full transla-

1123 As mentioned above (n. 55), the title of the inscription is regularly abbreviated as *Great Abydos Stela* in the present work.

1124 So Mariette (1880b: 440, no. 1172); Korostovtsev (1947: 155); Tiradritti (1997: 193); Claus (2007: 22, n. 6); and Revez (2010: 51). Piehl (1884: 37) and Claus (2005: 65) mention a different size (2.50 m in height, 1.07 m in width and 2.62 m in height, 1.70 m in width) presumably by mistake.

1125 Mariette (1880b: 440–441, no. 1172); Tiradritti (1997: 193–194).

1126 Tiradritti (1997: 193–194); Claus (2005: 60).

1127 Cf. also Korostovtsev (1947: pls. 1–2).

1128 Right and left have been defined by earlier editors of the text from the viewer's perspective (cf. Fig. 37). Accordingly, the right margin corresponds to the right-hand side of the slab when facing the stela.

1129 Some traces of paint have been equally preserved on the figures in the lunette of Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* (cf. Fig. 39).

1130 Mariette (1880a: 54–55; 56a–b). The main text and the opening scene are laterally reversed in Mariette's drawing. On the actual monument, the king stands on the left side of the stela and faces right. Similarly, the main text was written from right to left and not from left to right (cf. Fig. 36).

1131 Piehl (1884: 38–41 and 1885: 13–18).

tion and its first commentary.[1132] Also Kitchen's text edition,[1133] our primary source till today, is largely based on Korostovtsev's work. Although many have translated at least the main text since the 1940s,[1134] Korostovtsev's work was the only available philological commentary of the entire text until the present publication (cf. §6.4).[1135] Since the political consequences of the Harem Conspiracy for Ramesses III's successor are well reflected on the *Great Abydos Stela*, its central theme being royal legitimacy, the main inscription has been often discussed by scholars and is relatively well known. As a result, the text is sometimes labelled as "a treatise on royalty" after Philippe Derchain,[1136] while Loprieno called it "a royal counterpart to the 'Duties of the Vizier' of the early New Kingdom."[1137]

While the contents of the text have always been subject to major scholarly interest, the composition as a whole and the language of the inscription have received rather limited attention so far. The link between Ramesses IV's declaration of innocence in front of twelve deities (§6.3.3.3.2) and the deceased's negative confession in chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* was recognized early on,[1138] but further compositional similarities between the two texts were not pointed out until the 1990s.[1139] The linguistic heterogeneity of the inscription and, particularly that of Ramesses IV's negative confession have puzzled many scholars. The use of various negative verbal forms in the latter has urged Jean-Marie Kruchten, for instance, to doubt the presence of cohesive force in the text.[1140] Although Benoît Claus contradicted Kruchten by acknowledging the originality and the skillfully assembled nature of the composition,[1141] he himself gave a simplified description of its language. In Claus's opinion, namely, Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* was written in *égyptien de tradition* with only a few Late Egyptian elements whose presence was limited to graphical phenomena.[1142] Since Jansen-Winkeln did not include the stela into his overview article on linguistic heterogeneity[1143] and no further analysis

1132 Korostovtsev (1947: 155–173 and pls. 1–2).

1133 K*RI* VI 20–25.

1134 Full translations include Donadoni's (1970: 434–439), Peden's (1994a: 159–173 and 1994b: 94–100), and Kitchen's (*RITA* VI 21–29). Partial translations were done, for instance, by Lavier (1983: 137–144), Assmann (1999: 496–498, no. 220), and Claus (2007: 38–39).

1135 Claus (2007: 40–43) provided philological notes to the first 13 lines of the main inscription.

1136 Derchain (1980: 14–17), cited, for instance, by Baines (1995: 32).

1137 Loprieno (1996c: 289–290).

1138 See, e.g., Korostovtsev (1947: 171); Baines (1995: 32); and, most recently, Claus (2005: 66–67). Contrary to Grieshammer (1974: 25), Claus (2005: 74, n. 69) argues that ritual denials originally belonged to the funerary sphere and were not used in the sacerdotal domain before the end of the New Kingdom. In other words, Ramesses IV's declaration of innocence cannot be interpreted as a royal submission to priestly codes (contra Baines 1995: 32).

1139 Cf. Tiradritti (1997: 197–201).

1140 Kruchten (1994: 133–134, n. 6).

1141 Claus (2005: 60 and 2007: 27).

1142 Claus (2005: 65, n. 19).

1143 Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 92–102).

has been devoted to its language, Claus's statement still stands unchallenged and requires further refinement.



Fig. 36: Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, frontal view (© Grand Egyptian Museum, Giza). Photo by Majtaž Kačičnik, December 2024.



Fig. 37: Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, side views (© Grand Egyptian Museum, Giza). Photos by Majtaž Kačičnik (left) and the author (right), November and December 2024.



Fig. 38: Traces of red paint preserved in the inscription of the right margin of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (© Grand Egyptian Museum, Giza). Photo by the author, November 2024.

6.2 The Date of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*[1144]

The *Great Abydos Stela* is often cited together with a somewhat smaller[1145] limestone monument of the same king, namely, Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* (Fig. 39),[1146] which was likewise discovered by Mariette in the temple of Osiris.[1147] The monument has been recently transferred from the Tahrir Square (*JdE* no. 48876) to the Grand Egyptian Museum (*GEM* no. 56559) and is currently exhibited in Giza. While the *Great Abydos Stela* aims at reaffirming the king's legitimacy by making innovative use of certain textual elements of a funerary composition, namely, chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* (cf. §6.6.3 below), the main text of the smaller *Year 4 Abydos Stela* is a major royal address to Osiris and thus has a simpler structure than Ramesses IV's longer Abydene text. Since the two stelae constitute the two most important royal inscriptions from Abydos from the reign of Ramesses IV and the date is only preserved on one of them, the *Year 4 Abydos Stela* acquired central significance in the dating of the inscription studied here.

While Peden,[1148] Kitchen,[1149] and Jean Revez[1150] stress the similarities of the two monuments and argue for their identical dating, according to Francesco Tiradritti[1151] and Claus,[1152] the larger stela predates the smaller one. The two groups agree that Ramesses IV's *prenomen* used in the scene of the *Great Abydos Stela*, *Ḥqꜣ-mꜣʿt-Rʿ Stp-n-Jmn* "Heqamaatre Setepenamun," cannot be regarded as a decisive argument for a later dating, since the question when exactly the new *prenomen* became standardized is still open. The later *prenomen* (*Ḥqꜣ-mꜣʿt-Rʿ Stp-n-Jmn* "Heqamaatre Setepenamun") appears as early as the first regnal year, while the earlier one (*Wsr-mꜣʿt-Rʿ Stp-n-Jmn* "Usermaatre Setepenamun") is still known from the second year of the king.[1153]

1144 The results summarized in this section have been published in Paksi (2023).

1145 1.73 m in height and 1.10 m in width (Mariette 1880b: 440, no. 1171).

1146 K*RI* VI 17–20. The stela is often called the *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris* or the *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris for Length of Reign* (cf. n. 1164 below). To avoid confusion with Ramesses IV's larger Abydos inscription, the *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods*, abbreviated here as the *Great Abydos Stela* (cf. n. 1123 above), the smaller stela is consistently labelled as *Year 4 Abydos Stela* in this work. A damaged block near the tenth pylon in the temple of Amun at Karnak (K*RI* VI 42) suggests that Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* had a Karnak pendant (see Peden 1994a: 158 and 1994b: 38 with n. 8; Dembitz 2017: 176, n. 74). Prior to the present study (Fig. 39), the only publicly available photograph of the stela was published in 1865 (Rougé 1865: no. 155), which was also reproduced by Claus (2005: 78, fig. 2).

1147 Mariette (1880b: 440, no. 1171).

1148 Peden (1994a: 159 and 1994b: 35).

1149 K*RI* VI 22, n. 2a.

1150 Revez (2010: 58, n. 49).

1151 Tiradritti (1997: 203 with n. 30).

1152 Claus (2005: 71; 2006: 49, n. 65; 2007: 22, n. 6; 33, n. 74; 2017: 61–62).

1153 Cf. Peden (1994b: 15, n. 2) and Tiradritti (1997: 203, n. 30).

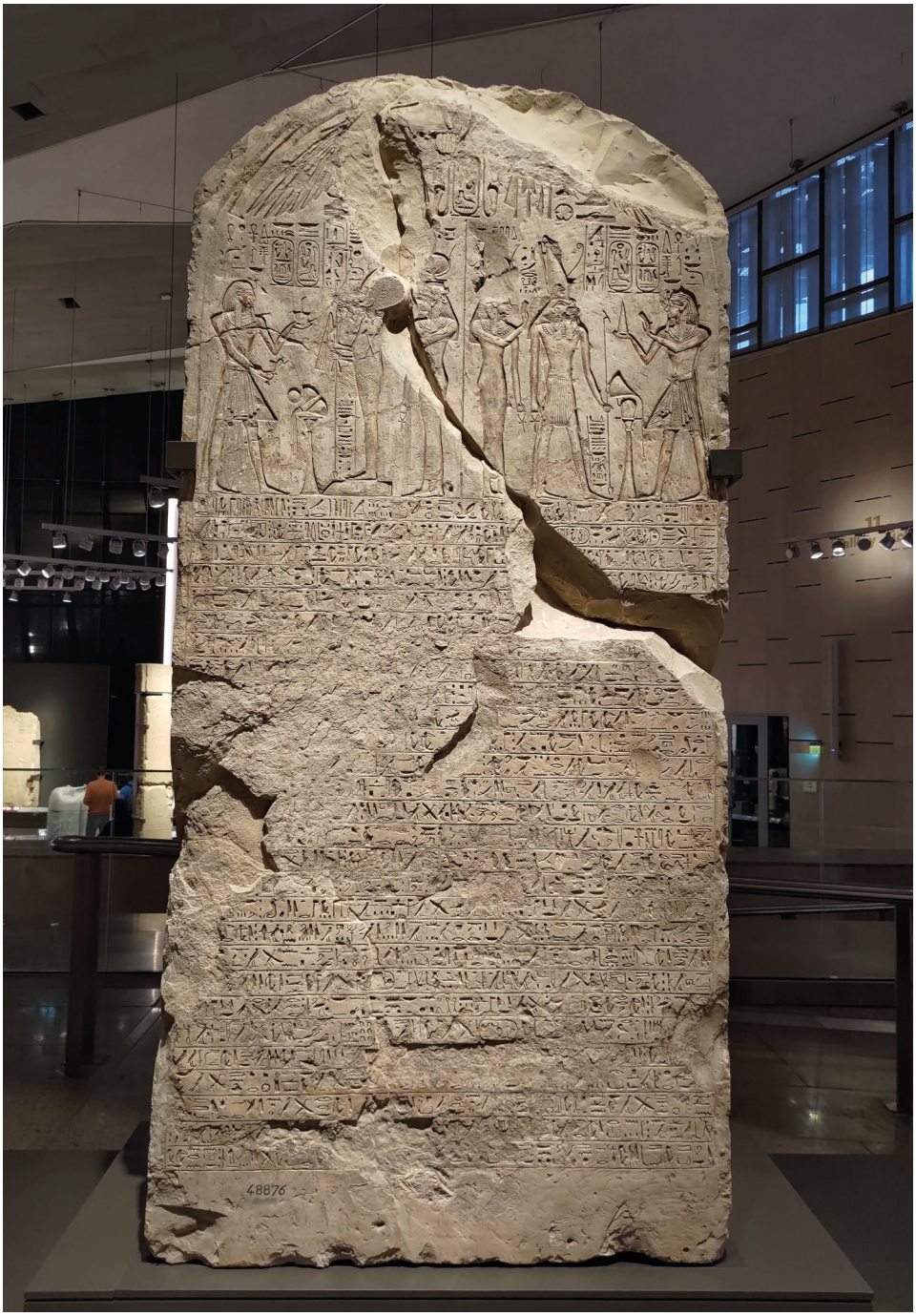


Fig. 39: Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* (© Grand Egyptian Museum, Giza). Photo by the author, November 2024.

According to Tiradritti, the *Great Abydos Stela*'s strong focus on royal legitimacy points to an erection date close to Ramesses III's death.[1154] Claus's preference for the second regnal year is, on the other hand, based on a symbolic interpretation of the relative chronological distance between Ramesses IV's two Abydene stelae. If the date of the larger stela indeed fell onto the first day of the first month of summer, as was put forward by Claus (§6.4, nn. xx and xxi), 560 days, precisely 19 lunar months would separate not only the two stelae but, in Claus's opinion, also Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* from the king's coronation date—provided that we accept his hypothesis concerning the *Great Abydos Stela*'s erection year.[1155] Nineteen is a sacred Osirian number, which marks the date of the god's rebirth in the month of Hathor (Athyr) according to Plutarch,[1156] and therefore it bears symbolic significance.

Nevertheless, a graphical feature of the king's Horus name (§6.4, n. xxii) in the first line of the stela, namely, the elliptical writing of the phrase *ꜥnḫ m mꜣꜥt* "who lives in truth" (), supports neither Tiradritti's nor Claus's theory. The abbreviated form of the epithet is not attested before the second half of the king's reign.[1157] While Ramesses IV's *Year 2 Hammamat Stela*, for instance, writes *ꜥnḫ m mꜣꜥt* as  ,[1158] Ramesses IV's inscriptions from his third regnal year onwards—therefore also the *Great Hammamat Inscription*,[1159] the *Koptos Stela*,[1160] and the *Year 4 Abydos Stela*[1161]—consistently exclude the preposition *m* from the spelling of the phrase. Year 3 is thus suggested as the earliest possible date for Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* by the spelling of the king's Horus name.

When comparing the two Abydene stelae of Ramesses IV, several factors indicate that the larger stela predates the smaller one. First, the *Great Abydos Stela*'s focus is royal legitimacy, whereas the *Year 4 Abydos Stela* concentrates on what Ramesses IV as a legitimate ruler expects from "his father, Osiris."[1162] The former can thus be regarded as a logical forerunner to the latter. Second, on the *Great Abydos Stela*, the king speaks to Osiris and eleven other deities, while the *Year 4 Abydos Stela* is solely dedicated to Osiris. Since the first section of the *Great Abydos Stela* discusses Osiris's superiority over all other deities (§6.3.3.3.1), this passage can be regarded as a logical preamble to Ramesses IV's address to Osiris on the smaller stela. Third, the *Year 4 Abydos Stela* contains two major parts: the king's declaration of innocence in front of Osiris (lines 5–13) and his prayer to the god (lines 13–28).[1163] The two sections seem to reiterate and further develop themes that are also addressed on the *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.3.3.3.2 and

1154 Tiradritti (1997: 203).
1155 Claus (2017: 61–62).
1156 Cited by Claus (2017: 61, n. 21).
1157 Cf. Christophe (1949: 4 with n. 1).
1158 K*RI* VI 10, 4.
1159 K*RI* VI 12, 15.
1160 K*RI* VI 16, 10.
1161 K*RI* VI 17, 13.
1162 K*RI* VI 17, 16.
1163 K*RI* VI 18, 3–15 (lines 5–13) and K*RI* VI 18, 15 – 20, 7 (lines 13–28).

§6.3.3.3.4). The king's supplication to Osiris on the smaller stela appears as an enhanced rendering of the prayer to the gods on the larger stela. While the latter covers merely a few lines (*Great Abydos Stela*, lines 31–35), the former constitutes more than half of the text (*Year 4 Abydos Stela*, lines 13–28) and is significantly bolder in tone.[1164]

Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* dates to "year 4, day 10 of the third month of inundation."[1165] The only secure element of the *Great Abydos Stela*'s dateline is the season (§6.3.3.2), *shemu*, and it seems reasonable to assume that the unspecified number of the day is an elliptical writing for the first day of the missing month (§6.4, n. xxi). Ramesses IV acceded to the throne on day 15 of the third month of *shemu*, and regnal years were counted from a king's accession in the New Kingdom.[1166] Knowing that the larger stela is likely to predate the smaller one and that the great inscription's earliest possible date is year 3, the following dates can be considered for Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*: year 3, first day of the first, second, or third month of *shemu*; or year 4, first day of the fourth month of *shemu*.[1167] With a date at the beginning of the first, second, or third month of *shemu* in year 4, the great stela would namely postdate its smaller counterpart, therefore, bearing in mind the above hypotheses, these options can be excluded. The *Great Abydos Stela* was thus most probably erected only a few—three to six—months earlier than the *Year 4 Abydos Stela* (year 4, day 10 of the third month of *akhet*): at the end of year 3 or at the beginning of year 4 (cf. Fig. 40).[1168]

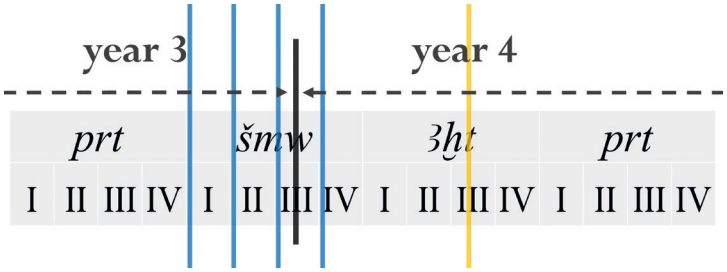


Fig. 40: Possible dates (year 3, 1/I/*šmw*; year 3, 1/II/*šmw*; year 3, 1/III/*šmw*; or year 4, 1/IV/*šmw*) for Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (in blue) and their chronological distance from the date (year 4, 10/III/*3ḫt*) of Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* (in yellow).[1169]

1164 The king's appeal to Osiris on the *Year 4 Abydos Stela* is best known for the passage in which Ramesses IV pleads to the god for a length of reign twice that of Ramesses II, arguing that he had done more for the god in his first four years than Ramesses II in 67 years (lines 21–23 in K*RI* VI 19, 12–15).

1165 K*RI* VI 17, 13.

1166 Cf. Hornung (2006: 197 and 215) as well as Pizzarotti (2011: 364–365).

1167 Note that the second and the third possible dates (year 3, first day of the second or third month of *shemu*) would fall into the circa two-month period during which Ramesses IV's last stone mining expedition to the Wadi Hammamat took place (§5.1).

1168 I thank Rita Gautschy for her critical review of this section in February 2019.

1169 Visualization after Paksi (2023: 236, fig. 60).

6.3 Transliteration and Translation of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*

6.3.1 The Opening Scene

Text under the Winged Disk:

In the middle:

Ḥqꜣ-mꜣʿt-Rʿ Stp-n-Jmn

Heqamaatre Setepenamun

On both sides of the king's *prenomen*:

Bḥdtj nṯr ʿꜣ sꜣb šwt

Behdetite, great god, colorful of plumage.

The king offers *maat* to twelve deities.

The king:

[1]|*nb tꜣwj* […ᵢ *rest lost* …]
[2]|[… *lost* …]
[3]|*djt mꜣʿt n jt=f Wsjr nb tꜣ ḏs{tr}<rt>*

[1]|Lord of the two lands, […ᵢ rest lost …];
[2]|[… lost …];
[3]|Giving[i] *maat* to his father, Osiris, lord of the land of the necropolis.[ii]

The twelve deities:

Osiris:

ḏd-mdw jn [*Ws*]*jr* […ᵢ *rest lost* …]

Words spoken by [Os]iris, […ᵢ rest lost …].

Horus:

Ḥr nḏ jt=f mr

Horus, protector of his father, beloved.

Isis:

ꜣst wrt mwt nṯr

Isis, the great, the god's mother.

Nephthys:

Nbt-ḥwt ḥr-jb ꜣbḏw mr

Nephthys, residing in Abydos, beloved.

Min-Horus-Nakht:

Mnw-Ḥr-Nḫt ḥr-jb ꜣbḏw

Min-Horus-Nakht, residing in Abydos.[iii]

Iunmutef:

Jwn-mwt=f ḥr-jb ꜣbḏw mr

Iunmutef, residing in Abydos, beloved.

Re-Harakhte:

Rᶜ-Ḥr-ꜣḫtj nṯr ᶜꜣ mr

Re-Harakhte, great god, beloved.

Anhur-Shu:

Jn-ḥrt-Šw sꜣ Rᶜ mr

Anhur-Shu, son of Re, beloved.

Tefnut:

Tfnwt sꜣt Rᶜ mr

Tefnut, daughter of Re, beloved.

Geb:

Gbb ḥr-jb ꜣbḏw

Geb, residing in Abydos.

Thoth:

Ḏḥwtj nb Ḫmnw

Thoth, lord of Hermopolis.

Hathor:

[1]|*Ḥwt-Ḥr nb*[*t pt*] [2]|[… …]

[1]|Hathor, lad[y of heaven], [2]|[… …].

6.3.2 The Margins

6.3.2.1 Left Side: Address to Re

[1]|*dwꜣ Rꜥ ḥft wbn=f*
jn nsw bjtj nb tꜣwj Ḥqꜣ-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ
sꜣ Rꜥ nb ḫꜥw Rꜥ-ms-s(w) dj ꜥnḫ

[1]|Praising Re upon his rising
by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt: lord of the two lands, Heqamaatre;
son of Re: lord of diadems, Ramesses—given life!—:

jꜣw n=k
qmꜣ psḏt
Jtm m ḏꜣ pt
nꜥjj=k ḥrj
nmj=k r dwꜣt
ḥftjw=k ḫr r nmjwt=sn
[2]|[… …] *wj[ꜣ]=k m jhh*
jw nsrsr m ḥtpw

wp ꜥnḫ[wj]=k
{q}<sḏ>m=k j.ḏdwt=j j.ḏd[iv]
jrjj=j nḫnw=j m trj nb[v]

jnk ḥm=k jr ḥr mw=k
n wj ḏt n njwt=k ḥqꜣ-ꜥnḏ
nsw bjtj nb tꜣwj Ḥqꜣ-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ
sꜣ Rꜥ nb ḫꜥw Rꜥ-ms-s(w) dj ꜥnḫ

"Praise to you,
(O) creator of the Ennead,
Atum in crossing the heaven:
when you traverse the sky
(and) travel to the netherworld!
Your enemies have fallen to their places of execution,
[2]|[… …] your bar[k] (ʔisʔ)[vi] in jubilation,
(and) the Island of Fire is at peace.

Open your ear[s],
so that you shall hear what I say:
'May I be young at all times!'[vii]

I am your servant who acts on your water (i.e., who is loyal to you);
I belong to the serfs[viii] (i.e., the people) of your city in the nome of Heliopolis:
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: lord of the two lands, Heqamaatre;
son of Re: lord of diadems, Ramesses—given life!"

6.3.2.2 Right Side: Address to Osiris

[1]|*dwꜣ* [*Ws*]*jr*
[*sḫ*]*tp kꜣ=f*
jn nsw bjtj nb tꜣwj Ḥqꜣ-[*mꜣᶜt*]*-Rᶜ*
sꜣ Rᶜ nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-s(*w*) *dj ᶜnḫ*

[1]|Praising [Os]iris,
[pl]easing his *ka*
by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt: lord of the two lands, Heqa[maat]re;
son of Re: lord of diadems, Ramesses—given life!—:

j.[*nḏ*] *ḥr=k*
ḥqꜣ jgrt Wnn-nfr nsw nḥ[*ḥ*]
gm.n=j ḥm=j [*mḏꜣt*] *nt mdww nṯr m dwꜣw nb ᶜꜣjjw wrw jr.n n=k Ḥr*
jw=f ḥnᶜ Ḏḥwtj ḥr sḫtp kꜣ=k
r sqꜣ wsr=k [2]|*m-ḫn*[*w p*]*sḏt m ḏd*
ḫmw st rn=k
tm {*s*}*snd*[ix] *n=k*
mḥw m hrww[*=sn*] *nb*
s[*km*]*w m rnpwt=sn*
kwjj [… …]*=st*
j[… *ca. 4 to 5 groups lost* …]*w m* [*s*]*qꜣw=st*

"Hail to you,
(O) ruler of the realm of the dead, Wenennefer, king of eterni[ty],
I, my majesty,[x] have found the [book][xi] of divine words with all the great and mighty praises[xii] that Horus had given to you,
when he was with Thoth pleasing your *ka*
to exalt your power [2]|amon[g the E]nnead by saying:
'They do not know[xiii] your name,
the ones who do not fear you,
who (ful)fill all [their][xiv] days,
and c[omp]lete[xv] their years;
the others who […] their […]
and [… ca. 4 to 5 groups lost …]s in/as their [ex]altation.'

j.n=j m nṯr jb m wꜣwꜣ sḫrw n-ꜣb sqꜣw [3]|*nsjjt=j m ᶜḥᶜw wr*
jw tꜣw m ḥtpw nn ḥꜣjjt
jr=j ꜣḫw nb r rꜣ-pr=k nn[sic] *j.jr=sn nsww jmjw* [… …] *st=j*
jrjj=j hr-jb=k
pꜣ nb ᶜꜣ n [*Kmt*]
[*wꜣḥ jb*]*=k*
[*j*]*mm nfrw m-bꜣḥ=k*

mj ꜣḫ=j n=k
sḏm n=j
spr=j
jnk sꜣ[*=k*]

(So) I have said as one godly of heart, deviser of plans for (the purpose of) the prolongation of [3]|my kingship by a great lifespan,
while the lands were at peace without worry,
I did[xvi] all (sorts of) benefactions to your temple that they had not[xvii] done, (namely), the kings who were [… …] my seat
(and) I made your heart content,
O great lord of [Egypt].
[Be kind][xviii]
(and) [gr]ant good in your presence,
as I am beneficial to you!
Listen to me,
when I petition,
(for) I am [your] son!"

6.3.3 The Main Text

6.3.3.1 Overview of the Main Structural Elements

Dateline and titulary	lines 1–2
The king's address to Osiris and the gods	lines 2–35
Address to Osiris	lines 2–12
jw jp.n=j m jb=j…	line 2
"I have considered in my mind, …"	
mk mntk pw jʿḥ jmj ḫrj…	line 5
"Look, it is you who are the moon in the sky, …"	
ḫr mntk ḥʿp(*j*) *wr*…	line 7
"Now, you are the great Nile-flood…"	
mntk r.wḏjj sw…	line 8
"You are the one who dispatches him, …"	
mntk ḫjj m pt…	line 11
"You are the one who is high (up) in the heaven…"	

Declaration of innocence	lines 12–19
mk wj (ḥr) njs sḫr=j m-bꜣḥ… "Look, I am reciting my conduct in front of…"	line12
jnk ḥqꜣ n bs… "I am an enthroned ruler, …"	line 13
tjwt bw ḫsf=j jt=j… "Indeed, I haven't opposed my father, …"	line 15
jw mꜣꜣ.n=j Mꜣꜥt r-gs Rꜥ… "I have seen Maat next to Re, …"	lines 17–18
Individual address to each god	lines 19–30
j Wsjr… "O Osiris, …"	line 19
[*j*] *Ḥr…* "[O] Horus, …"	line 20
j ꜣst Nbt-ḥwt… "O Isis and Nephthys, …"	line 21
j Mnw… "O Min, …"	line 22
j Jwn-mwt=f "O Iunmutef, …"	line 23
j Rꜥ-Ḥr-ꜣḫtj… "O Re-Harakhte, …"	line 24
j Jn-ḥrt… "O Anhur, …"	line 25
j Sḫmt… "O Sakhmet, …"	line 26
j Gbb… "O Geb, …"	line 27
j Ḏḥwtj… "O Thoth, …"	line 28
j Ḥwt-Ḥr… "O Hathor, …"	line 30
Final prayer	lines 31–35
ḫr mtjj sꜣ nfr=f n jt=f… "Now, respectable is a son, when he is good to his father, …"	line 31

wᶜf.n=j bšdw… lines 32–33
"I have curbed the rebellious…"

Dedication formula line 36

6.3.3.2 Dateline and Titulary

[1]|[*ḥsbt*] […] [*ȝbd*] […] *šmw sw ḫr ḥm*
Ḥr kȝ nḫt ᶜnḫ (*m*) *mȝᶜt nb ḥbw-sd mj jt=f Ptḥ-fȝ-tnn*
nbtj mk Kmt wᶜf pḏt 9
Ḥr nbw wsr rnpwt wr nḥtw jtjj ms nṯrw sḫpr tȝwj
nsw bjtj nb tȝwj nb jr ḫt [… …] [2]|[*Ḥqȝ-mȝᶜt-Rᶜ*]
sȝ Rᶜ nb ḫᶜw mj Ḥr-ȝḫtj Rᶜ-ms-s(*w*) *dj ᶜnḫ mj Rᶜ ḏt*

[1]|[Year] […],[xix] […][xx] [month] of summer, a[xxi] day under the majesty of
Horus: strong bull who lives (in)[xxii] truth, lord of jubilees like his father, Ptah-Tatenen;
Two Ladies: protector of Egypt who curbs the Nine Bows;
Golden Horus: rich in years, mighty in victories, sovereign, to whom the gods gave birth, who fosters both lands;
king of Upper and Lower Egypt: lord of the two lands, lord of doing effective things, […] [2]|[Heqamaatre];
son of Re: lord of diadems like Harakhte, Ramesses—given life like Re forever!

6.3.3.3 The King's Address to Osiris and the Gods

6.3.3.3.1 Address to Osiris

ḏd jn nsw bjtj nb tȝwj Ḥqȝ-mȝᶜt-Rᶜ sȝ Rᶜ nb ḫᶜw Rᶜ-ms-s(*w*) *dj ᶜnḫ mj Rᶜ*

Spoken by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Heqamaatre; son of Re, lord of diadems, Ramesses—given life like Re!—:

jw jp.n=j m jb=j
jt=j nb=j
[ʾ*m*ʾ] [ʾ*g*][3]|[*nwt*ʾ] *nt Ḏḥwtj jmj pr ᶜnḫ*
bw wȝḥ=j jm=w r-ḏrw r tm dgȝ=st[xxiii]
r ḥḥj wrw r nḏsw[xxiv] *m nṯrw nṯrjjwt*
gm.n[=*j*] [4]|[*ḥm=k*] *m psḏt tmmṯ*[xxv]
ḫprw=k nb sp-2 štȝ.w r=st

"I have considered in my mind (i.e., I have examined),
my father, my lord,
[ʾthe ʾ][xxvi] [ʾa][3]|[nnals ʾ][xxvii] of Thoth which are[xxviii] in the House of Life.
I could not leave any (lit., all) of them[xxix] disregarded[xxx]

to seek out the great rather than the small among the gods and the goddesses.[xxxi]
[I] have found [4]|[your majesty][xxxii] among[xxxiii] the entire Ennead,
each and every[xxxiv] form of yours being more mysterious than they (i.e., theirs).

jr m nꜣ hrww j.ḏdw=w
st ḫpr.w
jw bw jr.t Nwt bꜣkꜣ m nfrw=k
wn ꜥnḫ=tw [*jm*] [5]|*m nṯrw mj rmṯ jwꜥꜥ pꜣjjw jmj-mw mjtt jrjj*

In those days that they (i.e., ?the annals?)[xxxv] mention[xxxvi]
—they have happened
when Nut had not yet become pregnant with your beauty—
one used to live [then][xxxvii] [5]|among gods as (among) men, animals, birds, as well as (among) those in the water (i.e., aquatic animals).

mk mntk pw jꜥḥ jmj ḥrj
kꜣ r<n>pj=k r jb=k
nḥḥ=k r mrr=k

Look, it is you who are the moon in the sky,
and so you rejuvenate at your wish
(and) grow old as you desire.

[6]|*jr pw*
pr=k
r dr=k snkt
wrḥ.tw wnḫ.tw (*j*)*n*[xxxviii] *psḏt*
mtw ḥkꜣw ḫpr.w
r sꜣḫ ḥm=st
r djt nꜣjj=w ḫftw r nmjt=st
ḫr=tw
[7]|*pꜣjj m sš*
bn rꜣ n rꜣ
mtw ꜥnḫw jp
r rḫ rꜥ ꜣbd
r djt wꜥ ḥr wꜥ
r rḫ ꜥḥꜥw=sn

[6]|As for that (i.e., the fact)
that you shall come forth
so that you may drive away the darkness
(after) you had been anointed and clothed by the Ennead,
and magical spells had come into being
to glorify their (i.e., the Ennead's) majesty

(and) to bring their enemies to their place of execution
—(so) one says—
[7]|this is in writing,
not oral tradition (lit., mouth to mouth);[xxxix]
and the living (do the) count(ing)
to know the day and the month,
to add one to one,
to know their lifespan.

ḫr mntk ḥ⸢p(j) wr ḥr ḫntš ḥr tp trj
⸢nḫ nṯrw rmṯ m rḏw jm=k
gm[8]*|.n=j ḥm=k m-r³-⸢ m nsw dw³t m sḫr pn n* […] *m t³-mrj*
p³ jr nfr n ḫrw ḏw r j.jrr s(w)[xl] *m t³ n ḫrt-nṯr*

Now, you are the great Nile-flood going aboard at the beginning of time,
gods and men live from the efflux of you.
I have [8]|also[xli] found your majesty as the king of the netherworld in this manner/nature[xlii] of […] in the Beloved Land;
(O) who does more good in an evil [?]conflict[?][xliii] than the one who does that in the land of the necropolis.

mntk r.wḏjj sw
jw[xliv] *pr m(w)t*
jṯ r ⸢nḫ m ⸢rjj n njwt=k t³-wr ³bḏw
[9]*|smj=st snnj ⸢n r rwtj=k ms*[*ḥ*]*nwt r-gs=k*
smnḫ sḫrw=k

You are the one who dispatches[xlv] him,[xlvi]
when the dead goes forth,
having been taken (i.e., led)[xlvii] to life at the meeting-place[xlviii] of your city, the Thinite Abydos;
[9]|(and) they[xlix] give account again at your gates, the Mes[kh]enet-goddesses at your side,
(once) your plans have been efficiently executed.

ḫ⸢⸢ R⸢ r⸢ nb
spr=f r dw³t
r jr sḫr n t³ pn t³w m-r³-⸢
jw=k snḏm.tw m-r³-⸢ mj-qd=f
ḏd=tw [10]*|b³ dmdm r=tn n-sp*
jw ḥm n Ḏḥwtj ⸢ḥ⸢ r-gs=tn[l]
r spḫr m[li] *wḏw pr m r³=tn*

When Re appears every day
(and) reaches the netherworld,[lii]
to make (an) arrangement for this land as well as (for other) lands,
while you also sit like him,
one says [10]|"united *ba*" to you together,
while the majesty of Thoth stands beside you
to register[liii] the decrees that come forth from your mouth.

jr j.ḏd=tn nb
jw=tn m rꜣ wˁ
mntw nꜣjj=j wdd n jmnjjt [11]|*swḏ*
mntk ḫjj m pt šftftw[liv] *m tꜣ*
jgrt mn.tw ḫr sḫr=k <r> ḏrwj nḥḥ
nṯr.wj tw trj
sbq.wj tw
jṯ sṯn=f n ḥm=k
ḏd=j ḥswt=f
mtn=k tw n=k ḏs=k
[12]|*jt=j nb=j*
ḫr rš.wj wj
jnk pw mj
ꜣḫ=j n=k
jw=j (ḥr) djt=k m jb=j m-ḫrt-hrw

As for all that you say
when you are as one mouth,
it[lv] is my bequeathed[lvi] command[lvii] of [11]|daily offerings.

You are the one who is high (up) in the heaven and the one greatly respected on earth,
while the realm of the dead endures <to>[lviii] the bounds of eternity under your conduct.
How divine you are indeed![lix]
How splendid you are!
Who could[lx] bear comparison with your majesty
—that I may speak his praise!—
when you reward yourself for yourself,
[12]|my father, my lord?

Now, how joyful I am!
It is me after all:[lxi]
I shall be beneficial to you,
keeping you in my heart daily.

6.3.3.3.2 Declaration of Innocence

mk wj (ḥr) ꜥnjs sḫr=j m-bꜣḥ ḥm=k ḥnᶜ ḏꜣḏꜣt=j (/ḏꜣḏꜣt) ᶜꜣt jmj-ḫt=k
jw[lxii] *mꜣᶜt jm=w r-*[13]*|ꜣw*
nn n=w jw-ms
jnk ḥqꜣ[lxiii] *n bs*
nn ḥwrᶜ.n=j
tw=j m st wtt=j mj sꜣ ꜣst
ḏr ᶜḥᶜ=j m nsw ḥr st nt Ḥr
jn.n=j mꜣᶜt r tꜣ pn
wnw nn sw
[14]*|rḫ.kw*
wḫd=k n-qꜣjj[lxiv]*=s m-ḫt tꜣ-mrj*
wꜣḥ=j ḥtp-nṯr ᶜšꜣ n kꜣ=k
qb=j wnw m-bꜣḥ m jmnjjt
ḫw=j n mrjw(t) nt njwt=k
mkjj=j n dmj=k
jrjj=j wḏw
r ḥn rꜣ-pr=k m ḫtmw(t)/sḏꜣw(t)[lxv] [15]*|nbt*

Look, I am reciting[lxvi] my conduct[lxvii] in front of your majesty and my (/the)[lxviii] great tribunal behind you
—for *maat* is among them a[13]|ll (i.e., among all its members)[lxix]
and falsehood[lxx] does not belong to them—:
I am an enthroned[lxxi] ruler,
I never[lxxii] usurped.
I have been at the place of my begetter[lxxiii] like the son of Isis
since I arose as king upon the throne of Horus.
I have brought[lxxiv] *maat* to this land,
which had been without it,[lxxv]
[14]|(for) I know
you suffer in its absence (i.e., when it is lacking) throughout the Beloved Land:
I laid down[lxxvi] many divine offerings for your *ka*,
I multiplied what existed before as daily offerings,
I protected the[lxxvii] servants of your city,
I safeguarded your town,
(and) I made (i.e., issued) decrees
to equip your temple with all (sorts of) [15]|treasures.

tjwt
bw ḫsf=j jt=j
bw šnᶜ=j mwt=j

nn ḫsf=j ḥ‘pj=j
ḫd=f jm
nn jj.n=j ḥr nṯr m ‘bw=f m-ḫnw ḥwt-nṯr=f
‘nḫ=j m mrr nṯr hrw n mst=f m jw nsrsr
[16]|*<n>* [lxxviii]*n jr.n=j šnt r nṯr*
nn sjf=j ntrt
nn sd=j swḥt ḫprt
nn wnm=j bwt=j
nn ‘wn.n=j j3d ḥr ḫwt=f
nn sm3=j m3jrw
nn (n)ḥm.n=j rmw [17]|*m š nṯr*
nn sḫt.n=j j3dt
n stj=j r m3j ḥs3 m {nb}<ḫb> n B3stt
nn ‘rq=j n B3-nb-ḏdwj[lxxix] *m pr n nṯrw*
nn dm=j rn n T3-tnn
nn ḫb3=j n[lxxx] *‘qw=f*

Indeed,[lxxxi]
I haven't opposed my father,
I haven't repelled my mother,
I have not diverted my[lxxxii] Nile-flood
(from) where it flows,
I never came to the god in his purity (i.e., in/during his pure state)[lxxxiii] within his temple,
(for) I live on what the god loves (on) the day of his birth on the Island of Fire.
[16]|I never made a spell (i.e., never cursed) against a god,
I have not violated[lxxxiv] a goddess;
I have not cracked a fertilized[lxxxv] egg,
I have not eaten my abomination;
I never robbed a poor man of his belongings,
I have not slain wretched men;
I never took fish [17]|from the god's pond,
I never snared a net;
I have not shot at a wild lion on the feast of Bastet,
I have not sworn to Banebdjed in the temple of the gods;
I have not pronounced the name of Tatenen,
I have not diminished[lxxxvi] his provisions.

jw mȝȝ.n[18]*|=j MȝꜤt r-gs RꜤ*
sꜤr.n=j s(j) n nb=s
ḫnms.n=j ḎḥwtjꜤ m dr<f> [lxxxvii]*w=f hrw pgs r qꜤḥ=f*

I have [18]|seen Maat next to Re,
I have made her ascend to her lord,
(and) I have befriended Thoth in/with his scripts (on) the day of spitting at his shoulder.

bw tkn=j s ḥr nst jt=f
rḫ.kw
bwt{n} [lxxxviii]*=k js pw*
nn šꜤd.n=j jt
m ktt=st
[19]*|mȝtt tp ḥsbwt=sn*

I haven't approached[lxxxix] a man on his father's seat,
(for) I know
it is your abomination.
I never cut grain
when it[xc] was small
[19]|(nor) celery[xci] atop its[xcii] garden-beds.[xciii]

* * *[1170]

6.3.3.3.3 Individual Address to Each God

j Wsjr
jw stjj.n=j n=k tkȝ hrw n wtȝ[xciv] *sꜤḥ=k*
jw šnꜤ.n=j Stš ḥr=k
m wn=f (ḥr) Ꜥwȝ Ꜥt=k
jw rdj.n=j sȝ=k Ḥr m ḥrj-nst=k

O Osiris,
I have lit[xcv] a torch for you (on) the day of bandaging your mummy,
I have repulsed Seth from you
when he was robbing your limb(s),
(and) I have placed your son, Horus, as your successor (*sic*).[xcvi]

* * *

1170 Following Kitchen (*RITA* VI 25–28), the three asterisks serve to mark the blank space inserted before each of the following paragraphs (see Fig. 49 below). The only exception concerns the invocation addressed to Isis and Nephthys, where the beginning of the section coincides with the beginning of line 21. In this case, the line break takes over the accentuating function of the blank space otherwise used within the lines. On the compositional logic behind the use of this typographical solution, see §6.6.3 below.

[20]|*[j] Ḥr*
jw pgs.n=j n jrt=k
m-ḫt jṯ.tw=s jn qnj=s
jw rdj.n=j n=k nstj jt=k Wsjr jwʿʿj=f m tȝ r-ḏr=f
jw smȝ.n=j ḫrw=k hrw wḏʿ-mdw
jw rdj.n=j pḫr n=k Kmt ḥnʿ d{rš}<šr>(t)[xcvii] *m stj Ḥr-ȝḫtj*

[20]|[O] Horus,
I have spat into[xcviii] your eye
after it was seized by its injurer,[xcix]
I have given you the double throne of your father, Osiris, and his heritage in the entire land,
I have slain[c] your enemy (on) the judgement day,
(and) I have caused Egypt and the desert to serve[ci] you as the representative of Harakhte.

[21]|*j ȝst Nbt-ḥwt*
jw sʿr.n=j n=tn tp=tn
smn=j n=tn nḥbw=tn m grḥ pwjj n sn {t}<tp>w[cii] *sȝbjjw m ḫntj Sḫm*
jw smȝ.n=j ḫrw Ḥr hrw wḏʿ-mdw
jw rdj.n[22]*|=j n=tn mnt=tn r ḫḫ=tn sššš=tn m ḫfʿ=tn sḫm=tn m-ḫt=tn qqw=tn m-m=tn*

[21]|O Isis and Nephthys,
I have caused you to lift your head
by making your necks firm for you on that night of cutting off the heads of the dappled snakes by[ciii] the chief of Letopolis,
I have slain[civ] Horus's enemy (on) the judgement day,
(and) I have [22]|placed for you your *menat*-necklace on your neck, your *seshesh*-sistrum into your grip, your *sekhem*-sistrum behind you, and your *qequ*[cv] among you.

* * *

j Mnw
jw rdj.n=j ʿḥʿ=k m nṯr
qȝ.tj ḥr jȝt=k
jw sʿḥ=j n=k [23]*|ḥnn=k m tȝm nṯr*
dj.n=j tȝm ḥr-nb
m ḥʿʿ=k m ḥb=k nfr

O Min,
I have caused you to stand up as a god,
being tall on your standard,
(and) I wrapped[cvi] your phallus [23]|for you with a divine bandage,

(after) I had made everyone veil himself
when you rejoice(d) in your beautiful feast.

* * *

j Jwn-mwt=f
jw rdj.n=j[cvii] *n=k*
nrjj n=k št3jjw-ḥr [24]*|m-m nṯrw jmw ḫrt-nṯr*
jw n=k jmw-p3wt=st ḫr ꜥnḫ[cviii]*=st ḫntj st=k m-m psḏt*

O Iunmutef,
I have arranged (it) for you[cix]
that those mysterious-of-face shall fear you [24]|among the gods who are in the necropolis
(and) that those who are in their primeval times[cx] shall come to you carrying their living (i.e., their provisions) in front of your seat among the Ennead.

* * *

j Rꜥ-Ḥr-3ḫtj
jw sḫr.n=j n=k ꜥ(3)pp
rdj.n=j sqdd[cxi] *wj3=k*
[25]*|nn š3=f ḥr ṯst pf n ꜥ(3)pp m sqdd*[cxii] *wr*

O Re-Harakhte,
I had overthrown Apophis for you
(before) I have let your bark sail[cxiii]
[25]|so that it would not founder[cxiv] on that[cxv] coil[cxvi] of Apophis during the great journey.

* * *

j Jn-ḥrt
jw rdj.n=j n=k wḏ(3)=k r šnbt=k šwtj=k m tp=k mnt r ḫḫ=k
jr.n=j mkt-ḥꜥw=k m ḥk3w[26]*|=j m 3ḫw tp-r3=j*
jw dr.n=j ꜥbw nb ntjj m ḥꜥw=k

O Anhur,
I have placed for you your pectoral[cxvii] on your chest, your two plums on your head, and the *menat*-necklace on your neck,
(after) I had made the protection of your body with my [26]|magical spells and the magical power of my utterance;
(and) I have removed all the impurity that was in your body.

* * *

j Sḫmt
jw rdj.n=j n=t sḫmt m-m nṯrw nbw
wrt dndn=t
ꜥ3 šfšf=t m-m rḫjjw
[27]|*t3w nbw ḫr sḫm(t)*[cxviii]*=t*
rdj.n=j jtjj=t r mrr=t m t3 r-ḏr=f

O Sakhmet,
I have given you power among all the gods:
great is your wrath
and tremendous the respect of you among the people,
[27]|every land is under your power,
(for) I have let you seize, as you wish(ed), the[cxix] entire land.

* * *

j Gbb
jw rdj.n=j n=k wḏ(3)=k r ḫḫ=k šwtj=k m tp=k mnt r ḫḫ=k
jw rdj.n=j [n=k] [28]|*mkt-ḥꜥw m ḥk3w=j m 3ḫw tp-r3=j*
jw dr.n=j ꜥbw nb ntjj m ḥꜥw=k

O Geb,
I have placed for you your pectoral[cxx] on your neck (*sic*),[cxxi] your two plums on your head, and the *menat*-necklace on your neck;
I have given [you][cxxii] the protection of your body with my magical spells and the magical power of my utterance;
(and) I have removed all the impurity that was in your body.

* * *

j ḎḥwtjDḥwtj
jw rdj.n=j n=k gstj=k
mḥ.n=j n=k p(3)s=k m [m]w
[29]|*jw rdj.n=j n=k*
wpjj=k rḥwj snwj
dr.n=j n=k mnt
rdj.n=j n=k
ꜥ3jj pḥtj=k
sqdd=k{j}[cxxiii] *m nšnj ꜥ3*

O Thoth,
I have given you your palette
(and) I filled your pot for you with [wa]ter.
[29]|I have arranged (it) for you[cxxiv]
that you shall judge the two rival brothers;

I have removed the suffering for you,
(and) I have arranged (it) for you[cxxv]
that your strength shall be great,
(whenever) you travel in a great storm.

* * *

[30]|*j Ḥwt-Ḥr*
jw rdj.n=j n=t mnt r ḫḫ=t
ṯs=j n=t nbw r ḏrt=t
wr sḫ3
ꜥ3 mrwt=t m ḫt n Ḥr=t nfr n nbw ḥj=t mrr=t
Ḥwt-Ḥr ḥnwt=j

[30]|O Hathor,
I have placed for you the *menat*-necklace on your neck
(and) tied[cxxvi] for you the gold to your hand.
Strong is the memory
(and) great the love for you in the body of your beautiful Horus of gold, your husband, your beloved,
Hathor, my mistress.

* * *

6.3.3.3.4 Final Prayer

[31]|*ḫr mtjj s3*
nfr=f n jt=f
fq3.n=f {n} s(w)[cxxvii] *m ḥmw m-ḥ3w*
ḫr ptr bw w3ḫ=j nfr n-ḥ3 ḏrt=j r tm jr=w n k3w=tn m jb mr

[31]|Now, respectable is a son
when he is good to his father,
he (i.e., the son) having rewarded him (i.e., the father) with servants in excess.
For, look, I could not leave the good behind my hand undone for your *ka*s with loving heart.[cxxviii]

jr f3jjt n š3w=j
[32]|*mj 3ḫ=j*
nsjjt ꜥ3t ḥr-tp t3
t3 m ḥtpw
ḥꜥpjw ḫr ḏf3w nbw rsf[cxxix]
rwd n ꜥwt=j

wbḫt n jrt=j
nḏm n ḥ3tj=j m jmnjjt

As for the weight (i.e., reward)[cxxx] of my worth
[32]|—as I am beneficial—
(it) shall be[cxxxi] great kingship upon earth;
land at peace;
Nile-floods carrying all (sorts of) provisions and affluence;
vigor for my limbs,
brightness for my eye,
(and) pleasure for my heart as a permanent service.[cxxxii]

wʿf.n=j [33]|*bšdw sʿq3w ḥr mtn=j*
jmm wnn t3w=sn 3mm m ḫfʿ=j
srq=j fndw=sn
mrr=j
mj jr.n=k
jmm šnw n jtn ḫr st-ḥr=j
[34]|*ḫrpw=j st n k3w=tn*
mtn[cxxxiii] *j.jr st*

I have curbed [33]|the rebellious who were set[cxxxiv] on my path:
Let their breath be grasped in my grip,
so that I may make their noses inhale
(whenever) I wish,[cxxxv]
as you had done!
Place the circuit of the sun disc under my control,
[34]|so that I may bring them (i.e., the rebellious)[cxxxvi] to your *ka*s,
(for) it is you who made/created them.

jmm
tw=tn m s3w=j m-ḫrt-hrw
sʿš3 ḏw nb
stkn=st r bw ḫr=j
jmm
tw=tn m pr ḫt n msjjw=j
jmm tsw=w m [35]|*t3 pn*
jmm wsr=w mjtt Šw Tfnwt ʿq3 sp-2
j.ts j3wt=j wrt n jwʿʿw=j
mk bwt ḥmw=tn ḫ3kw
Arrange (it)[cxxxvii]
that you be my protection daily!

Repel all evil
(when) they (i.e., the rebellious) approach the place where I am!
Arrange (it)[cxxxviii]
that you be as(/in) a(/the) wooden palace[cxxxix] for(/of) my children!
Let them rule in [35]|this land!
Let them be exactly as strong as Shu and Tefnut!
Allot[cxl] my great office to my heirs,
(for) see, your majesties' abomination is the disaffected[cxli] (i.e., the rebellious)!"

6.3.3.4 Dedication Formula

[36]|*ꜥnḫ nsw bjtj nb tꜣwj Ḥqꜣ-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ*
sꜣ Rꜥ nb ḫꜥw mj jt=f Rꜥ wr nsjjt mj Ḥr sꜣ ꜣst Rꜥ-ms-s(w) dj ꜥnḫ
jr.n=f m mnw=f n jt=f Wsjr ḫntj jmntt nṯr ꜥꜣ ḥqꜣ ḏt jr n=f dj-ꜥnḫ

[36]|The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Heqamaatre;
son of Re, lord of diadems like his father, Re, mighty in kingship like Horus, the son of Isis, Ramesses—given life!—shall live,
he having made (this)[cxlii] as his monument for his father, Osiris, chief of the west, great god, ruler of eternity who made him (be) "given-life."

6.3.4 The Base

On either side of the *prenomen* and *nomen* of the king (4x):

dwꜣ rḫjj(t) nb

All the people adore:

The two cartouches in the center:

Ḥqꜣ-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ
Rꜥ-ms-s(w)

Heqamaatre,
Ramesses.

6.4 Translation Notes to Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*

i The infinitive of the verb *rdi* "to give" is spelled with sign D39:  . The form is thus visually linked to the verb *ḥnk* "to present." See also under §6.5.3.4.

ii The spelling of the phrase () suggests that *tꜣ ḏsrt* "the land of the necropolis" and not *tꜣ ḏsr* "the sacred land" was originally meant, unless the additional *-t* is a scribal error. The collocation *tꜣ ḏsrt* is attested at least two more times in the record,

in pHarris I 3.5 and in oDeM 1080, 8 (Posener 1938: pl. 45; Fischer-Elfert 1997: 109).

iii Cf. n. 76 above and Olette-Pelletier (2023: 813–814).

iv *J.ḏd* stands for *r-ḏd* introducing a direct quote. On this graphical variant of *r-ḏd*, see the corresponding entry under §6.5.3.3.3.

v Korostovtsev's (1947: 160) and Kitchen's (K*RI* VI 21, 16) annotations suggesting that the *nb* sign is a mistake for the second-person singular masculine suffix are unfounded (). The text does not require emendation at this point.

vi The lacuna at the top of the column does not allow a clear syntactic segmentation. The predicate of the clause could just as well have been verbal, in which case *m jhh* "in jubilation" would be an adverbial adjunct.

vii Although the prothetic *yod* is missing from *jrjj=j* in *jrjj=j nḥnw=j*, the construction is interpreted here as a Late Egyptian emphatic *j.jr=f sḏm* (see Cassonnet 2000: 148–150) with an unusual double marking of the subject (Cassonnet 2000: 12): *j.jr=f sḏm=f*[sic]. On the construction's use for expressing a wish, see Cassonnet (2000: 211–212).

viii The word, as it stands (), has no parallels in the written record (see *Wb. Belegst.* V 507.2). Nevertheless, it is probably not a *hapax legomenon* but rather a scribal mistake that results from the conflation of two similarly sounding words: *ḏt* "serf(s)" (*Wb.* V 510.10–13) and *ḏd* "youth" (*Wb.* I 242.11–17).

ix The group  contains a horizontal stroke after the word *tm*, which is best interpreted as an , as in the case of the example in line 3 of the main text (see n. xxiii below). The prepositional adjunct *n=k* suggests, however, that the phrase was supposed to contain the intransitive *snd* "to fear" (see *Wb.* IV 182.5–10) instead of the transitive *ssnd* "to frighten" (see *Wb.* IV 278.7–8). The additional horizontal stroke is thus superfluous.

x The reading of the group  is clear: the pronominal subject of the *sḏm.n=f* form referring to the king is made explicit by the subsequent noun phrase. Contra Korostovtsev (1947: 165); *RITA* VI 22; and Claus (2007: 24 with n. 16). For parallels, see §6.6.2.1.1 below.

xi No traces of the word remain. The context and the size of the lacuna, however, suggest the word *mḏꜣt* "book." The reconstruction was first put forward by Schott (1990: 102). See also Claus (2007: 24, n. 17), who translates the phrase *mḏꜣt nt mdw*(*w*) *nṯr* as "grimoire." The signs now lost were probably  (see *DZA* 24.501.420; contra Schott 1990: 102).

xii The determinative of the noun is missing but the context suggests reconstructing *dwꜣw* "praises" (). At the time of Ramesses IV, the masculine form is expected

(see *DZA* 31.358.530). Korostovtsev (1947: 165) and Kitchen (*RITA* VI 22) similarly translate "adorations."

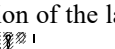
xiii The predicate is expressed with a *nfr sw* construction. On the construction with active, syntactically transitive verbs and on the low semantic transitivity of *ḫm* "to not know," which accounts for its use in the present construction, see Stauder (2014: 203–204 and 2015: 264 and 270–271).

xiv The analogy between the present clause and the subsequent one (*s*[*km*]*w m rnpwt=sn* "who c[omp]lete their years;" see also n. xv below) requires the reconstruction of a third-person plural suffix pronoun, written as  , after the word *hrww* "days."

xv The context and the remaining traces of signs support the reconstruction suggested here. The verb missing is thus *skm* "to complete:"  . In the main record of Ramesses II's *First Hittite Marriage*, *skm* is similarly associated with *rnpwt* "years" (K*RI* II 244, 11–13), while in column 19 of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*, the verb has the phrase *hrw*[*w*] *ꜣbdw* "day[s] and months" as its object (K*RI* IV 4, 10).

xvi The predicate of the clause is the first one of two consecutive unaccomplished *sḏm=f*'s (*jr=j… jrjj=j…* "I did…, (and) I made…") inheriting the tense of the preceding *sḏm.n=f* (*j.n=j…* "(so) I have said…"). A similar example is present in lines 13–14 of the main text (see n. lxxvi below).

xvii Although the particle *nn* () is an unusual choice for the negation of a relative form (see G*EG* §346 and §350), interpreting the clause as a negative emphatic *j.sḏm=f* construction written with the negative particle *nn* instead of *bn* (Cassonnet 2000: 120) or as an expression of non-existence would make little sense in the present context.

xviii The restoration of the lacuna is supported by the context and the remaining traces of signs:  .

xix The stela was probably erected at the end of the third or at the beginning of the fourth regnal year of Ramesses IV (see Paksi 2023 and §6.2 above).

xx The information available is insufficient for narrowing down the options to one specific month (see Paksi 2023: 128–129 and n. xxi below).

Claus (2017: 61–62) suggested dating the text to the first month of summer, however, a decade earlier (Claus 2007: 33), he argued for the second month of the same season. If we interpret the missing number of the day as an ellipsis for "day 1," as Claus does (see n. xxi below), the first day of the first month of *shemu* would have coincided with an Osirian festival (Claus 2017: 61, n. 20), while the first day of the second month of summer would have marked the beginning of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley (Claus 2007: 33, n. 74). The earlier date would have fallen into the month of Khons (Pakhons). Since Khons is a lunar deity and the text—and, accord-

ing to Claus, also its date (see n. xxi below)—make reference to the lunar aspect of Osiris (see lines 5–7 in §6.3.3.3.1), Claus (2017: 61) considered this a further argument for his secondarily proposed date.

xxi The day is not specified. Claus (2007: 33, nn. 72–74) argues that the text must have been dated to the first day of a month and thereby would have emphasized the lunar aspect of Osiris. Furthermore, since the first day of the lunar month was also the day—at least in the Greco-Roman period—when oracles were consulted, Claus suggests that Ramesses IV could have taken advantage of the occasion to have his legitimacy confirmed by the gods. If so, the stela would commemorate such an event (Claus 2017: 62). In Claus's interpretation, Ramesses IV's statement in line 13 of his *Year 4 Abydos Stela* (K*RI* VI 18, 15; cited under §6.6.2.1.1 below), claiming that he had not forgotten about the festival of the new moon, refers to the date of the *Great Abydos Stela* and provides further evidence for his theory (Claus 2017: 60 with n. 17; 76).

Accordingly, Claus (2007: 33, n. 74) first suggested day 1 of the second month of summer ("2ème mois de *shémou*, 1er jour"), a date that would have coincided with the beginning of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. A few pages later, still within the same publication, Claus (2007: 38), however, already proposed "[le premier [*sic*] mois] de la saison de *shémou*, le premier (?) jour" as the most plausible date of the *Great Abydos Stela*. In 2017, he openly argued for the latter (Claus 2017: 61–62; see also n. xx above).

Nevertheless, if the text was indeed dated to the second and not to the first month of summer, as Claus first supposed, it would belong to a relatively large group of texts, all from the second month of *shemu*, which appear without a specific number assigned to the day. Pizzarotti (2011: 611–612) collected seven such examples. The dateline of Ramesses III's Northern Stela, discussed above (see §4.3.2, n. xi), is one of them. Among the six other examples, four are Ramesside. They include a fragment of a granite column with a Libyan war text from the reign of Merenptah (K*RI* IV 23, 6), Ramesses III's *Karnak Decree of Year 16* (K*RI* V 235, 11), a minor record of Ramesses IV's year 3 expedition to the Wadi Hammamat (K*RI* VI 15, 7), and several non-royal records commemorating Ramesses IV's year 5 expedition to the Sinai Peninsula (K*RI* VI 26, 6, 12, 14; 27, 14; 28, 15; and 29, 4).

The dateline of Ramesses IV's *Koptos Stela* (K*RI* VI 16, 10) demonstrates, however, that the day could also be left unspecified in the case of dates falling in the third and not only in the second month of *shemu*. This evidence underlines the absence of sufficient information for narrowing down the options to one specific month for the dateline of the *Great Abydos Stela* (cf. Paksi 2023: 128–129).

xxii The elliptical writing of the epithet *ʿnḫ m mɜʿt* "who lives in truth" can be observed in examples of Ramesses IV's Horus name dating to the second half of his reign

(Christophe 1949: 4 with n. 1). As in the present example, the phrase is written with honorific transposition of the two corresponding signs () in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (K*RI* VI 12, 15) and on his *Koptos Stela* (K*RI* VI 16, 10). See also Paksi (2023: 127).

xxiii Since the *-w* ending of the negative complement is never written with plural strokes (G*EG* §341), the group  must represent an ungrammatical spelling of the infinitival form of *dgi*/*dg3* "to behold." The pronoun following the verbal form, written with a simple horizontal line instead of an , is thus a third-person suffix and not a third-person dependent pronoun (=*st* vs. *st*). For further examples of intrusive plural strokes within the text, see §6.5.3.5.9.

xxiv Both Korostovtsev (1947: 157, n. 1) and Kitchen (K*RI* VI 22, n. 2b) note that the swallow () and the sparrow () are written alike on the stela. Nonetheless, the bird carved as the last sign of the word *ḏw* "evil, wrong" in line 8 of the stela (), for instance, differs from all preceding examples of 's (see Korostovtsev 1947: pl. 1). Similarly, there is an apparent dissimilarity between the swallow () in the first half of line 25 and the sparrow () almost directly below, in line 26 (see Korostovtsev 1947: pl. 2). Although the quality of the available photographs is insufficient to clear all ambiguity in this matter, and I have not been able to do epigraphic work on the stela so far, it seems that Korostovtsev's and Kitchen's statements are not valid for the entire stela. Nevertheless, they certainly hold true for the determinative of the present word (). Considering the message that the passage conveys, namely, that the king treated the great and the small among the gods equally (see n. xxxi below), the confusion was perhaps not a mistake but an intentional wordplay at the graphical level: *nḏsw*$^{+wr}$ "the small$^{+\text{great}}$." The fact that the spelling of the word *wrw* "the great" (see below, under §6.5.3.3.3) may have been similarly influenced by the subject matter of the passage provides additional argument for this hypothesis.

xxv The *-t* ending (spelled as) of the verb *tm* "to complete" (see under §6.5.2.6) marks the feminine ending of a pseudo- or a passive participle (*tmm.t* vs. *tmmt*). While the use of the long stem of a 2-lit. verb would point to a passive participle (see Allen 1984: 605, §758), comparable examples in column 41 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription* (K*RI* II 326, 13) and in column 71 of Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription* (K*RI* IV 11, 6) call for prudence in interpreting the verbal form: *psḏt tmm.tj*/*tmmt*{*j*} "the entire Ennead." In the latter case, namely, the *-tj* ending would suggest a pseudoparticiple despite the use of the long verbal stem. Cf. also *psḏt tm.tj* in column 6 of Seti I's *Speos Artemidos Dedicatory Inscription* (K*RI* I 42, 3; Chappaz & Bickel 2024: 227, fig. 9.4; 229, fig. 9.6; 232).

xxvi If the traces preserved at the end of line 2 were correctly interpreted as belonging to an *m* (), the sign must have represented the preposition *m* in its function of provid-

ing extra emphasis (Winand 2015: 536–538) to the subsequent object (see n. xxvii below).

xxvii The feminine ending of the morpheme connecting the two constituents of the indirect genitive construction suggests a feminine noun in the lacuna at the end of line 2 and at the beginning of line 3. While Gardiner (1938: 162), Kitchen (*RITA* VI 23), Peden (1994a: 161), and Tiradritti (1997: 197–198, n. 19) argue for *gnwt* "annals," Tiradritti (1997: 197–198, n. 19) adds that the word *mḏ3*(*w*)*t* "book(s)" could similarly be considered for the lacuna. Ramesses IV's *Festal Wall Stela* in Karnak would provide two contemporary parallels for the use of the word *gnwt* "annals" in a royal text (see K*RI* VI 4, 14 and 6, 14; cited by Redford 1986: 78, ex. 85; 84, ex. 107). The context, on the other hand, would support both propositions.

xxviii Although the spelling of the prepositional *nisba* () seems to require a singular masculine noun as an antecedent, the reading "Thoth who is in the House of Life" would be unexpected. Since prepositional *nisba*s lack gender accord also elsewhere in the text (see exx. in the opening scene, the caption to Nephthys, and line 12 under §6.5.3.5.8), it is assumed here that the masculine *jmj* was used immutably for *jm*(*w*)*t* and refers to the feminine noun in the preceding lacuna (see n. xxvii above).

xxix The two third-person plural suffix pronouns of the clause, *=w* and *=st* (see n. xxiii above), represent cataphoric references to *nṯrw nṯrjjwt* "the gods and the goddesses" of the subsequent clause.

xxx On the expression *bw w3ḥ… r tm…* "not to leave un(done)," see the corresponding entry under §6.5.2.5.

xxxi The king emphasizes the exhaustive nature of the study he conducted. The word-for-word translation of the sentence would be something along the line of "I could not leave all those among them not to be beheld in order to seek out the great over the small from among the gods and the goddesses." In other words, he looked at all the gods, both the great and the small. Contra Hornung (2005: 246), who, following Korostovtsev (1947: 161; 166, n. 4), claimed that the king had studied the great gods more than the small. The misinterpretation was also noticed by Claus (2007: 28, n. 44). On the expression *bw w3ḥ… r tm…* "not to leave un(done)," see the corresponding entry under §6.5.2.5.

xxxii Reconstruction after Claus (2007: 38 and 40, n. J), in analogy with the formulation at the line break between lines 7 and 8. Theoretically, the passage could also be read as follows: *gm.n*[*=j tw*] 4|[*m*]-*m psḏt* "[I] have found [you] 4|[am]ong the Ennead." The size of the lacuna at the line break would permit the reconstruction of a pronominal object between the missing suffix pronoun of the predicate (*gm.n=j* "I have found") and the partially preserved preposition *m-m* "among" (see n. xxxiii below). Although the thus resulting reading would be supported by the overall syntax of the sentence as well as by the context, the spelling of all fully preserved examples of the

preposition *m-m* "among" (see n. xxxvii below) renders this alternative reconstruction of the phrase less likely.

[xxxiii] Depending on the missing signs in the preceding lacuna (see n. xxxii above), the preposition in front of the word *psḏt* "Ennead" was either *m* "in" or *m-m* "among." In the former case, *m* would have been employed with the same semantic nuance as, for instance, in the previous sentence, in the phrase *m nṯrw nṯrjjwt* "among the gods and the goddesses." In the latter case, *m-m* would represent the sole or one of the—at most—two (see n. xxxvii below) fragmentarily preserved example(s) of the graphical variant  on the stela.

[xxxiv] The adjective *nb* "every, all" is given additional emphasis by the phrase *sp-2* (see *Wb.* III 437.6).

[xxxv] The written sources Ramesses IV claims to have examined (see n. xxvii above) are a likelier candidate for the antecedent of the Late Egyptian third-person pronoun of the present relative form (see n. xxxvi below) than the gods whom he studied with the help of these documents.

[xxxvi] The group  is translated here as a Late Egyptian relative form: *m nꜣ hrww j.ḏdw=w* "in those days that they (i.e., ?the annals?) mention." See also Peden (1994a: 161). Grammatically, the group could also be understood as a plural passive participle being an attribute to the preceding noun (*hrww* "days"): *m nꜣ hrww j.ḏdw* "in those days that are/were said," namely, "in the aforementioned days." The contents, however, seem to favor the first interpretation.

[xxxvii] The present clause either included a short reference to its topicalized adverbial phrase at the end of the previous line (*jr m nꜣ hrww j.ḏdw=w… wn ꜥnḫ=tw* [*jm*] [5]|*m nṯrw mj…* "In those days that they mention…, one used to live [then] [5]|among gods as…"), or the lacuna at the end of line 4 must have contained the first sign of the preposition *m-m* "among," written as  (*jr m nꜣ hrww j.ḏdw=w… wn ꜥnḫ=tw* [*m*]-[5]|*m nṯrw mj…* "In those days that they mention…, one used to live [am][5]|ong gods as…"). Since, however, every fully preserved example of *m-m* is consistently spelled as  in the text (see exx. in lines 22, 24, and 26), and the more traditional spelling (; cf. *DZA* 23.609.540–580) is not securely documented on the stela (see n. xxxiii above), the reconstruction presented above is preferred.

[xxxviii] The particle introducing the agent features its short form. On the possible reasons of this less frequent spelling, see Stauder (2014: 96–97).

[xxxix] Sign Z1 was forgotten after the first  in (see also under §6.5.3.5.4). The fact that the word *rn* "name, identity" is consistently spelled with the cartouche determinative in the text (see under §6.5.3.1) speaks against Winand's (2017a: 448, ex. 9) and Claus's (2017: 65 with n. 44) interpretation of the passage.

The omission of *jwnꜣ* from the Late Egyptian negative nominal pattern *bn… jwnꜣ* illustrates its optionality in use (see Winand 1997: 228–229). The present clause is a

negative Late Egyptian bipartite nominal sentence with an omitted subject. The subject implied is the same as that of the previous clause: the demonstrative *pȝjj*. Due to the syntactic absence of the subject, however, the construction can be analyzed as a negative monopartite nominal sentence (see Loprieno, Müller & Uljas 2017: 614). On the expression (*m*) *rȝ n rȝ* "(from) mouth to mouth," see the corresponding entry under §6.5.2.1.

xl Although the reading would result in a grammatical gender incongruity between the pronoun (=*s*) and its antecedent (*nfr*), the spelling would support interpreting the group  as a participle followed by a suffix pronoun (see E*NG* §82): *j.jrr=s* "who does it/that."

xli In the current section, the various forms of Osiris (line 4: *ḫprw=k nb sp-2* "each and every form of yours") are enumerated. In line 5, Osiris is referred to as the moon (*mntk pw jʿḥ jmj ḫrj* "it is you who are the moon in the sky"), whereas in line 7, he is identified with the Nile-flood (*mntk ḥʿp(j) wr* "you are the great Nile-flood"). The context thus seems to suggest that the expression *m-rȝ-ʿ* "also" bears specifically upon the phrase *m nsw dwȝt* "as the king of the netherworld" rather than upon the entire sentence ("I have found your majesty *also* as the king of the netherworld…" instead of "I have *also* found your majesty…"). The passage has been interpreted similarly by Korostovtsev (1947: 161) and Assmann (1999: 497) but differently by Peden (1994a: 161), Winand (2009: 527, ex. 22), Claus (2007: 38), and Kitchen (*RITA* VI 24). Donadoni (1970: 436: "io ho trovato la tua Maestà come re della Duat…") does not take position.

At the same time, the king's address to Osiris contains two *sḏm.n=f* constructions with the verb *gmi* "to find"—the second one building on the first: *gm.n*[*=j ḫm=k*] *m psḏt tmmṯ* (§6.4, n. xxv)… "[I] have found [your majesty] (§6.4, n. xxxii) among (§6.4, n. xxxiii) the entire Ennead, …" (lines 3–4) and *gm.n=j ḫm=k m-rȝ-ʿ m nsw dwȝt*… "I have also found your majesty as the king of the netherworld…" (lines 7–8). See also Winand (2009: 527), who justifies his translation ("j'ai aussi découvert que ta Majesté était roi de la Douat…") by stating that *m-rȝ-ʿ* generally refers to the entire sentence rather than to a nominal phrase.

xlii In the present context, with consideration of the subsequent lacuna, two options present themselves for the translation of *sḫr*: "manner" (*Wb.* IV 259.16–17) and "nature" (*Wb.* IV 259.2).

xliii The key to understanding the vocative probably lies in the reading of the sign  . In all previous translations (Korostovtsev 1947: 161; Peden 1994a: 163; Kitchen in *RITA* VI 24), except for Donadoni's (1970: 346, n. 8) and Claus's (2007: 38 and 42, n. AA), was interpreted as *ḫrw* "enemy." The phrasing *ḫrw ḏw* "evil enemy" is, however, highly unexpected given the prevalence of the collocation *ḫrw ḥs* "vile enemy" in the record. The thus resulting sense of the phrase ("(O) who does more

good to an evil enemy…"), namely, to do good to a wrongdoer, is all the more startling, since it conveys an idea alien to the ancient Egyptian thinking. Similar doubts were voiced earlier by Korostovtsev (1947: 168, n. 22: "si on accepte la traduction 'ennemi méchant' on aurait dans ce texte, une notion chrétienne"). The stela itself provides a further argument against reading the sign as *ḫrw* "enemy." Lines 20 and 21 of the text indeed include the word *ḫrw* "enemy" but they do so with a more complete spelling in both cases: .

While Donadoni (1970: 346, n. 8) considered the passage corrupt, Claus (2007: 38 and 42, n. AA) argued that the expression *ḫrw ḏw* could be read as the negative counterpart of the phrase *mɜʿ ḫrw* "true of voice." Besides the lack of parallels, the word order on the stela poses a further problem to this interpretation. Since the noun (*ḫrw*) precedes the participle (*ḏw*), the phrase cannot be a *nfr ḥr* construction. The translation "evil (i.e., false) of voice" would require *ḏw ḫrw* in the original.

According to Pascal Vernus (lecture, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France, February 11, 2016),  represents a characteristic lexical element of personal piety on the stela and has to be interpreted either as an active participle or as an infinitive of the verb *ḫrw* "to cry" (G*EG* §437). Consequently, the word *ḏw* "evil, wrong" forms a second object to the initial participle *pɜ jr*: "(O) who does good to the one who calls / when called (lit., because of the calling) and bad against the one who does that in the land of the necropolis." However, in the texts of personal piety, *ḫrw* is consistently used in the sense of "voice," whereas the act of calling, summoning is generally expressed with the verb *ʿš* regardless of the rank of the speaker. On *ḫrw* "voice" and *ʿš* "to call, to summon" placed into a royal mouth in the context of personal piety, compare the examples in the encomium on pTurin 1882 (recto 3.9–10 in K*RI* VI 73, 16), in Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem* (K*RI* II 39, 13–16 and 43, 1–6), and in Ramesses IX's *Karnak Stela* (K*RI* VI 452, 15).

In the above translation, a fourth option is being favored: is interpreted as a sparse spelling for the figurative reading of the word *ḫrw* "voice, noise," meaning "conflict, war" (see *Wb.* III 326.1–3). Accordingly, the preceding  is understood as a Late Egyptian spelling of the preposition *m* (see under §6.5.3.2). The meaning of the phrase remains obscure, nonetheless.

Supposing that the passage contains a scribal mistake, further possible solutions could be contemplated. One of them is that *ḏw* "evil, wrong" () stands for *ḏw* "mountain" () by mistake—a possibility that cannot fully be excluded, since the influence of homonyms and similar-sounding words can be demonstrated also elsewhere in the spelling of the text (§6.5.3.3.4). If the signs were to be read as "mountain," the vocative would have to be translated as "(O) who does more good with (*n* for *m*) the voice of the mountain (i.e., echo?) than the one who does that in the land of the necropolis." Another option to consider is that the passage contains a major carving mistake, and, for instance, not *ḫrw ḏw* but *ɜbḏw* "Abydos" was meant:

"(O) who does more good in (*n* for *m*) Abydos than the one who does that in the land of the necropolis." The latter solution would perhaps even require the revision of the last clause's interpretation as a vocative. In the absence of further evidence, however, all these hypotheses must remain mere speculations.

xliv The presence of the Late Egyptian circumstantial converter is redundant, since the clause contains a circumstantial *sḏm=f*. The construction thus qualifies as an Earlier and Late Egyptian hybrid. The present analysis builds on a discussion with Andréas Stauder on October 27, 2017.

xlv Pascal Vernus (lecture, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France, February 11, 2016) interprets the group  as a participle of the verb *wḏ* "to decree" despite the last two signs that suggest *wḏi* "to depart, to dispatch." Thus, in his understanding, the following dependent pronoun represents a cataphoric reference to a Late Egyptian subordinate object clause introduced by the particle *jw*: "you are the one who decrees that the dead go forth…" Although the confusion between the verbs *wḏ* "to decree" and *wḏi* "to depart, to dispatch" exists, it seems to be absent from the record until the Third Intermediate Period (*DZA* 22.680.640). Even as late as the Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Dynasties, it first affected only the lower written registers (*DZA* 22.680.700). Furthermore, the text does not employ the particle *jw* at the head of subordinate object clauses anywhere else in the text. Compare the examples in line 14 (*rḫ.kw wḫḏ=k*… "I know you suffer…"); line 18 (*rḫ.kw bwt n{w}=k js pw* "I know it is an abomination to you" [see n. lxxxviii]); lines 23–24 (*jw rdj.n=j n=k nrjj n=k št3jjw-ḥr*… *jw n=k jmw-p3wt=st*… "I have arranged (it) for you that those mysterious-of-face shall fear you… (and) that those who are in their primeval times shall come to you…" [see nn. cix and cx]); line 29 (*jw rdj.n=j n=k wpjj=k rḥwj snwj* "I have arranged (it) for you that you shall judge the two rival brothers" [see n. cxxiv]); and line 34 (*jmm tw=tn m s3w=j m-ḫrt-hrw* "Arrange (it) that you be my protection daily!" [see n. cxxxvii] and *jmm tw=tn m pr ḫt n msjjw=j* "Arrange (it) that you be as(/in) a(/the) wooden palace for(/of) my children!" [see nn. cxxxviii and cxxxix]).

xlvi *Sw* is a cataphoric reference to *m*(*w*)*t* "the dead" in the subsequent clause.

xlvii After *Wb.* I 149.14 ("mit *r*: jem. nehmen (führen) an einen Ort").

xlviii The translation suggested here has been selected from the options proposed by Spencer (1984: 147–155) in consideration of the context. Compare with the rendering ("courtroom") in line 12 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* under §3.2.3.3.

xlix The pronoun is cataphoric; it refers to *ms*[*ḫ*]*nwt* "the Mes[kh]enet-goddesses."

l The spelling of the second-person plural suffix pronoun is not erroneous as implied by Kitchen's "*sic*" (K*RI* VI 23, 1), represents a late Ramesside variant, which is also known from pBM EA 10326, 3 (*LRL* 17, 7) and pLeiden I 369, 4 (*LRL* 1, 5).

li The preposition *m* is used to express the partitive (see also Vernus 2013: 278, n. 83 and 280, n. 96; cf. Winand 2015: 538–541).

lii The first two clauses of the sentence provide a temporal setting to the main clause of the sentence (*ḏd=tw*… "one says…"). On the setting or the so-called second scheme of the emphatic construction in the unaccomplished, see, most recently, Stauder (2016b: 171–172 and 193–195).

liii It is impossible to decide whether the plural strokes () belong to an ungrammatical spelling of the infinitival form of the verb *sp<u>ḥ</u>r* "to register, to copy," as it was formerly implied (see *DZA* 29.151.280 and 350; Korostovtsev 1947: 162; Donadoni 1970: 436; Peden 1994a: 162–163; Assmann 1999: 497; Claus 2007: 39; *RITA* VI 24; Vernus 2013: 280), or they stand for a third-person plural suffix pronoun, a cataphoric reference to the subsequent partitive construction (see n. li above): *r sp<u>ḥ</u>r=w m w<u>ḏ</u>w pr m r=tn* "to register them, the decrees that come forth from your mouth." Although the stela contains several examples of the use of cataphoric pronouns (see, e.g., the ones in the previous two lines [nn. xlvi and xlix]), there are also a few cases where the plural strokes added to a verbal form prove to be meaningless (§6.5.3.5.9). The examples in lines 3 and 25 concern an infinitive (see nn. xxiii and cxii).

liv The group  probably represents a garbled spelling for *šfšfjjtj* "one greatly respected" (F*CD* 265). Interpretation after Korostovtsev (1947: 169, n. 31).

lv The group  is a regular spelling for the third-person plural Late Egyptian independent pronoun, *mntw*, which functions here as an anaphoric reference to the phrase *j.<u>ḏ</u>d=tn nb* "all that you say." Korostovtsev's (1947: 169, n. 29) idea—adopted also by Donadoni (1970: 436), Peden (1994a: 162 and 163), and Kitchen (*RITA* VI 24)—that should represent the conjunctive prefix, is supported neither by the syntax nor by the spelling (cf.  for *mtw* in lines 6 and 7). See also Assmann (1999: 497) and Claus (2007: 39 and 42, n. JJ). The semantic plurality of the phrase *j.<u>ḏ</u>d=tn nb* "all that you say" is made apparent by the use of a plural pronominal reference, the independent pronoun *mntw*. The characteristics of the English language, however, do not allow a word-for-word translation (see "it is…" vs. "they are…").

lvi The verb *sw<u>ḏ</u>* "to bequeath" is understood here as a passive participle that modifies the preceding noun phrase. Alternatively, it could be interpreted as a pseudoparticiple ("it is my command of daily offerings having been bequeathed").

lvii The group  (see also under §6.5.3.2) represents a passive participle of the verb *w<u>ḏ</u>* "to decree." *Wdd* literally means "what is/was decreed/commanded," hence the above translation as "command." The semantic plurality of the form is signaled by the preceding plural Late Egyptian possessive article *n=jj=j*. The neuter meaning is expressed by the masculine (see n. 145 above).

[lviii] Since the clause requires an adverbial expression, the emendation seems necessary (see *Wb.* V 587.5). A formulation in a Ramesside hymn to Amun-Re, in pBerlin P 3049, 14.4 (Gülden 2001: 67–68), is, for instance, directly comparable with the present example, although the grammatical number of the word *ḏr* "bound, limit" differs in the two texts (*ḏrwj* vs. *ḏrw*, i.e., dual vs. plural): *r ḏrw nḥḥ* "to the bounds of eternity." For a similar phrase, *r ḥn*(*w*)*tj nḥḥ* "till the bounds of eternity" (discussed at the end of §3.5.2.2), see line 17 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* under §3.2.3.4.

[lix] On the use of the particle *tr*(*j*) in the present clause, see §6.5.2.2.

[lx] On the modality of the subjunctive *sḏm=f* in the present clause, see Polis (2008–2009: 165, ex. 170).

[lxi] On the use of the particle *mj* in the sentence, see §6.5.2.2.

[lxii] The parenthetic information is introduced by a diachronically neutral *jw*. For a similar example in line 3 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (§3.2.3.3), see §3.3, n. xvii.

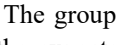
[lxiii] In line 13, the word *ḥqꜣ* "ruler" is placed inside a cartouche and the clause is thereby given visual emphasis (see also §6.5.3.4, §6.6.1, and §6.6.2.3 below). The distinctive spelling is reflected here with borders placed around the word in transliteration as well as in translation.

[lxiv] The group  is an unconventional spelling for the expression *n-gꜣw* "through lack of" (G*EG* §178). On the interchangeability of *g* and *q* in Late Egyptian, see Allen (2013b: 47).

[lxv] Since the word is generally written with a single logogram without phonetic complements (), it is impossible to decide between the two readings (see *Wb.* V 636.9–638.1).

[lxvi] The clause is interpreted as a *subject ḥr sḏm* construction. The missing first-person singular pronoun, which is otherwise consistently spelled out in the entire inscription, strongly speaks against Pascal Vernus's proposal (lecture, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France, March 10, 2016), namely, to read the passage as a *subject sḏm=f* construction: *mk wj njs*(*=j*)… "Look, I recite…" The *ḥr* of the *subject ḥr sḏm* constructions is, on the other hand, regularly omitted on the stela (cf. lines 12 and 19). Concerning the aspect of the phrase *mk wj* (*ḥr*) *njs*…, the context would exceptionally allow both the classical—progressive—as well as the Late Egyptian—habitual—reading ("look, I am reciting…" vs. "look, I recite…").

[lxvii] The context-specific translation suggested here for *sḫr* follows Tiradritti's suggestion (1997: 196, n. 14). Rendering *sḫr* as "politics," as was put forward by Vernus (lecture, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France, March 10, 2016), would also be possible, however, perhaps less fortunate, since not all subsequent statements are overtly political.

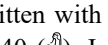
[lxviii] The group  is clearly written with a suffix pronoun, sign A41 (), instead of the expected classifier, sign A40 (). In the present section, sign A41 is the usual spelling of the first-person suffix pronoun for the king. It is equally possible though that the seated god determinative of *ḏ3ḏ3t* "tribunal" was mistakenly carved as instead of (see *DZA* 31.552.750 and 860), in which case would have to be read as *ḏ3ḏ3t ꜥ3t* "the great tribunal."

[lxix] The implied plurality of *ḏ3ḏ3t* "tribunal" as a collective noun is apparent in the use of the Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun as its anaphoric reference.

[lxx] On the lexicalization of *jw-ms*, whereby it became the outright antonym of *m3ꜥt* by the New Kingdom, see Oréal (2011: 286–296) with specific mention of the above passage (p. 293).

[lxxi] The translation follows Kruchten's (1989: 167–175) lexicographical analysis of *bs* in royal contexts.

[lxxii] In the English translation, a clear distinction is made among the various negative verbal forms of the present section. The Negative Aorist, that is, the *nn sḏm.n=f*, is translated as "he never heard;" while the two forms of the Negative Accomplished, as "he hasn't heard" (*bw sḏm=f*) and "he has not heard" (*n*(*n*) *sḏm=f*). In the latter case, the contracted negation shall reflect the later graphical form of the negative particle (*bw* vs. *nn*/*n*). On the discussion of the different negative verbal forms of the section, see §6.6.2.1.1 below.

[lxxiii] The linguistic register of the passage would allow for interpreting *wtt=j* () not only as an adnominal possessive construction but also as an active perfective participle followed by a suffix pronoun expressing the object (E*NG* §82): "who begot me."

[lxxiv] The reading of the predicate is ambiguous. The group can either be understood as a *sḏm.n=f*—in which case, the is the *-n* infix of the form—or as a *sḏm=f*—in which case, the is merely a phonetic complement to . If the verbal construction intended was a Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f*, the clause would be asyndetically linked to the previous one:

> *tw=j m st wtt=j mj s3 3st*
> *ḏr ꜥḥꜥ=j m nsw ḥr st nt Ḥr*
> *jn=j m3ꜥt r t3 pn…*
>
> I have been at the place of my begetter (see n. lxxiii above) like the son of Isis
> since I arose as king upon the throne of Horus
> and brought *maat* to this land…

If, however, as translated above, the group  was meant to be read as a *sḏm.n=f*, the clause would start a new sentence serving as a conceptual and syntactic introduction to what follows. In the next line, namely, a chain of unaccomplished *sḏm=f*'s further develop the statement *jn.n=j mꜣꜥt r tꜣ pn* "I have brought *maat* to this land." The fact that the words *jn.n=j n=k mꜣꜥt* "I have brought *maat* to you" are equally found in a main sentence in a similar context in chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* (see *BoD* 125, 7 in pNu [Lapp 1997: pl. 65; *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*, *TM 134299*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134299; accessed 3 August 2025]) is an additional argument for reading *jn.n=j* instead of *jn.=j*.

[lxxv] It is syntactically unclear which word(s) of the preceding clause the relative expression *wnw nn sw* refers to: *tꜣ pn* "this land" or *mꜣꜥt* "*maat*." Either way, the group  involves a grammatical gender mismatch. If the antecedent of the participial form of the preterite converter *wn* is *tꜣ pn* "this land"—as translated above—the masculine third-person singular suffix pronoun *sw* must stand for the grammatically feminine *mꜣꜥt* "*maat*." If, on the other hand, *nn sw* is understood as a lexicalized expression, *nn-sw* "non-existent" (Vernus; lecture, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France, March 10, 2016), *wnw* must refer to *mꜣꜥt* "*maat*:" *wnw nn-sw* "which (i.e., *maat*) had been non-existent."

[lxxvi] The predicate *wꜣḥ=j* "I laid down" is the first one of five consecutive unaccomplished *sḏm=f*'s (*wꜣḥ=j… qb=j… ḫw=j… mkjj=j… jrjj=j…* "I laid down…, I multiplied…, I protected…, I safeguarded…, (and) I made…") inheriting the tense of the preceding main clause (*jn.n=j…* "I have brought…" [see n. lxxiv above]). The last two columns of the right margin contain a similar example of a *sḏm.n=f* being followed by two unaccomplished *sḏm=f*'s (see n. xvi above).

[lxxvii] The grammatical object of the present and the subsequent clauses is introduced by the preposition *m*, written as *n* (contra *Wb.* II 160.20; see under §6.5.3.2). The purpose behind the use of the "mediate" object construction must have been to lend emphasis to the direct object (Winand 2015: 536–538).

[lxxviii] Sign D35 () was not carved; its place was left blank:  .

[lxxix] In the New Kingdom, Mendes and Busiris were often confused with one another in writing (*Wb.* V 630.6 and 630.8). On the confusion of the two Delta towns in the name of Banebdjed(et) specifically (), see §6.5.3.3.4.

[lxxx] The preposition of the partitive *m* (Winand 2015: 538–541) is spelled as *n* (see under §6.5.3.2).

[lxxxi] The translation presented here builds on the assumption that the group stands for the particle *tjw* "yes" (G*EG* §258). As an interjection, *tjw* is used for "conceding the truth of what has gone before" (Gardiner 1906: 42, n. 7). Most previous translators (see *DZA* 30.948.970; *Wb. Belegst.* V 242.4; Korostovtsev 1947: 162 and 169, n. 37; Donadoni 1970: 437; Peden 1994a: 162 and 163; *RITA* VI 24) understood the

passage similarly. An alternative interpretation has been put forward recently by Vernus (lecture, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France, April 14, 2016), who argued that the group  stood for an Old Kingdom second-person singular independent pronoun and was used here in its possessive quality after the adjective *nb* "every, all" (see Gardiner 1912: 115): *r ḥn rꜣ-pr=k m ḫtmw*(*t*)/*sḏꜣw*(*t*) (see n. lxv) *nbt twt* "to equip your temple with all your treasures." Although grammatically both interpretations are possible, the semantics of the particle *tjw* "yes" would make it a perfect match for the present context, since it would create a fitting cohesive link between the positive and the negative parts of the king's confession. While would represent a regular Ramesside monumental spelling of the old second-person singular independent pronoun (see K*RI* V 48, 10 and 86, 11), the particle *tjw* is generally written without a final *-t* (see *DZA* 30.948.890 vs. K*RI* II 93, 5). Compare, for instance,  in line 9 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (K*RI* IV 29, 1) or  in column 110 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription* (K*RI* II 335, 8). Nevertheless, since Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* is not fully exempt from smaller orthographic mistakes (§6.5.3.5), it is not unthinkable that stood for  . Vernus's interpretation remains, however, equally possible.

[lxxxii] The word *ḥʿpj* "Nile-flood" is clearly followed by sign A41 (), a first-person singular suffix pronoun, perhaps mistakenly for the classifier A40 (see the examples in lines 7 and 32:  and  respectively). There are two other instances on the stela where the two signs (and) were probably confused with one another (see nn. lxviii above and cvii below); in this particular context, however, the intentionality behind the selection of cannot be excluded (see also Tiradritti 1997: 198–199, n. 21). Tiradritti (1997: 198–200) argues for a metaphorical reading of the passage, according to which the phrase "my Nile-flood" (instead of "the Nile-flood") would stand for the kingship deriving from Ramesses IV's own family. In other words, the expressions would serve to reaffirm the king's legitimacy.

[lxxxiii] The phrase *m ʿbw=f* () could also mean "during his purification."

[lxxxiv] Translation after *Urk.* VI 117, 5–6. The close semantic relation between *nk* "to copulate" and *sjf* "to violate, to insult" has been pointed out by Vernus (lecture, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France, April 14, 2016).

[lxxxv] The translation is suggested by the context; literally, an "egg that came into being." The group  is understood here as an active participle of the intransitive *ḫpr* "to come into being." The verb *ḫpr* could, however, also be interpreted transitively (*Wb*. III 264.16–17), in which case, *ḫprt* would be a passive participle: "the egg that was created," in a figurative sense, "fertilized." Reading  as a pseudoparticiple would be similarly possible: *nn sd=j swḥt ḫpr.tw* "I have not cracked an egg; it having come into being (*ḫpr* intrans.)" / "it having been created (*ḫpr* trans.)." The passage probably has to be read metaphorically. In Revez's (2010: 55) understanding,

what is meant here between the lines is that the king had done no harm to the crown prince.

lxxxvi The verb *ḫbꜣ* "to destroy" is used here in the sense of *ḫbi* "to diminish, to reduce" (see *Wb.* III 253.8). Compare the passage with its pendant in *BoD* 125, 11 in pNu (Lapp 1997: pl. 65): *n ḫb=j šbw m rꜣw-pr* "I have not diminished the food rations in the temples." See also the corresponding entry under §6.5.3.3.4 below.

lxxxvii The final consonant of the word *drf* "script" is not written out in the phrase *drfw=f* "his scripts:"  . Korostovtsev (1947: 170, n. 45) cites a similar example of haplography of the same word combined with the suffix pronoun *=f* in line 6 of Nebkheperure Intef's *Koptos Decree* (Helck 1983: 73).

lxxxviii The group  appears garbled. Either or was meant. The above translation reflects the former option. The latter would correspond to the following reading: *bwt n=k js pw* "it is an abomination to you."

lxxxix The verb *tkn* simply means "to approach, to draw near" when used transitively (see *Wb.* V 334.1–9). It is the context that suggests inimical intentions on behalf of the actor, which are reflected, for instance, in Kitchen's (*RITA* VI 25) less literal rendering of the clause: "I have not attacked a man on his father's seat." *Tkn* is used similarly in line 13 of Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela*: *nn tkn=j sw m jꜣwt=f* "I have not approached him [antecedent in lacuna] in his office" (K*RI* VI 18, 14).

xc The semantic plurality of the word *jt* "grain" (), which is made explicit by its plural pronominal reference, *=st*, cannot be reflected in the target language of the translation.

xci The plant called *mꜣtt* has been identified as "celery" (Germer 2008: 74–76).

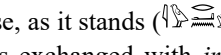
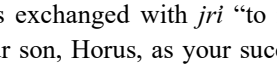
xcii The anaphoric third-person plural suffix pronoun *=sn* reflects the semantic plurality of the word *mꜣtt* "celery" ( ; see n. xci above). Its singular translation is dictated by the rules of the English language (see n. xc above).

xciii On the reading of the group  as *ḥsbwt* "garden-beds," see the corresponding entry under §6.5.3.4. Line 9 of Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela*, which has a parallel of the clause, features a more ordinary graphical solution for the same word:  (K*RI* VI 18, 9).

xciv Contrary to Korostovtsev (1947: 158, n. 6: "Plutôt  que  , semble-t-il.") and Kitchen (K*RI* VI 24, 1, n. a: "Probably for ."), the somewhat disfigured third sign of the verb *wt*/*wtꜣ* "to bandage" was probably meant to be U30 ():  (see *DZA* 22.627.550–570). See also the corresponding entry under §6.5.3.2.

xcv Although it is unusual to find plural strokes before the *-n* infix of a *sḏm.n=f* form (), the parallel formulation of each individual address (vocative followed by *jw sḏm.n=f*'s) speaks against reading *jw stjj=w n=j n=k tkꜣ*… "They lit a torch for me and for you…" Parallels to the phenomenon exist also in other Ramesside

royal texts. Compare, for instance, the three graphical variants of the phrase *snḫt.n=f ḫpš=j* "he has strengthened my arm" in the Abu Simbel, the Karnak, and the Amarah West versions of Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 243, 8–10). While the copies in Abu Simbel and Karnak spell the verbal form as expected, the copy in Amarah West includes plural strokes preceding the *-n* infix of the *sḏm.n=f* (K*RI* II 243, 8–9 vs. 10). The plural strokes before the *-n* infix of a *sḏm.n=f* in line 19 of the present text thus do not represent an isolated case in the record. Moreover, Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* provides several further examples where plural strokes were added to various verbal forms (both finite and infinite) without any apparent grammatical reason (§6.5.3.5.9).

xcvi The clause, as it stands (), cannot be correct. Either the verb *rdi* "to give" was exchanged with *jri* "to make" (*jw jr.n=j sꜣ=k Ḥr m ḥrj-nst=k* "I have made your son, Horus, as your successor"), or—as the dual spelling of *nst* () in *ḥrj-nst* "successor" (*Wb.* II 323.9) suggests—the clause contains a parablepsis. According to the latter scenario, two words were skipped: *jw rdj.n=j sꜣ=k Ḥr m ḥrj<-nst ḥr> nstj=k* "I have placed your son, Horus, as successor upon your double throne" ().

xcvii The word is written with a metathesis and with the omission of the final *-t*:  .

xcviii The wording calls for a preposition of direction. *M* or *r* would thus make a better fit than *n* (see the passage in line 18: *hrw pgs r qʿḥ=f* "the day of spitting at his shoulder"). Since the preposition *m* is often written as *n* in the text (see the list of occurrences under §6.5.3.2), it is likely that the present  is merely a graphical variant for *m*.

xcix The word *qnj*, an active participle of the transitive *qni* "to conquer" (see *Wb.* V 44.1–2; *TLA*, lemma no. 161160), is read here in a figurative sense evoked by the context.

c Strictly speaking, the group  should be read as *smꜣʿ.n=j* "I have presented," especially because the verb *smꜣ* "to slay" features a different and unambiguous spelling in line 16 of the stela:  . Nevertheless, since *smꜣʿ* "to present" and *smꜣ* "to slay" became interchangeable in writing by Ramesside times (see *smꜣ* "to slay" under §6.5.3.3.4), it is possible to interpret as an allograph of *smꜣ* "to slay." Although the immediate context favors a meaning "to slay" over "to present," it is not to be excluded that the ambiguity was intended, since the broader ritual context would also allow for the semantic nuance of *smꜣʿ* "to present." The dilemma between reading *smꜣ* "to slay" or *smꜣʿ* "to present" resurfaces in the next line (see n. civ below).

ci Translation after *Wb.* I 547.4.

cii The stela has  instead of (similarly presented by *DZA* 28.680.170). The reading is secured by numerous parallels of the expression *sni tpw* "to cut off heads" (see *Wb.* III 457.17–18 and *DZA* 28.680.000–190).

ciii The reading of *m* as the agent-introductory particle *jn* is supported by a close phraseological parallel in a Nineteenth Dynasty magical text, in Spell 14 of pLeiden I 348: *n ṯs tpw sꜣbw m-ḫt ḥsq tpw=sn jn ḫntj Sḫm* "because of the tying on the heads of the dappled snakes after that their heads had been cut off by the chief of Letopolis"(recto 8.7–8 in Borghouts 1971: pl. 8).

civ See n. c above.

cv The word is a *hapax legomenon*; its exact meaning is unknown (see *Wb*. V 71.9 and *DZA* 30.423.370–380).

cvi This is the only case out of 23 examples where *jw* is followed by a *sḏm=f* instead of a *sḏm.n=f* in the section comprising Ramesses IV's invocations to the gods (§6.3.3.3.3). The difference may reflect an intentional effort to create an example of linguistic dissimilation between the *sḏm.n=f* of the initial main clause and the Late Egyptian preterite *sdm=f* of the present clause, or it may simply be the result of a scribal mistake (§6.6.2.1.1 and §6.6.2.2). On the verb *sʿḥ* "to wrap, to bandage," see §6.5.2.6.

cvii The first-person singular pronoun—generally spelled as  on the stela—has been confused with .

cviii Contrary to the analysis of Korostovtsev (1947: 159) and Kitchen (K*RI* VI 24, 9), the determinative of the word *ʿnḫ* "living" () does not seem to be misspelled. It is clearly different from the *r*'s on the stela (see Korostovtsev 1947: pl. 2).

cix The construction is not the usually employed *rdi* + *subjunctive sḏm=f* causative construction; instead, the main clause (*jw rdj.n=j n=k* "I have arranged (lit., given) (it) for you") is followed here by two subordinate object clauses (*nrjj n=k štꜣjjw-ḥr*… "those mysterious-of-face shall fear you…" and *jw n=k jmw-pꜣwt=st*… "those who are in their primeval times shall come to you…"). See also nn. cxxiv, cxxv, cxxxvii, and cxxxviii below.

cx The reading is based on a passage in the *Coffin Texts* that contains the phrase *jm*(*j*)-*pꜣ*(*w*)*t=f* "the one in his primeval times" (CT VII 149e).

cxi Irrespective of the fact if *sqdd wjꜣ=k* is interpreted as a possessive noun phrase with the infinitive of the caus. 3ae. inf. *sqdi* "to sail" or as a subjunctive *sḏm=f* of the same verb, the group represents an ungrammatical spelling. See also n. cxii below.

cxii As in the case at the end of the previous line (see n. cxi above),  represents an ungrammatical spelling—in this case, of the infinitival form of the verb *sqdi* "to sail." Besides the examples of in lines 24 and 25, lines 3, 10, and 19 provide

further examples of verbal forms with puzzling plural strokes on the stela (§6.5.3.5.9).

[cxiii] The two actions follow each other in chronological sequence, therefore literally: "I have overthrown Apophis for you (and then) I have let your bark sail."

[cxiv] The verb *š3* is translated here as "to founder" after Jones (1988: 226, no. 100).

[cxv] There is a grammatical gender mismatch between the demonstrative (*pf*) and its governing noun (*ṯst*). Instead of *pf*, *tf* would be expected. Interestingly, the same discrepancy may be observed on a Twentieth Dynasty magical papyrus containing a close phraseological parallel of the passage (pChester Beatty VII = pBM EA 10687, recto 5.5 in Gardiner 1935: II, pl. 34).

[cxvi] The passage has a close phraseological parallel on a Twentieth Dynasty magical papyrus (pChester Beatty VII = pBM EA 10687, recto 5.5 in Gardiner 1935: II, pl. 34), where the word *ṯst*—on the *Great Abydos Stela* written as  —uses a coil of rope as a classifier:  (see *DZA* 31.292.250–280). Accordingly, the group is best understood as "knot," or rather, since it refers to a snake in the present context, as "coil." Nevertheless, the avoidance of a more restrictive classifier creates a certain semantic ambiguity in Ramesses IV's case. The group calls three homonyms to mind—each being a potential candidate for this passage: *ṯst* "knot, coil;" *ṯst* "vertebra;" and *ṯst* "reef." In the translation of the word as "reef," the results of Vandersleyen's (2005: 52) lexicographical analysis ("le mot *ṯst*, au singulier, ne désigne pas 'une montagne, un pic,' mais une colline, un repère dans le paysage…") are applied to the context. The interferences between the three different *ṯst*'s may, nonetheless, be the effect of an intended wordplay.

[cxvii] The word *wḏ* "pectoral," written as  in line 25 and as in line 27 of the stela, is not attested elsewhere. The translation suggested here was inspired by the context and follows that of Feucht-Putz (1967: 14). The idiosyncrasy probably originates in the misspelling of another, well-attested word for the same object: *wḏ3* "pectoral" (*Wb.* I 401.10). On a comparable graphical confusion (for *w3ḏw* "columns") in pHarris I 7.1, see Grandet (1994: II, 33–34, n. 138). See *wḏ*(*3*) "pectoral" also under §6.5.3.3.4.

[cxviii] The group contains a haplography: the feminine ending of the word *sḫmt* "power" and the second-person genitive suffix were contracted into a single *t*.

[cxix] The preposition *m* is understood here as a morpheme lending additional emphasis to the object of the clause (see Winand 2015: 536–538). Alternatively, *m* could be interpreted as a preposition of place: *rdj.n=j jtjj=t r mrr=t m t3 r-ḏr=f* "(for) I have let you seize, as you wish(ed), in the entire land."

[cxx] See n. cxvii above.

[cxxi] The similarity in formulation with the king's address to Anhur (see lines 25–26) suggests that instead of *ḫḫ* "neck, throat," originally perhaps *šnbt* "chest" was

meant. If so, the slip can be explained by the wording of the end of the clause: *mnt r ḫḫ=k* "the *menat*-necklace on your neck." On the unconventional spelling of the word *ḫḫ* in line 27 ( and ), see the corresponding entry under §6.5.3.4.

[cxxii] The shape of the sign  is still discernible on the stela (see Fig. 49).

[cxxiii] The suffix pronoun of *sqdd=k* shows an ungrammatical double-stroke ending ():  . The duplication of the final consonant of the verb *sqdi* "to sail" (see G*EG* §76) or the spelling of the subsequent word *nšnj* "storm" () may account for the confusion.

[cxxiv] The construction is not the usually employed *rdi* + *subjunctive sḏm=f* causative construction; instead, the main clause (*jw rdj.n=j n=k* "I have arranged (lit., given) (it) for you") is followed here by a subordinate object clause (*wpjj=k rḫwj snwj* "you shall judge the two rival brothers"). See also nn. cix, cxxv, cxxxvii, and cxxxviii.

[cxxv] As in the case at the beginning of the line (see n. cxxiv above), the object of the predicate in the main clause (*jw rdj.n=j n=k* "I have arranged (lit., given) (it) for you") is expressed with a subordinate object clause (*ꜥ3jj pḥtj=k* "your strength shall be great"). Besides n. cxxiv, see also nn. cix, cxxxvii, and cxxxviii.

[cxxvi] The unaccomplished *sḏm=f* inherits the tense of the preceding main clause (*jw rdj.n=j*… "I have placed…").

[cxxvii] The reading of the group  follows Korostovtsev's (1947: 172, n. 63) interpretation.

[cxxviii] On the expression *bw w3ḥ*… *r tm*… "not to leave un(done)," see the corresponding entry under §6.5.2.5.

[cxxix] The spelling of the word *rsf* "affluence" as  is fully regular, contrary to what Kitchen's (K*RI* VI 25, 5) comment ("so") suggests. Since the Eighteenth Dynasty, sign Z1 () is often included in the spelling after the first consonant of the word (*DZA* 26.049.610–620).

[cxxx] Translation after F*CD* 97; *Wb.* I 574.11; and *DZA* 23.567.170–180.

[cxxxi] The construction is a bipartite nominal sentence with the ellipsis of the subject element *pw* (see Loprieno, Müller & Uljas 2017: 464–465). It contains a topicalized noun phrase followed by a parenthetic clause and six predicates: *jr* A (*mj 3ḫ=j*) B_1 B_2 B_3 B_4 B_5 B_6. In English, the specifics of the context—this being the first part of Ramesses IV's final prayer to the gods—were reflected by the modal coloring ("shall be" instead of "is") added to the predicates. The six elements listed here (B_1 B_2 B_3 B_4 B_5 B_6) represent the desired divine gifts for the king's benefactions.

[cxxxii] While a phraseological parallel in line 15 of Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* includes *m-mnt* "daily" at the end of a similar enumeration (K*RI* VI 19, 4; cited above, under §4.4.1), line 32 of the present inscription has the less expected *m*

jmnjjt, which, in the present context, is translated as "as a permanent service" (see *Wb.* I 83.7: "ständige Leistung o. ä."). Although the *Wörterbuch* suggests interpreting *m jmnjjt* as a synonym for "daily" (*Wb.* I 83.8), it fails to offer parallels external to our text (see *Wb. Belegst.* I 83.8). Besides, Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* demonstrates a clear preference for the phrase *m-ḫrt-hrw* "daily" (see lines 12 and 34).

cxxxiii The group  represents a defective spelling of the Late Egyptian second-person plural independent pronoun (see E*NG* §103). Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSS 25; see under §4.2.1.3.5) contains a parallel.

cxxxiv The verb *sᶜqȝ* "to set" is understood here as a passive participle modifying the preceding noun. Alternatively, it could be interpreted as a pseudoparticiple (*sᶜqȝ.w ḫr mtn=j* "having been set on my path").

cxxxv In the present context, the omission of the preposition *r* is unusual before the *mrr=f* form. See also Korostovtsev (1947: 172, n. 68). Regarding the contents, line 24 of Thutmosis III's *Gebel Barkal Stela* (*Urk.* IV 1236, 1) provides a comparable parallel: *rdj.n=f n=n tȝw r mrr=f* "he has given us air as he wished." Similarly, lines 5 and 27 of the present text have *nḫḫ=k r mrr=k* "grow old as you desire" and *rdj.n=j jtjj=t r mrr=t m tȝ r-ḏr=f* "(for) I have let you seize, as you wish(ed), the (§6.4, n. cxix) entire land."

cxxxvi Contra Korostovtsev (1947: 173, n. 69).

cxxxvii There are two possible ways to interpret *tw=tn* after the imperative of *rdi*. It either represents the second-person plural form of the new Late Egyptian subject pronoun; or it is the particle *tw* combined with the grammatical object of the clause, the second-person plural suffix pronoun *=tn* (see Winand 1992: 168–169, §280). Since the particle *tw* used after the imperative is in fact the second-person singular dependent pronoun (E*NG* §359; Winand 1992: 167–169, §§279–280), which is only rarely used after imperatives with multiple addressees (Erman [E*NG* §359] cites an example in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* [*LES* 51, 11]), the latter option is unlikely. Accordingly, *tw=tn* is understood here as the second-person plural form of the new Late Egyptian subject pronoun.

Nonetheless, the grammatical function of *tw=tn* as a Late Egyptian subject pronoun remains ambiguous in the present context. Three possible readings present themselves. First, *tw=tn* can be analyzed as the direct object of the clause (see Winand 1992: 157–159, §264): "Put yourselves into my protection daily!" Second, it can function as a reinforcing element of the imperative (Winand 1992: 169–170, §281), in which case, the direct object of the clause would be introduced by the preposition *m* (see Winand 2015: 536–538): "Give my protection daily!" Third, *tw=tn* could also be interpreted as the subject of a Late Egyptian First Present construction (*tw=tn m sȝw=j m-ḫrt-hrw* "you are my protection daily"), which, in this

case, as a whole, would serve as the direct object of the imperative *jmm*: "Arrange (lit., give) (it) that you be my protection daily!" Since the verb *rdi* employs subordinate object clauses to express its direct object in at least three other instances in the text (once in line 23 [see n. cix] and twice in line 29 [see nn. cxxiv and cxxv]), a slight preference is given here to the third option, although in the other cases, the subordinate object clauses use subjunctive *sḏm=f*'s as their predicates.

The same considerations also apply to a similar construction (*jmm tw=tn m pr ḥt n msjjw=j*) towards the end of the line (see n. cxxxviii below).

cxxxviii As in the case above (see n. cxxxvii above), the second-person plural form of the new Late Egyptian subject pronoun could fulfill three different grammatical functions in the present context. If *tw=tn* is the direct object of the clause, the sentence reads: "Place yourselves in the wooden palace (on this phrase, see n. cxxxix below) of my children!" If the pronoun is employed as a stylistic device to lend extra emphasis to the imperative, the meaning of the phrase changes as follows: "Give the wooden palace to my children!" If, however, *tw=tn* serves as the subject of a Late Egyptian First Present construction employed here as a subordinate object clause to the imperative *jmm*, we arrive at the translation presented above. Preference was given to the third option due to the relative frequency of subordinate object clauses after *rdi* in Ramesses IV's address to Osiris and the gods (see n. cxxxvii above).

cxxxix Although the reading of the group  seems clear, the passage remains obscure. Translating either "as a wooden palace for my children" or "in the wooden palace of my children" are grammatically both possible.

cxl The verb *ṯs* "to tie" is present here with a relatively new semantic nuance, meaning "to allot, to bestow" (see *Wb.* V 397.23–24). See the corresponding entry under §6.5.2.6.

cxli *Ḥ3kw* "the disaffected" (*Wb.* III 363.16) is a rare variant of the expression *ḥ3kw-jb* "the disaffected of heart" (*Wb.* III 363.14–15). See the corresponding entry under §6.5.2.6.

cxlii See §2.3, n. cxi.

6.5 Selected Grammatical, Lexical, and Graphical Features from Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*

6.5.1 Selected Grammatical Features from the Text

Late Egyptian definite article preceding…

- a noun — right margin, column 3 *p3 nb ʿ3 n* [*Kmt*]; line 4 *n3 hrww*

- a participle	line 8	*p3 jr nfr*
Earlier Egyptian demonstrative pronouns		
- *pn*	line 8	*sḫr pn* (§6.4, n. xlii)
	lines 9, 13, 35	*t3 pn*
- *pw*	line 5	*mk mntk pw jʿḥ jmj ḥrj*
	line 6	*jr pw pr=k…*
	line 12	*jnk pw mj* (§6.4, n. lxi)
	line 18	*bwt{n}=k js pw* (§6.4, n. lxxxviii)
- *pwjj*[1171]	line 21	*m grḥ pwjj*
- *pf*	line 25	*tst pf* (§6.4, nn. cxv and cxvi)
Late Egyptian demonstrative pronoun	line 7	*p3jj m sš*
Late Egyptian possessive article	line 6	*n3jj=w ḫftw*
	line 10	*n3jj=j wdd n jmnjjt* (§6.4, n. lvii)
Late Egyptian independent pronoun	line 5	*mk mntk pw jʿḥ jmj ḥrj*
		Compare with *jnk pw mj* in line 12 (§6.4, n. lxi).
	line 7	*ḫr mntk ḥʿp(j) wr ḥr ḫntš ḥr tp trj*
	line 8	*mntk r.wḏjj sw* (§6.4, nn. xlv and xlvi)
	line 10	*mntw n3jj=j wdd n jmnjjt…* (§6.4, nn. lv and lvii)
	line 11	*mntk ḫjj m pt šftftw m t3* (§6.4, n. liv)
	line 34	*mtn j.jr st* (§6.4, n. cxxxiii)
Earlier Egyptian independent pronoun used in a possession	line 15 (?)	*r ḥn r3-pr=k m ḫtmw(t)/sḏ3w(t) nbt twt* (§6.4, nn. lxv and lxxxi)

1171 See also below, under §6.5.3.3.2.

Innovative use of the suffix pronoun:		
- expressing the object after a participle[1172]	line 8 (?)	*j.jrr=s* instead of *j.jrr s*(*w*) (§6.4, n. xl)
	line 13 (?)	*wtt=j* (§6.4, n. lxxiii)
Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun…		
- after an infinitive	line 10 (?)	*sp<u>ḥ</u>r=w* (§6.4, n. liii)
	line 31	*r tm jr=w*
- in a *s<u>d</u>m=f*	line 34	*jmm <u>t</u>sw=w m t3 pn*
	line 35	*jmm wsr=w…*
- in a relative form	line 4	*j.<u>d</u>dw=w*
- after a preposition or a prepositional *nisba*	line 3	*bw w3<u>ḥ</u>=j jm=w r-<u>d</u>rw…*
	line 12	*jw m3ᶜt jm=w r-3w*
	line 13	*nn n=w jw-ms*
- in the possessive article	line 6	*n3jj=w <u>ḫ</u>ftw*
Late Egyptian participle	line 8	*r.w<u>d</u>jj* (§6.4, n. xlv)
	line 34	*mtn j.jr st* (§6.4, n. cxxxiii)
Hybrid forms of the participle[1173]	line 8	*j.jrr s*(*w*) / *j.jrr=s* (§6.4, n. xl)
Late Egyptian relative form	right margin, column 3	*nn*[sic] *j.jr=sn* (§6.4, n. xvii)
	line 4	*j.<u>d</u>dw=w*
	line 10	*j.<u>d</u>d=tn nb*
Hybrid forms of the relative form	left margin, column 2	*j.<u>d</u>dwt=j*
Late Egyptian preterite *s<u>d</u>m=f*	line 13	*<u>d</u>r ᶜ<u>ḥ</u>ᶜ=j m nsw <u>ḥ</u>r st nt <u>H</u>r*
	line 22	*jw sᶜ<u>ḥ</u>=j n=k <u>ḥ</u>nn=k m <u>t</u>3m n<u>t</u>r* (§6.4, n. cvi)
Earlier Egyptian *s<u>d</u>m.n=f* as predicate (exx. not preceded by *jw*)[1174]	right margin, column 1	*gm.n=j <u>ḥ</u>m=j* [*m<u>d</u>3t*] *nt mdww n<u>t</u>r…* (§6.4, nn. x and xi)
	right margin, column 2	*j.n=j m n<u>t</u>r jb…*
	lines 3–4	*gm.n*[*=j <u>ḥ</u>m=k*]…

1172 See n. 807 above.

1173 See n. 684 above.

1174 The *jw s<u>d</u>m.n=f* constructions are listed below, under the different functions of the particle *jw*.

	lines 7–8	*gm.n=j ḥm=k…*
	line 13	*jn.n=j mꜣꜥt r tꜣ pn*
	line 18 (2x)	*sꜥr.n=j s(j) n nb=s*
		ḫnms.n=j Ḏḥwtj…
	line 23	*dj.n=j tꜣm ḥr-nb*
	line 24	*rdj.n=j sqdd wjꜣ=k* (§6.4, n. cxi and cxiii)
	line 25	*jr.n=j mkt-ḥꜥw=k…*
	line 27	*rdj.n=j jtjj=t r mrr=t m tꜣ r-ḏr=f* (§6.4, n. cxix)
	line 28	*mḥ.n=j n=k…*
	line 29 (2x)	*dr.n=j n=k mnt*
		rdj.n=j n=k…
	line 31	*fqꜣ.n=f {n} s(w) m ḥmw m-ḥꜣw* (§6.4, n. cxxvii)
	line 32	*wꜥf.n=j bšdw…*
	line 33	*mj jr.n=k*
	line 36	*jr.n=f m mnw=f n jt=f…* (§6.4, n. cxlii)
Sḏm.n=f as relative form	right margin, column 1	*ꜥꜣjjw wrw jr.n n=k Ḥr*
Passive *sḏm=f*	line 9	*smnḫ sḫrw=k*
First Present construction with the new subject pronouns[1175]		
	line 4	*st ḫpr.w*
	line 13	*tw=j m st wtt=j mj sꜣ ꜣst*
	line 34 (2x)	*jmm tw=tn m sꜣw=j m-ḫrt-hrw* (§6.4, n. cxxxvii)
		jmm tw=tn m pr ḫt n msjjw=j (§6.4, nn. cxxxviii and cxxxix)
Emphatic *j.jr=f sḏm*	left margin, column 2	*jrjj=j nḫnw=j m trj nb* (§6.4, n. vii)

1175 See n. 135 above.

Conjunctive in continuation of…		
- no explicit verbal form (cohesive device)[1176]	line 6	*r dr=k snkt wrḥ.tw wnḫ.tw (j)n* (§6.4, n. xxxviii) *psḏt* ***mtw*** *ḥkꜣw ḫpr.w*
	line 7	*pꜣjj m sš bn rꜣ n rꜣ* (§6.4, n. xxxix) ***mtw*** *ʿnḫw jp*
Late Egyptian imperative	line 35	*j.ṯs jꜣwt=j wrt n jwʿʿw=j* (§6.4, n. cxl)
Negative Accomplished		
- *bw sḏm=f*	line 15 (2x)	*bw ḫsf=j jt=j*
		bw šnʿ=j mwt=j
	line 18	*bw tkn=j s ḥr nst jt=f* (§6.4, n. lxxxix)
- *nn sḏm=f*	line 15	*nn ḫsf=j ḥʿpj=j* (§6.4, n. lxxxii)
	line 16 (4x)	*nn sjf=j ntrt* (§6.4, n. lxxxiv)
		nn sd=j swḥt ḫprt (§6.4, n. lxxxv)
		nn wnm=j bwt=j
		nn smꜣ=j mꜣjrw
	line 17 (3x)	*nn ʿrq=j n Bꜣ-nb-ḏdwj m pr n nṯrw* (§6.4, n. lxxix)
		nn dm=j rn n Tꜣ-tnn
		nn ḫbꜣ=j n ʿqw=f (§6.4, nn. lxxx and lxxxvi)
- *n sḏm=f*	line 17	*n stj=j r mꜣj ḥsꜣ…*
Negative Aorist		
- *bw sḏm=f*	line 3	*bw wꜣḥ=j jm=w r-ḏrw r tm dgꜣ=st* (§6.4, nn. xxiii, xxix, xxx)
	line 31	*ḫr ptr bw wꜣḥ=j nfr n-ḥꜣ ḏrt=j r tm jr=w…* (§6.4, n. cxxviii)
- *nn sḏm.n=f*	line 13	*nn ḥwrʿ.n=j*
	line 15	*nn jj.n=j ḥr nṯr m ʿbw=f…*

1176 See n. 687 above. For a similar example in line 27 of the southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (§4.2.2, n. lxvii), see the corresponding entry under §4.2.3.1 above.

	line 16 (3x)	*<n>n jr.n=j šnt r nṯr* (§6.4, n. lxxviii) *nn ꜥwn.n=j j3d ḥr ḫwt=f* *nn (n)ḥm.n=j rmw…*
	line 17	*nn sḫt.n=j j3dt*
	line 18	*nn šꜥd.n=j jt*
bw jr.t=f sḏm[1177]	line 4	*jw bw jr.t Nwt b3k3 m nfrw=k*
Negative nominal pattern	line 7	*bn r3 n r3* (§6.4, n. xxxix)
Negative adverbial clause	line 13	*nn n=w jw-ms*
jw used according to Earlier Egyptian syntax…		
- *jw sḏm.n=f*	line 2	*jw jp.n=j m jb=j*
	line 17	*jw m33.n=j M3ꜥt r-gs Rꜥ*
	line 19 (3x)	*jw stjj.n=j n=k tk3…* (§6.4, n. xcv) *jw šnꜥ.n=j Stš ḥr=k* *jw rdj.n=j s3=k Ḥr m ḥrj-nst=k* (§6.4, n. xcvi)
	line 20 (4x)	*jw pgs.n=j n jrt=k* (§6.4, n. xcviii) *jw rdj.n=j n=k nstj jt=k…* *jw sm3.n=j ḫrw=k hrw wḏꜥ-mdw* (§6.4, n. c) *jw rdj.n=j pḥr n=k Kmt…* (§6.4, n. ci)
	line 21 (3x)	*jw sꜥr.n=j n=tn tp=tn* *jw sm3.n=j ḫrw Ḥr hrw wḏꜥ-mdw* (§6.4, n. civ) *jw rdj.n=j n=tn mnt=tn r ḫḫ=tn…*
	line 22	*jw rdj.n=j ꜥḥꜥ=k m nṯr* Note *jw sꜥḥ=j n=k…* (§6.4, n. cvi) in the same line.

1177 On the Late Egyptian "not yet" form, see Cassonnet (2000: 131, §10.6.4).

	line 23	*jw rdj.n=j n=k…* (§6.4, n. cix)
	line 24	*jw sḫr.n=j n=k ꜥ(ȝ)pp*
	line 25	*jw rdj.n=j n=k wḏ(ȝ)=k r šnbt=k…* (§6.4, n. cxvii)
	line 26 (2x)	*jw dr.n=j ꜥbw nb ntjj m ḥꜥw=k* *jw rdj.n=j n=t sḫmt m-m nṯrw nbw*
	line 27 (2x)	*jw rdj.n=j n=k wḏ(ȝ)=k r ḫḫ=k…* (§6.4, nn. cxx and cxxi) *jw rdj.n=j* [*n=k*] *mkt-ḥꜥw…* (§6.4, n. cxxii)
	line 28 (2x)	*jw dr.n=j ꜥbw nb ntjj m ḥꜥw=k* *jw rdj.n=j n=k gstj=k*
	line 29	*jw rdj.n=j n=k…* (§6.4, n. cxxiv)
	line 30	*jw rdj.n=j n=t mnt r ḫḫ=t*
Diachronically neutral *jw*:		
- for the introduction of parenthetic information	line 12	*jw mȝꜥt jm=w r-ȝw* (§6.4, n. lxii)
jw used according to Late Egyptian syntax…		
- as a circumstantial converter	right margin, column 1	*jw=f ḥnꜥ Ḏḥwtj ḥr sḥtp kȝ=k*
	right margin, column 3	*jw tȝw m ḥtpw nn ḥȝjjt*
	line 4	*jw bw jr.t Nwt bȝkȝ m nfrw=k*
	line 8	*jw pr m*(*w*)*t* (§6.4, n. xliv)
	line 9	*jw=k snḏm.tw m-rȝ-ꜥ mj-qd=f*
	line 10 (2x)	*jw ḥm n Ḏḥwtj ꜥḥꜥ r-gs=tn* *jw=tn m rȝ wꜥ*
	line 12	*jw=j* (*ḥr*) *djt=k m jb=j m-ḫrt-hrw*
wn as preterite converter	line 4	*wn ꜥnḫ=tw…* (§6.4, n. xxxvii)
	line 13	*jn.n=j mȝꜥt r tȝ pn wnw nn sw* (§6.4, nn. lxxiv and lxxv)
	line 14	*qb=j wnw m-bȝḥ m jmnjjt*

	line 19	*m wn=f (ḥr) ꜥw³ ꜥt=k*
ḫr as clause connector		
- in a nominal, non-cleft sentence, preceding an independent pronoun[1178]	line 7	*ḫr mntk ḥꜥp(j) wr ḥr ḫntš ḥr tp trj* Compare with *mk mntk pw jꜥḥ…* in line 5.
- with affirmative adjectival phrases[1179]	line 12	*ḫr rš.wj wj*
	line 31	*ḫr mtjj s³*
- *ḫr ptr* preceding a Negative Aorist[1180]	line 31	*ḫr ptr bw w³ḥ=j nfr n-ḥ³ ḏrt=j r tm jr=w…* (§6.4, n. cxxviii)
mj as clause connector[1181]	right margin, column 3	*mj ³ḫ=j n=k*
	line 32	*mj ³ḫ=j*
	line 33	*mj jr.n=k*
ḏr sḏm=f construction[1182]	line 13	*tw=j m… ḏr ꜥḥꜥ=j m nsw ḥr st nt Ḥr*
Topicalized expressions (with *jr*)	line 4	*jr m n³ hrww j.ḏdw=w…*
	line 6	*jr pw pr=k…*
	line 10	*jr j.ḏd=tn nb…*
	line 31	*jr f³jjt n š³w=j…* (§6.4, nn. cxxx and cxxxi)
Feminine for the neuter	left margin, column 2	*{q}<sḏ>m=k* ***j.ḏdwt=j****…*
Masculine for the neuter[1183]	line 10	*jr* ***j.ḏd=tn*** *nb…*
	line 10	*mntw* ***n³jj=j wdd****…* (§6.4, nn. lv and lvii)

1178 Neveu (2001: 61).
1179 Neveu (2001: 65).
1180 Neveu (2001: 133).
1181 See n. 143 above.
1182 On *ḏr* followed by a Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f* in a non-initial syntactic position, see Collombert (2000: 355).
1183 See n. 145 above.

	line 14	*qb=j* **wnw** *m-bꜣḥ*[1184] *m jmnjjt*
	line 15	*ꜥnḫ=j m* **mrr nṯr**…
Agent-introductory particle *jn* written as *m*	line 21	*m ḫntj Sḫm* (§6.4, n. ciii)

6.5.2 Selected Lexical Features from the Text

6.5.2.1 Lexical Items Primarily Associated with Higher Written Registers Since the Early Eighteenth Dynasty

(m) rꜣ n rꜣ
"(from) mouth to mouth"
line 7
The expression is first documented in Hatshepsut's *Punt Expedition*[1185] and has only a few attestations in the record—all in royal texts.[1186]

sꜥšꜣ
"to repel"
line 34
The verb *sꜥšꜣ* "to repel" is only rarely documented, but its use has generally been associated with higher written registers since its earliest occurrences dating to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1187] The word is also present in pHarris I (28.7, 57.13, 58.6).

tr(j) (encl. part.)
"indeed"
line 11
On the use of the particle *tr* in exclamative contexts, see the corresponding entry below, under §6.5.2.2.

6.5.2.2 Old Words and Expressions with Extended Applicability

jp m jb
"to be shrewd / to consider in the heart"
line 2
The conversion of the expression *jp-jb* "shrewd" into a verbal construction, *jp m jb* "to be shrewd / to consider in the heart," is unattested before Ramesside times.[1188] Line 9 of the *Great Hammamat Inscription* contains a similar example of the phrase (see under §5.2.2.4).

mj (encl. part.)
"after all"
line 12
The use of the particle *mj* in a bipartite nominal sentence in line 12 (*jnk pw mj* "it is me after all") is highly unconven-

1184 Cf. n. 694 above.
1185 See n. 159 above.
1186 For more details, see the same entry above, under §2.4.2.1.
1187 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* IV 55.11–13; *DZA* 28.973.940 and 980; and Albright & Rowe (1928: 282).
1188 See n. 983 above. Similarly, Korostovtsev (1947: 166).

tional.[1189] *Mj* is generally found after imperatives and occasionally with subjunctive *sḏm=f*'s expressing a wish.[1190]

tr(*j*) (encl. part.)
"indeed"

line 11
The particle *tr*, written here as *trj*,[1191] may occur in exclamative contexts from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.[1192]

6.5.2.3 Lexical Items Seldom or Not Attested Before the Amarna Period

jmj(*w*)-*mw*
"that/those in the water (i.e., aquatic animals)"

line 5
The phrase, used as a generic term for "aquatic animals," becomes a fixed expression in the Eighteenth Dynasty, probably around the Amarna reform.[1193] Ramesses II's *Offering-Litany to Min-Amun* in the forecourt of the Luxor temple provides the only known Ramesside royal parallel to the present example.[1194]

ꜥ*nḫ*
"living, provisions"

line 24 (§6.4, n. cviii)
While the word ꜥ*nḫ* "living, provisions" is only sporadically present in the pre-Amarna record,[1195] it is relatively frequent in the lower written registers of the Ramesside era.[1196] A royal parallel is found in line 14 of Ramesses II's *Year 8 Heliopolis Stela*.[1197]

ꜥ*q*ȝ (adv.)
"exactly, precisely"

line 35
The adverb ꜥ*q*ȝ "exactly, precisely"—employed here to lend extra emphasis to the preposition *mjtt* "like" (see below, under §6.5.2.6)[1198]—becomes prominent in the record dur-

1189 The particle *mj* is used in a similar syntactic environment on a Nineteenth Dynasty papyrus, in pBM EA 10085, verso x+4 (Leitz 1999: 91; pl. 51): *mtwk mj ms=k* "Yours is your child after all."
1190 Cf. G*EG* §250.
1191 Cf. *DZA* 31.121.140–160.
1192 Cf. Oréal (2011: 510–511), who discusses the present example and brings an earlier royal parallel from the reign of Hatshepsut (*Urk.* IV 221, 1).
1193 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 25480; *Wb. Belegst.* I 74.7. One of the first examples stems from the tomb of Tutu (Davies 1908: pl. 15, south thickness, column 4).
1194 K*RI* II 626, 9.
1195 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 38670; *Wb. Belegst.* I 205.8; *DZA* 21.874.290. Although *TLA*, lemma no. 38670 references a passage in the *Pyramid Texts* (PT *806.9 in Allen 2013a) as one that contains the first example of the word, the passage cited lacks the characteristic determinative of the lexeme (𓏏) and thus has to be interpreted differently: ꜥ*nḫ NN m* ꜥ*nḫ=k* "Neith will live in your life" / "I live in your life" (translation after Allen 2005: 329 and Allen 2015b: 320).
1196 See, e.g., K*RI* V 439, 6; 440, 9; 442, 15; 443, 7; 444, 3; 445, 7; 446, 5; 447, 1; 609, 14.
1197 K*RI* II 362, 4.
1198 Cf. *Wb.* I 233.15.

ing and after the Amarna period.[1199] Further Ramesside royal examples are found, for example, in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[1200]

m-ḫnw (prep.)
"among"

right margin, column 2
From the second half of the New Kingdom onwards, the preposition *m-ḫnw* is occasionally used in the sense of "among."[1201] Further royal examples with this semantic nuance can be found in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions, for instance.[1202]

mtn
"to reward"

line 11
The verb *mtn* "to reward," which also appears in line 31 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*,[1203] is not securely attested before the Eighteenth Dynasty and is only sporadically present in the record before the Amarna period.[1204]

ṯs
"to rule, to govern"

line 34
The verb first occurs in the written record in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1205] Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*,[1206] the abridged version of the same text,[1207] Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*,[1208] and Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*[1209] provide further Ramesside royal parallels to the present example.

1199 Cf. E*NG* §595; *TLA*, lemma no. 41330; and *Wb. Belegst.* I 233.14–15.
1200 K*RI* V 38, 6; 86, 10.
1201 E*NG* §652; *Wb.* III 371.18–21.
1202 The scenes of the sea peoples campaign contain two similar formulations: *ssmwt=f mj ḫjkw m-ḫnw ḫ*[*pwt*]… "his horses are like falcons among sm[all birds]…" (K*RI* V 30, 5–6) and *tw=j mj ḫjk m-ḫnw ḫpwt*… "I was like a falcon among small birds…" (K*RI* V 33, 8). Once in a similar context, the preposition *m* is used, however, instead of *m-ḫnw* (K*RI* V 44, 8).
1203 K*RI* II 325, 8.
1204 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 77560; *Wb. Belegst.* II 170.11–12; and Gardiner (1916: 20 and 107). One of the earliest examples of the verb comes from an inscription of Thutmosis III (*Urk.* IV 863, 9 = KIU 2604, 2).
1205 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 176850; *Wb. Belegst.* V 402.7–8.
1206 K*RI* II 235, 11–12; 237, 11–13.
1207 K*RI* II 256, 12.
1208 K*RI* II 328, 3. Cf. Spalinger's (2009: 34, n. 115) notes on the verb.
1209 K*RI* IV 7, 7.

6.5.2.4 Lexical Items Seldom Attested in Monumental Inscriptions Before Ramesside Times

m-r3-ꜥ — lines 8 (§6.4, n. xli) and 9 (2x)
"as well, likewise" — See the first entry under §2.4.2.4 above.

6.5.2.5 Lexical Items Not Attested in Monumental Inscriptions Before Ramesside Times

j3d — line 16
"poor/miserable man (lit., sufferer)" — Although the verb *j3d* "to suffer, to injure" is already documented in the *Kamose Inscriptions*,[1210] its nominal derivatives, *j3d* "sufferer" or *j3dt* "suffering," do not appear in the record before the New Kingdom and remain absent from monumental texts until Ramesside times.[1211] Both the verb and its nominal derivatives are only sporadically present in the Ramesside royal inscriptions. The verb occurs, for instance, on Merenptah's *Israel Stela*[1212] and in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[1213] The noun *j3dt* "suffering" also appears in the latter.[1214]

bw w3ḥ… r tm… — lines 3 and 31
"not to leave un(done)" — The construction *bw w3ḥ… r tm…* "not to leave un(done)" expressing the exhaustive nature of an activity with the help of a double negation first appears on a papyrus paleographically dated to the beginning of the Nineteenth or the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1215] To the present examples, Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem* provides the only known royal parallels to date.[1216] On the other hand, the phrase *bw w3ḥ…* used in the sense of "not to neglect" also occurs in

1210 See line 22 on Stela II (Helck 1983: 94).
1211 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 21150; *Wb. Belegst.* I 35.13–15; and *TLA*, lemmas nos. 21160 and 21200; *Wb. Belegst.* I 35.16–18.
1212 K*RI* IV 17, 3.
1213 K*RI* V 22, 5.
1214 K*RI* V 39, 12. The word is written as *j3dw* ().
1215 See Fragment IV, line 5 of pBoulaq 13 = pCairo CG 58041 in Haikal (1983: 220; pl. 49). On the dating of the document, see Haikal (1983: 216). The construction was correctly identified on the fragment by Lutz Popko (see his translation commentary to the text in *TLA*; contra Haikal 1983: 220 and 239). For a summary of further non-monumental attestations of the expression, see *Wb. Belegst*. I 256.4. A study on double negations is in preparation by Pascal Vernus (personal communication with author, September 2, 2018).
1216 K*RI* II 18.13–16 and 37, 10–15.

Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions[1217] and twice in pHarris I (45.1 and 57.5).[1218]

mj (encl. part.)
"after all"

line 12
On the use of the particle *mj* in a bipartite nominal sentence in line 12 of the text, see the corresponding entry above, under §6.5.2.2.

n-ḥ3 (prep.)
"behind"

line 31
The Late Egyptian variant of the older *ḥ3* "behind" is not documented in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times.[1219] Ramesses II's Qadesh inscriptions[1220] and Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions[1221] provide further royal examples of the compound.

n-sp (adv.)
"at once, together"

line 10
The adverbial expression *n-sp* "at once, together" is not attested in monumental inscriptions before the Ramesside era.[1222] Royal monumental parallels are present in Ramesses II's *Hittite Treaty*[1223] and in the main record of the *First Hittite Marriage* of the same king.[1224]

r-ḏrw (adv.)
"all"

line 3
The adverb *r-ḏrw* does not appear in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times.[1225] Besides the present example, it has been documented in Ramesses II's Qadesh inscriptions,[1226] *Year 8 Heliopolis Stela*;[1227] on Meren-

1217 K*RI* V 74, 8 and 306, 9. Cf. also Claus (2006: 51, n. 73).
1218 Cf. also Grandet (1994: II, 166–167, n. 675) and Claus (2006: 51, nn. 74 and 75).
1219 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* III 10.10–13; E*NG* §626.
1220 K*RI* II 11, 6–10; 26, 4–5; 31, 1 and 3–5; 43, 7–10; 47, 12 and 14–16; 108, 2–3 and 5; 112, 5–7; 115, 8–10.
1221 K*RI* V 63, 7.
1222 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* III 438.10–11. The *Wörterbuch* signals a diachronic difference between *m-sp* (*Wb.* III 438.8–9) and *n-sp* (*Wb.* III 438.10–11). While *m-sp* is documented since the Old Kingdom (see *Wb. Belegst.* III 438.8–9), *n-sp* only has a single pre-New Kingdom attestation (see *Wb. Belegst.* III 438.10), namely, in *The Debate between a Man and His Soul* 154 (Allen 2011b: 154; cited by G*EG* §205.3).
1223 K*RI* II 228, 3.
1224 K*RI* II 251, 4–7.
1225 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* V 591.1–8.
1226 K*RI* II 96, 6–8 and 121, 13–14. In one instance, the monumental versions of the *Qadesh Poem* omit the expression, while the text on pSallier III keeps it (K*RI* II 51, 7–10 vs. 51, 11).
1227 K*RI* II 362, 9.

ptah's *Israel Stela*;[1228] in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions;[1229] and on Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela*.[1230]

sḫt j3dt — line 17
"to snare a net" — The expression has only a handful of attestations in the record.[1231] Although it already occurs in the Eighteenth Dynasty,[1232] its first monumental examples date to the Ramesside era.[1233]

qni (trans.) — line 20 (§6.4, n. xcix)
"to conquer" — Q*ni* as a transitive verb is rarely attested in the record. It is first documented in the Eighteenth Dynasty manuscript of the *Teaching for Merikare* (E 93)[1234] but remains absent from the monumental sphere until Ramesside times.[1235]

6.5.2.6 Lexical Items Not Attested Before Ramesside Times

jwʿʿ — line 5
"animals" — Although the *TLA*[1236] lists the word as a mere graphical variant () of *ʿwt* "small cattle," it cannot be excluded that *jwʿʿ* is an altogether different lexeme used for "quadrupeds" for the first time in the Ramesside era.[1237] There is only one Ramesside parallel known to date to the present example: it occurs on a Nineteenth Dynasty private stela.[1238] Compare the spelling of *jwʿʿj* "heritage" in line 20 under §6.5.3.2 and that of *jwʿʿw* "heirs" in line 35 under §6.5.3.3.1.

1228 K*RI* IV 15, 1.
1229 K*RI* V 24, 9; 38, 7; 65, 14; and 77, 5.
1230 K*RI* VI 19, 9 and 10.
1231 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* IV 262.11.
1232 For instance, in chapter 169 of the *Book of the Dead*, on the papyrus of Neferubenef (Ratié 1968: pl. 15, col. 552; *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*, *TM 134308*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134308; accessed 4 August 2024).
1233 The currently known oldest monumental example of the phrase dates to the reign of Ramesses II and is found in the mortuary temple of Seti I in Abydos (K*RI* II 509, 15). The passage is also mentioned by Meeks (*AL* 79.2750).
1234 Quack (1992: 184). On the dating of the *Teaching for Merikare*, see Stauder (2013b: 198–199) most recently.
1235 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* V 44.1–2; F*CD* 279.
1236 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 22370.
1237 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* I 50.6.
1238 In column 6 of the back of Neferabu's round-topped limestone stela (BM EA 589 in James 1970: pl. 31).

jp m jb
"to be shrewd / to consider in the heart"

line 2
On the use of the expression *jp-jb* "shrewd" as a verbal construction, see the corresponding entry above, under §6.5.2.2.

jṯ
"who? which?"

line 11
The interrogative pronoun *jṯ* is not documented before Ramesside times.[1239] Line 15 of Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*[1240] and column 61 of the *Great Dedicatory Inscription* of the same king[1241] contain two further royal instances, while a hymn to the western goddess in the tomb of Djehutymes, TT 32, provides a private monumental example of the word.[1242]

wbḫt
"brightness, clarity"

line 32
The noun *wbḫt* "brightness, clarity" is attested securely in not more than two texts (see under §4.2.3.2.6): in the present inscription and on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSS [5], 7, 19, 26).[1243]

bꜣ dmdm
"united *ba*"

line 10
The expression *bꜣ dmḏ*, written here as *bꜣ dmdm* (§6.5.3.3.3), refers to the unified *ba* of Re and Osiris, a concept that emerges in the Ramesside era.[1244] No further occurrences are known to me from the Ramesside royal inscriptions.

pꜣjjw
"birds"

line 5
The noun *pꜣjjw* (), a generic term for "birds," is a Ramesside derivative of the verb *pꜣi* "to fly." It is only sporadically present in the Ramesside written record but

1239 Cf. E*NG* §744.
1240 K*RI* II 355, 16.
1241 K*RI* II 329, 8.
1242 Kákosy et al. (2004: 262, column 10; 263 with n. 228). The example was cited by Pascal Vernus (lecture, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France, February 11, 2016).
1243 See the corresponding passages under §4.2.1.3.4 and §4.2.1.3.5 and the discussion under §4.4.1.
1244 Cf. Spalinger (2009: 100–102; 100, n. 95 citing the present example); *LGG* II 708a–c; and *Wb. Belegst.* V 463.2 citing an additional Ramesside example in TT 65, in the tomb of Imiseba, (*DZA* 31.421.730) missed by Leitz.

becomes relatively frequent in Ptolemaic times.[1245] Ramesses II's *Offering-Litany to Min-Amun* in the forecourt of the Luxor temple provides a potential royal parallel to the example in line 5 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*.[1246]

mjtt (prep.)
"like"

line 35
In Ramesside times, the word *mjtt* can be used as a preposition instead of *mj*.[1247] See the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.2.6.

mkt-ḥ‘w
"protection of the body"

lines 25 and 28
Mkt-ḥ‘w "protection of the body" is an apotropaic expression that first appears in Ramesside times.[1248]

n-ꜣb (prep.)
"because of, for the purpose of"

right margin, column 2
The preposition is a Ramesside compound generally known from lower written registers,[1249] but it is also present on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSS 12).[1250]

ḫwr‘
"to rob, to plunder; to usurp"

line 13
The verb is absent from the pre-Ramesside written record[1251] but is relatively well documented in royal texts (see under §4.2.3.2.6). Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSS 4) provides another example in the present corpus.[1252]

1245 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* I 494.15–17; Wilson (1997: 344–345). The number of non-monumental Ramesside examples is similarly scarce. So far only two instances have been noted: one in pAnastasi V 6.8 (*LEM* 58, 10), and another on a Twentieth Dynasty ostracon cited by *DZA* 23.111.540.

1246 See K*RI* II 626, 8:  . The passage is differently interpreted by Kitchen (*RITA* II 415). The example referenced by Meeks (*AL* 79.0958) in Ramesses II's and Ramesses III's *Blessing of Ptah* is clearly just a participle of the verb *pꜣi* "to fly:" *pꜣjj nb ḫnw nb* / *pꜣjjwt ḫnnwt nbt* "all that flies and alights" (K*RI* II 269, 1–8; translation after *RITA* II 105).

1247 See n. 846 above.

1248 See nn. 859 and 860 above.

1249 See n. 730 above.

1250 See under §4.2.1.3.4.

1251 See n. 733 above.

1252 See under §4.2.1.3.3.

ḫjj
"to be high/exalted"

line 11
The word first appears in Ramesside times,[1253] and it has only one royal parallel known to date, namely, an example in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[1254]

ḫ3kw
"the disaffected"

line 35 (§6.4, n. cxli)
The expression *ḫ3kw-jb* "the disaffected of heart"[1255] occurs only twice in the record in an abbreviated form omitting the second element of the compound: as *ḫ3kw* "the disaffected." Besides the present example, it appears once more on the Thirtieth Dynasty *Metternich Stela*.[1256]

sjf
"to violate, to insult"

line 16 (§6.4, n. lxxxiv)
The verb is not attested in the pre-Ramesside record,[1257] and there are no further royal examples known to date.[1258]

sʿḥ
"to wrap, to bandage"

line 22
The example of *sʿḥ* in line 22 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* is one of its earliest occurrences as a transitive verb with the semantic nuance "to wrap, to bandage."[1259] Although *sʿḥ* as a verb meaning "to be noble, to ennoble" has been well-attested since the earliest of times,[1260] the present signification probably derives from a different lexeme: from the noun *sʿḥ* "mummy, form."[1261]

sʿq3
"to set, to direct"

line 33
The verb *sʿq3* "to set, to direct" is first documented in column 41 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*.[1262] The idiom *sʿq3 ḥr*/*r mtn* "to set on a path," on the other hand, finds its currently known oldest attestation in the

1253 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 114460; *Wb. Belegst.* III 237.7–19.
1254 K*RI* V 113, 10.
1255 *Wb.* III 363.14–15.
1256 *DZA* 28.192.190–210.
1257 Compare, however, the possibly related *jf* () in pEdwin Smith, verso 19.17 (Breasted 1930: pls. 19 and 19a; Deines & Westendorf 1961: 47).
1258 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 128260; *Wb. Belegst.* IV 37.3–4. A further example has been noted in oDeM 1080, 6 (Posener 1938: pl. 45; Fischer-Elfert 1997: 109; 112, n. 17).
1259 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* IV 50.12–13 and *AL* 78.3353.
1260 *Wb.* IV 50.8–11 and 14–15.
1261 *Wb.* IV 51–52.15.
1262 K*RI* II 326, 14. Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 129340; *Wb. Belegst.* IV 56.10–14.

present text.[1263]

srq fndw
"to make the noses inhale"

line 33
The phrase *srq fndw* "to make the noses inhale" has two occurrences in the record in total: the present example and another in Ptolemaic times.[1264] The expression is employed here as a creative variation on the well-attested *srq ḥtjjt* "to make the throat open,"[1265] which, for instance, also appears in pHarris I 44.6.

tm
"to complete"

line 4 (§6.4, n. xxv)
Tm as a transitive verb, with the meaning "to complete," is not attested before Ramesside times.[1266] Seti I's *Speos Artemidos Dedicatory Inscription*,[1267] Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*,[1268] Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*,[1269] and Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions[1270] contain further monumental examples of it.

ṯs
"to allot, to bestow"

line 35 (§6.4, n. cxl)
The verb *ṯs* "to tie" acquires the more figurative sense "to allot, to bestow" by Ramesside times.[1271] This specific semantic nuance is also present in another text of Ramesses IV, in pHarris I 22.11.[1272]

6.5.2.7 *Hapax Legomenon*

qqw
"*qequ*"

line 22 (§6.4, n. cv)
The exact meaning of the group  is unknown. Since it is mentioned together with the words *mnt* "*menat*-necklace," *sšš* "*seshesh*-sistrum," and *sḫm* "*sekhem*-sistrum," it proba-

1263 *Wb. Belegst.* IV 56.13; Williams (1961: 102).
1264 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* IV 202.2.
1265 *Wb.* IV 202.5–12. See, e.g., also PT *783.10 in Allen (2013a).
1266 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 172010; *Wb. Belegst.* V 305.1–2.
1267 In column 6, in a similar expression as in line 4 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*: *psḏt tm.tj* (K*RI* I 42, 3; Chappaz & Bickel 2024: 227, fig. 9.4; 229, fig. 9.6; 232). On the grammatical analysis of the form, see n. xxv above, under §6.4.
1268 In column 41, in the courtiers' speech: *psḏt tmm.tj* (K*RI* II 326, 13). Cf. n. xxv under §6.4.
1269 In column 71, in the introduction to the speech of the council of thirty: *psḏt tmm.tj* (K*RI* IV 11, 6). Cf. n. xxv under §6.4.
1270 K*RI* V 74, 4–5.
1271 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* V 397.23–24.
1272 *Wb. Belegst.* V 397.24. On *ṯs* in relation to the royal office, see also Grapow (1924: 174); Gardiner (1956: 16, n. to 3.5); and Grandet (1994: II, 105, n. 436).

bly also refers to an object.

6.5.3 Selected Graphical Features from the Text

6.5.3.1 Spellings Following or Imitating Earlier Written Traditions

rn right margin, column 2 and line 17

"name, identity"

The word *rn* "name, identity" is spelled with the cartouche determinative in both occurrences in the text: . The spelling is attested from the Second Intermediate Period onwards,[1273] but it becomes frequent only in the monumental royal texts of the New Kingdom.[1274]

6.5.3.2 Graphical Features Uncommon Before Ramesside Times

jꜣw  left margin, column 1

"praise"

The left margin of the stela contains a post-Amarnian monumental spelling of the word *jꜣw* "praise" that only becomes frequent in Ramesside times. Horemheb's scribal statue from Memphis (MMA 23.10.1), for instance, features twice.[1275] For royal parallels, see the Karnak version of Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage* ()[1276] and Ramesses III's *Piety to Amun* I and II (and).[1277]

jwʿʿj  line 20

"heritage"

Although *Sinuhe* B 47 provides an early example of the presence of a double *ayn* in the spelling of the word *jwʿt* "heritage,"[1278] no further pre-Ramesside instances have been noted so far of this graphical variant.[1279] The one in line 20 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* is, on the other hand, the only royal parallel known to date.[1280] Compare the spelling of the word *jwʿʿw* "heirs" in line 35 under §6.5.3.3.1.

1273 See n. 866 above.
1274 See n. 865 above.
1275 *Urk.* IV 2092, 14 and 2093, 7.
1276 K*RI* II 242, 2.
1277 K*RI* V 276, 11 and 279, 1.
1278 Koch (1990: 31).
1279 Cf. *DZA* 20.451.160–180 and 210.
1280 For a non-royal Ramesside example, see, e.g., pLansing 2.3 (*LEM* 100, 15).

wt3
"to bandage"

 line 19 (§6.4, n. xciv)

The verb *wt* "to bandage," written here as *wt3* with the inclusion of sign U30 (), features a spelling that has been sporadically attested since the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1281]

wdd
"command"
(lit., "what is/was decreed/commanded")

 line 10 (§6.4, n. lvii)

Non-finite forms of the verb *wḏ* "to decree" can occasionally be found featuring the sign  as a phonemographic interpretant[1282] in non-monumental texts since the Middle Kingdom.[1283] In monumental royal texts, such examples are scarce.[1284] Hatshepsut's *Punt Expedition*,[1285] Seti I's *Hermopolis Decree*,[1286] and Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions[1287] contain passive participles and relative forms that are spelled similarly.

m (prep.)
"in(to), as, with"

	line 8	*p3 jr nfr n ḫrw ḏw…* (§6.4, n. xliii)
(2x)	line 14 (2x)	*ḫw=j n mrjw(t) nt njwt=k* (§6.4, n. lxxvii) *mkjj=j n dmj=k* (§6.4, n. lxxvii)
	line 17	*nn ḫb3=j n ʿqw=f* (§6.4, nn. lxxx and lxxxvi)
	line 20	*jw pgs.n=j n jrt=k* (§6.4, n. xcviii)

See under §4.3.3.3.2.

m33
"to see"

 line 17

The verb *m33* "to see" features a rare New Kingdom spelling in the text, which is uncommon in the Ramesside as well as in the Eighteenth Dynasty monu-

1281 Cf. *DZA* 22.627.550–570.
1282 See n. 602 above.
1283 Cf. *DZA* 22.680.660–680.
1284 Korostovtsev (1947: 169, n. 30) notes that the present spelling is not mentioned in the *Wörterbuch*.
1285 *Urk.* IV 325, 17 and 352, 16.
1286 K*RI* I 126, 5.
1287 K*RI* V 20, 3.

mental inscriptions.[1288] Royal parallels include examples on Thutmosis IV's *Sphinx Stela*,[1289] in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*,[1290] and in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[1291] In Ramesside times, this spelling—however rare—is primarily associated with the non-monumental record.[1292]

nsw bjtj
"king of Upper and Lower Egypt"

 lines 1 and 2
vs. vs. left margin, column 1; right margin, column 1; line 36

The title *nsw bjtj* "king of Upper and Lower Egypt" is occasionally spelled with the Lower Egyptian crown instead of the bee since the early Eighteenth Dynasty, where this spelling was used on private monuments.[1293] Among the Ramesside royal inscriptions, the closing line of the Abydos version of Ramesses II's *Second Hittite Marriage* contains a parallel.[1294]

6.5.3.3 Selected Ramesside Graphical Features

6.5.3.3.1 Regularly Attested Ramesside Graphical Features

jꜣt
"standard"

 line 22

The spelling of the word corresponds to Ramesside graphical conventions.[1295] Compare the group with the spelling of *Mnw* "Min" in the same line (see below).

jwʿʿw
"heirs"

 line 35

The word *jwʿ* "heir" is often spelled with a double *ayn* in Ramesside times.[1296] Similar royal examples are present in Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*[1297] and in Ramesses III's

1288 Cf. *DZA* 23.636.570: "  seit D20 [*sic*], spät die Regel;" *DZA* 23.636.750 and 770.
1289 *Urk*. IV 1542, 16.
1290 K*RI* II 332, 9.
1291 K*RI* V 30, 10.
1292 See the attestations for in *Ramsès*, under lemma no. 104405. Examples, among others, include pHarris I 4.6 and 45.1; pBM 10053, recto 4.13 (K*RI* VI 510, 13); oVienna 6155, 7 and 9 (K*RI* VII 379, 11 and 15).
1293 Cf. *DZA* 29.772.970. See, e.g., *Urk.* IV 150, 12 and 17; 209, 12; and 1066, 11.
1294 K*RI* II 284, 1.
1295 Cf. *DZA* 20.113.140.
1296 Cf. *DZA* 20.441.060–100.
1297 K*RI* II 95, 2–3.

Medinet Habu inscriptions.[1298] Compare the spelling of *jwʿʿj* "heritage" in line 20 under §6.5.3.2.

jmm
"give!"

 right margin, column 3; lines 33 (2x), 34 (3x), 35

The imperative of the verb *rdi* "to give" is written according to Ramesside orthographic traditions on the stela.[1299]

jtn
"sun disc"

 line 33

Line 33 of the inscription features a frequent post-Amarnian spelling of the word *jtn* "sun disc."[1300] This writing also occurs, for instance, in the Elephantine, Abu Simbel, and Serra West versions of Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*,[1301] while the Karnak version of the text[1302] and Seti I's *Nauri Decree*[1303] employ . On the other hand, the word is written with the usual sun classifier, as or , in all its examples in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*[1304] and once also in the Abu Simbel version of Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*.[1305]

ʿ(*ȝ*)*pp*
"Apophis"

 and lines 24 and 25

The name of Apophis, the sun god's enemy, is generally spelled with instead of in the Ramesside era.[1306]

bȝkȝ
"to become pregnant"

 line 4

The verb *bkȝ* "to become pregnant" is represented by its Ramesside graphical variant (*bȝkȝ*) in the text.[1307] Seti I's *Nauri Decree*[1308] and Ramesses II's, Merenptah's, and

1298 K*RI* V 37, 12.
1299 See n. 293 above.
1300 Goldwasser (2002: 128–129).
1301 K*RI* II 236, 3; 242, 15 and 18.
1302 K*RI* II 242, 16.
1303 K*RI* I 46, 14; 49, 6.
1304 K*RI* II 323, 11; 330, 5; 336, 2.
1305 K*RI* II 236, 2.
1306 Cf. *DZA* 21.660.260–270.
1307 Cf. *DZA* 22.947.920–930.
1308 K*RI* I 50, 3.

Ramesses III's *West Silsileh Stelae*[1309] provide further monumental parallels to  .

bšdw
"the rebellious"

 line 33

Bšd is a late New Kingdom spelling for *bšṯ* "to rebel,"[1310] originating in the conflation of two similar-sounding verbs: *bdš* "to be weak, inert" and *bšṯ* "to rebel."[1311] In monumental texts, the spelling first occurs under Ramesses III. It is present on the *Great Double Stela* (GDSN 13/C7; see under §4.3.3.3.3.1) and in the Medinet Habu inscriptions.[1312]

psg/*pgs*
"to spit"

 and lines 18 and 20

The verb *psg* "to spit" was regularly spelled as *pgs* by the second half of the New Kingdom.[1313]

Mnw(-*Ḥr-Nḫt*)
"Min(-Horus-Nakht)"

 and scene and line 22

The spelling of *Mnw* "Min" is typically Ramesside on the stela.[1314] Similar royal examples are known from Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions[1315] and from the scene of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*.[1316] Compare Ramesses IV's example in the main text of the present stela with the spelling of the word *j3t* "standard" within the same line (see above).

mtn
"path, road"

 line 33

The closest graphical parallels of the spelling of the word *mtn* "path, road" documented here are found in the non-monumental Ramesside record,[1317] but Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions provide several examples of a similar spelling.[1318]

1309 K*RI* I 87, 10–13. Ramesses II's and Merenptah's versions share a mistake: an owl was carved instead of a vulture (). The passage is not preserved in Seti I's inscription (K*RI* I 87, 9).

1310 See n. 877 above.

1311 See n. 878 above.

1312 K*RI* V 22, 6; 38, 2; and 68, 9.

1313 Cf. *DZA* 23.489.960–990.

1314 Cf. *Wb.* II 72.11.

1315 See n. 1028 above.

1316 See the corresponding entry under §5.4.3.2.1.

1317 See, e.g., pAnastasi I 21.4 and 24.1 (Fischer-Elfert 1992: 132 and 140) and pChester Beatty IV = pBM EA 10684, verso 6.4 (Gardiner 1935: II, pl. 20).

1318 See K*RI* V 36, 9; 41, 7; 62, 9; 63, 7; 86, 1; and 93, 5.

rḫjjw
"people"

 line 26

From the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards, sign G24 () is regularly complemented with a pair of human arms raised in adoration in monumental texts.[1319] The spelling of the phrase *dwꜣ rḫjj*(*t*) *nb* "all the people adore" is similar on the base of the stela (). Compare, furthermore, the spelling of the word *rḫjjw*(*t*) "people" on Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*.[1320]

sꜣ
"son"

 , , or scene; lines 13, 19, 31

vs.  and  vs. left margin, columns 1 and 2; right margin, columns 1 and 2; lines 1, 2, 36 (2x)

On the margins, in the dateline and titulary, the dedication formula, and in the narrative introduction to the king's address to Osiris, the word *sꜣ* "son" keeps its conventional spelling (and) as opposed to other occurrences in the text, where its written form is characteristically Ramesside (, , or).[1321]

swḏ
"to bequeath"

 line 11

The verb features a typically Ramesside spelling,[1322] which is, nevertheless, sporadically already present in the texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1323]

sbq
"to be splendid, precious"

 line 11

Sign A53 () is regularly found as the classifier of *sbq* "to be splendid, precious" from the Twentieth Dynasty onwards.[1324] Accordingly, the spelling of the word is similar to the present example in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions[1325] but not yet in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*,[1326] *Qadesh Poem*,[1327] or in the main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*.[1328] In the texts of the

1319 See n. 1036 above.
1320 See the corresponding entry under §5.4.3.2.1.
1321 See n. 558 above.
1322 Cf. *DZA* 29.075.200.
1323 See, e.g., *Urk.* IV 807, 2.
1324 Cf. *DZA* 29.121.370.
1325 K*RI* V 21, 13; 37, 12.
1326 K*RI* II 335, 14 and 336, 6.
1327 K*RI* II 80, 8–10.
1328 K*RI* II 254, 1–3.

Nineteenth Dynasty, *sbq* was usually still classified with signs D56 () and Y1 ().

srq  line 33
"to open, to make inhale"
Sign F10 () is used as the classifier of the verb *srq* "to open, to make inhale" from the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards.[1329] The word is spelled similarly in pHarris I 44.6.

Sḫm  line 21
"Letopolis"
The name of the Delta town *Ḥm* "Letopolis" is often written as *Sḫm* from the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards.[1330] The way the word is written in line 21 of the *Great Abydos Stela*, it also appears in Ramesses II's inscriptions in Luxor.[1331]

dgi  line 3 (§6.4, n. xxiii)
"to behold"
See above, under §3.4.3.3.1.

6.5.3.3.2 Ramesside Graphical Features Uncommon in Monumental Inscriptions

j. line 8
(prothetic *yod*)
The prothetic *yod* is written with an *r* () instead of a *j* (usually ) in the Late Egyptian participle of *wḏi* "to depart, to dispatch" in line 8 of the stela: . Monumental parallels are scarce.[1332] Another example is attested, however, on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSS 5; see under §4.2.3.3.3.2).

jwi  line 24
"to come"
The verb is written with two walking legs—a graphical feature that first appeared in the Ramesside era but was generally avoided in monumental inscriptions.[1333]

wʿf  line 32
"to curb" vs. vs. line 1
While in the dateline and titulary of the text, the verb *wʿf*

1329 Cf. *DZA* 29.402.430–500.
1330 Cf. *DZA* 27.848.890.
1331 Cited by *DZA* 27.849.810–820.
1332 See n. 779 above.
1333 Cf. *Wb.* I 44. The verb is spelled similarly, for instance, in line 14 of Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* (K*RI* VI 19, 14), in pAnastasi V 10.1 (*LEM* 60, 13) or in the first line of oCairo CG 25310 (K*RI* VII 455, 10).

"to curb" is spelled as generally expected in Ramesside monumental inscriptions (),[1334] the example in Ramesses IV's final prayer (line 32) has a written form that is otherwise only found in the non-monumental texts of the Ramesside era ().[1335]

pwjj (dem. pron.)

 line 21

Pwjj, the Middle Kingdom variant of the demonstrative pronoun *pw*,[1336] is always written with the quail chick in pre-Ramesside times.[1337] The example on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* is the only occurrence of *pwjj* featuring sign Z7 () known from Ramesside royal texts so far.[1338]

nḥb(*t*) "neck"

 line 21

The omission of the final *-t* of the word *nḥbt* "neck" is a typically Ramesside phenomenon,[1339] which, however, does not become widespread in royal texts. Line 3 of Merenptah's *Israel Stela*, for instance, still has the word with the feminine ending ().[1340]

r (prep.) "to"

 lines 4 and 10

In the *status pronominalis*, the preposition *r* features its Late Egyptian, long graphical variant on the stela. The spelling is characteristic of the non-monumental written production but is relatively uncommon in monumental texts,[1341] especially in the first half of the Ramesside era.[1342]

1334 The spelling that combines the first two letters of the verb in one sign, G45 (), is characteristic of the Ramesside royal inscriptions. Parallels exist, for instance, in the main record of Ramesses II's *First Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 235, 4), in the Koptos version of Ramesses II's *Second Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 282, 13–14), in Ramesses III's *Karnak Decree of Year 16* (K*RI* V 234, 14 and 235, 10), in the Medinet Habu inscriptions of the same king (see, e.g., K*RI* V 119, 4), and in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (K*RI* VI 12, 15).

1335 While the monumental versions of Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem* feature sign G45 () or a simple quail chick () at the beginning of the verb (K*RI* II 77, 12 and 14), pSallier III spells *wʿf* with sign Z7 () at the front (K*RI* II 77, 16). Similar graphical solutions can be found in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (*LES* 42, 9–10 and 56, 13), in pAnastasi II 2.7 (*LEM* 13, 9), and in pAnastasi V 8.2 (*LEM* 59, 9).

1336 *Wb.* I 506.9–11.

1337 Cf. *DZA* 23.175.580.

1338 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 59770; *Wb. Belegst.* I 506.9–11.

1339 Cf. *DZA* 25.191.680–710.

1340 K*RI* IV 13, 12.

1341 Cf. E*NG* §609.

ḫr st-ḥr  line 33

"under the control (of)"

The last element of the compound, the preposition *ḥr*, features its Late Egyptian variant in the *status pronominalis*. This spelling of *ḥr* is characteristic of the non-monumental written production of the Ramesside era and is only rarely attested in monumental royal texts.[1343] The phrase *ḫr st-ḥr* "under the control (of)" is known with the long graphical variant of the preposition *ḥr* also from line 5 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*.[1344] In comparison, Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription* contains four examples of *ḫr st-ḥr*—all of them with the more classical spelling of *ḥr* ( or ),[1345] although two of them, the first and the last, are succeeded by a pronoun. The example in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (B13) represents the *status nominalis* form of the compound and is therefore not comparable.

=tn  line 10 (§6.4, n. l)

(suff. pron.)

The spelling of the second-person plural suffix pronoun in line 10 of the stela represents a seldom attested graphical variant, which is otherwise only known from two late Ramesside hieratic papyri.[1346]

6.5.3.3.3 Seldom Attested Ramesside Graphical Features

wrw  line 3

"the great"

The spelling of the word *wrw* "the great" reflects the honorable nature of its referents, the gods. A similar graphical solution is known from Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (B11).[1347]

bꜣ dmdm  line 10

"united *ba*"

Line 10 of the stela includes a rare graphical variant of the expression *bꜣ dmḏ* "united *ba*" referring to the unified *ba*

1342 The preposition features similar graphical variants in lines 107, 109, 110, 116, and perhaps also in line 115 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 57, 14; 58, 1; 58, 2; 58, 9; and 416, 13 [contra Helck, cited by Kitchen] respectively); once in the Abu Simbel version of Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 238, 3); and several times in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions (see, e.g., K*RI* V 17, 7; 23, 7; 32, 8; 45, 6; 61, 10; 62, 12; 70, 3).

1343 The preposition *ḥr* is written similarly (see E*NG* §613) in line 9 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*. See §3.4.3.3.2 with further parallels mentioned there, under n. 565.

1344 K*RI* I 46, 14.

1345 K*RI* II 328, 10; 331, 10; 331, 12; and 335, 15.

1346 pBM EA 10326, 3 (*LRL* 17, 7) and pLeiden I 369, 4 (*LRL* 1, 5).

1347 See the first entry under §2.4.3.3.3.

of Re and Osiris (§6.5.2.6).[1348] A harper's song in the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Djehutymes, TT 32, contains the only parallel known to date comparable to the present spelling ().[1349]

m-ḫt (prep.)
"behind"

 line 22

The plural strokes in the spelling of *m-ḫt* first appear in Ramesside times, but their use never becomes widespread, especially not in monumental texts.[1350]

r-ḏd
"that"

 left margin, column 2 (§6.4, n. iv)

The particle *r-ḏd*, introducing a direct quote in column 2 of the left margin, is written as *j.ḏd*. The use of the prothetic *yod* with *r-ḏd* is only rarely attested. The present example is not only the first one but also the only royal one known to date.[1351] Parallels have been noted from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, the Third Intermediate Period, and from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.[1352]

rḥwj
"two rivals"

 line 29

Line 29 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* provides the very first example of the word *rḥwj* "two rivals" written with a double  .[1353] The spelling becomes frequent in the Late Period and in Ptolemaic and Roman times.[1354]

ḥnwt
"mistress"

 line 30

Before the Ramesside era, the erect cobra is not documented as a classifier of the word *ḥnwt* "mistress."[1355] Although a few examples exist in non-monumental texts already

1348 The graphical form documented here (*dmdm*) probably reflects a sound change in or a morphological renewal of the word *dmḏ*.

1349 See column 23 of the harper's song in TT 32 (Kákosy & Fábián 1993: 181, fig. 3; Kákosy & Fábián 1995: 212–213, figs. 1–2; pls. 10–11).

1350 Cf. *DZA* 28.122.560–610. Non-monumental examples can be found, for instance, in *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* (*LES* 87, 2–3 and perhaps 86, 4) and in *The Teachings of Ani* (pBoulaq 4 = pCairo CG 58042, 16.16; 20.18; 20.20 [Quack 1994: 288–289 and 315]).

1351 For a possible explanation of this spelling in the given context, see §6.6.2.3.

1352 pBerlin 10494, 5 (*LRL* 23, 9); pBoulaq 4 = pCairo CG 58042, 23.17 (Quack 1994: 338); and pVatican 10574, 7 (Malinine 1946: 121; also referenced by Winand 1992: 161, n. 30).

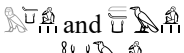
1353 Cf. *DZA* 26.002.250 and 270.

1354 Cf. *DZA* 26.002.250 and 280–300.

1355 Cf. *DZA* 26.889.900–910.

from the Nineteenth Dynasty,[1356] the present occurrence remains the only known monumental example to date.

ḥk3w
"magical power, magical spells"

 and lines 25 and 28
vs.  vs. line 6

In the king's invocation to Anhur and Geb, the first consonant of the word *ḥk3w* is written with sign F18 () instead of sign V28 (). This graphical solution is highly infrequent and is so far only known from two documents of the Twentieth Dynasty: from the present text and from a magical spell on a papyrus.[1357]

sp<u>ḥ</u>r
"to register, to copy"

 line 10 (§6.4, n. liii)

The abbreviated spelling of the verb *sp<u>ḥ</u>r* "to register, to copy" is an early forerunner of a spelling that only becomes widespread in the Greco-Roman era.[1358]

skm
"to complete"

 right margin, column 2 (§6.4, n. xv)

Sign G37 () does not appear in the spelling of the verb before the time of Ramesses IV and his predecessor.[1359] The few occurrences in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions represent the earliest royal examples of this new graphical variant.[1360]

sd
"to break, to crack"

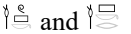
 line 16

Line 16 of the stela contains an infrequent Ramesside spelling of the verb *s<u>d</u>* "to break, to crack."[1361] Similar examples featuring sign F18 () have been noted in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions.[1362]

1356 See, e.g., oDeM 108, recto 6 (K*RI* I 409, 8) and line 3 of graffito M.1.5.M.19.1.1 in the mastaba of Ptahshepses in Abusir (Navrátilová 2015: 99–101).
1357 pChester Beatty VIII = pBM EA 10688, verso 4.11 and 5.9 (Gardiner 1935: II, pl. 45). Cf. also *DZA* 27.413.270–370.
1358 Cf. *DZA* 29.151.270–300.
1359 Cf. *DZA* 29.656.920.
1360 K*RI* V 61, 8 and 71, 3.
1361 Cf. *DZA* 29.872.250–290.
1362 K*RI* V 83, 2 and 92, 16.

6.5.3.3.4 Ramesside Spellings Influenced by Homonyms or Similar-Sounding Words

wḏ(ꜣ)
"pectoral"

 and lines 25 and 27 (§6.4, nn. cxvii and cxx)

Due to phonetic erosion, the word *wdꜣ* "pectoral" must have sounded the same as *wḏ* "stela" by the time of Ramesses IV. The seemingly unique spelling of *wdꜣ* "pectoral" on the *Great Abydos Stela* is probably a result of the confusion of these two similar-sounding words. *Wḏ* "stela" is commonly spelled as  in Ramesside times.[1363]

Bꜣ-nb-ḏdwj
"Banebdjed"

 line 17 (§6.4, n. lxxix)

The first example of the name of the deity Banebdjed or Banebdjedet (literally meaning, "the *ba* of the lord of Mendes"), in which the word for Mendes was substituted with that for Busiris, comes from the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1364] In royal texts, the Mendes-Busiris interchange in the name of the deity does not appear until the Twentieth Dynasty.[1365]

bšdw
"the rebellious"

 line 33

See above, under §6.5.3.3.1.

pꜣwt
"primeval times"

 line 24 (§6.4, n. cx)

The spelling of the word *pꜣwt* "primeval times" in the expression *jmw-pꜣwt=st* "those who are in their primeval times" creates a visual link to the word *pꜣwt* "bread, offering." The mutual assimilation of the two words is characteristic of the non-monumental record of the Ramesside era.[1366]

1363 See, e.g., pChester Beatty IV = pBM EA 10684, verso 2.7; 2.12; 3.1; 3.4; 7.5 (Gardiner 1935: II, pls. 18, 19, and 21). Cf. also *DZA* 22.704.120–140.

1364 Cf. *LGG* II 683b–685a.

1365 The Abu Simbel copy of Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage* features, for instance, (K*RI* II 237, 5). The *-t* ending is, nevertheless, missing from the Karnak copy of the text: (K*RI* II 237, 6). While Ramesses III's version of *Blessing of Ptah* writes the name with the Mendes-Busiris interchange (K*RI* II 263, 7:), probably both preserved copies of Ramesses II's version of the text contained the older spelling (Abu Simbel in K*RI* II 263, 5:  ; Karnak in K*RI* II 263, 6: ). See, furthermore, the examples of the divine name written as  in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (*LES* 38, 12; 38, 13; 38, 16; 39, 3; and 42, 1–2).

1366 Cf. *DZA* 23.115.450–480 and *DZA* 23.112.960–113.000.

mḥ
"to fill"

 right margin, column 2
vs.  vs. line 28

On the right margin of the stela, the verb features a spelling that bears witness to a graphical confusion between the 2-lit. *mḥ* "to fill" and the 3ae-inf. *mḥi* "to swim, to drown." The spelling has parallels in non-monumental texts.[1367]

ḥ3jjt
"worry"

 right margin, column 3

The spelling of the word *ḥ3t* "worry" suggests a graphical confusion with a morphologically—and conceivably also phonetically—similar word, *ḥ3jjt* "nakedness."[1368]

ḥsbwt
"garden-beds"

 line 19 (§6.4, n. xciii)

On the influence of *bwt* "abomination" on the spelling of the plural form of *ḥsp*/*ḥsb*(*t*) "garden-bed" at the end of the king's declaration of innocence, see the corresponding entry under §6.5.3.4.

ḫb3
"to diminish, to reduce" (*sic*)

 line 17 (§6.4, n. lxxxvi)

There are not more than two examples known to date of the verb *ḫb3* "to destroy" employed in the sense of *ḫbi* "to diminish, to reduce."[1369] Besides the one in line 17 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, a hymn to Thoth on a papyrus from the Third Intermediate Period contains another.[1370] Both examples are used in a statement about offering meals.

sm3
"to slay"

 line 16
vs.  vs. lines 20 and 21 (§6.4, nn. c and civ)

The spelling of the verb *sm3* "to slay" establishes a visual link to the—by Ramesside times probably—homophone *sm3ʿ* "to present" in lines 20 and 21 of the text. The spelling of *sm3ʿ* bears witness to the same connection between the two verbs in line 5 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*.[1371]

1367 See, e.g., oDeM 1067A, 3 and 7 (Posener 1938: pl. 37).
1368 Compare *DZA* 26.486.760 with *DZA* 26.487.640–660.
1369 Cf. *Wb. Belegst.* III 253.8; *DZA* 27.730.110.
1370 pBerlin 3056, verso 9.5 (Möller 1905: pl. 34; *DZA* 27.730.120; and Osing 1991: 270–271; pl. 37).
1371 See the corresponding entry under §3.4.3.3.4.

ḏt  left margin, column 2 (§6.4, n. viii)
"serf(s)" The spelling of the word must have been influenced by *ḥḏd* "youth."[1372]

6.5.3.4 Idiosyncratic Graphical Solutions

jtjj  line 1
"sovereign" The first line of the *Great Abydos Stela* contains the only example of the word *jtjj* "sovereign" known to date in which the determinative precedes one of the final *yod*s.[1373]

pḫr n line 20 (§6.4, n. ci)
"to serve" Although the spelling of *pḫr* was often reduced to a single sign () since the earliest times,[1374] the abbreviation with sign F49 () in line 20 of the stela seems to be unparalleled.

ptr (interjection)  line 31
"look, behold" Although the use of sign D6 () after *ptr* is a widespread phenomenon in the New Kingdom,[1375] no further examples are known to me with sign D139 (). Compare the spelling of *ḥsꜣ* "to be wild" in line 17 (see below).

nḏsw line 3 (§6.4, n. xxiv)
"the small" In the spelling of the word *nḏsw* "the small," the confusion of with is either a mistake or a creative graphical touch resulting from the intent to add a visual dimension to the message of the corresponding clause, namely, that the small and the great gods are equal in the king's eyes (§6.4, n. xxxi).

ḥsꜣ  line 17
"to be wild" The spelling of *ḥsꜣ* "to be wild" in line 17 of the text represents an allograph of a graphical variant that only became widespread in the Ramesside era.[1376] The verb is spelled similarly in the inscriptions of Ramesses II, for instance, although generally sign D6 () is favored over

1372 *Wb.* I 242.11–17.
1373 Cf. *DZA* 21.416.380.
1374 Cf. *DZA* 23.464.430–480.
1375 Cf. *Wb.* I 564.
1376 Cf. *DZA* 27.323.340 and 380.

sign D139 ().[1377] Compare the spelling of *ptr* "look, behold" in line 31 (see above).

ḥsbwt
"garden-beds"


line 19 (§6.4, n. xciii)

The spelling of the plural form of *ḥsp*/*ḥsb*(*t*) "garden-bed" establishes a visual link to one of the key words of the passage at the end of which it occurs (§6.3.3.3.2), namely, to the sins (*bwt* "abomination"), the king denies having committed. In Ramesside times, the plural ending of *ḥsp*/*ḥsb*(*t*) "garden-bed" must have sounded the same as—or very similar to—*bwt* "abomination."[1378] Hence, the unique spelling for *ḥsbwt* "garden-beds" precisely at this point: .

ḥqꜣ
"ruler"


vs.  and
line 13 (§6.4, n. lxiii)
vs. right margin, column 1 and line 36

The word *ḥqꜣ* "ruler" occurs three times on the stela apart from the king's *prenomen*. At its most prominent mention, in line 13, it is placed inside a cartouche (§6.6.1 and §6.6.2.3 below). Comparable graphical solutions—such as  , generally accompanied by  —are known only from non-monumental texts.[1379]

Ḥqꜣ-mꜣʿt-Rʿ Stp-n-Jmn
"Heqamaatre Setepenamun"

 [1380]
opening scene, royal name below the winged disk

The opening scene of the stela contains a creative graphical solution for the king's *prenomen*. The winged disc at the top of the scene has a double function: it also fulfils

1377 Similar examples are found in Ramesses II's Qadesh inscriptions (K*RI* II 9, 4 and 135, 15), in the hypostyle hall of his mortuary temple in Thebes (K*RI* II 173, 7), and on one of his obelisks (K*RI* II 408, 16).

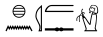
1378 In the non-monumental record of the Ramesside era, the word *ḥsp* "garden-bed" was often spelled as *ḥsb* or *ḥsbt* (see *DZA* 27.327.000–010). Compare, for instance, the examples in pAnastasi III 2.3 (*LEM* 21, 16) and in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (*LES* 52, 11).

1379 See pHarris I 75.7 (). For examples in the literary corpus, see, e.g., *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (*LES* 53, 6; 54, 16; 60, 4 and 6) and *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* (*LES* 85, 5). Compare the spelling of the word also in the monumental and non-monumental versions of the *Qadesh Poem* (K*RI* II 67, 6–9 vs. 10).

1380 Excerpt from the opening scene of the stela (Fig. 36; cf. Korostovtsev 1947: pl. 1).

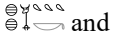
the role of the ⊙ sign in the king's name directly below.[1381]

ḫnms
"to befriend"

 line 18

The use of sign A47 () as a determinative for the verb *ḫnms* "to befriend" is unparalleled in the record.[1382] The unusual choice may, however, be explained by the immediate textual context. The verb *ḫnms* serves as predicate in a clause that evokes the apotropaic qualities of spittle:[1383] *ḫnms.n=j Ḏḥwtjmdr<f>w=f hrw pgs r qʿḥ=f* "I have befriended Thoth in/with his scripts (§6.4, n. lxxxvii) (on) the day of spitting at his shoulder." Sign A47, as a logogram for *sȝw* "protection," visually encapsulates and anticipates this aspect of the statement.

ḫḫ
"neck, throat"

 and  line 27 (2x)

vs. vs.

 lines 22, 25, 30

The word *ḫḫ* "neck, throat" occurs five times on the stela. Two of these five occurrences, the examples in line 27, carry three pieces of flesh as a determinative instead of the usual one or none, although the context requires a singular reading. This graphical solution is unparalleled in the record and represents a scribal idiosyncrasy.[1384] For a possible explanation of this spelling in the given context, see §6.6.2.3.

sȝbjjw
"dappled snakes"

 line 21

The stela provides a unique graphical solution for spelling the word *sȝbwt* "dappled snakes."[1385]

djt
"to give / giving"

 opening scene, caption describing the king's action (§6.4, n. i)

The spelling of the infinitival form of the 3ae-inf. *rdi* "to give" was apparently influenced by the similarly written

1381 The peculiarity of the spelling has already been noted by Kitchen (K*RI* VI 20, n. 12a) and Spieser (2000: 65; 330, no. 162). For comparable examples from the reigns of Ramesses II and Ramesses III, see Spieser (2000: 346, no. 223; 348, no. 225).

1382 Cf. *DZA* 27.872.490.

1383 On the use of spittle as remedy, see Ritner (1993: 78–82). The literature was suggested by Pascal Vernus (lecture, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France, April 14, 2016).

1384 Cf. *DZA* 28.085.920 and *DZA* 28.087.300.

1385 Cf. *DZA* 28.891.290. On the word itself, see Borghouts (1971: 199–209) and Wilson (1997: 790–791).

3-lit. *ḥnk* "to present" (see also §6.6.2.3).

6.5.3.5 Orthographic Anomalies and Imprecisions

6.5.3.5.1 Reverse Orientation of Signs or Groups of Signs

- opening scene, caption to Tefnut 

  The first two signs of the goddess's name have been interchanged. The confusion arises from the left-to-right orientation of the divine figures and their corresponding captions within the scene.

6.5.3.5.2 Metathesis of Signs

- opening scene, caption to the king 

  The *t* and the *r* are transposed in the phrase *t3 ḏsrt* "the land of the necropolis" (§6.4, n. ii).

- line 20 

  Metathesis of *r* and *š* in the word *dšrt* "desert" (§6.4, n. xcvii).

6.5.3.5.3 Superfluous Signs

- right margin, column 2

  The phrase *tm snd n=k* "the ones who do not fear you" contains a superfluous horizontal stroke after the word *tm* (§6.4, n. ix).

- line 31

  There is a superfluous *n* in the group  (§6.4, n. cxxvii).

6.5.3.5.4 Omission of Signs and Words

- line 5

  The *n* was forgotten from the spelling of the verb *rnpi* "to be(come) young, to rejuvenate" ().

- line 6

  In the expression *r3 n r3* "mouth to mouth," the stroke, sign Z1, is missing after the first *r*:  (§6.4, n. xxxix).

- line 11

  The adverbial expression *r ḏrwj nḥḥ* "to the bounds of eternity" is missing the preposition *r* in line 11 (§6.4, n. lviii).

- line 16

  At the head of the line, the space for sign D35 (𓂻) of the negative

particle *nn* () was left blank (§6.4, n. lxxviii).

- line 16

  The phrase *nn* (*n*)*ḥm.n=j*… "I never took…" is written with the haplography of the *n* ().

- line 18

  The phrase *drfw=f* "his scripts" () is written with the haplography of the *f* (§6.4, n. lxxxvii).

- line 19

  Line 19 probably contains an example of parablepsis. The words *jw rdj.n=j sꜣ=k Ḥr m ḥrj-nst=k* "I have placed your son, Horus, as your successor (*sic*)" stand instead of *jw rdj.n=j sꜣ=k Ḥr m ḥrj<-nst ḥr> nstj=k* "I have placed your son, Horus, as successor upon your double throne" unless the verb *rdi* "to give" was exchanged with *jri* "to make," in which case, *jw jr.n=j sꜣ=k Ḥr m ḥrj-nst=k* "I have made your son, Horus, as your successor" should be read (§6.4, n. xcvi).

- line 20

  The word *dšrt* "desert" is written with the omission of its final *-t*: (§6.4, n. xcvii).

- line 27

  The in stands for the final consonant of the noun *sḫmt* "power" as well as for the feminine second-person singular suffix pronoun *=t*: *sḫm*(*t*)*=t* "your power" (§6.4, n. cxviii).

6.5.3.5.5 Sign Confusions

- left margin, column 2

  The verb *sḏm* "to hear" in the phrase *sḏm=k* "you shall hear" is spelled with a hill sign (N29) instead of the expected ox's ear (F21): vs. .

- line 11

  The word *šftftw* () conceivably stands for *šfšfjjtj* "one greatly respected" (§6.4, n. liv).

- line 12

  The spelling of the phrase *ḏꜣḏꜣt ꜥꜣt* "great tribunal" may include a carving mistake (§6.4, n. lxviii), whereby the seated god determinative of the word *ḏꜣḏꜣt* "tribunal" may have been mistaken for a first-person suffix pronoun of the king: .

- line 13
  N-qꜣjj () stands for *n-gꜣjj* "through lack of" (§6.4, n. lxiv).

- line 15
  The clause *nn ḫsf=j ḥʿpj=j* () "I have not diverted my Nile-flood" contains a possible confusion between and (§6.4, n. lxxxii).

- line 18
  The classifier of the word *bwt* "abomination," usually sign K4 (), was mistakenly carved as an (§6.4, n. lxxxviii).

- line 21
  The word *tpw* "heads" is written as  instead of (§6.4, n. cii).

- line 23
  Signs and were confused in the group  (§6.4, n. cvii).

6.5.3.5.6 Inaccurately Carved Signs

- line 9
  Sign Aa16 () of the preposition *r-gs* "next to, beside" was fully incised into the stone.[1386] Since the entire surface defined by the sign was removed, the sign lacks its inner contours.

- line 17
  The shape of the first sign of the verb *sḫt* "to snare, to trap" is highly unconventional. The carving only remotely resembles the originally intended sign T26 ().[1387]

- line 17
  In the word *sti* "to shoot," the arrow of sign F29 () was only partially carved.[1388]

- lines 17 and 23
  The internal details that differentiate sign W3 () from sign V30 () were omitted from both examples of the word *ḥb* "feast."[1389]

- line 19
  Sign U30 () is imprecisely carved in the verb *wtꜣ* "to bandage" (§6.4,

1386 K*RI* VI 22, 15 contra Korostovtsev (1947: 157, n. 3).
1387 See also *DZA* 29.551.520; Korostovtsev (1947: 158, n. 3); and K*RI* VI 23, 12.
1388 See also Korostovtsev (1947: 158, n. 4) and K*RI* VI 23, 12.
1389 See also Korostovtsev (1947: 158, n. 5; 159, n. 1) and K*RI* VI 23, 12; 24, 7.

n. xciv): .[1390]

- lines 26 and 28

  The first sign of the word *ḫbw* "impurity" (), a compound of signs D58 () and F16 (), appears hastily carved in both of its occurrences.[1391]

6.5.3.5.7 Simplified 's and 's

- right margin, column 2

  The phrase *tm snd n=k* "the ones who do not fear you" was written with the verb *ssnd* "to frighten" instead of the verb *snd* "to fear." The causative *s* of *ssnd* appears as a simple horizontal stroke (§6.4, n. ix):  .

- line 3

  The *s* of the suffix pronoun *=st* is written with a simple horizontal stroke instead of an (§6.4, n. xxiii).

- lines 14 and 26

  The of the preposition *n* is reduced to a mere horizontal line once in both lines.

- line 31

  A simple horizontal stroke stands for the sign *n* in the second-person plural suffix pronoun *=tn* in the phrase *n kꜣw=tn* "for your *ka*s."

6.5.3.5.8 Lack of Gender Accord

- opening scene, caption to Nephthys

  The phrase *Nbt-ḥwt ḥr-jb ꜣbḏw mr* "Nephthys, residing in Abydos, beloved," employs the masculine equivalents of the expected *ḥrt-jb* and *mrt*.

- opening scene, caption to Tefnut

  The phrase *Tfnwt sꜣt Rᶜ mr* "Tefnut, daughter of Re, beloved" omits the feminine ending of the participle *mr*.

- line 3

  Jmj seems to stand immutably for *jm*(*w*)*t* in the phrase [ʔ*m gnwt*ʔ] *nt Ḏḥwtj jmj pr ᶜnḫ* "[ʔthe annalsʔ] of Thoth which are in the House of

1390 Contra Korostovtsev (1947: 158, n. 6) and K*RI* VI 24, 1, n. a.

1391 See also Korostovtsev (1947: 159, n. 2) and K*RI* VI 24, 11, n. a. See the signs in lines 26 and 28 on the photograph published by Korostovtsev (1947: pl. 2).

Life" (§6.4, nn. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii).

- line 12

  In the phrase *ḏ3ḏ3t=j* (/*ḏ3ḏ3t*) *ꜥ3t jmj-ḫt=k* "my (/the) great tribunal behind you," *jmt-ḫt=k* would have been expected (§6.4, n. lxviii).

- line 13

  Notwithstanding the interpretation of the relative expression in *jn.n=j m3ꜥt r t3 pn wnw nn sw* / *nn-sw* "I have brought (§6.4, n. lxxiv) *maat* to this land, which had been without it / which had been non-existent," it contains a grammatical gender mismatch (§6.4, n. lxxv).

- line 25

  In terms of grammatical gender, the demonstrative does not accord with its governing noun in the expression *ṯst pf* "that coil" (§6.4, nn. cxv and cxvi).

6.5.3.5.9 Ungrammatical Spelling of Verbal Forms

- line 3

  The infinitival form of *dgi*/*dg3* "to behold" includes three plural strokes (§6.4, n. xxiii):  .

- line 10

  The plural strokes at the end of the verb *spḫr* "to register, to copy" possibly belong to an ungrammatical spelling of the infinitival form (§6.4, n. liii):  .

- line 19

  Plural strokes were added before the *-n* infix of the *sḏm.n=f* form of the verb *sti* "to light" (§6.4, n. xcv):  .

- lines 24 and 25

  The group  is used for the infinitival and—potentially also—for a finite form of the caus. 3ae. inf. verb *sqdi* "to sail" (§6.4, nn. cxi and cxii).[1392]

- line 29

  The second-person singular suffix pronoun shows an ungrammatical dual ending in the verbal form *sqdd=k* (§6.4, n. cxxiii): .

1392 The infinitive of the same verb is spelled as  in line 12 of Seti I's *Nauri Decree*.

6.6 Discussion of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*

6.6.1 The Stela as a Composition

Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* is inscribed on the two sides (margins) and on the front (Fig. 36 and Fig. 37), which suggests that it was originally placed against a wall.[1393] While it is not fully clear why the text on the left margin was kept shorter than the one on the right (two vs. three columns), since the two sides of the stela are identical in size (cf. Fig. 37),[1394] the contents of the two texts provide a clue to the orientation of the monument. Both contain a royal address: the left one is dedicated to Re (§6.3.2.1) and the right one to Osiris (§6.3.2.2). Since Osiris is also the main addressee of the stela, the difference in the length of the inscriptions on the sides may be yet another strategy to give further prominence to this deity. The two texts are reminiscent of the New Kingdom funerary literature. Although both end in prayers, they are similar to the solar hymns found in Theban tombs and in the *Book of the Dead*.[1395] Accordingly, the two margins may be linked to the cardinal points associated with the sunrise (Re) and the sunset (Osiris).[1396] If the left margin was oriented towards the east and the right one towards the west, as their inscriptions may suggest, the stela must have faced north in its original environment. Consequently, the figure of the king in the scene was turned towards the west—the logically expected direction, considering that Ramesses is primarily facing Osiris, lord or—as labelled in line 36 of the main text—chief (*ḫntj*) of the west.

The opening scene (§6.3.1) encapsulates the message of the entire inscription. We see the figure of Ramesses IV offering the symbol of *maat* to Osiris and eleven other deities: a personalized divine tribunal,[1397] from which the king seeks the confirmation of his legitimacy and righteousness. The twelve deities (Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys, Min-Horus-Nakht, Iunmutef, Re-Harakhte, Anhur-Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Thoth, and Hathor),[1398]

1393 See also Tiradritti (1997: 194).

1394 The asymmetry in the length of the two texts was to a certain extent counterbalanced by the use of wider individual columns on the left side than on the right. Nonetheless, the inscribed surface of the left margin remains smaller than that of the right: the two columns of the left margin have a total width of 15.5 to 16 cm, while the three columns together measure 19 cm in width on the opposite side. The width of the individual columns varies between 7.5 and 8 cm on the left side, and between 6.5 and 7 cm on the right. I thank Charlotte Hunkeler and Mahmoud Ibrahim for providing these figures, measured in March 2019.

1395 Cf. Tiradritti (1997: 202).

1396 See also Claus (2007: 24, n. 14).

1397 Clearly referenced as such in line 12 of the inscription on the stela: *ḏ3ḏ3t=j ꜥ3t* "my (i.e., the king's) great tribunal" (§6.4, n. lxviii).

1398 Different scholars saw different reasons behind Ramesses IV's selection of gods. Christophe (1957: 36) divided them into three groups according to their place of worship (Abydene, Heliopolitan, and Hermopolitan gods); Barta (1973: 63) called them the "Ennead of Abydos;" Derchain (1980: 15–16) argued for their allegoric interpretation ("On a donc […] réuni des dieux qui signifient deux aspects du pouvoir : la légitimité familiale et la continuité administrative."); Tiradritti (1997: 195) saw them as gods worshipped in the area of Abydos and Thinis; and Claus

whose approval and grace the king strives for, are individually addressed also in the main text (§6.3.3.3.3). There are, however, some minor differences between the image and the text. Isis and Nephthys are the only deities among the twelve who are not addressed separately in the main inscription. There, they are treated as a pair (see lines 21–22), which explains why there are only eleven invocations in the text but twelve deities in the scene. Furthermore, Anhur-Shu of the scene is addressed simply as Anhur in line 25, and the goddess Tefnut of the scene is replaced by Sakhmet in line 26 of the main text.

The main text of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* consists of 36 lines. The stela's dateline together with the royal titulary (lines 1–2; §6.3.3.2) and the dedication formula of the last line (line 36; §6.3.3.4) form a natural frame to the king's address to Osiris and the gods (lines 2–35; §6.3.3.3).

The first major textual unit following the dateline and the royal titulary is a hymn-like address to Osiris spoken by the king (lines 2–12; §6.3.3.3.1). Interestingly, the name of the god is not explicitly mentioned in this part of the text.[1399] The identity of the king's addressee can, nevertheless, be deduced from the context, from Osiris's prominent placement in the scene (§6.3.1), and from the dedication formula at the end of the inscription (§6.3.3.4). The beginning of the section points out the intellectual superiority of the king by presenting him as a scholarly person who acquired the knowledge about the god through the act of learning (lines 2–3):[1400] *jw jp.n=j m jb=j…* [*ʾm gnwtʾ*] *nt Ḏḥwtj jmj pr ꜥnḫ* "I have considered in my mind (i.e., I have examined)… [ʾthe annalsʾ] (§6.4, nn. xxvi and xxvii) of Thoth which are (§6.4, n. xxviii) in the House of Life." Ramesses's erudition is similarly pointed out in the first column of the king's address to Osiris on the right margin of the stela: *gm.n=j ḥm=j* [*mḏ3t*] *nt mdww nṯr m dw3w nb ꜥ3jjw wrw jr.n n=k Ḥr* "I, my majesty (§6.4, n. x), have found the [book] (§6.4, n. xi) of divine words with all the great and mighty praises that Horus had given to you, …" The subsequent lines of the main text focus on the demonstration of Osiris's superiority over other deities, a fact that the king claims to have learned from the annals of Thoth after having studied all the great and small gods of the Egyptian pantheon. The main argument of the king's theological discourse is that all other divinities are in fact different forms of Osiris. The four examples Ramesses presents are built around four nominal sentences with the moon (*jꜥḥ*),[1401] the Nile-flood (*ḥꜥp(j)*),[1402] the king of the netherworld (*nsw dw3t*), and Re (*Rꜥ*) in the focus:[1403] *mk mntk pw jꜥḥ jmj ḫrj…* "Look, it is you who are the moon in

(2007: 28) arranged them into three groups according to their rather local, Theban, or national character.

1399 Cf. Tiradritti (1997: 197, n. 16).

1400 Cf. Claus (2006: 50–53; 56 and 58) as well as Hagen (2019: 255).

1401 On the lunar aspects of Osiris specified in the text, see Claus (2007: 29; 2017: 66–75).

1402 On Osiris's connection to Hapy, see Claus (2007: 29–30).

1403 On the Solar-Osirian unity, a growing religious trend in the post-Amarna period, and on the notion of the "united *ba*" (*b3 dmdm*) mentioned in line 10 of the text, see Claus (2007: 31–32) and Spalinger (2009: 100–102). On the association of Re and Osiris in the cryptographic compositions of

the sky, …" (line 5); *ḫr mntk ḥ*ᶜ*p(j) wr*… "Now, you are the great Nile-flood…" (line 7); *mntk r.wḏjj sw*… "You are the one who dispatches (§6.4, n. xlv) him (i.e., the dead; §6.4, n. xlvi), …" (line 8); and *mntk ḫjj m pt*… "You are the one who is high (up) in the heaven…" (line 11). Besides the undeniable cohesive function of the nominal sentences, the thematic continuity of the king's address to Osiris is further defined by two *sḏm.n=f* constructions formed with the same verb (§6.4, n. xli): *gm.n*[*=j ḥm=k*] *m psḏt tmmṯ* (§6.4, n. xxv)…. *gm.n=j ḥm=k m-rꜣ-*ᶜ *m nsw dwꜣt*… "[I] have found [your majesty] (§6.4, n. xxxii) among (§6.4, n. xxxiii) the entire Ennead, …. (and) I have also (§6.4, n. xli) found your majesty as the king of the netherworld…" (lines 3–8).

The king's address to Osiris abounds in cataphoric devices. The inscription has overall four topicalized expressions (§6.5.1) and three of them appear in this part of the text: *jr m nꜣ hrww j.ḏdw=w… wn* ᶜ*nḫ=tw* [*jm*] *m nṯrw*… "In those days that they (i.e., ?the annals;? §6.4, n. xxxv) mention (§6.4, n. xxxvi)… one used to live [then] (§6.4, n. xxxvii) among gods…" (lines 4–5); *jr pw pr=k… pꜣjj m sš bn rꜣ n rꜣ*… "As for that (i.e., the fact) that you shall come forth… this is in writing, not oral tradition (lit., mouth to mouth; §6.4, n. xxxix)…" (lines 6–7); and *jr j.ḏd=tn nb… mntw nꜣjj=j wdd n jmnjjt swḏ* "As for all that you say…, it (§6.4, n. lv) is my bequeathed (§6.4, n. lvi) command (§6.4, n. lvii) of daily offerings" (lines 10–11). The section also makes relatively frequent use of cataphoric pronominal references. Examples include those in lines 3, 8, 9, and—possibly also—10 (§6.4, nn. xxix, xlvi, xlix, and liii). The use of cataphoric devices is typical of spoken discourse because they help the activation of the concepts that they mark.[1404] Owing to the high relative density of these stylistic features, the king's address to Osiris was likely intended to convey the genuine impression of a spoken discourse. The originality of the ideas presented in the section and their freshness in wording have already been pointed out by Gardiner, who suggested that these features may prove the stela's royal authorship.[1405] Claus similarly argued for Ramesses IV's personal involvement in the redaction process.[1406] Even though the king was probably literate,[1407] since the validity of these assumptions cannot be verified, I do not wish to take a position in this regard.

In the next section of his address (lines 12–19; §6.3.3.3.2), Ramesses IV turns to Osiris and the divine tribunal, seeking the confirmation of his legitimacy (line 12): *mk wj* (*ḫr*) *njs sḫr=j m-bꜣḥ ḥm=k ḥn*ᶜ *ḏꜣḏꜣt=j* (/*ḏꜣḏꜣt*) ᶜ*ꜣt jmj-ḫt=k*… "Look, I am reciting (§6.4, n. lxvi) my conduct (§6.4, n. lxvii) in front of your majesty and my (/the; §6.4, n. lxviii) great tribunal behind you…" The key words of this unit—as well as those of the entire text—are found in the first part of line 13, that is, also visually well positioned at the

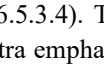
several New Kingdom royal tombs, see Darnell (2004). It is hardly a coincidence that the two margins are dedicated to Re and Osiris in the present composition (§6.3.2.1 and §6.3.2.2).

1404 Gernsbacher & Jescheniak (1995: 52).

1405 Gardiner (1938: 162 and 1961: 295).

1406 Claus (2007: 22–23, n. 7).

1407 Taterka (2017: 273) notes that "[t]he literacy of Ramesses IV is very probable considering the fact that he held various offices in the reign of his father, among which the position of the scribe of the king seems to be of particular importance."

head of the second third of the main text: *jnk ḥqꜣ* (§6.4, n. lxiii) *n bs nn ḥwrꜥ.n=j* "I am an enthroned (§6.4, n. lxxi) ruler, I never (§6.4, n. lxxii) usurped." Moreover, the word *ḥqꜣ* "ruler" is visually highlighted in the sentence: it is placed inside a cartouche (§6.5.3.4). The spelling  thus creates a link to the king's *prenomen*[1408] and lends extra emphasis to the phrase. After this introductory passage insisting on Ramesses IV's legitimate succession to his father's throne, further statements follow, recounting the king's benefactions (lines 13–15): *jn.n=j mꜣꜥt r tꜣ pn*… "I have brought (§6.4, n. lxxiv) *maat* to this land, …"

While the first part of the king's declaration of innocence predominantly employs affirmative sentences, the second part of the section is a negative confession starting in line 15: *tjwt bw ḫsf=j jt=j*… "Indeed (§6.4, n. lxxxi), I haven't opposed my father, …" The negative statements dominating this passage revolve around the theme of royal legitimacy and the correct behavior towards the gods.[1409] The first sixteen statements (lines 15–17) can be thematically arranged in eight pairs. Towards the end of the king's confession, close to the visual midpoint of the main text, the flow of negations is briefly interrupted by a positive sentence that resonates with the introduction to the king's benefactions in the previous paragraph (*jn.n=j mꜣꜥt r tꜣ pn*… "I have brought (§6.4, n. lxxiv) *maat* to this land, …"): *jw mꜣꜣ.n=j Mꜣꜥt r-gs Rꜥ*… "I have seen Maat next to Re, …" (lines 17–18). The emphasis on *maat*, which is similarly expressed by the central motif of the opening scene (§6.3.1), reflects the king's main objective with the erection of the stela: the confirmation of his legitimacy and righteousness. A ninth pair of negative statements closes the section (lines 18–19): *bw tkn=j s ḥr nst jt=f… nn šꜥd.n=j jt m ktt=st*… "I haven't approached (§6.4, n. lxxxix) a man on his father's seat, … I never cut grain when it (§6.4, n. xc) was small…" The two statements are longer and syntactically more complex than the majority of the previous eight pairs but align well with what was said before because they emphasize that the king did not seize power before the time had come for him.[1410]

Following the king's declaration of innocence, the next section of Ramesses IV's address to Osiris and the gods contains individual invocations to twelve deities (lines 19–30; §6.3.3.3.3). Ramesses speaks to all members of his tribunal separately, only Isis and Nephthys are treated together in a joint appeal (lines 21–22). In each case, the initial vocative is accompanied by a short narrative section recounting the rites performed by the king for the deity in question. The start of this third major textual unit of the king's address falls into line 19, namely, into the immediate vicinity of the optical midline of the main text. The section is thus naturally emphasized by its central placement. Moreover, a short blank space marks the beginning and the end of each individual

1408 The visual pun on Ramesses IV's *prenomen* was first pointed out by Revez (2010: 54).

1409 Cf. Tiradritti (1997: 198).

1410 The last statement does so with a double metaphor on premature harvest. On the metaphoric interpretation of the natural phenomena mentioned in Ramesses IV's negative confession, see Tiradritti (1997: 198–201) and Revez (2010: 54, n. 33).

invocation (see Fig. 49 below, under §6.6.3) unless the start of a new paragraph coincides with a line break (cf. line 21).[1411]

The final major textual unit of Ramesses IV's address to Osiris and the gods is a prayer (lines 31–35; §6.3.3.3.4) in which the king pleads for a great kingship, the gods' protection against all evil, and his heirs' inheritance of his office. These motifs confirm that the purpose of the king's confession was to be cleared from all suspicion regarding his father's death and to ensure a legitimate transmission of power to his own children.[1412] In accordance with the *do ut des* principle, the king's requests center around two statements claiming his worthiness of divine benefactions. While the first one concerns his actions towards the gods, the second is probably a direct allusion to the Harem Conspiracy and to its political aftermath: *ḫr mtjj sꜣ nfr=f n jt=f*… "Now, respectable is a son, when he is good to his father, …" (line 31) and *wʿf.n=j bšdw sʿqꜣw ḥr mtn=j* "I have curbed the rebellious who were set (§6.4, n. cxxxiv) on my path" (lines 32–33).

The main text of the stela ends with the dedication of the monument to Osiris (line 36; §6.3.3.4). The dedication formula comprises exactly one line and is immediately followed by the base (§6.3.4) showing Ramesses IV's cartouches being adored by two rows of lapwings (), that is, by "all the people" (Fig. 36). This type of decoration is characteristic of Ramesside royal stelae from Abydos.[1413] Derchain noted after Jean Yoyotte that the phrase *sꜣ ꜣst* "the son of Isis" in the middle of the last line was placed precisely over the two royal cartouches of the decoration of the base and thus formed a visual complement to the king's names.[1414] The feature is probably not a coincidence but a visual reflection of the key message of the stela, namely, that Ramesses IV is the son of Isis, Osiris's and his deceased father's true heir.

6.6.2 The Language of the Text

6.6.2.1 Grammar

6.6.2.1.1 The Main Text

Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* is a linguistically heterogeneous composition. Late and Earlier Egyptian grammatical features are present throughout the entire text, although their relative frequency strongly varies among the different textual units of the monument. The chart below (see Fig. 41) illustrates the absolute and relative frequency of Late and Earlier Egyptian grammatical features in the major textual units of the stela. The vertical axis on the left shows the total number of Late and Earlier Egyptian gram-

1411 This typographical solution is highly unusual in monumental inscriptions. For a possible explanation of its presence in the current text, see §6.6.3 below.

1412 Cf. Revez (2010: 57–58).

1413 Cf. Tiradritti (1997: 194, n. 5). The feature is similarly found at the base of Ramesses II's stela containing the Abydos version of his *Second Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 282, 11).

1414 Derchain (1980: 17).

matical characteristics (§6.5.1) in the different parts of the text, whereas the vertical axis on the right demonstrates their relative frequency in each unit.[1415]

The inscription accommodates two major strategies in organizing its typically new and its typically old morphosyntactic features. According to the main organizing principle, Earlier Egyptian and diachronically indistinct grammatical constructions prevail at the higher syntactic levels of the text, whereas Late Egyptian grammatical features are generally confined to the lower syntactic levels. Accordingly, predicates of a main clause and, particularly, those of an initial main clause, generally employ diachronically indistinct or characteristically old grammatical constructions, whereas the subordinate clauses of the text are more receptive to younger grammatical formulations (see also under §7.1.1.2.1).[1416] However, there may be exceptions to this rule. Occasionally, also more prominent syntactic positions may be occupied by typically Late Egyptian grammatical constructions. These situations generally result in a contrast with the linguistic selections of the immediate environment of the given section. This contrast will either relegate the section to the background or will put additional emphasis on it depending on the compositional logic of the text and the nature of the information conveyed by the affected passage (see under §7.1.1.2.2). In other words, while at lower syntactic levels, Late Egyptian morphosyntactic features are generally associated with background information, in higher-order syntactic positions, they either foreground a key message or are used to express supplementary information—mostly, comments and parenthetic statements.

1415 When calculating the total number of lines per unit, the scene and the margins were given an approximate value for the sake of comparability with the lines of the main text. While all captions of the scene would roughly fit into two lines of the main text, a column of a margin contains ca. 1.75 times more text than a main line. Accordingly, the two columns of the left margin would correspond to 3.5 lines (2 x 1.75) and the three columns of the right margin to 5.25 lines (3 x 1.75). The blank spaces marking the beginning and the end of the king's invocations to the gods (see Fig. 49 below) were not deducted from the number of lines of the corresponding unit. Hence, the number of lines assigned to the different parts of the main text is as follows: 1.5 lines for the dateline and titulary, 10 for the king's address to Osiris, 6.75 for his declaration of innocence, 11.75 for the king's invocations to the members of his tribunal, 5 for the final prayer, and 1 for the dedication formula. In total, 36.

1416 As has been already mentioned above (§3.5.3 with n. 650), this observation implies a greater grammatical awareness and a more refined analytical approach to language among the composers of ancient Egyptian texts than has previously been assumed. See Uljas (2013: 4) with further references.

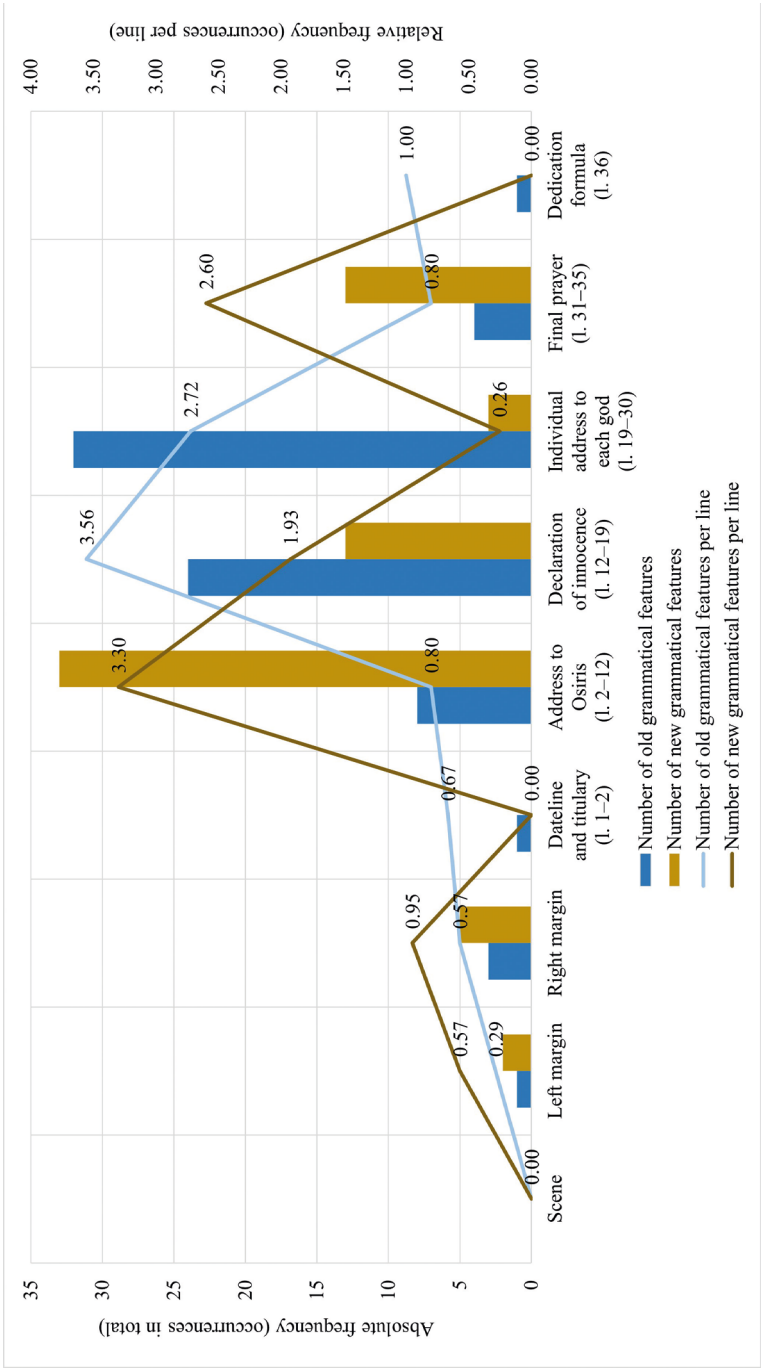


Fig. 41: Absolute and relative frequency of old and new grammatical features (details under §6.5.1) in the major textual units of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*.

The stela's dedication formula (line 36; §6.3.3.4) and its dateline and titulary (lines 1–2; §6.3.3.2), framing the king's address to Osiris and the gods (lines 2–35; §6.3.3.3), are rather formulaic in their language use. By contrast, Ramesses IV's introductory address to Osiris (lines 2–12; §6.3.3.3.1) is in both absolute and relative terms the richest in Late Egyptian grammatical characteristics among all textual units of the inscription (see Fig. 41 above). However, as far as its major structural points are concerned, the innovative linguistic features are introduced gradually in the section. This part of the text opens with a *jw sḏm.n=f* construction emphasizing the king's erudition in line 2 (*jw jp.n=j m jb=j*… "I have considered in my mind (i.e., I have examined), …"). As mentioned earlier (§6.6.1), the central theological argument of the address, namely, that the members of the Ennead are different manifestations of Osiris, is primarily built around four nominal sentences. Linguistically, the four sentences represent a gradual move from more traditional grammatical, lexical, and graphical solutions towards relatively younger ones. The departure point is a tripartite nominal construction in line 5: *mk mntk pw jʿḥ jmj ḫrj*… "Look, it is you who are the moon in the sky, …" While tripartite nominal sentences are not unusual in the texts of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, they are already unexpected at the time of Ramesses IV.[1417] The use of the lexeme *pw* together with a Late Egyptian independent personal pronoun defines the construction as an Earlier and Late Egyptian hybrid.[1418] The other three nominal sentences are all Late Egyptian bipartite constructions. The second one (line 7), which identifies Osiris with Hapy, substitutes the Earlier Egyptian particle *mk* of the first sentence (line 5) with the more recent structural marker *ḫr*[1419] and omits the *pw*: *ḫr mntk ḥʿp(j) wr*… "Now, you are the great Nile-flood…" The third one (line 8) includes a Late Egyptian participle with a prothetic *yod* spelled as an  , a graphical solution generally uncommon in monumental inscriptions (§6.5.3.3.2): *mntk r.wḏjj sw*… "You are the one who dispatches (§6.4, n. xlv) him (i.e., the dead; §6.4, n. xlvi), …" The last phrase (line 11), in contrast, employs a Ramesside lexical item (*ḫjj* "to be high/exalted") infrequently used in monumental texts (§6.5.2.6): *mntk ḫjj m pt*… "You are the one who is high (up) in the heaven…" Complementing the four nominal sentences, the central message of the section is summarized by two *sḏm.n=f* constructions echoing each other at two different points of the text (§6.4, n. xli): *gm.n*[*=j ḥm=k*] *m psḏt tmmṯ* (§6.4, n. xxv)…. *gm.n=j ḥm=k m-rꜣ-ʿ m nsw dwꜣt*… "[I] have found [your majesty] (§6.4, n. xxxii) among (§6.4, n. xxxiii) the entire Ennead, …. (and) I have also (§6.4, n. xli) found your majesty as the king of the netherworld…" (lines 3–8).

Besides the major syntactic elements that serve to demonstrate the king's knowledge about the god—the introductory *jw sḏm.n=f* construction (line 2), the two *sḏm.n=f* forms with *gmi* (lines 3–4 and 7–8), and the four nominal sentences (lines 5, 7, 8, and 11)—the section contains also three parenthetical statements (lines 4–5, 6–7, and 10–11) that form

1417 Cf. Loprieno, Müller & Uljas (2017: 305; 414–417).

1418 Loprieno, Müller & Uljas (2017: 305) classify the example as "an attempt to emulate a more elevated language."

1419 See n. 1178 above.

a commentary to the main content of the passage. All three statements are introduced by a topicalized expression—an adverbial phrase (line 4) or the subject (lines 6 and 10)—in left dislocation: *jr m n3 hrww j.ḏdw=w… wn ⸢nḫ=tw* [*jm*] *m nṯrw…* "In those days that they (i.e., ?the annals;? §6.4, n. xxxv) mention (§6.4, n. xxxvi)… one used to live [then] (§6.4, n. xxxvii) among gods…" (lines 4–5); *jr pw pr=k… p3jj m sš bn r3 n r3…* "As for that (i.e., the fact) that you shall come forth… this is in writing, not oral tradition (lit., mouth to mouth; §6.4, n. xxxix)…" (lines 6–7); and *jr j.ḏd=tn nb… mntw n3jj=j wdd n jmnjjt swḏ* "As for all that you say…, it (§6.4, n. lv) is my bequeathed (§6.4, n. lvi) command (§6.4, n. lvii) of daily offerings" (lines 10–11). These explanatory remarks are compositionally subordinate and are thereby more receptive to Late Egyptian grammatical contents than the rest of the text. They in fact represent the grammatically most innovative parts of the entire inscription.

The first sentence (lines 4–5), which comments on the age of Thoth's annals, contains a Late Egyptian definite article, a Late Egyptian relative form with the new third-person plural suffix pronoun, a First Present construction with a new subject pronoun, a Late Egyptian "not yet" form in a circumstantial clause headed by *jw*, and—as a main clause—a *sḏm=f* form introduced by a preterite converter (§6.5.1).

The second remark (lines 6–7), which insists on the written nature of the sources regarding Osiris's lunar aspect, is the longest and syntactically the most complex. The subject of the first two clauses at the head of line 7 (*p3jj m sš bn r3 n r3* "this is in writing, not oral tradition (lit., mouth to mouth; §6.4, n. xxxix)"), that is, the antecedent of the Late Egyptian demonstrative pronoun *p3jj* "this," is extraposed to the head of line 6 in the form of an Earlier Egyptian demonstrative (*pw* "that") further specified by a subjunctive *sḏm=f* (*pr=k* "you shall come forth"), which itself governs several interlinked subordinations. In other words, the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun (*p3jj*) points back to a cataphoric *pw*, whose referent is revealed by a chain of subordinate clauses. The construction is in all likelihood idiosyncratic. The topicalization of a subject with a demonstrative pronoun followed by a subjunctive *sḏm=f* seems to have no parallels in the record. The formulation *jr pw pr=k…* "as for that (i.e., the fact) that you shall come forth…" may have resulted from the analytic decomposition—a sort of backward translation—of the phrase *jr p3jj=k pr*(*t*)… "as for your coming forth…"[1420] in order to avoid using a Late Egyptian possessive article. However, the high relative density of Late Egyptian grammatical characteristics in the passage and the presence of another Late Egyptian possessive article within the same sentence (see *n3jj=w ḫftw* "their enemies" in line 6) weigh against this interpretation because they would render a paraphrase aiming at the avoidance of *p3jj=k* arbitrary and therefore improbable. The formulation likely did not result from an archaizing intent. The sentence has another unusual grammatical feature: two examples of a conjunctive that do not stand in continuation of any explicit verbal form.[1421] In the examples here concerned, the morpheme *mtw* seems to function as a simple "and:" *r dr=k snkt wrḥ.tw wnḫ.tw* (*j*)*n* (§6.4, n. xxxviii) *psḏt* ***mtw*** *ḥk3w*

1420 This analysis builds on a discussion I had with Andréas Stauder on October 27, 2017.
1421 Cf. n. 687 above.

ḫpr.w… "so that you may drive away the darkness (after) you had been anointed and clothed by the Ennead, **and** magical spells had come into being…" (line 6) and *pȝjj m sš bn rȝ n rȝ* ***mtw*** *ʿnḫw jp*… "this is in writing, not oral tradition (lit., mouth to mouth; §6.4, n. xxxix); **and** the living (do the) count(ing)…" (line 7). This functional shift is most apparent in the first instance, where, after the conjunctive prefix, the subject of the clause is followed by a verbal form with a pseudoparticipial ending (vs. *mtw=f sḏm*).

The third sentence (lines 10–11), which emphasizes Ramesses IV's eagerness to execute the decrees of Osiris-Re, is as open to relatively new grammatical solutions as the preceding two parenthetic statements. It contains a Late Egyptian relative form, a *jw*-headed circumstantial clause, a Late Egyptian nominal sentence, and a Late Egyptian possessive article (§6.5.1).

To summarize, the opening section of the king's address to Osiris and the gods employs Late Egyptian grammar for three clearly parenthetic statements that classify as background information but uses Earlier Egyptian grammar (a *jw sḏm.n=f* and two *sḏm.n=f* constructions) or introduces Late Egyptian characteristics only gradually (four nominal sentences) when conveying the central message of the unit. There is only one exception to this rule, a Negative Aorist, a Late Egyptian *bw sḏm=f* construction in a main clause, in line 3, which—due to its prominent syntactic position—receives extra emphasis: *bw wȝḥ=j jm=w r-ḏrw r tm dgȝ=st* (§6.4, n. xxiii)… "I could not leave any (lit., all) of them (§6.4, n. xxix) disregarded (§6.4, n. xxx)…" The sentence concerns the basis of the king's theological argument, the all-inclusiveness of his survey regarding the gods. The additional stress resulting from the linguistic selections of the passage is therefore not unexpected.

In Ramesses IV's declaration of innocence (lines 12–19; §6.3.3.3.2), the use of Late Egyptian grammatical elements in higher-order syntactic positions systematically coincide with foregrounded information and functions to underscore the intended message. In the first instance, in line 13, a Late Egyptian First Present construction is employed in a main clause immediately followed by a *ḏr + preterite sḏm=f* construction:[1422] *tw=j m st wtt=j mj sȝ ȝst ḏr ʿḥ=j m nsw ḥr st nt Ḥr* "I have been at the place of my begetter (§6.4, n. lxxiii) like the son of Isis since I arose as king upon the throne of Horus." The sentence is placed directly after the visually accentuated statement (§6.6.1) concerning Ramesses IV's legitimate succession to his father's throne, and together they form the central message of the inscription: *jnk ḥqȝ* (§6.4, n. lxiii) *n bs nn ḥwrʿ.n=j* "I am an enthroned (§6.4, n. lxxi) ruler, I never (§6.4, n. lxxii) usurped." The two further examples where Late Egyptian features are used at higher syntactic levels and in structurally prominent positions in this section belong to the king's negative confession: the chain of negations opens with a pair of *bw sḏm=f*'s for the Negative Accomplished in line 15 (*tjwt bw ḫsf=j jt=j bw šnʿ=j mwt=j*… "Indeed (§6.4, n. lxxxi), I haven't opposed my father, I haven't repelled my mother, …") and, after a short interruption by a grammatically

1422 See n. 1182 above. The sentence is likely to contain the sole example of a Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f* on the entire stela. On the other example in line 22, which may be a result of a scribal mistake, see §6.4, n. cvi above.

conservative affirmative sentence in lines 17–18, the flow of negations is resumed by another *bw sḏm=f* (*bw tkn=j s ḥr nst jt=f*… "I haven't approached (§6.4, n. lxxxix) a man on his father's seat, …"). Because of their twofold prominent placement, the paragraph-initial *bw sḏm=f* forms direct attention to the entire passage and thereby help to highlight the king's innocence.

Ramesses IV's negative confession is organized into nine—taking into account the brief interruption towards its end (*jw mȝȝ.n=j Mȝʿt r-gs Rʿ*… "I have seen Maat next to Re, …")—that is, 8 + 1 couplets in lines 15–19 of the text. The passage essentially contains only two negative verbal forms: examples of the Negative Aorist and those of the Negative Accomplished (§6.5.1). Although the Negative Aorist has another, later variant elsewhere in the text (*bw sḏm=f* in lines 3 and 31), it is represented only in one of its Earlier Egyptian forms, as a *nn sḏm.n=f*, in the king's declaration of innocence: six times in the negative confession itself (between lines 15 and 19) and once more in the immediately preceding, positive part of the section (in line 13).[1423] The latter, the only example of *nn sḏm.n=f* outside the king's negative confession on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* suffices to disprove Claus's interpretation of the different negative verbal forms of the present monument and the smaller Abydos stela.[1424] According to Claus's understanding, namely, the *nn sḏm.n=f* construction of the present text should be understood as a negative prospective.[1425] The context excludes this option for the example in line 13, and by analogy, also for the rest of the text:

jnk ḥqȝ (§6.4, n. lxiii) *n bs*
nn ḥwrʿ.n=j
tw=j m st wtt=j mj sȝ ȝst
ḏr ʿḥʿ=j m nsw ḥr st nt Ḥr

I am an enthroned (§6.4, n. lxxi) ruler,
I never usurped (vs. *I will not usurp).
I have been at the place of my begetter (§6.4, n. lxxiii) like the son of Isis
since I arose as king upon the throne of Horus.

The Negative Accomplished has three variants on the stela, all in the king's negative confession: the Late Egyptian *bw sḏm=f*, the Earlier Egyptian *n sḏm=f*, and *nn sḏm=f*, a subtype of the latter.[1426] In other words, *n*, *nn*, and *bw* are merely different written forms of the negative particle on the stela. While *bw* represents a Late Egyptian spelling and *n* the classical Earlier Egyptian rendering, *nn* corresponds to a graphically embellished

1423 On the English translation of the *nn sḏm.n=f* construction, see also §6.4, n. lxxii above.
1424 Claus (2005: 68–73).
1425 Cf. Claus (2005: 70). Claus (2007: 39; 43, n. SS) refrained from applying the results of his analysis when translating the passage two years later.
1426 On the English translation of the different variants of the Negative Accomplished in the present text, see also §6.4, n. lxxii above.

variant of the latter and is used once, in line 17, simultaneously with *n*.[1427] *Nn sḏm.n=f* is thus an Earlier Egyptian Negative Aorist with a calligraphic spelling () of the negative morpheme *n*. Similarly, *nn sḏm=f* virtually corresponds to the Earlier Egyptian Negative Accomplished *n sḏm=f*, whereas *bw sḏm=f* represents a Late Egyptian variant of the same negative construction. Accordingly, the text combines different written realizations of no more than two negative constructions (NA = Negative Aorist [always with *nn*]; NAcc. = Negative Accomplished [with *n*, *nn*, or *bw*]), which are arranged into nine pairs of negative statements as follows (see lines 15–19):

1)	NAcc. with *bw*
	NAcc. with *bw*
2)	NAcc. with *nn*
	NA
3)	NA (§6.4, n. lxxviii)
	NAcc. with *nn*
4)	NAcc. with *nn*
	NAcc. with *nn*
5)	NA
	NAcc. with *nn*
6)	NA
	NA
7)	NAcc. with *n*
	NAcc. with *nn*
8)	NAcc. with *nn*
	NAcc. with *nn*
9)	NAcc. with *bw*
	NA

Table 3: Distribution of the Negative Aorist and the Negative Accomplished in the negative confession of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (lines 15–19). The horizontal lines mark the beginning of the two relevant paragraphs.

The Negative Accomplished written as *nn sḏm=f* and the Negative Aorist represented as *nn sḏm.n=f* are the two major negative forms in the king's negative confession (see Table 3 above). The two alloforms of the Negative Accomplished are only sparsely present on the stela. The *n sḏm=f* occurs only once, as the first constituent of the seventh couplet in line 17 (*n stj=j r mȝj ḥsȝ m {nb}<ḫb> n Bȝstt*… "I have not shot at a wild lion on the feast of Bastet…"), while the *bw sḏm=f* is used only in paragraph-initial positions, as discussed above, either in pair, as in the first couplet in line 15, or alone, as in the last couplet in line 18. The use of morphologically different but functionally identical

1427 The possibility to analyze *nn* as a mere calligraphic variant of *n* has already been evoked by other scholars, by Gardiner (*GEG* §418A), Korostovtsev (1947: 170–171, n. 47), Kruchten (1994: 133, n. 6), Claus (2005: 68), and Polis (2008–2009: 254, n. 756), for instance.

negative constructions qualifies as an example of linguistic dissimilation, or—in this specific case—rather, linguistic inclusiveness (cf. §1.2.3). The different negative forms evoke the negation of all possible evil deeds, not only those listed in lines 15–19. At the structural level, the symbolic use of the all-inclusive number nine, the plural of plurals, points into the same direction as the linguistic dissimilation of the negative verbal forms: it underscores Ramesses IV's righteousness and innocence.

Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* provides a compositionally, grammatically, and phraseologically (§6.6.2.2) comparable parallel to the negative confession of the *Great Abydos Stela*. The negative confession of the smaller Abydos stela (lines 8–13) equally consists of a linguistically heterogeneous chain of 18 negative statements:[1428]

bwpw=j qꜣ ḫrw [*m*] *st sgꜣ m ꜣbḏw*
[*ʾbwʾ*] [… *ca. 4 groups lost* …]
[*bw wn*]*f=j*
bw sbjꜣt=j r-gs[*=k*] 9|*sprt nbt m njwt=k*
bw šʿd=j jt
m kt=sn
mꜣtt [*tp ḥ*]*spwt*
bw wnmw=j [… … …]*=k*
[*bw w*]*šʿ=j jr*[…] *m* 10|*6 nt<jj>* ʿ(*ꜣ*)*b*

I did not raise (my) voice [in] the place of silence in Abydos,
[… ca. 4 groups lost…];
I [haven't made] fun,
nor have I laughed at [your] side 9|(at) any petition in your city;
I haven't cut grain
when it was small
(nor) celery [atop g]arden-beds;[1429]
I haven't eaten your [… … …],
[nor have I con]sumed […] from the 10|6 that were offered.

nn knjw=j nṯrw m grg
nn s[*ḏf*]*ꜣ=j trjj* […]*m*
[*ʾnnʾ*] [… *ca. 10 groups lost* …] 11|*nṯrt m hrw=sn ḫr=w*

I have not slandered the gods with falsehood,
I have not s[wo]rn an oath […];
[… ca. 10 groups lost …] 11|goddess on their day before them.

bw fjṯ=j spw nṯrw
[*bw*] […]*t=j ʾḥmw nṯrwʾ n* […]

1428 K*RI* VI 18, 7–15.

1429 The close phraseological similarity of this passage with lines 18–19 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* is demonstrated below, under §6.6.2.2.

[ʔ*bw*ʔ] […ca. 10 groups lost …] [12]|*r ḫ̲ḏ* […]

bw ḫfḫ=j ꜣḫ̲w{r}<t> n kꜣwjj
nn […]*=j fkꜣw*[1430] *n-ḥ̲ꜣw*
bw […] [13]|*jt=f*
nn tkn=j sw m jꜣwt=f
bw mhjj jb=j hrw [*psḏ*]*n*[*tjw*] *sḥtp jḫḥ*
ḏr psd.t=f

I haven't despised the deeds of the gods,
[nor have] I […] ʔthe divine majestiesʔ of […];
[… ca. 10 groups lost …] [12]|falsely […],
(and) I haven't craved[1431] the belongings of others.
I have not […] rewards in excess,
[I] haven't […] [13]|his father,
I have not approached him in his office.
My mind wasn't forgetful (about)[1432] the day of the festival [of the new moon] (and neither about) pleasing the moon
before it started to shine.[1433]

Although Ramesses IV's younger Abydos monument (§6.2) is less well preserved than the *Great Abydos Stela*, the structure of its negative confession is easily reconstructable. As in the case of the larger stela, the paragraph starts with the most salient negative verbal form, a *bwpw=f sḏm*, that is, a Late Egyptian negative preterite in line 8: *bwpw=j qꜣ ḥ̲rw* [*m*] *st sgꜣ m ꜣbḏw*… "I did not raise (my) voice in the place of silence in Abydos, …" The rest of the text builds on two variants of the Negative Accomplished: *nn sḏm=f* and *bw sḏm=f*. The two forms only differ in the spelling of their negative particle. While *bw* is the Late Egyptian counterpart of *n*, *nn* represents a reinforced written form of the latter—not only on the *Great Abydos Stela* but also on the younger monument.[1434] As opposed to the nine couplets of the older stela, the negative statements are arranged into four smaller groups according to their language use on the *Year 4 Abydos Stela*. The paragraph-initial *bwpw=f sḏm* is followed by a chain of six *bw sḏm=f*'s. These precede a group of three *nn sḏm=f*'s and another of three *bw sḏm=f*'s. The section closes with a group of five alternating *bw* and *nn sḏm=f*'s:

1430 Exceptionally for *fqꜣw* "rewards, gifts," as suggested by *DZA* 23.584.940?
1431 Cf. *Wb.* I 182.12.
1432 The expression *mhi* "to be forgetful" was either used transitively, as suggested by *DZA* 24.247.360, or the preposition *ḥr* was omitted from the text (see *Wb.* II 113.9–10).
1433 Translation contra Claus's (2017: 60 with n. 17). On the inchoative semantic nuance associated with the *sḏm.t=f*, see Winand (2006: 255–259; 259, ex. 360).
1434 See also Polis (2008–2009: 254, n. 756).

bwpw=f sḏm
bw sḏm=f *bw sḏm=f* *bw sḏm=f* *bw sḏm=f* *bw sḏm=f* *bw sḏm=f*
nn sḏm=f *nn sḏm=f* *nn sḏm=f*
bw sḏm=f *bw sḏm=f* *bw sḏm=f*
bw sḏm=f *nn sḏm=f* *bw sḏm=f* *nn sḏm=f* *bw sḏm=f*

Table 4: Distribution of the Late Egyptian negative preterite and the two variants of the Negative Accomplished in the negative confession of Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* (lines 8–13).

Although—relatively speaking—Ramesses IV's declaration of innocence (lines 12–19; §6.3.3.3.2) features the highest density of Earlier Egyptian grammatical features on the *Great Abydos Stela* (see Fig. 41 above), the king's invocations to the members of his tribunal (lines 19–30; §6.3.3.3.3) form the grammatically most conservative part of his speech to Osiris and the gods. While in the previous section, the prevalence of Earlier Egyptian grammar is counterbalanced by a comparably large number of Late Egyptian grammatical features, Ramesses IV's invocations to the gods contain only very few of these—all in relatively lower syntactic positions. The king's statements describe rites he had performed for the gods. Befitting the narrative nature of the discourse, the initial vocative is in each case succeeded by one to four Earlier Egyptian *jw sḏm.n=f* constructions[1435] (§6.5.1). There is, however, one isolated example where the *sḏm.n=f* of the *jw sḏm.n=f* construction was replaced by a Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f* (line 22: *jw sʿḥ=j*… "I wrapped…"). Due to the clear predominance of *jw sḏm.n=f* forms (23 examples between lines 19 and 30), it is, nevertheless, unclear whether this dissimilarity is the result of a conscious variation or a scribal mistake (§6.4, n. cvi and §6.6.2.2). In this part of the text, even the subordinate syntactic levels are generally occupied by diachronical-

1435 See n. 617 above.

ly neutral or older grammatical constructions, such as adjectival and adverbial phrases (see exx. in lines 26, 27, and 30) or the older *sḏm.n=f* form (see exx. in lines 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, and 29).

Ramesses's prayer to Osiris and the gods (lines 31–35; §6.3.3.3.4) at the end of his speech is, by contrast, one of the grammatically most innovative textual units on the entire *Great Abydos Stela* next to the introductory address to Osiris (see Fig. 41 above). As mentioned above (§6.6.1), the prayer is built around two statements proving the king's worthiness of divine benefactions by claiming that he had fulfilled his religious and political duties. Grammatically, these two sentences are conventionally formulated. The first one, although it is introduced by the particle *ḫr*,[1436] is governed by a diachronically indistinct adjectival phrase: *ḫr mtjj sꜣ…* "Now, respectable is a son…" (line 31). The second one employs an Earlier Egyptian *sḏm.n=f* form as predicate: *wʿf.n=j bšdw…* "I have curbed the rebellious…" (lines 32–33). Besides, a Late Egyptian *bw sḏm=f* construction appears juxtaposed to the first sentence introducing the king's first set of requests (*ḫr mtjj sꜣ…* "Now, respectable is a son…"): *ḫr ptr bw wꜣḥ=j nfr n-ḥꜣ ḏrt=j r tm jr=w n kꜣw=tn m jb mr* "For, look, I could not leave the good behind my hand undone for your *ka*s with loving heart (§6.4, n. cxxviii)." As the predicate of a main clause, the Negative Aorist receives additional emphasis owing to its syntactic position, as is the case with its parallel in line 3: *bw wꜣḥ=j jm=w r-ḏrw r tm dgꜣ=st* (§6.4, n. xxiii)… "I could not leave any (lit., all) of them (§6.4, n. xxix) disregarded (§6.4, n. xxx)…" Both sentences emphasize the exhaustiveness of an action: the one in line 3 refers to the king's study of the gods, and the one in line 31 concerns his provision of benefactions to them. While the first statement forms the basis of the king's argument concerning Osiris's superiority among Egypt's gods and goddesses, the importance of the second statement lies in making a point regarding the king's worthiness of divine grace.

The rest of the text constitutes the actual prayer. The king's pleas are arranged in two paragraphs following the statements about the fulfillment of his religious and political duties. Both sections were composed primarily in Late Egyptian grammar—not only at the lower but also at the higher syntactic levels.

The passage in which the king asks for the gods' blessings for his reign is a multiclausal Late Egyptian bipartite nominal sentence with the ellipsis of the subject element and a topicalized noun phrase: *jr fꜣjjt n šꜣw=j… nsjjt ʿꜣt ḫr-tp tꜣ tꜣ m ḥtpw…* "As for the weight (i.e., reward; §6.4, n. cxxx) of my worth…, (it) shall be (§6.4, n. cxxxi) great kingship upon earth; land at peace; …" (lines 31–32).

The second part of the prayer is an appeal for divine assurance for the prevention of another Harem Conspiracy (lines 33–35). The predicates in the main clauses are all imperatives. Although only the last one is written with a prothetic *yod*, six of the other seven clauses are governed by the irregular *rdi* "to give," the imperative of which is spelled according to Ramesside orthographic traditions (see *jmm* "give!" under §6.5.3.3.1). The lower-order syntactic positions of this section are similarly often filled with Late Egyptian features. Besides two Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pro-

1436 See n. 1179 above.

nouns and two First Present constructions, lines 33–35 also contain an example of the preposition *mj* used as a clause connector as well as a Late Egyptian nominal phrase formed with the Late Egyptian independent pronoun *mtn* (§6.4, n. cxxxiii) and a Late Egyptian participle (§6.5.1). The last sentence of Ramesses's prayer, which also functions as closing words for his entire address to Osiris and the gods, is the one with the Late Egyptian imperative formed with the prothetic *yod*: *j.ṯs j³wt=j wrt n jwʿw=j*… "Allot (§6.4, n. cxl) my great office to my heirs, …!" The emphasis deriving from the prominent placement and the language use of the sentence is well justified by its content.

6.6.2.1.2 The Margins

The margins of the stela (§6.3.2.1 and §6.3.2.2) are consistent in limiting Late Egyptian grammatical features to the lower-order syntactic levels of the text. The two unmistakably recent grammatical features of the left margin (address to Re) are a Late Egyptian relative form and a Late Egyptian emphatic *j.jr=f sḏm* construction in a subordinate clause, both in column 2 (§6.5.1). The right margin (address to Osiris) contains two *jw*'s as circumstantial converters, a Late Egyptian definite article preceding a noun in a vocative, a Late Egyptian relative form, and the preposition *mj* as a clause connector. Except for the first *jw* in column 1, all other Late Egyptian grammatical characteristics occur in column 3 (§6.5.1).

In the king's addresses to Re and Osiris on the margins, only older or seemingly older grammatical constructions are thus permitted as predicates in main clauses. At the end of the second column of the right margin, for instance, a—from an etic viewpoint, pseudo-Earlier Egyptian—*sḏm.n=f* construction heads a sentence: *j.n=j m nṯr jb*… "(So) I have said as one godly of heart…" In Old and Middle Egyptian, the verb *j* "to say" is attested only with second- and third-person plural suffix pronouns, whereas in Late Egyptian, it occurs with suffixes of all persons.[1437] This extended use of the lexeme is mainly observable in the non-monumental written record,[1438] while examples in monumental royal inscriptions remain scarce. Column 50 of Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*, nevertheless, contains another example of the verb with the masculine third-person singular suffix pronoun: *j.n=f r=j*… "(so) he has said about me, …."[1439] The dialogue of different grammatical characteristics borrowed from different stages of the Egyptian language resulted in at least one more hybrid grammatical formation on the margins. Column 2 of the left side has a Late Egyptian relative form atypically marked with a feminine ending for the neuter (*j.ḏdwt=j* "what I say"),[1440] which itself represents the only feminine neuter ending on the entire stela (§6.5.1).

1437 Faulkner (1935: 181 and 184). See also Güldemann (2015) and Schenkel (2017).

1438 Several examples are found in the *Late Egyptian Stories*, namely, in *The Misfortunes of Wenamun* (e.g., *LES* 67, 2; 70, 13), *The Tale of the Two Brothers* (e.g., *LES* 11, 5; 12, 7; 14, 5 and 7), *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (e.g., *LES* 46, 12 and 14), and in *The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood* (e.g., *LES* 33, 4).

1439 K*RI* II 328, 2.

1440 Cf. n. 145 above.

The margins' high level of verbal eloquence, a stylistic effect created by the preference for traditional or seemingly traditional linguistic formations, is further augmented by two examples of a rare stylistic feature involving the use of cataphoric personal pronouns. In the first column of the right margin, the referent of a first-person singular suffix pronoun is made explicit and is added as a parenthetic information directly after the pronoun expressing the subject: *gm.n=j ḥm=j*… "I, my majesty, have found…" (§6.4, n. x). Similarly, in column 3 of the right margin, the referent of a third-person plural suffix pronoun immediately follows its antecedent: *nn*^{sic} *j.jr=sn nsww*… "that they had not (§6.4, n. xvii) done, (namely), the kings…" Such examples of paraphrasing are only sporadically attested in the record and count as manifestations of an elevated style. Line 7 of Amenhotep III's southern stela behind the Memnon colossi provides one of the closest parallels to the first one of the present examples: *jr.n=j ḥm=j*… "I, my majesty, have done…"[1441] Besides, the introductory words of a praise of the Delta residence on two Ramesside hieratic papyri also contain a very similar phrasing: *qd.n=f ḥm=f ꜥnḫ–wḏ3–snb*… "He, his majesty (l.p.h.) has built…"[1442]

Although the use of linguistic dissimilation is nowhere else as evident and as concentrated as in the king's negative confession, it is present also in other parts of the text. For instance, while the third-person plural dependent pronoun is invariably spelled as *st* (right margin, column 2 and line 34),[1443] the third-person plural suffix pronoun has three morphological variants on the stela: the classical *=sn*, its later graphical variant *=st*,[1444] and the Late Egyptian *=w*. The three morphemes are allocated to the different parts of the text in a roughly balanced manner, except for the Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun's complete absence on the margins and in the king's invocations to the different gods of his tribunal. This distributional pattern is not surprising, since the section containing the king's individual address to each god represents one of the linguistically most conservative units of the inscription, and the language of the margins is overall less innovative than that of the main text. The margins' general preference for the older suffixes over the younger ones is aptly illustrated by the directly comparable example of *nmjwt=sn* "their places of execution" in column 1 of the left margin contrasting with *nmjt=st* "their place of execution" in line 6 of the main text.[1445]

6.6.2.2 Lexicon

The lexical composition of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* is as heterogeneous as its grammar. Most major units of the text contain new words and expressions, although the density of these varies from section to section. The chart below (see Fig. 42) illustrates the absolute and relative frequency of new lexical items in the major textual units of the

1441 *Urk.* IV 1673, 8.

1442 pAnastasi II 1.1 (*LEM* 12, 7) and pAnastasi IV 6.1 (*LEM* 40, 12).

1443 E*NG* §95.

1444 See n. 394 above.

1445 For a comparable analysis on the distribution of the different third-person plural suffix pronouns in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions based on a different approach, see Gillen (2015).

stela. The vertical axis on the left shows the number of examples of each relevant lexical category (cf. §1.2.1.2)—lexical items seldom or not attested before the Amarna period (§6.5.2.3), lexical items seldom or not attested in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times (§6.5.2.4 and §6.5.2.5), and words and expressions not at all attested in the pre-Ramesside record (§6.5.2.6)—in the different parts of the text. The vertical axis on the right presents the frequency of these items per line in each textual unit.[1446]

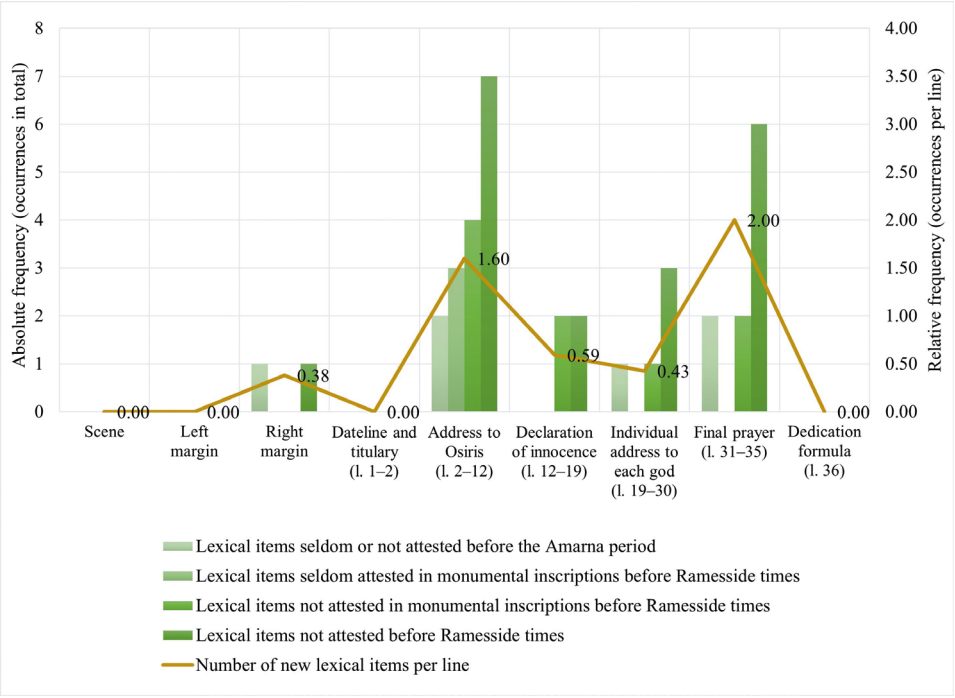


Fig. 42: Absolute and relative frequency of new lexical items (details under §6.5.2.3, §6.5.2.4, §6.5.2.5, and §6.5.2.6) in the major textual units of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*.

The frequency of new lexical items in the different textual units is generally proportional to their relative degree of grammatical novelty (see Fig. 43 below).[1447] While, for instance, the king's address to Re on the left margin (§6.3.2.1) does not contain any conspicuously new words or expressions, its counterpart, the king's address to Osiris on the right margin (§6.3.2.2) includes two of these.[1448] The slight difference in wording thus aligns with the right margin's greater receptivity to Late Egyptian grammatical features (§6.6.2.1.2).

1446 See n. 1415 above.

1447 The correlation coefficient of the two data sets is 0.91.

1448 See *m-ḫnw* "among" (column 2) under §6.5.2.3 and *n-ȝb* "because of, for the purpose of" (column 2) under §6.5.2.6.

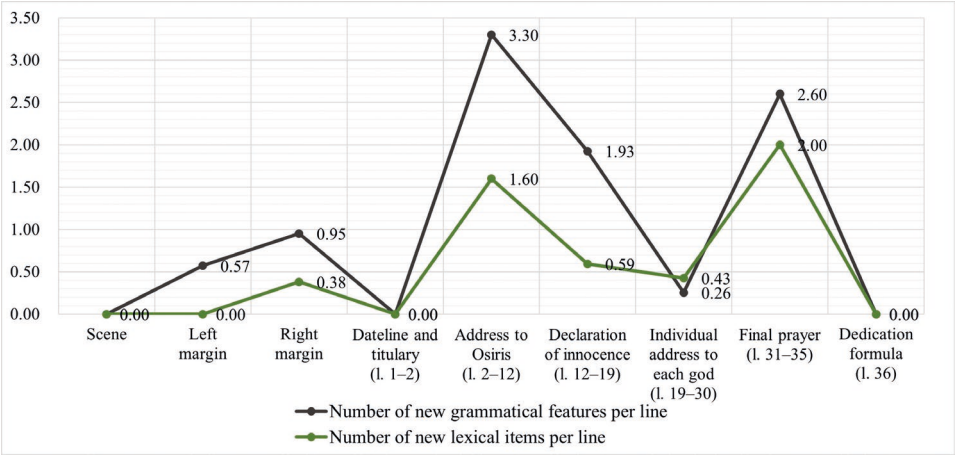


Fig. 43: Relation between the new grammatical and new lexical choices on the stela (details from Fig. 41 and Fig. 42).

With regard to the main text, the absence of relatively recent words and expressions in the also grammatically formulaic language of the dedication formula (§6.3.3.4) and the dateline and titulary (§6.3.3.2) is not surprising. In Ramesses IV's address to Osiris and the gods (§6.3.3.3), all sections contain at least some new lexical items regardless of their grammatical selections. In terms of relative lexical novelty, there is, however, no significant difference between the second and the third parts of the king's speech (§6.3.3.3.2 and §6.3.3.3.3), although, grammatically, Ramesses's declaration of innocence shows a remarkably different picture than the section containing the king's invocations to the members of his tribunal (§6.6.2.1.1). Even though the king's declaration of innocence, the grammatically less conventional passage of the two, employs—relatively speaking—slightly more new lexical items than the following section, both units include only a handful of new words and expressions—on average, one example every two lines.[1449] On the other hand, Ramesses's address to Osiris (§6.3.3.3.1) and his prayer to the gods (§6.3.3.3.4) are not only the grammatically most innovative sections of the inscription (§6.6.2.1.1), but they also stand out regarding their lexical selections (see Fig. 42 above). Compared to the rest of the text, these two sections employ by far the most lexical items that do not appear in the record before the Ramesside era;[1450] and together,

1449 From Ramesses IV's declaration of innocence, see *jꜣd* "poor/miserable man (lit., sufferer)" (line 16) and *sḫt jꜣdt* "to snare a net" (line 17) under §6.5.2.5; and *ḫwrꜥ* "to rob, to plunder; to usurp" (line 13) as well as *sjf* "to violate, to insult" (line 16) under §6.5.2.6. In the king's invocations to the gods, the examples of the following words constitute the new lexica: *ꜥnḫ* "living, provisions" (line 24; see under §6.5.2.3); *qni* "to conquer" (line 20; see under §6.5.2.5); *mkt-ḥꜥw* "protection of the body" (lines 25 and 28; see under §6.5.2.6); and *sꜥḥ* "to wrap, to bandage" (line 22; see under §6.5.2.6).

1450 See the following lexical items under §6.5.2.6: *jwꜥꜥ* "animals" (line 5); *jp m jb* "to be shrewd / to consider in the heart" (line 2); *jt* "who? which?" (line 11); *wbḫt* "brightness, clarity" (line 32); *bꜣ dmdm* "united *ba*" (line 10); *pꜣjjw* "birds" (line 5), *mjtt* (prep.) "like" (line 35); *ḫjj* "to be

they also contain more words and expressions that are seldom or not at all attested in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times.[1451] Nevertheless, considering the relative lexical novelty of the two textual units, the closing part of Ramesses's speech slightly surpasses its introductory part (2 vs. 1.6 ex./line).

There are at least two instances in the text where the use of a relatively recent lexeme is conspicuous in light of the grammatical and lexical profiles of the corresponding passages. The first such example is the use of the verb *ḥwrꜥ* "to rob, to plunder; to usurp" (see under §6.5.2.6) in an otherwise lexically rather conventional environment, in the prelude to Ramesses IV's negative confession in line 13: *jnk ḥqꜣ* (§6.4, n. lxiii) *n bs nn ḥwrꜥ.n=j* "I am an enthroned (§6.4, n. lxxi) ruler, I never (§6.4, n. lxxii) usurped." The use of a typically Ramesside verb with an Earlier Egyptian *nn sḏm.n=f* construction (§6.6.2.1.1) is noteworthy—all the more so because the passage carries the central message of the inscription.

The one isolated example in Ramesses IV's invocations to the gods where the *sḏm.n=f* of the *jw sḏm.n=f* construction seems to have been replaced by a Late Egyptian preterite *sḏm=f* has already been mentioned earlier (§6.6.2.1.1). Among the 23 examples of *jw sḏm.n=f*'s between lines 19 and 30, the example in line 22 is the only one to drop the *-n* infix of the *sḏm.n=f* form and similarly the only one to use a relatively recent word as predicate: *jw sꜥḥ=j n=k ḥnn=k m tꜣm nṯr*… "I wrapped (§6.4, n. cvi) your phallus for you with a divine bandage, …" (lines 22–23). In this case, the use of a comparably unconventional lexical item—the verb *sꜥḥ* "to wrap, to bandage" is namely not attested before Ramesside times (see under §6.5.2.6)—might have had an influence on the partial modernization of the verbal construction. The Earlier Egyptian *jw sḏm.n=f* construction was replaced by a Late and Earlier Egyptian hybrid: *jw sḏm=f*. The question whether this was the result of a conscious or a subconscious mental process remains open. Such combinations of diachronically contrasting features of the lexical and grammatical dimensions of the language (i.e., relatively new lexeme vs. relatively old grammatical construction) as in the case of *ḥwrꜥ* and *sꜥḥ* may be regarded as examples of cross-dimensional hybridity (§7.2.2 and §7.3.2).

Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* also provides a few examples of wordplay and some other instances that are best interpreted as a form of linguistic dissimilation at the lexical level (synonyms).[1452] As for the former category, the first column of the left margin contains two graphically and probably also phonetically similar words with a different meaning: *jꜥw n=k qmꜣ psḏt Jtm m ḏꜣ pt nꜥjj=k ḥrj nmj=k* () *r dwꜣt ḫftjw=k ḫr r nmjwt=sn* ()… "Praise to you, (O) creator of the Ennead, Atum in crossing the heaven: when you traverse the sky (and) travel to the netherworld! Your enemies

high/exalted" (line 11); *ḫꜣkw* "the disaffected" (line 35); *sꜥqꜣ* "to set, to direct" (line 33); *srq fndw* "to make the noses inhale" (line 33); *tm* "to complete" (line 4); and *ṯs* "to allot, to bestow" (line 35).

1451 See *bw wꜣḥ… r tm*… "not to leave un(done)" (lines 3 and 31); *mj* (encl. part.) "after all" (line 12); *n-ḫꜣ* (prep.) "behind" (line 31); *n-sp* (adv.) "at once, together" (line 10); and *r-ḏrw* (adv.) "all" (line 3) under §6.5.2.5 and *m-rꜣ-ꜥ* "as well, likewise" (lines 8 and 9 [2x]) under §6.5.2.4.

1452 On the lexical dimension of linguistic dissimilation, see §7.2.5 below.

have fallen to their places of execution, …" The proximity of the alliterating *nmj* "to travel" and *nmjwt* "shambles" creates a link between the two sentences.

Likewise, Claus called attention to a potential double meaning between *ḥꜥw* "lifespan"[1453] and *ḥꜥ* "sum, quantity"[1454] in line 7 of the main text.[1455] Although the spelling of the word leaves no doubt about its reading ( vs. , for instance), the content of the passage could indeed have triggered an interference between the two words: *ꜥnḫw jp r rḫ rꜥ ȝbd r djt wꜥ ḥr wꜥ r rḫ ꜥḥꜥw*$^{+ꜥḥꜥ}$*=sn* "the living (do the) count(ing) to know the day and the month, to add one to one, to know their lifespan$^{+quantity}$." The word *ṯst* presents a similar case in line 25. Here, the different meanings at play are "coil," "vertebra," and "reef" (§6.4, n. cxvi).

Considering the use of synonyms in the text, the third-person plural suffix pronoun's presence with its three morphological variants (§6.6.2.1.2) is not a singular phenomenon on the stela. For instance, the one-time use of the expression *mjtt jrjj* "as well as"[1456] in line 5 (*wn ꜥnḫ=tw* [*jm*] *m nṯrw mj rmṯ jwꜥꜥ pȝjjw jmj-mw mjtt jrjj* "one used to live [then] (§6.4, n. xxxvii) among gods as (among) men, animals, birds, as well as (among) those in the water (i.e., aquatic animals)") contrasts with the threefold occurrence of *m-rȝ-ꜥ* "as well, likewise" (see under §6.5.2.4) in lines 8 and 9 (*gm.n=j ḥm=k m-rȝ-ꜥ m nsw dwȝt*… "I have also (§6.4, n. xli) found your majesty as the king of the netherworld…" and *r jr šḫr n tȝ pn tȝw m-rȝ-ꜥ jw=k snḏm.tw m-rȝ-ꜥ mj-qd=f*… "to make (an) arrangement for this land as well as (for other) lands, while you also sit like him, …").

Similarly, also the preposition "among" finds different ways of expression in the inscription. The three prepositions used with this specific semantic nuance seem to cluster in different parts of the text. *M-ḫnw* in the sense of "among" (see under §6.5.2.3) is only used on the left margin of the stela: *m-ḫn*[*w p*]*sḏt* "amon[g the E]nnead" (column 2).[1457] The preposition *m* is, on the other hand, employed mostly in Ramesses's address to Osiris in the main text (lines 3, 4, and 5) and once also in the king's declaration of innocence (line 12): *jm=w r-ḏrw* "any (lit., all) of them (§6.4, n. xxix)" (line 3); *m nṯrw nṯrjjwt* "among the gods and goddesses" (line 3); *m psḏt tmmṯ* (§6.4, n. xxv) "among (§6.4, n. xxxiii) the entire Ennead" (line 4); *m nṯrw mj*… "among gods as…" (line 5); and *jm=w* "among them" (line 12). The otherwise widespread and regular *m-m* only occurs in Ramesses's invocations to the members of his tribunal (see also §6.4, nn. xxxii, xxxiii, and xxxvii): *m-m=tn* "among you" (line 22); *m-m nṯrw* "among the gods"

1453 *Wb.* I 222.18 – 223.7.

1454 *Wb.* I 221.3–7.

1455 Claus (2007: 41, n. V).

1456 The pattern of attestation of the phrase shows that its use with the semantic nuance documented here was associated with higher written registers (see *Wb. Belegst*. II 40.14). It is present, for instance, in the Amun hymn of pBoulaq 17 = pCairo CG 58038, 6.6 (in Luiselli 2004: 76). Variants of the expression, such as *m mjtt jrjj* and *r mjtt jrjj*, similarly cluster at the higher end of written production (see *Wb. Belegst.* II 41.5 and 41.7). *R mjtt jrjj* appears, for example, in line x+23 of Seti I's *Great Dedicatory Stela for Ramesses I* (K*RI* I 114, 9).

1457 The preposition is also present in the text with its customary meaning in the phrase *m-ḫnw ḥwt-nṯr=f* "within his temple" in line 15.

(line 24); *m-m psḏt* "among the Ennead" (line 24); *m-m nṯrw nbw* "among all the gods" (line 26); and *m-m rḫjjw* "among the people" (line 26).

Phraseologically, the *Great Abydos Stela* demonstrates remarkable parallels with a few other Ramesside texts.[1458] It has been mentioned above (under §6.5.2.5) that the construction used to express exhaustiveness in lines 3 and 31 of the text (*bw wꜣḥ… r tm…* "not to leave un(done)") has royal parallels only in Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem*.[1459] The example in line 31 of the present inscription (*ḫr ptr bw wꜣḥ=j nfr n-ḥꜣ ḏrt=j r tm jr=w n kꜣw=tn m jb mr* "For, look, I could not leave the good behind my hand undone for your *ka*s with loving heart.") shares further similarities in phraseology with one of the examples in the *Qadesh Poem*: *bw wꜣḥ=j nfr ḥꜣ ḏrt=j r tm jrt=w m pꜣjj=k wbꜣ* "I could not leave the good behind my hand undone in your domain."[1460] Although the adverbial expression (*n*)-*ḥꜣ ḏrt=j* "behind my hand" seems to be unattested outside these two texts, a formulation in Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions has some common elements with the latter two passages: *bw wꜣḥ(=j) tl nb ḥꜣ=j r jr=w n jt=j Jmn…* "I could not leave any vigor behind me (i.e., I made all possible effort) to do them (i.e., the good) for my father, Amun…"[1461] The phrase *bw wꜣḥ=j nfr* (*n*)-*ḥꜣ ḏrt=j r tm jr*(*t*)*=w* "I cannot / could not leave the good behind my hand undone" finds a strong resonance in *bw wꜣḥ(=j) tl nb ḥꜣ=j r jr=w* "I could not leave any vigor behind me to do them (i.e., the good)." Both wordings embody a typically Ramesside way of referring to perseverance in action.

In line 32, the passage *rwd n ʿwt=j wbḫt n jrt=j nḏm n ḥꜣtj=j m jmnjjt* "vigor for my limbs, brightness for my eye, (and) pleasure for my heart as a permanent service (§6.4, n. cxxxii)" in Ramesses IV's final prayer to the gods contains elements of a recurring theme on the southern part of his father's *Great Double Stela* (GDSS 5, 6–7, 19, 21, 26)[1462] as well as of a wish in line 15 of his own *Year 4 Abydos Stela*.[1463]

Furthermore, the final sentence of the king's negative confession in the present inscription (lines 18–19) closely resembles a passage in line 9 of Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela*. Although the verbal forms employed are different in the two texts (§6.6.2.1.1), the intertextual link between the corresponding passages is evident:

Lines 18–19 of the *Great Abydos Stela*:	Line 9 of the *Year 4 Abydos Stela*:[1464]
nn šʿd.n=j jt	*bw šʿd=j jt*
m ktt=st	*m kt=sn*
mꜣtt tp ḥsbwt=sn	*mꜣtt* [*tp ḥ*]*spwt*

1458 On its phraseological similarities with chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*, see §6.6.3.

1459 See n. 1216 above.

1460 K*RI* II 37, 10–15. On the translation of *wbꜣ* as "domain," cf. Spencer (1984: 7).

1461 K*RI* V 306, 9.

1462 See above, under §4.2.1.3.4 and §4.2.1.3.5. For the minor differences between the individual occurrences of the theme, see §4.4.1.

1463 Cited above, under §4.4.1.

1464 K*RI* VI 18, 9.

I never cut grain
when it (§6.4, n. xc) was small
(nor) celery (§6.4, n. xci) atop its garden-beds (§6.4, n. xciii).

I haven't cut grain
when it was small
(nor) celery [atop g]arden-beds;

Finally, the section containing Ramesses IV's invocations to the gods of the tribunal has some minor phraseological and graphical parallels with two Twentieth Dynasty magical papyri, with Papyrus Chester Beatty VII and VIII. For instance, the king's invocation to Thoth contains the following clause in line 29: *wpjj=k rḥwj snwj* "that you shall judge the two rival brothers." While the expression *rḥwj* "two rivals" is well attested in the record,[1465] the collocation *rḥwj snwj* "the two rivals, the two brothers," that is, "the two rival brothers" has not yet been documented elsewhere.[1466] It is therefore remarkable that Papyrus Chester Beatty VIII includes the phrase in a reverse sequence: *jnk Ḏḥwtj sḫtp nbwj snwj rḥwj* "I am Thoth who appeases the two lords, the two brothers, the two rivals."[1467] Similarly, the expression *ṯst pf* "that coil" of Ramesses's address to Re-Harakhte seems to have a single parallel in the record, namely, on Papyrus Chester Beatty VII (§6.4, nn. cxv and cxvi). In addition, the word *ḥkɜw* "magical power, magical spells" features a different spelling in the king's invocations to the members of his tribunal than in the rest of the text (see under §6.5.3.3.3; discussed also below, in §6.6.2.3): the graphical variant in this part of the text writes the first consonant of the noun with sign F18 () instead of sign V28 (). The spelling is highly unusual and is otherwise only documented on Papyrus Chester Beatty VIII.[1468] The link suggested by these parallels between Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* and the two Twentieth Dynasty magical papyri would deserve further investigations.

6.6.2.3 (Ortho)graphy

The heterogeneity of the language of the *Great Abydos Stela* is not confined to its grammatical and lexical dimensions (§6.6.2.1 and §6.6.2.2) but also concerns the graphical aspect of the text. The chart below (see Fig. 44) illustrates the absolute and relative frequency of new spellings in the major textual units of the stela. As in the case of the examples above (see Fig. 41 and Fig. 42), the vertical axis on the left shows the absolute number of occurrences of these items in the different parts of the text according to the relevant categories (cf. §1.2.1.2)—graphical features uncommon before Ramesside times (§6.5.3.2), regularly and seldom attested Ramesside spellings (§6.5.3.3.1 and §6.5.3.3.3), Ramesside spellings uncommon in monumental texts (§6.5.3.3.2), Ramesside spellings influenced by homonyms or similar-sounding words (§6.5.3.3.4), and graphical solutions that are specific to this particular text and other texts of Ramesses IV (§6.5.3.4)—while

1465 Cf. *LGG* IV 703a–b.
1466 Cf. *LGG* IV 703b.
1467 pChester Beatty VIII = pBM EA 10688, recto 8.8 (Gardiner 1935: II, pl. 42).
1468 See n. 1357 above.

the vertical axis on the right presents the number of new graphical features per line in each major textual unit.[1469]

The stela is consistent in using new graphical features in all its major textual units irrespective of the degree of grammatical novelty of the corresponding sections (see Fig. 44 below). The last line of the main text forms the only exception to this rule: the king's dedication formula (§6.3.3.4) does not contain any strikingly new spelling. Since this is one of the most formulaic passages of the entire inscription both grammatically and lexically (§6.6.2.1.1 and §6.6.2.2), the complete absence of recent graphical solutions is not unexpected in the line.

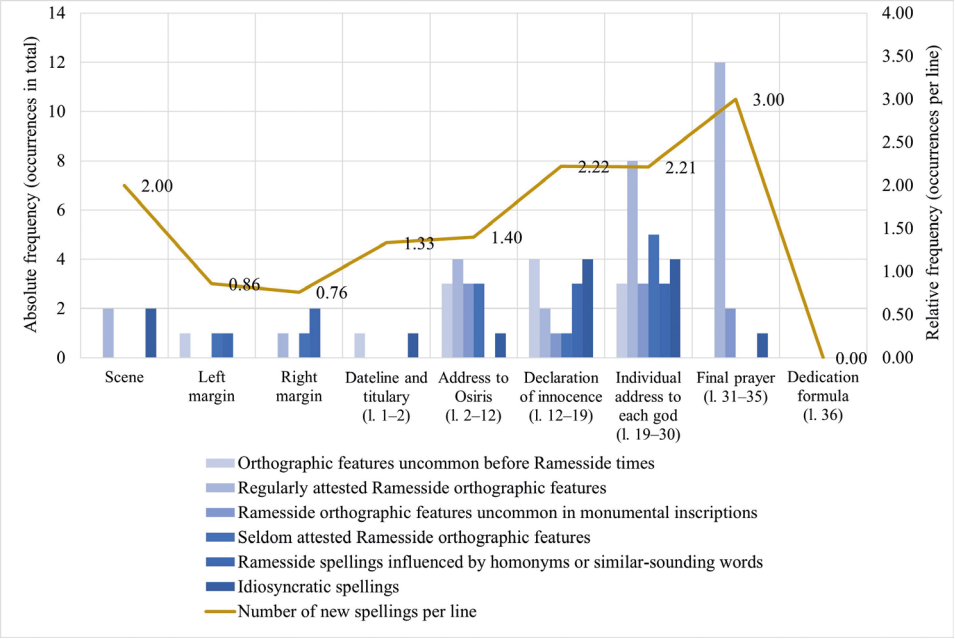


Fig. 44: Absolute and relative frequency of new spellings (details under §6.5.3.2, §6.5.3.3,[1470] and §6.5.3.4) in the major textual units of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*.

The high relative frequency of innovative graphical features (more than two items per line on average) in the king's individual address to each god (§6.3.3.3.3) is, on the other hand, surprising, since this part of the text qualifies as the grammatically most conservative section in Ramesses's entire address to the gods (§6.6.2.1.1). In absolute numbers, the king's invocations to the members of his tribunal include, in fact, more new spellings and—among those—more typically Ramesside graphical features

1469 See n. 1415 above.

1470 The spelling of the word *ḫsbwt* "garden-beds" (line 19; §6.4, n. xciii), discussed above, under §6.5.3.3.4 and §6.5.3.4, is only considered here as an idiosyncratic feature to avoid redundancies. Similarly, the spelling of *bšdw* "the rebellious" (line 33), listed under §6.5.3.3.1 and §6.5.3.3.4, is counted only once in the diagram, as a "regularly attested Ramesside graphical feature."

(§6.5.3.3) than any other major textual unit of the *Great Abydos Stela* (see Fig. 44 above). In relative terms, however, the king's final prayer (§6.3.3.3.4), one of the two textual units with the highest relative density of Late Egyptian grammatical features (§6.6.2.1.1), counts as the graphically most innovative section on the stela. On average, this passage demonstrates three new spellings per line.[1471] The high relative density of new spellings in the king's individual address to each god, nevertheless, illustrates the graphical component's relative independence of grammar in the text. The section's high receptivity to less conventional graphical solutions may in part be explained by the fact that Ramesses's invocations strongly build on non-monumental written traditions: on ritual texts and magical spells.

In line with the non-deterministic relation between grammar and (ortho)graphy, the lexical and graphical choices of the text were, to a great extent, made independently of one another. Although the relative frequency of new lexical items and the relative frequency of new spellings in the major textual units of the stela show a certain degree of interdependence, the correlation between the two is not particularly strong but stronger than the one between the relative frequency of Late Egyptian grammatical features and the relative frequency of new spellings (see Fig. 45 below).[1472]

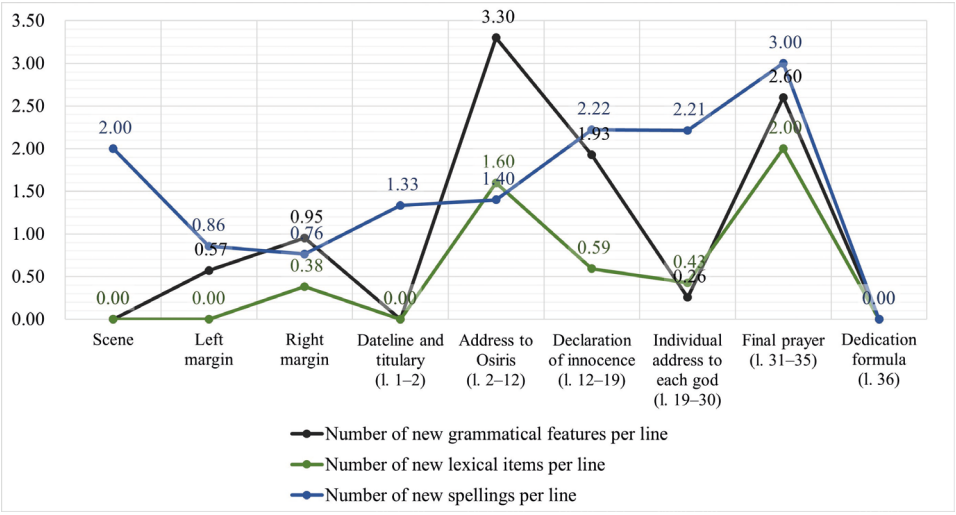


Fig. 45: Relation between the new grammatical, new lexical, and new graphical choices on the stela (details from Fig. 41, Fig. 42, and Fig. 44).

1471 The remarkably high number of regularly attested Ramesside graphical features (§6.5.3.3.1) in the king's prayer to the gods is due to the sixfold use of the imperative of *rdi* "to give" written as *jmm* (see under §6.5.3.3.1).

1472 The correlation coefficients of the two pairs of corresponding data sets are 0.57 (new lexicon and new spelling) and 0.41 (new grammar and new spelling). The relatively strong relation between the new grammatical and new lexical choices on the stela has been discussed earlier (§6.6.2.2 with Fig. 43 and n. 1447 above).

The number of archaizing graphical characteristics is negligible on the stela, which means that the composers of the text did not make much effort to adhere to older graphical traditions. In the first column of the right margin, for instance, the causative prefix of the verb *sḥtp* "to please, to satisfy" is written twice with a bolt () instead of a folded cloth (). This archaizing trait is attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards[1473] and is characteristic of higher written registers.[1474]

The third-person singular feminine participial or pseudoparticipial ending (§6.4, n. xxv) of the verb *tm* "to complete" (see under §6.5.2.6) similarly employs a seemingly older graphical variant () in the phrase *psḏt tmmṯ* "the entire Ennead," in line 4 of the main text.[1475] The younger *-tw* is the otherwise commonly used spelling of the second-person singular and the feminine third-person singular pseudoparticipial endings in the text (see exx. in lines 6, 9, and 11). The older *-tj* appears only once: in line 22. Since all *-tw*'s cluster in Ramesses's address to Osiris (§6.3.3.3.1) and the only *-tj* occurs in the king's invocation to Min (§6.3.3.3.3), the choice for either spelling may be explained by the corresponding textual unit's relative degree of openness to Late Egyptian grammatical features—including the spelling of grammatical morphemes (§6.6.2.1.1).

The *Great Abydos Stela* also provides a few examples of individual lexemes with different graphical forms in different parts of the text. The verb *wʿf* "to curb," for instance, demonstrates a conventional spelling () in the epithet *wʿf pḏt 9* "who curbs the Nine Bows" in the king's titulary in line 1, but it features a spelling typical of the non-monumental record of the Ramesside era outside this phraseologically bound expression, in the king's prayer to the gods, in line 32: *wʿf.n=j bšdw…* "I have curbed the rebellious…" ( ; see under §6.5.3.3.2).

The title *nsw bjtj* "king of Upper and Lower Egypt" is written more traditionally on the two margins of the stela and in the grammatically, lexically, and graphically most formulaic part of the main text, in the dedication formula (), than in lines 1 and 2 (). The bee was occasionally replaced by the Lower Egyptian crown since the early Eighteenth Dynasty (see under §6.5.3.2). The margins and the dedication formula exhibit a comparatively higher degree of linguistic boundedness than the dateline and the rest of the main text, which explains their preference for the more conservative spelling.

While the word *ḥkꜣw* "magical power, magical spells" is spelled as expected in Ramesses IV's address to Osiris (line 6: ), it features a rare graphical solution in the king's invocation to Anhur and Geb (lines 25 and 28: and), a spelling that is otherwise only known from a magical spell on a Twentieth Dynasty papyrus (see under §6.5.3.3.3). The difference in spelling between the two parts of the text is in all likelihood context-dependent, but its exact nature can only be speculated. The new spelling was perhaps associated with apotropaic qualities and was therefore used to fit

1473 Cf. *DZA* 29.425.120–200.

1474 The word is spelled similarly on Horemheb's scribal statue from Memphis (MMA 23.10.1; *Urk.* IV 2092, 1 and 6) and in line 14 of the abridged version of Ramesses II's *First Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 257, 10).

1475 See nn. 280 and 646 above.

the subject matter of the passage. On further links between Ramesses's invocations to the members of his tribunal and the Papyri Chester Beatty VII and VIII, see §6.6.2.2.

The sign generally used on the stela for the singular first-person suffix pronoun referring to Ramesses IV is sign A41, a logogram for the king ().[1476] Sign A1, the seated man (), appears only once in this function, in the king's appeal to Re, in column 2 of the left margin: *jrjj=j* () *nḫnw=j m trj nb* (§6.4, n. v) "May I be young at all times!" The clause has been analyzed as a Late Egyptian emphatic *j.jr=f sḏm* despite the absence of the prothetic *yod* in *jrjj=j* (§6.4, n. vii). This royal wish is a quote within a quote embedded in a passage that attests to Ramesses's more direct and more personal experience of the divine. The clause forms part of the king's plea to the sun god urging him to listen to him (*wp ꜥnḫ*[*wj*]*=k* {*q*}<*sḏ*>*m=k j.ḏdwt=j j.ḏd* (§6.4, n. iv)… "Open your ear[s], so that you shall hear what I say: …"). After this, unmistakable expressions of personal piety follow.[1477] The king calls himself the god's servant (*jnk ḥm=k*… "I am your servant…"), reassures him of his loyalty (*jr ḥr mw=k*… "who acts on your water (i.e., who is loyal to you) …"), and argues that he is one of his people (*n wj ḏt n njwt=k*… "I belong to the serfs (§6.4, n. viii) (i.e., the people) of your city…"), which is another way of saying that he is a devout follower of his local god. It is probably not a coincidence that the only passage on the stela where the king is visually presented as a simple mortal is a short personal prayer to Amun-Re at the end of the left margin.

The spelling of at least two further lexical items demonstrates the impact of their immediate environment. In these cases, the context-dependency of the spelling does not result from the content of the corresponding passage but bears witness to the influence of the written form of a word nearby. The particle *r-ḏd*, introducing a direct quote in column 2 of the left margin, probably would not have been written as *j.ḏd* (), which is a seldom documented graphical variant for the lexeme (see under §6.5.3.3.3), if it had not been for the directly preceding relative form *j.ḏdwt=j* "what I say." Similarly, the unusual spelling of the singular form of the word *ḫḫ* "neck, throat" ( and ) documented only in line 27 of the stela (see under §6.5.3.4) may be explained by the fourfold presence of the word *ḥꜥw* "body" () in its proximity: once each in the preceding two lines and twice in the subsequent line.[1478]

Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* also includes several playful graphical solutions that reveal the visual creativity of its composers. One of the most prominent examples of this playfulness is the way the winged disk was incorporated in the spelling of the royal name in the opening scene (see *Ḥqꜣ-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ Stp-n-Jmn* "Heqamaatre Setepenamun" under §6.5.3.4). On the other hand, the visual link established by sign D39 between *rdi*

1476 On two occasions, in lines 15 (*nn jj.n=j*… "I never came…") and 32 (*wꜥf.n=j*… "I have curbed…"), sign Z1 (ı) is used instead. On the rare employment of sign Z1 as the first-person singular suffix pronoun since the Old Kingdom, see, e.g., *DZA* 20.093.590, E*NG* §60, and G*EG* 535, n. 20. On the difference between pragmatic and encyclopedic classification strategies in general, see Goldwasser (2022: 198–199).

1477 See n. 951 above.

1478 The three flesh signs are used once more in the proximity of sign F10 () on the stela: in line 3, in the phrase *srq=j fndw=sn* "so that I may make their noses inhale" ().

"to give" and *ḥnk* "to present" in a caption likewise in the opening scene may or may not have been intentional (see *djt* "to give / giving" under §6.5.3.4). Nevertheless, although the morphology of the infinitival form clearly suggests the 3ae-inf. *rdi*, the semantic nuance of the 3-lit. *ḥnk* is also present at the graphical level (): *djt*$^{+ḥnk}$ *mꜣꜥt*… "Giving$^{+\text{presenting}}$ *maat*…"

There are several creative graphical solutions also in the main text. Here, the most eye-catching example is a simple visual trick that lends extra emphasis to the key message of the inscription in line 13 (§6.6.1): the word *hqꜣ* "ruler" is placed inside a cartouche in the phrase *jnk*  (§6.4, n. lxiii) *n bs*… "I am an enthroned (§6.4, n. lxxi)  , …" (see *hqꜣ* "ruler" under §6.5.3.4). Similarly, the message conveyed by line 3 of the text, namely, that the small and the great gods are equal in the king's eyes (§6.4, n. xxxi), receives a subtle visual enhancement in the spelling of the word *nḏsw* "the small" (see under §6.5.3.4). In line 18, the use of a sign associated with the word *sꜣw* "protection" () as a determinative of the verb *ḫnms* "to befriend" (see under §6.5.3.4) creates a visual link to the apotropaic forces evoked by the second half of the sentence:[1479] *ḫnms.n=j Ḏḥwtj m dr<f>w=f hrw pgs r qꜥḥ=f* "I have befriended Thoth in/with his scripts (§6.4, n. lxxxvii) (on) the day of spitting at his shoulder." Furthermore, one of the key concepts on the negation of which the king's declaration of innocence is centered, namely, *bwt* "abomination," receives a visual inclusion into the spelling of the last word of the section in line 19: *ḥsbwt* "garden-beds" is written as  (see under §6.5.3.4). Finally, lines 20 and 21 seem to capitalize on the phonological ambiguity between the words *smꜣ* "to slay" and *smꜣꜥ* "to present" (see *smꜣ* "to slay" under §6.5.3.3.4).

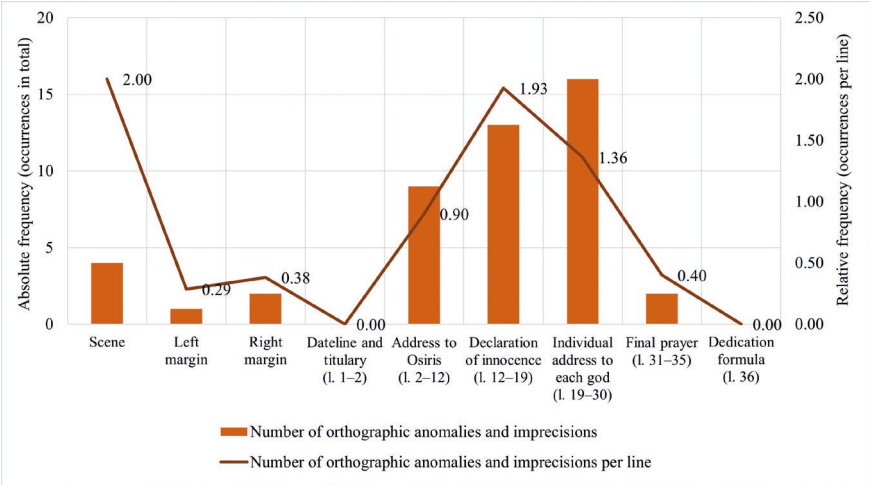


Fig. 46: Absolute and relative frequency of orthographic anomalies and imprecisions (details under §6.5.3.5) in the major textual units of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*.

1479 On the apotropaic qualities of spittle, see n. 1383 above.

Regardless of the grammatical, lexical, and graphical elaborateness of the stela, the composition is not faultless. There are several smaller orthographic anomalies and imprecisions all over the text (§6.5.3.5). Their frequency distribution in the different parts of the inscription is illustrated by Fig. 46 above.[1480] They are present in every major textual unit except for the dateline and titulary, and the dedication formula of the main text. Interestingly, the opening scene and the king's declaration of innocence display the highest relative density of these features.

Most mistakes can be interpreted as oversights that probably resulted from lack of attention during the drafting or the carving process. These include reverse orientation of signs or groups of signs (§6.5.3.5.1), metathesis of signs (§6.5.3.5.2), insertion of superfluous signs (§6.5.3.5.3), omission of signs and words (§6.5.3.5.4), sign confusions (§6.5.3.5.5), and inaccurately carved or overly simplified signs (§6.5.3.5.6 and §6.5.3.5.7). The sheer number of examples in these categories suggests that no systematic proofreading took place after the execution of the text. Other imprecisions can barely be regarded as mistakes. The lack of gender accord (§6.5.3.5.8) or the ungrammatical spelling of different verbal forms (§6.5.3.5.9) rather reflect various aspects of the evolution of the language. Considering the presence of multiple examples of the missing feminine ending throughout the text (§6.5.3.5.8), it is remarkable that the neuter is expressed at least once as a feminine form (§6.5.1), in column 2 of the left margin: *j.ḏdwt=j* "what I say."

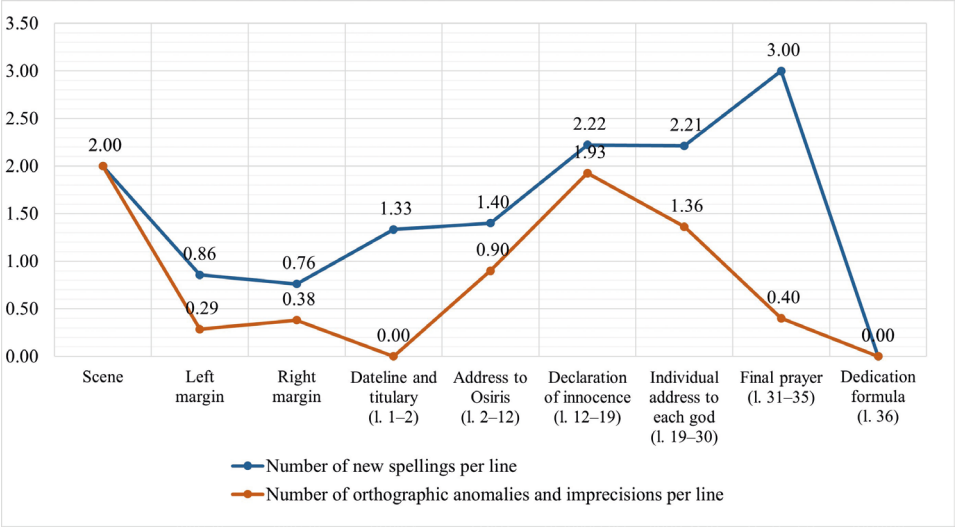


Fig. 47: Relation between the relative frequency of innovative spellings and the relative frequency of orthographic anomalies and imprecisions on the stela (details from Fig. 44 and Fig. 46).

1480 The relative frequency of occurrences was calculated in the same manner as above, in the case of Fig. 42 and Fig. 44 (see n. 1415 above).

The relative frequency of new spellings and the relative frequency of orthographic anomalies and imprecisions in the different parts of the text seem to be not quite independent of one another. Although the interaction between these two categories is not particularly strong, their relation still qualifies as a moderate positive correlation.[1481] In other words, the more open a section was to new graphical solutions, the higher the likelihood that it was also less precisely written (see Fig. 47 above).

6.6.3 Ramesses IV's Address to Osiris and the Gods as a Recontextualized Version of Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*

Ramesses IV's address to Osiris and the gods (§6.3.3.3), the textual unit comprising more than 90% of the *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.6.1), makes innovative use of the different textual elements of chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* by extracting them from their original context (funerary) and reinserting them into an entirely different one (political). The reinvention of the main building blocks of a funerary composition associated with the final judgement of the deceased enables the king to make a strong statement regarding his legitimacy: Ramesses subjects himself to the final judgment still alive to prove his worthiness to rule and to be exonerated of all suspicion regarding the circumstances of his father's death. This is a classic case of the so-called recontextualization process, whereby certain elements of a text receive additional layers of meaning on top of the already existing ones in a different context of use, while other layers of meaning inevitably go lost in the process.[1482]

Tiradritti was the first to note that the similarities between Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* and chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* go beyond the resemblance between Ramesses's and the deceased's declaration of innocence.[1483] As also noticed by Tiradritti,[1484] already the first section of Ramesses's address to Osiris and the gods (§6.3.3.3), that is, the king's address to Osiris (§6.3.3.3.1), in which he demonstrates his knowledge about the god by recognizing him in his different forms, builds on a textual element in chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*, namely, on the introductory words of the deceased, which serve to prove his ability to recognize the gods in front of him: *jw=j rḫ.kw ṯw rḫ.kw rn=k rḫ.kw rn n pȝ nṯr 42 n wnnjjw ḥnʿ=k m wsḫt ṯn nt mȝʿtj*… "I know you; I know your name and I know the name of these 42 gods, of those who are with you in this Hall of Two Truths…"[1485]

1481 The correlation coefficient of the two data sets is 0.55. For the sake of comparison, there is practically no correlation between the new grammatical or new lexical choices and the relative frequency of orthographic anomalies and imprecisions throughout the text. The correlation coefficients of the two pairs of corresponding data sets are 0.11 (spelling mistakes/imprecisions and new grammar) and 0.02 (spelling mistakes/imprecisions and new lexicon).

1482 On the processes of entextualization and recontextualization, see Silverstein & Urban (1996).

1483 Tiradritti (1997: 197–201).

1484 Tiradritti (1997: 197).

1485 *BoD* 125, 4–5 in pNu (Lapp 1997: pl. 65).

As pointed out by many,[1486] the king's declaration of innocence including his negative confession (§6.3.3.3.2) was inspired by the confession of the deceased in chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*. The structural similarity between the two compositions is made obvious by the long chain of negations in their relevant sections.[1487] Besides the repetitive use of negative statements, the king's declaration of innocence also shares a few phraseological similarities with its funerary forerunner. For instance, the deceased's statement to Osiris *jn.n=j n=k mꜣꜥt*… "I have brought *maat* to you, …"[1488] received a slight modification to fit the altered context: *jn.n=j mꜣꜥt r tꜣ pn*… "I have brought *maat* to this land, …" (line 13; §6.4, n. lxxiv). Many have their counterparts in chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* also among the negative statements. Compare, for example, *nn ꜥwn.n=j jꜣd ḥr ḫwt=f*… "I never robbed a poor man of his belongings, …" (line 16) with *n nmḥ=j nmḥ m ḫwt=f*… "I have not deprived any private person of his property, …;"[1489] *nn* (*n*)*ḥm.n=j rmw m š nṯr*… "I never took fish from the god's pond, …" (lines 16–17) with *n ḥꜣm=j rmw n ḫꜣwt=sn*… "I have not caught fish from their lagoons, …;"[1490] and *nn sḫt.n=j jꜣdt*… "I never snared a net; …" (line 17) with *n sḫt=j ꜣpdw n ḳsw nṯrw*… "I have not caught birds from/with the harpoons of the gods, …"[1491] Finally, also the interchange between the verbs *ḫbꜣ* "to destroy" and *ḫbi* "to diminish, to reduce" (§6.5.3.3.4) in line 17 of the stela (*nn ḫbꜣ=j n* (§6.4, n. lxxx) *ꜥqw=f* "I have not diminished his provisions") can be explained with the help of a phraseological parallel in chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* (§6.4, n. lxxxvi).

While the negative confession of the deceased is followed by his invocations to the 42 judges of Maat in the *Book of the Dead*, the king turns to the twelve deities of his personalized tribunal[1492] and instead of declaring his innocence also separately before each god—as does the deceased in the *Book of the Dead*[1493]—he speaks about what he has done and what rites he has performed for each of them (§6.3.3.3.3).[1494]

What is particularly interesting about the connection between the deceased's and the king's invocations to the members of their tribunals is the way a traditionally vertically arranged part of a funerary composition was transposed into the horizontal lines of a royal stela. The recontextualization of this element of chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* happened namely in consideration of the formal arrangement of the source text. On the *Book of the Dead* papyri, each invocation opens a new column (see Fig. 48 below). Giving the same emphasis to the individual invocations in a text written in horizontal lines would have meant having to start a new line with each address.

1486 Most recently, by Tiradritti (1997: 198–201) and Claus (2005: 60–65).

1487 See *BoD* 125, 7–17 in pNu (Lapp 1997: pl. 65).

1488 *BoD* 125, 7 in pNu (Lapp 1997: pl. 65).

1489 *BoD* 125, 9 in pNu (Lapp 1997: pl. 65).

1490 *BoD* 125, 15 in pNu (Lapp 1997: pl. 65).

1491 *BoD* 125, 14–15 in pNu (Lapp 1997: pl. 65).

1492 Cf. §6.4, n. lxviii and §6.6.1 with n. 1397. On the differences between the gods of the scene and the gods of the main text, see §6.6.1 above.

1493 See *BoD* 125, 21–62 in pNu (Lapp 1997: pls. 66–67).

1494 See also Tiradritti (1997: 201).

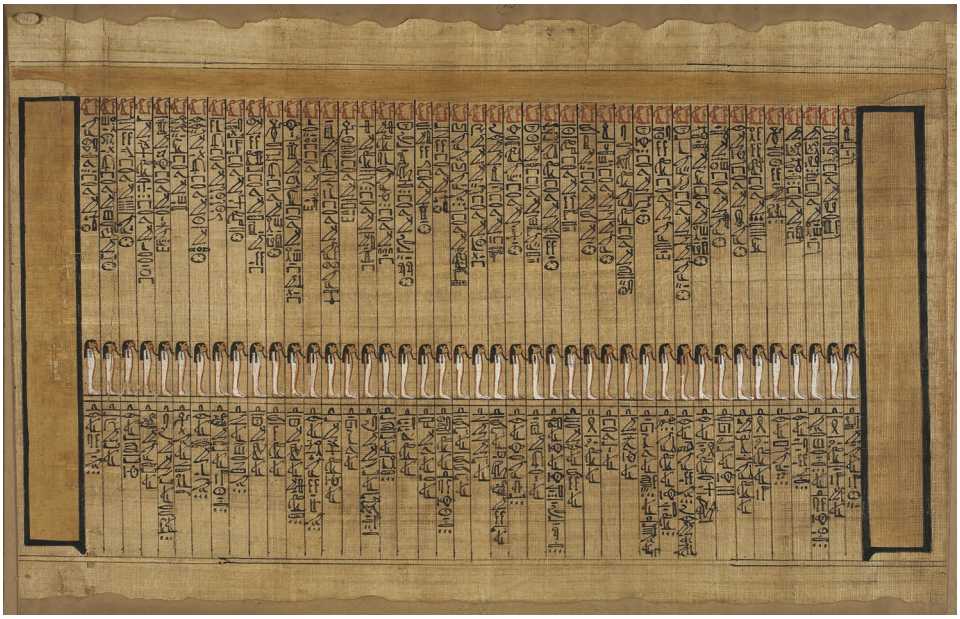


Fig. 48: Vertically arranged invocations to the 42 judges of Maat in chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* on the Papyrus of Nu, pBM EA 10477 (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

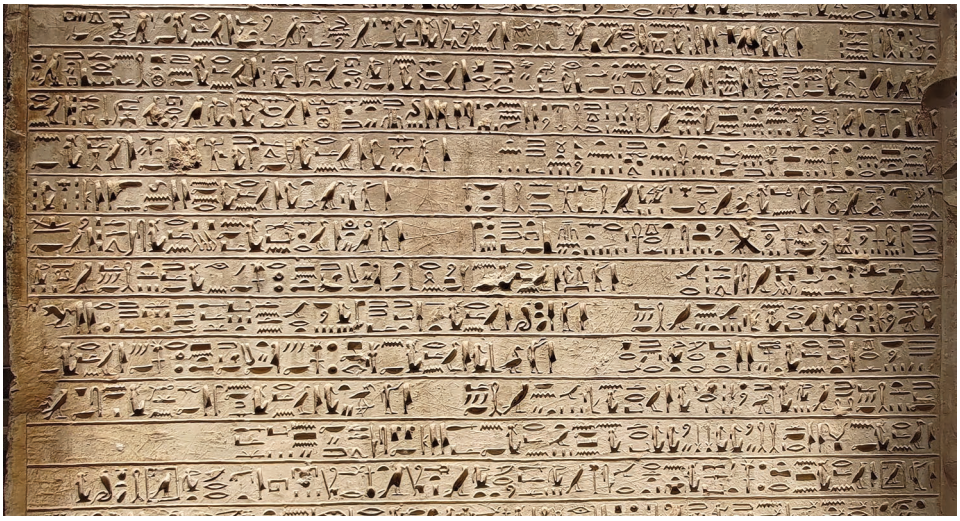


Fig. 49: Blank spaces separating each invocation from the next one in lines 19–30 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (© Grand Egyptian Museum, Giza). Photo by the author, November 2024.

For space constraints, this was not a viable option on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*. One could argue, however, that the composers of the inscription could have chosen a

larger limestone block to accommodate the formal requirements of the source text. Apparently, this was not their preferred solution. Instead, they used a typographical structural marker, a short blank space before and after each invocation, to mark the beginning of a new paragraph (see Fig. 49 above). Only on one occasion, at the head of line 21, did they refrain from doing so because the beginning of a new section coincided with the beginning of a new line. On another occasion, at the end of line 29, an unusually large space was left uninscribed,[1495] so that the next address could start at the head of a new line.

Although Tiradritti claims that the similarities between the *Great Abydos Stela* and chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* end with the king's invocations to the gods of the tribunal and that the two texts diverge at this point,[1496] I would argue that also Ramesses's final prayer to Osiris and the gods (§6.3.3.3.4) builds on a textual element of its funerary counterpart. After his invocations to the members of his tribunal, also the deceased pleads for the gods' favor and protection and—as does the king (see also §6.6.1)—reasons with having done his duty: *ḏd=tn mꜣʿt r=j m-bꜣḥ nb-r-ḏr ḥr-ntt jr.n=j mꜣʿt m tꜣ-mrj* "You shall speak *maat* about me in front of the Lord of All because I have done *maat* in the Beloved Land."[1497] Likewise: *nḥm wj jr={f}tn ḫw wj jr={f}tn* "Save me! Protect me!"[1498]

The king's entire address to Osiris and the gods (§6.3.3.3) can thus be interpreted as a recontextualized, situationally adapted version of chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*. The idea of taking a funerary text[1499] and transforming it in a way that it may convey a strong political message in a different context of use is entirely original and unparalleled in the record. Although the salience of this compositional originality may seem to overshadow the innovative use of the language in the text, the central message of the inscription, namely, that Ramesses IV is a legitimate ruler, would not emerge as powerfully as it does without the support of the heterogeneity of grammar, lexicon, and the graphical component at play. The language is, however, indeed subordinate to the compositional logic of the inscription: it is there to highlight and to create contrast wherever required (§6.6.2)—whether globally or at the level of the individual textual units. When viewed in the broader perspective, the linguistically most innovative parts of the stela are precisely those that build on only a limited number of formulations from chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*, the text's compositional point of departure: Ramesses's address to Osiris (§6.3.3.3.1) and his final prayer to Osiris and the gods (§6.3.3.3.4). Grammatically

1495 On average, ca. two groups were left blank before and after a paragraph, here, however, ca. eight groups were left uninscribed.

1496 Tiradritti (1997: 201).

1497 *BoD* 125, 65 in pNu (Lapp 1997: pl. 68).

1498 *BoD* 125, 72–73 in pNu (Lapp 1997: pl. 68).

1499 The earliest examples of this spell, which date to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, were no more than a few hundred years old at the time of Ramesses IV (see *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*, *Spruch 125*, totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/spruch/125#NachPerioden; accessed 31 October 2024). Nonetheless, it is unlikely that the relatively young age of the funerary composition played a decisive role in the composers' choice, as they may not have been fully conscious of the text's history.

(§6.6.2.1) and lexically (§6.6.2.2), the two sections framing the king's address form a stark contrast with the rest of the inscription. In the first, the king displays his state-of-the-art theological knowledge—a necessary step for winning Osiris's grace. In the second, he presents his concerns regarding his own and his heirs' political future as pleas to the gods. Since—as we learned in the introductory part of Ramesses's address to Osiris and the gods—all gods are different manifestations of Osiris, the king's supplications are essentially addressed to Osiris. It is ultimately him whose favor the king seeks (see also §6.3.3.4). The two linguistically highlighted sections are therefore strongly connected: only by paying due homage to Osiris can Ramesses hope that his prayers will be heard. The fact that these two important and interdependent sections are embedded into yet another, larger structure built around Ramesses's legitimacy as the central theme, further illustrates the polyphony and the richness of the text.

7 General Discussion

7.1 Grammar

7.1.1 Language in Service of the Compositional Logic of Individual Inscriptions

7.1.1.1 The Compositional Logic

The royal inscriptions of the Ramesside era demonstrate a broad compositional variety. As a chronologically and thematically wide corpus that combines and mobilizes various genres (§1.1.3), these texts are not expected to be compositionally uniform. The varying degree of their compositional complexity reflects both the historical and cultural contexts in which they were produced and the specific purposes they were intended to serve.

Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (Chapter 2), a text concerned with the upkeep of the king's newly established endowment for his memorial temple in Abydos (§2.5.3), for example, presents a particularly rich and complex combination of several genres (§2.5.1). Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (Chapter 3) is likewise primarily concerned with securing divine protection for the king's newly built temple. Here, however, the focus lies on the temple itself and its dedication to the gods, rather than on the deterrence of future malevolent actors (§3.5.3). Its composition is therefore simpler and relies more heavily on earlier traditions (§3.5.1). Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (Chapter 4), on the other hand, is structured around the *do ut des* principle: one half of the text is dedicated to the king's benefactions to the gods, while the other half records the gods' rewards for the king in return (§4.4.1). The two parts of the double monument are thus closely associated with the earthly and the divine realms respectively—not only thematically but also compositionally and linguistically (§4.4.3). Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (Chapter 5), by contrast, provides evidence for some of the key sociocultural developments that took place during the Twentieth Dynasty by combining a private record of partially administrative nature with a royal expedition inscription (§5.5.1 and §5.5.3).

Besides the innovative combination of different genres, recontextualization—a process whereby textual elements acquire additional layers of meaning in a new context of use, while others lose their significance[1500]—appears to have been another commonly employed technique for making productive use of existing intertextual networks. As Chloé Ragazzoli put it, "intertextuality refers to the compositional context, the network of texts 'that surrounds and influences the creation of any new text.'"[1501] The composers

1500 Cf. n. 1482 above.

1501 Ragazzoli (2017: 117, citing Hagen 2012: 137 in n. 100). The idea that texts come into being within a compositional context—that is, within a network of texts that shapes their creation, meaning, and reception—constitutes a basic tenet of intertextuality (Allen 2011a). It is one of the central ideas of contemporary literary theory and was first articulated by Julia Kristeva (1969). In Egyptology, although the idea had been referred to earlier by several scholars (Assmann 1984: 192–

of the Ramesside royal inscriptions (§7.4.3) were often inspired by this compositional context and reactivated elements of other texts within the royal inscriptions in order to achieve a specific intended meaning or to reinforce the transmission of a particular message. In the present corpus, this practice is most clearly observable on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (Chapter 6) but is also attested, for example, on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*. In the former, it serves to strengthen the king's legitimacy and plays a central role in structuring the composition (§6.6.1 and §6.6.3), whereas in the latter, it is employed to emphasize the king's piety (§4.4.3).

The broad compositional variety of the Ramesside royal texts attests to a great effort and care invested by their composers in finding the means that best suited the purpose of communicating a historically and culturally conditioned message. Different contents required different forms and called for the mobilization and combination of different genres, and occasionally also for the activation of already existing specific compositions. The term compositional logic is used in this work to refer to the way information is structured in an inscription in order to most effectively communicate the message the text was created to transmit.

In linguistically heterogeneous compositions, linguistic selections inevitably carry part of this message. For the composers of a text, opting for a linguistically heterogeneous composition means having a larger pool of linguistic features at their disposal than they would have had if they had opted for a linguistically homogeneous composition. In other words, linguistic heterogeneity means that there is more than one possible way of expressing a certain content. In practice, linguistic heterogeneity therefore translates into a series of decisions between functionally identical but grammatically, lexically, or graphically different options during the compositional process. Having alternatives implies that a decision *for* a certain linguistic element is at the same time a decision *against* another. In the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions, heterogeneity stands for the simultaneous use of old and new linguistic features (§1.2.1.2). In this particular corpus, the selection of a new linguistic feature thus usually came at the cost of older formulations, and vice versa. Since linguistic choices were inherently invested with indexical qualities and additional meaning (prestige vs. contemporary idiom; cf. §7.4.1 and §7.4.2), both generally and in specific contexts of use (§7.1.1.2), the exact nature of linguistic selections and their placement within a text could play a significant role in conveying the central message of an inscription. The way different linguistic selections were organized within an individual text was therefore strongly influenced by its compositional logic.

193, 207–208; Derchain 1994: 69, 71–72; and Vernus 1995b: 107), the term itself appears to have become established after it was promoted by Antonio Loprieno (1996a: 51–52 and 1996b: 222–225). In the same vein, intericonicity is defined by Dimitri Laboury (2017: 248) "as the shaping of an image's meaning or form by another image, acknowledging the fact that any image exists within a network of other images, with which it has diverse forms of relations that determine its meaning and form, as well as its very existence." On the concept of intericonicity or interpictoriality, see also Laboury (2015: 335–336); Den Doncker (2017: 336–339); Pieke (2017: 259 and 263); and Devillers (2018: 34–44).

In the Ramesside royal texts, language use thus acquired an important secondary, structuring and rhetorical role in communicating the inscriptions' central message. By "secondary" I do not mean subordinate to a narrowly referential level of meaning. Rather, linguistic selections are understood here as participating in what Roman Jakobson termed the poetic function of language,[1502] an orientation towards the form of the message itself. By drawing attention to itself, language was able to operate as a structuring and rhetorical device and to point to communicative intentions beyond propositional content. This additional function of the language is most apparent with regard to the grammatical selections of the texts (§7.1.1.2) but can also be observed with respect to their lexical and graphical choices (§7.2.2, §7.3.2, §7.3.3, and §7.3.5).

7.1.1.2 Linguistic Strategies in Service of the Compositional Logic

7.1.1.2.1 The Principled Placement of Old and New Grammatical Features

Several strategies can be identified through which the formal properties of language are mobilized in the service of textual structuring and rhetorical differentiation (§7.1.1.1) in the Ramesside royal inscriptions. Generally, old and new grammatical features (§1.2.1.2) seem to have been associated with different syntactic hierarchies in the texts: older grammatical features with higher—and newer ones with lower—syntactic levels. Accordingly, main clauses—particularly, the ones in sentence- or paragraph-initial position—were governed by Earlier Egyptian or diachronically neutral grammatical constructions, whereas subordinate clauses were more receptive to younger grammatical solutions. Moreover, the expression of predicates—most of all, verbal predicates—seems to have been an almost exclusive prerogative of Earlier Egyptian or diachronically indistinct grammatical constructions irrespective of their place in the syntactic hierarchy, while other, less central clause elements were more readily expressed by Late Egyptian morphosyntactic features. It must be pointed out that these observations imply a greater linguistic consciousness—a more refined analytical approach to language and a heightened grammatical and syntactic awareness—among the Egyptians than is typically acknowledged in the field.[1503]

The principled placement of old and new grammatical features seems to have been a basic compositional strategy adopted by most royal inscriptions. Among the texts analyzed in detail, it is observable in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (§2.5.2.1), on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (§3.5.2.1), and in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (§5.5.2.1) and *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.6.2.1). Although this principle provided a traditional framework for most compositions, it was often just that, an anchor to the past, and did not stand in the way of further compositional innovations in the corpus. What is more, the basic principle behind this practice—namely, that the different stages of the language were associated with different hierarchical values (cf. §7.4.1 and §7.4.2)—

1502 Jakobson (1960). Cf. also Waugh (1980) and Tsur (2010).
1503 Similarly discussed above, under §3.5.3 and §6.6.2.1.1. Cf. Uljas (2013: 4) with further references.

could sometimes find alternative ways of expression. In the first major section of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, for instance, Late Egyptian grammatical features were introduced only gradually (§6.6.2.1.1). In this particular case, the primacy of older grammatical formulations was thus ensured in a slightly different manner than in most parts of the rest of the corpus and in the rest of the text itself.

7.1.1.2.2 Linguistic Contrast Used for Fore- and Backgrounding

Another common strategy through which linguistic selections serve the compositional logic of Ramesside royal texts consists in exploiting the semantic potential of linguistic contrast created by the simultaneous use of old and new linguistic features. Passages whose grammatical profile diverges markedly from that of their immediate or broader textual environment are thereby set apart and may be foregrounded or backgrounded depending on the communicative weight of the information they convey. If the information is vital for the central message of the inscription, the passage receives additional emphasis. If, however, it is of secondary or parenthetic nature, the stylistic effect attained through linguistic contrast is the opposite: the section is relegated to the background. Whether the linguistically contrasted passage is fore- or backgrounded is generally evident from the context and does not require the reader's active evaluation. Fig. 50 below illustrates the two possibilities.

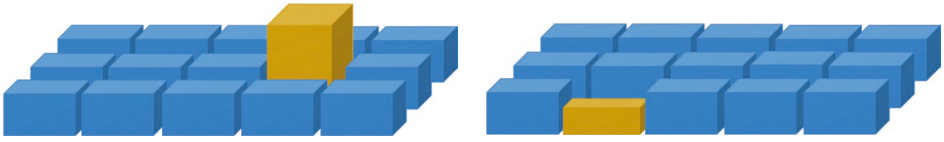


Fig. 50: The semantic potential of linguistic contrast: fore- and backgrounding information via linguistic selections.

Exploiting the semantic potential of linguistic contrast was a strategy often applied complementarily to the above-described general organizing principle of associating old and new grammatical features with different syntactic hierarchies of a text (§7.1.1.2.1). Linguistic contrast was commonly achieved by abandoning this principle and allowing Late Egyptian grammatical features to dominate all syntactic levels of a textual unit. The mutual complementarity of these two strategies is also reflected in the illustration above (Fig. 50). The colors of this image intentionally match those used previously in the charts demonstrating the grammatical selections of individual texts in the five case studies (Chaps. 2–6).[1504] In the previous charts, the dark blue columns represented the number of Earlier Egyptian grammatical features in a specific text or a specific part of a text, and the ones with yellow ochre measured the number of Late Egyptian grammatical features in the same textual units. In the picture above, by contrast, the same two colors stand for the predominance of Earlier and Late Egyptian grammatical features in a given

1504 Cf. Fig. 1, Fig. 3, Fig. 4, Fig. 12, Fig. 13, Fig. 14, Fig. 24, Fig. 31, and Fig. 41.

passage of a given text. The two ochre blocks encircled by several blue ones hence symbolize sections where Late Egyptian morphosyntactic features prevail in a textual environment that otherwise prefers older grammatical solutions. That is to say that if a text or a section of a text generally employs a rather traditional linguistic framework, passages therein with preference for more innovative grammatical formulations acquire an additional stylistic effect due to their contrasting linguistic profile. The regular use of this strategy, particularly in passages that carry a message of central importance, suggests that the effect was intentional: the linguistic marking of these sections in all probability happened on purpose. Since such passages fall into two strikingly different categories depending on the relative importance of their contents compared to the main line of thought in the inscription or the relevant part thereof, the common motive behind their strikingly different linguistic selections must have been to separate them from the rest of the text. If such a linguistically marked passage contains a key message, it receives additional emphasis, whereas if it carries only contents of commentary fashion, the same linguistic contrast results in a reduction of emphasis (de-emphasis).[1505]

Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* and Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* provide evidence for both directions of this rhetorical effect (§3.5.2.1, §3.5.3, and §6.6.2.1.1). On Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, the foregrounding effect of linguistic contrast is most apparent in a passage in the Ogdoad's address to the king that deals with the esthetic and architectural aspects of the newly built temple but is also present in the first paragraph of Thoth's address to Merenptah. On Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, the sections highlighted by their grammatical profile are widely dispersed throughout the king's address to Osiris and the gods, but their placement was demonstrably well-conceived in each case. The backgrounding effect of the same linguistic contrast was probably less commonly used, for it could be identified only twice in the present corpus: in the introductory heading of the *Hermopolis Stela* and in the parenthetic statements of Ramesses IV's introductory address to Osiris on his *Great Abydos Stela*. In Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, linguistic contrast seems to be exclusively linked to increased emphasis in the whole text (§2.5.2.1).

Although in most cases, linguistic contrast in grammatical selections was achieved by employing Late Egyptian grammatical features not only at the lower but also at the higher syntactic levels, Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* proves that this was not the only possible way to ensure the linguistic distinctness of a textual unit. Since the list of participants in the *Great Hammamat Inscription* has a comparably flat syntactic hierarchy (§5.5.2.1), the contrast of its linguistic selections with those of the rest of the text could not be realized in the usual manner. Instead, it originates from the complete absence of grammatical features characteristic of earlier stages of the language (§5.5.3.1). While the royal eulogy and the expedition account find a balance between the

1505 If royal inscriptions were delivered orally, as, for instance, Quack (2012: 289–291) suggested it, the linguistic contrasts resulting in such rhetorical effects must have played a central role also in the auditory experience.

use of Earlier and Late Egyptian morphosyntactic features, the list of participants stands out by tipping the scale in favor of the latter.

7.1.1.2.3 The Balance of Old and New Across Texts

A further strategy of mobilizing linguistic choices for indexical and rhetorical purposes is illustrated by Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*. The two halves of the inscription have a profoundly different linguistic profile (§4.4.2) because the linguistic selections of the two texts seem to have been differently motivated by the central theme of the corresponding stela (§4.4.3). Accordingly, the Southern Stela—which deals with the benefactions made by the king for the gods of Egypt and their temples, that is, with deeds of this-worldly nature—is written in a language, in which Late Egyptian grammatical features abound. At the same time, the Northern Stela—focusing on the king's rewards granted by the gods for his benefactions, and here specifically, by Amun-Re—prefers an older variant of the language. The grammatical selections of the two stelae thereby reflect the dimensional contrast between the two halves of the double monument: while the Southern Stela is linked to actual historical events, the Northern Stela is concerned with the cyclical time of *ḥbw-sd* "the jubilees." In other terms, while Late Egyptian is associated with the human sphere, Earlier Egyptian stands for the gods' realm, and the simultaneous use of the two symbolically encompasses the entire cosmos. This constitutes a particularly clear realization of linguistic dissimilation in its capacity as a means of linguistic inclusiveness (cf. §1.2.3). As originally described by Vernus, "la variation [linguistique] peut être considérée comme une manière de rendre compte de la richesse et de la diversité de la réalité."[1506] In the present context, old and new grammatical features acquire symbolic significance by representing and uniting the divine and human spheres at the linguistic level.

Linguistic dissimilation played an important role in the heterogeneous linguistic selections of all Ramesside royal texts,[1507] but the goal to reflect "the richness and diversity of reality"[1508] by linguistic means resulted in a more binary linguistic profile in the case of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* than in the case of most other texts. The interwovenness of the different linguistic norms is generally stronger in the corpus than in Ramesses III's double inscription. In the latter, the use of typically old and typically new grammatical constructions is primarily associated with either half of the inscription. The firmer-than-usual dissociation of the two idioms must have been in part motivated by the fact that the inscription consists of two individual parts that are also separated in the physical world. This was clearly not the only reason though. Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* is distributed on three different walls of the Kanais temple, and yet it features an entirely

1506 Vernus (1996b: 165).

1507 On the influence of the phenomenon at the micro-levels of individual texts, see the corresponding discussions on the grammatical selections of five selected texts under §2.5.2.1, §3.5.2.1, §4.4.2, §5.5.2.1, and §6.6.2.1. On the importance of the simultaneous presence of old and new linguistic features in the Ramesside royal texts at a more general level, see §7.4.

1508 See n. 1506 above.

different linguistic profile—with different patterns of linguistic clustering—than the *Great Double Stela*. The main motives behind the grammatical choices of both inscriptions must therefore have been compositional (§2.5.3 and §4.4.3).

In the case of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, the different stages of the Egyptian language, the old and the new, are balanced against each other in two separate texts carved next to one another on the same temple wall but unified by an overarching compositional logic (§4.4). If compositional logic—in pursuit of linguistic inclusiveness—may bring together inscriptions with a common theme separated in space, it may also unite inscriptions dissociated not only in space but also in time. This appears to be the most plausible explanation of the different linguistic profiles that Ramesses II's *First* and *Second Hittite Marriage* inscriptions[1509] and Ramesses IV's *Great* and *Year 4 Abydos Stelae*[1510] exhibit. These two sets of inscriptions are closely related, although they were not written at the same time and were not erected at the same place. In the case of Ramesses II's *Hittite Marriage* texts, the common theme is a royal wedding to a Hittite princess in each case, whereas Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* seems to be a logical continuation of the *Great Abydos Stela* in many respects.[1511] While Ramesses IV's two Abydos stelae seem to have been erected not more than a few months apart,[1512] the main record of the *First Hittite Marriage* and the abridged version of the same text may be up to 10–15 years older than the texts commemorating Ramesses II's second Hittite marriage.[1513] The spatial distance is similarly larger between the *First* and *Second Hittite Marriage* texts than the one between Ramesses IV's two Abydos inscriptions, since there is no shared location among the preserved copies of the former,[1514] while the latter may have even stood in the same temple in Abydos.[1515] Nonetheless, the older texts are more conservative in their linguistic selections than the younger ones in both instances. The conspicuously innovative language of the later texts together with their obvious link to some overall more traditionally written earlier counterparts is reminiscent of the compositional logic of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, where the fundamentally different linguistic choices of the two halves of the double monument represent two sides of the same linguistic reality. In the case of Ramesses II's *Hittite Marriage* texts and Ramess-

1509 K*RI* II 233–256 and 256–257 vs. K*RI* II 282–284. Contra Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 100–101).

1510 K*RI* VI 20–25 vs. K*RI* VI 17–20. Similarly explained by Paksi (2023: 128).

1511 On the various links between the two inscriptions, see §6.2 and §6.6.2.1.1 with Table 3 and Table 4 above or—more briefly—Paksi (2023: 127–128).

1512 See §6.2 above with Fig. 40 or Paksi (2023: 129 and 236, fig. 60).

1513 The main record of the *First Hittite Marriage* dates to Ramesses II's 34th regnal year (K*RI* II 235, 4), but the abridged version of the same text (see K*RI* II 256, 11) and the two preserved copies of the *Second Hittite Marriage* (see K*RI* II 282, 13) do not mention a date. On the available clues on the date of the second Hittite wedding, see Kitchen & Gaballa (1969: 18) and *RITANC* II 164.

1514 The *First Hittite Marriage* is known from copies in Abu Simbel, Elephantine, Karnak, Amarah West, and Aksha (Serra West), whereas the *Second Hittite Marriage* has only been documented in Koptos and Abydos.

1515 See §6.1 with n. 1126 and §6.2 with n. 1147 above.

es IV's two Abydos stelae, linguistic inclusiveness as a unifying motive, however, seems to span larger chronological and spatial distances.

It is remarkable though that in the case of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, the southern half of the monument, that is, the linguistically more innovative part, opens the sequence (§4.1). By contrast, in the case of Ramesses II's *Hittite Marriage* inscriptions and Ramesses IV's *Great* and *Year 4 Abydos Stelae*, the later texts show a much stronger preference for Late Egyptian grammar than the earlier ones. On the *Great Double Stela*, the Northern Stela with its predominantly Earlier Egyptian grammatical profile, granting the king the divine rewards for his benefactions, is the second part in the sequence and thereby represents the culmination of the monument (§4.4.3). Since the texts of Ramesses II and Ramesses IV are separated not only in space but also in time, a reverse arrangement of this kind would have been rather unexpected for various reasons. First, the two halves of Ramesses III's double inscription were likely composed at the same time, whereas the texts of Ramesses II and Ramesses IV presumably were not. This means that when the inscriptions of the *First Hittite Marriage* and the *Great Abydos Stela* were composed, there was not yet an integrative plan for follow-up texts. They were later additions, composed as variations on an already existing theme. Written in a highly innovative linguistic register, these texts connect to their earlier counterparts by complementing them linguistically. Second, since Earlier Egyptian is the language that provides the basic structural framework for most Ramesside royal texts (§7.1.1.2.1 and §7.4.1), and inscriptions with predominantly Late Egyptian grammar usually do not stand alone, a reverse scenario, in which the *First Hittite Marriage* texts and the *Great Abydos Stela* would have been written in Late Egyptian without already existing more traditional pendants, would have been inconceivable in the given cultural setting.

7.1.2 Transitional and Hybrid Grammatical Constructions

As pointed out above (§1.2.2), the composers of the Ramesside royal inscriptions most likely did not have a specific "correct" version in mind when emulating earlier stages of the Egyptian language. Instead, they adopted a creative approach to the past layers of the language and at times reinvented, recreated, and artificially reconstructed them.[1516] From an etic perspective though, grammatical constructions resulting from this creative process often appear as combinations of Late and Earlier Egyptian morphosyntactic features and are generally labelled as hybrids or transitional forms.[1517]

The majority of such examples are participles or relative forms in the five case studies above. Among these, the expression of the neuter meaning seems to have been most often subject to individual interpretations. The corpus offers a broad range of different

1516 Cf. Winand (2017b: 24) on "the practice of the New Kingdom scribes who deliberately enriched their texts by employing patterns that had for them a distinct Middle Egyptian flavor, although being sometimes at odds with the grammar of the Middle Kingdom."

1517 See, e.g., Depuydt (1999: 45, 54, 61); Nagai (2006: 225–226); or Stauder (2013a: 103–104, 107–109, and 113). Baines (1996: 159) describes "literary Late Egyptian" as a "conventionalized hybrid." Compare the term "solecism" used by Vernus (2016b: 13 and 2017: 495–496).

grammatical solutions: among others, masculine forms with Earlier Egyptian morphological features and feminine forms with Late Egyptian characteristics.[1518] For a complete list of the different examples present in the five case studies, see the corresponding entries under §2.4.1, §3.4.1, §4.2.3.1, §4.3.3.1, and §6.5.1. A particularly telling example is the active participle *j.jrr*—simultaneously featuring the reduplication of earlier imperfective forms and the prothetic *yod* of Late Egyptian participles—found in three inscriptions of the broader corpus of the present study (§1.1.3): on the southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (see under §4.2.3.1), on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (see under §6.5.1), and in the Koptos version of Ramesses II's *Second Hittite Marriage*.[1519] The case of *j.jrr* aptly illustrates that hybrid forms may have resulted from partial linguistic dissimilation from an emic viewpoint. Adding a reduplication to a Late Egyptian participle was likely deemed sufficient to link the form to a more ancient linguistic layer on top of its already existing association with the present, owing to the prothetic *yod* at the head of the form.

The texts also include further grammatical features that pose a classificatory challenge from the Egyptological perspective by defying the labels Earlier and Late Egyptian. The northern half of the *Great Double Stela*, for instance, contains a circumstantial *sḏm=f* of the *s*-causative of a 3-lit. verb formed with an auxiliary *jri* (GDSN 5; see §4.3.2, n. xxiii). In Earlier Egyptian, circumstantial *sḏm=f*'s were formed without periphrasis irrespective of the verbal class. The Northern Stela also includes a notionally anaphoric reference expressed by *=sn*, the older third-person plural suffix pronoun, in a grammatically conservative section, although in earlier times, such instances would have been marked with the absence of a reference (GDSN 18; see §4.3.2, n. lxiv). The *Great Abydos Stela* includes a tripartite nominal sentence formed with a Late Egyptian independent personal pronoun (see under §6.5.1; discussed under §6.6.2.1.1) and a pseudo Earlier Egyptian construction of the verb *j* "to say" (discussed under §6.6.2.1.2). In the latter, the verb *j* is used in the first person singular, although in Old and Middle Egyptian, it is attested only with second- and third-person plural suffix pronouns.[1520] In Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*, the most remarkable hybrid grammatical formation is the *jw sḏm.n.tw=f* construction that appears twice in the second half of the expeditionary report (see under §5.4.1; discussed under §5.5.2.1). The *Kanais Inscription* displays a graphical mix of the Earlier and Late Egyptian third-person plural independent pronouns: *mntsn*, a blend of *ntsn* and *mntw* (C12; see §2.3, n. lxxiii). In Seti I's inscriptions, less evident is the morphosyntactic hybridity of two passages formed with Earlier Egyptian demonstratives. *Nn* is found in a new fixed collocation (C16; see under §2.4.2.6), while the usually anaphoric *pn* is employed in a cataphoric position (C15; see §2.3, n. lxxxix). Regarding the use of pronouns—in this case, suffix pronouns—Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription* contains an Earlier Egyptian *sḏm.jn.tw=f*

1518 See n. 145 above.
1519 Cited above, under n. 684.
1520 See n. 1437 above.

construction formed with the Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun as *sḏm.jn.tw=w*.[1521]

In addition to the above examples, the corpus also provides several instances of various transitional negative verbal constructions. For example, Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* has three slightly different realizations—*n sḏm=f*, *nn sḏm=f*, and *bw sḏm=f*—for the Negative Accomplished and two—*nn sḏm.n=f* and *bw sḏm=f*—for the Negative Aorist (see under §6.5.1; discussed under §6.6.2.1.1). Of the former, *n sḏm=f* is also attested in the *Great Hammamat Inscription* (see under §5.4.1); *nn sḏm=f* in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*;[1522] and *bw sḏm=f* in the *Kanais Inscription* (C7; see under §2.4.1), the *Great Dedicatory Inscription*,[1523] and Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*.[1524] Of the latter, *nn sḏm.n=f* also appears in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*[1525] and in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*,[1526] while *bw sḏm=f* is present in the *Kanais Inscription* (C5; see under §2.4.1), Ramesses II's main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*,[1527] Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*,[1528] and on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSS 4; see under §4.2.3.1). Between *nn sḏm.n=f* and *bw sḏm=f*, two examples of a third variant of the Negative Aorist, namely, *bw sḏm.n=f*, constitute the missing link in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (B13 and C16; see under §2.4.1). The *bw sḏm.n=f* finds parallels in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*,[1529] in the main record of the *First Hittite Marriage*,[1530] and in Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*.[1531] Finally, to the singular example of Late Egyptian negative preterite (*bwpw=f sḏm*) in Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* (cited and discussed above, under §6.6.2.1.1), two Nineteenth Dynasty inscriptions, Seti I's *Year 9 Lesser Aswan Stela*[1532] and Ramesses II's

1521 *St3.jn.tw=w* "they (i.e., the courtiers) were introduced" (K*RI* II 326, 7). Compare, for instance, *st3.jn.tw=f* "he (i.e., Neferti) was introduced" in *Neferti* 2g (Helck 1992: 13). On the connections between *Neferti* and the *Great Dedicatory Inscription*, see Stauder (2019).

1522 K*RI* II 329, 12.

1523 K*RI* II 329, 3–4 and 7.

1524 K*RI* IV 5, 2 and 12, 2.

1525 K*RI* I 50, 11 (2x).

1526 K*RI* II 325, 15 and 326, 1.

1527 K*RI* II 244, 5.

1528 K*RI* IV 4, 7; 6, 14; 7, 6; and 11, 8. The example in K*RI* IV 6, 14 was differently interpreted by Manassa (2003: 42–43 and 146) and Kitchen (*RITA* IV 6) and was cited by Redford (1986: 83, no. 106).

1529 K*RI* II 334, 8. On which, compare Spalinger's (2009: 80) comment: "it reveals the somewhat confused [*sic*] negative patterns of the 'langage de tradition.'"

1530 K*RI* II 244, 4 and 6.

1531 K*RI* IV 3, 13–14. Manassa (2003: 140) notes that "[t]his form corresponds to the Middle Egyptian negative aorist *ni sḏm.n=f* and represents another of the interesting transitional and transient forms that characterize the grammar of Ramesside historical texts."

1532 K*RI* I 73, 12. The example (*nnpwjj=w m33*) is cited by Manassa (2003: 143, n. 45).

Great Dedicatory Inscription,[1533] provide parallels in the form of an exceptional *nnpw=f sḏm* construction.[1534]

Certain grammatical morphemes change their function during the course of time and appear with extended applicability in texts of the Ramesside era. For instance, enclitic and non-enclitic particles[1535] and former prepositions used as clause connectors[1536] belong to this category. The context of use of these morphemes and their pattern of attestation in the record suggest that some of them were continued to be treated (or were occasionally treated) as old features by the composers of the inscriptions despite their altered, relatively novel function in the texts. In the case of enclitic and non-enclitic particles, this usually happened if the new function of the morpheme was already attested in the early Eighteenth Dynasty and if its use had been associated with higher written registers ever since (cf. §7.4.1).[1537] Consider, for example, the particle *jst* in line 6 of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (§5.2.2.4) used as a structural marker—that is, in a relatively new function (see under §5.4.2.2)—but spelled in an archaizing way, as *jsk* (see under §5.4.3.1). In line 6 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (§3.2.3.3), a causal subordination introduced by *mj* precedes (!) the main clause in a grammatically conservative section (§3.3, n. xxxii). In this case, it is not the pattern of attestation of the morpheme but its linguistic environment that suggests that what we recognize as a unique and innovative syntactic solution was likely not perceived as such by the composers of the text. In a similar vein, we cannot be sure that the relatively recently acquired function of, for instance, the grammaticalized complementizer *r-ḏd* was duly recognized on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (see under §3.4.2.2) and on the southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (see under §4.2.3.2.2).

Such instances provide important insights into the ancient perceptions of old and new with regard to grammar, for they lead us to the realization that the Egyptians were generally more concerned with form than they were with function. For their purposes, it apparently often sufficed if a construction *looked* ancient. Examples that attest to a targeted manipulation of the graphical dimension (§7.3.1) further corroborate this finding. Among these, the graphical modification of certain Late Egyptian grammatical mor-

1533 K*RI* II 329, 11 and 220, 7. Spalinger (2009: 51 with n. 226) calls *nnpw=f sḏm* a "monumental hieroglyphic reflex" of *bwpw=f sḏm*.

1534 *Nnpw=f sḏm* likely resulted from a graphical dissimilation of the regular contemporary form, *bwpw=f sḏm* (*bwpw* → *nnpw*), or the earlier *n pꜣ=f sḏm* (*n* → *nn* and *pꜣ* → *pw*). Erman (E*NG* §776) notes further graphical variations on *bwpw* in non-monumental context, on ostraca and papyri.

1535 See *js* "in fact," *jst* "now," and *rf* "indeed" in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (see under §2.4.2.2); *jst* "now" and *swt* "even" on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (see under §4.3.3.2.2); *jsk*/*jst*(*w*) "now" in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (see under §5.4.2.2); and *mj* "after all" and *tr*(*j*) "indeed" on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (see under §6.5.2.2).

1536 For the examples of *mj* as causal conjunction (n. 143 above) in the five case studies analyzed above, see the corresponding entries under §2.4.1, §3.4.1, §4.2.3.1, §4.3.3.1, and §6.5.1; the examples of *ḫr* as clause connector (see Neveu 2001), see under §2.4.1, §3.4.1, §4.2.3.1, and §6.5.1; and those of *ḏr* preceding a finite *sḏm=f* (n. 467 above), under §3.4.1, §4.2.3.1, and §6.5.1.

1537 See the enclitic and non-enclitic particles under §2.4.2.1, §4.3.3.2.1, §5.4.2.1, and §6.5.2.1.

phemes on the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (§4.4.2) is the most conspicuous of all.

7.1.3 Linguistic Dissimilation at the Grammatical Level

The simultaneous use of old and new grammatical constructions played a major role in the composition of Ramesside royal texts (§7.1.1), but assuring the heterogeneity of their linguistic selections was not merely a general objective (§7.4): it affected the language of the texts down to the smallest details. Linguistic dissimilation, in its capacity as a means of linguistic inclusiveness (cf. §1.2.3), was a consistently employed strategy across all compositional levels of the royal inscriptions.

In the five royal texts discussed above, the use of the different morphological variants of the third-person plural suffix pronoun (*=sn*, *=st*, and *=w*) along with the different graphical realizations of the feminine third-person singular and masculine second-person singular pseudoparticipial endings (*-tj*, *-ṯ*, and *-tw*) constitute some of the most common alternations of functionally identical Earlier and Late Egyptian grammatical morphemes.[1538] The interchange between the older (*noun + suffix pronoun*) and later (*possessive article + noun*) strategies of indicating adnominal possession[1539] is another frequent manifestation of the phenomenon.[1540] Linguistic dissimilation found, however, many more forms of expression in the texts. Some examples of functionally identical but morphologically different negative verbal constructions have already been mentioned above (§7.1.2). Such constructions were often used in alternation with one another within the same text,[1541] as was pointed out specifically for Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos*

1538 The linguistic dissimilation of the third-person plural suffix pronouns is observable in all five texts: Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (§2.5.2.1), Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (exx. under §3.4.1), Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (exx. under §4.2.3.1 and §4.3.3.1), Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (§5.5.2.1; exx. under §5.4.1), and the *Great Abydos Stela*, similarly of Ramesses IV (§6.6.2.1.2). The use of functionally identical but morphologically different pseudoparticipial endings can be traced in the *Kanais Inscription* (§2.5.2.3), on the *Hermopolis Stela* (§3.5.2.3), and on the *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.6.2.3).

1539 See n. 932 above.

1540 The older strategy is the standard grammatical solution for expressing phrasal possession in all but one of the texts analyzed above. The southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* is the only inscription in the corpus where the *possessive article + noun* construction is preferred over the *noun + suffix pronoun* pattern (exx. under §4.2.3.1; discussed under §4.4.2). The other texts also employ the later strategy, however, more occasionally. Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (ex. under §2.4.1), the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (ex. under §4.3.3.1; discussed under §4.3.3.3.1 and §4.4.2), and Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (ex. under §5.4.1; discussed under §5.5.2.1) have only one example each, but Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (exx. under §3.4.1; discussed under §3.5.2.1) and Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (exx. under §6.5.1; discussed under §6.6.2.1.1) have a few more.

1541 Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (see under §2.4.1) contains two different negative optative constructions (*sḏw sḏm=f* and *sḏw sw r sḏm*), a Late Egyptian negative imperative (*m-jr sḏm*), two Negative Aorists (*bw sḏm.n=f* and *bw sḏm=f*), and two negative prospectives (*bn sḏm=f* and *nn sḏm=f*), while Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (see under §6.5.1) includes three different Negative Ac-

Stela (§6.5.1). A comparable pattern of use could be observed with the various possible ways available for the expression of neuter meaning, similarly discussed above (§7.1.2).[1542] The grammatical morphemes used to express a state of non-existence could also vary text-internally, as the examples on the *Hermopolis*[1543] and the *Great Double Stela*[1544] illustrate. The same applies to the different morphological variants of independent and dependent personal pronouns in some texts. On both halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, the masculine second-person singular independent pronoun is present with its older and newer variants (*ntk* and *mntk*; see under §4.2.3.1 and §4.3.3.1; discussed under §4.4.2), while in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, the third-person plural dependent pronoun has two alloforms, *sn* and *st* (see under §2.5.2.1). In the *Kanais Inscription*, the importance of linguistic dissimilation and linguistic inclusiveness is equally manifest in the use of the different future relative constructions,[1545] vetitives,[1546] and causal conjunctions.[1547] Similarly, on the *Great Double Stela* as well as on the *Great Abydos Stela*, there are various grammatical realizations for participles and relative forms (see under §4.2.3.1, §4.3.3.1, and §6.5.1).

If a certain grammatical function is subject to morphological variations within a text, it can generally be demonstrated that the placement of the morphological variants was not accidental. The in-text arrangement of the morphologically different grammatical solutions commonly followed a logic that attests to the composers' thorough understanding of the various text-internal hierarchies at play. The choice among the synchronically available options usually reflects the linguistic preference of the relevant section,[1548] is adjusted to certain lexical selections,[1549] or takes into account a major structural divide within the inscription, such as the main text vs. margins dichotomy.[1550] In other cases, the arrangement of the morphologically different and functionally identical grammatical features is accommodated to the compositional logic of the relevant subsec-

complished constructions (*n sḏm=f*, *nn sḏm=f*, and *bw sḏm=f*) and two Negative Aorists (*nn sḏm.n=f* and *bw sḏm=f*).

1542 For the different forms present in the *Kanais Inscription*, on the *Hermopolis Stela*, on the two halves of the *Great Double Stela*, and on the *Great Abydos Stela*, see the corresponding entries under §2.4.1, §3.4.1, §4.2.3.1, §4.3.3.1, and §6.5.1 respectively.

1543 The text employs the morphemes *nn* and *nn-wn* (exx. under §3.4.1; discussed under §3.5.2.1).

1544 The morphemes used are *mn*, *n*^{sic} (§4.3.2, n. xxv), and *nn* (exx. under §4.2.3.1 and §4.3.3.1; discussed under §4.4.2).

1545 See nn. 390 and 443 above; exx. under §2.4.1.

1546 See n. 388 above.

1547 See n. 392 above.

1548 Compare the distribution of the different third-person plural suffix and dependent pronouns in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (§2.5.2.1) or the distribution of the various masculine second-person singular and feminine third-person singular pseudoparticipial endings on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.6.2.3), for instance.

1549 Compare the one-time use of a Late Egyptian possessive article in the royal eulogy of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (§5.5.2.1).

1550 Notice the complete absence of the Late Egyptian third-person plural suffix pronoun on the margins of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.6.2.1.2). The difference in structural hierarchy between margins and main text is often marked also graphically (§7.3.5).

tion.[1551] Irrespective of the underlying motives, linguistic dissimilation always results in the enhancement of the stylistic complexity of a text. The use of linguistic dissimilation as a stylistic device is, on the other hand, a characteristic of elevated written registers and as such is often found in the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions.[1552]

7.1.4 The Impact of Time on Grammatical Choices

The detailed grammatical analysis of five major Ramesside royal inscriptions shows no historically growing trend in the use of the typically new grammatical features at the cost of the typically old ones. This means that the inscriptions from the Nineteenth Dynasty do not necessarily employ fewer Late Egyptian grammatical elements than those from the Twentieth Dynasty. What is more, later texts in general are not more likely to include fewer Earlier Egyptian and more Late Egyptian grammatical features than earlier ones.

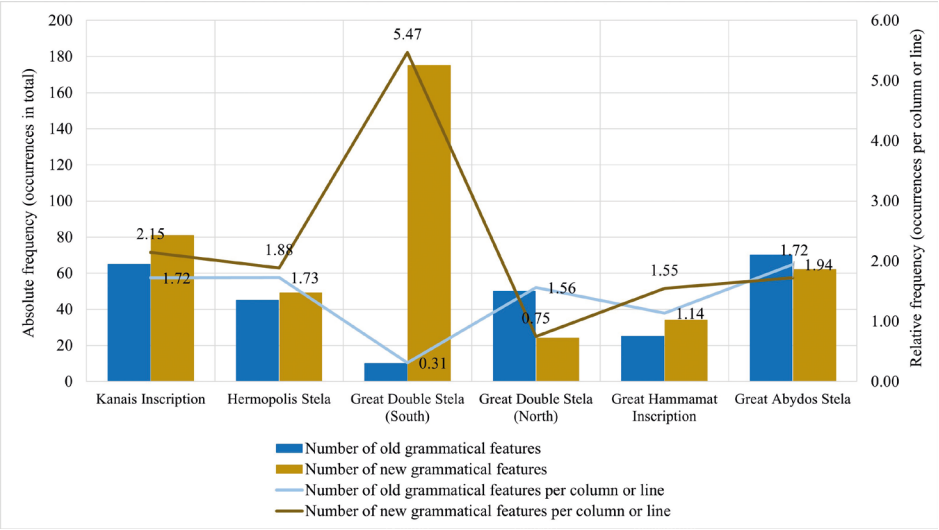


Fig. 51: Absolute and relative frequency of old and new grammatical features (details under §2.4.1, §3.4.1, §4.2.3.1, §4.3.3.1, §5.4.1, and §6.5.1) in the main texts of the five royal inscriptions discussed in detail in the present study.

As it has been pointed out above (§7.1.1), the linguistic selections of individual inscriptions were primarily determined by their compositional logic; the date of composition had thus little or no impact on the overall number of old and new grammatical features in the language of a text. The validity of this statement is demonstrated by the chart above (Fig. 51) presenting the absolute and relative frequency of Late and Earlier Egyptian

1551 See, e.g., the arrangement of the future relative constructions in Text C of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (§2.5.2.1 with nn. 390 and 443 above) or that of the negative verbal forms in Ramesses IV's negative confession on the *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.6.2.1.1).

1552 Also noted by Vernus (2016a: 221), who illustrates his statement with examples from the reign of Seti I (221–222).

grammatical features in the main texts of the five Ramesside royal inscriptions studied in detail in the present work. It is striking that the oldest text in the corpus, Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, has more Late Egyptian grammatical features per column than Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, presumably the youngest one,[1553] has per line (2.15 ex./col. vs. 1.72 ex./line). Similarly, the relative frequency of Earlier Egyptian grammatical features is higher on the *Great Abydos Stela* than in the approximately 13 decades older inscription of Seti I (1.94 ex./line vs. 1.72 ex./col.). The two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* with their fundamentally different linguistic selections (5.47 vs. 0.75 new ex./line and 0.31 vs. 1.56 old ex./line; see also §4.4.2) illustrate equally well that the linguistic profile of a text was largely independent of its date of composition.

The breadth of a text's linguistic repertoire with regard to its old and new grammatical features (§2.4.1, §3.4.1, §4.2.3.1, §4.3.3.1, §5.4.1, and §6.5.1) likewise did not depend on its date of composition. The number of different Late and Earlier Egyptian grammatical features present in an inscription was more likely affected by the complexity of the composition and—to some extent, certainly also—by the idiosyncratic choices of its composers. While it seems logical to expect that a complex, multifaceted composition uniting many different genres and topics will be more elaborate than a compositionally simpler text, the influence of the human factor remains more difficult to assess. Although the identity of the people who actually composed and wrote these texts eludes us, we may rightly assume that they were all part of the literate elite (§7.4.3).[1554] This, on the other hand, suggests that the variance in the breadth of a linguistic repertoire originating in the human factor may be less attributable to differences in the composers' training and knowledge than to their personal preferences and style. The extent to which linguistic dissimilation was applied in the grammatical selections of individual texts (§7.1.3) may, for instance, be ascribed to such components. By all means, it is Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* and Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, which are also compositionally the two most elaborate texts in the corpus (§2.5.1 and §6.6.1), that contain the widest range of different Earlier and Late Egyptian constructions[1555] and thereby stand out with respect to the complexity and eloquence of their grammatical selections.

Although the date of composition of an inscription did apparently not have an influence on the novelty of its language nor on the breadth of its Late or Earlier Egyptian grammatical selections, it did have an impact on the specific nature of the grammatical constructions it employed: the diachronic evolution of the language left its mark on the

1553 On the relative age of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* and *Great Abydos Stela*, see n. 112 above.

1554 Ragazzoli (2010: 157) distinguishes between core- and sub-elite, i.e., between high dignitaries and intermediary civil servants responsible for the administrative functioning of the state and its temples. She adds elsewhere (Ragazzoli 2017: 117) that the production of ritual and official texts—among others, also royal inscriptions—was likely the responsibility of the latter.

1555 Both inscriptions have over 30 different typically new or typically old grammatical features (§2.4.1 and §6.5.1), whereas the other three texts merely around 20 or fewer (§3.4.1, §4.2.3.1, §4.3.3.1, and §5.4.1).

corpus. While certain—often transitional (§7.1.2)—grammatical constructions became obsolete after a while, others only appeared later in time.

The synthetic *sḏm.tj=fj* form, for instance, is no longer attested in the inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty, but it is documented three times in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (see under §2.4.1), once in the *Nauri Decree*,[1556] and once more in a bandeau text in Ramesses II's Abydos temple.[1557] The transitional *ntjj r sḏm*[1558] and *ntjj tw=j/sw r sḏm*[1559] future relative constructions, which are similarly present in the *Kanais Inscription* (see under §2.4.1), also disappear after the early Nineteenth Dynasty. Their place is taken by the full-fledged relative Third Future, *ntjj jw=f r sḏm*.[1560] The use of the early Late Egyptian Third Future (*tw=j/sw r sḏm*) is discontinued also in main, not only in relative clauses after the reign of Seti I.[1561]

The early Late Egyptian conjunctive (*ḥnʿ ntf sḏm*), which has three examples in the *Kanais Inscription* (see under §2.4.1) and one in the *Nauri Decree*,[1562] similarly becomes obsolete after the early Nineteenth Dynasty.[1563] The *ntf sḏm* construction, which Burkhart Kroeber called "the missing link" between the transitional *ḥnʿ ntf sḏm* and the fully developed Late Egyptian *mtw=f sḏm*,[1564] is only attested once in the *Elephantine Decree*,[1565] an inscription whose dating to the reign of Ramesses III has been recently questioned.[1566] The Late Egyptian conjunctive, which was in use since the early Nineteenth Dynasty,[1567] seems to have undergone some functional extensions during the

1556 K*RI* I 56, 8.

1557 K*RI* II 515, 11.

1558 See n. 129 above. The construction also occurs twice in the *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 55, 6–7 and 56, 13).

1559 See n. 130 above.

1560 The construction is documented in Seti I's *Nauri Decree* (K*RI* I 52, 14; 53, 1, 4, 9, 11, 15–16; 54, 1–2, 5, 7–8 [cited by Winand 1992: 60, ex. 90]; 55, 11–12 [cited by Winand 1992: 65, ex. 106], 15, 16; 56, 2, 4–5; 57, 2–3 [cited by Winand 1992: 66, ex. 113], 3–4, 6, 10–11 [cf. David 2006: 96, n. 112], 13–14; 58, 3), *Kanais Inscription* (see under §2.4.1), and *Hermopolis Decree* (K*RI* I 125, 15 and 126, 1); in a new Ramesside royal decree from Memphis (Iskander & Rohim 2016: 181: pl. 2, column 2; 184; 190: fig. 4, column 2), probably similarly from Seti I's reign (Iskander & Rohim 2016: 191); in the *Elephantine Decree* (K*RI* V 344, 2–3, 3, 5, and 6–7) attributed to Ramesses III (see, however, n. 419 above); and on Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela* (K*RI* VI 20, 4).

1561 See n. 131 above.

1562 K*RI* I 56, 14. The *Nauri Decree* also has a couple of examples of the "embryo-conjunctive" (see David 2006: 62–63), the forerunner of the present form, with the prepositions *ḥnʿ* (K*RI* I 53, 7; 55, 13; 56, 1 and 2) and *m-dj* (K*RI* I 53, 15; 54, 9; 55, 10; 57, 1 and 5), and several instances of the full-fledged Late Egyptian *mtw=f sḏm* (K*RI* I 53, 12; 55, 7 and 8; 57, 3; 58, 4 and 8).

1563 See n. 133 above. The construction apparently survives the reign of Seti I. For a handful of non-monumental examples from the reign of Ramesses II, see K*RI* III 45, 13; 157, 2 and 8.

1564 Kroeber (1970: 144).

1565 K*RI* V 344, 5–6.

1566 See n. 419 above.

1567 See the examples in the *Nauri Decree* mentioned above, under n. 1562. In the present corpus, further examples have been noted on the southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (see under §4.2.3.1), Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (see under §6.5.1), in Ramesses II's main

Twentieth Dynasty. The present corpus contains a handful of examples where the construction does not stand in direct continuation of any particular verbal form (see under §4.2.3.1 and §6.5.1) and where the morpheme *mtw* seems to function as a simple "and" in its capacity as a coordinating cumulative conjunction joining two clauses (discussed under §6.6.2.1.1). Such instances build on the additive nature of the construction's basic semantics (see *ḥnꜥ ntf sḏm*).[1568]

The diachronic evolution of the language is also perceptible in such subtle changes in the corpus as the gradual omission of the genitival *n* from the spelling of the Late Egyptian plural definite article (*nꜣ n* → *nꜣ*).[1569] *Nꜣ n* is much less frequent than *nꜣ* in the texts analyzed in the present study and completely disappears from the record by the early Twentieth Dynasty.[1570] On Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, for instance, we still find both variants (see under §3.4.1), but the longer graphical solution seems to have been associated with additional deictic force (§3.5.1). The earlier *nꜣ n* occurs, furthermore, in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*,[1571] on Ramesses II's *Quban Stela*,[1572] and in Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*.[1573]

7.2 Lexicon

7.2.1 Lexical Items Pointing to Past Layers of the Language

In the framework of the present study, the goal of lexical investigations was to identify lexical solutions in the language of various selected Ramesside royal texts that are either conspicuously new—that is, typically post-Amarnian or Ramesside—or that point to past layers of the language, and to account for the rationale behind their in-text distribution (§1.2.1.2). As opposed to grammar, the composers' intent to link a text or a passage of text to past layers of the language specifically through its lexical—and graphical (§7.3.1)—selections is, however, much harder to grasp. With regard to lexicon, this difficulty in part results from the methodology adopted in this study. By refraining from the systematic analysis of the phraseological selections of individual texts, the identification of such ancient motives mostly had to rely on the pattern of attestation of individual lexemes. A detailed phraseological study of the inscriptions is therefore expected to further refine the picture.

Only a handful of lexical items could be identified in the corpus whose pattern of attestation—as much as the tools available to us and the vagaries of preservation of the

record of the *First Hittite Marriage* (K*RI* II 240, 6–9), and in Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription* (K*RI* IV 5, 12).

1568 On the basic semantic value of the conjunctive, see Borghouts (1979: 15) and Winand (2001: 294–301).

1569 Winand (1995: 191–193).

1570 Cf. n. 1090 above.

1571 K*RI* I 58, 5 and 6.

1572 K*RI* II 355, 4 and 5–6.

1573 K*RI* IV 6, 13.

Egyptian written record (§1.2.2) allow us to assess—suggests that they emulate the language of earlier times. These words and expressions have two things in common: they surface in the record in the early Eighteenth Dynasty and are primarily associated with higher written registers since their earliest occurrence (§2.4.2.1, §3.4.2.1, §4.2.3.2.1, §4.3.3.2.1, §5.4.2.1, and §6.5.2.1). In other words, the data seem to reflect the composers' intention to deploy eloquent formulations in one way or another linkable to their recent past by looking back at the written production of the early Eighteenth Dynasty—and particularly, at the royal inscriptions thereof—as a point of reference (cf. §7.4.1).

Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* abounds in such examples (§4.2.3.2.1 and §4.3.3.2.1). The phrase *nsw bjtj Šmʿw Mḥw* "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt of the South and the North," used in both scenes of the double inscription,[1574] is, for instance, otherwise only known from Thutmosis III's *Gebel Barkal Stela*.[1575] The expressions *jdbw ḥ3w-nbw* "the shores of everything beyond,"[1576] *wp*(*t*)*w-t3* "those at the top of the earth," and *Ḫntw-ḥn-nfr* "those of Khent-hen-nefer," attested in lines 15 and 16 of the northern half of the *Great Double Stela*,[1577] equally build on Eighteenth Dynasty royal phraseology.[1578] The verb *ngsgs* "to overflow" in line 13 of the Southern Stela[1579] and the preposition *m-ḫft-ḥr* (*n*) "in front of" in line 8 of the Northern Stela[1580] are, in a similar fashion, primarily linkable to the monumental written production of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1581]

Many of the lexical items that point to past layers of the language in the Ramesside royal texts are generally seldom attested in the record. The use of the word *dpjj* "crocodile," documented in Text C of the *Kanais Inscription*,[1582] for example, remains primarily associated with higher written registers of the New Kingdom and never becomes widespread.[1583] The preposition *r-tp-ʿ* (*n*) "in(to) the presence of,"[1584] used in line 13 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*,[1585] is likewise a rare New Kingdom variant of the earlier *r-tp* (*n*).[1586] *Ḫntš jb m* "to delight in/over," a phrase of Thutmoside origin[1587] in line 9 of the *Hermopolis Stela*[1588] has, for instance, so few attestations before Ptolemaic and Roman times that it may plausibly be considered a recherché item in Merenptah's text. On the other hand, expressions like (*m*) *r3 n r3* "(from) mouth to mouth," found in Text A of

1574 See under §4.2.1.1 and §4.3.1.1.
1575 See the corresponding entry under §4.2.3.2.1.
1576 See §4.3.2, nn. liii and lvii.
1577 See under §4.3.1.3.5.
1578 See the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.2.1.
1579 See under §4.2.1.3.4.
1580 See under §4.3.1.3.4.
1581 See the corresponding entries under §4.2.3.2.1 and §4.3.3.2.1.
1582 See C4 under §2.2.3.1.
1583 See the corresponding entry under §2.4.2.1.
1584 See §3.3, n. lxi.
1585 See under §3.2.3.3.
1586 See the corresponding entry under §3.4.2.1.
1587 See the corresponding entry similarly under §3.4.2.1.
1588 See under §3.2.3.3.

Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*[1589] and in line 7 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*,[1590] although rarely documented, seem to be uniquely linked to royal texts. In this particular case, the phrase has a Hatshepsutian origin,[1591] which implies a conscious lexical link to the not-so-distant past.

Besides the phrase (*m*) *r3 n r3* "(from) mouth to mouth" and the words and expressions on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* mentioned above, several further lexical items seem to seek a connection with the written legacy of the kings of the early Eighteenth Dynasty in the corpus. For instance, the epithet *jt mwt n ḥr-nb* "everyone's father and mother" referring to Seti I in Text A of the *Kanais Inscription*[1592] originates in the reign of Thutmosis III and was first addressed to that king.[1593] The words *jtrw* "iteru,"[1594] *bs* "flame, blaze,"[1595] *sḏf3*/*sdf* "endowment, foundation," all part of the lexical repertoire of the *Kanais Inscription*,[1596] and the noun *bḫn*(*t*) "pylon," found in line 20 of the *Hermopolis Stela*,[1597] likewise emerge from the royal context of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1598] Furthermore, the use of the words *m3wt* "rays" (*Hermopolis Stela*, line 22[1599]); *snn* "likeness, representation" (*Great Hammamat Inscription*, line 6[1600]); and *sʿš3* "to repel" (*Great Abydos Stela*, line 34[1601]) is also typically associated with higher written registers and has its roots in the early Eighteenth Dynasty.[1602]

Although the overall number of lexical items that may be convincingly linked to past layers of the language remains limited in each inscription (§2.4.2.1, §3.4.2.1, §4.2.3.2.1, §4.3.3.2.1, §5.4.2.1, and §6.5.2.1), the data suggest that—no matter how few—these words and expressions tend to cluster in those parts of the texts that feature a comparatively conservative grammatical and lexical profile.[1603] Even in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, which employs more old lexical items than any of the other case studies,[1604] the number of lexical selections that seem to emulate the language of earlier times is relatively low when compared to the number of innovative lexical choices of the inscription.[1605] Nonetheless, old and new lexical items feature a markedly different distributional pattern in the text (see Fig. 52 below). Old lexical items are likely to be found in those

1589 See A2 under §2.2.4.2.
1590 See under §6.3.3.3.1.
1591 See the corresponding entry under §2.4.2.1.
1592 See A2 under §2.2.4.1.
1593 See the corresponding entry under §2.4.2.1.
1594 See §2.3, n. v.
1595 See §2.3, n. lxxvi.
1596 See B2 under §2.2.2.2, C12 under §2.2.3.2, and C15 under §2.2.3.3 respectively.
1597 See under §3.2.3.4.
1598 See the corresponding entries under §2.4.2.1 and §3.4.2.1.
1599 See under §3.2.3.4.
1600 See under §5.2.2.4.
1601 See under §6.3.3.3.4.
1602 See the corresponding entries under §3.4.2.1, §5.4.2.1, and §6.5.2.1.
1603 On the strong positive correlation between grammar and lexicon in general, see §7.2.2 below.
1604 §2.4.2.1 vs. §3.4.2.1, §4.2.3.2.1, §4.3.3.2.1, §5.4.2.1, and §6.5.2.1.
1605 9 (old) vs. 44 (new); see §2.4.2.1 vs. §2.4.2.3, §2.4.2.4, §2.4.2.5, and §2.4.2.6.

parts of the inscription that are relatively less receptive to the use of new lexical items. Even though the use of old and new lexical items is not mutually exclusive in the text, there is a moderate negative correlation between their values in the major textual units of the inscription.[1606]

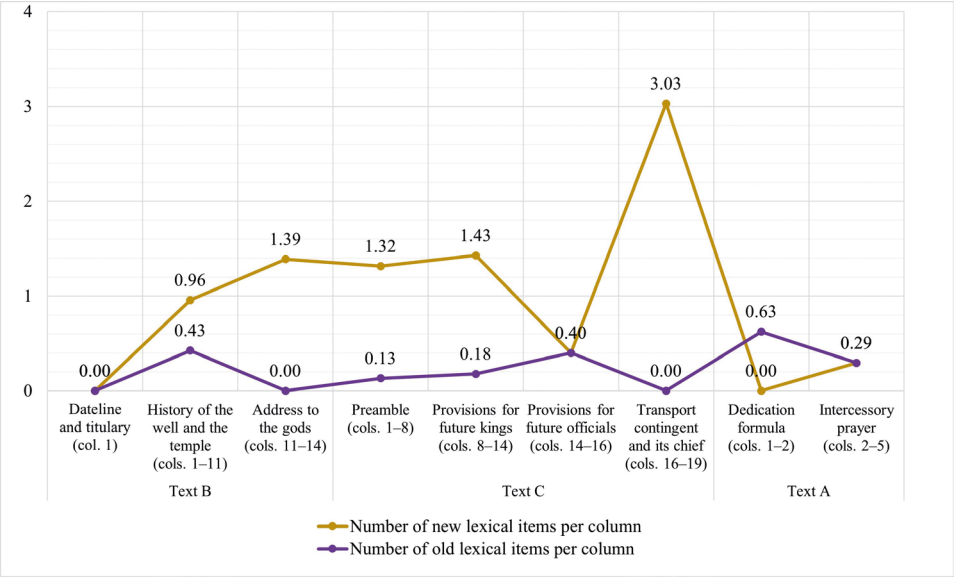


Fig. 52: Relative frequency of old and new lexical items (details from Fig. 6 and §2.4.2.1[1607]) in the major textual units of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*.

A similar connection is expected between the relative frequency of old and new lexical selections among the major textual units of most Ramesside royal texts. The number of lexical items pointing to past layers of the language in a section of a text is thus likely to be comparably low if the section is relatively dense in new lexical features. The inverse relationship between the two variables is equally well demonstrated by the lexical selections of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (see Fig. 53 below), for instance. While the main texts of both the Southern and Northern Stelae employ only a very limited number of old lexical items, the relative frequency of these lexical selections is still higher on the Northern Stela, the grammatically and lexically more conservative part of the double monument, than on the Southern Stela (see also §4.4.2).

The negative relationship between the relative frequency of innovative lexical choices and those lexical selections that establish a link to the language of earlier times is maintained also at the aggregate level of the corpus. The more an inscription builds on post-Amarnian and Ramesside lexicon, the fewer lexical items are expected in its lan-

1606 The correlation coefficient of the two data sets is -0.54.
1607 On calculating the relative frequency of old lexical items per unit, compare n. 377 above.

guage that specifically seek a connection with the past. The negative correlation between the two variables is illustrated by the chart below (see Fig. 54).[1608]

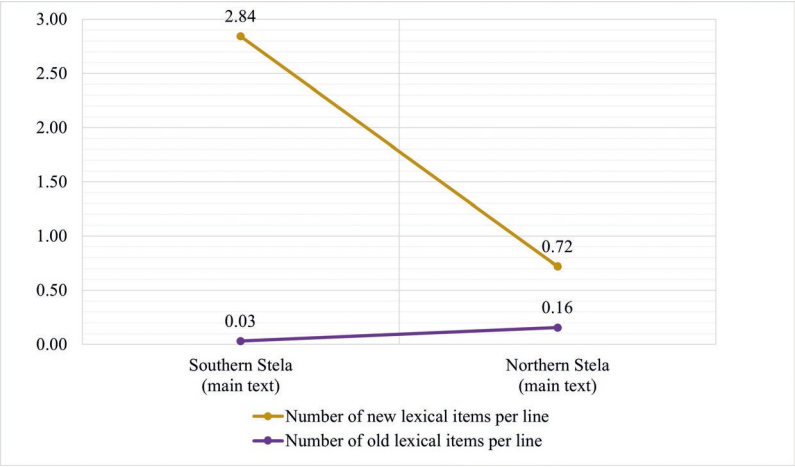


Fig. 53: Relative frequency of old and new lexical items (details from Fig. 25, §4.2.3.2.1, and §4.3.3.2.1[1609]) in the main texts of the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*.

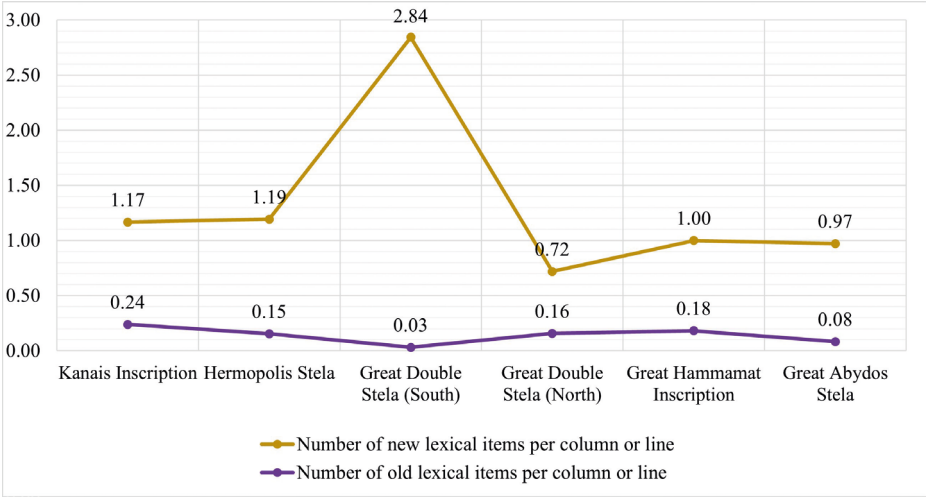


Fig. 54: Relation between the old and new lexical choices (details from §2.4.2.1, §3.4.2.1, §4.2.3.2.1, §4.3.3.2.1, §5.4.2.1, §6.5.2.1 and §§2.4.2.3–2.4.2.6, §§3.4.2.3–3.4.2.6, §§4.2.3.2.3–4.2.3.2.6, §§4.3.3.2.3–4.3.3.2.6, §§5.4.2.3–5.4.2.5, §§6.5.2.3–6.5.2.6) in the main texts of the five royal inscriptions discussed in detail in the present study.

1608 The correlation coefficient of the two data sets is -0.66.

1609 On calculating the relative frequency of old lexical items in the main texts of the two halves of the *Great Double Stela*, compare n. 661 above.

7.2.2 New Lexical and New Grammatical Choices: A Strong Positive Correlation

For a lexical selection to be considered novel in the framework of the present research, the Amarna period or the Ramesside times had to represent a major turning point in its pattern of attestation (§1.2.1.2). Accordingly, new lexical items in the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions generally fall into one of the following lexical categories: lexical items seldom or not attested before the Amarna period (§2.4.2.3, §3.4.2.3, §4.2.3.2.3, §4.3.3.2.3, and §6.5.2.3), lexical items seldom attested in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times (§2.4.2.4, §3.4.2.4, §4.2.3.2.4, §4.3.3.2.4, §5.4.2.3, and §6.5.2.4), lexical items not attested in monumental inscriptions before Ramesside times (§2.4.2.5, §3.4.2.5, §4.2.3.2.5, §4.3.3.2.5, §5.4.2.4, and §6.5.2.5), and lexical items not attested at all before Ramesside times (§2.4.2.6, §3.4.2.6, §4.2.3.2.6, §4.3.3.2.6, §5.4.2.5, and §6.5.2.6).

All Ramesside royal texts analyzed in the present study demonstrate a strong positive correlation between the frequency of salient Late Egyptian grammatical features and the frequency of relatively new words and expressions in their major textual units.[1610]

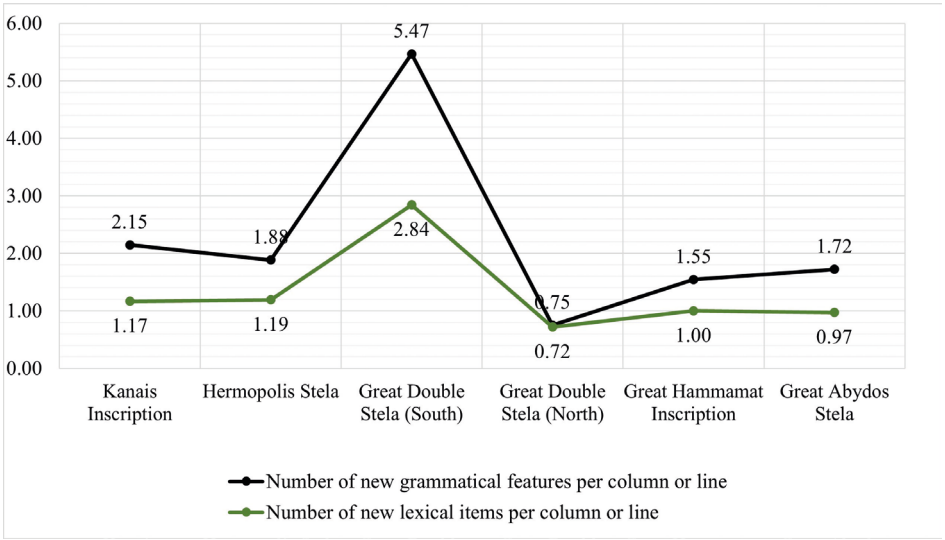


Fig. 55: Relation between the new grammatical and new lexical choices (details from Fig. 51 and Fig. 54) in the main texts of the five royal inscriptions discussed in detail in the present study.

The positive correlation between the innovative grammatical and lexical selections of the Ramesside royal inscriptions is, however, not only apparent across the major textual units of individual texts but also prevails at the aggregate level—when comparing the

1610 See §2.5.2.2 with Fig. 7 and n. 398; §3.5.2.2 with Fig. 16; §4.4.2 with Fig. 27; §5.5.2.2; and §6.6.2.2 with Fig. 43 and n. 1447.

relative frequency of innovative grammatical and lexical selections of individual texts to one another (see Fig. 55 above).[1611] In other words, the more receptive an inscription was to new grammatical features, the higher the probability that its language was also more open to new lexical choices.

The strong positive correlation between the new grammatical and new lexical features and the negative correlation between the old and new grammatical ones, which is similarly observable in most parts of the corpus,[1612] together predict a positive correlation between the old grammatical and old lexical selections of Ramesside royal texts. Indeed, although the overall number of those lexical items that may be convincingly linked to past layers of the language remains very limited in the corpus (§7.2.1), the aggregate view on the data suggests a (moderate) positive correlation between the two variables (see Fig. 56 below).[1613] This means that inscriptions with a high relative frequency of Earlier Egyptian grammatical features are likely to contain relatively more of those words and expressions that emulate the language of the past than texts with a less conservative grammatical profile.[1614]

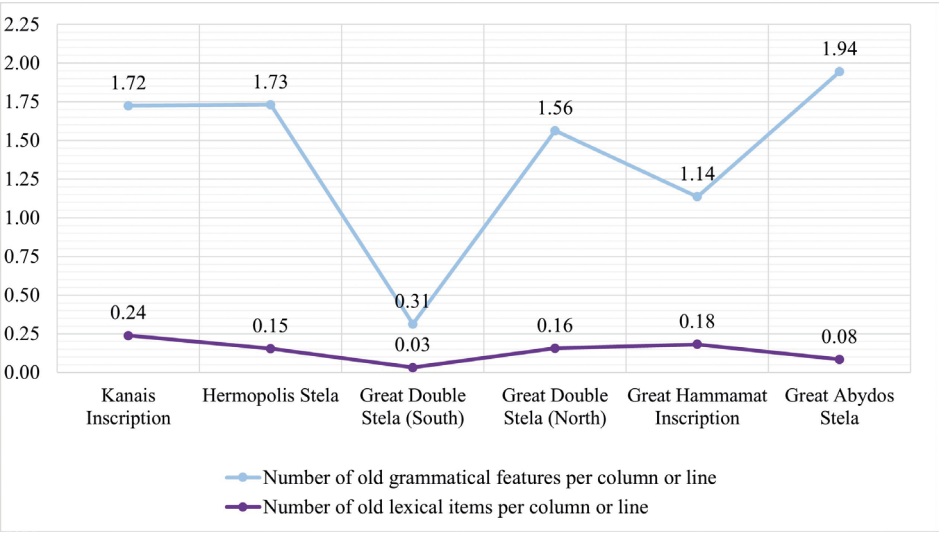


Fig. 56: Relation between the old grammatical and old lexical choices (details from Fig. 51 and Fig. 54) in the main texts of the five royal inscriptions discussed in detail in the present study.

1611 The correlation coefficient of the two data sets is 0.99.

1612 See especially §2.5.2.1 with Fig. 3, Fig. 4, and nn. 378 and 379; §3.5.2.1 with Fig. 13 and Fig. 14; §4.4.2 with Fig. 24; and §7.1.4 with Fig. 51.

1613 The correlation coefficient of the two data sets is 0.53.

1614 As a result, as already discussed above (§7.2.1), a negative correlation is expected between the relative frequency of old and new lexical selections within the corpus.

Accordingly, the relationship between the grammatical and lexical selections of Ramesside royal texts is always expected to be positive: the two sets of values are likely to move in the same direction. The data, nevertheless, indicate a significantly stronger relationship between the new grammatical and new lexical selections of the inscriptions than between the old grammatical and old lexical choices of the same texts. The difference in the strength of the correlation may, however, be an artifact resulting from the data collection method, namely, from the fact that the phraseological selections of the inscriptions were not systematically analyzed and collected (§1.2.1.2). Completing the lexical data with the phraseological material would presumably result in a stronger relationship between the old grammatical and old lexical/phraseological selections of the Ramesside royal inscriptions as well.

Nevertheless, the grammatical selections of Ramesside royal texts did *not* have a direct influence on the choice of words within their language. In spite of the positive correlation between grammar and lexicon observed at the different aggregation levels of the data (corpus, individual inscriptions, larger and smaller structural units within the individual inscriptions), the two variables appear largely independent of each other at the lowest structural levels of the texts because correlation between the two variables does not imply causation. In other words, the use of Late Egyptian grammatical constructions generally did not trigger the use of relatively recent lexical items, and—vice versa—new words and expressions usually did not attract less conventional grammatical formulations. Neither did the use of Earlier Egyptian grammatical constructions necessarily go hand in hand with the use of old lexical items (§2.5.2.2, §3.5.2.2, §4.4.2, §5.5.2.2, and §6.6.2.2). Old or new grammatical constructions are far more likely to combine with diachronically neutral lexical selections at the level of individual syntagms. Likewise, old or new lexical items are also more often found in diachronically indistinct grammatical constructions than in typically old or new ones. Although grammatical and lexical selections with a similar novelty index may be differently distributed over individual syntagms forming the bigger syntactical and structural units of a text, the positive correlation between the two variables will still be evident at the level of the higher compositional units of the inscription.

This is only possible because both grammar and lexicon seem to have been governed by a third factor: the compositional logic of the inscriptions (§7.1.1.1). In fact, two of the three above-identified linguistic strategies employed in service of the compositional logic (§7.1.1.2) also applied to the lexical and not only to the grammatical selections of the texts. Even if lexical choices were not subject to the general organizing principle of associating old and new linguistic features with different syntactic hierarchies in the inscriptions (§7.1.1.2.1) and occur with approximately equal probability in main as well as in subordinate clauses, they played an important role in creating linguistic contrast (§7.1.1.2.2)[1615] as well as in balancing the old and new linguistic features across texts (§7.1.1.2.3).[1616] Besides grammar, lexicon was thus an essential part of the com-

1615 See §2.5.2.2, §3.5.2.2, §5.5.2.2, and §6.6.2.2.
1616 See §4.4.2 specifically.

posers' linguistic toolkit in ensuring the most effective communication of the central message of a given text.

Hence, if a section, for instance, was meant to receive additional emphasis through its linguistic selections according to the compositional logic of the inscription, the content of the unit was expressed with the use of relatively many post-Amarnian or Ramesside lexical items and Late Egyptian grammatical constructions. The use of new words was, nevertheless, not triggered by the use of new grammatical features, nor was the use of new grammatical features by the presence of new lexicon. The new grammatical and new lexical features of the section were not expected to go hand in hand at the lowest structural levels of the text. For example, the use of Late Egyptian verbal forms was not only imaginable with Ramesside or post-Amarnian verbs. Nor did the use of new nouns necessarily attract the use of Late Egyptian possessive articles in possessive constructions, for instance. The high relative frequency of new grammatical and lexical features in the section would, however, still be evident in the aggregate view of the linguistic data of the inscription.

Examples that demonstrate a potential causal relation between grammar and lexicon exist but are extremely rare. The consistent association of the verb *ꜥm* "to know" (see under §3.4.2.5) with *r-ḏd* employed as a grammaticalized complementizer (see under §3.4.2.2) on both Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*[1617] and Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*[1618] may, nonetheless, constitute one of these.[1619] The connection between *ꜥm* and *r-ḏd* can, however, be most straightforwardly explained by the recurrent collocation of the two expressions. Moreover, Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* possibly provides another example of a potential causal relation between grammar and lexicon. On the latter monument, the partial modernization of an Earlier Egyptian *jw sḏm.n=f* construction happens precisely at a point where a Ramesside verb[1620] appears in a rather conventionally worded passage.[1621]

At the same time, examples uniting grammatical and lexical features with a conflicting novelty index also occur in the texts. One of the most remarkable instances of this kind is found in the prelude to the king's negative confession on the *Great Abydos Stela*, where a typically Ramesside verb[1622] is employed with an Earlier Egyptian *nn sḏm.n=f* construction.[1623] Since the section carries a message of central importance, the unusual

1617 See in line 9 of the stela under §3.2.3.3.

1618 See GDSS [4] (§4.2.2, n. xxiii) and 11 under §4.2.1.3.3 and §4.2.1.3.4 respectively. On *r-ḏd* on the Southern Stela, see §4.2.3.2.2.

1619 See n. 483 above.

1620 On *sꜥḥ* "to wrap, to bandage," see the corresponding entry under §6.5.2.6.

1621 See the passage *jw sꜥḥ=j n=k ḥnn=k m t3m nṯr*… "I wrapped (§6.4, n. cvi) your phallus for you with a divine bandage, …" in lines 22–23 of the stela under §6.3.3.3.3. The example is also discussed under §6.6.2.2.

1622 On *ḫwrꜥ* "to rob, to plunder; to usurp," see the corresponding entry under §6.5.2.6.

1623 See the sentence *jnk ḥq3* (§6.4, n. lxiii) *n bs nn ḫwrꜥ.n=j* "I am an enthroned (§6.4, n. lxxi) ruler, I never (§6.4, n. lxxii) usurped" in line 13 of the stela under §6.3.3.3.2. For the corresponding discussion, see §6.6.2.2.

combination of grammar and lexicon may have been a conscious choice to lend further emphasis to the passage, which happens to be also graphically highlighted.[1624] Text B of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* similarly contains a few older grammatical constructions employing more recent lexical items,[1625] and so does line 16 of Ramesses III's Northern Stela in the *cour de la cachette*.[1626] The latter combines a verb that was not used in monumental inscriptions before the Twentieth Dynasty[1627] with an Earlier Egyptian *sḏm.n=f* construction. These examples illustrate that the interplay between grammar and lexicon sometimes resulted in cases that may be labelled as lexico-grammatical[1628] hybrids—not only from an etic but also from an emic perspective.[1629]

7.2.3 The Impact of Time on Lexical Choices

The analysis of the lexical selections of five major Ramesside royal inscriptions shows no increase in the use of new words and expressions (as defined under §1.2.1.2) in the language of the texts over time.

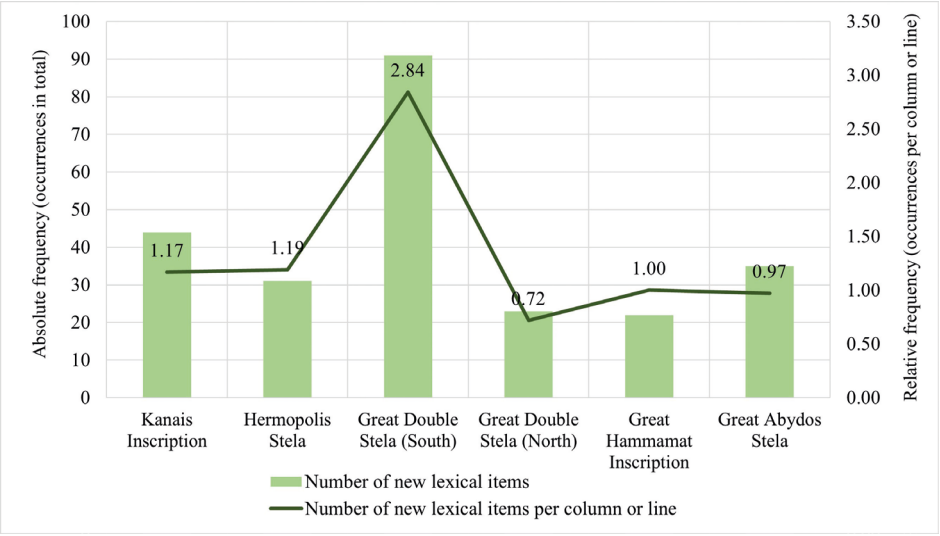


Fig. 57: Absolute and relative frequency of new lexical items (details under §§2.4.2.3–2.4.2.6, §§3.4.2.3–3.4.2.6, §§4.2.3.2.3–4.2.3.2.6, §§4.3.3.2.3–4.3.3.2.6, §§5.4.2.3–5.4.2.5, and §§6.5.2.3–6.5.2.6) in the main texts of the five royal inscriptions discussed in detail in the present study.

1624 See §6.6.2.3.

1625 See the examples under §2.5.2.2.

1626 See the clause *whb.n=s t3w Fnḫw*… "after it had pierced the lands of the Fenkhu (i.e., the Phoenicians; §4.3.2, n. lxi), …" (GDSN 16) under §4.3.1.3.5.

1627 On *whb* "to pierce," see the corresponding entry under §4.3.3.2.5.

1628 In other words, straddling lexicon and grammar.

1629 Compare §7.1.2 and see also §7.3.2.

A later compositional date did not entail a higher receptivity to novel wording. On the contrary, as the chart above (Fig. 57) illustrates, the two Nineteenth Dynasty royal texts in the corpus employed a higher number of innovative lexical elements in relative terms than some of their Twentieth Dynasty counterparts. The absolute and relative frequency of new lexical items in the main texts of the five Ramesside royal inscriptions studied in detail suggests that the lexical choices of these texts were largely independent of their date of composition. Considering that the compositional logic had a fundamental influence not only on the grammatical but also on the lexical selections of an inscription (§7.2.2), it is not particularly surprising that the oldest text in the corpus, Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, which is also one of the grammatically most innovative texts in our selection (§7.1.4 with Fig. 51), turns out to have a lexically more innovative linguistic profile than most other inscriptions in the corpus, including the two youngest ones[1630] (1.17 new ex./col. vs. 1.00 and 0.97 new ex./line). Likewise, the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, which in all likelihood were erected at the same time (§4.1 and §4.4.1), demonstrate a profoundly different degree of openness to new lexical content (2.84 new ex./line vs. 0.72 new ex./line).

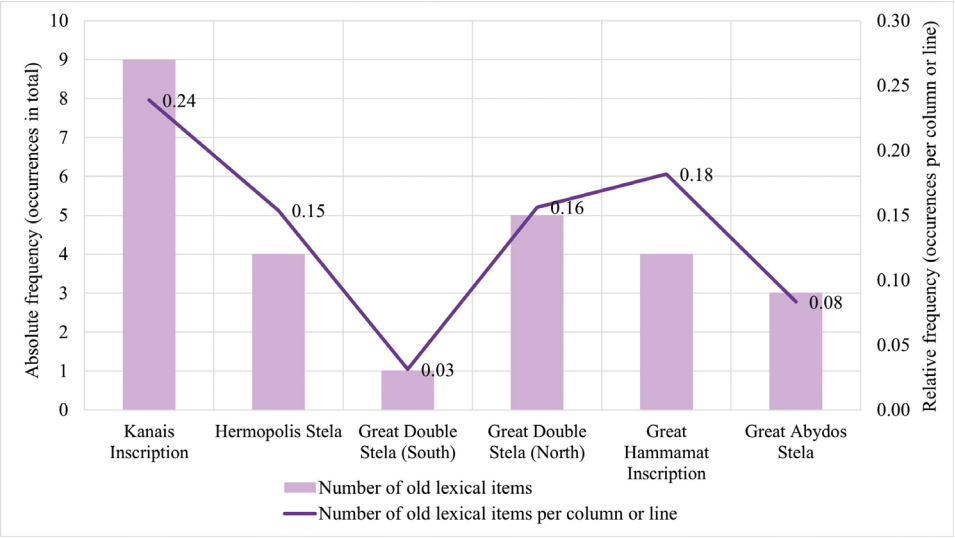


Fig. 58: Absolute and relative frequency of old lexical items (details under §2.4.2.1, §3.4.2.1, §4.2.3.2.1, §4.3.3.2.1, §5.4.2.1, and §6.5.2.1) in the main texts of the five royal inscriptions discussed in detail in the present study.

In view of the small overall number of those lexical items in the corpus that may be convincingly linked to past layers of the language (§7.2.1), the impact of time on the old lexical selections of Ramesside royal texts is more difficult to evaluate and requires

1630 On the relative age of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* and *Great Abydos Stela*, see n. 112 above.

more circumspection than the assessment of the situation with regard to the new lexical selections. All the more so since the phraseological selections of the inscriptions were not studied systematically in the present work (§1.2.1.2).[1631] Notwithstanding the limited reliability of small-sized data sets in qualitative research (§1.2.2), the case of the *Great Double Stela* discussed above (§7.2.1 with Fig. 53) suggests that the compositional logic of a text did have a considerable influence on the number of old lexical items in its language. Nonetheless, as the diagram above (Fig. 58) illustrates, there also seems to be a decreasing trend over time in the use of old lexical material in the corpus. Both findings should, however, be substantiated with the analysis of further data.

The way the date of composition of a Ramesside royal inscription did not influence the novelty and breadth of its grammatical selections (§7.1.4), it equally did not affect the relative density of new lexical items in its language. The strong positive correlation between the new grammatical and new lexical choices (§7.2.2) and the primary dependency of the two variables on the compositional logic of the corresponding text (§7.1.1.1) explain why both variables appear unresponsive to the passing of time from a general perspective. Nonetheless, as in the case of grammar, where, for instance, the use of certain grammatical constructions became obsolete over time (§7.1.4), the diachronic evolution of the Egyptian language—including that of its lexicon—left its mark, however subtly, on the language of individual texts.

Some of the most innovative linguistic registers of the Ramesside royal inscriptions employ later synonyms for words that are expressed by their more traditional equivalents in other texts or in other parts of the same text. When referring to "trees," for example, the southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*[1632] and one of the linguistically most innovative sections on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*[1633] both use a word that became frequent only in and after the Amarna period (see *šnw* under §3.4.2.3). Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*[1634] and Ramesses III's Medinet Habu inscriptions,[1635] by contrast, prefer a more conventional lexical choice: *mnw*.[1636] The *Hermopolis Stela* includes the later noun in an expression for planting trees. Suitably, the corresponding verb is also a later Ramesside word, *dgȝ* (see under §3.4.2.5), substituting the earlier *srd* "to plant, to let grow."[1637] Furthermore, Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* replaces a phrase that is present in the record since the earliest of times,[1638] *srq ḥtjjt* "to make the throat open," with a more original formulation, *srq fndw* "to make the noses inhale" (see under §6.5.2.6). That this lexical alteration occurs in one of the grammati-

1631 This circumstance has already been cited as a limitation to studying the old lexical material of the Ramesside royal inscriptions (§7.2.1 and §7.2.2).

1632 See GDSS 14 under §4.2.1.3.4.

1633 See line 21 of the stela under §3.2.3.4. See also §3.3, n. lxxxiii.

1634 K*RI* II 328, 9–10.

1635 K*RI* V 74, 11 and 93, 11.

1636 Cf. *TLA*, lemma no. 70450; *Wb. Belegst.* II 71.13–16.

1637 See n. 509 above.

1638 See n. 1265 above.

cally and lexically most innovative sections of the stela is significant,[1639] as the substitution is best understood as part of a broader tendency towards creative variation within the language of these inscriptions.

The simultaneous use of earlier and later equivalents of a word within a single text can usually be interpreted in light of the same general tendencies observed across the corpus. For instance, Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* employs the word *ꜥš3* to express the meaning "many, numerous" in its opening scene[1640] but uses a less traditional lexical solution, *qnw* (see under §3.4.2.4), for the same signification twice in the main text.[1641] This particular distribution of *ꜥš3* and *qnw* within Merenptah's text is not unexpected, knowing that the scenes and margins of royal stelae were generally less open to new linguistic solutions than main texts.

The Ramesside royal inscriptions' occasional preference for later synonyms is equally evident in the use of grammatical or function words. Compound and relatively more recent prepositions were, for instance, often favored over simple and earlier ones. *M-dj*, the characteristically Late Egyptian preposition meaning "with; through, by, because of" (see under §2.4.2.4) is found in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*[1642] and *Kanais Inscription*,[1643] the main record and the abridged version of Ramesses II's *First Hittite Marriage*,[1644] and Merenptah's *Great Karnak Inscription*.[1645] *R-tp-ꜥ* (*n*) "in(to) the presence of," a rare New Kingdom variant of the earlier *r-tp* (*n*) (see under §3.4.2.1), which is primarily associated with higher written registers since the early Eighteenth Dynasty, is used once on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*.[1646] Another compound preposition with a similar meaning, *r-ḫft-ḥr* (*n*) "in front of" (see under §3.4.2.3), is likewise present in Merenptah's text.[1647] The compound *r-ḫft-ḥr* (*n*) appears on the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*[1648] together with the related *m-ḫft-ḥr* (*n*) "in front of" (see under §4.3.3.2.1).[1649] The earlier *ḫft-ḥr*[1650] is, on the other hand, still documented in Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription*.[1651] The *Great Double Stela*[1652] and the

1639 See line 33 under §6.3.3.3.4.

1640 See under §3.2.2.3.

1641 See lines 5 and 14 under §3.2.3.3. For the discussion, see also §3.5.2.2.

1642 For the examples of *m-dj* in an early conjunctive construction, see n. 1562 above. For the use of the preposition outside this construction, see the corresponding examples under K*RI* I 53, 8, 9, 15; 54, 10; 55, 11; 56, 2; 57, 1, 5, 6, 14; 58, 3. For a single instance of the earlier *m-ꜥ* in the text, see K*RI* I 58, 12.

1643 See B14 under §2.2.2.3.

1644 K*RI* II 252, 12 and 13; 253, 3; and 257, 9.

1645 K*RI* IV 3, 7 (see Manassa 2003: 16–17, nn. a and 77); 8, 12 and 13. Two further examples have been noted in lacunose contexts, in K*RI* IV 5, 9 (see Manassa 2003: 39, n. c) and 6, 15 (see Manassa 2003: 42 and *RITA* IV 6).

1646 See line 13 under §3.2.3.3 with n. lxi under §3.3.

1647 See line 24 under §3.2.3.4.

1648 See GDSN 28 under §4.3.1.3.5.

1649 See GDSN 8 under §4.3.1.3.4.

1650 G*EG* §178; *TLA*, lemma no. 116790; *Wb.* III 275.13–16.

1651 K*RI* II 330, 12.

Hermopolis Stela,[1653] share yet another compound preposition: *r-šꜣ*ꜥ "until, down to" (see under §3.4.2.6), while the southern half of the *Great Double Stela*[1654] contains a further Ramesside compound, *n-ꜣb*(*jj*) "because of, for the purpose of" (see under §4.2.3.2.6). The latter is also present on the *Great Abydos Stela*, in the king's address to Osiris on the right margin of the monument,[1655] together with *n-ḥꜣ* "behind" (see under §6.5.2.5) in the main text.[1656] Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*,[1657] nevertheless, features only one Ramesside preposition: *r-ḥn*ꜥ "together with," the altered form of the earlier *ḥn*ꜥ (see under §5.4.2.5).

The fact that the preposition *n-ḥꜣ* "behind" appears in one of the linguistically most innovative sections of the *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.6.2.1.1), in the king's final prayer to the gods,[1658] and that its traditional synonym, *m-ḫt*, and its *nisba*, *jmj-ḫt*, are employed in the linguistically more conventional parts of the text, in the king's declaration of innocence and his address to the members of his tribunal,[1659] illustrates the composers' awareness of the lexical component in general and the principled placement of the different lexical items within a text in particular. The diachronic contrast between individual words and expressions was regularly exploited in the corpus. For instance, the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* use different words for the preposition "except" (*ḥrw* and *wpw-ḥr*) in a way that the choices match their linguistic profile (see under §4.4.2). The placement of *r-ḥn*ꜥ at the beginning of the grammatically and lexically most innovative passage within the *Great Hammamat Inscription* (§5.5.2.1 and §5.5.2.2), in the list of participants, was presumably likewise not accidental.

The diachronic change of the language manifests itself in several different ways in the lexical selections of Ramesside royal texts. The gradual but purposeful introduction of new synonyms of various lexical and grammatical words is only one of them. Besides, the inscriptions also provide evidence for the composers' awareness of the semantic evolution of individual words and expressions. For instance, the phrase *st wrt* is present in the corpus with both its older and newer significations: as "great seat, throne" and as "shrine" (see under §3.4.2.2). It means "great seat, throne" on the right margin of the southern half of the *Great Double Stela*[1660] but "shrine" in the main text of the *Hermopolis Stela*.[1661] Interestingly, the example with the more ancient semantic nuance is found in the younger and linguistically more innovative text but in a highly formulaic context: on the margin of the monument.

1652 See GDSS 24 under §4.2.1.3.5.
1653 See line 15 under §3.2.3.4.
1654 See GDSS 12 under §4.2.1.3.4.
1655 See column 2 of the right margin under §6.3.2.2.
1656 See line 31 under §6.3.3.3.4.
1657 See line 13 under §5.2.2.5.
1658 See n. 1656 above.
1659 See lines 12 and 22 under §6.3.3.3.2 and §6.3.3.3.3 respectively.
1660 See column 2 of the right margin of the Southern Stela under §4.2.1.2.1.
1661 See lines 19 and 24 under §3.2.3.4.

There is another pair of examples in the five case studies analyzed above that aptly illustrate that the use of a given lexical item and its place within a text were not primarily determined by the inscription's date of composition. The phrase *ḫr=tw* "(so) one says" is regularly attested as a lexicalized expression (*ḫrtw*) referring to an oracle or divine declaration from the end of the New Kingdom onwards (see under §4.2.3.2.6). The group  is documented twice in the present corpus: in line 5 of the southern half of the *Great Double Stela*[1662] and in line 6 of the *Great Abydos Stela*.[1663] While in Ramesses IV's inscription, the signs are still best read as *ḫr=tw* "(so) one says" (§6.4, n. xxxix), his father's text employs the newer semantic nuance of the expression (§4.3.2, n. xxvi). The difference cannot be explained by the relative age of the two texts. On the contrary, the presence of the lexicalized expression in Ramesses III's inscription is due to the exceptionally innovative linguistic register of the Southern Stela (§4.4.2), which itself is a product of the double monument's unique compositional logic (§4.4.3). The conscious and skillful use of simultaneously existing older and newer significations of individual lexical items—as in the case of *st wrt* and *ḫr=tw*/*ḫrtw*—demonstrates the composers' thorough understanding of the various aspects of text-internal hierarchies in the Ramesside royal inscriptions.

7.2.4 Lexical Choices Providing Insights into the Compositional Process

While the use of synonyms and simultaneously existing older and newer significations of a single lexical item may provide important insights into the composers' awareness of the different aspects of text-internal hierarchies (§7.2.2), other lexical choices of the Ramesside royal inscriptions may point to a particular compositional history behind a given text or group of texts.

Idiosyncratic formulations shared by a limited number of roughly contemporaneous inscriptions may reveal a shared compositional history of the corresponding texts.[1664] The unusual preference of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* for compound prepositions formed with the noun *tp* "head" as a second element is a feature that also occurs in the slightly younger *Koptos Stela* of the same king (see under §5.5.2.2). Phraseological similarities and the presence of a rare word in both inscriptions (see *ṯ3-bš3* "stonecutter" under §5.4.2.4) are further indicators of the agency of the same individual or individuals behind the composition of the two texts (§5.5.2.2 and §7.4.3). In another case, the phrase *p3jj sḫn* "this commission" in the list of participants of the *Great Hammamat Stela*[1665]—a formulation otherwise often found in late Ramesside administrative

1662 See under §4.2.1.3.4.

1663 See under §6.3.3.3.1.

1664 Shared idiosyncrasies and rare formulations are important clues in investigating the practices and processes of text production and text transmission also in other corpora. For examples in Eighteenth Dynasty private monumental inscriptions of the funerary sphere, see, for example, Paksi (2025a: 65–66; 2025b: 393–396, 414; and 2025c: 354, 359–361, 367).

1665 See line 18 under §5.2.2.5.

documents[1666]—carries indexical value and suggests a particular compositional origin for the corresponding section of Ramesses IV's inscription (§5.5.2.3 and §5.5.3).

Furthermore, rare words and expressions may be similarly indicative of a connection between individual texts, as in the case of *ṯ3-bš3* "stonecutter," a lexical item shared by the *Great Hammamat Inscription* and the *Koptos Stela* but not known from any other royal text (see under §5.4.2.4). They may at times also reveal the inspirational source of certain passages. For instance, the word *wbḫt* "brightness, clarity" (see under §4.2.3.2.6) establishes a strong intertextual link between Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* and Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* in this manner (§4.4.1).

7.2.5 Lexical Diversity and Playfulness

The regular use of synonyms and their principled placement in accordance with the structural and compositional hierarchies of Ramesside royal texts have already been discussed above (§7.2.2). The simultaneous use of earlier and later equivalents of a word within a single text can, however, also be understood as a lexical manifestation of linguistic dissimilation or linguistic inclusiveness (cf. §1.2.3). As a stylistic device, linguistic dissimilation is typically associated with higher written registers, including royal texts, where it contributes to the eloquence of the language and to the diversity of linguistic selections—grammatical (§7.1.3) as well as lexical and graphical (§7.3.5).[1667]

Text B of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* uses both the masculine and the feminine forms of the word *ḫnw*/*ḫnt* "sanctuary, resting place"[1668] and employs two different strategies for expressing "to make endure" (§2.5.2.2): in column 9, a *rdi* + *subject sḏm=f* construction is combined with the verb *mn* "to endure," whereas column 12 makes use of the *s*-causative verb *smn* "to cause to endure."[1669] Text C of the same inscription, moreover, displays an extraordinary abundance of lexical items associated with the semantic field of fire (§2.5.2.2). This lexical concentration was likely intended to play a central role in deterring future malevolent actors in the same way as the linguistic dissimilation of future relative constructions, vetitives, and causal conjunctions was meant to contribute to the overall efficacy of the inscription.[1670]

In the *Kanais Inscription*, the composers' aspirations for linguistic inclusiveness were thus not confined to grammar (§7.1.3) but also extended to the lexical selections of the inscription with regard to one specific theme (death by fire) used with the intention to discourage future actors from interfering with the king's newly established endowment. On Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, lexical variation happens on an equally central theme: eternity. The temple itself, the dedication of which constitutes the subject matter of the inscription, was built for eternity, and the divine reward for the king's benefactions was likewise eternity in kingship. Accordingly, the inscription includes an unusual-

1666 See n. 1105 above.
1667 See also n. 1552 above.
1668 See B8–9 under §2.2.2.2.
1669 See B9 and B12 under §2.2.2.2 and §2.2.2.3 respectively.
1670 Paksi (2015: 192–193).

ly high number of lexical formulations expressing the key motif (§3.5.2.2). These examples illustrate that linguistic dissimilation at the lexical level was instrumental in laying emphasis on a recurring theme in the language of the Ramesside royal texts.

The corpus provides several further lexical examples of linguistic dissimilation. Besides the lexical variation on eternity, Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* includes the synonyms *ḫpr* and *qj* for "form, nature;"[1671] *ꜥpꜣjj* and *dnḥwjj* for "wings;"[1672] and *ḫwi* and *jri sꜣw* for "providing protection"[1673] (§3.5.2.2). On the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*[1674] and on Ramesses IV's *Year 2 Hammamat Stela*,[1675] the preposition *mj* alternates with the word *mjtt* used in its capacity of a preposition (see under §4.3.3.2.6)—both meaning "like." On the *Great Abydos Stela*, the phrase *m-rꜣ-ꜥ* "as well, likewise"[1676] (see under §6.5.2.4) is equivalent in use to the adverbial expression *mjtt jrjj* "as well as,"[1677] while the preposition "among" finds three different ways of expression in the text (§6.6.2.2): *m-ḫnw* (see under §6.5.2.3),[1678] *m*,[1679] and *m-m*.[1680]

The five Ramesside royal texts examined above also contain some lexical items that must have been motivated by prosodic considerations. Alliteration, for instance, seems to have been a regularly employed literary device. Besides the examples from Seti's *Kanais Inscription*[1681] and Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*[1682] discussed above (§2.5.2.2 and §6.6.2.2), another passage is significant in this regard. A sentence in line 10 of the *Hermopolis Stela* starts as follows: *ꜥq.k m-bꜣḥ=k m ḫprj n ꜥnꜥn ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣ…* "I am entered in front of you in the form of a baboon, the twice great; …"[1683] When spoken, the phrase *ꜥnꜥn ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣ* probably created an alliterative effect.

At other times, wordplays on homonyms brought further enrichment to the language of these texts. In the case of homonyms, however, the ludic effect resulting from the presence of an additional semantic nuance is often not immediately apparent, since the lexical interference is usually only marked at the graphical level (see also §7.3.3)[1684] as

1671 See lines 3–4 under §3.2.3.3.

1672 See line 7 under §3.2.3.3.

1673 See line 7 under §3.2.3.3.

1674 See GDSN 15 under §4.3.1.3.5.

1675 See n. 849 above.

1676 See the examples in lines 8 and 9 under §6.3.3.3.1. See also §6.4, n. xli.

1677 See the example in line 5 under §6.3.3.3.1.

1678 See the example in column 2 of the left margin under §6.3.2.1.

1679 See the examples in lines 3, 4, 5, and 12 under §6.3.3.3.1 and §6.3.3.3.2.

1680 See the examples in lines 22, 24, and 26 under §6.3.3.3.3.

1681 Compare *njwt jw* ***ḫnw*** *m-****ḫnw****=s* "a settlement that has a sanctuary in it" (B8–9; see under §2.2.2.2) and ***bw(t) n n****ṯr…* ***bw tm.n****=f ꜥn…* "The god's abomination is…; he never fails to repulse…" (C16; see under §2.2.3.3).

1682 See *jꜥw n=k qmꜣ psḏt Jtm m ḏꜣ pt nꜥjj****=k ḫrj nmj****=k* () *r dwꜣt ḫftjw****=k ḫr r nmj****wt=sn* ()… "Praise to you, (O) creator of the Ennead, Atum in crossing the heaven: when you traverse the sky (and) travel to the netherworld! Your enemies have fallen to their places of execution, …" (left margin, column 1; see under §6.3.2.1).

1683 See under §3.2.3.3.

1684 Such nuances may have remained concealed to most of the ancient audience, who likely encountered the text primarily through an auditory experience, a recital (see, e.g., Quack 2012: 289–291),

visual double entendres.[1685] The *Hermopolis Stela* provides one of the few examples of non-concealed puns involving the use of homonyms in the corpus (§3.5.2.2).[1686] Most other instances are less evident. Consider, for example, the different meanings at play ("coil," "vertebra," "reef") in the word *ṯst* in line 25 of the *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.4, n. cxvi) or the semantic ambiguity built into the spelling of the word *jꜣwt* "mounds, hills" (see under §2.4.3.3.4) in Text B of the *Kanais Inscription*.

7.3 (Ortho)graphy

7.3.1 Innovative Monumental Graphical Features with or Without Archaizing Intent

In the framework of the present study, the goal of (ortho)graphic investigations was to identify the relatively new and conspicuously old graphical solutions in the language of selected Ramesside royal texts and to understand the rationale behind their placement within the texts (§1.2.1.2). As in the case of the lexicon (§7.2.1), the composers' intent to link a text or a passage of text to past layers of the language specifically through its graphical selections is, nevertheless, relatively hard to grasp. The language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions abounds in new graphical solutions but seems to contain only a limited number of spellings that may be labelled as "old" (§2.4.3.1, §3.4.3.1, §4.2.3.3.1, §4.3.3.3.1, §5.4.3.1, and §6.5.3.1). As already pointed out above (§1.2.1.2), while some of these are genuinely old graphical variants, others did not exist in earlier times. Several graphical solutions that belong to the latter category are in fact truly innovative idiosyncratic or rare spellings imitating or artificially reconstructing earlier written traditions. In other words, the graphical dimension of some linguistic selections of the Ramesside royal texts seems to have been consciously manipulated in order to achieve an archaizing effect.

The graphical data of the five inscriptions analyzed in detail suggest two possible objectives behind this practice. Adding an archaizing touch to the language of a text via graphical means and thereby linking it to past layers of the language is only one of them. Selecting a genuinely old spelling or manipulating the graphical dimension of a word so that it resembled a graphical solution of earlier times were apparently two equivalent strategies in the perception of the ancient composers of the texts in this regard. This first goal was, however, often coupled with a second objective of a more practical nature,

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and likewise to the modern reader, who are often tempted to read the inscriptions only in transliteration and translation.

1685 Cf. Stauder (2023a: 66–69).

1686 *Bsjj=k* () *ḫntj* [*s*]*šm nb dj=j bsjj=sn* () *ḥr-ˁ* "When you enter in front of any holy [i]mage, I cause them (i.e., your reward in jubilees, etc.) to flow forth straightaway" (line 6; see under §3.2.3.3 and compare §3.3, n. xxxv). The polysemy of the phrase *m-bꜣḥ* is exploited in a similar manner in lines 9–10 of the Southern Stela of Ramesses III's double monument at Karnak: *jw=f m-bꜣḥ* [*ḥm=k*] *m-ḥꜣw wn m-bꜣḥ* "which was in the presence of [your majesty] (§4.2.2, n. xxxv), in addition to what existed before."

namely, to reduce the visual salience of Late Egyptian grammatical features in certain texts or parts thereof (see, particularly, §4.4.2). By doing so, new grammatical features could be incorporated in registers with a linguistically more conventional profile—seemingly without being at odds with the general character of their linguistic selections. Moreover, the grammatically heterogeneous character of the texts could thus be maintained (cf. §7.4.1 and §7.4.2). This practice reveals the composers' preference for employing visually disguised new grammatical features—if required by the compositional logic (§7.1.1.1)—over producing linguistically homogeneous compositions. This insight—coupled with the apparent functional equivalence of truly ancient graphical solutions and artificially reconstructed archaizing spellings—gives further weight to the observation that the Egyptians were generally more concerned with form than they were with function in their language use (§7.1.2).

In Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, the spelling of the imperative of *si* "to go" () as well as that of the word *tpḥ*(*t*) "cavern" (), and perhaps also that of the phrase *rn wr* "mighty name" in column 6 of Text B (), can, for instance, be linked to earlier written traditions (see under §2.4.3.1). On the other hand, the spelling of the interrogative pronoun *jn-m* "who?" in column 3 of Text B () appears to be an early Nineteenth Dynasty invention (see also under §2.4.3.1).

Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* occasionally expresses the plural with the threefold use of logograms—an orthographic strategy associated with the monumental sphere since the earliest of times.[1687] The feature occurs in *ḥtpw* "peace" () and *t3w nbw* "all lands" () in lines 11 and 12 (see under §3.4.3.1). In line 26, the same strategy is combined with the use of plural strokes in the word *rnpwt* "years" (). Although the threefold use of logograms as well as the double marking of the plural are both archaizing orthographic strategies of pre-Ramesside times,[1688] the combination of the two results in an idiosyncratic graphical solution for *rnpwt* in Merenptah's text (see under §3.4.3.1). The spelling of the word was subject to a similar manipulation on the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (see under §4.3.3.3.1) a few decades later.

Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* only includes some rather inconspicuous graphical solutions reminiscent of earlier written forms (§6.6.2.3). Accordingly, on the right margin of the monument, the causative prefix of *sḥtp* "to please, to satisfy" is written twice with sign O34 () instead of sign S29 (),[1689] and in the main text, the third-person singular feminine participial or pseudoparticipial ending (§6.4, n. xxv) is once replaced by a seemingly older graphical variant ().[1690] Among the five royal inscriptions examined above, one of the most salient genuinely old spellings is found in the *Great Hammamat Inscription*. It is the archaizing writing of the non-enclitic particle *jst* () opening the expedition account on the stela (see under §5.4.3.1). In addition, the text also has a creative way of disguising a Late Egyptian prothetic *yod* in a Late Egyptian participle

1687 See n. 540 above.
1688 *Ibid.*
1689 See nn. 1473 and 1474 above.
1690 See n. 1475 above.

(see *j.m(w)tjw* "the dead" under §5.4.3.3). By omitting sign A2 () from the spelling of the morpheme, the visual prominence of the form becomes muted.

The same strategy is applied twice on the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, where the prothetic *yod* appears as a simple (see under §4.3.3.3.1). On the left margin of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, the spelling of a Late Egyptian emphatic *j.jr=f sḏm* construction was manipulated in the same manner. Here, the entire morpheme—and not only one of its constituting signs—has been omitted from the head of the auxiliary *jri* (§6.4, n. vii): *jrjj=j* () *nḫnw=j m trj nb* (§6.4, n. v) "May I be young at all times!" These examples demonstrate that the presence of the prothetic *yod* was undesirable in sections aiming at a rather conservative linguistic profile.[1691] An example from Ramesses II's *Qadesh Poem* illustrates, furthermore, that it was not just the prothetic *yod* that was unwanted in certain linguistic registers but so was any graphical segment reminiscent of the morpheme. Accordingly, the exclamatory particle *ḫjj* avoids sign A2 () in its spelling in the monumental versions of the text but admits it on papyrus ( or vs. ; see under §4.2.3.3.3.2). Interestingly, the phenomenon also works in the reverse direction. In Text C, in the linguistically most innovative part of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, a simple *yod* turns into a quasi prothetic *yod* in the spelling of the exclamative word *jhjj* "hey!" ( ; see under §2.4.3.4).

The northern part of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* contains two further instances where the salience of the Late Egyptian morphology of two grammatical words seems to have been intentionally reduced. One of them is a Late Egyptian second-person singular masculine independent pronoun, *mntk*; the other one is a Late Egyptian possessive article, *pꜣ(jj)=sn* (both discussed under §4.4.2). The spelling of the former ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.1) creates an artificial link to the past by substituting sign G17 () for sign G18 (), a phonogram often used in the royal inscriptions of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1692] The spelling of the latter ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.1) does the same by reducing the first half of the word to a simple *pꜣ*-sign () and by employing two signs that are strongly associated with the monumental sphere (and) in its second half.[1693] Both graphical solutions are unparalleled in the record. The way new grammatical morphemes could be "archaized" by graphical means, old ones could similarly be adjusted to their new (epi)graphical environment. The "modernized" spelling of the Earlier Egyptian demonstrative pronoun *pwjj* on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (; see under §6.5.3.3.2) demonstrates the bidirectionality of the practice, which may be labelled as cross-dimensional, that is, grammato-graphic[1694] or lexico-graphic[1695] hybridity—depending on whether the grammatical word *pwjj* is regarded as a grammatical or a lexical feature (§1.2.1.1).

1691 Cf. n. 946 above.

1692 See n. 947 above.

1693 See n. 949 above and the subsequent part of the present section.

1694 In other words, straddling grammar and writing.

1695 That is, straddling lexicon and writing.

Besides the examples mentioned above, the texts also include further graphical features with distributional patterns primarily linkable to the monumental sphere. Not all of these graphical solutions may, however, necessarily be considered archaizing. The occasional use of sign S3 () instead of sign N35 () in various words and contexts,[1696] for example, represents such a case. The presence of the Lower Egyptian crown in the spelling of a word may indicate archaizing intent but is usually not a sufficient criterion thereof.[1697] Sign S3 is found, for instance, in the spelling of the interrogative pronoun *jn-m* "who?" ( ; see under §2.4.3.1), the word *bjn* "bad" ( ; see under §2.4.3.3.3), and the verb *sbn* "to steer off course, to diverge" ( ; see under §2.4.3.4) in the *Kanais Inscription*. It is also present in the spelling of the Late Egyptian possessive article *pꜣ(jj)=sn* ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.1) and the preposition *m* written as *n* ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.2 and §6.5.3.2) on the northern half of the *Great Double Stela*. On the *Hermopolis Stela*, the adverb *n-mnt* "daily" ( ; see under §3.4.3.3.3) is written with the Lower Egyptian crown instead of the wave line.

The elaborate classifier () in the spelling of the verb *ḥmsi* "to sit" on the southern half of the *Great Double Stela*, by contrast, in itself qualifies as a strong indicator of the composers' intent to continue older—specifically, early Eighteenth Dynasty—monumental written traditions because of its infrequent occurrence in the record ( ; see under §4.2.3.3.1). The play on the iconic dimension of individual signs illustrated by this example is, nevertheless, a prevalent phenomenon in Ramesside times.[1698] A graphical variant of the word *tjt* "image" used in Karnak and Medinet Habu—and hence also in Ramesses III's double monument in the *cour de la cachette* ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.1)—was equally associated with the monumental sphere since the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Although the overall number of graphical selections that follow or imitate earlier written traditions primarily associated with the monumental sphere remains limited at the level of individual inscriptions (§2.4.3.1, §3.4.3.1, §4.2.3.3.1, §4.3.3.3.1, §5.4.3.1, and §6.5.3.1), their distributional pattern suggests a clear rationale behind their placement. Old spellings are found in fewer numbers in textual units with a high relative density of new graphical features, and they generally seem to prefer those parts of a text that demonstrate a comparatively conservative linguistic profile.[1699] The linguistic data of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* illustrate this connection between the three linguistic variables particularly well. The Northern Stela, the linguistically more conservative part of the double monument (§4.4.2), contains more old spellings and fewer new ones in

1696 See n. 272 above.

1697 The variation between and is, for instance, geographically principled in Ramesses IV's *prenomen* (*Ḥqꜣ-mꜣʿt-Rʿ Stp-n-Jmn* "Heqamaatre Setepenamun") in the Great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak. Brand (2018: 60) notes that the graphical variant employing the red crown for the grapheme *n* only appears in the northern wing of the hall and on columns flanking the north-south processional axis.

1698 Cf. Essche (1997: 207–213).

1699 For text-specific observations, see §2.5.2.3, §3.5.2.3, §4.4.2, §5.5.2.3, and §6.6.2.3 above.

relative—as well as in absolute—terms than its linguistically more innovative counterpart, the Southern Stela (see Fig. 59 below).

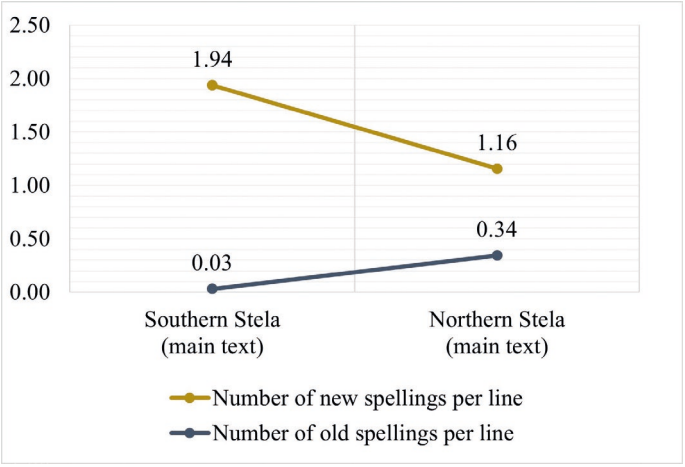


Fig. 59: Relative frequency of old and new spellings (details from Fig. 26, §4.2.3.3.1, and §4.3.3.3.1[1700]) in the main texts of the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*.

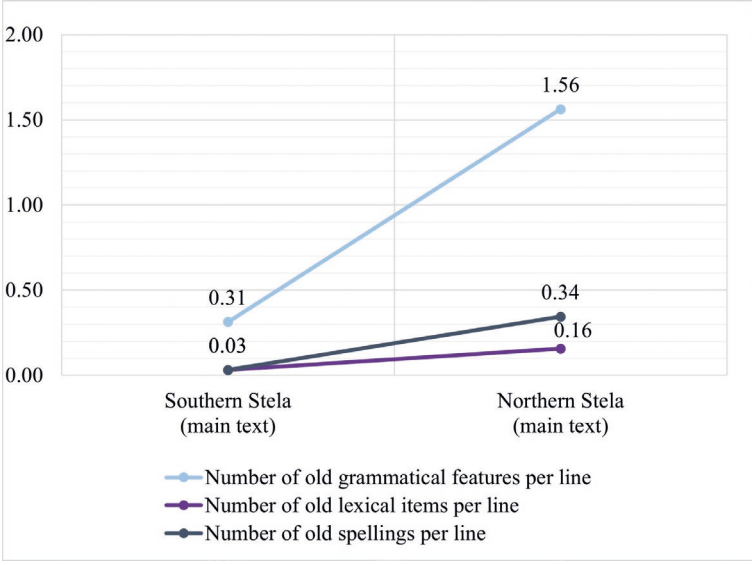


Fig. 60: Relation between the old grammatical, old lexical, and old graphical choices in the main texts of the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (details from Fig. 24, Fig. 53, and Fig. 59).

1700 On calculating the relative frequency of old spellings in the main texts of the two halves of the *Great Double Stela*, compare n. 661 above.

This finding is consistent with the positive relationship between the relative frequency of archaizing graphical solutions and the relative frequency of old grammatical and old lexical selections in the inscription, as shown by the chart above (see Fig. 60).[1701]

The negative correlation between the old and new graphical choices is observable also at the aggregate level of the corpus. The higher the receptivity of an inscription to new graphical solutions, the fewer the number of spellings in its language that follow or imitate earlier written traditions, as demonstrated by the diagram below (see Fig. 61).[1702]

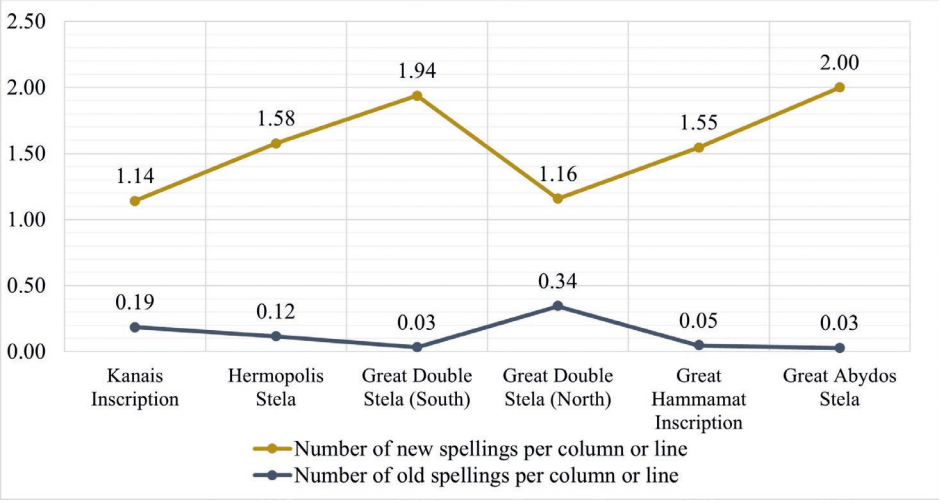


Fig. 61: Relation between the old and new spellings (details from §2.4.3.1, §3.4.3.1, §4.2.3.3.1, §4.3.3.3.1, §5.4.3.1, §6.5.3.1 and §§2.4.3.2–2.4.3.4, §§3.4.3.2–3.4.3.4, §§4.2.3.3.2–4.2.3.3.4, §§4.3.3.3.2–4.3.3.3.4, §§5.4.3.2–5.4.3.3, §§6.5.3.2–6.5.3.4) in the main texts of the five royal inscriptions discussed in detail in the present study.

Some of the typically monumental graphical selections of the Ramesside royal inscriptions seem to lack any pre-Ramesside forerunners. Such features are generally considered new graphical items (§1.2.1.2), provided that their linguistic environment does not raise suspicion for an underlying archaizing motive from the composers' side, as, for instance, in the case of *mntk* on the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* discussed above ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.1). A common characteristic of most new monumental graphical solutions is the use of sign combinations that graphically embellish the texts. For example, the phrase *t3wj* "two lands" is written with the combination of signs M127 () and M13 (), the lotus and the papyrus symbolizing Upper and Lower Egypt, on various Ramesside monuments ( ; see under §2.4.3.3.1) instead of the simpler  and its variants. The same signs are also built into an unusual graphical solution of the royal epithet *sꜥnḫ t3wj* "who sustains both lands" in the inscriptions of Seti I (;

1701 Compare Fig. 27 above.

1702 The correlation coefficient of the two data sets is -0.84.

see under §2.4.3.4). The post-Amarnian monumental spelling of the word *j3w* "praise" shifts the plural strokes to the middle of the graphical segment ( and variants) for the sake of visual symmetry (see under §6.5.3.2). The writing of the verb *sksk* "to destroy," as featured in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* ( ; see under §5.4.3.2.1), is also strongly associated with the Ramesside royal monumental sphere. The use of sign M11 () as a classifier of the verb *qb* "to double, to multiply," as seen in Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* ( ; see under §2.4.3.3.3), or the spelling of the phrase *ḥwt-nṯr* "temple" with sign O21 (), as used on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* ( ; see under §3.4.3.3.3), are similarly found only in a few Ramesside monumental inscriptions. A rare graphical variant of the word *wrw* "the great" is documented in the *Kanais Inscription* ( ; see under §2.4.3.3.3) and—with a slight difference—on the *Great Abydos Stela* ( ; see under §6.5.3.3.3). The spelling of *ʿwt* "limbs," as known from Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* ( ; see under §4.2.3.3.3.3), has also only a handful of parallels in the record—all in Ramesside royal texts.

7.3.2 New Graphical and New Grammatical or Lexical Choices: A Moderate Positive Correlation

New spellings in the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions regularly consist of relatively recent and contemporary graphical features and spellings that do not appear in monumental texts in pre-Ramesside times (§1.2.1.2). Spellings that qualify as new graphical choices in the language of these texts thus commonly fall into one of the following categories: graphical features uncommon before Ramesside times (§2.4.3.2, §3.4.3.2, §4.2.3.3.2, §4.3.3.3.2, and §6.5.3.2), typically Ramesside graphical selections (§2.4.3.3, §3.4.3.3, §4.2.3.3.3, §4.3.3.3.3, §5.4.3.2, and §6.5.3.3), and idiosyncratic graphical solutions without apparent archaizing intent from the composers' side (see under §2.4.3.4, §3.4.3.4, §4.2.3.3.4, §4.3.3.3.4, §5.4.3.3, and §6.5.3.4). The category of typically Ramesside spellings may be further divided into regularly attested Ramesside graphical features (§2.4.3.3.1, §3.4.3.3.1, §4.2.3.3.3.1, §4.3.3.3.3.1, §5.4.3.2.1, and §6.5.3.3.1), Ramesside graphical features uncommon in monumental inscriptions (§2.4.3.3.2, §3.4.3.3.2, §4.2.3.3.3.2, §4.3.3.3.3.2, §5.4.3.2.2, and §6.5.3.3.2), seldom attested Ramesside graphical features (§2.4.3.3.3, §3.4.3.3.3, §4.2.3.3.3.3, §4.3.3.3.3.3, §5.4.3.2.3, and §6.5.3.3.3), and Ramesside spellings influenced by homonyms or similar-sounding words (§2.4.3.3.4, §3.4.3.3.4, and §6.5.3.3.4).

While the number of archaizing graphical features—irrespective of their innovative or genuinely ancient character (§7.3.1)—is generally very limited in the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions (cf. §2.4.3.1, §3.4.3.1, §4.2.3.3.1, §4.3.3.3.1, §5.4.3.1, and §6.5.3.1), the texts abound in new graphical solutions (cf. §§2.4.3.2–2.4.3.4, §§3.4.3.2–3.4.3.4, §§4.2.3.3.2–4.2.3.3.4, §§4.3.3.3.2–4.3.3.3.4, §§5.4.3.2–5.4.3.3, and §§6.5.3.2–6.5.3.4). Moreover, while spellings following or imitating earlier written traditions are rarely found in the linguistically most innovative sections of individual texts but tend to cluster in passages with rather conservative grammatical and lexical selections (see §2.5.2.3, §3.5.2.3, §4.4.2 with Fig. 59 and Fig. 60 above, §5.5.2.3, and §6.6.2.3), new

spellings are omnipresent in the Ramesside royal inscriptions.[1703] New graphical solutions—unlike archaizing ones—are admitted to all Ramesside royal textual units, including some of the linguistically most conservative passages of these texts. In Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, for example, regularly attested Ramesside graphical features (§2.4.3.3.1) are employed even in the linguistically least innovative parts of the text: in the dedication formula (2 exx.) as well as in the dateline and titulary (1 ex.). Typically Ramesside spellings also appear in the opening scenes of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (§5.4.3.2.1) and *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.5.3.3.1).[1704]

Accordingly, the relationship between the new graphical and new grammatical or lexical selections of the Ramesside royal inscriptions is expected to be weaker—both at the level of individual texts as well as at the level of the overall corpus—than the relationship between their new grammatical and new lexical choices (§7.2.2). Indeed, the data of individual inscriptions point to the variable's relative independence of the grammatical and lexical selections of the corresponding texts. All five inscriptions analyzed in the framework of the present study exhibit a significantly weaker relationship between the use of new graphical and new grammatical or new lexical features than between the use of new grammatical and new lexical ones.[1705]

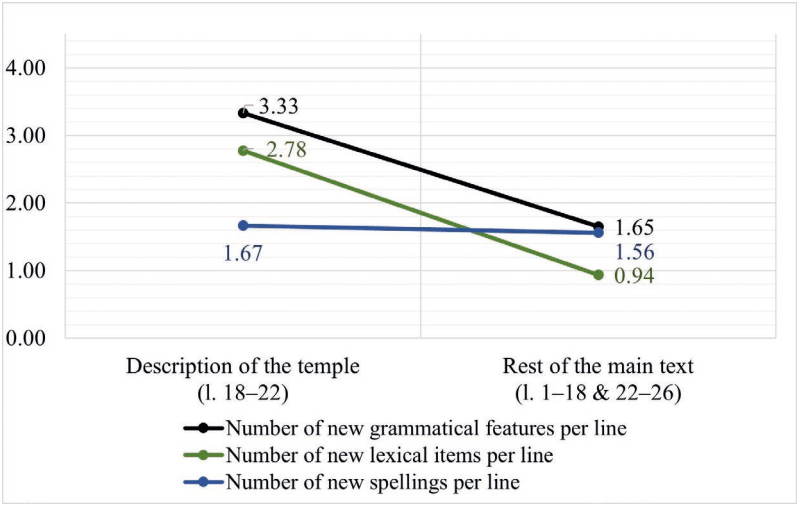


Fig. 62: Relation between the new grammatical, new lexical, and new graphical choices in the description of the temple (lines 18–22) and the rest of the main text of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (details from Fig. 14, Fig. 17, and Fig. 21).

1703 Cf. Fig. 8, Fig. 9, Fig. 19, Fig. 20, Fig. 21, Fig. 26, Fig. 33, and Fig. 44.

1704 On the lexical aspect of the scene and margins of a royal inscription being generally less open to new linguistic solutions than its main text, see the example of *ꜥš3* and *qnw*—synonyms for "many, numerous"—on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* under §7.2.2.

1705 See §2.5.2.3 with Fig. 10 and n. 439, §3.5.2.3, §4.4.2 with Fig. 27, §5.5.2.3, and §6.6.2.3 with Fig. 45 and n. 1472.

The example of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* is perhaps the most illustrative of all. A paragraph containing the central topic of the stela, the one describing the newly built temple between lines 18 and 22 of its main inscription,[1706] receives additional emphasis due to its linguistic profile (§3.5.3). While the passage is highlighted through its grammatical and lexical selections (§3.5.2.1 and §3.5.2.2), there is virtually no difference between its graphical dimension and that of the rest of the text (§3.5.2.3), as the chart above (Fig. 62) demonstrates.

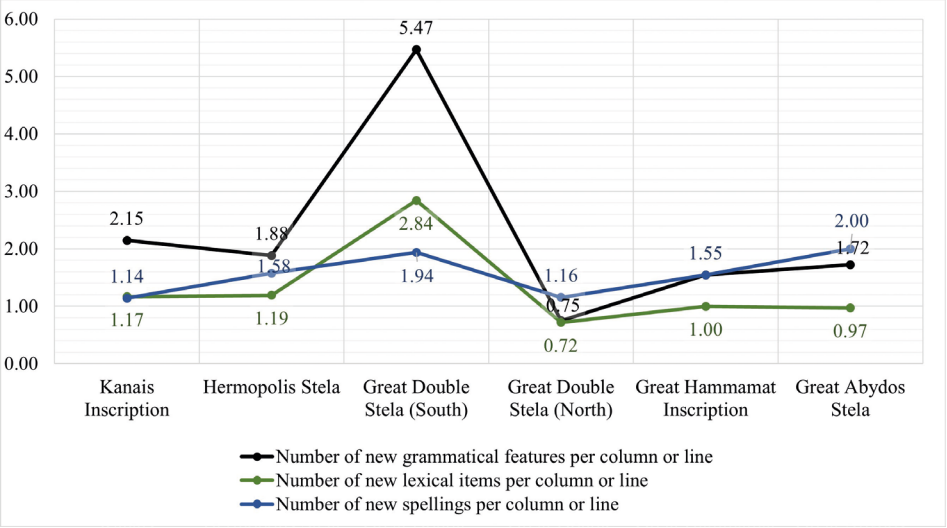


Fig. 63: Relation between the new grammatical, new lexical, and new graphical choices (details from Fig. 51, Fig. 54, §§2.4.3.2–2.4.3.4, §§3.4.3.2–3.4.3.4, §§4.2.3.3.2–4.2.3.3.4, §§4.3.3.3.2–4.3.3.3.4, §§5.4.3.2–5.4.3.3, and §§6.5.3.2–6.5.3.4) in the main texts of the five royal inscriptions discussed in detail in the present study.

At the aggregate level, however, there is a moderate positive correlation between the relative frequency of new spellings and the relative frequency of new lexical or grammatical choices in the inscriptions.[1707] This means that if a text was relatively open to new grammatical and new lexical selections, it likely contained also more new spellings overall than its grammatically and lexically more conservative counterparts (see Fig. 63 above), even if—as mentioned above—the in-text distribution of its new graphical solutions would not necessarily reflect the differences in the grammatical and lexical choices of its major textual units. Regarding the use of new spellings, the difference between individual texts or parts of texts generally appears less pronounced than what their grammatical and lexical data would suggest. Most Ramesside royal inscriptions in fact look very similar epigraphically. One of the reasons behind the texts' apparent visual

1706 See under §3.2.3.4.

1707 The correlation coefficients of the two pairs of corresponding data sets are 0.54 (new grammar and new spelling) and 0.52 (new lexicon and new spelling).

uniformity is that—as far as the graphical dimension was concerned—preference for earlier linguistic solutions was not expressed by the lack of new spellings but by the use of archaizing features besides the more recent ones (cf. §7.4.3), which must to a large extend be due to the sacralizing effect of the hieroglyphic script.[1708] In addition, as discussed above (§7.3.1), the number of archaizing graphical features remains largely limited in the corpus.

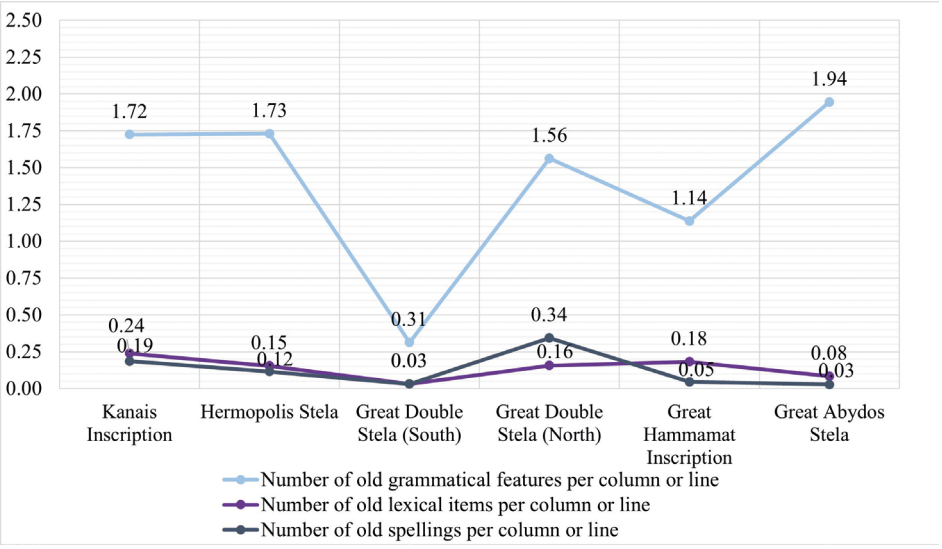


Fig. 64: Relation between the old grammatical, old lexical, and old graphical choices (details from Fig. 51, Fig. 54, and Fig. 61) in the main texts of the five royal inscriptions discussed in detail in the present study.

Since the number of lexical and graphical selections that plausibly attest to the composers' intent to establish a link to past layers of the language is very small in the corpus overall (§7.2.1 and §7.3.1), the trends they exhibit must be interpreted with particular caution (§1.2.2). It should nonetheless be noted that the old linguistic selections of the five Ramesside royal texts analyzed in detail in the present study suggest that the positive relationship between old grammatical, old lexical, and old graphical choices of individual texts—observed most clearly in the case of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (§7.3.1 with Fig. 60)—is also maintained at the aggregate level of the corpus. As Fig. 64 illustrates above, inscriptions that more strongly seek a connection with past layers of the language through their grammatical and lexical selections are also more likely to contain

1708 See Vernus (1990b: 41–48), Donnat Beauquier (2014: 194–207), and Stauder-Porchet & Stauder (2020: 79). Note, furthermore, that there is a certain correspondence in terms of indexicality between the hieratic script and the contemporary idiom referring to this-wordly actions, on the one hand, and between the hieroglyphic script and the past idiom referring to the eternal, archetypal world, on the other hand. On graphic registers in general, see Ragazzoli & Albert (2025: 10–16) with further references.

archaizing spellings. The relationship between the three variables is, nevertheless, weaker in the case of old grammatical, old lexical, and old graphical choices than in the case of new grammatical, new lexical, and new graphical ones (see Fig. 63 above).[1709]

With regard to grammar and lexicon, it has already been demonstrated above (§7.2.2) that the novelty index of linguistic selections may differ across the different linguistic dimensions at the level of individual syntagms despite the positive correlation between their values at the higher aggregation levels of the data (corpus, individual inscriptions, larger and smaller structural units within the individual inscriptions). If old and new grammatical features do not necessarily go hand in hand with lexical features of a corresponding novelty index at the lowest structural levels of the texts, and vice versa, a similarly frequent mismatch is expected along the old–new continuum between the graphical and grammatical or lexical values of individual linguistic selections. Indeed, the linguistic data of the five Ramesside royal inscriptions analyzed in detail in the present study suggest that the spelling of a word could be modernized even if the word itself was not particularly recent, or that the spelling of a new grammatical feature could be manipulated so that it appeared ancient (§7.3.1). Just as the interplay between grammar and lexicon sometimes produced cross-dimensional—here, lexico-grammatical—hybrids (§7.2.2), interactions between the graphical dimension and grammar as well as between the graphical dimension and lexicon could occasionally likewise result in cases of grammato-graphic or lexico-graphic hybridity.

In Text A of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, for example, the expression *mnjw nfr* "good shepherd," an ancient royal epithet,[1710] received a truly innovative spelling (see *mnjw* under §2.4.3.4) in a grammatically and lexically rather formulaic section.[1711] In line 16 of the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, however, the verb *sd* "to break, to crack" has a typically Ramesside spelling in an Earlier Egyptian *sḏm.n=f* construction (see *sd* under §4.3.3.3.3.1). The co-occurrence of an archaizing pseudo- or passive participle ending with a Ramesside lexical item, the verb *tm* "to complete" (see under §6.5.2.6), is equally noteworthy in line 4 of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.4, n. xxv).

These examples highlight the non-causal nature of the relationship between grammar, lexicon, and spelling and illustrate their relative independence of one another at the level of individual syntagms despite the positive correlation between their values at the level of individual inscriptions and their major textual units. At the lowest structural levels of the texts, words, phrases, and constructions could thus acquire different values in each of the three linguistic dimensions: grammar, lexicon, and (ortho)graphy.

1709 The correlation coefficients of the two pairs of corresponding data sets are 0.33 (old grammar and old spelling) and 0.48 (old lexicon and old spelling). Compare n. 1707 above.

1710 See n. 399 above.

1711 The unique logographic spelling of the word that visually resonates with the content of the passage is best understood as part of a broader tendency towards creative variation within the language of the corpus.

Although any combination along the three linguistic dimensions was in principle possible, some combinations occur more often in the record than others. As the high density of data points in the middle of Fig. 65 below indicates,[1712] a large proportion of the smallest linguistic units of the Ramesside royal texts features diachronically neutral grammatical, lexical, and graphical characteristics, notwithstanding the linguistic heterogeneity of the corpus.

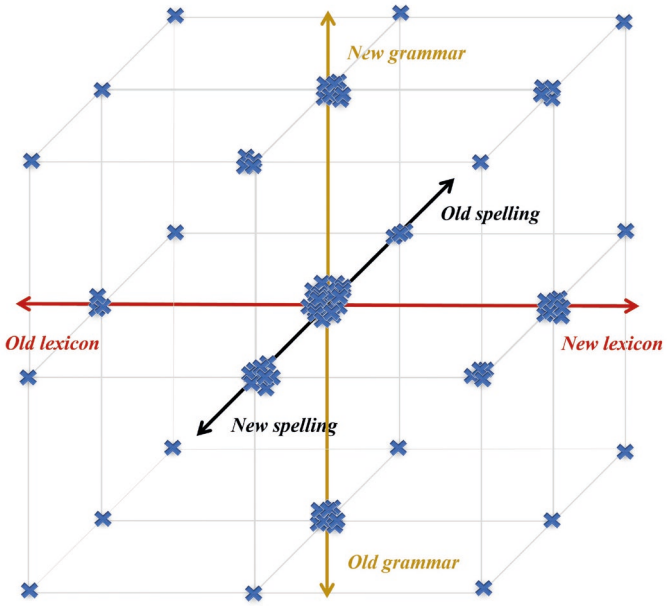


Fig. 65: The combinability of the different values of grammar, lexicon, and (ortho)graphy at the lowest structural levels of the Ramesside royal inscriptions.

In other words, many of the smallest building blocks of a text still use linguistic features that qualify neither as saliently old nor as saliently new (§1.2.1.2). There is, for instance, nothing distinctively old or new about the phrase *nb t3wj* "lord of the two lands" written as  in line 3 of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* with regard to its grammatical, lexical, or graphical selections. The direct genitive construction is used regularly in Earlier as well as in Late Egyptian, the words *nb* "lord" and *t3wj* "two lands" are equally common in Ramesside as in earlier times, and so are the graphical solutions chosen to represent them visually. At the same time, several linguistic units receive a marked value (old or new) along one of the three linguistic dimensions in the texts, while keeping the diachronically indistinct value of the other two variables. Such instances are numerous and

1712 The data points in the above chart are used for illustrative purposes and represent only an approximation of the relative frequency of each possible combination along the three linguistic dimensions.

are commonly recognized by their new grammatical, new lexical, new graphical, or old grammatical selections, but do not display any remarkably old or new features along any of the other two linguistic dimensions. The number of old lexical and old graphical selections is, on the other hand, altogether considerably small in the corpus (§7.2.1 and §7.3.1). The number of linguistic units that may be characterized as old or new along more than one linguistic dimension varies strongly according to the different combinations available in the texts (new grammar – new lexicon, new grammar – new spelling, new lexicon – new spelling, old grammar – old lexicon, old grammar – old spelling, old lexicon – old spelling), while examples featuring a contrasting novelty index in at least two linguistic dimensions (cross-dimensional hybrids) are only present to a limited extent in the corpus in general.[1713]

7.3.3 The Impact of Time on Graphical Choices

The linguistic data of the five royal texts analyzed in detail in the present study suggest that the Ramesside royal inscriptions' graphical selections were more sensitive to the passing of time than their grammatical and lexical choices were. While the texts do not exhibit a growing preference for innovative features with regard to grammar and lexicon over time (§7.1.4 and §7.2.3), the relative frequency of new graphical solutions per text seems to increase at a slow but steady rate in the corpus over the decades (see Fig. 66 below). This trend likely mirrors the increased influence of hieratic on orthography as a whole in Ramesside times.[1714]

The graphical data of five major Ramesside royal inscriptions thus indicate that the ancient composers of these texts exercised less control—and were presumably also less conscious—over the use of new spellings than over the use of new grammatical and new lexical features. This observation, however, does not imply that they were unaware of the visual component of their language in general (cf. §7.3.1, §7.3.4, and §7.3.5). The case of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* demonstrates that the compositional logic (§7.1.1.1) played a non-negligible role in determining not only the grammatical (§7.1.1.2) and lexical (§7.2.2) but also the graphical choices of a text. The Northern Stela contains significantly fewer post-Amarnian and Ramesside graphical features than the Southern Stela (1.16 ex./line vs. 1.94 ex./line). The relative density of new spellings in the two halves of the text is therefore consistent with the general linguistic profile of the double monument (§4.4.2).

1713 For examples, see §7.2.2 and the present section above.
1714 Cf. Goelet (2008: 106–108) and Stauder (2020b: 875).

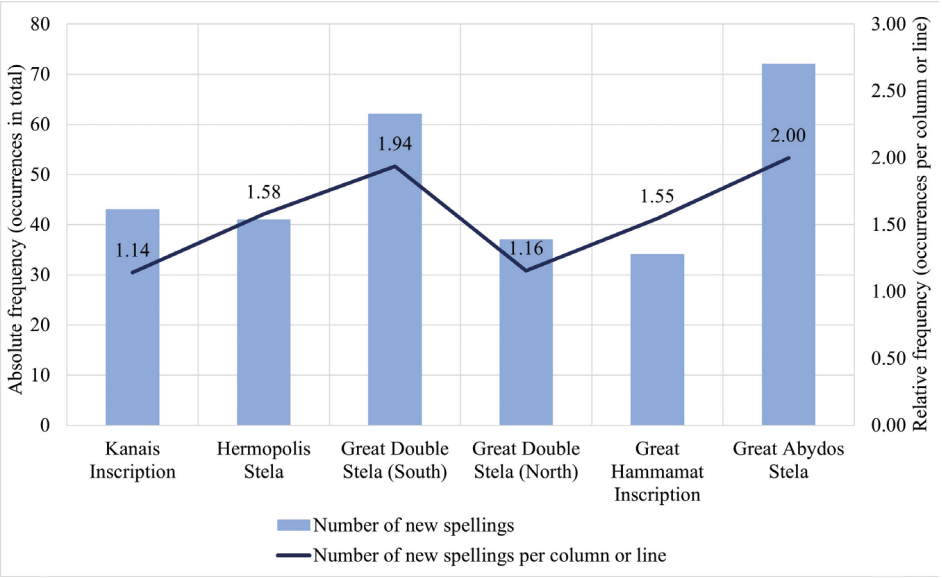


Fig. 66: Absolute and relative frequency of new spellings (details under §§2.4.3.2–2.4.3.4, §§3.4.3.2–3.4.3.4, §§4.2.3.3.2–4.2.3.3.4, §§4.3.3.3.2–4.3.3.3.4, §§5.4.3.2–5.4.3.3, and §§6.5.3.2–6.5.3.4) in the main texts of the five royal inscriptions discussed in detail in the present study.

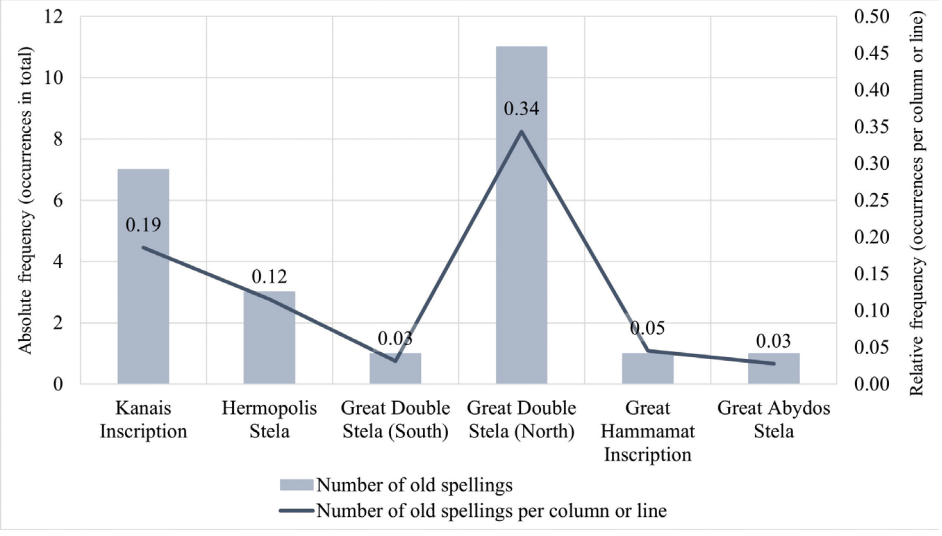


Fig. 67: Absolute and relative frequency of old spellings (details from §2.4.3.1, §3.4.3.1, §4.2.3.3.1, §4.3.3.3.1, §5.4.3.1, and §6.5.3.1) in the main texts of the five royal inscriptions discussed in detail in the present study.

While an inscription's date of composition had little or no influence on the overall number of old and new grammatical and new lexical features in the language of a text (§7.1.4 and §7.2.3), a slight decrease is observable in the use of lexical items pointing to past layers of the language over time (§7.2.3). A similar development is apparent in the use of archaizing graphical features in the corpus. As the chart above (Fig. 67) illustrates, the inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty seem to have been more inclined to employ old spellings than were their Twentieth Dynasty counterparts. Despite this general tendency, the example of the *Great Double Stela*—as in the case above with regard to the use of new spellings—once again demonstrates that the compositional logic of a text could override diachronic trends in linguistic preferences (§4.4.2).

Provided that the cumulative data on the old lexical and old graphical selections of the Ramesside royal inscriptions can be considered reliable despite the small size of the corresponding data sets (§1.2.2), they shed important light on the evolution of ancient strategies of register marking. The data suggest that the ancient composers made less and less effort to link a text or a passage of text to past layers of the language specifically through its old lexical or old graphical selections. Over time, the high relative frequency of old grammatical features and the high relative scarcity of new grammatical and new lexical features would thus become the main attributes of a conservative linguistic register. Conversely, the role of old lexical and old graphical solutions appears to diminish. The relative infrequency of new graphical features as a defining characteristic of conservative linguistic registers would also gradually lose importance, since—as pointed out above—Ramesside royal texts became more and more homogeneous epigraphically.

The impact of time on the graphical selections of the Ramesside royal inscriptions is also evident in their growing preference for the later graphical variants of individual words. Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*, for instance, employs a more recent spelling for the plural form of the word *kjj* "other" ( ; see under §5.4.3.2.1) than Text C, the linguistically most innovative part of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, does ( ; see under §2.4.3.3.1). Similarly, the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty written forms of the word *šmw* "summer" may differ from one another in the absence or presence of a final *-t*. Accordingly, the *Kanais Inscription* employs the earlier,[1715] while the *Great Hammamat Inscription* uses the later graphical variant (; see under §5.4.3.2.3).[1716]

Younger texts also tend to replace certain signs with their later or more stylized equivalents more often than older ones. While the *Hermopolis Stela*, for example, still has a more conventional as well as a stylized spelling for the preposition *ḥntj* "in front of" ( and ; discussed under §3.5.2.3), the *Great Abydos Stela* only uses the more

1715  (or with a haplography for *sw* "day") in B1 and in B6.

1716 Note that the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (GDSN 1:) also retains the earlier variant, whereas an earlier text of the same king, the *Karnak Decree of Year 16*, writes the word with a final *-t* (see n. 1060 above).

stylized variant () of sign W17 ().[1717] Although the spelling of the prothetic *yod* with a simple *r* () is altogether infrequent in the monumental record,[1718] the present corpus contains two examples of it: one on the *Great Double Stela* (see under §4.2.3.3.3.2) and another on the *Great Abydos Stela* (see under §6.3.3.3.1). Perhaps not surprisingly, both instances date to the Twentieth Dynasty.

In a similar vein, the texts of the Twentieth Dynasty substitute the classifier D6 () with signs D138 () or D139 () several times in the corpus. On the southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, the words *wbꜣ* "domain" (; see under §4.2.3.3.4) and *ḫm* "to know"[1719] are both written once with one of the two more elaborate signs. On Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, the verbs *dgi* "to behold" (; see under §6.5.3.3.1) and *ḥsꜣ* "to be wild" (; see under §6.5.3.3.4) and the interjection *ptr* "look, behold" (; see under §6.5.3.3.4) also take the later classifiers.[1720] In contrast, *dgi* is still spelled with sign D6 in Seti I's *Nauri Decree*[1721] and on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (; see under §3.4.3.3.1). So is *wbꜣ* on the *Hermopolis Stela* (; see under §3.4.3.6.4) and *ptr* on the southern half of the *Great Double Stela*.[1722]

The five case studies above provide several further examples in which the modernization in spelling mainly affected the classifiers of the corresponding words.[1723] In Text C of Seti's *Kanais Inscription*, the presence of sign O39 () at the end of the noun *mnw*(*w*) "monument(s)," for instance, results in a rare Ramesside spelling of the lexeme (; see under §2.4.3.3.2). Sign A53 () in the spelling of the same word on the southern half of the *Great Double Stela* (; see under §4.2.3.3.3.2), on the other hand, reflects Ramesside non-monumental practices. Sign A53 is also attested as a classifier in the verb *sbq* "to be splendid, precious" on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (; see under §6.5.3.3.1). At Kanais, the seated woman in the written form of *ḥsbw* "assigned personnel" in Text C (; see under §2.4.3.3.1) and sign M11 () at the end of the verb *qb* "to double, to multiply" in Text A (; see under §2.4.3.3.3) are likewise Ramesside characteristics. On the northern half of the *Great Double Stela*, the inclusion of a band of string or linen in the spelling of the word *gnw*(*t*) "annals" (; see under §4.3.3.3.3.2) and the use of the double classifier at the end of the word *grḥ* "night" (; see under §4.3.3.3.3.2) are equally in line with Ramesside orthographic practices. On Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, sign F10 () employed as the classifier of

1717 Cf. in line 21, in line 24, and in line 36. Differences in the spelling of the same sign on the ceiling of an Eighteenth Dynasty private funerary monument may be linked to individual preferences of the artists involved in the decoration process of the surface (Paksi 2025b: 405 and 2025c: 345, n. 18), which illustrates the importance of the human component in linguistic choices.

1718 See n. 779 above.

1719 See n. 795 above.

1720 For an example on Ramesses IV's *Year 4 Abydos Stela*, see n. 917 above.

1721 See n. 563 above.

1722 in GDSS 21.

1723 On the global reorganization of the classifier system that took place in the New Kingdom and in the Ramesside era in particular, see Chantrain (2014: 40–41 and 54–55).

the verb *srq* “to open, to make inhale” ( ; see under §6.5.3.3.1), sign G37 () as that of *skm* “to complete” ( ; see under §6.5.3.3.3), and the erect cobra at the end of the word *ḥnwt* “mistress” ( ; see under §6.5.3.3.3) are similarly Ramesside features.

On several occasions, modernizations in spelling may be attributed to morphological changes reflecting phonetic ones.[1724] The omission of the final *-t* in writing is a classic case of such an adjustment. It occurs all over the corpus and becomes increasingly frequent over time. For instance, the adverb *m mɜ́w*(*t*) “anew” features a post-Amarnian spelling without the final *-t* in Text C of the *Kanais Inscription* ( ; see under §2.4.3.3.1), as it does on Ramesses III’s Southern Stela in the Karnak temple’s *cour de la cachette* ( ; see under §4.2.3.3.3.1).[1725] Still, Seti I’s example in Text C () remains less stylized than Ramesses III’s (). Likewise, the *-t* ending of the word *rwḏt* in the expression *jnr ḥḏ nfr n rwḏt* meaning “sandstone,” which disappeared by the time of Ramesses III,[1726] was still spelled out under Seti I.[1727] Ramesses III’s Northern Stela also has the word *qfɜ́t* “fame” written without the final *-t*, as *qfɜ́w* ( ; see under §4.3.3.2.4). Compare, moreover, the spelling of the noun *nḥb*(*t*) “neck” on Ramesses IV’s *Great Abydos Stela* ( ; see under §6.5.3.3.2) with its graphical variant on Merenptah’s *Israel Stela* ()[1728] or the spelling of the word *bḫn*(*t*) “pylon” on Merenptah’s *Hermopolis Stela* ( ; see under §3.4.3.3.1) with its written form in the monumental versions of Ramesses II’s Qadesh inscriptions ().[1729] The *Hermopolis Stela* also presents the Ramesside variant *nḫm*(*t*) “lotus bud” ( ; see under §3.4.2.6) of the earlier *nḥbt*. Writing *kɜmw* for *kɜnw* “garden” ( ; see under §3.4.3.3.1) and *sbj* for *zbṯ*/*sbṯ* “to laugh” ( ; see under §3.4.3.3.3) may similarly be regarded as graphical manifestations of phonetic change in Merenptah’s inscription. Besides the loss of final *-t*’s, the texts analyzed in detail in the framework of the present study also include a handful of other examples that fall into the category of phonetic erosion. On Ramesses III’s Southern Stela, for example, the preposition *ḥrw-r* appears in its reduced Ramesside form: *ḥrw* ( ; see under §4.2.3.2.6). The *Great Hammamat Inscription* shortens the conjunction *n-mrwt* “in order that” in like manner (; see under §5.4.3.2.1).[1730]

In Ramesside times, graphical modifications were often influenced by homonyms or similar-sounding words. In three of the five case studies, an entire subchapter was devoted to the phenomenon (§2.4.3.3.4, §3.4.3.3.4, and §6.5.3.3.4). Although for Ramesses III’s *Great Double Stela* and Ramesses IV’s *Great Hammamat Inscription*, the examples were not specifically listed as such, the spelling of the noun *jk* “quarryman, miner” on the *Great Hammamat Stela* was, for example, presumably affected by the word *jɜ́k*

1724 Cf. Winand (2018: 4–5).

1725 See n. 296 above.

1726 See  in GDSN 7 (§4.3.2, n. xxxiii).

1727 Compare the spelling of the phrase, for instance, in lines 8 () and 19–20 () of Seti I’s *Gebel Barkal Stela* (K*RI* I 76, 1 and 8).

1728 See n. 1340 above.

1729 K*RI* II 38, 1 and 2.

1730 On the earlier alloforms of the conjunction in the *Kanais Inscription*, see n. 1033 above.

"old man" (see  under §5.4.3.2.1).[1731] On the *Great Double Stela*, the writing of the word *bšdwt* "rebellious" ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.3.1) attests to the influence of *bdš* "to be weak, inert,"[1732] while the unusual spelling of the verb *ḥnb* "to drive away" may be linked to the interference of two semantically and phonetically related verbs ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.4). The incorporation of the word *mw* "water" in the spelling of two different examples of the verb *ḫm* "to not know" (see  under §4.2.3.3.4 and  under §4.3.3.3.4) was probably also brought about by a phonetic play between the two words.

The language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions illustrates, furthermore, how graphical solutions that originally belonged to the non-monumental hieratic sphere gradually spread to the monumental hieroglyphic domain (§2.4.3.3.2, §3.4.3.3.2, §4.2.3.3.3.2, §4.3.3.3.3.2, §5.4.3.2.2, and §6.5.3.3.2). Seti's *Kanais Inscription*, for instance, uses a graphical variant of the word ꜥ "track, trace" that regularly appears in Ramesside non-monumental hieratic texts ( ; see under §2.4.3.3.2) and exchanges the classifiers of the words *msw* "children" ( ; see under §2.4.3.3.2) and *dšr* "to be(come) red" ( ; see under §2.4.3.3.2) with their hieratic abbreviations (). In addition, Text B of the threefold inscription employs a graphical variant of the causal conjunction *pȝ-wn* ( ; see under §2.4.3.3.2) that is otherwise unknown from the monumental hieroglyphic record. On Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, the presence of the long graphical variant of the preposition *ḥr* in the *status pronominalis* ( ; see under §3.4.3.3.2) and the spelling of the word *ḥrr*(*t*) "flower" ( ; see under §3.4.3.3.2) are noteworthy. The morpheme *ḥr* is written similarly once more in the corpus: in the *status pronominalis* of the compound *ḫr st-ḥr* "under the control (of)" ( ; see under §6.5.3.3.2) on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*. Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* spells the name of Atum in both parts of the inscription in a way that is characteristic of hieratic Ramesside traditions ( and  ; see under §4.2.3.3.3.2 and §4.3.3.3.3.2). On the southern half of the monument, the spelling of the words *mnw*(*w*) "monument(s)" ( ; see under §4.2.3.3.3.2), *ḫn* "to go fast, to hurry" ( ; see under §4.2.3.3.3.2), among others, and that of the preposition *ḫr* ( ; see under §4.2.3.3.3.2) are likewise reminiscent of hieratic practices. On the northern half of the stela, the written forms of several words including *pḥ* "to reach" ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.3.2), *s*(*j*)*mw* "vegetation" (or  ; see under §4.3.3.3.3.2), *gnw*(*t*) "annals" ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.3.2), and *grḥ* "night" ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.3.2) follow typically non-monumental traditions. In Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*, the spelling of the word *ḳtn*/*ḳdn* "charioteer" is especially remarkable ( ; see under §5.4.3.2.2). The language of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* features mostly grammatical words that are in better accord with the hieratic than with the monumental hieroglyphic orthographic conventions of the time. For instance, the preposition *r* is represented twice with its long graphical variant in the *status pronominalis* in the text ( ; see under §6.5.3.3.2).

1731 Cf. *Wb*. I 139.10 and *DZA* 20.237.730.

1732 Compare this example with the one on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (; see under §6.5.3.3.1).

A long spelling of the second-person plural suffix pronoun on the stela ( ; see under §6.5.3.3.2) is otherwise only attested on two late Ramesside hieratic papyri. The written forms of the verb *jwi* "to come" ( ; see under §6.5.3.3.2) and the preposition *m-ḫt* "behind" (; see under §6.5.3.3.3) similarly correspond to contemporary non-monumental hieratic traditions.

7.3.4 Rare Spellings and Graphical Idiosyncrasies

Although the composers of the Ramesside royal inscriptions may have exercised less control over the use of new spellings than over the use of new grammatical and new lexical features (§7.3.3), several graphical peculiarities in the texts illustrate that they were highly aware of the visual component of the language. The occasional manipulation of the graphical dimension with archaizing intent (§7.3.1) is one of many signs that point in this direction. The presence of rare spellings and graphical idiosyncrasies in the texts—which attest to the composers' creativity and playful approach to the language in general—and the ways in which the potential of the different graphical variants of individual words and expressions was exploited to create implicit meaning (§7.3.5) provide further evidence of their appreciation and skillful use of the graphical dimension.

The graphical data of the five Ramesside royal inscriptions analyzed in detail in the framework of the present study suggest that some of the rare spellings and graphical idiosyncrasies in the corpus are results of deliberate graphical modifications motivated by rhetorical considerations which were likely aimed at placing additional emphasis on the message of a text or a specific passage. For instance, the spelling of the words *jꜣwt* "mounds, hills" ( ; see under §2.4.3.3.4) and *sswn* "to abolish, to destroy" ( ; see under §2.4.3.4) in Text B of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* finds a playful resonance with the underlying theme (suffering of thirst) of the corresponding passage (§2.5.2.3). In Text A of the same inscription, the logogram chosen for writing *mnjw* "shepherd, herdsman" ( ; see under §2.4.3.4) represents the central qualities of a "good shepherd" (provider of goods *and* water) as described in the text (§2.5.2.3). On the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, the stone sign () in the spelling of the word *šs* "cord" ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.4) is a visual allusion to the activities, the first step of which the expression *pḏ šs* "to stretch the cord," that is, the mason's line, refers to. On Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, the written forms of the words *nḏsw* "the small" ( ; see under §6.5.3.4), *ḥsbwt* "garden-beds" ( ; see under §6.5.3.4), and *ḥqꜣ* "ruler" ( ; see under §6.5.3.4) similarly interact with the content of the passage in which they are embedded and play a significant role in highlighting the key message of the corresponding sections (§6.6.2.3). The cryptographic spelling of Ramesses IV's *prenomen Ḥqꜣ-mꜣʿt-Rʿ Stp-n-Jmn* "Heqamaatre Setepenamun" in the scene of his *Great Abydos Stela* (see under §6.5.3.4) attracts attention in like manner, with the creativity and playfulness of its graphical solution.

Graphical manipulations thus often served the purpose of visually highlighting a certain content, but they were occasionally also done with the opposite intent: with the aim of hiding or softening the graphical salience of a subject or a given linguistic formu-

lation. In the present corpus, such alterations can be found in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* and on the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*. The writing of the Late Egyptian participle *j.m(w)tjw* "the dead" in line 18 of the *Great Hammamat Inscription* ( ; see under §5.4.3.3) qualifies as a graphical euphemism, while the spelling of a Late Egyptian second-person singular masculine pronoun with its unique, archaizing written form in line 6 of the Northern Stela ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.1) establishes a creative but artificial link to the past (§7.3.1). The same holds true for the spelling of a Late Egyptian possessive article modified almost beyond recognition in line 31 of the latter monument ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.1; discussed under §7.3.1).

Rare and idiosyncratic spellings may also attest to the influence of their immediate textual and graphical environments. For example, the presence of the cartouche at the end of the expression *rn wr* "mighty name" in column 6 of Seti's Text B at Kanais ( ; see under §2.4.3.1) may be interpreted as a visual anticipation of the spelling of the subsequent words: the king's *prenomen*. The unusual modification of sign S15 () within the verb *stḥn* "to make glisten" in line 10 of Ramesses III's Northern Stela at Karnak (see under §4.3.3.3.4) may equally be explained by the form of the neighboring sign () standing for *W3st* "Thebes." In line 20 of the Southern Stela, the wish expressed by the words *jmm ḏd rmṯ* () *nb n t3 nb*… "Let all the people of every land say: …" seems to have instantly materialized at the visual level through the exchange of sign A1 () with A2 () in the spelling of *rmṯ* "people" (see under §4.2.3.3.4). In line 18 of the *Great Abydos Stela*, the classifier of the verb *ḫnms* "to befriend" (; see under §6.5.3.4) resonates with the apotropaic qualities of spittle[1733] evoked by the second half of the statement (*ḫnms.n=j Ḏḥwtjmdr<f>w=f hrw pgs r qʿḥ=f* "I have befriended Thoth in/with his scripts (§6.4, n. lxxxvii) (on) the day of spitting at his shoulder") and thereby supports the rhetoric of the text.[1734] The unique graphical solution applied twice for *ḫḫ* "neck, throat" in line 27 of the stela ( and  ; see under §6.5.3.4) can be understood in relation to the fourfold presence of the word *ḥʿw* "body" () nearby. The one-time replacement of sign A41 () in its capacity of a singular first-person suffix pronoun referring to the king with sign A1 ()—that is, with the visual representation of a simple mortal—is similarly comprehensible considering that it occurs within a short personal prayer to Amun-Re on the left margin of the monument (§6.6.2.3). The use of an uncommon spelling for the particle *r-ḏd* on the left margin ( ; see under §6.5.3.3.3) is likewise not fully surprising, since it directly follows the relative form *j.ḏdwt=j* "what I say" (). The unusual spelling used for *ḥkɜw* "magical power, magical spells" in the second half of the main inscription ( and  ; see under §6.5.3.3.3) was presumably another context-dependent graphical solution, although the exact rationale behind its placement remains obscure at present (§6.6.2.3).

1733 See n. 1383 above.

1734 On the phenomenon elsewhere, see Stauder (2023a: 66–67).

Just as lexical choices may be suggestive of a particular compositional history of a text or group of texts (§7.2.4), rare spellings can help establish links between individual inscriptions. The historical and lexical connections between Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* and *Koptos Stela* have already been pointed out above (§5.1, §5.5.2.2, and §7.2.4). Some of the graphical characteristics of the two texts, however, shed further light on their relationship. The unusual spelling of the words *mnqb*(*ḥ*) "cool place" ( ; see under §5.4.3.3) and *msnḥ* "to turn around" ( ; see under §5.4.3.3), shared by both inscriptions, suggest the same individual or individuals behind their drafting process (§5.5.2.3 and §7.4.3). The rare monumental spelling of the word *kṯn*/*kḏn* "charioteer" ( ; see under §5.4.3.2.2), which is attested in the list of participants of the *Great Hammamat Inscription*, also occurs in a rock inscription of a servant of Ramesses-Nakht, the leader of the same expedition the *Great Hammamat Inscription* commemorates.[1735] The link between the two inscriptions established by the spelling of the word *kṯn*/*kḏn* "charioteer" thus serves as an additional argument for Ramesses-Nakht's involvement in the compositional process of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (§5.5.3.2).

7.3.5 Linguistic Dissimilation at the Graphical Level

Besides its grammatical and lexical aspects (§7.1.3 and §7.2.5), linguistic dissimilation (cf. §1.2.3) also has a graphical dimension.[1736] At the graphical level, the phenomenon manifests itself in the use of different graphical solutions for the same grammatical or lexical segments within individual texts. In the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions, the graphical examples of linguistic dissimilation provide further evidence for the composers' high awareness of the visual component of the language (see also §7.3.1 and §7.3.4) and exemplify their thorough understanding of the various aspects of text-internal hierarchies present in the corpus (see also §7.2.3 and §7.4.3).

The analysis of the graphical data of five major royal texts suggests a wide range of possible reasons behind the use of graphical dissimilation in the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions. Dissimilation at the graphical level functioned as a regular rhetorical strategy to emphasize important content (cf. §7.1.1.2.2). This effect was achieved by exploiting the visual contrast that arises from the simultaneous use of different graphical solutions for the same grammatical and lexical segments within a single text. On Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, for instance, the name of Thoth received a logographic spelling in the introduction to Thoth's address to the king but was spelled in a more common way in the remaining 14 examples of the main text ( vs.  and ; see under §3.4.3.5). The aforementioned singular solution in the first line, which is not even the first mention of the name of the deity in the main text (§3.2.3.2 and §3.2.3.3), may

1735 See n. 1053 above.

1736 On the graphical—or, after Posener (1934: 142), graphic—dissimilation in the Old Kingdom in general and on the graphemic dissimilarity of archaic plurals, that is, lexemes with three classifiers or logograms, in particular, see Thuault (2017, 2018, and 2020). On the graphemic dissimilarity within Ramesside "archaic" plurals, see Essche (1997: 214–215) and Thuault (2020: 338–339).

thus be the graphical reflection of the composers' intention to highlight the beginning of the god's speech to Merenptah—an important structural unit that covers more than half of the stela (§3.5.1). This interpretation is supported by an equally singular graphical solution for *Ḥmnw* "Hermopolis" (vs. and variants; see under §3.4.3.5) in the subsequent phrase, Thoth's epithet *nb Ḥmnw* "lord of Hermopolis," contrasting with the spelling of ten further examples of the word on the stela (§3.5.2.3). In a similar vein, Ramesses IV's *prenomen* is given a cryptographic spelling in the opening scene, the visually most prominent part of the *Great Abydos Stela* (see under §6.5.3.4). The example in the scene is the only one on the entire monument that does not abbreviate Heqamaatre Setepenamun to Heqamaatre. In the rest of the text,[1737] the king's *prenomen* is consistently written as . In a key passage of the main text, visual resonance is created with the latter by a unique spelling of the word *hq3* "ruler,"[1738] which differs from the spelling of all its other occurrences on the stela (vs. and ; see under §6.5.3.4).

Graphical dissimilation was at times also employed to signal emotional attachment through visual contrast in the texts. For example, the term of endearment *s3=j mrjj=j* "my beloved son" is written in a typically Ramesside way in Amun-Re's speech to Ramesses III on the northern half of his *Great Double Stela* in the first person but is spelled in a more conventional way elsewhere on the monument in the third person (; see under §4.3.3.3.5).

Differences in spelling may, however, also be attributed to various other factors in the corpus. Graphical dissimilation, for instance, regularly marks the difference in structural hierarchy between the opening scene, the margins, and the main text of an inscription. Due to their stronger formulaic character, scenes and margins generally require more conventional graphical solutions than main texts do. The two graphical variants of the name of the goddess Nehmet-away on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* illustrate how the graphical contrast may materialize between the opening scene and the main text (vs. or ; see under §3.4.3.5). A similar contrast is marked between the main text and the margins by the different spellings of the word *s3* "son" on Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (and variants vs. or ; see under §6.5.3.3.1). The phrase *ḫntj Jpt-swt* "who presides over Karnak" shows a comparable differentiation in writing between the left margin of the Southern Stela and the main text of the Northern Stela on Ramesses III's double monument (vs. ; see under §4.3.3.3.5).

Phraseologically bound formulations may likewise exhibit spelling patterns that differ from those of the surrounding text, much as scenes and margins do in relation to the main text. The title *nsw bjtj* "king of Upper and Lower Egypt," for instance, retains its conventional spelling on the margins and in the dedication formula of the *Great Abydos Stela* but follows a more innovative writing in the rest of the main text (vs. ; see

1737 See the examples in the first and second columns of the left margin (§6.3.2.1), the first column of the right margin (§6.3.2.2), lines 2 (2x; §6.3.3.2 and §6.3.3.3.1) and 36 (§6.3.3.4) of the main text, and on the base of the stela (§6.3.4).

1738 See n. 1408 above.

under §6.5.3.2). The verb *wꜥf* "to curb," furthermore, has a more conventional graphical variant in the royal epithet *wꜥf pḏt 9* "who curbs the Nine Bows" within the dateline and titulary of the *Great Abydos Stela* than in a less standardized statement (*wꜥf.n=j bšdw…* "I have curbed the rebellious…") at the end of the inscription ( vs.  ; see under §6.5.3.3.2).

The graphical examples of linguistic dissimilation may also be attributed to the distinct linguistic preferences of individual sections within a text. The different graphical variants of the adverb *m mɜ́w(t)* "anew" ( and  ; see under §2.4.3.3.1) and the word *mnw*(*w*) "monument(s)" ( ,  ,  , and  ; see under §2.4.3.3.2) are, for example, distributed within Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* in a way that each of them matches the overall grammatical, lexical, and graphical profile of its immediate linguistic environment (§2.5.2.3). The spelling of the word *mnw*(*w*) "monument(s)" on the two halves of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* ( vs.  ; see under §4.2.3.3.3.2) is similarly in agreement with the relevant section's relative openness to novel linguistic formulations (§4.4.2). In the same way, the phrase *Šmꜥw Mḥw* "the South and the North" is represented with a later graphical variant in both the scene and the main text of the southern half of the double stela than in the main text of the northern half of the monument ( vs.  ; see under §4.2.3.3.3.3). Likewise, the three examples of the plural form of *rnpt* "year" with double marking on the Northern Stela contrast with the more conventional spelling of *rnpwt* on the Southern Stela ( ,  , and  vs.  ; see under §4.3.3.3.1). Moreover, the language of the *Great Double Stela* demonstrates that the differentiation between potential graphical variants according to the varying linguistic preferences of individual textual units was at times also employed at the micro-levels of the inscriptions. In line 4 of the Northern Stela, the spelling of two genitive *n*'s was aligned with the differing grammatical and lexical profiles of the corresponding two parts of a nominal sentence ( vs.  ; see under §4.3.3.3.5).

In the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions, the use of linguistic dissimilation in its capacity as a means of linguistic inclusiveness (cf. §1.2.3) is often apparent not only at the grammatical and lexical levels (§7.1.3 and §7.2.5) but also at the graphical one. The different graphical realizations of various grammatical morphemes as one specific manifestation of the phenomenon have already been discussed above (§7.1.3). On the *Hermopolis Stela*, the variation between a more conventional and a laxer spelling of the preposition *ḫntj* "in front of" ( vs.  ; discussed under §3.5.2.3) and between two graphical versions of the phrase *nbw Ḥsrt* "the lords of *Hesret*" ( vs.  ; similarly discussed under §3.5.2.3) may equally be understood as graphical examples of linguistic inclusiveness. The two different spellings of the word *sɜ* "son" in line 15 of the northern half of the *Great Double Stela* may be interpreted in a similar way ( vs.  ; see under §4.3.3.3.5). In the latter case, however, the combination of signs H8 () and G5 () resulted in an esthetically pleasing, economizing graphical solution () for the phrase *Ḥr sɜ́*… "Horus, son of…," whereas the same arrangement would hardly have worked for signs H8 () and E20 (). Such practical considerations must therefore also have played a role in the composers' graphical choices.

Finally, spelling differences within a single text may also have had relatively mundane, practical reasons. The final section of Seti I's *Nauri Decree* illustrates this scenario particularly well. The length of the inscription was underestimated, and the originally planned stela had to be enlarged.[1739] Yet, in order to avoid running out of space nonetheless, the composers of the text—or, in this case more precisely, the draftsman or draftsmen transcribing the hieratic or cursive or linear hieroglyphic[1740] draft onto the designated rock surface (cf. §7.4.3)—employed a so-called economizing script[1741] in the second half of the inscription and abbreviated the spelling of various words and expressions to ensure that the text would fit into the available space.[1742]

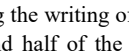
7.3.6 Orthographic Anomalies and Imprecisions

Among the ten major Ramesside royal inscriptions of the broader corpus of the present study (§1.1.3), only Ramesses II's *Great Dedicatory Inscription* shows signs of systematic corrections and recarvings.[1743] In the case of the other texts, there is no evidence that proofreading took place after or during the carving process—or, if it did, that a decision was made to correct more than a few isolated mistakes. Among the five inscriptions analyzed in detail in this study, one or two minor emendations may be found in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*[1744] and perhaps a further one on the southern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*.[1745] In one specific case, on the northern half of

1739 Cf. Griffith (1927: 194 and pl. 38).

1740 On the terminology, see most recently Díaz-Iglesias Llanos (2023: 1–2).

1741 The phenomenon is characterized by the systematic abbreviation of certain words and expressions and was first labelled as such by David (2006: 44).

1742 David noted that the variation affected the spelling of the infinitival and pseudoparticipial forms of the verb *rdi* "to give" (David 2006: 44 and 62) as well as the writing of the verb *hru* "to be content" in the name of Seti I's memorial temple (David 2006: 88, n. 110). In addition, several other words and expressions appear with an abbreviated spelling in the second half of the inscription. Compare, for instance, the writing of *ḥpw* "law" in lines 49, 51, 53, and 54 (K*RI* I 53, 14; 54, 3, 6, and 9) with that in lines 70, 73, 77, 82, 92, 96, and 117 (K*RI* I 55, 9, 12; 56, 1, 5; 57, 1, 4; and 58, 9). Similarly, the *b* is first dropped from the spelling of the name of Abydos in line 73 of the inscription (K*RI* I 55, 13) and is consistently omitted from line 76 (K*RI* I 55, 15) onwards, that is, in 21 instances until the end of the text. Note that the shortened spelling for Abydos in line 44 of Kitchen's text edition (K*RI* I 53, 2) is a mistake according to Griffith's (1927: pl. 41) facsimile drawing. The spelling of the phrase *m sḫr n wstnw* "in taking a liberty" also becomes more compact from line 35 (K*RI* I 51, 13: ) to line 85 (K*RI* I 56, 9: ), and further space was gained by shortening the writing of *ḫwt* "property" and *p3 nkt* "the goods, property" (see David 2006: 73) in the second half of the text. While *p3 nkt* exhibits a defective spelling () in lines 93, 96, and 106 but not in line 54 (see K*RI* I 57, 1, 5, 13 vs. 54, 9), the papyrus roll () was omitted from the spelling of *ḫwt* () from line 78 onwards (K*RI* I 56, 2). For examples of Late Egyptian possessive articles with economizing spelling on the stela, see n. 863 above.

1743 Spalinger (2009: 6).

1744 See nn. 1111 and 1112 above.

1745 See the spelling of *ḥtp-nṯr* "divine offering" in GDSS 22 under §4.2.3.3.4.

Ramesses III's double monument, the evidence instead points to a creative reinterpretation of a passage that appears to have been misunderstood in the master copy.[1746]

Since errors were not systematically removed during and after the monumental execution of the texts, the majority of the Ramesside royal inscriptions contain a few orthographic anomalies and imprecisions. These features were studied in detail in two inscriptions of the corpus (§1.2.2), on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (§3.4.3.6 and §3.5.2.3) and Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.5.3.5 and §6.6.2.3), but were discussed briefly also in other texts (§2.5.2.3 and §5.5.2.3). With the help of the data collected mostly from the *Hermopolis* and *Great Abydos Stelae*, it is, nevertheless, possible to define the main types of mistakes that may also be expected elsewhere in the Ramesside royal record.

One of the most common orthographic errors is the incorrect orientation of signs or groups of signs (§3.4.3.6.1 and §6.5.3.5.1). Such reversals are, however, often relativized by the left-to-right orientation of texts or parts of texts, as was the case with the main text of Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, Text C of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, and the captions in the scene of the *Great Abydos Stela*.[1747] The metathesis and misplacement of signs or groups of signs are two closely related types of similarly frequent mistakes (§3.4.3.6.2 and 6.5.3.5.2). Defective spellings (§3.4.3.6.3 and §6.5.3.5.4) and the inclusion of superfluous signs (§6.5.3.5.3) are two categories that are also relatively common. The omission of signs and words is often a result of haplography and—less frequently—parablepsis. Examples of sign confusions (§3.4.3.6.4 and §6.5.3.5.5) and instances of inaccurate or simplified carvings (§6.5.3.5.6 and §6.5.3.5.7) are likewise regularly encountered in the texts. Examples of ungrammatical spellings of various verbal forms (§6.5.3.5.9) and orthographic imprecisions resulting from the lack of gender accord (§6.5.3.5.8) are also relatively common.[1748]

Despite the undeniable presence of orthographic anomalies and imprecisions in the texts, caution is warranted against labelling certain graphical segments in the corpus as obscure or erroneous. Our understanding of the Egyptian language is necessarily limited, and spellings that may appear incomprehensible to us could nonetheless have been meaningful to the ancient agents involved in the compositional or execution process of the inscriptions (cf. §7.4.3). In this spirit, it is to be expected that the lists compiled for the two case studies (§3.4.3.6 and §6.5.3.5) will be refined and reduced by future philological work.

1746 See the spelling of *sbꜣw* "stars" in GDSN 24 under §4.3.3.3.4.

1747 On mistakes originating from the orientation of a text and on the scribal mindset in general, see also Goelet (2010: 130).

1748 The latter, however, may at times be attributed to the influence of homonyms. See the spelling of the verb *spd* "to be sharp, effective" in line 7 of the *Hermopolis Stela* under §3.4.3.3.4.

7.4 Ramesside Royal Inscriptions at the Crossroads of Tradition and Innovation

7.4.1 Early Eighteenth Dynasty as a Point of Reference

Hieroglyphic royal inscriptions carved in stone—that is, in a durable material—belong to the category of man-made sacralized texts that integrate collective events into the ongoing state of creation.[1749] The kings of the Ramesside era continued long-lived royal traditions by having their texts inscribed in stone and thereby making them prevail over time. The expression of continuity with the past was, however, particularly important after the Amarna period—especially, for the monarchs of this newly founded dynasty.[1750] The Ramesside kings' desire to present themselves as a legitimate continuation of the heritage of earlier dynasties—and above all, of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty—pervades most fields of cultural production of the era, including textual and non-textual ones.[1751] This aspiration for continuity is therefore also traceable in the linguistic heterogeneity of the Ramesside royal inscriptions. In the language of these texts, the Ramesside kings' engagement with earlier royal traditions is reflected in the ways certain linguistic selections seek to establish a connection with past layers of the language, and in particular with those layers that for centuries had constituted the traditional norm for compositions of this type.

Contrary to what the extensive use of Earlier—predominantly Middle—Egyptian grammatical features in these texts might suggest (§2.4.1, §3.4.1, §4.2.3.1, §4.3.3.1, §5.4.1, and §6.5.1), it was not the language of the Middle Kingdom that served as the primary benchmark for the linguistic selections of the Ramesside royal texts. Rather, the written production of the early Eighteenth Dynasty—and especially its royal inscriptions—constituted the main point of reference[1752] for the composers of these inscriptions, as several linguistic and compositional clues in the five major Ramesside royal texts analyzed in detail in the present study demonstrate.

Among the linguistic evidence, the use of lexical items primarily associated with higher written registers since the early Eighteenth Dynasty (§2.4.2.1, §3.4.2.1, §4.2.3.2.1, §4.3.3.2.1, §5.4.2.1, and §6.5.2.1) and the use of spellings following or imitating earlier—often early Eighteenth Dynasty—written traditions (§2.4.3.1, §3.4.3.1, §4.2.3.3.1, §4.3.3.3.1, §5.4.3.1, and §6.5.3.1) are most conspicuous in this regard. At the level of individual texts as well as at the level of the entire corpus, the distributional pattern of these linguistic selections indicates that they functioned as lexical and graphical links to the past (§7.2.1 and §7.3.1). And if past was meant in the broader sense of

1749 Cf. Vernus (2017: 476–480). On the general features of Egyptian lapidary inscriptions—such as their resultative aspect, sacralizing function, and performative force—see also Stauder-Porchet & Stauder (2020: 71–73) with further references.

1750 Murnane (1995).

1751 See, for example, the contributions of various scholars in Kubisch & Rummel (2018).

1752 Spalinger (2016: 261–262) demonstrated that the language of the Eighteenth Dynasty continued to be regarded as the main point of reference linguistically well beyond the Ramesside era.

the word, these features' pattern of attestation in the record in general and their indexicality of the higher written registers of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty in particular suggest that the early Eighteenth Dynasty represents a metonymic point of reference for former times as a whole. The question of whether the ancient composers of the Ramesside royal inscriptions could or would differentiate between the language of higher written registers of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty and that of yet earlier periods thus naturally poses itself at this point. The way certain grammatical morphemes that changed their function over time were employed in the Ramesside royal inscriptions (§7.1.2) leads us to believe that such differentiations were not considered relevant during the compositional process. For the composers' purposes, it apparently did not matter *how* ancient an old grammatical feature actually was as long as it was pre-Amarnian and its use was primarily associated with higher written registers.

The early Eighteenth Dynasty as a specific point of reference is more tangible in the lexical and graphical selections of the texts than in their grammatical ones. Nonetheless, there are also a few morphosyntactic examples in the corpus that call precisely the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty to mind. The link to the not-so-distant past is usually not established by the grammatical feature itself but by the way it is employed. The use of the particle *jsk*/*jst*(*w*) for the threefold segmentation of the first part of the expedition account in Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* is, for instance, reminiscent of the structural division of Thutmosis IV's *Sphinx Stela* (§5.5.1 and §5.5.2.1).[1753] Likewise, the imperative at the beginning of the king's address to his forefathers and successors asking for the attention of the audience in Text C of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (*j.sḏm n=j*… "Listen (§2.3, n. xxxix) to me, …!") is an addressivity[1754] technique often encountered in the Thutmoside royal inscriptions (§2.5.2.2).[1755] The way Amun-Re's performative sentences build on chains of accomplished *sḏm.n=f*'s continued by unaccomplished *sḏm=f*'s in his address to the king on the northern half of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* also evokes parallels in the Eighteenth Dynasty royal inscriptions (§4.4.2).[1756] The opening phrase of the first two paragraphs of Thoth's address to the king on Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (*jj.n*(*=j*) *ḫr=k*… "I have come to you…"), on the other hand, calls the anaphora on Thutmosis III's *Poetical Stela* (*jj.n=j*… "I have come…") to mind.[1757]

The example of the *Hermopolis Stela* also demonstrates that the written production of the early Eighteenth Dynasty sometimes provided even the compositional inspirational source of the Ramesside royal inscriptions. In the case of Merenptah's text, the similarities with Thutmosis III's *Poetical Stela* go beyond the parallelism mentioned above. Both inscriptions belong namely to the same, relatively small group of royal texts (divine

1753 See n. 1081 above.
1754 See n. 425 above.
1755 See n. 426 above.
1756 For an example, see n. 931 above.
1757 See n. 613 above.

speech without royal address)[1758] and feature a strong dedicatory aspect (§3.5.1).[1759] The dialogue situation presented by the northern half of Ramesses III's double monument between the king and Amun-Re at Karnak (§4.4.1) is a similarly rare occurrence in royal inscriptions and equally builds on early Eighteenth Dynasty parallels.[1760] The Northern Stela's adherence to earlier traditions, which is thus not only evident in its linguistic selections (§4.4.2) but also in its basic compositional structure (§4.4.1), finds further manifestation in the figure of Victorious Thebes in its opening scene (§4.3.1.1).[1761] Ramesses IV's address to Osiris and the gods on his *Great Abydos Stela* was likewise inspired by an early Eighteenth Dynasty textual source: by chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*.[1762] In this case, however, the recontextualization of an earlier funerary composition likely was not primarily motivated by the composers' intent to establish a link to the textual production of the past. Indeed, it is even questionable whether the composers were aware of the text's history. Rather, the spell appears to have been transformed into a framework for a strong political message, thereby lending further support to it (§6.6.3).

7.4.2 The Ramesside Component

The language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions represents a balancing act between tradition and innovation. Ensuring the continuity of earlier royal traditions was an aim of central importance for the newly established Ramesside dynasty. With regard to the composition of new monumental royal inscriptions, presenting a legitimate continuation to the heritage of earlier dynasties meant emulating the language of earlier royal inscriptions. The reason why the early Eighteenth Dynasty became a primary point of reference to this end probably has to do with issues of accessibility. Due to its proximity in time, the inscriptional legacy of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty must have still been relatively present in the consciousness of the literate elite at Ramesside times, while some of the yet earlier models were more likely to have already fallen into oblivion. The monuments of the great pharaohs of the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty still stood during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, and—although no such documents have survived to the present day—copies of the inscriptions thereof must have still been accessible in the institutional archives of the Ramesside period.[1763] From the composers' perspective, however, the early Eighteenth Dynasty appears to have functioned as a metonymic point of reference for past layers of the language as a whole in the Ramesside royal inscriptions (§7.4.1).

1758 For another example from the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, see n. 607 above.

1759 On that of Thutmosis III's *Poetical Stela*, see n. 614 above.

1760 See n. 921 above.

1761 Royal inscriptions regularly employed this motif from the Second Intermediate Period onwards. See n. 804 above.

1762 See n. 1499 above.

1763 On what remains of the palace and temple libraries of the New Kingdom, see Hagen (2019: 245–265).

The use of old linguistic features, nevertheless, represents only one side of the coin with regard to the language use of the Ramesside royal inscriptions because linguistic features indexical of past layers of the language occur side by side with new grammatical, new lexical, and new graphical selections in the language of these texts. While the former follow or imitate earlier written traditions, the latter represent a more contemporary variety of the language. The unique combination of the two was made possible in the corpus by the linguistic revolution of the Amarna period, which—as opposed to the theological one—was not completely revoked after the end of this short-lived historical episode. Instead, Late Egyptian was retained as a standard written variety of the language also beyond the Amarna reform. By the Ramesside era, Late Egyptian became a major component of the linguistic landscape and acquired central importance as the main language of new literary production.[1764] Since the composers of the Ramesside royal texts were in all likelihood trained in the entire spectrum of written linguistic registers of their time (§7.4.3), they faced an increased breadth of linguistic options in comparison to the linguistic repertoire available to their peers of earlier times when drafting the texts. With the introduction of the new written idiom, opting for a set of rather conservative linguistic selections for a royal inscription constituted only one of the possible options in the Ramesside era. In other words, the composers of the Ramesside royal texts were naturally forced to take a series of conscious linguistic decisions during the compositional process of the inscriptions. The semantic potential inherent in the simultaneous use of heterogeneous linguistic selections was readily recognized and put in service of the compositional logic of individual texts (§7.1.1). Linguistic heterogeneity was thus turned into a text structuring and rhetorical device in the Ramesside royal inscriptions. In its capacity as a text structuring device, it shaped the internal architecture of a text (§7.1.1.2.1) or group of texts (§7.1.1.2.3), while as a rhetorical device, it was employed to mark the relative importance of a section compared to its textual environment (fore- and backgrounding; §7.1.1.2.2).

At a more general level, however, the function of linguistic heterogeneity in general and the function of new linguistic features in particular go way beyond their immediate usability for the compositional logic of the texts. The language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions represents a deliberate artificial construct with underlying culturally conditioned intentions. The inclusion of innovative linguistic formulations in the language of these texts is a result of a conscious composition making use of the broader spectrum of written linguistic variety available at the time. The heterogeneity of the language of the royal inscriptions thus carries an important statement about the Ramesside kings' relation to the past and about their aspirations in the present and future. While the grammatical, lexical, and graphical features of past layers of the language serve as an anchor to earlier written traditions, the creative and innovative ways in which these combine with more recent linguistic formulations in the texts become a linguistic manifestation of the cultural dynamics of the era.

1764 Baines (1996: 165–171). See also n. 26 above.

The language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions reflects the Ramesside kings' desire to present a legitimate continuation to the heritage of earlier dynasties and—at the same time—to further develop and surpass their traditions. Accordingly, the findings of the present study are in disagreement with Assmann's theory about the dichotomization of Ramesside culture into old versus new ("Dichotomisierung der Kultur in das Alte und das Neue").[1765] Explaining the difference between the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions and that of earlier monumental royal texts as the result of a cultural rupture would go against the Ramesside composers' clear objective to establish continuity between tradition and innovation. The use of the labels "classicism" and "modernism" to describe the variety of the Ramesside written culture without further differentiation is therefore equally unfortunate.[1766] The Ramesside royal corpus calls for a more nuanced approach by providing a missing link between the two poles (cf. §7.1, §7.2, and §7.3). John Baines is more cautious in his formulation than Assmann in describing the cultural diversity of the Ramesside period as a "spread" from "modernism" to "conservatism or classicism."[1767] Baines also calls attention to the complexity of the Ramesside view of the past and argues by citing textual evidence that the past was considered as much a source of fame as a source of decay in the second half of the New Kingdom.[1768]

The Ramesside kings chose to "emulate the past and extend its traditions" in looking to the future.[1769] This dual ambition of theirs explains the importance of the simultaneous presence of old and new linguistic features in their inscriptions. Past and present/future are via linguistic means also symbolically represented in the Ramesside royal inscriptions: they find their way through the linguistic stages associated with them into

1765 Assmann (1985b: 46): "Diese Epoche hat sich als ein neues Zeitalter in Gegenüberstellung zum Altertum gesehen, und es ist dieses Selbstverständnis, das das Profil dieser Epoche in allen ihren Äußerungen prägt, so daß sie sich wie ein archäologisches Stratum – objektiv und nicht nach Maßgabe selektiver Kriterien – vom Älteren abhebt." Elsewhere, Assmann (1985a: 494) speaks about the Ramesside discovery of the past ("Entdeckung der Vergangenheit").

1766 First by Assmann (1985a: 491): "Nicht durch einen langsamen Verknöcherungsprozeß, sondern durch einen reformatorischen Eingriff des Schul- und Bildungswesens wird das Mittelägyptische zur Zweitsprache und der Übergang zur Zweisprachigkeit ruckartig, in der Form eines Traditionsbruchs vollzogen. Diese bildungsreformatorische Aufspaltung der Kultur in das Alte und das Neue, in 'Klassik' und 'Moderne,' bestimmt die Ramessidenzeit in all ihren Äußerungen." Elsewhere, Assmann (1996: 302) uses the labels "classicism" and "neoterism." On the Ramesside era being a "modern age" ("Neuzeit") with respect to the past, see similarly Assmann (2005: 197 and 2011: 271).

1767 Baines (1996: 170–171).

1768 Baines (2007: 199–201). Differently by Assmann (2005: 195): "Die Vergangenheit wird nicht fortgesetzt; sie wird auch nicht nachgeahmt, aber sie wird in ihrer Fremdheit zum Inbegriff der Vollkommenheit." Cf. also Assmann (2011: 263).

1769 Baines (2007: 179). Compare also the following statement by Laboury on the supposed changelessness of ancient Egyptian art (2017: 231): "[T]he two concepts involved, tradition, on the one hand, and creativity, on the other, actually do not contradict nor exclude one another, but, on the contrary, articulate with each other. Just as nothing can be considered new if it is not compared to something older, tradition does not impede creativity but constitutes the necessary background for its development."

the language of the texts. The simultaneous use of old and new linguistic features, however, translates into a synchronic hierarchy of more and less elevated registers within the corpus. The reason behind the existence of such register hierarchy lies in the different hierarchical values attributed to the different stages of the language by their users. Past layers of the language continued to be regarded as the prestige idiom. In heterogeneous texts, later forms of the language therefore generally occupied a weaker position. In the Ramesside royal corpus, the hierarchical asymmetry between the different stages of the Egyptian language is revealed by some of the linguistic strategies applied in service of the compositional logic (§7.1.1.2): by the principled placement of old and new grammatical features within individual texts (§7.1.1.2.1) and by the uniting effect of linguistic dissimilation in the case of inscriptions dissociated in space and/or time (§7.1.1.2.3) in particular. The semantic potential emerging from the combined use of the new idiom with linguistic selections pointing to past layers of the language was, furthermore, exploited in the form of a rhetorical device for fore- and backgrounding information with the help of linguistic contrast (§7.1.1.2.2).

7.4.3 The Composers of the Ramesside Royal Inscriptions

In the absence of direct evidence, no definitive statements can be made about the identity of the composers of the Ramesside royal inscriptions. The compositional and linguistic characteristics of the texts, nevertheless, lead to the presumption that their production constituted the responsibility of highly knowledgeable and literate individuals, probably professional scribes. In the case of most Ramesside royal inscriptions, it is immediately evident that the level of compositional and linguistic complexity these texts exhibit (cf. §2.5.1, §2.5.2, §3.5.1, §3.5.2, §4.4.1, §4.4.2, §5.5.1, §5.5.2, §6.6.1, and §6.6.2) would have remained unattainable without the active participation of senior, experienced scribes in their compositional process. In particular, the composers' familiarity with a wide range of different genres and their mastery of a wide spectrum of Ramesside written linguistic registers are indicative of intense scribal involvement in the production of the Ramesside royal texts. In the words of Ogden Goelet, "[i]t is likely that the most skilled scribes from the Deir el-Medina community and the Theban temples on both banks of the river were employed in such work."[1770] In Ramesside times, these skills represented namely the core competence of professional scribes.[1771] Ragazzoli has pointed out recently that scribes were doubtless not only responsible for the production of administrative and literary texts but were also in charge of writing ritual and official texts.[1772] In analyzing the royal eulogies contained in the miscellanies, she comes to the conclusion that "[s]cribes also borrow and rework, *re-appropriate* [emphasis in the orig-

1770 Goelet (2010: 132).

1771 Cf. Ragazzoli (2017).

1772 Ragazzoli (2017: 117): "Many compositions of the miscellanies are close to ritual and official texts, the production of which could have been part of the responsibility of scribes such as eulogies of the king, speeches of welcome as the king enters, and the praise of officials which come close to the biographical inscriptions."

inal] monumental discourse" and argues that "where we see strict textual boundaries, scribes did not: the same people were probably responsible for composing all these types of texts."[1773] The heterogeneous and composite nature of Egyptian texts is a defining aspect of Egyptian textual production.[1774] Ragazzoli notes, furthermore, that this miscellaneity, the core principle of ancient Egyptian literary writing and textual production, becomes stronger with the New Kingdom emergence of scribal culture.[1775] The compositional complexity of the Ramesside royal inscriptions, which makes extensive use of the intertextual networks available at the time (§7.1.1.1), further illustrates her point.

The five case studies of the present work indeed suggest that the composers of the Ramesside royal inscriptions were individuals who were familiar also with genres that do not regularly appear in the royal monumental record. The composers of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*, for instance, certainly mastered their craft with regard to imprecation texts, legal decrees, and intercessory prayers (§2.5.1), and—as the literary allusions in Texts B and A imply—they knew the *Teaching for Merikare* as well as the *Shipwrecked Sailor* (§2.5.2.2). The scribe(s) responsible for the composition of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, on the other hand, must have been well acquainted with the funerary texts of their time, since they were able to transform chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* according to the needs of a historically relevant political statement (§6.6.3). As the king's address to Amun-Re on the left margin (§6.3.2.1) and his invocations to the gods of his tribunal in the main inscription (§6.3.3.3.3) demonstrate, the production of personal prayers and magical texts was also not alien to the composers of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela* (§6.6.2.3 and §6.6.2.2). Expressions adopted from the language of personal prayers are likewise frequent on Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (§4.4.3) and attest to the composers' acquaintance with various genres of their time.

With respect to Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela*, the inscription's direct and indirect allusions to Thutmosis III's *Poetical Stela* are especially noteworthy (§3.5.1). The case of the *Hermopolis Stela* very well illustrates, furthermore, that the composers of the Ramesside royal inscriptions carefully studied their earlier models,[1776] the royal texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty (§7.4.1). They probably consulted copies of these inscriptions in the archives[1777] and, whenever possible, examined them *in situ*. In this regard, particularly revealing are a handful of graphical and iconographic examples from Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* with earlier parallels in the monument's immediate vicinity. The figure of Victorious Thebes found in the opening scene of the Northern Stela is a relatively common motif at Karnak and has been attested since the Second Intermediate Period.[1778] The spelling of the word *tjt* "image" on the margins of the Northern Stela similarly builds on local parallels documented from the early Eighteenth Dynasty on-

1773 Ragazzoli (2017: 113).
1774 Cf. also Eyre (1990: 135, 153–165).
1775 Ragazzoli (2017: 116–117).
1776 On the role earlier models played in the acquisition of Earlier Egyptian in Ramesside times, see Winand (2017b: 36).
1777 See n. 1763 above.
1778 See n. 804 above.

wards ( ; see under §4.3.3.3.1). The classifier used for the verb *ḥmsi* "to sit" in the main text of the Southern Stela might have also been inspired by earlier forerunners known from Karnak from the reign of Thutmosis III or Ramesses II ( ; see under §4.2.3.3.1). Besides, the Ramesside scribes themselves seem to have associated high esteem with the cultural heritage of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. This is evident from the literary production of the Ramesside era. The fact that two Ramesside Late Egyptian stories have survived whose plot pay tribute to the reign of Thutmosis III is, for instance, in itself significant.[1779]

Ragazzoli explicitly differentiates between the core- and sub-groups of the Egyptian literate elite and thereby emphasizes the difference between the social groups of high dignitaries and professional scribes.[1780] She notes, moreover, that scribes "promote an identity that sets them symbolically free from the very same persons who commissioned their skills."[1781] The *Great Hammamat Inscription* exemplifies the practical relevance of the differentiation between core- and sub-elites with regard to the Ramesside practice of textual production. The inscription provides a rare royal monumental example, in the case of which, the involvement of several individuals may be identified with reasonable certainty in the compositional process. A professional scribe was only one of these. It has been demonstrated above (§5.5.3.2) that an exceptionally powerful individual, Ramesses-Nakht, the high priest of Amun during the reign of Ramesses IV and the leader of the king's stone mining expedition commemorated by the *Great Hammamat Inscription*, likely played an important role in shaping the composition of the text in order to emphasize his personal importance as an appointed leader acting for the king. The structure of the text, some of its contents, and the standing figure of Bastet in the opening scene of stela attest to Ramesses-Nakht's personal influence on the composition. That it was not the high priest of Amun himself who composed the inscription is, nevertheless, indicated by a rare monumental spelling of a word in the language of the stela documented once more in the rock inscription of a private individual who took part in the same expedition (see *kṯn*/*kḏn* "charioteer" under §5.4.3.2.2). Since it is highly unlikely that Ramesses-Nakht would have drafted the inscription of one of his servants, a charioteer, we may assume that a professional scribe among the high priest's entourage was responsible for devising both texts (§7.3.4). If this hypothesis is correct, various further pieces of information may be interpreted as linguistic footprints of the same individual in the record. Hence, for the reasons elucidated above (§7.2.4 and §7.3.4), this scribe, whose name eludes us, may be plausibly identified as the composer of Ramesses IV's *Koptos Stela* as well. In the case of Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription*, we may therefore distinguish at least three individuals who played a significant role in the compositional process of the text: the king himself—who may or may not have been the original initiator of the erection of the stela but must at least have authorized it—the high priest of Amun, Ramesses-Nakht, and an anonymous scribe. This scribe's involvement

1779 Fischer-Elfert (2003: 135).
1780 Ragazzoli (2010: 157). See also n. 1554 above.
1781 Ragazzoli (2010: 170).

in the compositional process of further monumental royal texts can, however, not be substantiated. This indicates that Ramesses IV presumably did not have a so-called "chief composer" for his inscriptions but employed different individuals depending on the task at hand.[1782]

The incorrect orientation of signs or groups of signs, being the most common type of orthographic mistake in the corpus (§7.3.6), provides indirect evidence that the compositional process of a Ramesside royal inscription generally culminated in a hieratic or linear hieroglyphic[1783] master copy written from right to left. Helck suggested hieratic *Vorlagen* by examining the orthography of duplicates.[1784] While the use of linear hieroglyphs as an intermediate step for executing hieroglyphic inscriptions is well attested,[1785] the existence of direct hieratic master copies for hieroglyphic texts remains disputed.[1786] By all means, the hieratic or linear hieroglyphic version of an inscription required the contribution of many more individuals, specialized craftsmen—further scribes or draftsmen,[1787] stonemasons, and painters—until it reached its final form on a monumental surface. Unfortunately, no direct evidence has come down to us about the intermediate steps involved.[1788] Inaccuracies resulting from the misinterpretation of the underlying drafts (§7.3.6),[1789] nevertheless, suggest that the draftsmen who transcribed the texts to the temple walls, stelae, or designated rock surfaces and thereby prepared them for the stonemasons for carving were usually not identical with the master scribes involved in the compositional process of the texts. This observation is in line with the prevailing assumption that most royal inscriptions were composed centrally—at Thebes or Memphis.[1790] Nonetheless, since the corpus contains only relatively few instances of corrections and recarvings, most texts were apparently not systematically proofread—or, at least, their orthographic anomalies and imprecisions were not systematically removed—after or during the carving process (§7.3.6). It must be noted, furthermore, that among

1782 Cf. Helck (1977a: 251): "Interessant wäre es, nun die besonderen stilistischen Eigenarten der einzelnen Inschriften zu untersuchen, um festzustellen, ob wir in der Tat für einen Herrscher auch einen 'Chefkompositeur' seiner Inschriften feststellen können. Vielleicht wäre dies an Hand von Lieblingsworten oder besonderen Konstruktionen durchzuführen."

1783 See n. 1740 above.

1784 Helck (1977a: 243 with n. 12) notes that "die Vorlage mit Gewißheit hieratisch geschrieben gewesen ist. Dies ergibt sich auch daraus, daß die Orthographie der Texte zwar überraschend übereinstimmt, aber doch die typischen Unterschiede zeigt, die sich bei unterschiedlichem Umsetzen einer hieratischen Vorlage in Hieroglyphen ergibt."

1785 See, for example, Gnirs (2016: 262–272); Lüscher (2013 and 2015); Paksi, Sartori & Bickel (2025); and Tallet (2005 and 2010).

1786 Cf. Polis (2020: 554–555). See especially Haring (2015).

1787 Strong evidence has been put forward lately against the often-assumed dichotomy between draftsmen and scribes (cf. Allon & Navrátilová 2017: 99–101 and Laboury 2020 and 2022).

1788 Cf. Goelet (2010: 131–132). The cursive hieroglyphic *Vorlagenostraka* of the painted monumental inscriptions of the Eighteenth Dynasty Theban necropolis may, however, offer some clues on the process. On the latter, see some of the references under n. 1785 above. Cf. also n. 1786.

1789 Compare also Helck (1977a: 242–243).

1790 Helck (1977a: 241; 245; 249). See also Goelet (2010: 132), although his presumption concerning the primacy of Memphis over Thebes is not supported by the record (cf. Helck 1977a: 245–249).

the inscriptions analyzed in the framework of the present study, only Seti I's *Kanais Inscription*[1791] and Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*[1792] show traces of preserved paint.[1793] The other texts have either lost their colors or were never painted.[1794]

The strong scribal involvement in the compositional process of the Ramesside royal inscriptions may also shed new light on some of the linguistic phenomena observed in the corpus (§7.1, §7.2, and §7.3). Ramesside scribes were more accustomed to writing texts in Late Egyptian than in earlier stages of the language,[1795] which means that employing specifically old linguistic selections naturally required a greater effort from them than opting for relatively new linguistic features. This specificity of the contemporary scribal practice is mainly reflected in the striking asymmetry between the number of old and new lexical and graphical features in the linguistic data of the present work. While the texts abound in new lexical and new graphical selections, they seem to contain only a handful of lexical and graphical choices that may be convincingly linked to past layers of the language (§7.2.1 and §7.3.1). Although a detailed phraseological study of the inscriptions may further refine the picture (§7.2.1), a much greater balance between the overall frequency of old and new grammatical features in the corpus (§7.1.4) suggests that the grammatical structures of earlier stages of the language were more consistently internalized than the lexical or graphical ones in the Ramesside usage of older idioms. Archaizing intent in the lexical and graphical dimensions is therefore associated with a particularly high degree of salience in the texts (§7.2.1 and §7.3.1). In general terms, the low relative density of new linguistic selections is in itself a strong indicator of a conservative linguistic register with regards to lexicon and (ortho)graphy (§7.2.2 and §7.3.2). With respect to grammar, the low relative frequency of new grammatical features, however, usually goes hand in hand with the high relative frequency of old grammatical selections in a given textual unit (§7.1.4). Finally, the fact that the composers of the royal inscriptions appear to have exercised less control—and were probably also less conscious—over the use of new spellings (§7.3.3) than over the use of new grammatical and lexical features in the texts (§7.1.4 and §7.2.3) may similarly be explained by contemporary scribal practices, notably, by the increased influence of hieratic on orthography as a whole in Ramesside times.[1796]

1791 As mentioned by Schott (1961: 129 and 150).

1792 Traces of red paint can be observed at the lower end of the inscription of the right margin (see Fig. 38).

1793 Compare, however, n. 1129 above.

1794 As opposed to the other inscriptions in the corpus, the carving of Ramesses IV's desert stela, the *Great Hammamat Inscription*, was kept so shallow (§5.1 and Fig. 29) that its signs and figures were probably not supposed to receive a final layer of paint.

1795 Goelet (2008: 102 with n. 2) notes that earlier stages of the language likely represented a "later specialization" in the scribal training. See also Williams (1972: 219), Hagen (2007: 40–41 and 48), Goelet (2010: 123, n. 14), and Lazaridis (2010: 6–8).

1796 See n. 1714 above. Ramesside copies of Middle Egyptian literary works show a comparable discrepancy between the graphical dimension and the grammar and lexicon of their language (cf. Goelet 2010: 123–124 with n. 18).

Even if we are able to formulate some general assumptions about the social identity, education, and training of the composers of the Ramesside royal inscriptions, the influence of the human component still remains the wild card in the equation and thus the hardest to assess in the entire compositional process. Personal preferences, creativity, stylistic inclinations, and other individual human factors must have shaped the compositions and the linguistic selections of these inscriptions to an extent that is simply invisible to us. While the general trends are clear, and the data show that the heterogeneity of the language was deliberately used both as a text structuring and as a rhetorical device (§7.1.1), we must not lose sight of the human component behind both the compositional complexity and the linguistic heterogeneity of the Ramesside royal texts. Individual decisions account for not only the overall picture but also the precise configuration of the heterogeneity of the linguistic selections at the lowest structural levels of the texts as well as for certain incidental outcomes that may resist explanation in terms of the global trends.

8 Synthesis and Outlook

8.1 Synthesis

The present work examined the phenomenon of linguistic heterogeneity—the concurrent use of simultaneously existing written varieties of the Egyptian language—in the highest written register of the Ramesside era: the Ramesside royal inscriptions. A detailed, three-dimensional approach, which takes into account the grammatical as well as the lexical and graphical selections of the inscriptions (§1.1.2), was adopted for this purpose and applied to a relatively small sample of texts (§1.1.3). The research was primarily devised as a qualitative exploratory study (§1.2.1) with the focus on five in-depth case studies (Chaps. 2–6), but the potential of quantitative methods and basic statistical analyses (§1.2.3) was also explored using the linguistic data collected from the texts (§1.2.2). In line with the multidimensionality of the approach, the definition of linguistic heterogeneity was further refined as the simultaneous use of old and new grammatical, lexical, and graphical features. In this context, "old" and "new" referred to emic categories and were applied to linguistic features that could be distinctively associated with either past or contemporary layers of the language (§1.2.1.2). The detailed analysis of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* (Chapter 2), Merenptah's *Hermopolis Stela* (Chapter 3), Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela* (Chapter 4), Ramesses IV's *Great Hammamat Inscription* (Chapter 5), and Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela to Osiris and the Gods* (Chapter 6) showed that the ancient composers of the texts did not have an immutable, "correct" version in mind when following or imitating earlier linguistic traditions. Instead of adopting a conservative approach, they had a creative and innovative way of dealing with past layers of the language—and with language in general (cf. §7.2.5 and §7.3.4)—which allowed them to reinvent and recreate the traditions they were aiming at (§7.1.2, §7.2.1, and §7.3.1). This rather pragmatic and productive approach to the past[1797] nevertheless had a specific point of reference: the early Eighteenth Dynasty and, particularly, the monumental royal inscriptions thereof (§7.4.1).

At a broader interpretative level, the linguistic heterogeneity of the Ramesside royal inscriptions reflects the cultural dynamics of the era and can be regarded as the linguistic manifestation of the Ramesside kings' and their elites' cultural and political identity that represents a balancing act between tradition and innovation (§7.4). Providing a legitimate continuity to the heritage of earlier dynasties was particularly important for the newly founded Ramesside dynasty after the Amarna reform. The Ramesside kings' desire to ensure the continuation of earlier royal traditions—and first of all, those of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty—was hence a decisive factor behind the linguistic

1797 On productive and reproductive traditions with regard to language, see Winand (2017b). On the productive aspect of transmission and on open and closed texts in Ramesside literature, see Ragazzoli (2017). On productive and reproductive trends concerning textual production in general, see Vernus (2017).

selections of their inscriptions (§7.4.1). While old linguistic features are indexical of earlier written traditions, the inclusion of new grammatical, lexical, and graphical features in the language of these texts attests to the Ramesside kings' aspiration to further develop and surpass the traditions of earlier dynasties (§7.4.2). The simultaneous use of old and new linguistic features thus played a crucial role in the overall composition of the Ramesside royal inscriptions. Ensuring the heterogeneity of the language was, however, not merely a general objective during the compositional process but pervaded the smallest of details of every text, as numerous examples of linguistic dissimilation attested in all three dimensions of the language suggest (§7.1.3, §7.2.5, and §7.3.5). The individuals responsible for composing the Ramesside royal inscriptions were in all likelihood professional scribes, since the skills required for the composition of these texts—familiarity with a wide range of different genres and mastery of a broad spectrum of written linguistic registers—represented the core competence of this very social group in Ramesside times (§7.4.3).

The in-depth study of several major Ramesside royal inscriptions demonstrated, furthermore, that linguistic variation in the Ramesside royal texts was generally put in service of the inscriptions' compositional logic—and thereby ultimately also in service of their central message (§7.1.1). In this framework, compositional logic referred to the way information is structured in a text in order to most effectively communicate the message, for the transmission of which it was created (§7.1.1.1). In the language of the Ramesside royal inscriptions, linguistic heterogeneity commonly functions both as a text structuring and as a rhetorical device (§7.1.1.2). As a rhetorical device, it is employed to mark the relative importance of a section compared to its textual environment (fore- and backgrounding). To this end, the semantic potential of linguistic contrast created by the simultaneous use of old and new linguistic features is routinely exploited in the texts (§7.1.1.2.2). As a text structuring device, the heterogeneity of linguistic selections could, on the other hand, contribute to shaping the internal architecture of a text or group of texts. Within a single inscription, this effect was typically achieved by the principled placement of old and new grammatical features, specifically, by the prevalence of old grammatical constructions in higher syntactic positions (§7.1.1.2.1). Heterogeneous linguistic selections in the form of contrasting linguistic profiles could, however, also connect pairs of inscriptions dissociated in space or time. Besides uniting such texts, the difference in the inscriptions' linguistic profile usually also indicates the relative hierarchy of the two texts in question (§7.1.1.2.3). The use of these linguistic strategies in service of the compositional logic is most apparent with regard to the grammatical selections of the texts (§7.1.1.2) but is usually also evident with respect to their lexical and—especially—graphical choices (§7.2.2, §7.3.2, §7.3.3, and §7.3.5).

The linguistic data of the five case studies point to a stronger relationship between the grammatical and lexical selections of individual texts than between their grammatical and graphical or lexical and graphical ones (§7.2.2 and §7.3.2). While there seems to be a strong positive correlation between the new grammatical and new lexical selections both at the level of individual texts as well as at the level of the overall corpus (§7.2.2),

the relationship between the new grammatical and new graphical choices or between the new lexical and new graphical ones is generally more moderate irrespective of the aggregation level of the data (§7.3.2). Since the composers' intent to link a text or passage of text to past layers of the language specifically through its lexical and graphical selections is relatively hard to grasp (§1.2.1.2), the number of lexical and graphical selections that may be convincingly linked to past layers of the language remains comparably small in the corpus (§7.2.1 and §7.3.1). The positive relation between grammar, lexicon, and (ortho)graphy observed with regard to the relative frequency of new linguistic selections in the corpus is, nevertheless, also maintained with respect to the relative frequency of old linguistic selections (§7.2.2 and §7.3.2).

Nonetheless, grammar, lexicon, and (ortho)graphy appear largely independent of one another at the lowest structural levels of the inscriptions despite the positive correlation between their values at the different aggregation levels of the data. The use of an old or new linguistic feature in a given linguistic dimension thus usually does not trigger the use of similarly old or new linguistic features in any of the other two linguistic dimensions—although such combinations also exist, as do examples of so-called cross-dimensional (lexico-grammatical, grammato-graphic, or lexico-graphic) hybrids (§7.2.2, §7.3.1, and §7.3.2). Instead, at the level of individual syntagms, old and new linguistic selections most often combine with diachronically indistinct linguistic features in the texts. In other words, even though grammatical, lexical, and graphical selections with a similar novelty index may be differently distributed over the individual syntagms of a text, the positive correlation between the values of the three linguistic variables will still be evident at the level of the inscription's higher compositional units (§7.2.2 and §7.3.2).

While the texts examined in the present study do not exhibit a growing preference for innovative features with regard to grammar and lexicon over time (§7.1.4 and §7.2.3), the relative frequency of new graphical solutions seems to increase at a slow but steady rate in the inscriptions over the decades (§7.3.3). Although the composers' awareness and skillful use of the graphical component of the language is omnipresent in the corpus (§7.3.1, §7.3.4, and §7.3.5), they exercise less control over the use of new spellings (§7.3.3) than over the use of new grammatical and lexical features in the texts (§7.1.4 and §7.2.3)—a trend that may be explained by the increased influence of hieratic on orthography as a whole in Ramesside times (§7.4.3). Even if the date of composition had less of an impact on the frequency and breadth of the new grammatical and new lexical selections of an inscription than on the frequency and breadth of its new graphical selections, it evidently did affect the entire pool of available new linguistic features at that specific point in time. Time was therefore a factor that shaped the entire linguistic profile of a text, including its grammatical and lexical selections (§7.1.4 and §7.2.3).

While the detailed and multidimensional approach of the present study (§1.1.2) led to a more nuanced understanding of the language of Ramesside royal texts (§§7.1–7.3) and to an increased awareness of the cultural practices underlying their textual production (§7.4), it also had some unforeseen benefits. On two occasions, in the case of Seti I's *Kanais Inscription* and Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, this new perspective

led to the revision of the sequence of reading of the different parts of the inscriptions proposed by earlier scholars (§2.1 and §4.1). On another occasion, in the case of Ramesses IV's *Great Abydos Stela*, it proved crucial in establishing a new hypothesis on the dating of the text (§6.2).[1798] Furthermore, in the case of Ramesses III's *Great Double Stela*, it resulted in the rearrangement of two previously incorrectly assembled blocks of the upper half of the left-hand text.[1799] This outcome has already translated into the physical world, since the stela has been rebuilt accordingly (§4.1 and Fig. 23).

8.2 Outlook

The detailed, three-dimensional approach employed here could readily be applied to any other Ramesside royal text and—besides resulting in a more holistic understanding of its linguistic selections—would likely yield new and similarly important insights. The method could also be transferred to other linguistically heterogeneous groups of texts from the Ramesside period or later times, and it could be further improved by rethinking and redefining the relevant grammatical, lexical, and graphical categories according to the needs of the new corpus. With such ongoing Egyptological advancements as our ever-growing understanding of the Egyptian language and the gradual improvement of our lexical tools and online textual databases, the results of such investigations would become more and more accurate over time.

In describing, interpreting, and analyzing linguistic data, further experimentation with quantitative methodologies would likewise be worthwhile. Larger data sets would, for instance, not only make such descriptive statistical methods more reliable than those employed in the present study but would, potentially, also allow the use of inferential statistical techniques. At the same time, the graphical representation of grammatical, lexical, and graphical information remains an effective tool that can make complex linguistic data accessible also for a broader Egyptological audience.

While this work focused on the linguistic selections of Ramesside royal texts, the royal inscriptions of the Ramesside era as a corpus offer further research potential due to their exceptional cultural relevance. Future studies could, for instance, deepen our knowledge concerning the corresponding scribal practices and the pragmatic conditions of textual production (§7.4.3). Further research could also explore various questions concerning the audience of these texts by investigating the readability and visibility of the monuments. The materiality of these inscriptions would merit a study of its own and would require extensive research. The latter task, however, is currently still hampered by the lack of high-resolution photographs and facsimile text editions for most Ramesside royal inscriptions. Ongoing and ever-more intense cooperation of philologists and epigraphists will therefore pave the way towards a more refined and holistic understanding of these echoes of the past.

1798 See also Paksi (2023).
1799 Paksi (2017).

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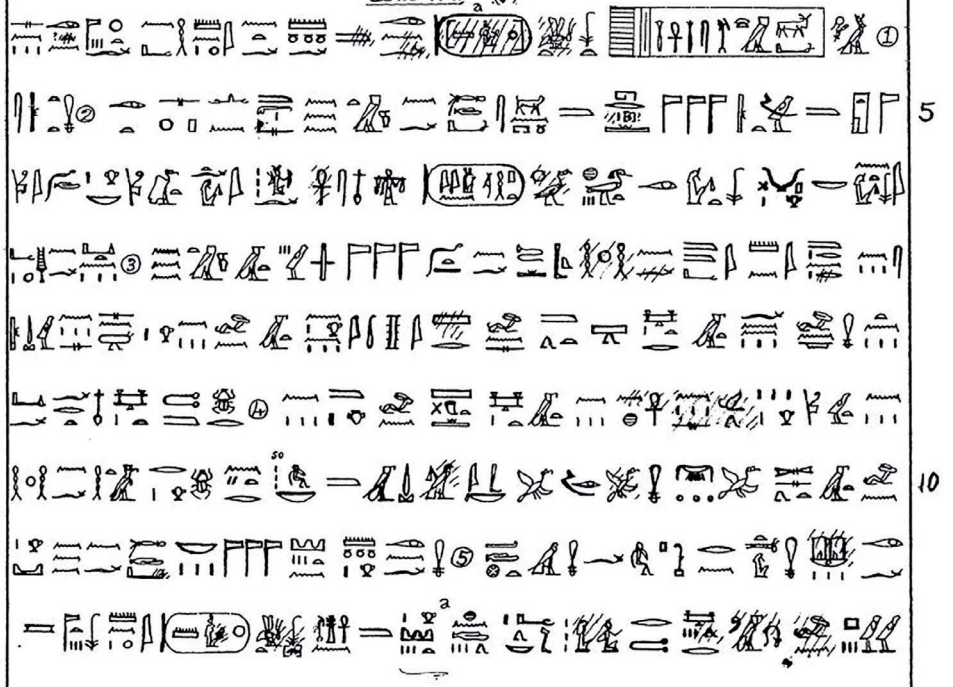
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Sethos I, Kanais (Wadi Mia: "Redesiyeh"), Great Inscription, Year 1. A, 1-5. B, 1-2. I, 65

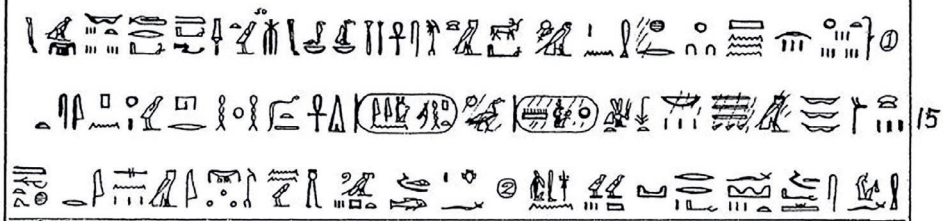
32. Kanais (Wady Mia), Temple of Sethos I: Threefold Inscription, Year 1.

Porter - Moss, Topogr. Bibliogr., VII, 323-4, (13) = Text A, (15) = Text B, - (14) = Text C; Helck-Sander-Hansen, Bibl. Aeg. IV, 25-29. Nos. after S. Schott, Kanais: Der Tempel Sethos I. im Wadi Mia (NAWG) 1961, pls. 12-17, 19.

Text. A.

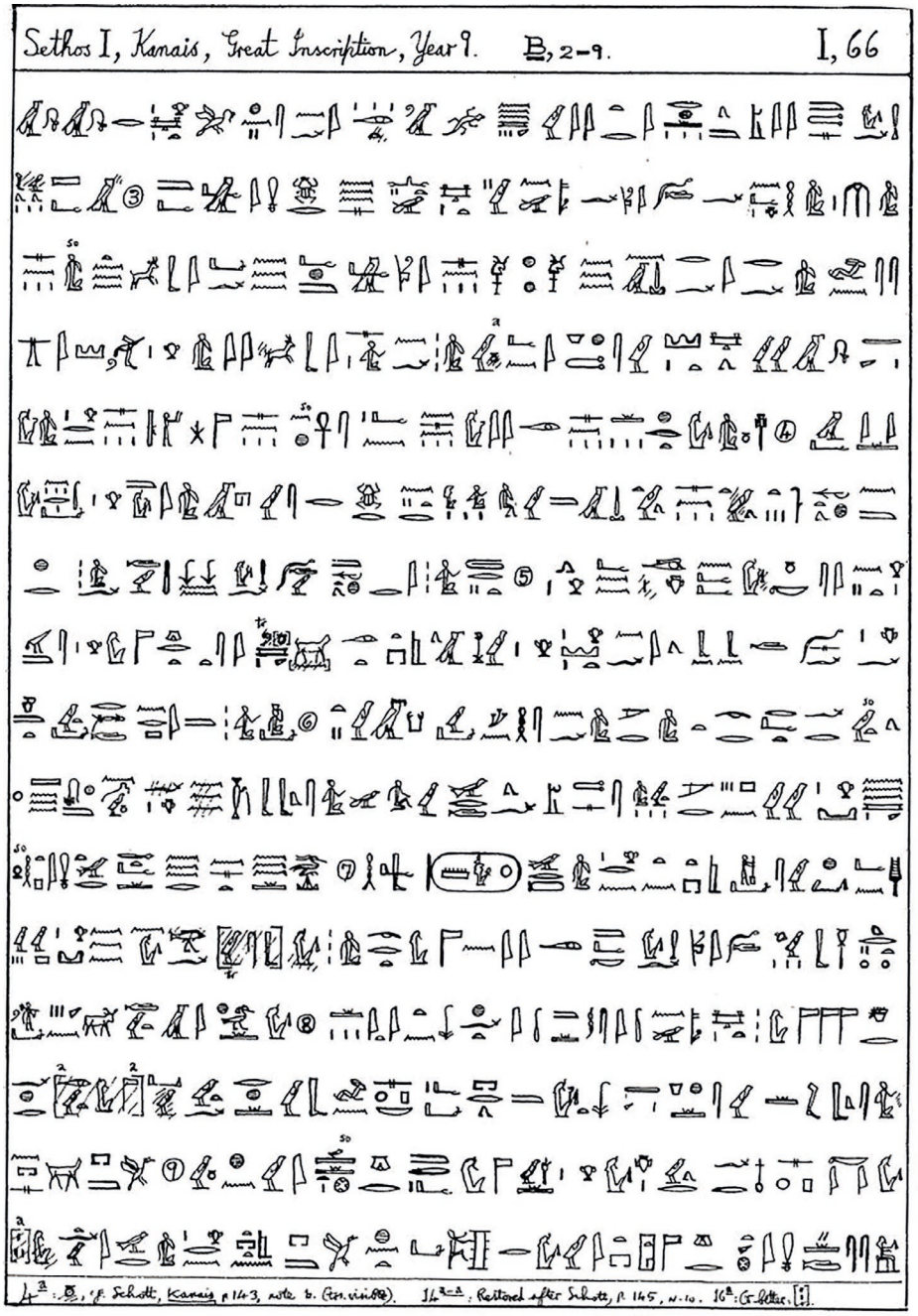


Text. B.

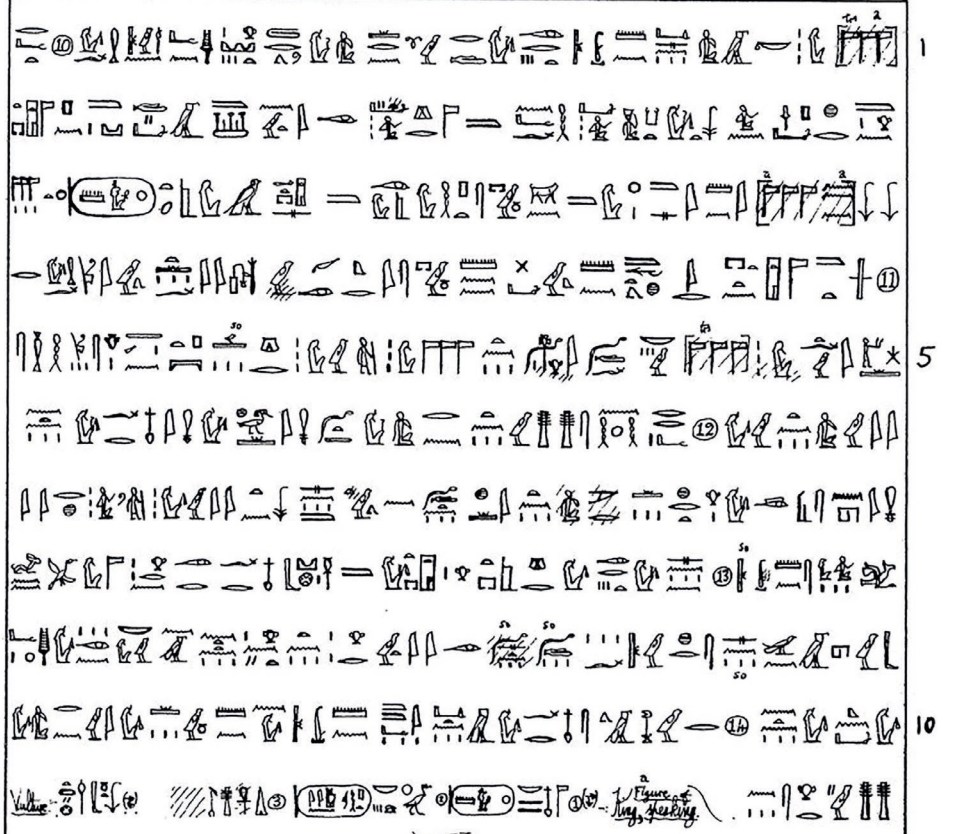


4a: Interior of cartouche is entirely destroyed. 12a: Space left here for door-bolt socket, never carved.

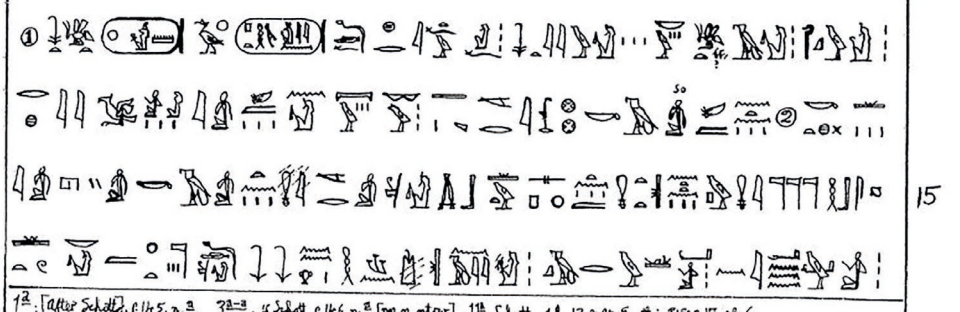
Plate II



Sethos I, Kanais, Great Inscription, Year 9. B, 9–11, figure. C, 1–2. I, 67

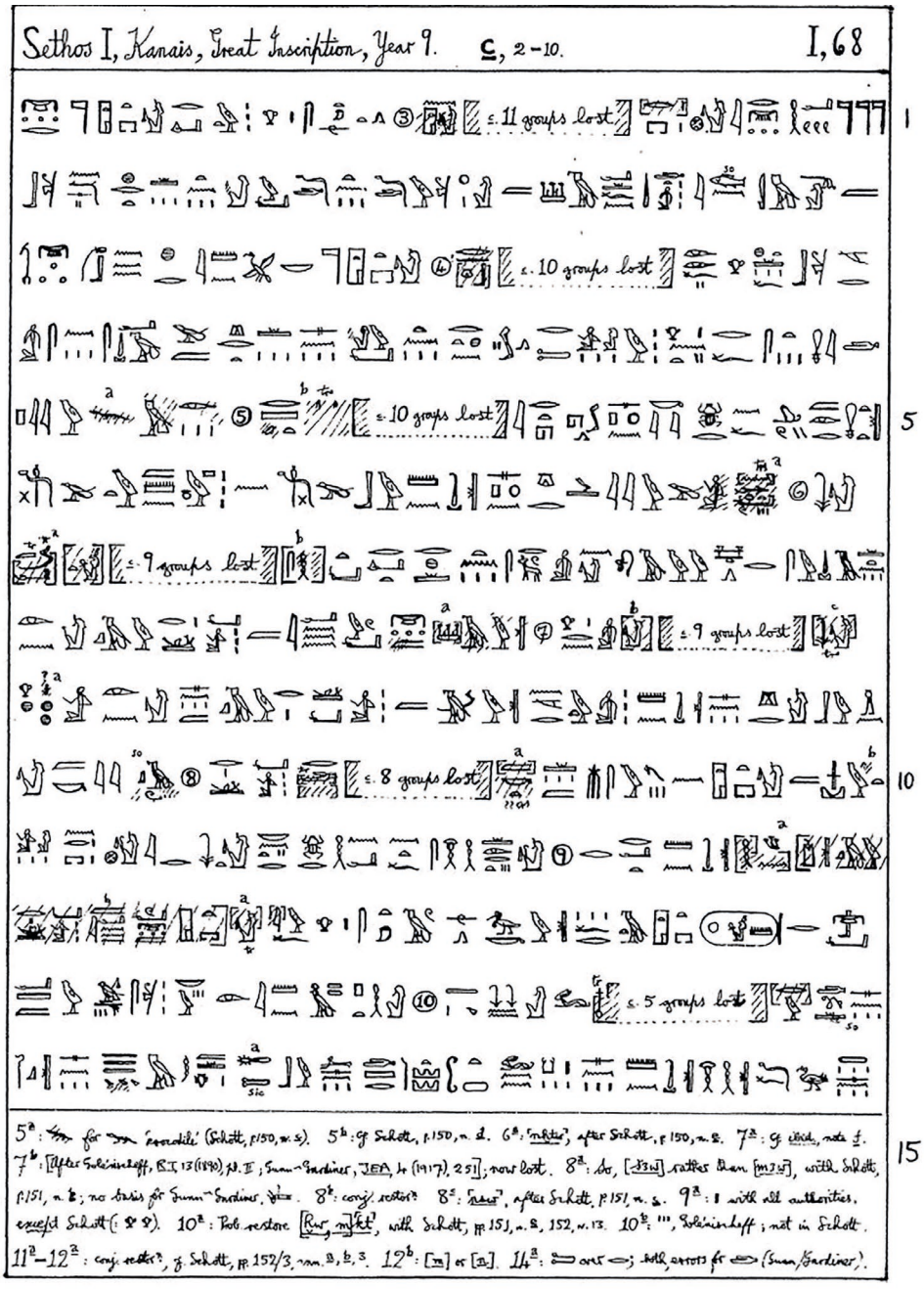


Text. C.

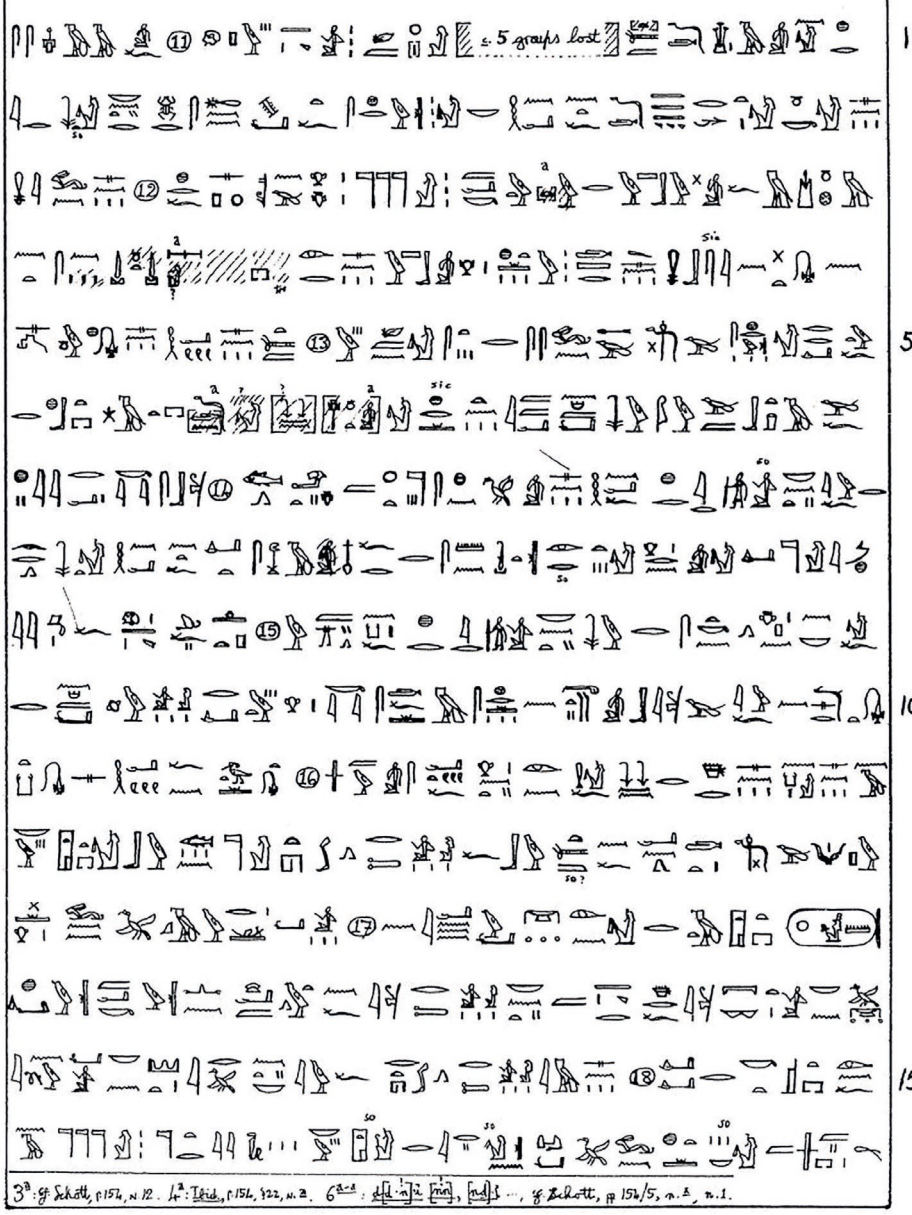


1a: [after Schott], pl. 115, n. 2. 3a–3: H. Schott, p. 146, n. 2 [non in meyer] 11a: Schott, pl. 13 supra; Sauneron, BIFAO 57, pl. 6.

Plate IV

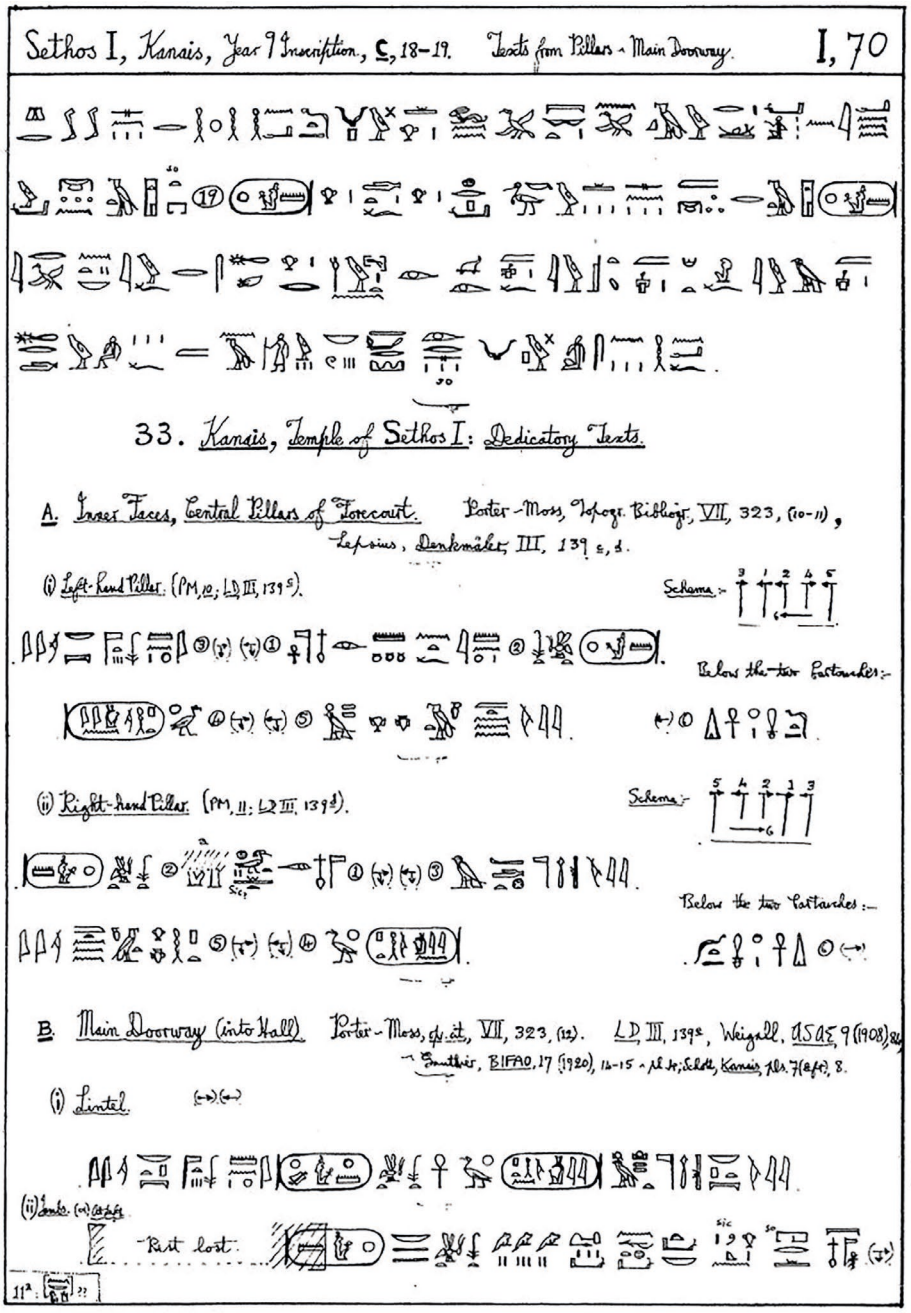

Sethos I, Kanais, Great Inscription, Year 9. C, 2–10. I,68
c. 11 groups lost
c. 10 groups lost
c. 10 groups lost
c. 9 groups lost
c. 9 groups lost
c. 8 groups lost
c. 5 groups lost
5ª: for 'crocodile' (Schott, p.150, n. c). 5ᵇ: cf Schott, p.150, n. d. 6ª: 'mkt', after Schott, p.150, n. e. 7ª: cf ibid., note f. 7ᵇ: [after Sobleinikoff, BIE 13 (1930), pl. II; Sunn-Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), 25]; now lost. 8ª: do, [ḏd-mdw] rather than [mn-nfr], with Schott, p.151, n. k; no traces for Sunn-Gardiner. 8ᵇ: conj. restor? 8ᶜ: 'nswt', after Schott, p.151, n. s. 9ª: I with all authorities, except Schott (: ⊗ ⊗). 10ª: Pob restore [Rwr, mn-ḫt], with Schott, pp.151, n. e, 152, n. 13. 10ᵇ: "", Sobleinikoff; not in Schott. 11ª–12ª: conj. restor?, cf Schott, pp.152/3, nn. a, b, 3. 12ᵇ: [m] or [n]. 14ª: ⇨ over ⇦; both arrows for ⇦ (Sunn/Gardiner).

Sethos I, Karnak, Great Inscription, Year 9. C, 10–18. I, 69



3a: cf. Schott, p 154, n 12. 4a: Ibid., p 154, §22, n. 2. 6a-1: cf. Schott, p 154/5, n. 5, n. 1.

Plate VI


Sethos I, Kanais, Year 1 Inscription, C, 18–19. Texts from Pillars - Main Doorway. I, 70
33. Kanais, Temple of Sethos I: Dedicatory Texts.
A. Inner Faces, Central Pillars of Forecourt.
(i) Left-hand Pillar.
Schema:
Below the two Partacles:-
(ii) Right-hand Pillar.
Schema:
Below the two Partacles:-
B. Main Doorway (into Hall)
(i) Lintel.
(ii) Jambs.
Rest lost.

Merenptah, Stela of Festival-Song of Thoth, Hermopolis IV, 27

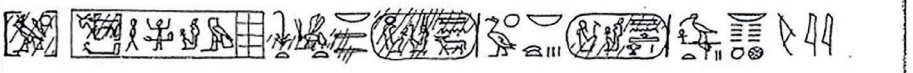
11. Festival-Song of Thoth, Dedicatory Stela of Merenptah, Hermopolis.

Roeder, ASAE, 52 (1954), 319-357, - pls. I-VI; cf. Chaban, ib. 8 (1907), 216-218, - pl. I.

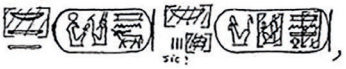
Left-hand Margin: (→)

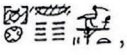


Right-hand Margin: (←)

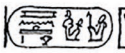


Scene: King (←) dedicates Temple before Thoth and Six Gods (→).

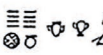
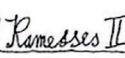
King: (←)  , who acts:- 

Thoth: (→)  , who holds  with  .

Upper Row of Gods: (→)

Amun of Merenptah:  [Shepses? : ]. Re-Harakhte: 

Lower Row of Gods: (→)

Horus:  Thoth of Ramesses II: 

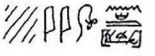
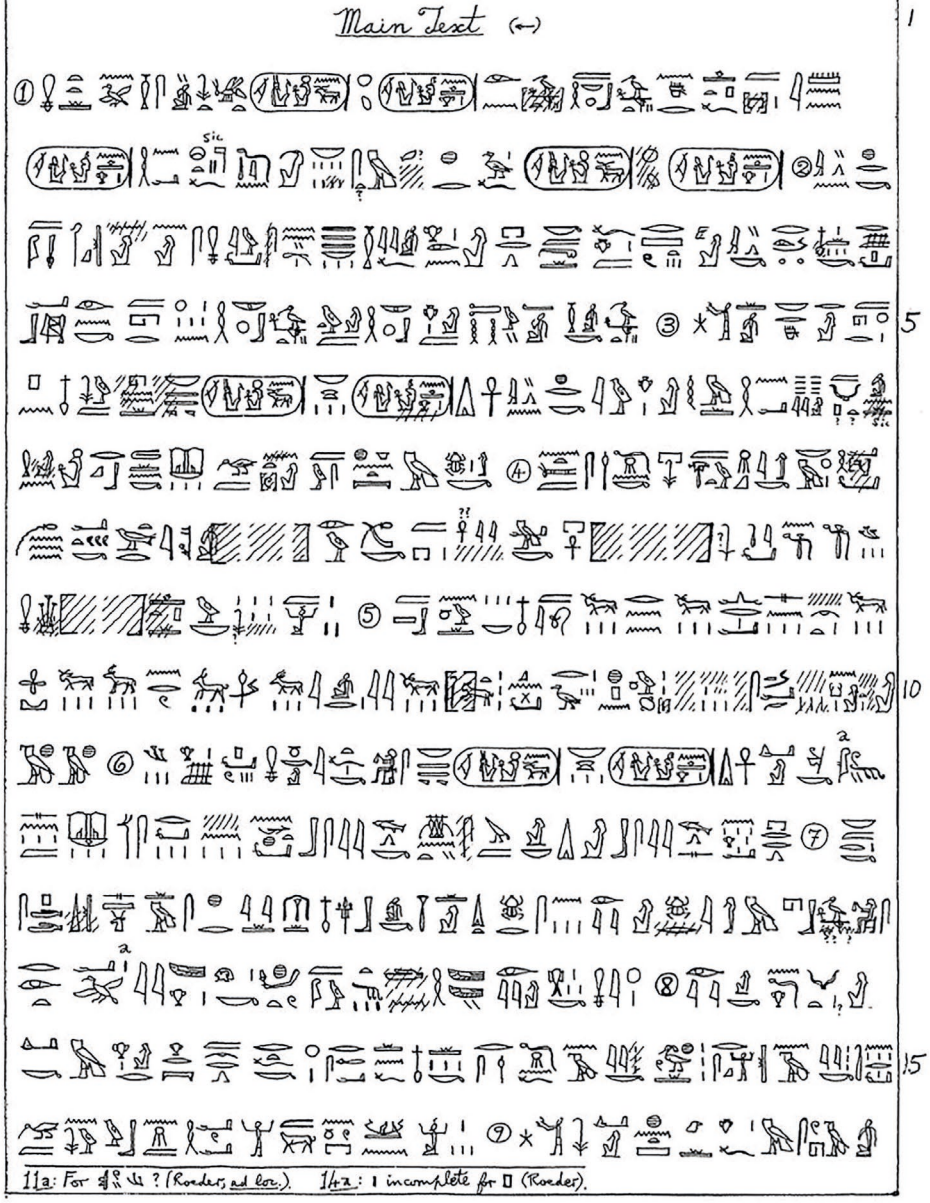
Nehemet-Away: 

Plate VIII

Merenptah, Festival-Song Stela, Hermopolis, 1–7. IV, 28

Main Text (←)



11a: For [illegible] ? (Roeder, ad loc.) 11+2: I incomplete for [illegible] (Roeder).

Merenptah, Festival-Song Stela, Hermopolis, 9-18. IV, 29

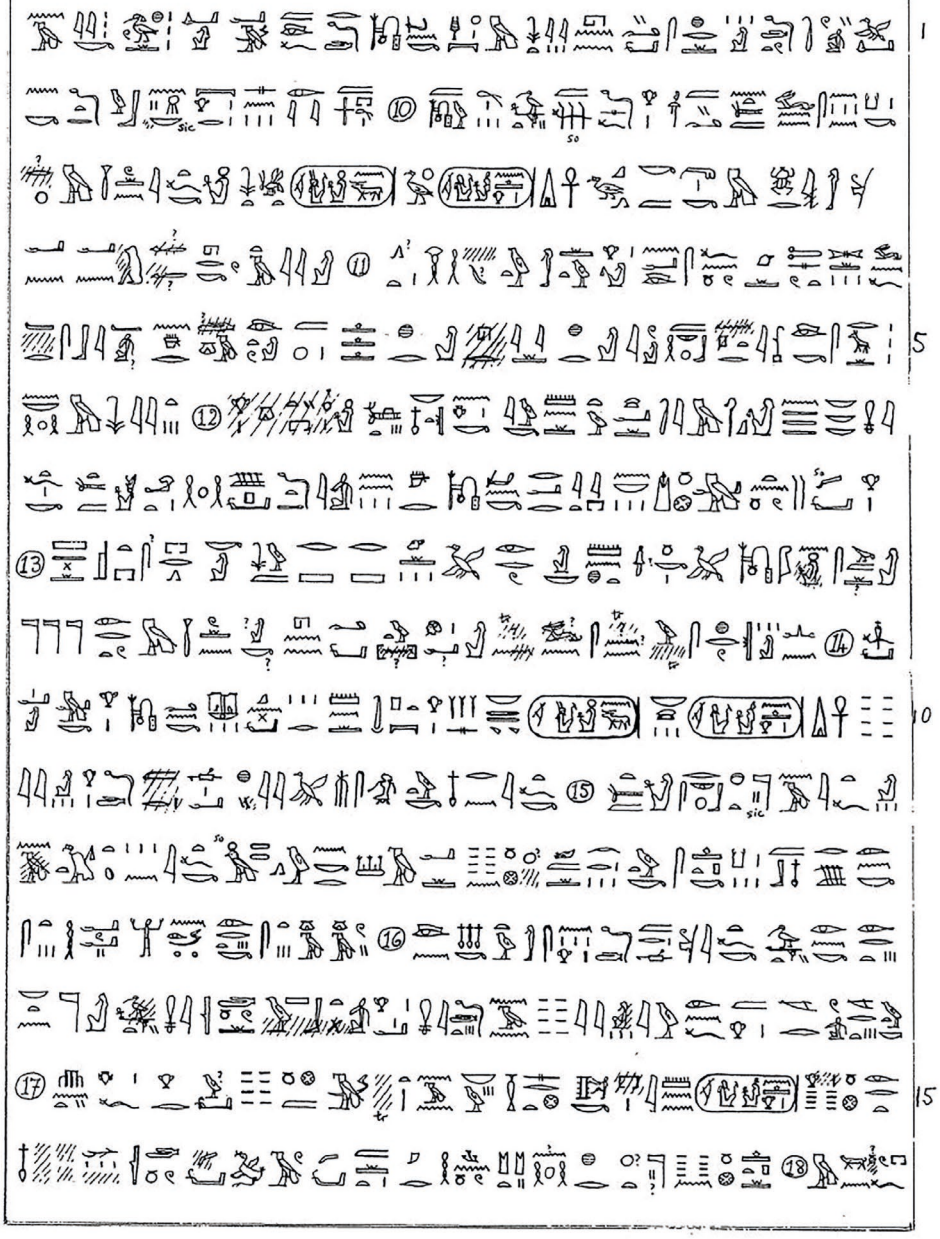
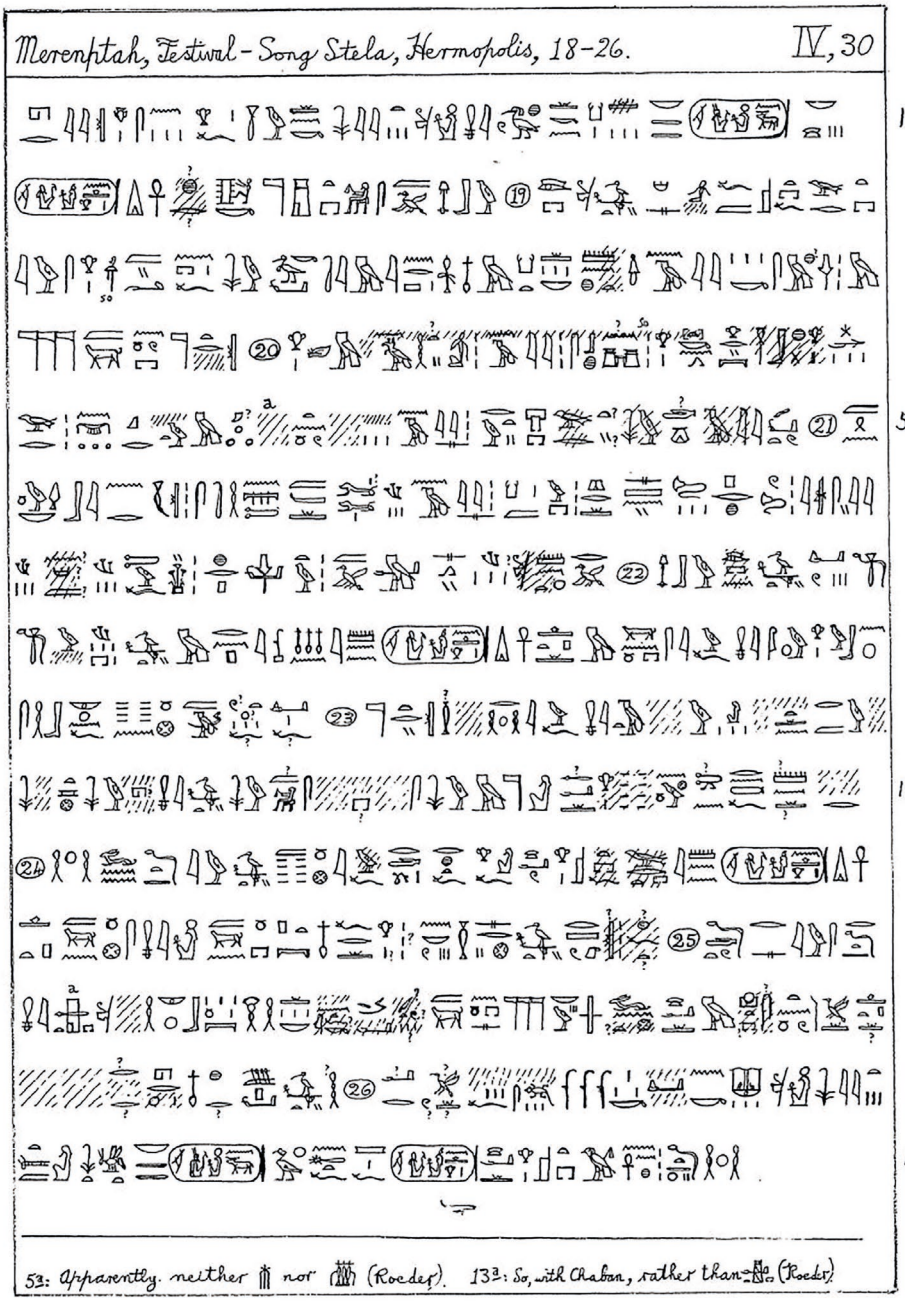
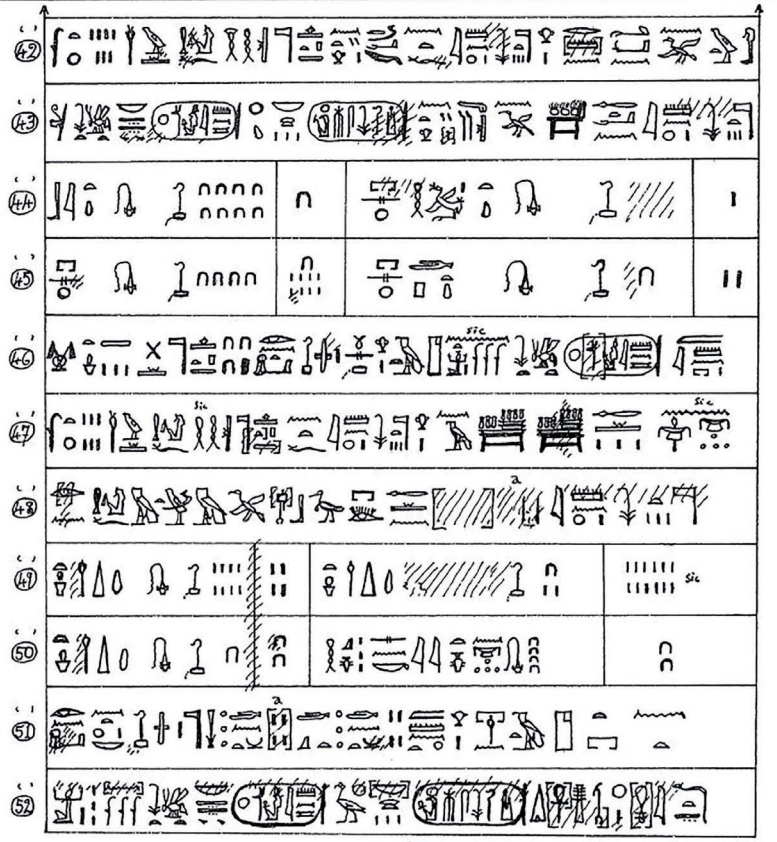


Plate X


Merenptah, Festival-Song Stela, Hermopolis, 18-26. IV, 30
52: Apparently neither nor (Roeder). 132: So, with Chabas, rather than (Roeder)

Ramesses III, Karnak, Decrees, Year 16, 6, 7: 42–52 (5nd). Great Double Stela, Year 20. V, 237



71. Karnak, Great Double Stela, Year 20.

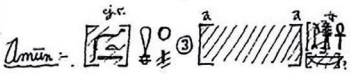
South Approach, 'Cour de la Cachette', E. Wall, Interior. Porter-Moss, Topogr. Bibl.² II, p. 131, (483), esp. Helck, ZÄS, 83 (1954), pp. 27–38 – pls. II–III. Many loose blocks. KRI K photos, C. 30–34, E. 34–36, F. 27–29, H. 14–16, I. 26–29, 31–33, K. 23, R. 3–5; (also E. 1460–63, passim). Text collated on originals [except Sethe-fragment], + own copy of two additional blocks.

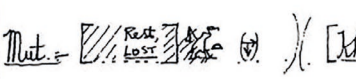
7a: Traces, dubious; ?? – rather uncertain. 10a: Will Nelson, JAOS 58 (1938), p. 233, fig.

Ramesses III, Karnak, Double Stela, Year 20: Left-hand, Scene-Margins. V, 238

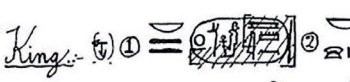
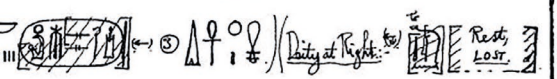
A. Left-hand (N.) Stela, Year 20.

(i) Scene. At left, Amun, Mut, [Khons], [Victorious Thebes]; centre, [King]; at right, [male deity].

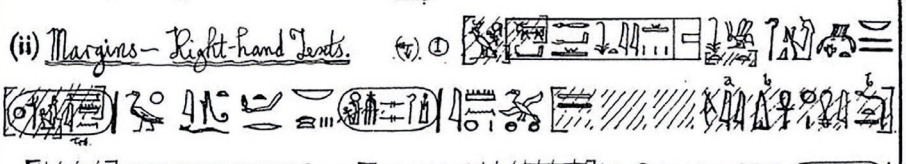
Amun:- 

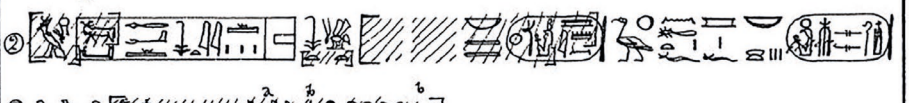
Mut:- 

([Khons (?), Waset (?), all texts lost]) (Behind Waset:- 

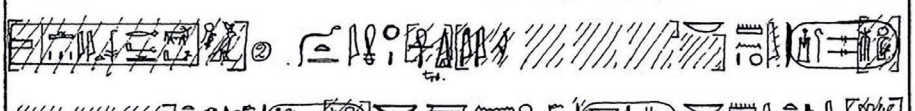
King:- 
(Deity at Right:- 

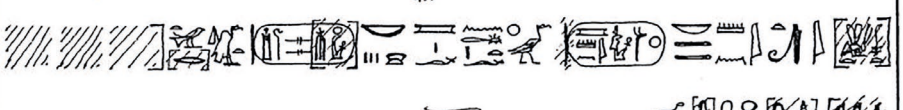
Behind Deity at Right:- 

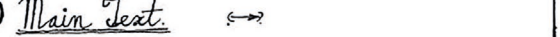
(ii) Margins — Right-hand Texts. 



(iii) Margins — Left-hand Texts. 

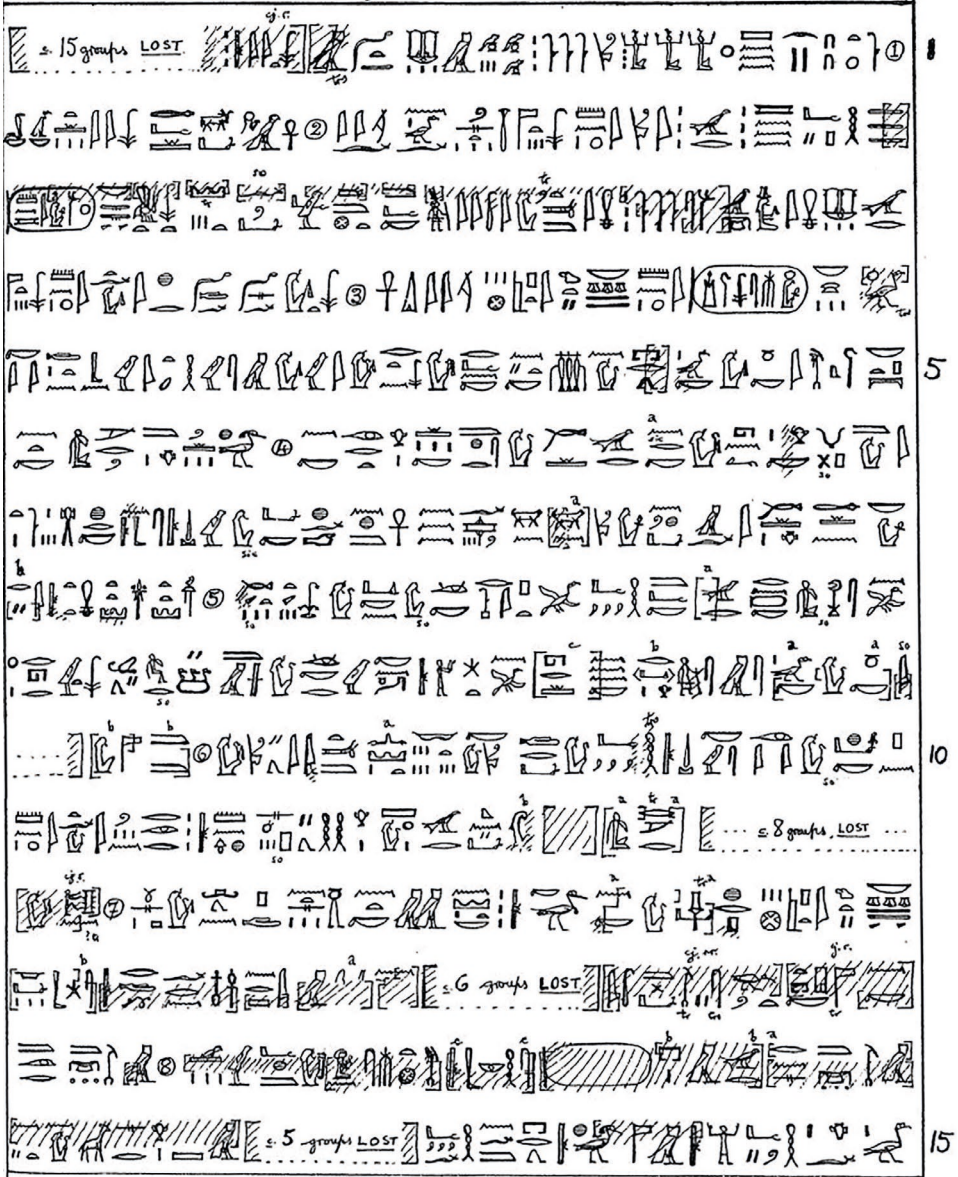




(iv) Main Text. 

2^{a}: Foot of male deity (→). 2^{b}: Feet of goddess (→). 3^{a-a}: s. 2 to 4 groups lost?. 3^{b-b}: s. 3 to 5 groups lost?. 6^{a-a}: Restored from left edge of Scene, Rt-hand stela. 8^{a}, 10^{a}: As in Margins of Rt-hand Stela. 8^{b-b}, 10^{b-b}: As on left Margin Face, and in margins of Rt-hand Stela.

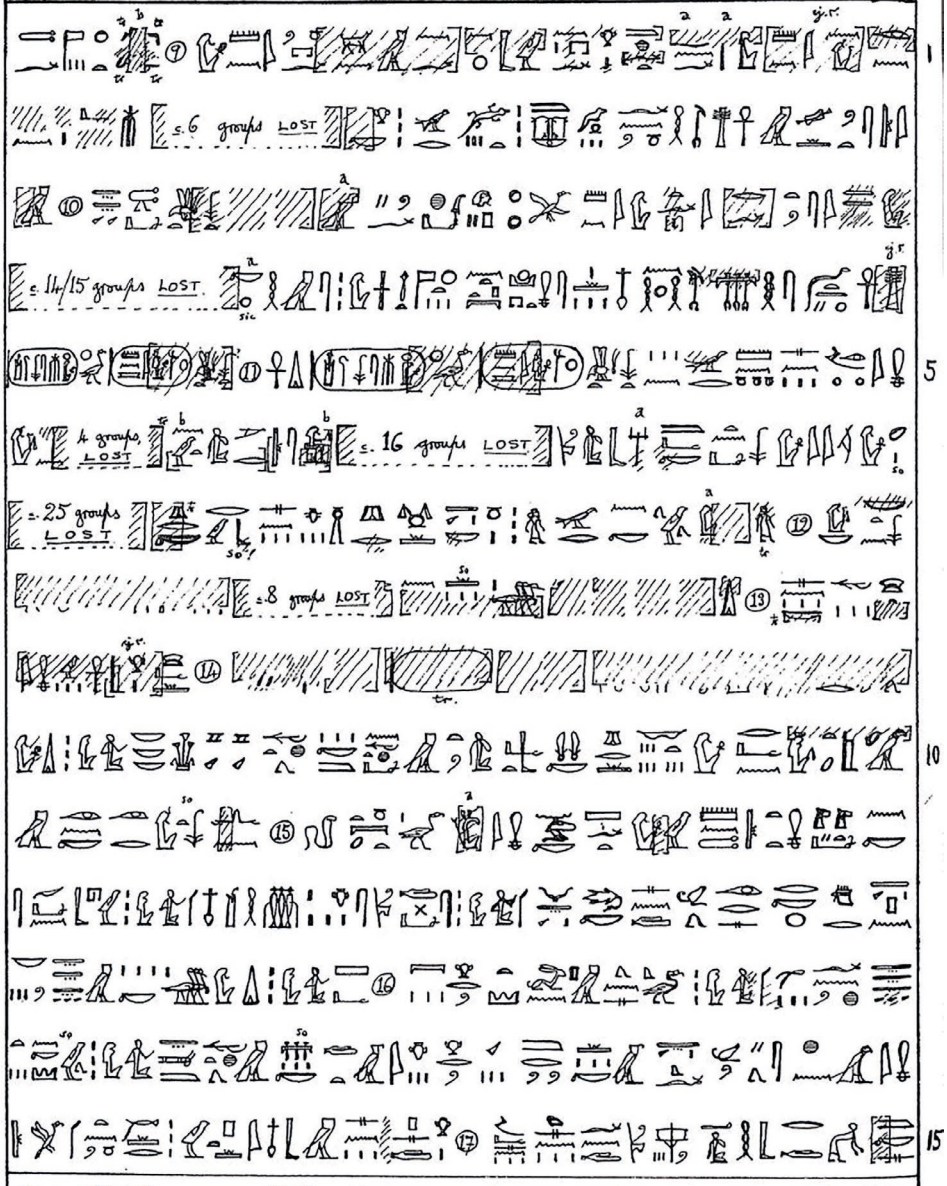
Ramesses III, Karnak, Double Stela, Year 20: Left-hand Text, 1–8. V, 239



6a: Emend (1) ⟨, with Helck, p. 70. 7a, 8a,b, 9a–b,c, 10b–b, 11b–b, 12a–b, 13b–14b, 14c–c: [After Sethe, now lost]; cf. Helck ad loc. 9b: Emend ⟨ ⟩, with Helck. 10a: Prob. emend ⟨ ⟩ with Helck. 11b: Tr. of ⟨ ⟩ or similar — not ⟨ ⟩. 13a: Trs. do not suit the ⟨ ⟩ of Sethe–Helck. 14b–b: cf. v. Helck.

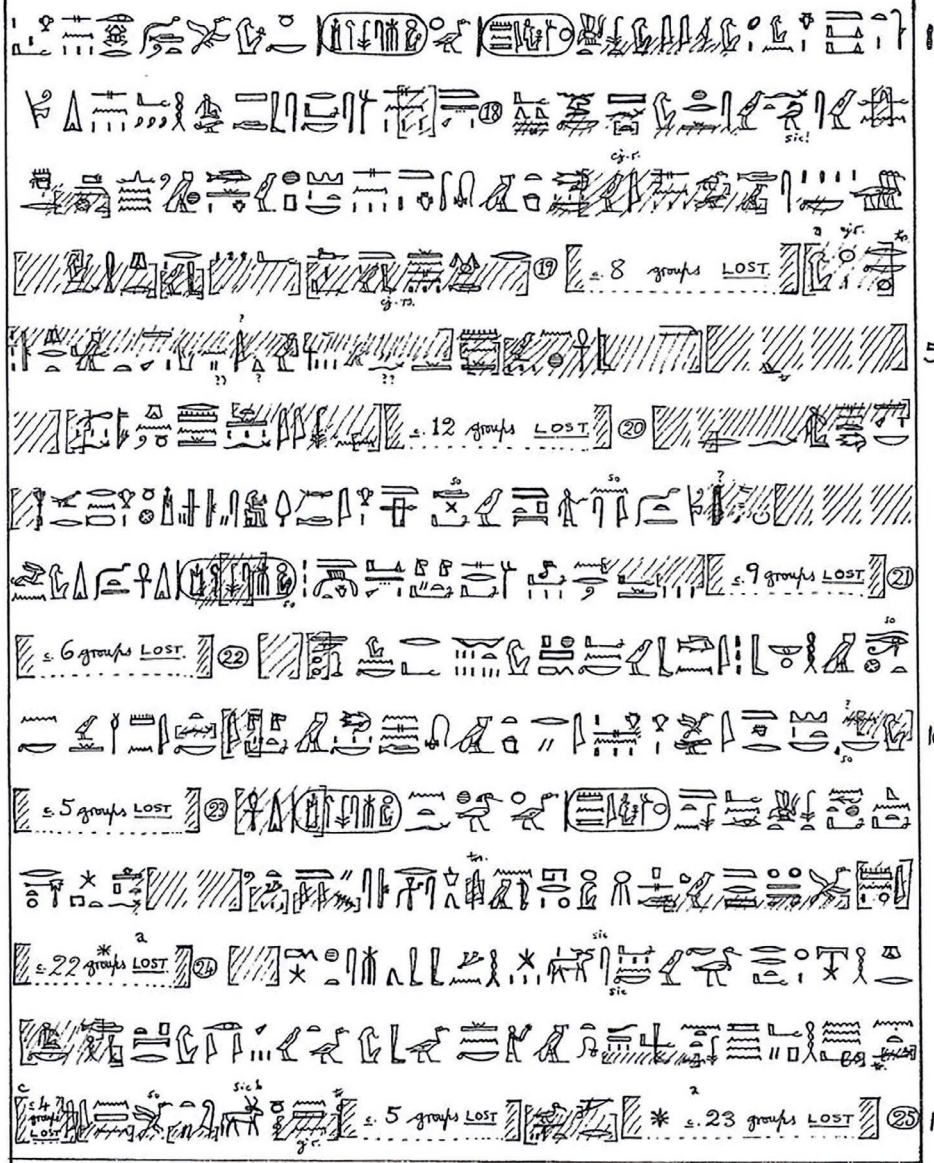
Plate XIV

Ramesses III, Karnak, Double Stela, Year 20: Lefthand Text, 8–17. V, 240



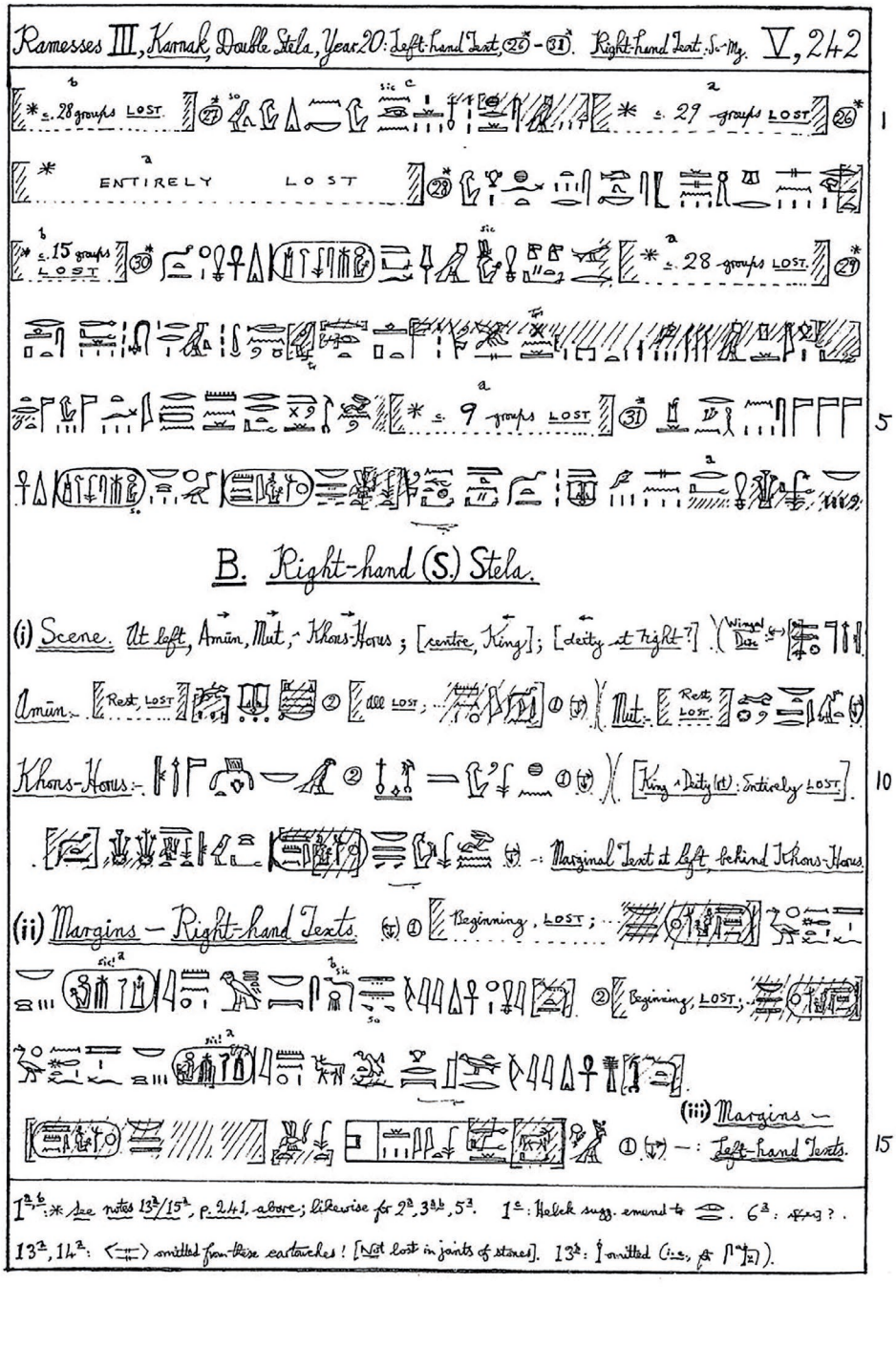
1ª–ª: Helck, [illegible] with doubts; or [illegible] ?? 1ª: So, the traces; hardly H's [illegible]. 3ª: Identity of bird uncertain (H: [illegible]?). 4ª: o for ꜣ. 6ª: I.c., [illegible]. 6ᵇ–ᵇ: [bracketed parts seen by Helck]; now, lost. 7ª: H's [illegible], just possible (p. 32, n. l). 11ª: Erased anciently.

Ramesses III, Karnak Double Stela, Year 20: left hand text, 17 – 25. V, 241



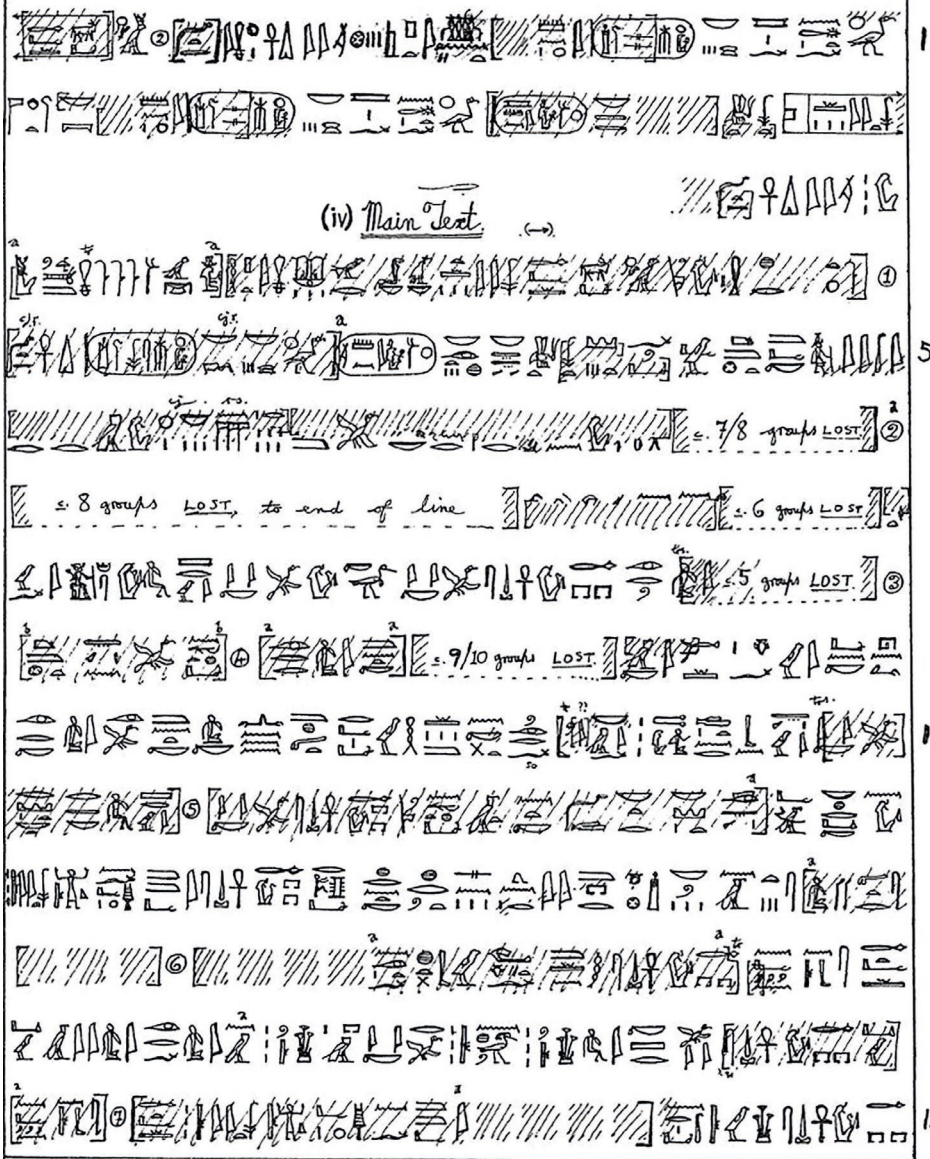
3^a: Gr [ḏrwt sḫ] will H, p 31. 13^a, 15^3: * The block 'c' (p. 247 below) may belong here, in this 1/10 full. lines.
15^a: Not a full. 15^c: Prob. 3 lines lost between l. (25) + l. (26), judging from spacing of vertical rods of these 2 stelae; i.e. total of 32 ll, rather than 31 ll.

Plate XVI



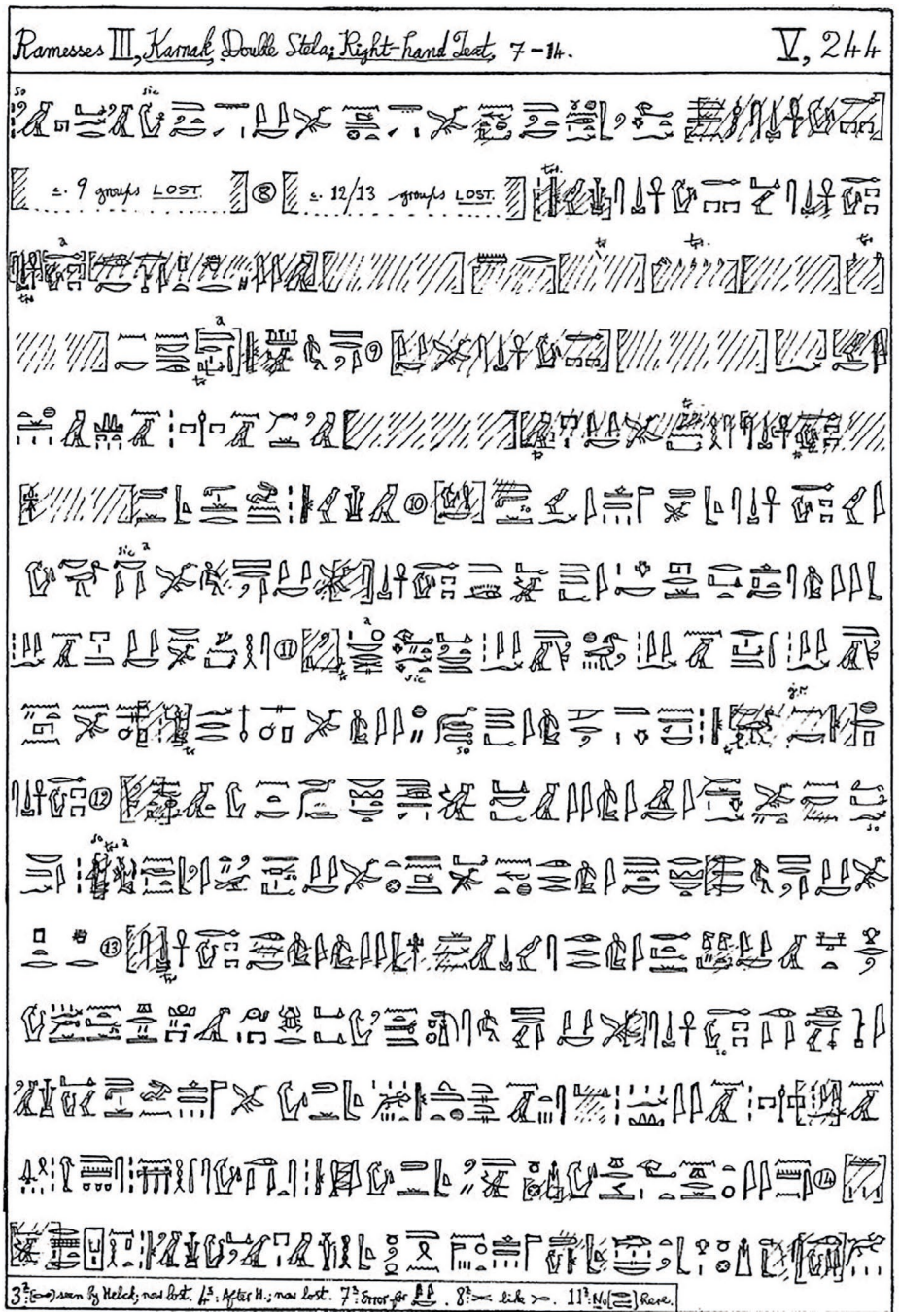
1a,b: * See notes 13a/15a, p. 241, above; likewise for 2a, 3a,b, 5a. 1c: Helck sugg. emend to . 6a: ? .
13a, 14a: <⟷> omitted from these cartouches! [Not lost in joints of stones]. 13a: omitted (i.e., for).

Ramesses III, Karnak, Double Stela: Right-hand Text, Mg., 1–7. V, 243

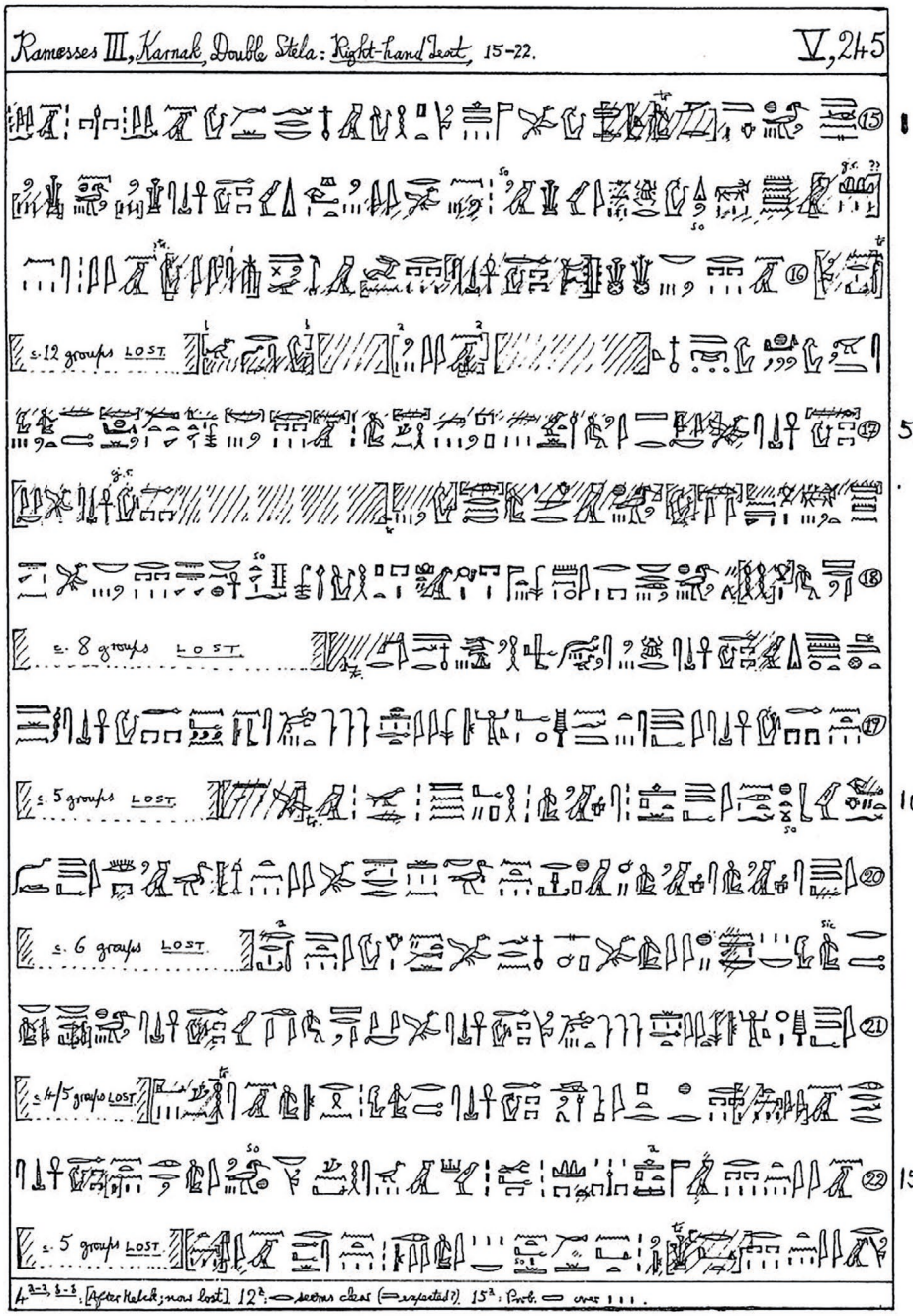


4a–a: [Seen by Helck (p. 29), now lost]. 4a–5a: This line belongs here as l. ①, not to scene at "D" as H. proposed (p. 29).
6a: Helck's l. ⑩; from here, all H.'s line-nos. should be one unit higher. 9a–a, b–b: Restored from l. ⑫, as H. 11a–12a: fr. ll. ⑪, ⑫.
13a–a: Restored from l. ⑭ below. 14a: 𓏏 is carved; for 𓏛. 15a–a: Restored from ll. ⑤, ⑭.

Plate XVIII

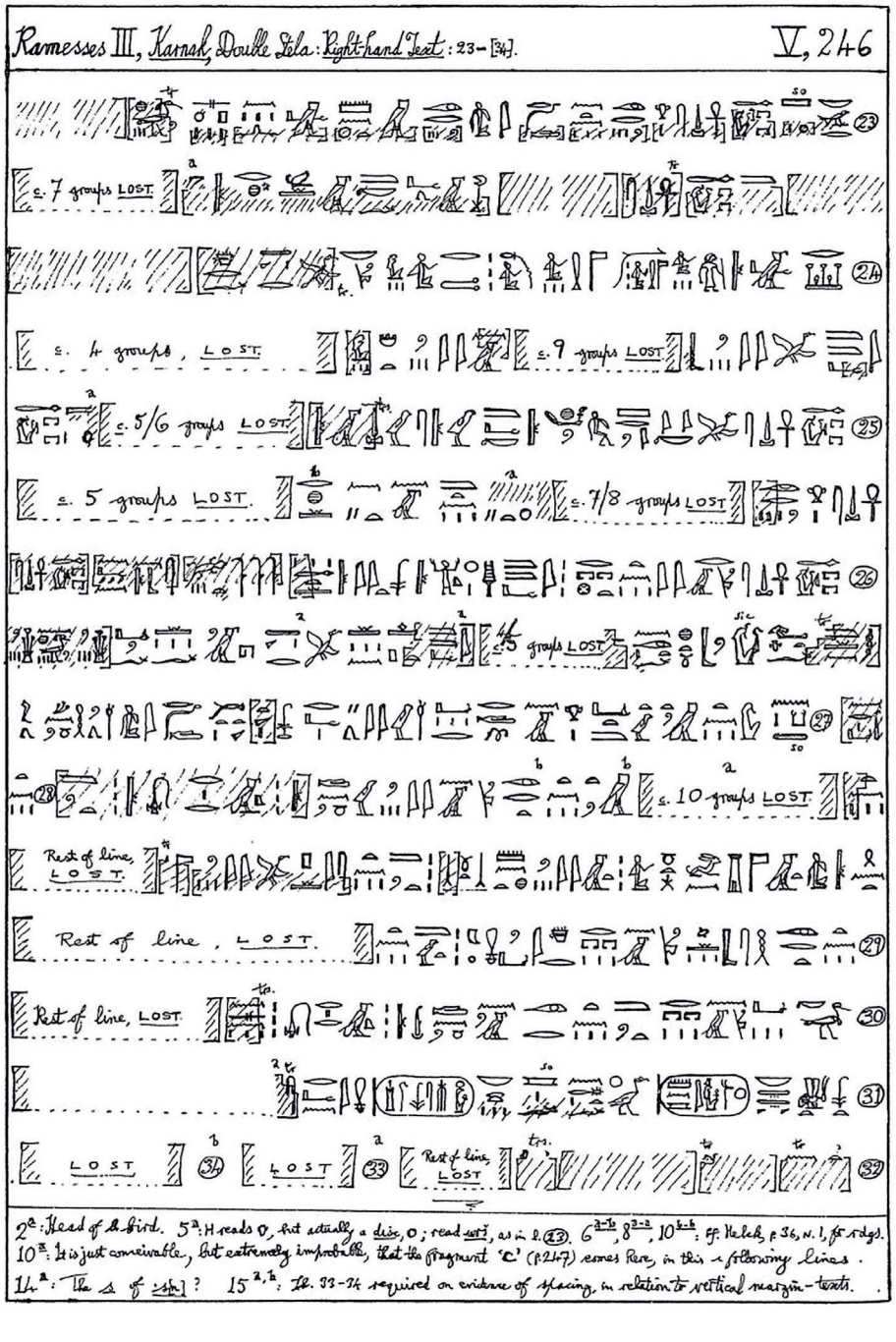

Ramesses III, Karnak, Double Stela, Right-hand Text, 7–14. V, 244
c. 9 groups LOST
c. 12/13 groups LOST
3 (—) seen by Helck; now lost. 4 : After H.; now lost. 7 : Error for . 8 like . 11 : No Rare.

Ramesses III, Karnak, Double Stela: Right-hand text, 15–22. V, 245



A 2–3, 5–6. [After Kalek; nmst lost]. 12²: ⟨ sceptres clear (⟨ inspected?). 15²: Prob. ⟨ over ||||.

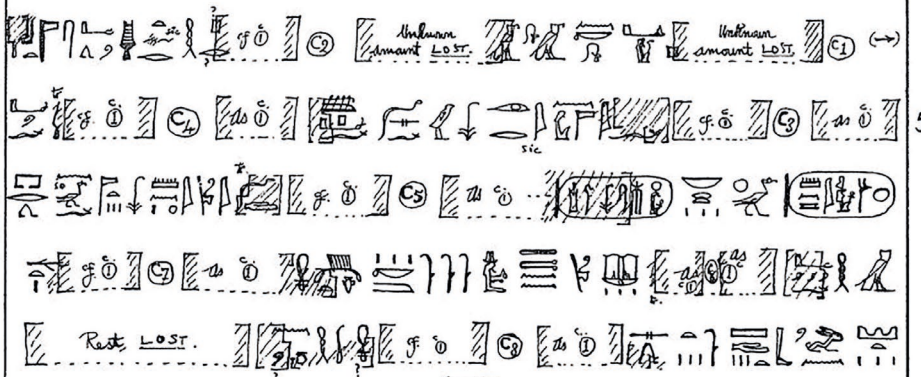
Plate XX


Ramesses III, Karnak, Double Stela: Right-hand Text: 23-[34]. V, 246
c. 7 groups LOST
c. 4 groups, LOST
c. 9 groups LOST
c. 5/6 groups LOST
c. 5 groups LOST.
c. 7/8 groups LOST
groups LOST
c. 10 groups LOST
Rest of line, LOST.
Rest of line, LOST.
Rest of line, LOST.
LOST
LOST
Rest of line, LOST
2a: Head of the bird. 5a: H reads O, but actually a dais, O; read wsrt, as in l. 23. 6a-b, 8a-b, 10b-c: cf. Helck, p. 36, n. 1, for rdgs.
10a: It is just conceivable, but extremely improbable, that the fragment 'c' (p. 247) comes here, in this or following lines.
14a: The s of shm? 15a,b: Ll. 33-34 required on evidence of spacing, in relation to vertical margin-texts.

C. Unplaced Fragment.

Loose block with parts of 8 lines, most probably from ll. 24 ff. (pp. 241-242) of Left-Hand Text of Double Stela, Year 20. (Most unlikely to be part of Right-Hand Text, 27 ff. (p. 245).

Copy, KRI ~ photo KRI R.S.



D. Traces of Texts & Scenes to N. (left) of Double Stela.

Directly adjoining Left-Hand Text (Year 20). Unpublished; KRI plates C. 34

(i) High up (opposite ll. 1-2 of Left-Hand Text) :- directly above an  (=?).

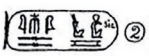
(ii) Upper-middle (opposite ll. 7-12 of ditto, above) :- Figure of sem-priest (←), from waist to feet.

(iii) Lower-middle (opposite ± ll. 16 ff. of ditto) :- Head-shoulders of King (←), below Disc 

[NB:- The figures of Amūn, Mut & Khons over horizontal line (→) put at (ii) before Sem, by Halek (p. 29), actually belong to Scene over Right-Hand Text, ~ its l. D, p. 242, above.].

9. Rock-Inscription, Year 3, of Servant of Remesesnakht

Couyat-Montet, Les inscriptions ... du Ouâdi Hammâmât, N° 223 (p. 108, pl. 40).

Cartouches above Text:  Goddess at Left: 

Main Text (→)



10. Great Rock-Stela of Year 3 Expedition.

Couyat-Montet, Les inscriptions ... du Ouâdi Hammâmât, N° 12 (p. 34–39, pl. 4).
Cf. Christophe, BIFAO, 48 (1949), 1–38, pl. 1.

Scene.

Amūn, Mut, Khons, Bastet (all →) are worshipped by the King (←) preceding Min, Harsiesē, Isis (all ←). At each end, a winged Uraeus-snake (Sia, Heka)

Amūn:  Mut: Khons: Bastet: Uraeus:

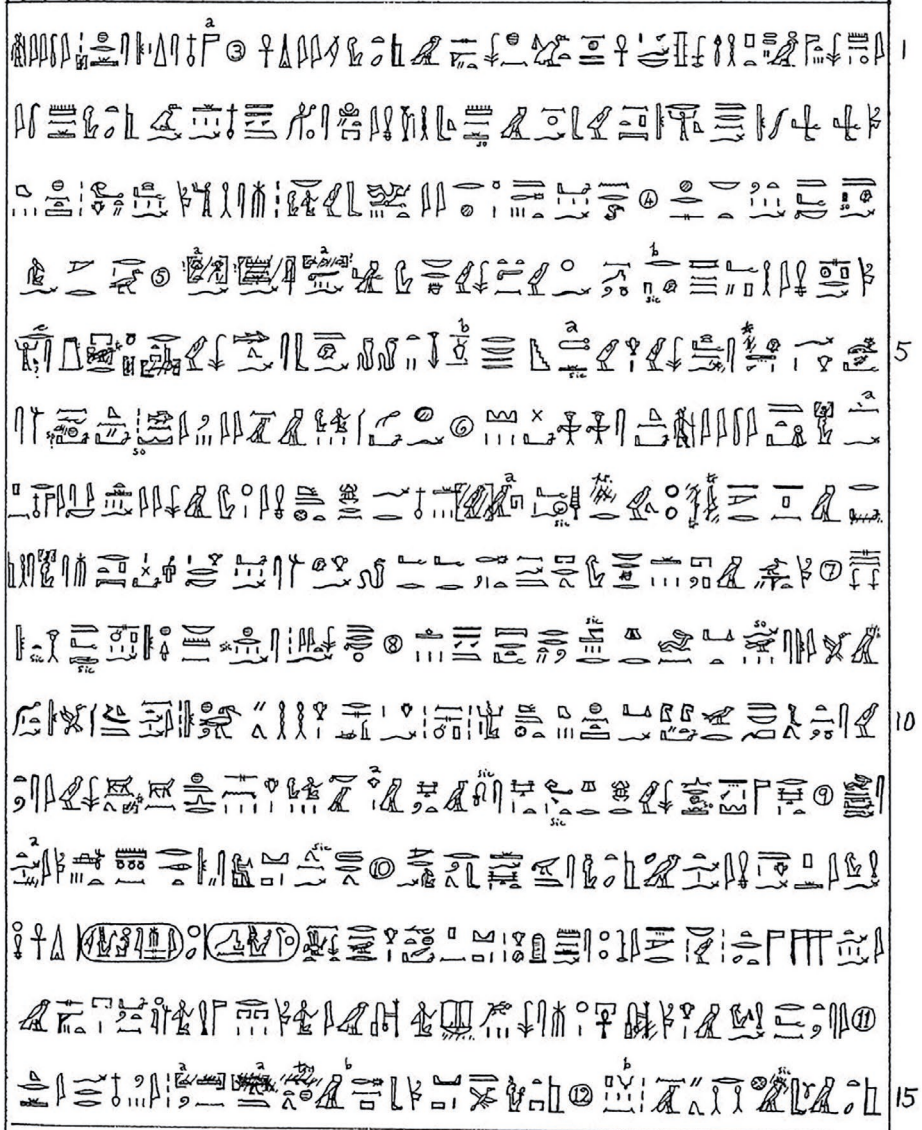
King:  Min:  Harsiesē:  Isis:  Uraeus: 

Main Text (→)



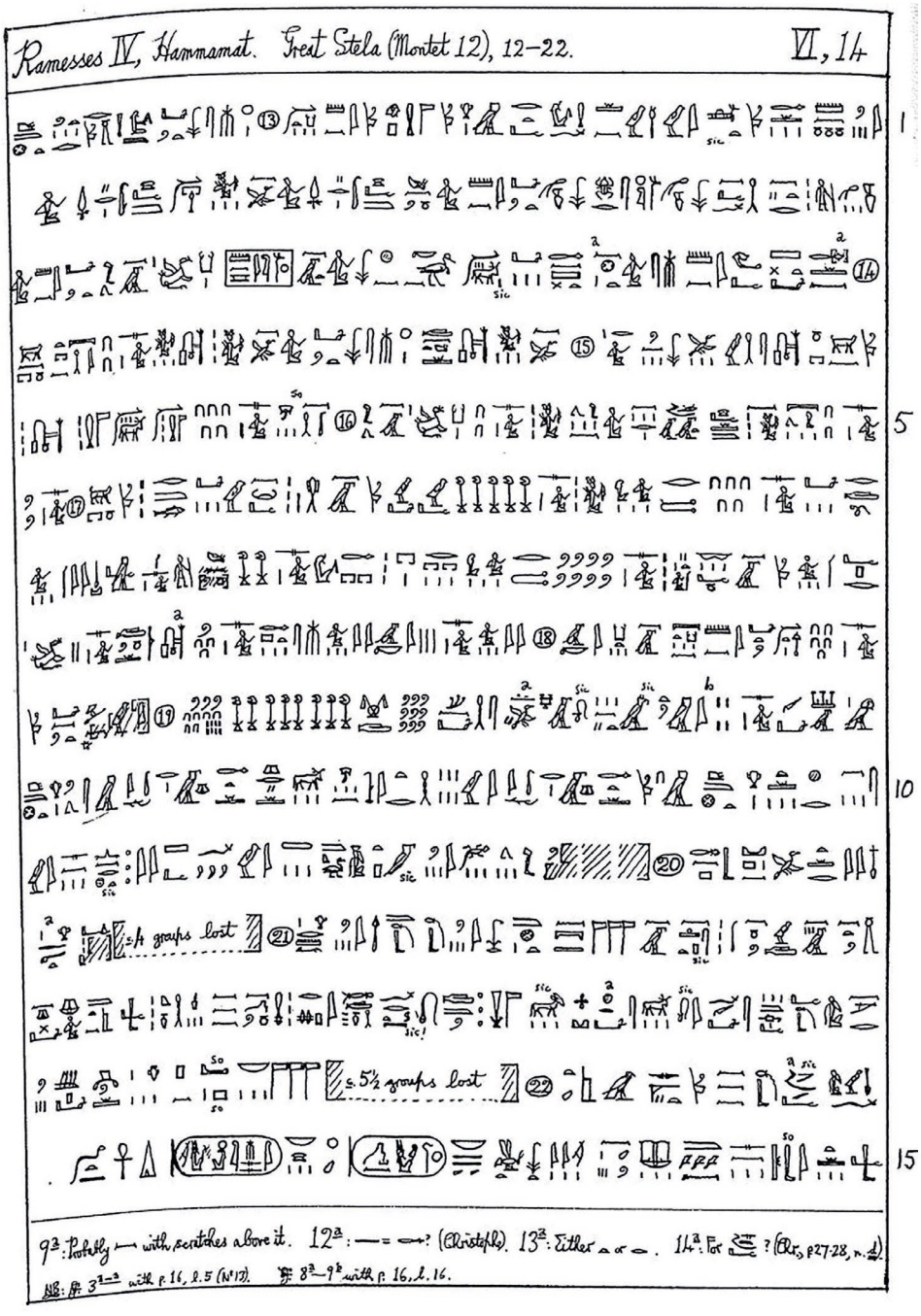
5a: Hieratic form. 5b: Hieratic form for Ḫt + R. 12a: One group, faint traces only.

Ramesses IV, Hammamat. Great Stela (Mariette 12), 2–12. VI, 13

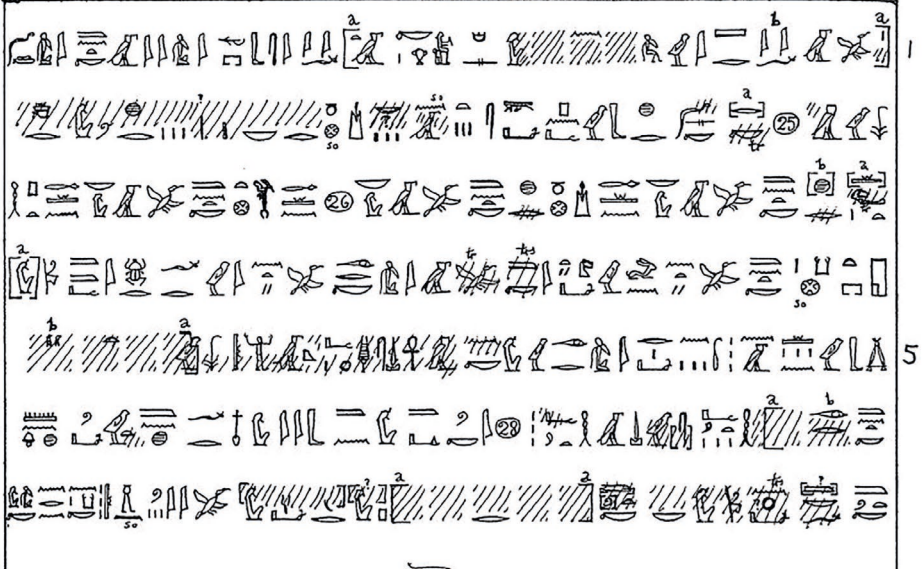


4a–a: Restored after Chabas. 5a: — for —. 5b: Perhaps for (y Chabas, p. 9, note e) or . 5c: Small , or scratches? .
6a: So, rather than . 7a: Is faint but visible. 11a: Taller or . 12a: — or —. 15a–a: Restored after Faulkner - Chabas.
NB: Cf 1a–4b with p. 16, ll. 12a–15a. Cf 15b–b with p. 16 l. 15.

Plate XXIV


Ramesses IV, Hammamat. Great Stela (Mariette 12), 12–22. VI, 14
=4 groups lost
c. 5½ groups lost
9a: Probably with scratches above it. 12a: (Christophe). 13a: Either
14a: For ? (Ch., p. 27-28, n. 4)
NB: pr 3b–a with p. 16, l. 5 (N° 13). pr 8a–9b with p. 16, l. 16.

Ramesses IV, Abydos, Stela to Osiris, 24–28. Stela to the Gods, Scene. VI, 20

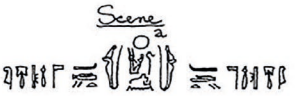


16. Great Stela to Osiris and the Gods, Year lost, Abydos.

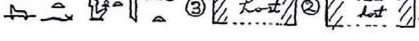
Cairo, J.d'E. 48831. Porter-Moss, Topogr. Bibliogr., V, 73; Korostovtsev, B.I.F.A.O., 4-5 (1946), pp. 155–173, pls I–II.

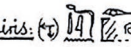
Scene

A. Under Winged Disc:



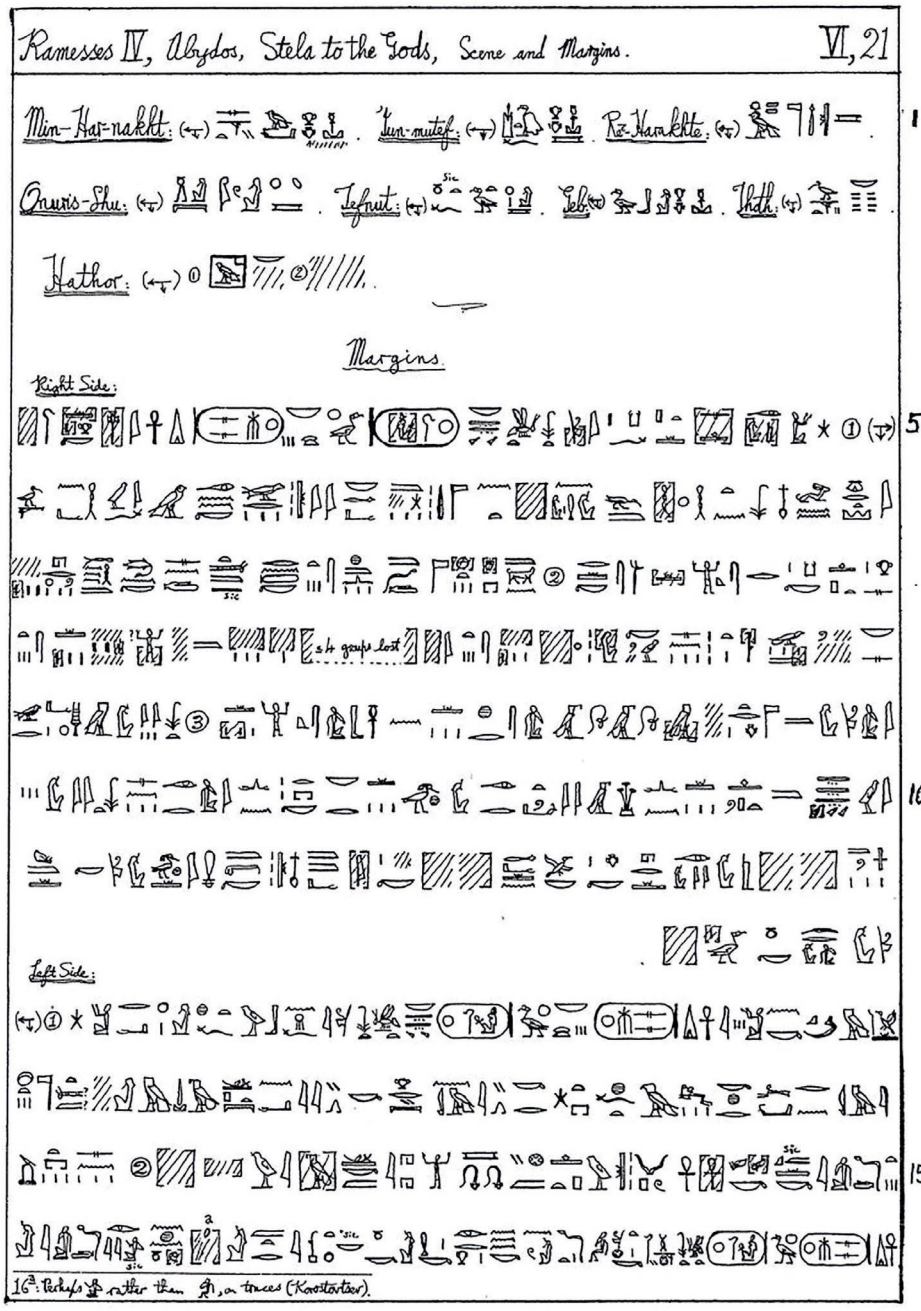
B. Main Scene: King (→) offers wsr.t to twelve deities (all ←).

King: sic  (↓).

Osiris: (↓)  . Harendotes: (↓)  . Isis: (↓)  . Nephthys: (↓)  .

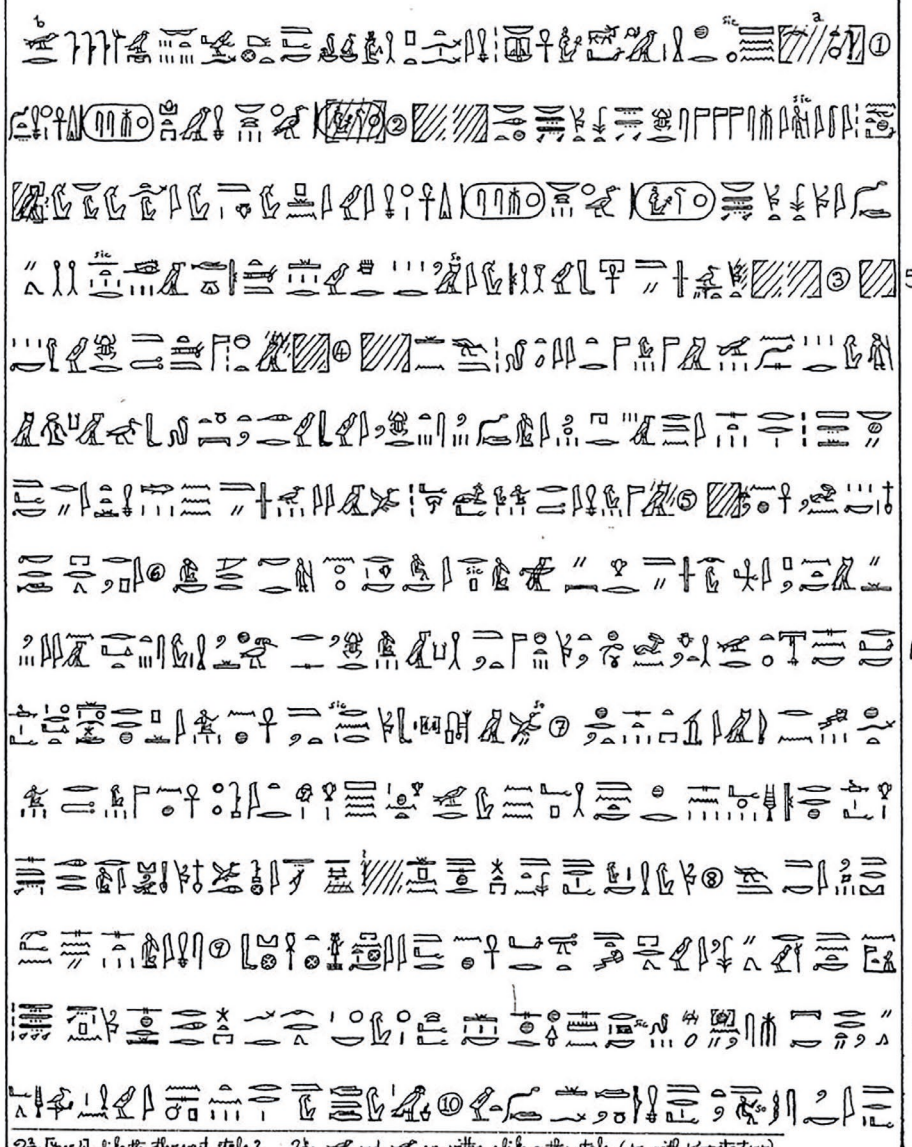
1a–a, 3b, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7a–a: [After de Rougé]. 1b: de Rougé →; Mariette, ⟷. 3a: So, de Rougé; Mariette, ⟷. 5b: So, de Rougé; Mariette,  . 6b: ⟷ after Mariette. 12a: The O is common to the Winged Disc and the Prenomen of the King.

Plate XXVI


Ramesses IV, Abydos, Stela to the Gods, Scene and Margins. VI, 21
Min-Har-nakht:
Mut-mutef:
Re-Harakhte:
Onuris-Shu:
Tefnut:
Geb
Thth:
Hathor:
Margins
Right Side:
Left Side:
16a: Perhaps rather than , a traces (Kuentzler).

Ramesses IV, Abydos, Stela to the Gods, 1–10. VI, 22

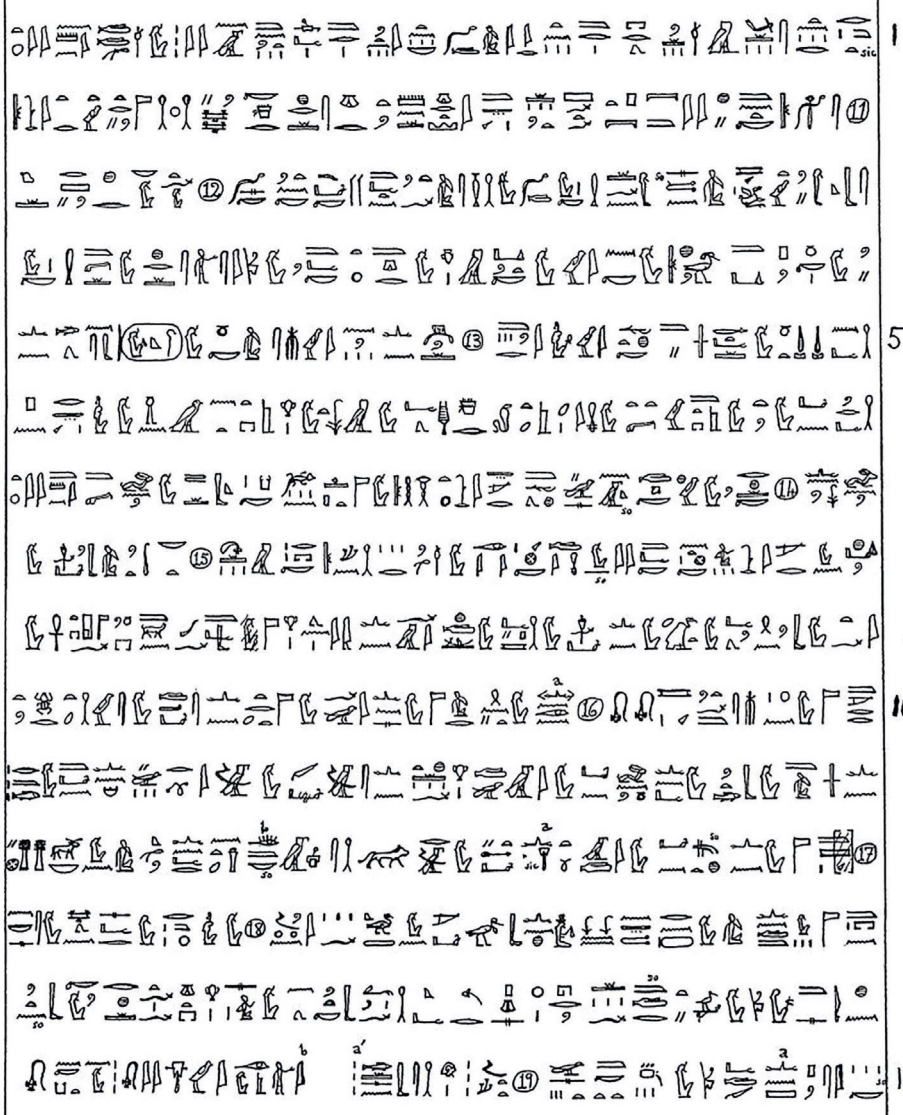
Main Text (→).



2a: [Year 1], like the other great stela? 2b: and are written alike on this stela (sic, with Korostovtsev).

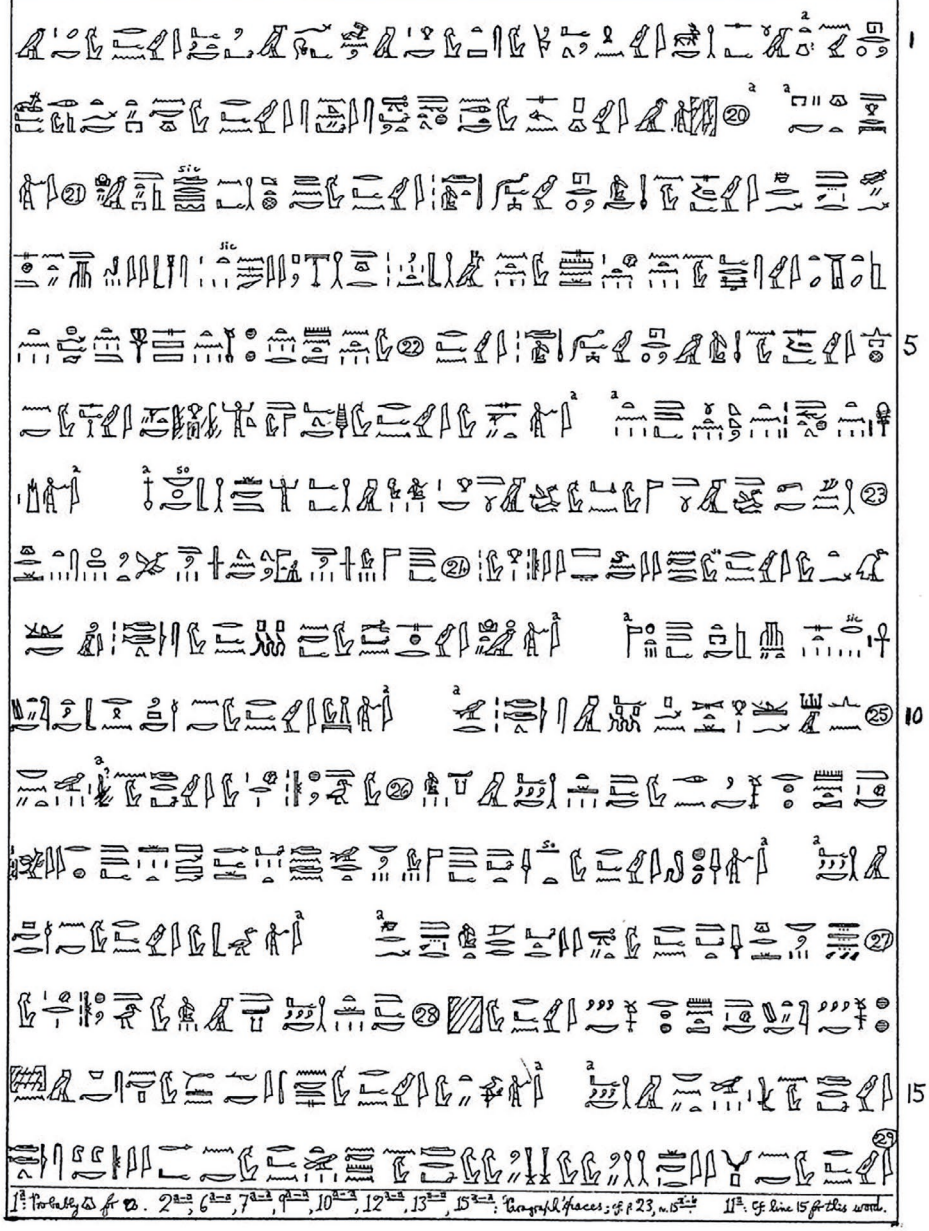
Plate XXVIII

Ramesses IV, Abydos, Stela to the Gods, 10–19. VI, 23



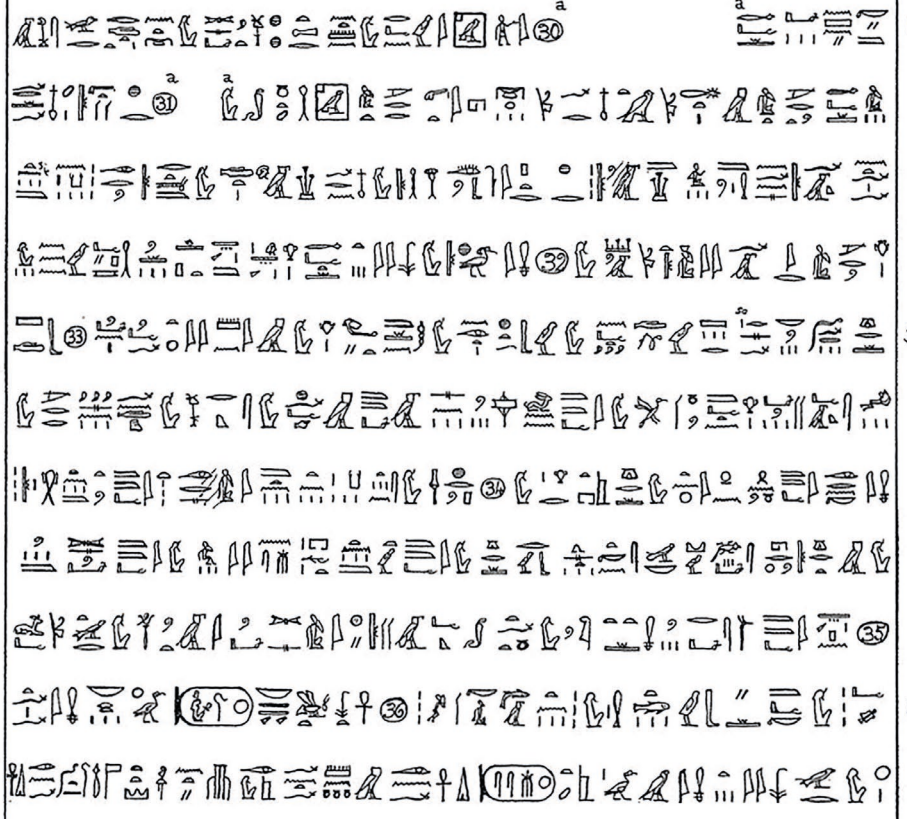
10[a]: Space, but not carved. 12[a]: ☥ incompletely carved. 12[b]: ⟨ ⟩. 15[a–a']: Cf. parallel passage, p. 18, line 9, above. 15[a'–b]: A space left thus, on the original, marking a new paragraph; so also, below.

Ramesses IV, Abydos, Stela to the Gods, 19-29. VI,24



1: Probably ⊿ for ⊡. 2: ; 6: , 7: , 9: , 10: , 12: , 13: , 15: Graceful spaces; cf. p 23, n. 15. 11: Cf. line 15 for this word.

Ramesses IV, Abydos, Stela to the Gods, 29–36; Base. VI, 25



At Base.

In Center: Two Cartouches upon [illegible] and topped by ○ :— ② ①

On Either Side, facing Cartouches: Four [illegible] at right.

Four [illegible] at left.

1a–a, 2a–a: 'Paragraph-spaces', cf p. 23, note 15z–b, above.

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