Defining the Inaros Tradition: An Interdisciplinary Approach

Lawrence Xi Xu-Nan

Classics and Ancient History

School of Humanities

University of Auckland, New Zealand

August 1, 2017

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Ancient History, the University of Auckland, 2017.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is set to examine the Inaros texts (first century BC to second century AD) from an interdisciplinary perspective in order to determine what features contribute toward the popularity and longevity of the Inaros tradition.

Three Inaros texts are examined for the present study, which are: *Contest for the Armour of Inaros*, *Contest for the Benefice of Amun*, and *Petechons and Sarpot*. From these, three aspects have been selected for examination: narrative features, characterisation, and intertextuality. The first two aspects function internally. Narrative features, which utilises the theory of narratology, is focussed on the devices and motifs that the Inaros texts use in order to manipulate the time and chronology between the text and the fabula. It is through these manipulations that the texts are able to generate a wide range of literary effects in order to create excitement, suspense, and enjoyment.

Despite the well-known fact that the Inaros texts contain shared characters, their characterisation is the most understudied aspect of the tradition. The approach that is central to this analysis is systemic functional linguistics (SFL). By analysing certain linguistic features in character speeches and dialogue, SFL is able to shed light on character portrayal and interactions. The characters who will undergo study are: Pekrur, Petubastis, and Petechons, since they are the three most well-represented characters in the tradition.

Finally, the relationship between the Inaros texts and other texts will be discussed using the paradigms of intertextuality. Contrary to the other two aspects, intertextuality functions externally to the text, and can be further divided into author-based and audience-based intertextuality. The first aspect of author-based intertextuality is Homeric influence, where the theory of hypertextuality is used to re-examine the arming scene of Pemu in *Armour*. This is followed by the Egyptian perspective, both diachronic and synchronic. The discussion on intertextuality is concluded with audience-based intertextuality, which looks at how the audience perceives the intertextual relationships, and ties into our current understanding of the composition and reception of the Inaros texts.

For my family and friends

A tradition to be proud of

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Lastly, thank you to everyone who had to endure hearing me talk about how awesome the Inaros bros are over the past years. You will be hearing about them for a while, because they are just that awesome!

December 12, 2016

Lawrence Xi Xu-Nan (南西)

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this thesis is to provide an in-depth examination of the texts in the Inaros tradition (first century BC to second century AD). As some of the most representative Demotic narratives,[1] the Inaros texts have naturally gained attention and interest as a result of their engaging characters and vivid narrative style, with the most recent studies emphasising their orality,[2] social context,[3] and influence.[4] Furthermore, new fragments of Demotic literary texts are frequently being published.[5] This is not only exciting, but also means that the texts need to be addressed from a literary perspective, now more than ever. However, despite these studies, a systematic literary analysis solely dedicated to the texts has yet to be undertaken. Thus, the purpose of the present study is to examine what makes the Inaros texts so interesting, as well as the literary factors that may have contributed to the Inaros tradition's longevity in the Graeco-Roman Egyptian context.

As suggested by the title, this examination will be interdisciplinary in nature. Our understanding of Demotic narratives, as well as literary theories and linguistics in general, has greatly advanced since Gumbrecht's initial concerns and caution over the application of literary theories in Egyptology two decades ago.[6] As a number of scholars have demonstrated in recent years, an interdisciplinary approach can highlight certain features of the texts that would otherwise have been masked by standard structural or historiographical approaches.[7] The methodological approaches and theories that are relevant to my research are not new to Egyptian literary studies (although some may be for Demotic literary studies), and have

---

[1] 'Representative' here refers to the various notable aspects of the manuscripts in the Inaros tradition when compared to other Demotic narratives, such as: length of text, number of manuscripts, spread of provenance, and longevity. This representation is evident in the context of the Tebtunis temple library, where more than a third of the narrative texts preserved consists of Inaros texts, see Ryholt (2005b: 154-5) and Ryholt (2013b: 35). For an overview of other non-Inaros Demotic narratives, see JAY (2016: 211-92).
[2] JAY (2016).
[3] SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013).
[4] ALMÁSY (2012) and JAY (2016).
[5] The most recent compilation of new Demotic narrative texts being RYHOLT (2012a).
[6] GUMBRECHT (1996: 3-18). Although in the same volume, Loprieno is more receptive of the application of literary theory in Egyptian literature, citing a number of possible theories that may assist in our understanding of Egyptian literature, see LOPRIENO (1996a: 39-58).
[7] In particular, VINSON (2008: 303-51), MANASSA (2013), STAUDER (2013), and DI BIASE-DYSON (2013).

produced results despite their interdisciplinary nature. These are narratology,[8] systemic functional linguistics,[9] and intertextuality.[10]

First, the terminologies and limitations surrounding the texts themselves need to be clarified. Although the Inaros texts are commonly referred to as the *Inaros Cycle*, I have chosen not to use 'cycle' due to its connotation with a sense of cohesion and order among the texts.[11] Even though the Inaros texts share similarities in terms of characters and themes, the texts do not explicitly refer to each other's events or form a sequence. Instead, the term Inaros tradition,[12] or simply the Inaros texts, will be used.

As for the texts, due to the fragmentary nature of most manuscripts within the Inaros tradition, only three narratives are of sufficiently substantial length for literary analyses, especially from a qualitative standpoint: *Contest for the Armour of Inaros*, *Contest for the Benefice of Amun*, and *Petechons and Sarpot*. These will be abbreviated to *Armour*, *Benefice*, and *Sarpot* respectively throughout. In order to facilitate the compilation of the database, the initial step is to understand and contextualise the texts through translation. The translation (Appendix 1) is comprised of the most extensive manuscript of the three texts: P. Krall (*Armour*), P. Spiegelberg (*Benefice*), and P. Vindob. D6165/A (*Sarpot*).[13] The original facsimiles of the manuscripts from which I based my translations, as well as the numbering of the columns, are from their respective text editions.[14] Although the translations are my own, they are predominantly done with the consultation of Hoffmann and Quack's translations from *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur* (2007).[15] Of course, there are aspects of the texts where I have made my own input in translation, particularly when they are relevant to my analysis. Since the thesis is not a philological study in nature, I have deliberately avoided discussions on such aspects of the texts. If needed, I have returned to the texts editions,

---

[8] GENETTE (1980 [1972]) and BAL (2009 [1985]); cf. VINSON (2008: 303-51).

[9] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]) and EGGINS (2004 [2001]); cf. DI BIASE-DYSON (2013).

[10] KRISTEVA (1969), (1980), GENETTE (1997 [1982]), and CONTE (1986); cf. LOPRIENO (1996a: 51-2), MOERS (1999: 43-61) and MANASSA (2013).

[11] For an excellent overview on 'cycle' and 'epic' in the context of the Inaros tradition, see JAY (2016: 153-7).

[12] A definition of tradition can be found in ALLISON (2011 [1997]: 1198-1202).

[13] See §1.1.2 for papyrological background. Other fragments of Inaros texts will receive an overview in Chapter 1 and will be addressed further in the discussion on intertextuality, see §4.2.

[14] SPIEGELBERG (1910: pl. I-XVIII) for *Benefice*, HOFFMANN (1995a: pl. I-XII) for *Sarpot*, and HOFFMANN (1996a: pl. I-XXVI) for *Armour*. Also see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007).

[15] HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 55-117). Although there is a newer third edition (2016) of the volume, unfortunately I could not gain access to the book prior to the submission of this thesis.

particularly those of Hoffmann and Ryholt for suggestions.[16] An alternative newer French translation is also available.[17] However, it is less literal and comprehensive and do not contain the same degree of nuance as the German translations. The full translation of the three texts is included in the appendix for two reasons: 1) it helps to contextualise the examples that will be mentioned throughout the thesis; 2) an English translation of the texts is not currently available.[18] Following the translation of the texts, examples that are pertinent to my analyses, both quantitatively and qualitatively, are extracted and compiled into five databases (Appendix 2), which include both the transliteration, the translation, and any additional observations.

Continuing with the physical manuscripts, the purpose of the first chapter is to contextualise the Inaros texts, both historically and socially. Even though only three of the most complete texts have been selected for my study, it is important nevertheless to have a general understanding of the corpus on the whole. Thus, the first section of Chapter 1 is an overview of the entire corpus of the Inaros texts known so far. This is followed by brief synopses of the three most complete narratives in the Inaros tradition. This is predominantly to provide a coherent summary considering the fragmentary nature of many of the texts. The chapter is concluded with a brief overview of the historical framework of the Inaros tradition, as well as the context of the manuscripts in Graeco-Roman Egyptian society, particularly with regard to their composition and reception.

Perhaps the easiest way to divide the chapter would have been to introduce one text at a time, i.e. a chapter on *Armour*, *Benefice*, and *Sarpot* separately. However, when the overlap and intra- / intertextuality between the texts are considered, a thematic approach is decidedly more appropriate. Such a categorisation can be more challenging, but the result is more rewarding, in that certain patterns—both similarities and dissimilarities—can only emerge as a result of cross-examination. Thus, Chapter 2 and 3 will examine two different aspects of the Inaros texts: narrative features and characterisation. In order to clarify the different forms of

---

[16] HOFFMANN (1995a), HOFFMANN (1996a), and RYHOLT (2012a).

[17] AGUT-LABORDÈRE and CHAUVEAU (2011: 67-143).

[18] It is worth noting that my translations are for the purpose of facilitating my arguments and analyses only, I am aware that a compilation of English translations of Demotic literature is currently in the works by Jasnow. It is also most unfortunate that due to space restraints, I am unable to include my transliteration of the texts in Appendix 1.

evidence that are present, these two chapters will also distinguish between two types of texts: narrator-text (i.e. narrative passages) and character-text (i.e. speeches and dialogues).[19]

For Chapter 2, the predominant approach utilised is narratology; specifically, the way time and chronology is altered between the text (the written manuscript) and the fabula (the theoretical chronology of events in the fictional world) for the purpose of enriching the texts' narrativisation and dramatisation. Stylistically, this chapter parallels most closely to the current discussions on Demotic narratives with a strong emphasis on motifs and narrative devices, such as story-within-a-story and introductory phrases.[20] Even so, the effects that narratological elements have on the texts, such as sequential ordering, rhythm, and frequency, are still relatively unexplored.

One of the most overlooked aspects of the Inaros texts is their characterisation. The shared characters in the texts are frequently discussed;[21] indeed, it is often the clearest marker for the identification of a new Inaros text. Despite our knowledge of the historical background of the characters, how they function within the texts is not well understood. Hence, the purpose of Chapter 3 is to examine the characterisation of three of the most established characters in the Inaros texts: Pekrur, Petubastis, and Petechons. The main theory here is systemic functional linguistics (SFL), which focuses on how characters are portrayed, their interactions with other characters, as well as consistency between texts. This can be achieved by examining the key grammatical features and vocabulary used in their character-text.[22] Therefore, this chapter is also the most quantitatively intensive, and makes up the bulk of the databases in Appendix 2.

The final chapter, which is on intertextuality, differs from Chapters 2 and 3 in multiple ways. For one, narrative devices and characterisation are internal features, i.e. they are observed within the texts, whereas intertextuality is external. Furthermore, unlike the previous two chapters, where the evidence is drawn only from the three most complete Inaros texts,

---

[19] The division between the narrator-text (*diegesis*) and the character-text (*mimesis*) has been adapted from de Jong's work on Homer, see DE JONG (1987: xi); cf. GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 30). For the different types of narratives situations, see BAL (2009 [1985]: 160-3); cf. DE JONG (1987: 36-40) and VINSON (2008: 306 n. 11). Aspects of narrative situations also correspond to our understanding of homodiegetic and heterodiegetic narratives, see DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 53); cf. GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 245). For the distinction between the use of speeches and dialogues in Demotic narratives, see TAIT (2011b: 404-5).
[20] TAIT (2009: 75-82), (2011a: 279-85), (2011b: 397-410), (2015: 391-401), and JAY (2016).
[21] KITCHEN (1986 [1972]: 455-61), and RYHOLT (2004: 483-510), (2009: 231-8), (2012a), (2013a: 59-78).
[22] This theory is supplemented by the theory of conversation structure within the paradigm of pragmatics, see LEVINSON (1983: 294-345).

Chapter 4 will incorporate evidence from the wider Inaros corpus. This is because any discussions on intertextuality, i.e. how one text relates to another, will require an understanding of how all the texts interact within the greater Inaros tradition. Intertextuality will encompass two perspectives: author-based intertextuality, both Homeric and Egyptian, and audience-based intertextuality. Homeric intertextuality is one of the most debated topics in the current scholarship on the Inaros texts,[23] but, by utilising the theory of intertextuality, new light will be shed on this issue. Egyptian intertextuality, on the other hand, will be separated into diachronic and synchronic aspects, which focuses on the development and influence of the tradition, and will include comparisons with other Egyptian narrative literature, both pharaonic and Graeco-Roman. Lastly, to conclude the present study, audience-based intertextuality, which will also utilise the theory of reader-response criticism,[24] refers back to composition and reception in Chapter 1 by examining the audience's perception of the Inaros tradition; in particular, how they would see it differently from other contemporary texts from the Graeco-Roman periods.

---

[23] ALMÁSY (2012) and JAY (2016).

[24] ISER (1974 [1972]), FISH (1980), and JAUSS (1982 [1970]).

§1 Background and Historical Context

§1.1 The texts

Evidence of the Inaros tradition has been found throughout Egypt, with dates ranging from the fifth century BC to the second century AD. However, the majority of the Inaros texts can be dated between the first century BC to the second century AD, as well as predominantly originating from the Fayum (Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos). The texts are commonly considered as a collective due to the naming of shared characters; specifically, the extended families and allies of the hero Inaros.[1] However, it is important to note that there are no references in the texts themselves to being part of a larger corpus, i.e. each text is independent. Of the known material, the Inaros texts can be broadly divided into two major series: those that took place before Inaros' death and those that took place after.[2]

§1.1.1 Before Inaros' death

There are currently four narratives in the series set before the death of Inaros.[3] In comparison to those that are set after his death, the texts in this series are highly fragmentary, for some only a few words or sentences are known. Many of the texts also have yet to be fully published. Therefore, although they will be described here, they will not be part of my examination on narrative features or characterisation, and will only be mentioned in the discussion of intertextuality.

---

[1] Hence, P. Berlin P. 15682 + P. Brooklyn 47.218.21-B, which Jay classifies as part of the Inaros corpus, is not included, since there are no identifiable families and allies of Inaros in this text, see JAY (2016: 129); cf. RYHOLT (2012b: 337-53) for the text edition.

[2] The number of narratives that are part of the Inaros tradition is uncertain at present, partially due to the continued identification and publication of new fragments. In one of Volten's earliest publications, he only mentions six Copenhagen and three Florence texts, see VOLTEN (1951: 70-4). He later amends the statistics to between twenty and thirty new Inaros texts in various collections, See VOLTEN (1956: 150). As Tait points out, Volten was eventually working on 28 Inaros texts housed at Copenhagen alone, see TAIT (2000: 59 n. 1). Based on our current knowledge of potential Inaros texts from various collections, even this number is an underestimation (personal communication with Kim Ryholt and Rana Sérida, University of Copenhagen).

[3] There are two additional fragments identified by Ryholt that may be part of this series: P. Carlsberg 57+465 (featuring Necho I, Inaros, and Kushite magicians) and P. Carlsberg 129, see RYHOLT (2012a: 200).

The Sheikh el-Fadl dipinto

The first attestation of an Inaros narrative is from a fifth century BC Aramaic inscription located in the vicinity of Sheikh el-Fadl.[4] The inscription is written in red ink on three of the walls of a Middle Kingdom tomb. There are seventeen panels in total, of which only panel 2 and 5 are somewhat preserved. The only reference to the Inaros texts is the preserved name of Inaros (panel 9.7).[5] The dipinto also mentions Necho of Egypt, Taharqa of Kush, Esarhaddon of Assyria, and Psamtik I.

The Inaros Epic

The Inaros Epic is preserved in at least five manuscripts from Tebtunis, which consist of over 250 fragments at present, and can be dated to the first and second century AD.[6] Ryholt suggests that the original length of the text is possibly the longest known narrative from ancient Egypt.[7] The narrative recounts the conflict between Inaros and his allies—most noticeably Pekrur—and Esarhaddon, which could be a reflection of the historical rebellion of Necho I and Pekrur. Three episodes can be identified so far in *The Inaros Epic*: *Esarhaddon's Letter to Inaros*,[8] *Inaros and the Griffin*,[9] and *Pekrur and Esarhaddon*.[10]

Tale of Bes

Like many of the manuscripts from Tebtunis, the *Tale of Bes* (P. Carlsberg 205) can also be dated around the first and second century AD.[11] The *Tale of Bes* is one of the few narratives in the Inaros tradition to not feature a family or ally of Inaros as a protagonist, as least for the published portion of the text, the other one being *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyan*. Only the first episode of the text (column x+II-III) has been translated so far, which includes the protagonists Bes, Tasis, and Haryothes.[12] Presumably Inaros, who is the only named

---

[4] GIRON (1923: 38-43), LEMAIRE (1995: 77-132), PORTEN and YARDENI (1999: 286-99), and HOLM (2007: 193-224).

[5] This is based on Vittmann and Ryholt's reconstruction of an ambiguous personal name in the inscription, to which Porten and Yardeni's gave a dubious translation, see VITTMANN (2002: 92 n. 53) and RYHOLT (2004: 496-7).

[6] P. Carlsberg 68+123, P. Carlsberg 80, P. Carlsberg 164, P. Carlsberg 458, and P. Carlsberg 591, see RYHOLT (2004: 492 n. 48).

[7] According to pagination in P. Carlsberg 164, *The Inaros Epic* is at least 46 columns long. Considering the size of the writing and the number of lines per page, it would be the equivalent of 125 columns of P. Krall, see RYHOLT (2004: 492 n. 49).

[8] VOLTEN (1951: 72) and RYHOLT (2004: 492-3).

[9] Two fragments of this story exist. The Florence fragment can be found in BOTTI (1955: 4-5) and BRESCIANI (1990: 946-7). For the Copenhagen fragment, see VOLTEN (1951: 72-3), and RYHOLT (2004: 493-4).

[10] VOLTEN (1951: 73) and RYHOLT (2004: 494-5).

[11] HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 55); cf. VOLTEN (1951: 81), VOLTEN (1956: 150), and TAIT (1977: 24).

[12] HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 56-9).

character from the tradition, has a more prominent role in the latter, unpublished part of the text. It is also worth noting that the *Tale of Bes* also contains an episode with regards to Inaros' adventures with a talking donkey and other animals.[13] However, how this episode fits in the greater narrative framework of the text is unclear at present.

A story about the living Prince Inaros

A new Inaros narrative has recently been discovered on P. Carlsberg 606 verso—also from Tebtunis and dated around the first and second century AD—that features a living Inaros as the protagonist. The text is set in Athribis, both at the fortress and the temple, which presumably are two separate locations. Although not much more is known of the text, it seems to involve Inaros mediating a truce between some men as a result of a drunken provocation at a festival feast. Like the majority of the Tebtunis texts under discussion, P. Carlsberg 606 has been published by Ryholt in his 2012 text edition.[14]

§1.1.2 After Inaros' death

Of the two series, the narratives that are set after the death of Inaros are more complete and better understood. As such, three of these manuscripts—P. Krall, P. Spiegelberg, and P. Vindob. D6165/A—will form the basis of my databases and subsequent analysis. Furthermore, for *Armour* and *Benefice*, multiple versions have also been found, which supplement our understanding of the narratives. Six narratives are currently part of this series.[15]

Contest for the Armour of Inaros (Armour)

Known as P. Krall after the first editor, *Armour* is preserved on a series of fragments (P. Vindob. D6521-6609), and has been most recently published by Hoffmann.[16] The papyri, which originally consisted of 114 fragments, were found at Soknopaiou Nesos (Dime) at the

---

[13] HOFFMANN (1996a: 105 c) and HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 56); cf. VOLTEN (1951: 73), and BOTTI (1955: 5).
[14] RYHOLT (2012a: 23-33).
[15] Two additional fragments are not mentioned as part of the series, since they are badly preserved. These are: P. Michaelides, which names Pemu, Wertiamunne, and Montubaal, see BRESCIANI (1963: 4-8, pl. 2-3); and Fitzwilliam drawing-board, which mentions the Osiris-King Inaros and possibly Pemu, see RAY (1972, 247-53). Both of the fragments have been dated to third to second century BC by Hoffmann, which would make them the oldest extant fragments of the Inaros tradition in Demotic, see HOFFMANN (2009: 360, 372).
[16] HOFFMANN (1996a).

end of the nineteenth century,[17] although it has been suggested to be Akhmimic in origin.[18] The composition has been dated to AD 137/138 on the basis of the colophon, where year 22 of the Roman emperor Hadrian is mentioned.[19] P. Krall is the longest Egyptian literary text known to date. Even though we do not have the beginning of the story and the ending is fragmentary, the manuscript still spans 26 columns.

Three additional fragments of a Tebtunis version of *Armour* have also been published: P. Carlsberg 456, PSI inv. D 59, and P. CtYBR 4513. P. Carlsberg 456 (formerly P. Tebtunis IX) and P. CtYBR 3413 were originally published by Ryholt in 1998.[20] Since then, several fragments have emerged which have been joined with the rest of the fragments.[21] The fragments are roughly contemporary to P. Krall, and dates to the second century AD based on their context and palaeography.[22] The fragments preserve the very beginning of *Armour* detailing the background against which the narrative unfolds, i.e. the reason behind the anger of Osiris, which P. Krall lacks. Part of the manuscript (x+II-III) also corresponds to P. Krall I.1-II.20 almost perfectly, which presumably means that it may have been as substantial as P. Krall at one point. The fragments also seem to have preserved an end to the narrative, which features a dialogue between the head of the two rival clans, i.e. Inaros himself and Hareunakhte. Considering that we have the end of the text in P. Krall, which we know due to the colophon, the Tebtunis version may indicate an alternative ending to the story. The change in the perspective between the Tebtunis version and P. Krall is particularly noteworthy, where the Tebtunis version is in the first-person and P. Krall is in the third.[23]

Contest for the Benefice of Amun (Benefice)

The main text of *Benefice* is found on a papyrus from Strasbourg, now referred to as P. Spiegelberg after the editor.[24] 18 columns have been preserved, but we do not possess the beginning nor the end of the text. The length of the papyrus has been discussed by Hoffmann,

---

[17] For the discovery at Soknopaiou Nesos, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 16-8); cf. GOZZOLI (2009: 266) and JAY (2016: 61 n. 171).

[18] Ryholt, for one, discusses P. Krall as being Akhmimic, see RYHOLT (2012a: 78-9, 83-4) for example.

[19] As the name of the Roman emperor is in lacuna, a date of year 22 of Antoninus Pius has also been suggested by Hoffmann, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 398 n. 2541). The second case would bring the date of the papyrus to AD 158/159. Regardless, it seems that the general understanding at present still places the texts at AD 137/8, see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 59); cf. HOFFMANN (1996a: 29).

[20] RYHOLT (1998: 151-69).

[21] RYHOLT (2012a: 73-88).

[22] RYHOLT (1998: 152).

[23] RYHOLT (2012a: 84).

[24] SPIEGELBERG (1910: 13-42).

who proposes that the end of the text could have been at least one column longer, and the entire manuscript could have been up to 28 columns in length at one point.[25] A Theban provenance was initially suggested by Spiegelberg on the basis of the textual contents, but this has been reassessed by Smith as having originated from Akhmim.[26] A date of mid-first century BC has been suggested, which would make P. Spiegelberg one of the earliest Inaros texts in Demotic to date.[27] Unlike *Armour* and *Sarpot*, the text edition for *Benefice* is severely outdated, with Spiegelberg being the most comprehensive edition so far.[28]

Alongside P. Spiegelberg, four additional groups of fragments have been published from the same manuscript: P. de Ricci (25 fragments),[29] Cairo fragments (Sobhy's A-C, and E),[30] Pennsylvania fragments (E16333-4),[31] and P. Carlsberg 565. With the exception of Pennsylvania fragment E16334(B), which cannot be accurately placed in the context of P. Spiegelberg manuscript,[32] the rest all precede column I of the main text. So far, eight additional columns have been identified,[33] which are as follow,

Column	Fragments
Column 0	BII + P. Carlsberg 565
Column A	BI + Ricci 17
Column B	Ricci 1 + 2
Column C	AII + Ricci 8 + 16
Column D	AI + Ricci 5a + 10a+b
Column E	Ricci 5a+b
Column F	EI + Ricci 23 + E16334(B)
Column G	Ricci 6 + 13 + 16333(B)

---

[25] HOFFMANN (1994: 152); HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 88, 107).

[26] SPIEGELBERG (1910: 5); SMITH (1994: 302 n. 50).

[27] This is based on P. Insinger's date, see SPIEGELBERG (1910: 6). This is still considered to be the accurate date, see most recently, HOFFMANN (1995c: 38-9), HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 88), and HOFFMANN (2009: 360, 372).

[28] SPIEGELBERG (1910). I am aware that Nadja Böckler from Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, who is under the supervision of Hoffmann, is currently in the process of producing an updated text edition of *Benefice* as part of her doctoral thesis.

[29] SPIEGELBERG (1910: 36-42, pl. XIX-XXII).

[30] The fragments from Cairo were never formally catalogued, and were only mentioned by Sobhy as miscellaneous Demotic papyri from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, SOBHY (1930: 3-4).

[31] HOFFMANN (1995c: 30-8).

[32] Hoffmann does suggest that this fragment may belong after column XII, see HOFFMANN (1995c: 31).

[33] The grouping and joins are by Hoffmann, see HOFFMANN (1995b: 43-60) and HOFFMANN (1995c: 30-8). The joining of column 0 is by Ryholt, who also notes that there is at least one additional column lost before this, see RYHOLT (2014a: 71-8). The naming of 'Column 0' is my own designation.

The fragments detail the travel by Pharaoh Petubastis and his clan south to Thebes for the festival of Amun, and provide clues to the young priest's identity. Furthermore, they also contextualise the reason behind the pharaoh's reluctance to send for Pemu and Petechons in *Benefice* XI.10-3.

A Tebtunis version also exists for *Benefice*. Three fragments have been published so far: P. Carlsberg 433, P. Carlsberg 434, and P. Tebt. Tait 2. These have been published by Tait, who also had access to Botti and Volten's original notes on the fragments.[34] All three fragments have been dated to the second century AD.[35] P. Carlsberg 433 corresponds to *Benefice* VIII.13-IX.17 and XI.7-XIII.9, while P. Carlsberg 434 corresponds to *Benefice* IX.24-X.13. P. Tebt. Tait 2, on the other hand, belongs to the end of the text and is not preserved in P. Spiegelberg. Moreover, Tait suggests that P. Carlsberg 433 and P. Tebt. Tait 2 are probably part of the same papyrus due to the physical similarities.[36] P. Carlsberg 433 varies with P. Spiegelberg with regard to certain vocabulary and phraseology, whereas the parallel between P. Carlsberg 434 and P. Spiegelberg is much more consistent.

A story about a contest between Petechons and Chayris
Alongside *Armour* and *Sarpot*, another Inaros text, P. Vindob. D6920-2, has been found in the same collection.[37] The text is from Soknopaiou Nesos, and has been dated to second century AD by Hoffmann.[38] Only three columns of this Inaros text remain on the verso of the fragments, while the recto contains a Demotic version of *Contendings of Horus and Seth*. The narrative is set between Pisopd and Tanis, with Pekrur, Petechons, Chayris, and Petubastis being the main characters. An argument over an unknown matter takes place between Petechons and Chayris, which leads to the pharaoh travelling to Pisopd in order to make a truce. Although similar to *Armour* and *Benefice*, the pharaoh is unable to prevent the ensuing conflict. The last column features a part of the battle and potentially an arming scene, presumably Petechons', which is similar to Pemu's in *Armour*.

---

[34] It is mentioned by Tait that though these fragments were originally studied by Botti and Volten, it was never published due to the death of both scholars, see TAIT (2000: 59-82).
[35] TAIT (2000: 62, 75).
[36] TAIT (1977: 14-20).
[37] HOFFMANN (1996c: 167-200, pl. 3-4).
[38] HOFFMANN (1996c: 167).

King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyan

P. Carlsberg 459 + PSI inv. D 51 is one of the latest texts to be associated with the Inaros tradition.[39] The manuscript features the general style of Tebtunis and the hand is typically Roman in date (AD 50-150).[40] The text consists of ten fragments in total; only fragments 1-3 are of substantial length. Set in both Natho and the kingdom of Lihyan, the text features a Hagrite and King Wenamun as the main characters. Its inclusion in the Inaros tradition is through the appearance of Pharaoh Petubastis and Pemu as supporting characters, which consequently meant that text would most likely have been set after the death of Inaros.[41]

Contest for the Diadem and Spear of Inaros (Diadem)

Like the previous text, P. Carlsberg 125 is also discovered at Tebtunis and dates to the early second century AD. The verso contains the only manuscript of *Diadem* currently known,[42] which consists of two fragments that can be aligned, though not directly joined. The narrative is set after the death of Pekrur, where Petechons fights against a kalasiris, who accuses Petechons of burying Pekrur away from Egypt, for the diadem and spear of Inaros.

Petechons and Sarpot (Sarpot)

Alternatively known as *Egyptians and Amazons*, *Sarpot* is recorded on two papyri, P. Vindob. D6165 and 6165A, which has been published by Volten and most recently by Hoffmann.[43] The text is written on the recto of both papyri, and no texts are found on the verso. A date of late second century AD and a provenance of Soknopaiou Nesos have been suggested.[44] The main manuscript, D6165, consists of 12 columns, of which only four are relatively complete (column 3, 4, 11, and 12), whereas D6165A consists of four columns. In addition, both papyri are written with black ink only. The ink on D6165 remains quite legible, as opposed to D6165A, where the ink is frequently broken.[45] Another fragment, P. Heid. Inv.

---

[39] RYHOLT (2012a: 35-72).
[40] RYHOLT (2012a: 35).
[41] This observation is proposed by Ryholt, who argues that since Pemu never appears in any text before his father's death, and that Necho I is the reigning king rather than Petubastis, the text would not have been set during Inaros' lifetime, see RYHOLT (2012a: 53).
[42] RYHOLT (2012a: 89-102).
[43] VOLTEN (1962); HOFFMANN (1995a).
[44] VOLTEN (1962: 3) and HOFFMANN (1995a: 14). A discussion of the hand can be found in RYHOLT (2012a: 144-5).
[45] HOFFMANN (1995a: 11-17).

Dem. 691, has also been suggested to belong to D6165, although it is unsure where the fragment fits in the larger manuscript at present.[46]

§1.2 Synopsis

Contest for the Armour of Inaros (Armour)

The beginning of the narrative can be divided into four sections: introductory formula, council of the gods, the death of the scribe of the god's book, and the story of the kalasiris and Wertiamunne.[47] *Armour* (Soknopaiou Nesos version) begins in the divine realm with Osiris sending two pairs of demons ('Lover-of-battle' and 'Horus-is-revenge', and 'Bearer of rebellion' and 'Amun-is-misfortune') down to earth in order to incite battle-rage in Pemu at Heliopolis and Wertiamunne at Mendes. The scene then shifts to Memphis to the scribe of the god's book, who is killed by Anubis after gaining insight into the divine world without permission. The pharaoh, distraught by the scribe's death, has one of the scribes from the House of Life temporarily resurrect the deceased scribe so that he could retell his story, who is subsequently provided with a rich burial and laid to rest. The exact relevance of this scene is unfortunately unclear, since this episode does not provide any form of narrative continuity with what we know of the remainder of the text. After this, the scene changes back to Pemu at Heliopolis, who is feasting with his 40 men. During the feast, Pemu is possessed by the demons and declares his desire to battle. A kalasiris named Petehel then recounts his story of his interaction with Wertiamunne at Mendes. Although this section is fragmentary, presumably he goes on to relate to Pemu how Wertiamunne had come into the possession of the armour of Inaros.

Pemu, upset over the loss of his father's heirloom, travels with Pekrur to Tanis in order to present a case against Wertiamunne before Pharaoh Petubastis, so that the armour may be returned. After a lengthy litigation, the pharaoh, uncertain as to who should keep the armour, decides to give Inaros a large and beautiful funeral instead. Despite this, Pemu, still feeling unmollified, brings the case before the pharaoh again. What follows is the prelude for the battle, which is filled with lengthy, formulaic summoning of the allies headed by Pekrur and

---

[46] Hoffmann tentatively suggests that the fragment, of which only eight lines are persevered, may belong anywhere between column I to X, see HOFFMANN (1995c: 27-9).
[47] The division is based on Ryholt's categorisation, see RYHOLT (1998: 153) and RYHOLT (2012: 79). If the Tebtunis version is taken into consideration, the beginning features an introductory dating formula and the Navigation of Osiris, see RYHOLT (2012: 79-80).

Pemu on one side, and Wertiamunne on the other. It is also decided that the location for the battle will be at the Sea of the Gazelle, specifically the barque chapel of Pihanthormefki at the pool of Perbutonebimi in the western Delta.

Pemu arrives at the battlefield first but is ambushed by the army of Wertiamunne. Against all odds with only his young servant Tjanefer by his side, Pemu barely manages to hold his ground until the arrival of his friend and ally Petechons. Although Petechons intends to fight Chayris on the spot, the pharaoh manages to stop the pair. Soon after, the troops are positioned against each other by Pekrur according to the size of their army and greatness of their strength. After a brief dialogue between Pekrur and the newly arrived Montubaal, which results in the latter's designation on the battlefield, the battle commences. The ensuing battle follows the skirmishes from four characters' perspective at various locations on the battlefield: Montubaal's battle against the army of Sebennytos by the river, Pemu's duel against Wertiamunne, Petechons' duel against Chayris, and Minnemei against the army of Teos on the river. Minnemei's episode proves to be the climax of the text, since Inaros' armour is found on Teos' ship, which presumably Minnemei takes back after an intense battle. The battle ultimately concludes with the pharaoh announcing his clan's defeat at the hands of the children of Inaros and Pekrur, and renouncing the armour of Hareunakhte, an ancestor of Wertiamunne's, as the spoil of war. The text concludes with the return of the armour to its place in Heliopolis.[48]

Contest for the Benefice of Amun (Benefice)

The story begins with the pharaoh and his generals and army departing from Tanis, and travelling south to Thebes in order to attend the festival of Amun. Along the way, they pass Heliopolis and presumably Pisopd, but rather than inviting Pemu and Petechons, Teos convinces the pharaoh otherwise. The exact motivation behind Teos' dislike towards the two heroes is unclear, but it is tempting to suggest that it may have something to do with the long-standing rivalry between the two families. In any case, the pharaoh's party arrives in Thebes for the festival, which is soon interrupted by a young priest from Buto who demands that the pharaoh returns the benefice of Amun.[49] In the process, the young priest describes in detail

---

[48] In the Tebtunis version, a deceased Inaros also proclaims his family's superiority over Hareunakhte's descendants, see RYHOLT (2012a: 74-5, 78).

[49] Up until this point, the story has been preserved on additional fragments not preserved in P. Spiegelberg. For translation, see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 88-93).

the deities who plays a role in the myth surrounding the festival of Amun. Unsure what to do, the pharaoh asks Amun for his advice. Despite Amun confirming the legitimacy of the young priest's claim, the pharaoh is reluctant to return the benefice, and cites that the young priest is simply too late in his arrival. As a result, the young priest hijacks the portable barque[50] of Amun, and takes Chayris hostage after a duel. He then feasts upon the barque of Amun with his men, while consuming food and beverage designated for the festival. Even after Pekrur's attempt to negotiate with the young priest, he does not release Chayris or the portable barque. Furious, Wertiamunne challenges the young priest to a duel, only to suffer the same fate as Chayris.

The pharaoh, having just witnessed the loss of two of his generals, asks Amun for support, who recommends that the pharaoh summons Pemu and Petechons. However, considering that he slighted the two young warriors by not inviting them to the festival, the pharaoh requests the aid of Pekrur in his desperation, who writes a lengthy summoning letter to his son Petechons. The scene then changes to Pisopd, where Petechons receives the letter from his father. After a brief outburst, Petechons begrudgingly prepares his troops and travels south to Thebes with Pemu.

After the interlude with Petechons, the scene shifts back to Thebes and the pharaoh, who now anxiously paces up and down the river waiting for reinforcements to arrive. Unexpectedly, rather than Pemu and Petechons, the reinforcement arrives in the form of Minnebmaat (also known as Minnemei in *Armour*), who manages to hold his ground against the young priest and his herdsmen. As such, the pharaoh honours him with gifts for his achievement. Soon after, Petechons and Pemu arrive. Unfortunately, at this point *Benefice* breaks off and the rest of the story is in a fragmentary state.[51] Despite this, suggestions can nonetheless be made regarding the ending. Since the oracle of Amun cannot possibly be wrong, the young priest would have eventually been defeated by Pemu and Petechons. Also, with the young priest technically entitled to the benefice, it is probable that the benefice would have been returned to him. The story would then end with the release of the portable barque of Amun and presumably the resumption of the festival.[52]

---

[50] See HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 337 *o*) for the translation of $ḥ^ꜥ$.

[51] The Tebtunis version of the final column of *Benefice* also does not yield much additional information, other than the fact that someone eventually battles, see TAIT (2000: 73-4).

[52] For the translation and additional notes on the ending, see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 106-7).

Petechons and Sarpot (Sarpot)

Unlike *Armour* and *Benefice*, *Sarpot* starts with a short synopsis introduced by a narrator, who speaks of the romance between Petechons and his sister, i.e. Sarpot, and going to Nineveh.[53] The text itself begins with Petechons establishing his camp in the Land of the Women. Sarpot, unsettled by the uncertainty in the Egyptian prince's motivation, sends her sister Ashteshyt to investigate the enemy camp. Dressed as an Egyptian soldier, Ashteshyt infiltrates Petechons' camp. She is able to successfully complete her mission and return to Sarpot without anyone having found out. Realising the severity of the situation, Sarpot quickly gathers her army in order to confront Petechons, where she manages to defeat the Assyrians who are with Petechons with relative ease on the first day. Acknowledging the strength of Sarpot, Petechons meets with her personally on the second day in a duel. Despite spending the day battling, the pair ends in a draw.

From here, we know less of the progression of the text due to the manuscript becoming increasingly fragmentary. We know that there is at least another day of battle, and as a result of the confrontation, the pair fall in love, which ends in an alliance between the two. At some point, Petechons has a dream, where he is warned by a deceased Inaros. Upon waking, he relays the dream to Sarpot, who subsequently throws a feast for the deceased hero. Soon after, the two arrive in India and are informed of the Indians' attack. From this point, the lacunae prevent us from knowing what happens next. It seems that somehow Petechons left his troops, which leads to some form of catastrophe that results in Petechons having to be rescued. This is followed by a lengthy discussion by the Indians. Upon hearing the Indians' plan, Petechons becomes disheartened, and is only able to come to his senses when Sarpot reminds him of her allegiance. Following this, the pair travels to the battlefield in order to meet the Indians. The battle commences with Sarpot leading the charge and Petechons coming up the rear. Although it is unclear how many days the battle lasted, it does go on for at least two days. Sarpot proves to be a formidable opponent, and is able to easily dispatch the Indian army and capture the Indian chief. The end of the text shows the Indian chief submitting to Petechons and Sarpot and offering various tributes as spoils of war. It is uncertain what happens after this, but presumably Petechons returns to Egypt, either with or without Sarpot.

---

[53] The narrator introduction and its potential foreign influence has been discussed by RYHOLT (2013a: 76-7).

§1.3 Historical setting

The historical setting of the Inaros tradition is the late-Kushite, early-Saite Period, particularly the eleven-year period where the Kushites and the Assyrians fought for the control of Lower Egypt (674-663 BC). This is largely based on named characters in the texts who are inspired by historical figures of this period from the Nile Delta. As such, in order to contextualise the historical setting, the events leading up to the Assyrian invasion must be discussed first.

For the historical Delta, the focal point of conflicts since the beginning of the Kushite Period have mostly centred on the east and central Delta. This is especially true for Piankhy and Tefnakht.[54] By the reign of Taharqa, the Delta has been completely subjugated by the Kushites. Unfortunately, it is uncertain if the takeover involves any military engagements, since this evidence has eluded us thus far.[55] Taharqa's reign provided the first explicit testimony of Memphis' role during the Kushite Period, with inscriptions stating that the king was crowned there and named Memphis as a royal residence.[56] Additional evidence of Taharqa's activities was also found at Tanis and Athribis.[57]

In 674 BC, Esarhaddon attempted to invade Egypt, but was defeated by the forces of Taharqa in March 673 BC.[58] Despite the defeat, Esarhaddon did not lose his momentum and resumed his attack on Egypt in 671 BC, where he successfully defeated Taharqa, expelled him from the region, and subsequently sacked Memphis.[59] When troubles broke out again in 669 BC, Esarhaddon travelled to Egypt, but died en route.[60] With the death of Esarhaddon and a newly ascended Ashurbanipal, Taharqa was able to re-take the Delta in late 668/7 BC and replaced

---

[54] POPE (2014: 259-62).

[55] POPE (2014: 265).

[56] For example, see Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52) and V (Ny Carlsberg Glyphtotek ÆIN 1712) from MACADAM (1949: pl. 7-10).

[57] For example, upon the third pylon of the Amun temple at Tanis, Taharqa commemorated the high Nile of his sixth regnal year, see Cairo JE 37488 from LECLANT and YOYOTTE (1949: 28-42). At Athribis, excavations in the tomb of the Saite queen Tahout have uncovered re-used blocks with the titular of Taharqa, see RUSZCZYC (1977: 391-5).

[58] KAHN (2006: 252); KITCHEN (1986 [1972]: 391).

[59] This is mentioned on his triumphal monuments, which show the defeated Taharqa of Egypt, as well as the capture of Taharqa's son and brothers, see KAHN (2006: 252); cf. SPALINGER (1974: 295-326) and KITCHEN (1986 [1972]: 391-2).

[60] KAHN (2006: 257); KITCHEN (1986 [1972]: 392).

the local rulers.[61] However, not long after Ashurbanipal's ascension, he invaded Egypt, and defeated Taharqa.[62] This forced Taharqa southward, and marks the last time the Kushites had control over Lower Egypt.

It was during Ashurbanipal's campaign, or immediately afterwards, that the names of the historical characters in the Inaros tradition came to light. Although the local rulers in Delta initially sworn their allegiance to Assyria, they soon rebelled against them.[63] Those who were involved included Necho I of Sais,[64] *Šarru-lū-dāri* of Şe'nu, and Pekrur of Pisopd.[65] Unfortunately, the plot was discovered and the rebellion was quelled with harsh measures. The inhabitants of Sais, Mendes, and Şe'nu, among other cities, were slaughtered. Necho I and *Šarru-lū-dāri* were arrested and taken to Nineveh. *Šarru-lū-dāri* was either executed or imprisoned by Ashurbanipal, while Necho I, for unknown reasons, was reinstated and returned to Sais.[66] His son Nebušezibanni (Psamtik I),[67] who would later become the first ruler of the twenty-sixth dynasty, was also appointed the ruler of Athribis. Pekrur, on the other hand, managed to evade capture and eventually returned to rule Pisopd.[68] Pekrur is also mentioned later in the Victory Stela of Tanutamani as being the only named representative of the rulers of Delta who offered their allegiance to the Kushite king.[69]

The historical recording of the names is also prominently found in Ashurbanipal's prisms A and C, which contain a list of Delta princes and their cities established by the king after the

---

[61] KAHN (2006: 257). Taharqa was recognised as the legitimate ruler in Memphis in 667 BC from a stela (SIM 2640) commemorating an Apis burial, see VERCOUTTER (1960: 71 n. 52). The record of Taharqa's re-conquest of Memphis is retrospective in nature, and is documented on line 17-18 of the recto of Tanutamani's Victory Stela, see BREYER (2003: 134-9); cf. POPE (2014: 267).

[62] Kahn suggests that Ashurbanipal invaded Egypt after July 667 BC, see KAHN (2006: 258-9 esp. n. 42-3); cf. SPALINGER (1974: 317).

[63] The rebellion north may have been instigated by the Kushite's success in Thebes, see KAHN (2006: 260-1). As for the dating of the rebellion, see KAHN (2006: 259 n. 53).

[64] Necho I first appeared in the Esarhaddon Chronicle c. 671 BC around the time of the sacking of Memphis by Esarhaddon, see GLASSNER (2004: 210-1); cf. POPE (2014: 267). This would make him the first ruler out of the three to be mentioned in historical records.

[65] KAHN (2006: 259-61) and RYHOLT (2004: 487-8).

[66] KAHN (2006: 260).

[67] On the association of the two names, see KAHN (2006: 260 n. 59).

[68] See §3.2.1; cf. KAHN (2006: 260) and RYHOLT (2004: 487).

[69] BREYER (2003: 293-302); cf. RYHOLT (2004: 487).

death of his father Esarhaddon.[70] Prism A lists 16 rulers, while Prism C lists 22.[71] Of these rulers, three are known to have held royal titles: Necho I of Sais, Petubastis of Tanis, and Wenamun of Natho. Petubastis, known as *Putubišti šar San'nu* from Ashurbanipal's list, is the most well documented out of the three, who has been featured on monuments at Tanis and Memphis as *Sḥtp-ib-Rˁ Pȝ-di-Bȝst.t*.[72] For the remaining princes who do not have royal titles, two are particularly important in the context of the Inaros tradition: Pekrur of Pisopd and Bokennife of Athribis.[73] For Bokennife, he is documented on Prism A as Prince of Athribis. However, the fifth name on Prism C is changed from Bokennife to a prince [---]a-u of Athribis, which has been restored as [Inar]os of Athribis by Quack as the first historical recording of the character Inaros, from which the Inaros tradition derives its namesake.[74]

Based on these historical considerations, the framework within the Inaros corpus presents some anachronistic features. Naturally, considering that the manuscripts that we possess are written centuries after the historical events, anachronisms and historical refraction are inevitable. Even P. Carlsberg 456, which features the common introductory dating formula typical of historical fiction, does not provide us with any additional information on its historical context.[75] The conflation of Inaros I and II's name—and by extension, the Assyrian and Persian invasion—is the most frequently discussed anachronism.[76] Considering his lack of involvement in the rebellion against Ashurbanipal, as well as his limited presence in the historical records, it is also unlikely that Inaros may have participated in a battle against Ashurbanipal's farther Esarhaddon alongside Necho I and Pekrur as indicated in *The Inaros Epic*. Consequently, Pemu's expulsion of Esarhaddon (*ȝslštny*), as mentioned in *Armour* V.6-10, would be near impossible. This anachronism also extends to the uncertainties behind the alliances and factions in the Inaros tradition.[77] The alliance of Pisopd and Sais in *Armour* is understandable considering the past history between Necho I and Pekrur. From the same

---

[70] For the text and analysis of prisms A and C, see ONASCH (1994: 61-129, 147-54). Although the prisms record the historical events upon Ashurbanipal's ascension, the dating of the prisms A and C themselves are 643 BC and 646 BC respectively, see SPALINGER (1974: 317). As Jay notes, the dating of the physical prisms is not a factor that Quack considered in his interpretation of the name of Inaros, see JAY (2016: 132 n. 29). For the problematic nature of the dating, see KAHN (2006: 259: n. 53).

[71] KAHN (2006: 255 n. 23) and SPALINGER (1974: 317).

[72] See §3.3.1; cf. ONASCH (1994: 100-1, 120-1), RYHOLT (2004: 486), and POPE (2014: 268).

[73] ONASCH (1994: 147-54).

[74] QUACK (2006: 500-2).

[75] See §4.2.1. Although the name of the king is lost, Ryholt suggests that the king can be logically deduced as Petubastis, considering that he is mentioned elsewhere in *Armour*, see RYHOLT (2012: 79).

[76] See §4.2.1.

[77] A map of the localities in *Armour*, as well as the division of the factions, can be found in HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 71), which is adapted from KITCHEN (1986 [1972]: 457).

argument, Petubastis' as the weak ruler / antagonist may also stem from his lack of involvement in the rebellion.[78] However, then why would *Šarru-lū-dāri* of Şe'nu, i.e. Leontopolis,[79] not be part of Pekrur's alliance, but rather, of Petubastis? Therein lies the peril of analysing the Inaros texts as historical documents.[80] Rather, the Inaros texts should be treated similarly to the historical fictions of the New Kingdom, where the historical context provides the foundation from which the fictionality of the narrative could be developed.

§1.4 Context in Graeco-Roman Egypt

In addition to the historical context, the manuscript's contemporary context within Graeco-Roman Egyptian society also needs to be briefly addressed. This context, as well as its influence on Demotic literature, has been well studies in aspects such as Greek gymnasium,[81] the priesthood,[82] libraries,[83] and foreign influence;[84] thus I will only address a few important notes most relevant to the Inaros texts.[85]

As mentioned, a majority of the texts have been dated to the late Ptolemaic and Roman Period.[86] By then, a high degree of Hellenisation had already been observed, and the system established in the early Ptolemaic Period between the Ptolemies and the Egyptian priesthood had disappeared.[87] As a result, the power of the priesthood had been greatly confined and diminished. Thus, it has been suggested that the preservation of the Inaros texts can be attributed to the priesthood's attempt to preserve native Egyptian cultural identity.[88] Indeed, it is generally accepted that Demotic narratives is largely a product of the temple sphere, which would also account for the Inaros texts being predominantly found at centres such as

---

[78] On Petubastis' aversion to military confrontations, see §3.3.3.

[79] For the identification of Şe'nu, Natho, and Leontopolis, see KAHN (2006: 255 n. 23 and 260 n. 57).

[80] See §4.3.1 n. 221.

[81] CRIOBIORE (2001).

[82] CLARYSSE (2010: 274-90).

[83] RYHOLT (2005: 141-70) and RYHOLT (2013b: 23-37).

[84] See §4.1.1.

[85] For the most recent overview on the Graeco-Roman Egyptian context of Demotic literature, see JAY (2016: 55-68), JASNOW (2015: 1389-93), TAIT (2014: 319-29), and HOFFMANN (2012: 543-62). For an overview of Ptolemaic and Roman Period in general, see VANDORPE (2010: 159-79) and CAPPONI (2010: 180-98) respectively.

[86] On the dating and development of the Inaros texts, see HOFFMANN (2009: 359-60, 372-3).

[87] By second century BC, Rome was increasing exerting pressure on the Ptolemies, long before the Battle of Actium, see SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 92-4). For an overview of the quid pro quo system during the early Ptolemaic Period, see SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 88-92).

[88] Ryholt notes that all narrative literature in the temple libraries concerns the genre of historical fiction, which in turn has been referenced by Classical authors in their accounts of Egyptian history, see RYHOLT (2013b: 34).

Tebtunis, Soknopaiou Nesos, and Akhmim.[89] Using Tebtunis as an example, we see that narrative literature make up a quarter of the contents at the temple library, while the predominant genre of Demotic texts are cultic at 50%.[90] Thus, Ryholt has rightly suggest the importance of cultic practices that underlines the conflict in both *Armour* and *Benefice*.[91] Within the narrative corpus, there is an ubiquitous trend towards historical figures. The three most prominent series of narratives at Tebtunis temple library pertains to Inaros, Setne, and the Heliopolitan priesthood (*The Petese Stories*). Apart from these texts, there are a number of narratives that can also be related to the Inaros tradition, i.e. narratives on warrior heroes from history. These include the Sesostris stories, *Djoser and Imhotep*, *Nakhthorshen*, and *Naneferkasokar and the Babylonians*. An expanded version of the introduction of the Teachings of Ankhsheshonqy is also found.[92] Considering the inclusion of these narratives within the confines of the temple library, then it is only natural that we see thematic and narrative parallels between the Inaros texts and other contemporary Demotic narratives.[93]

However, this does not preclude the debate over the likelihood of foreign influence.[94] Jasnow, for one, is wary of the segregation of literary and documentary circles, citing bilingualism and priests who are able to perform both roles as an example.[95] However, considering that the authors of the texts were bilingual, especially in Roman Egypt, it is curious that hardly any Greek words are found in the Inaros tradition.[96]

---

[89] For example, the major of the manuscripts from Tebtunis are from the temple deposit, which Ryholt argues as being a temple library, see RYHOLT (2005b: 157-62). Thus, Ryholt refutes Tait's earlier impression that the Tebtunis material was found in a wide variety of locations, see TAIT (1992: 307).

[90] RYHOLT (2005b: 147).

[91] Both *Armour* and *Benefice* concern with what would happen should the festivals be incorrectly carried out for disrupted. For *Armour*, the festival of the Navigation of Osiris was disrupted, which incurred the wrath of Osiris. In the case of *Benefice*, the barque of Amun is hijacked by the young priest, who, together with the herdsmen, even feasted on the god's offerings, see RYHOLT (2012a: 81).

[92] RYHOLT (2005b: 155-6), RYHOLT (2013b: 34-6).

[93] See §4.2.2.

[94] See §4.1 on Homeric influence, and §4.2 on Egyptian intertextuality.

[95] Jasnow proposes the possibility that the priestly scribes were able to easily move between the Egyptian and Hellenistic world, see JASNOW (2015: 1389-82). For an example of such a scribe, see SCHENTULEIT (2007: 101-25) on Satabus from Soknopaiou Nesos. Furthermore, he suggests the strong possibility that "already in the Ptolemaic and early Roman Periods priests were not impervious to Greek," see JASNOW (2015: 1391); cf. CLARYSSE and THOMPSON (2006: 125-33).

[96] Only a few loan words in the Inaros texts have been address so far. On *mylt* 'Milesian wool', see JASNOW (2015: 1368), and *hgr* 'courier', see RYHOLT (2012: 54-6).

The Demotic composition, along with potentially deliberate omission of Greek words, would suggest that the audience must have been Egyptian.[97] Considering that all we possess are the manuscripts, the written format as a method of transmission cannot be denied.[98] Tait observes five points with regard to the reception of Demotic narrative: 1) the manuscripts have the look of 'private' copies;[99] 2) no sign of commentary; 3) multiple copies are attested within a group of finds; 4) no sign of differing, regional literature; and 5) the texts do not seem to indicate a desire to copy works with precise, mechanical accuracy.[100] This is not to say that oral transmission is not possible. Tait notes that Demotic narratives in general have "the air of lending themselves to performance."[101] Jay also supports this by stating that the Inaros texts exhibit the influence of an oral tradition, which is based on her analysis of the stylistic and narrative devices present in the texts.[102] As mentioned, Ryholt also stresses that the Inaros texts were not merely for entertainment, but also for cultural preservation.[103]

---

[97] Very few examples imply that the Egyptian language was taught to Greeks during the Graeco-Roman periods, see SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 87), also see TAIT (2013: 258). Furthermore, Salim suggests that the developing veteran class of the Fayum region during late Ptolemaic Period would have been the perfect audience for the warrior aspect of the Inaros texts, see SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 93). For the impact of the audience on intertextuality, see §4.3.2.

[98] HOFFMANN (2012: 547).

[99] However, considering that the majority of the Inaros texts, particularly in relation to Tebtunis, is found within the temple library. It is uncertain what Tait is referring to by 'private'.

[100] TAIT (2013: 258-60).

[101] TAIT (2014: 320). This is most noticeable in *Armour*, where the narrator addressed the audience directly through the use of two rhetorical questions, "Who has seen the wetlands with birds, and the sea with fish? Who has seen the Sea of the Gazelle with the family of Inaros as they bellowed like bulls, as they bristled like lions, as they tore like lionesses?" (*Armour* XVIII.3-6). The same observation has been made by HOFFMANN (1996a: 64-5); cf. JASNOW (2007: 436).

[102] JAY (2016: 197).

[103] RYHOLT (2013b: 34).

§2 NARRATIVE FEATURES

Narrative, as Genette defines it, is an "oral or written discourse that undertakes to tell of an event or a series of events."[1] Narrative can also distance itself from reality by exaggerating what appears to be mundane, everyday experiences into something extraordinary. In this sense, the narrative framework is established upon the implicit understanding that the world presented in the text does not necessarily have to coincide with the real world. Despite the historical nature of the protagonists within the Inaros tradition, it is not the historical accuracy that the audience is fascinated by, but rather, how interesting the narrative is. For this reason, the Inaros texts are known for their remarkable narrativisation and vividness.

The use of narrative devices is the best understood literary aspect of the Inaros texts, since the number of studies that have been dedicated to the structural and narrative analysis of Egyptian narrative literature far outweigh other aspects, such as characterisation. Indeed, as we shall see in the next chapter, the influence of formalism and structuralism is still quite visible in Egyptian literary theory today.[2] One of the earliest examinations of Egyptian narrative structure is by Assmann, who re-adapted Thompson's universal motif-index and Propp's formalist approach to folktale using *Two Brothers* as a case study.[3] Following this, the most prominent collection of literary analysis in the late twentieth century is *Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms*. This volume marked one of the first compilations on Egyptian literary theory, with a number of scholars tackling the issues of narrative features and styles in Egyptian literature.[4] Since then, a number of other compilations have emerged over the years,[5] as well as extensive studies on the literary nature of Egyptian fiction and narrative structure.[6] Even so, a fully integrated interdisciplinary approach is rarely produced.[7]

---

[1] GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 25).
[2] BENNISON (1993: 79); see SCHMITZ (2002) for a brief history of the different stages of literary theory.
[3] ASSMANN (1977: 1-25). The application of Propp in the discussion of Egyptian folktales has been commented on by SPALINGER (2006: 123-36).
[4] Most noticeably, LOPRIENO (1996a: 39-58) and (1996b: 277-96), TAIT (1996: 175-87), QUIRKE (1996: 263-76), PARKINSON (1996: 297-312), EYRE (1996: 415-33), and SIMPSON (1996: 435-43).
[5] Most recently HAGEN et al. (2011) *Narratives of Egypt and the ancient Near East: literary and linguistic approaches* and ENMARCH and LEPPER (2013) *Ancient Egyptian literature: theory and practice*.
[6] *Pars pro toto* MANASSA (2013), PEHAL (2014), and JAY (2016).
[7] Some of these exceptions are STAUDER (2013), PEHAL (2014), and DI BIASE-DYSON (2016).

Thus, for the purpose of the present chapter, in order to understand the effects of the narrative world that is created, my examination will draw on the theoretical paradigm of narratology.[8]

The concept of narratology is "the ensemble of theories of narratives, narrative texts, images, spectacles, events; cultural artefacts that 'tell a story'."[9] As Bal observes, such a methodological approach simply "helps to understand, analyse, and evaluate narratives."[10] Barthes views narratology as a way to characterise the language of narratives, so that "the infinite number of narratives could be 'described' and 'classified'."[11] In other words, the essence of narratology is fundamentally descriptive instead of interpretive. Narratology can be further categorised into structural and cultural narratology.[12] As we shall see, both categories will be important for the present discussion.

Although each scholar uses their own terminology, the underlying concepts of narratology remain the same. For every narrative, two distinct layers exist: text and fabula. The distinction was first made by Propp, and since then has gone through various adaptations.[13] The text is defined as the way that the narrative is organised. In Egyptology, this refers to the physical manifestation of the narrative, e.g. on papyrus, stela, relief work, and so forth. The fabula, on the other hand, is the logically and chronologically related series of events caused or experienced by the characters in a fictional world.[14]

Of the narrative devices that affect the interaction between the text and the fabula, one stands out as being especially important – the manipulation of time. In Middle and Late Egyptian narratives, the use of time is reasonably well understood, largely thanks to the works of

---

[8] The quintessential handbooks on narratology from which I draw my definition and structure are GENETTE (1980 [1972]) and BAL (2009 [1985]).

[9] BAL (2009 [1985]: 3).

[10] BAL (2009 [1985]: 3).

[11] BARTHES (1977: 82).

[12] Ultimately, structural narratology follows the formalist and structuralist approach more closely, while cultural narratology is more self-reflexive and performative, see BAL (1999: 19-40); cf. MOERS (2011: 165-76) for his overview of the two categories of narratology and its usefulness in understanding *Sinuhe*.

[13] PROPP (1968 [1928]) uses the terms 'sjužet' and 'fabula' instead. Bal distinguishes three layers as opposed to two: text, story, fabula. However, in the ancient context, the use of text and story can be synonymous. Furthermore, the use of the term 'story' is highly generic in literary studies. For example, what Bal considers to be story and fabula are referred to by Genette as narrative and story respectively, see BAL (2009 [1985]: 5) and GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 27). Chatman's bipartite taxonomy also follows Genette's terminology in his own work on story and discourse, see CHATMAN (1978: 19). Hence, the term 'story' will be avoided all together, and substituted with either 'narrative' or simply 'text'.

[14] Although the assumption among literary critics have been that fabula precedes the text, the likes of Culler and Derrida argue that the two function symbiotically without the need to prioritise one over the other, see CULLER (1981: 170-2) and DERRIDA (1979: 94, 99-100).

Winand.[15] The same cannot be said of the Demotic counterpart, where the effects of narrative devices are still understudied and the narrative intentions behind such usage even more so.[16] Although the importance of narrative devices on the literary style of Demotic narratives has been instigated over the years, the aspect of time has yet to be fully investigated;[17] hence, the focus of the present chapter is an examination of time from a narratological perspective.

Within the framework of narratology, the textual layer is intrinsically linked to temporality. Indeed, it is these changes that enrich the chronology of the fabula by producing a particular manifestation, inflection, and/or perspective.[18] Therefore, it can be said that the fabula is 'treated' by the temporal alterations, and it is the result of this treatment that evokes suspense and pleasure. Three forms of temporality result from this manipulation: sequential ordering, rhythm, and frequency; each will be discussed in turn.[19] In addition, there are some unique features in the Inaros tradition that deserve special analysis: embedding (derived from sequential ordering) and introductory phrases (derived from rhythm). Therefore, these two will be discussed separately from the narratological temporal forms from which they are derived. Together, an understanding and analysis of these five aspects of time manipulation will allow for a better insight into the Inarosian narrative style and some of the conditions behind the process of reception.

§2.1 Sequential ordering

The basis for sequential ordering is the deviation between the chronological sequence of the text and the fabula. According to logic, we cannot arrive at a place before we leave, but in a text, this is possible. Playing with sequential ordering is not simply a literary convention, it also provides the means of drawing attention to certain things, to emphasise, and to bring about aesthetic or psychological effects. It has the ability to show various interpretations of an event, as well as indicating the subtle difference between expectation and realisation.[20] An

---

[15] WINAND (2006: 451-72), and more recently, WINAND (2014: 231-66).

[16] Tait has identified numerous challenge in the examination of Demotic narrative in comparison to earlier Egyptian narratives, see TAIT (2014: 319-21).

[17] The use of Demotic narrative devices has been discussed most recently by JASNOW (2007: 433-48), TAIT (2009: 75-82), (2011a: 279-85), (2011b: 397-410), (2015: 391-401), and JAY (2016: esp. 106-16).

[18] The chronology of the fabula may be considered as a theoretical construct since it is never physically observed in the narrative. Rather, it is reconstructed by logic and a familiarity of the narrative milieu, see BAL (2009 [1985]: 7-8).

[19] Referred to as order, duration / speed, and frequency by Genette, see GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 25-6).

[20] BAL (2009 [1985]: 80-1).

example of this is the arming scene of Pemu in *Armour*, where it says that "he placed his hand on his coat of mail threaded with good iron… as it was formed out of a god-figure and four goddess-figures as the work of a good craftsman..." (*Armour* XIII.1-3). Such a passage may come across as being quite ordinary, but one soon realises that the logical order of events in the fabula must be the other way around; the armour would have been made first. As Bal rightly observes, the audience assumes this, but such assumptions are narrative effects; they do not imply that there exist, or have ever existed, such a series of events in that order in the fabula.[21] This discordance between the two orderings—that of the text and of the fabula—is referred to as an 'anachrony'.[22] Two types of anachronies can be present: 'analepsis', where the event lies in the past, and 'prolepsis', which takes place in the future.[23] In the present discussion, analepses will be examined first, since they are far more prevalent in the Inaros texts than prolepses. Alongside this axis, two other secondary axes are also relevant with regard to anachronies: the objective and subjective axis, and the external and internal axis (Fig. 2.1).

Fig. 2.1 – The three axes of narrative ordering (The abbreviations will be stated as they are discussed).

The first secondary axis—that of objectivity and subjectivity—is dependent on the narrative situation. For the purpose of the present analysis, objective anachronies correspond to the narrator-text, while subjective ones correspond to the character-text. The function of

---

[21] BAL (2009 [1985]: 79).
[22] GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 35-6).
[23] On the avoidance of terminologies such as retrospection / flashback, and anticipation / flashforward, see GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 39-40) and BAL (2009 [1985]: 83).

objective anachronies in the Inaros texts is relatively straightforward – they are often used to express a past or future event. Subjective anachronies, on the other hand, are more complex. Most importantly, the character-text itself is distinguished between 'homodiegetic' (first-person) and 'heterodiegetic' (third-person) narrative,[24] which in addition to expressing a past or future event, can also contribute differently towards the consistency of a characterisation as well as foreshadowing.

As for the second secondary axis, external anachronies take place outside the temporal boundaries of the fabula, while internal ones are from within. The boundary between external and internal anachronies can be easily distinguished, which can be determined by the beginning and end of a text. Despite not having any complete Inaros texts, the beginnings of the manuscripts that we possess are mostly preserved, while the endings can be deduced.[25] In term of the beginnings, we possess both the beginning of *Sarpot*, as well as a good portion of *Benefice*.[26] The beginning is also present in the Tebtunis version of *Armour* thanks to the identification of the introductory dating formula.[27] For the endings, we have the ending for *Armour* in both the Soknopaiou Nesos and Tebtunis version, which concludes with the return of the armour and a small celebration.[28] As for *Sarpot*, it is likely that the text ends with Petechons, either with or without Sarpot, returning to Egypt after the defeat of the Chief of India, as can be extrapolated from the standard Egyptian theme of *Reiseerzählung*.[29] The most difficult ending to discern is *Benefice*, since we do not possess any record past column XVIII in both the Akhmim and Tebtunis version. However, presumably the text ended with the release of Chayris and Wertiamunne, as well as the return of the benefice to the young priest.[30]

---

[24] DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 53); cf. GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 245).

[25] The reason behind the beginning being better preserved than the end has been alluded to in Hoffmann's discussion on the logistics of papyrus rolling in the context of P. Spiegelberg, see HOFFMANN (1994: 145-55).

[26] The fabula of *Sarpot*, strictly speaking, starts in column II, while column I is a narrative introduction, see RYHOLT (2013a: 76-77). For the reconstruction of the beginning of *Benefice*, see HOFFMANN (1995b: 43-60).

[27] RYHOLT (2012a: 79-80). See §4.2.1 on introductory dating formula.

[28] HOFFMANN (1996a: 396-9) and RYHOLT (2012a: 74, 78, 81-3)

[29] The term 'travel narrative' is coined by Moers, see MOERS (1990-7: 872-6) and MOERS (1999: 51-8). However, as both Moers and Di Biase-Dyson note, there is a difference in the *Reiseerzählung* theme between narratives such as *Sinuhe* and *Wenamun*, and in *Sarpot*. Most noticeably, travel narratives are always presented in the first-person, see DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 53). The same style of homodiegetic narrative is observed with Ahwere in *First Setne*, see VINSON (2008: 305).

[30] See §1.1.2.

§2.1.1 Analepsis

To begin with, evidence for external objective analepses (EOAs) will be examined. There are only a few examples of EOAs in the Inaros texts, since character-texts are more frequently used to convey past events. Consequently, the texts seem to progress in a linear fashion, where one event follows another without temporal deviation. Demotic, like Late Egyptian, is far more defined in its narrative features, but by the time of the Inaros texts, the sequential form that dominated Late Egyptian is essentially non-existent. Instead, we see the frequent usage of perfect *sḏm=f* in the narrator-text, often followed by a string of *iw* circumstantial clauses.[31]

One EOA has already been introduced with regard to the arming scene of Pemu (*Armour* XII.24-XIII.18).[32] His armour being a product of high quality craftsmanship is irrefutable. However, it would have been made before the start of the text; thus, it is external. Considering that we are dealing with the description of an object rather than the event itself, its function within the narrative time also changes. Although the object exists in the world of the fabula, the description exists only in the textual world. This particular kind of description would always begin with a perfect relative clause, either with the relative convertor *nty* or *nty iw*.[33] Here, the narrative employs an EOA to heighten the tension of the upcoming battle, a stylistic choice that also affects the narratological aspect of rhythm.[34] Another example is found within the Tebtunis version of the beginning of *Armour*, where the introductory dating formula mentions the state of Egypt prior to the beginning of the text.[35] Although the formula is a standard motif employed by historical fictions, its content nevertheless falls under the umbrella of EOAs.[36]

External subjective analepses (ESAs), on the other hand, are much more common. As mentioned, these analepses are considered subjective because the audience observes them

---

[31] JAY (2016: 86-7) and HOFFMANN (1996a: 39) also make similar observations on the additive style. See WINAND (2014: 260-5) and TAIT (2011b: 400) for comments on sequential form and Demotic language.
[32] Considering the rarity of an arming scene within the Egyptian literary corpus, it is one of the most iconic examples used for the debate on Homeric influence in the Inaros texts. Further comparisons and analysis will be discussed in §4.1.3.
[33] For brief comments on the use of *nty* and *nty iw*, see JOHNSON (2000 [1986]: 65-69).
[34] See §2.3.
[35] RYHOLT (2012a: 79-80).
[36] RYHOLT (2012a: 181-6), and MANASSA (2013: 43-6) for comparison with the Late Egyptian *Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre*, and see §4.2.1 for its diachronic intertextual properties.

from a particular character's perspective.[37] In this case, the act of 'telling' is in the present, but the content is in the past. This means that the temporal changes of the narrative are brought out by the character-text rather than the narrator-text.[38] Hence, even though the text is progressing in a linear fashion where one event follows another, these subjective analepses still require the audience to pause and think about the chronology subconsciously. Furthermore, with the exception of EOAs, these other forms of analepses are also able to affect the narrative agency, which can be categorised into motivation and reaction. Motivation is related to a change in the speaker's own life, while reaction is the response of other characters who are influenced by the analepses.[39]

For example, at the beginning of *Sarpot*, when Sarpot first hears of Petechons' arrival, she says,

> "Behold! For many days, one caused us to hear of his matters. He has fought against the king, against the land of Syria, where he was fighting with a chief today, and killing another tomorrow. His gods did not know how to resist him. Will we know how to resist him? We will, we will!" (*Sarpot* II.23-5)

In this particular example, the composer cleverly uses the verb *stm* 'to hear', in order to mask that the following passage is in fact an analepsis.[40] Another good example is from *Armour*. Here, Pemu's recitation of his achievements is used to legitimise his entitlement to the famed armour of Inaros,

> Pemu said, "Woe! Sorrow! By Re-Herakhty, Lord of Gods, the great god! I saved Pharaoh Petubastis by the […] against the chief of Assyria, Esarhaddon, son of Sennecherib, came […] in order to take Egypt from the hand of Pharaoh Petubastis. I jumped into the army of Assyria. I made a slaughter and destruction, which was very numerous. I caused him to return to the east, […] Heliopolis, my nome and his field and city." (*Armour* V.6-10)

---

[37] Hoffmann also discusses a number of examples in *Armour* where the text shifts from third-person to first-person in order to convey objective analepses, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 40-1). However, he did not address the possibilities of EOAs.

[38] ESAs do overlap with the narrative device of embedding. However, as will be discussed in §2.2, the distinction between ESAs and embedding, particularly story-within-a-story and dream sequence, is in the identification markers.

[39] MCADAMS and MCLEAN (2013: 234). The reaction to analepses is most often tied to an emotional expression, particularly when the introductory phrase 'the moment that… heard/saw/said' is involved, see §2.4.1; cf. TAIT (2009: 75-82).

[40] For a discussion on the impact of behaviour process and verbs of 'perception' on characterisation, see §3.1.

With ESAs, there is no way for the audience to ascertain the validity of the information given. Indeed, considering the historical timeline, a battle between Pemu and Esarhaddon would be anachronistic.[41] Therefore, while it is certainly possible that historical accuracy was of little concern to the contemporary audience, especially when the time gap between the historical events and composition is taken into account, what is clear is that the ESA is utilised for its narrative effects. Subjectivity, stressed further by the first-person perspective, is far more indicative of a character's motivation. For example, Pemu's boastful speech regarding his victory over the Assyrians, whether it is true or not, serves three functions: 1) by mentioning Esarhaddon, the ESA places the text within a specific historical context; 2) it is used as a legitimising device for his claim over the armour, which motivates his subsequent actions; 3) being one of the first glimpses of his personality, it sets up a precedence for his later actions, e.g. his inability to turn down Wertiamunne's challenge in *Armour* XII.20-3, which contributes to the consistency of his characterisation.[42]

As for Sarpot's previous example in *Sarpot* II.23-5, at face value, it highlights Petechons' own military achievements. However, given that she has yet to witness Petechons' strength first hand, her conviction while facing a potentially stronger enemy also provides her troops with a much-needed morale boost. In addition, her speech is consistent with her portrayal on the battlefield later.[43] As the most well-known female character in the Inaros texts, Sarpot's favourable status is also observed orthographically in the papyri, where her name is often terminated by the Egyptian royal cartouche and the royal epithet 'life, prosperity, health' (ꜥnḫ wḏꜣ snb); a rarity for foreign rulers, let alone a woman.[44] Thus, her ESA not only promotes Petechons' capabilities and links him to other Inaros texts,[45] but more importantly, her confidence in her own power foreshadows her important function for the remainder of the

---

[41] See §1.3.
[42] The use of an ESA as motivation is also found in Ahwere's speech in *First Setne*, where she attempts to dissuade Setne from his quest, see VINSON (2008: 345). As Vinson notes, the characterisation of Ahwere also reflects aspects of Isis. In *Contendings of Horus and Seth* for example, Isis, as a young girl, tricks Seth into admitting his own wrongdoing, see SWEENEY (2002: 153-4).
[43] Sarpot's own military prowess can be observed in *Sarpot* III.8-15, III.46-IV.5, and XII.1-6.
[44] RYHOLT (2013a: 75).
[45] Considering his opponent in *Armour*, i.e. Chayris, son of the king, and his attitude towards Petubastis in *Benefice*, Petechons' reputation as a king-slayer in *Sarpot* is comparable to his general portrayal in the Inaros tradition. On Petechons' impudence and strength, see §3.4.2 and §3.4.3.

text.[46] Both as a strong ally of Petechons and his eventual companion, it is vital for Sarpot to be presented with a powerful image in order to enhance Petechons' own heroic nature.[47]

Aside from speeches, which only express the ESA from a single character's perspective, there are also instances where two contrasting ESAs of the same event are presented. In this case, narrative agency is no longer caused by a single character, but rather the contention between two accounts. During the first round of litigation before the pharaoh in *Armour* VII.1-9, Pemu and Wertiamunne had differing accounts regarding the possession of the armour, where both accuse the other of stealing the heirloom. It is doubtful that there was a misunderstanding regarding the inheritance in the first place, but the audience has no way of verifying this. Thus, both characters' arguments could be valid.[48] Indeed, it is this conviction in both Pemu and Wertiamunne that becomes the main impetus for the ensuing battle.

Internal analepses, as opposed to external analepses, take place within the temporal boundaries of the fabula.[49] Both internal objective analepses (IOAs) and internal subjective analepses (ISAs) function in a similar manner, with the only difference between the two being the presence of character-texts. For IOAs, the simplest and only form in the Inaros texts utilises the verb 'to report' (*sḏy/ꜥn-smy*), which summarises various events, and keeps characters who are otherwise not in the scene informed.[50] For example, in *Armour* VI.5-6, Pemu "reported (*sḏy*) every word which had happened to him with Wertiamunne, son of Chayris, before him (i.e. Pekrur)."[51]

ISAs, since they include character-texts, are naturally more informative. They are often used to reiterate events that have just taken place, which means that, unlike ESAs, the audience

---

[46] Particularly, she comes to Petechons' aid in *Sarpot* A,II.x+26-30 by offering him her army, and defeats the Indian army and captures the Chief of India in *Sarpot* XI.x+13-XII.35.

[47] Sarpot is not the only femme fatale in Demotic narrative. The voice and portrayal of female characters was of growing importance during the Ptolemaic and Roman Period in both fictional and biographical context, see VINSON (2008: 347); cf. JASNOW (2001: 74 esp. n. 79). For the conceptualisation of Sarpot as a character, see §4.1.1; cf. ALMÁSY (2007: 31-7), HOFFMANN (2008: 54-7), and RYHOLT (2013a: 75).

[48] Regardless of Pemu's own achievements, he is the son of Inaros, which means that he is more entitled to the armour, as opposed to Wertiamunne, who is not only unrelated to Inaros, but also a rival of the Inaros clan. This is unlike *Benefice*, where the giving away of the benefice by the pharaoh to Chayris is explicitly stated in the text, so that no source of contention can be derived from having mixed accounts of the event.

[49] There is also a third category of analepsis, namely mixed analepsis. This is where the analepsis starts externally but finishes internally. An example has yet to be found within the Inaros tradition, see BAL (2009 [1985]: 90); cf. GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 50-2).

[50] TAIT (2011b: 399-400).

[51] The instances where the report actually involves a speech are not included here as they would then be counted as subjective analepses.

can often verify the events described in ISAs.[52] For example, in *Armour* XIV.13-6, Pemu's young servant Tjanefer pleads before the arriving fleet by informing them of Pemu's situation on the battlefield. Tjanefer's speech not only acts as a reiteration of the previous scene, but effectively functions to further stress Pemu's isolation by reminding the audience that this time, not even Tjanefer, i.e. the speaker, is present with him. Additionally, Tjanefer's distress while giving the speech, emphasised with the description "his voice is loud and his call is high," highlights the love that Tjanefer has for his master. This bond is observed again later upon Tjanefer's return to the battlefield, where he weeps at the overwhelming odds against Pemu (*Armour* XIV.29-31). Another example, this time from *Sarpot* VIII.32-41, features a report of Sarpot's military prowess against the Chief of India. It is uncertain how much of this passage is a reiteration, since the previous section is so fragmentary. However, it nevertheless re-emphasises Sarpot's ferocity.

In both of the above cases, the ISAs follow immediately after the original event, though it is also possible for an ISA to take place much further along in the text. Two examples of this can be observed in Petubastis' speech in *Benefice*. The first time takes place immediately after the capture of Wertiamunne, where the pharaoh laments the capture of the 'Great Rudder' and 'First Shield'; while the second takes place when the pharaoh urges Pekrur to summon Petechons and Pemu. In both cases, the original event in the ISA refers back to the events at the beginning of the text when the pharaoh and his entourage first journeyed south to Thebes (Pap. de Ricci 1+2).

Regardless of whether the internal analepses contain character-texts, both IOAs and ISAs share the same function as agencies that drive the narrative forward, particularly when it comes to prompting another character's immediate attention and action upon listening to the analepses. The reaction can be either positive or negative. For example, in Pemu's case, it prompts Pekrur to accompany him to see the pharaoh in Tanis, whereas Tjanefer receives a harsh reply from the kalasiris informing him that they are not the allies he is looking for.

---

[52] In this sense, it can be likened to the use of repetition in Demotic narratives, see TAIT (2011a: 279-85) and JAY (2016: 96-100). However, this is different from the narratological aspect of 'frequency', see §2.5.

§2.1.2 Prolepsis

The most logical forms of prolepsis would make use of the future tense. In earlier stages of Egyptian language, the future tense uses four grammatical constructions: third future, imperative, prospective, and subjunctive.[53] The third future uses the *r* + infinitive construction, which asserts that a given future event will inevitably happen or is obliged to happen.[54] The imperative, prospective, and subjunctive, on the other hand, can all be grouped together under 'mood', which is connected to modality and expresses the attitude of the speaker vis-à-vis the described event.[55] Considering that the described event is linked to predication, it inherently carries the sense of probable futurity. In Demotic narrative, *r* + infinitive continues to be the predominant future tense construction, though it may occasionally carry a modal component as well, which, semantically speaking, could affect the modality of a clause.[56] As for the grammatical notion of mood, the imperative is still more common observed, and far more predominant in the Inaros texts than the prospective and subjunctive, particularly in *Armour*.[57]

Like objective analepses, objective prolepses are also rare in the Inaros texts. Only one example of an internal objective prolepsis (IOP) is found, while no external ones (EOPs) can be positively identified. The single instance of an IOP occurs at the beginning of *Sarpot*, where the narrator reveals that the text is related to "the manner of going which he (i.e. Petechons) did to Nineveh" (*Sarpot* I.x+9) and "the manner of finding of his sister" (*Sarpot* I.x+10). The word 'sister' has the implication of 'beloved' in reference to the eventual relationship between Petechons and Sarpot. In general, IOPs are used to draw attention to the fact that we are now concerned with something that will take place later on, and thus informs the audience of the outcome of the fabula, which is different from foreshadowing.[58] This can rob the narrative of suspense, at least the suspense of not knowing how the text will end,

---

[53] On the Egyptian future tense, see LOPRIENO (1995: 80-3) and ALLEN (2010 [2000]: 170, 249-65, 289-301).

[54] FRANDSEN (1974: 41-2), VERNUS (1990: 11), and LOPRIENO (1995: 80). For the application of third future in narrative agency, see SWEENEY (2002: 155) and DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 29-30).

[55] LOPRIENO (1995: 81-3) and DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 95-9).

[56] JOHNSON (2004 [1976]: 100-10).

[57] The use of the imperative in the character-text and its effect in the interpersonal layer will be elaborated on in Chapter 3. Although prospectives and subjunctives are rarely used, the use of optatives in character-texts is relatively common, see §3.1.

[58] For example, the sending of the demons by Osiris at the beginning of *Armour* is considered foreshadowing. The audience does not know what will take place exactly, but interference by the gods, as well as the names of the demons, allude to the inevitable civil war, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 41).

since how the text will end has already been acknowledged from the very start. However, what we see instead is another kind of suspense, a form of tension, which focuses on the journey that takes place in order for the narrative to reach its end.[59] For *Sarpot*, we know that Petechons and Sarpot will eventually fall in love, so how the events unfold leading up to it thus becomes the focus of the first half of the text.

As mentioned, grammatical constructions relating to futurity in the Inaros texts are most often observed in the character-text, as in subjective prolepses. Again, no external subjective prolepses (ESPs) can be found in the Inaros texts. There are two contributing factors to the absence of both EOP and ESP: 1) each narrative is self-contained with a clearly defined ending that does not lend itself to future continuity;[60] 2) prolepses are used in the character-text for the purpose of narrative progression. In other words, the characters have no narratological incentives to describe an event that takes place outside the temporal framework of the narrative. Hence, we only see internal prolepses in the Inaros tradition.

For ISPs, like ISAs, the realisation of events can also be problematic, since ISPs normally function as speculations and provocations.[61] For those examples that utilise the verbal category of mood, i.e. imperative, prospective, and subjunctive, they will not be discussed further here, since they tie into the interpersonal layer of systemic functional linguistics in the next chapter.[62] Hence, only *r* + infinitive constructions will be examined at present. Two examples of such prolepsis will be noted here, both functioning as a ruse or threat.[63] The first one is spoken by the Chief of India, presumably to the two men of the east in reference to the army of Petechons,

> When he heard these, he said, "[…] the great Agathodaimon of India, in order to not cause […] return […]. I will cause (*tw=i ti.t šmṭ*) the evil snake of an Egyptian to go before me here…" (*Sarpot* IX.1-3; A,II.x+5-6)

The second is a provocation by Pekrur to Petubastis,

---

[59] BAL (2009 [1985]: 93-5); cf. GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 75-7).

[60] The armour is returned in *Armour*; in *Benefice*, presumably the benefice is given back to the young priest and the generals would have been released; as for *Sarpot*, Petechons and Sarpot join forces and subjugate the Indians.

[61] SWEENEY (2002: 155) and DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 95-9).

[62] For example, all summoning letters in *Armour* and *Benefice* can be theoretically categorised under the paradigm of ISPs.

[63] For the use of third future as a threat, see SWEENEY (2002: 155). As for its modal implications, see DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 29-30, 95-9).

"But if it happens that the pharaoh abandons me, I will cause (*iw=i ti.t nw*) the pharaoh to see the strife of the two shields, as you are witnessing that which will happen.
You will see it (*iw=k ir ir.t.w*), while the two mountains will shake.
You will see ([*iw=k gšp*]) the sky, as it will turn and be cast down on earth and its manner of quaking.
You will see (*iw=k nw*) the bulls of those of Pisopd and the lions of those of Metelis with their manner of fighting.
The iron that is cold, we will cause it to heat up (*r.iw=n ti.t ḫmm=f*)!" (*Armour* IX.16-20)

Both examples are spoken with conviction and are used as a prediction of the outcome. In the first instance, the ISA is used for ironic effect, where the Chief of India's over-confidence leads to his eventual capture. This outcome is also foreshadowed in the response from the two men of the east, who do not seem convinced at the chief's plan of attack (*Sarpot* IX.6-14; A,II.x+9-14). In the second instance, Pekrur threatens the pharaoh, so that the armour of Inaros can be returned to Pemu. Petubastis, depicted as the weaker ruler, quickly acknowledges the severity of Pekrur's threat, and proposes the peaceful return of the armour (*Armour* IX.20-5).[64] Although in both instances the outcomes never materialise, the use of *r* + infinitive means that the audience is kept in suspense, simply because the linguistic cues would dictate that such events could happen. This is particularly apparent in Pekrur's example considering the pharaoh's anxious response.

§2.2 Embedding

In Genette's observation of narrative levels, he divides a narrative into extradiegetic and intradiegetic, where extradiegetic describes the external narrative level and the intradiegetic the fictional universe itself.[65] Going deeper, he identifies a third level called the metadiegetic level, which is embedding.[66] In the context of Egyptian narrative literature, the use of embedding and framing is so ubiquitous that it is integral to our understanding of Egyptian literary identity.[67] Although some embedding overlaps with the framework of analepses, most

---

[64] For further discussions on this passage and the power dynamic between Pekrur and Petubastis, see §3.2.3 and §3.2.4.
[65] GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 228); cf. SUHR (1999: 97-100). Extradiegetic is rarely perceived in Egyptian narrative literature, since it would require the presence of an external narrator, which Egyptians seldom used. However, in *Armour* XVIII.3-6, two rhetorical questions are used in the narrator-text, which is indicative of such extradiegetic levels. For additional comments on this passage, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 65).
[66] GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 228-9).
[67] For other forms of non-narrative framing, see HAGEN (2013: 185-209); and see TAIT (1996: 181) and (2015: 391-401) for Demotic narrative examples.

embedding is introduced in a specific manner and cannot be simply categorised under the paradigm of analepsis. The two types of embedding that will be addressed here are story-within-a-story and dream sequence.

§2.2.1 Story-within-a-story

Stories-within-stories are the most common form of embedding in Egyptian literature, with *Shipwrecked Sailor* and *First Setne* being the most famous examples. Indeed, the serpent in *Shipwrecked Sailor* famously says, "How joyful is one who could recount what he had experienced after a painful thing has passed!" (*Sh. S.* 124). Although it is certainly true that this quote may simply express the joy of surviving a tragedy, it is indicative of the prevalence of story-telling within the Egyptian psyche. As Tait suggests, a story-within-a-story is not just "a mechanical device to lengthen the text, but reflects an elaborate plot."[68] Often found within character-text,[69] it is mostly used to facilitate a smooth transition from one sub-plot to another. In Demotic narrative, it is common for a story-within-a-story to be clearly marked by a beginning and end, most commonly by using the words *sḏm* 'to hear' and *sḏy* 'story' or 'to report'.[70]

Embedding can be divided into two categories according to size and complexity. For *Shipwrecked Sailor*, and to an extent *First Setne*, a relatively slender frame narrative sets up a dramatic situation within which characters narrate a tale or a series of tales that make up the bulk of the work. In others, such as the Inaros example, a sustained primary narrative is interrupted by a much shorter narrative. Multiple layers of embedding can also be observed, as demonstrated by the serpent's story in *Shipwrecked Sailor*, which functions as a story-within-a-story-within-a-story. Furthermore, with the development of the Demotic narrative tradition, the emergence of a series of multiple independent embeddings within a single frame narrative has also been observed, such as *The Petese Stories* and *Myth of the Sun's Eye*.[71] Function-wise, these stories-within-stories can be used in one of two ways: 1) they represent

---

[68] TAIT (1996: 181).
[69] This corresponds to Bal's terminology of narration and focalisation, where focalisation describes the narrative being told from a particular 'point of view', see BAL (2009 [1985]: 145-65).
[70] Examples of Demotic narratives that use these markers are the *Story of Teos*, the *Story of the Swallow and the Sea*, and *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, see TAIT (2015: 392-6).
[71] RYHOLT (1999), RYHOLT (2005), and TAIT (2015: 391-401). The two different types of embedding are also observed by Nelles, who categorises the two as 'horizontal' embedding, e.g. *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, and 'vertical' embedding, e.g. *Shipwrecked Sailor*, see NELLES (1997: 132).

newly introduced characters' personal backstories, where the characters inform each other as well as the audience of their past experiences, such as the story of the serpent to the shipwrecked sailor in *Shipwrecked Sailor* (*Sh. S.* 127-32); 2) they function as means to manipulate the agency of a character through either provocation or deterrence, such as the shipwrecked sailor's story to his captain, or Ahwere's retelling of her family's misfortune to Setne.[72] The use of a story-within-a-story would also explain the absence of introductory phrases such as 'meanwhile' before the emergence of Demotic narratives. As a result, the characters are typically portrayed as omniscient (and by extension, the audience too), where surprise is derived not from the suspense of lack of knowledge, but rather as a reaction to the events themselves.[73]

In the Inaros texts, only one identifiable example of a story-within-a-story can be found, although a few allusions are also made to the presence of other stories-within-stories. In *Armour*, upon hearing Pemu's speech on his family's achievements, the kalasiris Padihel speaks to Pemu, saying "Should I be silent before you regarding the matter, or should I speak (*mt*) with you regarding the matter?" (*Armour* II.9-10). After receiving permission from Pemu to speak, he launches into his backstory, beginning with "I would not speak lies before you." As for the allusions to stories-within-stories, they usually take on the form of a report (*sḏy*), with no further explanations given.[74] There is one instance in *Sarpot*, where the story-within-a-story is elaborated upon further, albeit in the form of tertiary focalisation. In *Sarpot* II.23-5, which is an example used previously when discussing ESAs, Sarpot says, "For many days, one caused us to hear of his matters. He has fought against the king, against the land of Syria, where he was fighting with a chief today, and killing another tomorrow." Ostensibly, someone has recounted not one, but multiple stories-with-stories with regard to Petechons' achievements before Sarpot.

---

[72] Both Genette and Barth classify the effects of embedding in a similar fashion, identifying two primary functions: dramatic or explanatory, where the embedded narrative serves to explain or influence the embedding narrative; and thematic, which explores the contrasts or analogies between the two narratives, see GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 231-4) and BARTH (1981: 45-63). Nelles, on the other hand, proposes three different primary codes from which embedded narratives can be analysed: hermeneutic, which relates to interpretation; proairetic, which relates to action, motivation, and reference; and formal, which highlights the structural boundaries within the text, see NELLES (1997: 140-9).

[73] PYRHÖNEN (2010: 578-80). As we shall see in the use of introductory phrases in §2.4, different types of surprise can be achieved in Demotic narratives.

[74] Tait also made the same observation with regard to *First Setne*, see TAIT (2015: 398).

The low number of stories-with-stories in the Inaros tradition, particularly in comparison to other Demotic narratives, is puzzling. Even the most substantial example, i.e. Padihel's story in *Armour*, is a short and simple embedding, without the complexity that can be observed in *Myth of the Sun's Eye* or both Setne texts. Although a full aetiological investigation is outside the purview of the present discussion, several suggestions could still be made regarding this aversion in the Inaros tradition. As mentioned, Egyptian narratives traditionally seem to take some care in using vertical embeddings to shift between each episode within a narrative. However, with the development of additional introductory phrases such as *i.ir n3y dr=w ḫpr* 'while all these things happened', the use of a story-with-a-story as means to transmit different storylines becomes less vital.[75] Furthermore, the particular narrative style of the Inaros texts, with its key theme being warfare, would also not suit long embeddings for the majority of the texts, since they would distract the audience from the excitement of the battles. If this is indeed a factor, then it is not surprising that the few instances of stories-within-stories all take place prior to any major conflict.

§2.2.2 Dream sequence

Another common motif in Demotic narratives, which can be considered a form of embedding, is dream sequences.[76] Considering the majority of the Inaros texts in Ryholt's examination of the dream sequence are yet to be published, the only examples that will be mentioned here are from *Armour* and *Sarpot*.[77] In each case, the phraseological features remain remarkably consistent.

In *Armour*, Montubaal tells Pekrur that his reason for knowing about the loss of Inaros' armour and his arrival is due to a dream that he had.

---

[75] For example, *First Setne*, which is one of the earliest Demotic narratives, does not contain any example of this introductory phrase. Tait tentatively suggests that the method of transmission of Demotic narratives may also not lend themselves easily to complex embedding, see TAIT (1996:182-3).

[76] For Demotic narratives, Ryholt has identified seven steps in the dream sequence across 22 instances, of which nine are part of the Inaros tradition, see RYHOLT (2012a: 199-208). Ryholt attributes the frequency of dream sequences in Demotic narratives to the rise in popularity of oneirology during the Graeco-Roman periods, see RYHOLT (2012a: 199). From a literary perspective, the interest in dreams and dreaming has had a long tradition. Forster, for one, most famously justifies sleep as a literary trope on the basis that around a third of a person's life is in a world of which "little is known and which seems to us after leaving it to have been partly oblivion, partly a caricature of this world and partly a revelation," see FORSTER (1974 [1927]: 34).

[77] Those that are unpublished are: a story featuring Necho I, Inaros, and Kushite magicians (P. Carlsberg 57+465), *The Inaros Epic*, and P. Carlsberg 129, see §1.1 and RYHOLT (2012a: 199-200). The remaining four dream episodes are found in *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyans*, see RYHOLT (2012a: 35-72).

> "By your strength, my father, Chief of the East Pekrur […], as I could not sleep in my bedchamber. I saw myself in a dream, where a divine song was speaking with me, saying, 'Montubaal, son of Inaros, my son! Run! Are you able to run? Hurry down to Egypt! My meeting place with you is at the Sea of the Gazelle, the barque chapel of Pihathormefki, on account of the battle and strife of those of Mendes, the family of Hareunakhte, son of Smendes, who are against your brothers, those of your family, on account of your armour, as one has taken it to the fortress of Djura today!'" (*Armour* XIX.25-33)

As for *Sarpot*, Petechons may have also been visited by a divine being, most likely the deceased Inaros, who questions Petechons' reasons for staying with Sarpot, and the need to present offerings and libations to his elders.

> Sinking into sleep was what Prince Petechons did. He saw himself in a dream with the […] while the Good Prince Inaros was speaking to him as follows, "[…] on the fifth day, saying, 'You are here! You are […]! Which god is in you? You […] Isis, the great goddess […] while you are in the […] who does not know the hour […] this half-covered (house). Make […] libation […] protect you […] to you out of the misfortune […] in it […].'" Petechons got up in the moment which he was in […]. (*Sarpot* VI.x+8-14)

Going by Ryholt's sequence, in both cases the dream (*rswy*) is clearly labelled, and is followed by the identification of the speaker in the dream, who is always supernatural.[78] Although the dream entity is not specified in *Sarpot*, a divine being can be assumed; while in *Armour*, we are told that the narrator in the dream arrived in the form of a divine song (*wꜤ.t ḥs-n-ntr*).[79] The appearance of the supernatural also corresponds to Jahn's narrative dream theory, where dreams are "typically characterised by bizarre events and existents."[80] The purpose of the dream sequence, although more defined and structured in Demotic narratives, still shows a remarkable level of consistency to earlier Egyptian narratives. As Lloyd notes, "*heka*, dreams, and prophecy all played a part in Egyptian stories, and their role is integral and fundamental to the agenda of these texts."[81] In his examination of Egyptian literature from Middle Egyptian to Demotic, both dreams and prophecies are associated with the supernatural, with the main difference between the two being the length of time required to

---

[78] RYHOLT (2012a: 202-5).

[79] Hoffmann translates this as *wꜤ.t ḥs n mt-ntr* 'eine Gesang von Gottesworten', see HOFFMANN (1996a: 347-8). However, as Ryholt points out, the phrase should be translated as *wꜤ.t ḥs-n-ntr ndw* 'a divine song was speaking', citing Hoffmann's *ḥs* being masculine, which therefore would be incompatible with the preceding feminine article *wꜤ.t*. Also in light of the parallelism with other dream sequence in Demotic narratives, Ryholt's translation is also more appropriate, see RYHOLT (2012a: 204 n. 214).

[80] JAHN (2010: 126-7).

[81] LLOYD (2006: 88).

achieve fulfilment. Dreams represent a communication between the divine and human sphere.[82] Consequently, we see characters use dreams as a means to justify their actions and motivations, which can also lead to a reaction from other characters. Both examples in *Armour* and *Sarpot* can be categorised in this way. In *Armour*, Montubaal's dream motivates him to travel to Egypt in order to help his brethren,[83] while Petechons' dream in *Sarpot* commands him to make an offering. Upon relating his dream to Sarpot, who marvelled over the name Inaros, she swiftly made a great offering to the Osiris-King (*Sarpot* VI.x+18-28).

In comparison to dreams, whose narrative effects are immediate, prophecies can potentially take far longer to fulfil, with variable results. In the royal context, prophecies are often used for the legitimisation of kingship in the classical genre of *königsnovelle*.[84] In a narrative context, it parallels episodes featuring the fate of a child, which could be either positive, such as Setne's dream in *Second Setne*, or negative, such as the *Doomed Prince*.[85] Unfortunately, no prophecy can be positively identified in the Inaros tradition at present.[86]

§2.3 Rhythm

One of the other common features of time manipulation is rhythm. In this context, rhythm refers to the relationship between the amount of time covered by the events of a fabula and the amount of time involved in presenting those events. Müller defines rhythm as the quantitative relation between *erzählte Zeit* 'time of presentation' and *Erzählzeit* 'presented time', or alternatively, 'the time in the text' and 'the time in the fabula'.[87] Although it is characteristic and effective, rhythm remains the most elusive device, mostly due to the difficulties in reconstructing the fabula. The fabula time can only be logically estimated, but never fully discerned, since so little is known of its passage of time.[88] Therefore, the only solution seems to be based on a comparison rather than calculation, where the amount of time

---

[82] LLOYD (2006: 88).
[83] Jay also discusses the appearance of a new warrior as a form of agency, see JAY (2016: 174-5).
[84] See §4.2.2 esp. n 188 for the intertextual comparison between dream sequences in the Inaros tradition and *königsnovelle*.
[85] The birth of a son predicated through dream incubation is also a common motif in Demotic narrative, see RYHOLT (2012a: 187-97).
[86] There may be some evidence of a prophecy in *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyan*, where Fragment 1 II.18-21 possibly contains a divine conception dream by the Hagrite, see RYHOLT (2012a: 60-1).
[87] MÜLLER (1968 [1948]: 269–86).
[88] For the problematic nature of the calculation of fabula vs. text time and potential compromises, see BAL (2009 [1985]: 98-9); cf. GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 86-7).

covered by the fabula can be juxtaposed with the amount of space in the text each event requires. Nonetheless, rhythm can be considered to be the most crucial element of time manipulation in a narrative discourse, simply because it allows for maximum freedom on the part of the narrator and/or the character to elasticise the chronology of the fabula.

As an example, based on the section of the narrative that we have in *Sarpot*, one can roughly establish a timeline from the arrival of Petechons to the defeat of the Chief of India and possibly the triumphant return of Petechons (and potentially Sarpot) to Egypt. For *Benefice*, the narrative starts with the journey to the festival of Amun and finishes with what can only presume to be a victory for the family of Inaros and Pekrur. As for *Armour*, which is a little more complete, the fabula runs from the Navigation of Osiris festival until the return of the armour.[89] The total time it takes for these events to unfold can only be an approximation, though there are segments of the text that provide a time stamp. For example, in *Sarpot*, we know that Petechons and Sarpot fought for at least three days before their eventual truce (*Sarpot* III.2-V.13), whereas in *Benefice*, we are specifically told that Minnebmaat fought with one of the herdsmen for a total of four days (*Benefice* XVII.10-1). The rest, including travel time and time spent at various locations, can only be logically estimated and extrapolated.[90] From here, we can then determine relativity between the time in the fabula (TF) and the time in the text (TT).

In a narrative situation, it is near impossible to have a complete overlap between the TF and the TT, or a real isochrony; the closest thing to this is through the character-text. One can assume that character-texts without commentary take as long in TF as it does in TT, thus it functions as a point of control. Four different tempos can thus be identified. In the middle is the scene, where TF is roughly equal to TS (TF ≤ TT). This is followed by the summary (TF > TT). Finally, at the two extremes of the rhythmic spectrum, we can either be dealing with

---

[89] This is based on the Tebtunis version of *Armour*, see RYHOLT (2012a: 80).

[90] The most effective way to estimate the fabula time is by comparing journey time with historical sources. Such fictional / historical comparison has already been used in the analysis of historical fictions in New Kingdom Egypt, most recently by MANASSA (2013: 13-9). Considering the historical context of the Inaros texts, the most appropriate comparison would be from the late Kushite-early Saite Period. To give an example of such journey estimation, we know that the pharaoh and his entourage travelled from Lower Egypt to Thebes in order to attend the festival of Amun in *Benefice*. Based on the Nitocris Adoption Stela, it would take 16 days of travel between Memphis and Thebes (c. 700 km), see CAMINOS (1964: 81-4); cf. DEGAS (1992: 141-6) who suggests that it could have been as low as nine days in the New Kingdom. Therefore, the journey time in the fabula would have been between 9-16 days. For other calculations of historical travel time during the Assyrian invasion, see KAHN (2006: 258 esp. n. 43-5).

an ellipsis (TF > ∞TT), which is a skipped event, or a pause (TF < ∞TT), which is often attributed to an intense descriptive or observation scene.[91] These tempos will be examined in turn in order to determine the narrative effects that they have on the Inaros texts.

§2.3.1 Scene

Typically, an equal alternation between summaries and scenes is usually the predominant narrative approach; hence it plays the biggest part in understanding rhythm in the Inaros tradition. For scenes, the duration of fabula and text should be roughly equal. As mentioned above, scenes encompass all character-texts, so they can be relatively easy to identify in this regard. This is significant, since character-texts are a sizable part of the narratives.[92] Scenes in the narrator-text, on the other hand, are less frequent. In saying that, the majority of what could be considered scenes in the Inaros tradition shares the reoccurring theme of warfare. This is unsurprising when one remembers that the Inaros texts were set during the turbulent years between the Kushite and the Saite Period. Its categorisation as historical fiction featuring prominent figures is also indicative of this. The narrative reflects this historical setting by directing the audience's attention to scenes of aspects of warfare, such as arming scenes (e.g. *Armour* XII.24-XIII.18), decoration of warships (*Armour* XIV.5-11), and battles, either one-on-one or army-vs-army (*Armour* XXIV.25-XXV.13, *Benefice* IV.5-V.16, *Sarpot* III.45-IV.12). The only exception to this might be the fragmentary description of the banquet of Petechons and Sarpot's army (*Sarpot* VI.x+1-8), presumably included to provide the circumstance that reveals the budding romance between the two characters. Ostensibly, one can also argue that the post-battle feast can be counted as an element of warfare.[93] Thus, it can be deduced that the Inaros tradition emphasises two aspects of the fabula: warfare (signifying the turmoil of the historical setting with the potential of heroism) and speeches / dialogue (stressing the complexity of character interaction).

---

[91] Technically, Bal made the distinction between five tempos, with the last one being slow-down (TF < TT), which opposes summary, see BAL (2009 [1985]: 100). However, as Genette convincingly argues, big scenes are extended mainly by extra-narrative elements, such as changes in the sequential ordering or are interrupted by descriptive pauses, but not exactly slowed down. Pure dialogue also cannot be slowed down, see GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 93-5). Hence, the concept of slow-down, although it provides a nice symmetry to the model, is largely irrelevant. This is especially true for ancient texts.

[92] Hoffmann noted that 53.2% of *Armour* is made up of character-texts, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 42).

[93] HOFFMANN (1996a: 90).

§2.3.2 Summary

While the scene is used for 'dramatic climaxes', events which do not have a strong influence on the course of the fabula, i.e. do not conform to the aforementioned aspects, are quickly summarised.[94] The summary is a suitable instrument for presenting and glimpsing background information, or for episodic transitions.[95] This is particularly evident in the use of transitional phrase groups (TPGs), a group of phrases[96]—either couplets or triplets—that indicates the transition from one episode to another.[97]

TPGs are explicitly linked to travel. For both *Armour* and *Benefice*, the Nile is the predominant form of transportation, so it would make sense that most of the examples feature naval movement. Indeed, as Tait notes in the context of *First Setne*, a shift of scene is routinely marked by the triplet sequence of boarding-sailing-arriving, with minor differences in phraseology.[98] A common variant of this is as follows,

> Pemu the younger came out. He boarded a new *lms*-ship that was equipped with everything and anything. His *lms*-ship travelled upstream. (*Armour* XI.21-2)

> He (i.e. Petechons) climbed on board and hurried to Pernebhetep. He found Pemu there before him, who was upon his *rms*-ship with his 40 men of the Island of the Star and his four priestly companions. They sailed south to Thebes. (*Benefice* XIV.10-3)

In the second example, we also see an extension of the travelling motif in the expression of urgency. For summaries in the Inaros texts, the phrase 'to hurry' (*bw-pw… ir wlly/wrr* or *m-ir ir wlly/wrr*) is commonly found. This sense of urgency is most frequently used to highlight the reaction rate of a command by the recipient, e.g. in summoning scenes. For example,

---

[94] BAL (2009: 102).

[95] I define an episodic transition as a change in the setting of a text, or a juncture in the narration, which could be locational, temporal, or perspective. Jay also adapts a similar method of episodic division derived from Foley, see JAY (2016: 106-16); cf. FOLEY (1990: 295-6).

[96] The phrases are grouped together based on their syntactical parallels, see §3.2.4 and §3.3.4 for additional phrase groups in the eloquence of Pekrur and Petubastis.

[97] At a glance, TPGs can be classified as pseudo-ellipsis, since no additional information has been provided on the events taking place. However, Bal makes the compelling argument that such examples are simply a hyper-sped up version of a summary, and should be referred to as such, see BAL (2009 [1985]: 101-2). The use of introductory phrases is another excellent example of summary, and will be elaborated further in the next section, see §2.4.

[98] TAIT (2009: 77). Jay suggests that such repeated phrases are likely to have their roots in an oral tradition, see JAY (2016: 172).

when the pharaoh commands Wertiamunne to come to Tanis in order to discuss the missing armour, it is described,

> The letter was closed, sealed, and given in the hands of a courier who hurried to Padjure. He placed the letter in the hand of Wertiamunne. He recited it. He hurried to Tanis to the place where the pharaoh was. (*Armour* VIII.33-IX.2)

Other than TPGs, one particular non-transitional example of a summary stands out in the Inaros texts. It takes place in *Sarpot* after the descriptive scene of Petechons and Sarpot's battle,

> It was from the time of the first hour of the morning until the […] of the evening, that the fight […]. (*Sarpot* IV.5)

Just before this line, there is a detailed description of the battle which evokes a striking image in the mind of the audience through the extensive use of coupled phrases and similes.

> One opened the gates before her and she went out to the order of battle […] Petechons. A man met his companion among them as two. They extended the shafts of their spears out in front of them. They threw the side of their decorated shields over their arms […] insults; the language of warriors. They took death as a friend. They took life as an enemy. […] in their fight of equals. Beautiful were their strikes, cunning were their blows. […] work. They swooped into the sky like vultures. They came down to earth like […]. They took to battle like Bes. They made […] like […] the son of Sobek. The earth resounded […] when the […] while they struck, beat, and lashed out. A man was not inferior to his brother,[99] his companion among them […] as well. He was not inferior to his brother, his companion among them. (*Sarpot* III.45-IV.4)

However, a continuation of such battle sequences could be increasingly difficult for the audience to follow, and the prolonged exposure to the repetition of the coupling figurative format would also diminish the vividness of the descriptive segment. So the summary line ties this episode to the rest of the day's battle nicely, as if to say, the battle carries on as before. This particular use of a summary is also found in *Armour* and *Benefice*. In *Armour* XXII.1-2, the summary is used at the onset of the clash between the two clans. Although the confrontation between the armies may be interesting in its own right, it does not highlight the theme of the narrative, which reveres individual glorification.[100] Thus, this portion of the

---

[99] See Appendix 1 n. 41 on *sn*.
[100] Individual glorification has a long history in Egyptian literary mentality, see LOPRIENO (1996b: 277-96).

battle is swiftly summarised in contrast to the detailed description of the duel that Pemu and his allies participate in later in the text. In *Benefice* XV.24-5, the duel between Minnebmaat and one of the herdsmen is also summarised in the same fashion. Given Minnebmaat is a son of Inaros, and an impressive warrior himself, it seems odd that his duel is summarised without any combat lead up (*Sarpot*) or follow up (*Armour*). Furthermore, his future duels with the herdsmen are simply reduced to "Minnebmaat spent another three days of battle—in total four days of battle—on the battlefield" (*Benefice* XVII.10-1). Although we cannot know for certain what takes place after the arrival of Pemu and Petechons, other battles in *Benefice*, e.g. that of Chayris' and Wertiamunne's, are also treated with a similar degree of summary.[101]

However, once the reoccurring theme of *Benefice* is taken into consideration, such summary may not be as surprising. *Benefice*, unlike *Armour*, has a much stronger emphasis on formalities and etiquettes, as opposed to individual glorification. This highlights the importance of conduct during a festival, as well as social interactions.[102] The most noticeable example is when Pekrur criticises Teos for his lack of respect for proper procedures and etiquettes, particularly when requesting to battle during a festival (*Benefice* X.2-10, XI.15-7). Another example can be found at the beginning of the text, where a substantial portion of the young priest's speech is dedicated to the systematic description of mythological involvement in relation to the barque of Amun (*Benefice* I.1-II.2).[103] Finally, the pharaoh's encounters with Amun also shed light on proper conduct when requesting advice from the deity (*Benefice* II.13-4, VI.1-9, X.12-XI.6).

Likewise, in Minnebmaat's example, his battle with the herdsmen is not the focal point of the episode, but rather, it is his interaction with the pharaoh. Since his arrival in *Benefice* XIV.18 to two columns later where he meets with the pharaoh in *Benefice* XVI.19, the pharaoh has no idea who the new warrior is. Indeed, during the summary of Minnebmaat's battle, the pharaoh said to Pekrur and Teos that "I do not recognise him among those from which our good words went" (*Benefice* XVI.5). This led to the pharaoh, Pekrur, and Teos criticising Minnebmaat later by saying, "Now, does a man go on the battlefield and withdraw, and does not go to the place where the pharaoh is in order to cause one to give the reward of his

---

[101] For both Chayris and Wertiamunne, their capture is far more descriptive than the battle (*Benefice* IV.24-V.11, IX.1-7), which emphasises the uselessness of the pharaoh's army and the travesty that the young priest committed during a festival.
[102] RYHOLT (2012a: 81).
[103] On the narrative style and description of the barque of Amun, see JASNOW (2007: 440-1).

fighting to him?" (*Benefice* XVI.15-7). Minnebmaat failed to greet the pharaoh first upon his arrival, thus has incurred his displeasure. He quickly realises his mistake and apologises by bowing to the ground and filling his mouth with dirt (*Benefice* XVI.18-9), and all is forgiven.

§2.3.3 Pause and ellipsis

The last two tempos, pause and ellipsis, are poorly attested in the Inaros texts. In general, pauses are not used in ancient literature. Even in other ancient texts such as the *Iliad*, episodes which have traditionally been identified as pauses, e.g. the description of the shield of Achilleus, are scenes embedded with analepses. Only during the period of naturalism does one start seeing the appearance of true pause.[104]

Ellipses, on the other hand, are a different matter. It is certainly not the case that Egyptian scribes were incapable of utilising ellipses. On the contrary, a well-placed ellipsis can be found in *Shipwrecked Sailor* (*Sh. S.* 154-5), where the four months during which the sailor had to wait on the island have been skipped. In the Inaros tradition, the lack of ellipses may be attributed to the fact that the narrative style and context do not require them.[105] To elaborate, the length of fabula time in each of the texts is considerably shorter than other Egyptian narratives, such as *Shipwrecked Sailor* or *Doomed Prince*, or at least that is what the text would like one to believe. As previously discussed, the frequent use of summary in each of the Inaros texts, particularly noticeable with regard to travel, is also indicative of this.

§2.4 Introductory phrases

Alongside TPGs, another marker for the beginning of a new episode is the use of introductory phrases. These phrases were already prevalent during the Middle and New Kingdom, particularly in Late Egyptian texts such as *Wenamun* and *Two Brothers*.[106] However, the specificity of their use is more complicated in Demotic than in the Middle and New Kingdom

---

[104] BAL (2009 [1985]: 107-8).

[105] Instead of ellipses, there are instances of paralipses (lateral omissions), for example *Armour* XIV.4-18. For paralipses, the fabula time is still moving, albeit in a new spatial setting.

[106] For example, see JAY (2011: 287-303) on *Wenamun*. However, it must be noted that the likes of ꜥḥꜥ.n, sḏm.k₃=f, and sḏm.in=f, although also used for episodic transitions, are considered to be linguistically different to introductory phrases, hence they will not be examined in the present research. This is particular true for ḫpr=f, which effectively functions as the Demotic variant of ꜥḥꜥ.n in a narrative.

examples.[107] For example, they do not occur in contexts where their literal meaning is inappropriate, and only some minor spelling variations in the phraseology can be seen between different texts. Most of these phrases serve to guide the audience as means of agency and foreshadowing. Therefore, a certain degree of standardisation is necessary, so that their role and message may be recognised, no doubt unconsciously.[108] In order to reveal any patterns, a documentation of all of the instances of introductory phrases has been made based on the narrator-texts in *Armour*, *Benefice*, and *Sarpot*.[109] From this, each phrase will be examined in turn for the narrative effects they produce.

	Armour	Benefice	Sarpot	Total
t3 wnw.t (*n*) *sḏm/ḏd/nw*	12	1	9	**22**
ssw/hrw sbq n3 i.ir ḫpr[110]	3	1	2	**6**
ḫpr tw3 (*n*) *p3y=f rsty*[111]	0	0	3	**3**
i.ir n3y ḏr=w ḫpr[112]	7	1	1	**9**
(*n.*)*m-s3 n3y*[113]	8[114]	2	2	**12**
Total	**30**	**5**	**17**	**52**

Table 2.1 – List of introductory phrases used in the Inaros texts.

Across the three instalments of the Inaros texts in question, 52 instances of introductory phrases can be identified. Out of these, *Armour* features the most at 30 instances. This is unsurprising considering it is the longest out of the three texts. Although *Benefice* is considerable in length, only a mere five instances of introductory phrases are found. This is most likely due to the relative infrequency of episodic changes compared to the other two texts, as well as having a focus on speeches and dialogue.[115] Even *Sarpot*, the shortest and the

---

[107] The use of introductory phrases in Demotic has been briefly noted by HOFFMANN (1995a: 17), HOFFMANN (1996a: 34, 37-9), and HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 16); and discussed by TAIT (2009: 75-82), TAIT (2011b: 400-3), and most recently JAY (2016: 112-6).

[108] TAIT (2009: 76). Tait attributes the necessity and prevalence of introductory phrases in Demotic as opposed to Middle and Late Egyptian to the smaller range of narrative verb forms in Demotic. Hence, other means of 'structural signposts' are needed, see TAIT (2011b: 400-1).

[109] For the full database, see Appendix 2.

[110] Each of the texts contains their own variant to this phrase. With the exception of the change in the use of the word 'day', which can be either *ssw/hrw*, other variants are only in regard to the spelling, i.e. *sbq* and *sbk*.

[111] The only variation to this phrase is in the spelling of *tw3*, which can be *twꜥ* (*Sarpot* III.29).

[112] With the exception of the instance from *Benefice* XVII.22-3, which substitutes *r* for *iw*, all nine instances exhibit the same form. An abbreviated alternative *i.ir n3y ḫpr* can be found in the text *Pharaoh and Persians* (P. Carlsberg 555 verso, Fragment 1 I.x+26), see RYHOLT (2012a: 145-6).

[113] There is one instance in *Sarpot* XI.x+10 that features the variant *n.m-s3 n3y*. Also in *Sarpot* (V.2), *m-s3 n3y* is followed immediately by another introductory phrase *ḫpr tw3 p3y=f rsty* 'the morning of the next day came'.

[114] There is one additional instance of *m-s3 n3y* (*Armour* XII.1), which is discounted here due to it being in the character-text, thus it is not considered an episodic change in the framing narrative.

[115] For example, some of the most substantial speeches / letters by Pekrur and Petubastis are found in *Benefice*, see §3.2.4 and §3.3.4.

most fragmentary of the three texts, still generates 17 instances. The use of fixed introductory phrases varies greatly, but generally pertains to two broad types – reaction followed by emotion, i.e. agency, and a change in the narrative time and/or space.

§2.4.1 Reaction

Only one standard phrase relating to reaction is used in the Inaros texts: *tꜣ wnw.t* (*n*) *stm/ḏd/nw* 'the moment that… heard/said/saw'.[116] Despite its uniformed linguistic features, this particular phrase has the highest occurrence of any episodic transition in the Inaros texts. It would be reasonable to suggest that the use of this phrase is a reaction to the previous passage, and the stimulant—a scene / image, report, or speech—is determined by one of three verbs of perception: 'to see', 'to hear', 'to say'.[117] The reaction varies, but all stem from emotion.[118] These emotions, for the most part, are not aspects of human behaviour that are just mentioned whenever they happen to arise in the unfolding of the action. Rather, they are usually referred to in recognisable expressions that signpost the direction of the subsequent event.[119] The emotion that follows the episodic transition manifests in one of four ways: alarm, anger, sadness, or bewilderment.[120]

In the first instance, in order to express alarm, a variation of the phrase *wn=f rꜣ=f r pꜣ itn n skp ꜥꜣ*[121] 'he opened his mouth to the ground in a great cry' is used. Although the term 'alarm' is coined by Tait,[122] which is predicated on the fact that the emotion generally contains an element of surprise, in both *Benefice* and *Sarpot* the phrase also encapsulates frustration, or the inability to resolve a situation. Normally used as a response after receiving distressing news, the character uttering the phrase always follows the line with a speech prompting either an immediate action (*Armour*), signalled by the use of an imperative or optative, or a

---

[116] See Appendix 1 n. 12, for brief comments on its translation.
[117] Tᴀɪᴛ (2009: 75-82).
[118] This ties into Tait's use of agency, since most emotions also prompt the progression of the narrative, Tᴀɪᴛ (2009: 75-82).
[119] Tᴀɪᴛ (2009: 75).
[120] Tait also agrees that although fear is considered an emotion in English, the concept of *snḏ* or *snt* in Egyptian is to instil fear as opposed to feeling fearful, see Tᴀɪᴛ (2009: 79). To provide one example of this from the Inaros texts, in Pekrur's letter to Petechons, he says, "Cause the army of Egypt to know of your fear (*snḏ*) and your terror (*nhr*)" (*Benefice* XIII.6-7).
[121] Another variation of the phrase is *wn=f rꜣ=f n sgp ꜥꜣ* (*Benefice* V.17). The phrase *wn=f rꜣ=f n ꜣrl hrš rmt qnqn* 'he opened his mouth in a heavy warrior's cry' (*Benefice* IV.6-7), although similar, serves as a rally rather than an alarm. Hence, it will not be considered here.
[122] Tᴀɪᴛ (2009: 78).

reiteration of the tragedy and the frustration of being helpless (*Benefice* and *Sarpot*). Considering the commanding force that is associated with imperatives and optatives,[123] the phrase is almost always used in relation to a character of the highest authority, either the pharaoh (*Armour* and *Benefice*) or the Chief of India (*Sarpot*).[124] Incidentally, this phrase then ties into the expression of weakness in both rulers.

The use of anger (*ḥꜥly* or *ḫꜥr*;[125] alternatively, *lby* 'rage') is only seen in *Armour* and *Benefice*. Out of the four instances, only two instances (*Armour* XVI.13 and *Benefice* III.15-6) can be positively identified to be following the reactive phrase *tꜣ wnw.t* (*n*) *stm/ḏd/nw*. One instance of *ḥꜥly*, in *Armour* II.21, contains a break in the manuscript, which makes any tracing of the reactive phrase difficult.[126] Although Petechons' rage (*ḫꜥr*) in *Benefice* XIII.12-3 does not follow a reactive phrase, we do know that it is a response to the letter from his father Pekrur. Hence, regardless of the preceding circumstance, a character only expresses anger as a result of provocation. Such an outburst is not viewed favourably in Egyptian society.[127] Indeed, Demotic wisdom literature in general presents the indulgence of anger as something to be avoided.[128] This view is also present in the Inaros texts. Upon Teos' outburst in *Benefice* IX.23-X.1, Pekrur coolly reminds Teos of his place in the pharaoh's court and that such anger is unnecessary (*Benefice* X.2-10). Nonetheless, in a narrative scenario, anger is used as an aspect of agency that is followed by a decision, command, and/or action. Tait suggests that the use of anger, rather than simply expressing an emotion, is to express the privilege of demonstrating such an emotion, particularly from those in high authority.[129] Such outbursts then would not be intended to intimidate, but rather to display a claim to power. Although it is naturally assumed that Petubastis and Pekrur should be the most eligible people to use such an expression, neither of them use anger as a means to demonstrate their power in the Inaros texts. This makes sense for Petubastis, since a lack of anger coincides with his portrayal.[130] Pekrur, on the other hand, has been shown to intimidate even the pharaoh, yet he never

---

[123] On the commanding forces imperatives and optatives, see §3.1.

[124] There is only a single confirmed exception to this, where the phrase is uttered by Pemu upon hearing that the armour has been lost. There might be one additional instance in *Sarpot* (III.16) where the 'great cry' is uttered by Petechons, but due to the break, it is uncertain to whom the phrase belongs.

[125] An alternative phrase used to describe dismay is *iwn bꜣn* 'a bad mood' (*Armour* V.3 and IX.9), which is used exclusively in speeches, and is never preceded by a reactive phrase *tꜣ wnw.t* (*n*) *stm/ḏd/nw*.

[126] The same fragmentary issue is present in another instance of rage (*ḫꜥr*) in P. Ricci 1 + 2 B.15.

[127] On the cognitive conceptualisation of anger in Egyptian literature, see KÖHLER (2011: 85-91).

[128] This is expressed in the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* (VII.19-20) and P. Insinger: the nineteenth instruction (XXII.7-XXIII.19), see LICHTHEIM (1980: 165, 202-4) for translation.

[129] TAIT (2009: 82).

[130] See §3.3.3.

expresses anger. As an alternative, one could argue that the use of anger in the first two texts rather than *Sarpot* is possibly due to the tension created as a result of humiliation. Indeed, a slight to a warrior's honour is the easiest way for one to incite anger in another in warrior hero narratives. This is particularly true for the younger warriors such as Petechons (*Armour* XVI.12-3, *Benefice* XII.12-3), Pemu (*Benefice* B.15) and Chayris (*Benefice* III.15-8).[131]

Another common emotion to follow the reactive phrase is sadness or despair. These instances are only found in *Armour* and *Sarpot*. The wording that expresses sadness and despair varies greatly, but it mostly revolves around an expression shown on the face,[132] or revealed in the heart.[133] Unlike the previous two emotions, which prompt an action in the character who expresses the emotion, sadness and despair most often mark an inaction or a pause in the action, which prompts another character's action, either positive or negative. For example, when the pharaoh tells Wertiamunne to return the armour to Heliopolis, "he placed his head in […] and his face was sad" (*Armour* IX.4). Indeed, his sadness is so great that he fails to respond to the pharaoh, even after the pharaoh calls him three times. Such inaction led to Pemu's declaration of a duel. Alternatively, in *Armour* X.14-6, Pemu is upset after hearing of the number of allies that Wertiamunne can summon, which prompts Pekrur to come and reassure Pemu by summoning an even greater number of allies.[134] The same reaction can be observed in *Sarpot* A,II.x+26-30. Upon seeing Petechons depressed, Sarpot reminds him that he still has an ally in her. She is subsequently instrumental in the defeat of the Indian army. Although in this instance, rather than following *t3 wnw.t* (*n*) *stm/dd/nw*, the phrase is simply followed by *nw Srpt r-r=f* "Sarpot saw him."

---

[131] It is also plausible that this particular emotion is associated with the sense of familiarity, considering the conflict between the allies of the pharaoh and of Inaros / Pekrur being a reoccurring theme in a number of Inaros texts, e.g. *Armour*, *Benefice*, and P. Vindob. D6920-22. In contrast, no fits of anger can be observed in *Sarpot*, since none of the characters in *Sarpot*—Petechons, Sarpot, and the Chief of India—have met each other prior to the temporal frame of the narrative. This would be harder to prove, since one could argue that the lack of anger in *Sarpot* is due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscript and/or *Sarpot*'s archaising narrative style, see JAY (2016: 140); cf. HOFFMANN (1995a: 17).

[132] *ḥrṱ=f ks* 'his face is in mourning' (*Armour* IX.3-4) and *ḥrṱ=f gs* 'his face is sad' (*Armour* X.16-7).

[133] *wsm h3t=f* 'he despaired (lit. his heart is lost)' (*Armour* VIII.24 and XIV.1), *tḥl h3t=f* 'his heart became troubled' (*Armour* VII.31, XII.9, and XIII.33; *Sarpot* A,II.x+20 and A,II.x+26), and *gby.w n h3t* 'depressed (lit. heart is weakened)' (*Armour* XIV.23-4). This last instance has been reconstructed by HOFFMANN (1996a: 303 n. 1722). One other instance in *Armour* is too fragmentary to determine whether Pekrur shows any signs of sadness after listening to Pemu's story regarding the loss of the armour, but it does say that "The moment that Chief of the East Pekrur heard these words, […], he placed mourning clothes completely on his body" (*Armour* VI.6-7). Other instances, such as *Sarpot* VIII.41-IX.1, is too fragmentary to be fully discernible.

[134] Another instance where a pause in the action may be observed is in *Armour* XIV.23-9. In this case, Pemu halts his attack on Wertiamunne upon seeing the arrival of the enemy's army by lamenting his own misfortune and lack of allies. However, due to the fragmentary nature of this section, this cannot be certain.

The last emotion, bewilderment, has only been observed three times in *Sarpot*, once by Sarpot, and twice by Petechons.[135] The phrase *bn-pw=f/s gm mȝꜤ n pȝ tȝ iw=f/s n.im=f* 'he/she did not know (lit. find) where on earth he/she was' is used for all three without variation other than in the gender of the third-person pronoun. In the first two instances (*Sarpot* IV.26 and IV.27), the bewilderment is experienced as a result of the infatuation between Petechons and Sarpot; while the last instance (*Sarpot* VIII.4) may have been a result of Petechons underestimating his opponent when travelling without his army, although this is uncertain due to lacunae in the manuscript. Tait suggests that the function of bewilderment is to "warn the audience that the character who is amazed will quickly react in a fashion that will propel the story forward," which is based on its function in *First Setne*. [136] Although this is probable in *Sarpot* as well, it cannot be confirmed since all sections following this phrase are fragmentary.

§2.4.2 Temporal and spatial changes

As mentioned while discussing rhythm, transitional phrases are often used as a summary to quickly move through a section of the text that would otherwise contribute very little to the narrative objective, e.g. the journey to a destination is less important than the battles and character interactions. The second type of introductory phrase is utilised in the same way, which is to signal a change in the narrative time and space.

The first example, *ssw/hrw sbq nȝ i.ir ḫpr* 'a few days came to pass', is consistently used across the Inaros texts. The phrase is solely featured at the beginning of a new episode, and is the only phrase that explicitly expresses a progression in the travel time as well as a change in the narrative space. *ssw/hrw sbq nȝ i.ir ḫpr* may have been developed from a variant of the Late Egyptian phrase *ḫr ir m-ḫt hrw.w qnw ḥr-sȝ nn* 'now after many days after these', which is most noticeably featured in *Doomed Prince* and *Two Brothers*.[137] However, unlike the Late Egyptian equivalent, the use of *ssw/hrw sbq nȝ i.ir ḫpr* is far more specific.[138] In every

---

[135] However, it should be noted that such emotion is common in other Demotic narratives, particularly *First Setne*.
[136] TAIT (2009: 78).
[137] JAY (2016: 110-1); cf. JAY (2011: 290-2, 300-1).
[138] In both *Doomed Prince* and *Two Brothers*, any changes to the temporal setting, whether it is a few days or many years, are simply marked by the same phrase without any consideration to the duration, see for example *Doomed Prince* IV.11 and *Two Brothers* I.4.

instance, it is used to denote a major juncture in the text, which draws the attention to the fact that the episode following the phrase is a crucial moment in the narrative.[139]

Continuing with the change in narrative time, the phrase *ḫpr tw3 p3y=f rsty* 'the morning of the next day came' may also be used. Its usage is limited to *Sarpot*, and in all three cases, it seems to function as an indicator for a subsequent day of combat.[140] Hence, it is only a change in the narrative time rather than space. Its absence in *Armour* and *Benefice* could be due to neither text indicates combat that is longer than one day, with the exception of Minnebmaat in *Benefice*.

Another frequently used introductory phrase that indicates the start of a new episode is *i.ir n3y ḏr=w ḫpr* 'while all these things happened' or 'meanwhile'.[141] Unlike *ssw/hrw sbq n3 i.ir ḫpr* or *ḫpr tw3 p3y=f rsty*, the presence of *n3y* 'these' means that the narrative is propelled forward by its explicit association with the previous episode, which would effectively remind the audience of the connection between the two. To mark this connection is crucial, since compared to all other introductory phrases, *i.ir n3y ḏr=w ḫpr* is highly unusual in the sense that it only presents a shift in the narrative space and not a progression in time.[142] This would explain its more frequent usage in *Armour* as opposed to *Benefice* and *Sarpot*, since *Armour* has the most number of changes in its setting during the course of the narrative. The purpose of the phrase is to create a parallel scenario, which is a unique feature of Demotic literature.[143] As explained in the discussion on embedding, the traditional approach of creating parallel story lines is through story-within-a-story, which is rarely used in the Inaros tradition. In the Inaros texts, the audience may be omniscient, but other characters are left in the dark regarding the events in these parallel storylines. This is particularly evident in Osiris' storyline in *Armour* I.1-11. Due to the fragmentary nature of the beginning of the manuscript,

---

[139] To give a few examples of the crucial moments that follow this phrase, it is used when: Pemu and Wertiamunne arrive at the Sea of the Gazelle, the scene of the main battle (*Armour* XI.22 and XII.4); Petechons prepares his army in order to support the pharaoh as ordered by Amun (*Benefice* XIII.10); the army of the women gathers in order to battle against Petechons for the first time (*Sarpot* II.29).

[140] However, its use in Late Egyptian texts, such as *Two Brothers* and *Wenamun*, is much more variable.

[141] It is also worth noting that this phrase can sometimes be preceded by a spatium, which means that the indication of a new episode is not only marked linguistically, but also palaeographically. This combination appears in three cases from the Tebtunis corpus (P. Carlsberg 555 verso, P. Carlsberg 80, and P. Carlsberg 130 recto), see RYHOLT (2012a: 145).

[142] This observation is also made by Ryholt, who points out that the introductory phrase serves to indicate "a change from one geographical setting to another," see RYHOLT (2012a: 145).

[143] The use of *i.ir n3y ḏr=w ḫpr* is not present in Middle or Late Egyptian literature. Even for Ptolemaic Demotic texts such as *First Setne*, this particular phrase is not used, whereas it is used in two instances in *Second Setne*, which dates to the Roman Period.

coupled with the fact that none of the other characters—maybe with the exception of the pharaoh—[144] know of Osiris' involvement, it has been particularly challenging for the deciphering of this episode's relevance to the rest of the text.

Thus far, all of the introductory phrases have explicit usage. However, the usage of the last example, *m-sꜣ nꜣy* 'after these', can be fluid, and is the most deceptive of the introductory phrases.[145] Again, similar to the use of *nꜣy* 'these' in *i.ir nꜣy ḏr=w ḫpr*, *m-sꜣ nꜣy* also indicates an explicit link to the previous episode. Indeed, out of the 12 instances of *m-sꜣ nꜣy*, six instances in *Armour* feature a continuation of the previous narrative idea, where there is no change to the setting or point of view. In *Benefice* and *Sarpot*, the use of *m-sꜣ nꜣy* is used to indicate a change in either the narrative time and/or space like the other introductory phrases. It could be this fluidity in its utility that allows for potential ambiguity in the episodic change and a build-up of suspense. For example, in *Benefice* XIV.13, after Petechons and Pemu start to make their journey down to Thebes, the episode transitions to the pharaoh through the use of the phrase *m-sꜣ nꜣy*. In the new episode, the pharaoh is said to have gone up and down over the barque of Amun daily looking for the two warriors. One would then presume that the arrival of a new *lms*-ship belongs to Pemu and Petechons; however, the subsequent succession of events makes it less and less likely that this is the case, until it is revealed in *Benefice* XV.8, twenty-two lines later, that it is the introduction of a new character, Minnebmaat. Consequently, *m-sꜣ nꜣy* is also the introductory phrase that could potentially affect the reception of the audience rather than being used simply for signposting.[146]

---

[144] Presumably only Petubastis knows of Osiris' involvement, which may be inferred from the retelling by the deceased scribe of the god's book. However, he does not refer to this episode in the remainder of the text.

[145] *m-sꜣ nꜣy* is also grammatically different from the previous examples. All other examples provided can be grammatically defined as a standalone clause, either main, or more often, conditional; *m-sꜣ nꜣy*, on the other hand, is an adverbial phrase. A variation of *m-sꜣ nꜣy*, *m-sꜣ ḫpr*, is mostly found in character-text.

[146] This is not the only instance in Demotic narratives where *m-sꜣ nꜣy* is used to manipulate the reception of the audience. In the Tabubu episode of *First Setne*, it is said,

> "Setne did not listen to him. Then Setne had no occupation on earth but to unroll the book and read from it to everyone. After this it happened one day (*m-sꜣ nꜣy ḫpr wꜥ hrw*) that Setne was strolling in the forecourt of the temple of Ptah. Then he saw a woman who was very beautiful…" (*First Setne* IV.37-39)

The audience is never informed as to how Setne arrives at the forecourt of the temple of Ptah in Memphis, because the presumption is that it carries on from the previous episode. The text has masterfully manipulated the embedding by faking the continuation of the story, where the perceived change in narrative time is in fact in narrative space, and *m-sꜣ nꜣy* is used to prevent its discovery. The translation is adapted from LICHTHEIM (1980: 133).

§2.4.3 Patterns of usage

Although all major episodes are introduced by an introductory phrase, a lack of discourse markers during a transition can be equally informative. A pattern for the presence, or absence thereof, of discourse markers can be observed once the texts are broken down into new episodes as determined by a change in setting / location. Unfortunately, *Sarpot* is too fragmentary to discern any concrete episodic breakdown, so only *Armour* and *Benefice* will be examined.

In *Armour*, the first half of the narrative utilises far more introductory phrases than the latter. It is no coincidence that the point where the discourse markers fell from usage at *Armour* XIII.18 marks the start of the combat portion of the narrative. This change would surely have been intentional. As demonstrated previously, often introductory phrases are used to provide a distinct identifier for the transition from one episode to another, which creates a sense of order so one can keep track of the narrative. In contrast, in the section where no introductory phrases are used, it is far more difficult to pin-point the start and end of an episode without any form of rigorous monitoring. It is tempting to suggest that this could have been done for dramatic effect in order to recreate the feeling of mass confusion and disorientation as a reflection of actual warfare. With the lack of direction, the anxiety and helplessness of the pharaoh is exaggerated. Pekrur, on the other hand, being the veteran warrior whose characteristics are the opposite of the pharaoh's, provides momentary composure during the battle portion of the text, inasmuch as his arrival in *Armour* XVII.22 is marked by one of the few instances where an introductory phrase is used. Minnemei's arrival in *Armour* XXIV.12 also highlights an important moment in the text, since his battle with Teos, who is guarding the armour, is what ultimately ends the war. The resumed usage of introductory phrases at *Armour* XXV.25 is also particularly noticeable, since it marks the end of the battle and the restoration of order.

Benefice, due to having fewer episodic changes and introductory phrases, is less informative. Nevertheless, several patterns can be seen that parallels *Armour*. The few instances of introductory phrases often precede the presentation of newly introduced warriors, such as Petechons in *Benefice* XIII.7, Minnebmaat in *Benefice* XIV.13 and XVI.12, and Pemu and Petechons in *Benefice* XVII.22. However, this could be simply due to the change in setting, e.g. the change from Thebes to Pisopd in *Benefice* XIII.7, and later back to Thebes in

Benefice XIV.13. Unfortunately, without the ending to the text, it is much harder to notice any significant patterns to the same degree as *Armour*. As mentioned previously, the stylistic difference between *Armour* and *Benefice*, in that *Benefice* has a stronger emphasis on formality and character interactions, may also contribute to the lack of episodic changes and discourse markers.

§2.5 Frequency

As the final form of temporality, frequency is defined as the numerical relationship between the text and fabula; and just like sequential ordering and rhythm, it too can be further divided into categories.[147] Five categories can be discerned from two axes, event (E) (frequency in the fabula) and presentation (P) (frequency in the text). These are: singular (1E/1P), plurisingular (nE/nP), varisingular (nE/n+1P or vice versa), repetitive (1E/nP), and iterative (nE/1P).[148] Singular events, as one would expect, are the most common, so it does not warrant any further comments at present since no changes in the frequency are observed. On the other hand, plurisingular and varisingular are rarely observed, and in the case of varisingular, difficult to identify with certainty in the context of Demotic narratives. Hence, they also do not contribute greatly towards the present examination of frequency in the Inaros texts. Thus, we turn our attention to the last two categories: repetitive and iterative.

§2.5.1 Repetition

Frequency is the best understood in Egyptian literary studies out of the three forms of temporality in narratology. This is due to the overlap of 'repetitive frequency' with the device of repetition, which is a familiar motif throughout all stages of Egyptian literature.[149] Indeed, narratives such as *Shipwrecked Sailor* and Westcar Papyrus feature extensive use of repetition, some of which are the length of a story-within-a-story. Jay proposes that the use of repetition can be interpreted as "an audience-based strategy governed by the requirements of the oral recitation of a written text."[150]

---

[147] GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 113); cf. BAL (2009 [1985]: 109).
[148] BAL (2009 [1985]: 111). Genette, however, only has three distinctions: singulative, repeating, and iterative. He does not make the distinction between singular, plurisingular, and varisingular, but refers to all three as simply singulative, see GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 114-7).
[149] JAY (2016: 96-100).
[150] JAY (2016: 100).

However, two considerations must be acknowledged when discussing repetition. For one, the term 'repetition' is misleading, since the examples we are dealing with are not explicitly 'identical'. The analogy that Genette gives for an explicit repetitive presentation is, "Yesterday I went to bed early, yesterday I went to bed early, yesterday I went to bed early, etc."[151] Such a construction is purely hypothetical and irrelevant to literature. Therefore, he argues that from a temporal perspective, 'repetition' is a mental construction, where the differences between the repeating passages are dismissed in favour of the similarities. Essentially, what we take to be 'identical events' are "merely a series of similar events considered only in terms of their resemblance."[152] This means that the same event could have been told multiple times, but with slight variations, such as the language, point of view, and/or circumstance, yet can still be viewed as repetition. This is mostly true in the context of Egyptian narratives.[153]

The second consideration is the types of repetition. In Egyptian narratives, the most well-known types of repetition are near-identical episodic repetition, such as the sailor's retelling of shipwreck in *Shipwrecked Sailor* (*Sh. S.* 23-38 and 89-106),[154] and thematic repetition, such as the deaths of Merib, Ahwere, and Naneferkaptah in *First Setne* (IV.5-11, IV.11-6, and IV.17-20).[155] Unfortunately, neither episodic or thematic repetition can be clearly identified in the Inaros texts.[156] Instead, three other types of repetition are present: semantic repetition (the repetition of words), syntactic repetition (the repetition of grammatical constructions), and phonetic repetition (the repetition of syllables).

---

[151] This could be either with or without stylistic variation, see GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 115).

[152] GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 113).

[153] Although Tait classifies the story of Ahwere in the *First Setne* as a form of repetition, it would be considered as plurisingular presentation here, since the deaths of Ahwere, Merib, and Naneferkaptah are three different events. In fairness, Tait has addressed the specification for his definition of repetition in *First Setne* as syntactic repetition, which is predicated on "repeated words, phrases, and passages" and not a repetition of events, see TAIT (2011a: 279-80).

[154] In this example, although the episodic repetition is near-identical, it is nevertheless directed at two difference audiences, i.e. the captain and the serpent respectively.

[155] TAIT (2011a: 281-2).

[156] The three visits that Petubastis made to the oracle of Amun may be considered a triple motif, but not a thematic repetition, see §3.3.3. This is because it does not exhibit the same consistency in phraseology at *First Setne*. In addition, several sections in the Inaros texts feature repetition, where the first presentation is either a command or a suggestion, i.e. a subjective prolepsis, while the second presentation is the actual event taking place. Such examples cannot be considered as repetitive presentation, since one presentation, being hypothetical, is dependent on the second presentation, whereas episodic or thematic repetition require each repetition to be independent of each other.

One of the best examples of semantic repetition takes place in *Armour*, and is spoken by Pekrur.

> "Cause one to make preparation of their bandages, and their myrrh, together with their temple officials, and their lector priests and magicians who are going to the embalming house! Cause them to proceed to Busiris! Cause them to enter the embalming house of Osiris-king Inaros, to the house of ointment, so that one makes unguent and funeral for him […] a large and beautiful funeral, according to that which is done for the Apis, Mnevis and the pharaoh, the three gods! It has been made for him. One has caused him to rest in his resting place, which is in the dromos of the House of Osiris, Lord of Busiris." (*Armour* VIII.13-7)

Multiple repetitions of words can be found here: the reference to going to the embalming house is mentioned twice, and the making of the funeral three times. Such a passage may contain ritualistic significance, particularly with regard to the importance of the deceased, or from a character's point of view, Pekrur is simply trying to reassure Pemu that great care has been taken with the funeral of Inaros. As Bal suggests, "the repetition of a previously described event usually serves to change, or to add to, the emphasis on the meaning of that event."[157] Following this passage, the pharaoh repeated the grandeur of Inaros' funeral again in *Armour* VIII.25-7 upon Pekrur and Pemu's return to his court after the funeral feast. This is repeated partly to stress the importance of Inaros, but also to show the pharaoh's annoyance, which is evident in the series of rhetorical questions ending with "What is that which is disgraceful with you again?" (*Armour* VIII.26-7).[158]

The syntactic repetition of the same event is often used for emphasis, and can mostly be found in parallel phrasing.[159] A number of these phrases are found in the Inaros texts. The following is only some of the most exemplary cases.

> *t3 ẖly[bš] Wsir nsw Ỉr.t-r-ḥr-r=w my st3t̠=s r p3y=s m3ꜥ my t̠3=w s r Ỉwnw r n3 ꜥ.wy.w n P3-mi*
> "The armour of the Osiris-king Inaros, cause it to be returned to its place!
> Cause it to be taken to Heliopolis to the house of Pemu…!" (*Armour* IX.2-3)

---

[157] BAL (2009 [1985]: 92).
[158] See §3.3.3 for Petubastis' use of rhetorical questions.
[159] Jay also classifies parallel phrases as a type of repetition, citing *Armour* VIII.11-2, *Armour* XII.22-3, and *Benefice* IV.24-V.3 as key examples, see JAY (2016: 96). The use of such parallel constructions has also been discussed by JAY (2010: 165-7); cf. COLLIER (1996: 544-5).

my ti=w [n3].w[=i wˁ syḫ n qnqn] ḥˁ.t=i my t[i]=w n3.w=i ˁ.wy n ti.t
"Cause one to give me a battle opponent as well! Cause one to give me a battlefield!" (*Armour* XX.1-2)

my [w]sf=n p3 3iḥ p3 mḫl iwṯ=n my ti=n [p3] wš n p3 nw iwṯ=w n [p3 s 2]
"Cause us to end the battle and strife between us! Cause us to make a truce between us two!" (*Benefice* XVI.7-9)

In each of the cases, the repetitive presentation of the same event is expressed through syntactic repetition. In these instances, the emphasis is achieved through the second clause echoing the necessity of the first with a variation of the same details.

Lastly, in terms of phonetic repetition, only one example can be identified to my knowledge. In Pekrur's speech to Petubastis in *Armour* IX.17-20, he uses two uncommon quadri-consonantal words, i.e. *mtl3* 'to witness' and *Mtl3* 'Metelis', to frame his warning to the pharaoh. Incidentally, this speech also features syntactic repetition.[160]

§2.5.2 Iteration

Lastly, incidences of iterative presentation—a single narrative presentation synthetically takes upon itself several occurrences of the same event in the fabula—are considerably lower than repetitive presentation in the Inaros tradition. For one, the use of sylleptic formation,[161] such as 'daily', is not prevalent in the texts, where only a few instances have been observed. Furthermore, these instances use the word *mny* rather than the traditional *rˁ nb*, the usage of which is not present within the tradition. For example, in *Benefice* XIV.15-7, the pharaoh is said to have paced up and down over the barque of Amun daily looking for Pemu and Petechons' reinforcements. Later in *Benefice* XVII.21, Minnebmaat is said to have come to the battlefield daily for four days in order to fight one of the 13 herdsmen. Genette refers to this as a pseudo-iterative, which typically constitutes a figure of narrative rhetoric which is not to be taken literally, as if to be understood as "every day something of this kind happened, of which this is one realisation among others."[162] This is also the case in *Sarpot* II.23-5, an example that has been discussed a number of times previously, where Sarpot says, "for many days, one caused us to hear of his matters." It is most unlikely that the exact same

---

[160] For an examination of this passage, see §3.2.4 on Pekrur's speech patterns.
[161] Syllepsis is defined as the grouping of one or another kinship, such as spatial, temporal, or other, see GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 85 n. 119).
[162] GENETTE (1980 [1972]: 121-2).

information is presented to Sarpot on a daily basis for many days. Although the audience recognises this as hyperbole, the exaggeration still has the literary effect of stressing the confidence and preparedness of Sarpot, especially since this passage takes place after her sister's espionage into Petechons' camp.

§2.6 Summary

To summarise, the purpose of this chapter is to examine the effects that narrative features have on the dramatisation of the Inaros texts, which can be achieved by focussing on the manipulation of time and chronology between the text and the fabula. Three types of variation are present in the Inaros texts: 1) sequential ordering / embedding, which changes the order of the events; 2) rhythm, which elasticises the temporality; 3) frequency, which is the number of times certain events are described. For sequential ordering, the use of analepses and prolepses can promote narrative agency, foreshadowing, and consistency of characterisation in the texts, which can also be observed in the use of reactive introductory phrases and dream sequences. Rhythm is either used to highlight the climax of the narrative, or to condense the unimportant sections of the narrative, such as travel and episodic transitions. Incidentally, introductory phrases pertaining to temporal and spatial changes also function to condense these transitions, as well as signposting important passages. Finally, semantic and syntactic repetitions are employed to emphasise key words or phrases, which may be significant to the narrative progression.

§3 CHARACTERISATION

The Inaros texts feature some of the most complex characterisation and character relationships in Egyptian literary corpora. This complexity is derived not only from the individual texts, but also from shared characteristics across the entire tradition. Indeed, one of the signature identification features of an Inaros text at present is its characters.[1] In this sense, characterisation is a vital piece of the puzzle in the present examination of defining the Inaros tradition.

For the purpose of the present chapter, characterisation refers to character creation and conceptualisation in a literary work.[2] In theory, this involves a three-step process. Firstly, in order to achieve an understanding of characterisation, one must acknowledge that the characters in the Inaros tradition were created with human traits. Prince defines a character as a topic with a set of common propositions that can be generally associated with human beings.[3] This naturally progresses to the second process, where in order for such humanistic traits to stand out, a character must be a decisive factor contributing towards the narrative progression at least once in the duration of the text, as opposed to simply being part of the general context or background.[4] Thus, the importance of a character is dependent on his/her visibility in a text.[5] For example, this would immediately eliminate majority of the allies of Pekrur and Wertiamunne in *Armour*, who are only mentioned in passing. Lastly, with visibility comes functionality. In most narratives, how often a character appears, i.e. how many lines they receive, would correspond to the quality of their functional role within the text.[6] The degree of functionality is determined by the 'linguistic correlate'.[7] This can be

---

[1] Another possible identification feature for an Inaros text is in its historical setting. For example, the most recent identification of *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyan* as one of the Inaros texts is predominantly due to the presence of Petubastis and Pemu, as well as the appearance of a Wenamun of Natho from the Annals of King Ashurbanipal, see RYHOLT (2012a: 35).

[2] CULPEPER (2001: 1).

[3] PRINCE (1982: 71). Bal expresses caution in relation to the over-identification of any fictional character as a real person. Most importantly, this identification lends itself to criticism when a character does not conform to their perceived role. This dilemma is captured by Bal with her sub-heading 'Why Characters Resist Us', see BAL (2009 [1985]: 113-5). As we shall see, this dilemma appears in the discussion of Petechons' personality towards the end of this chapter (§3.4.3).

[4] PRINCE (1982: 71).

[5] PRINCE (1982: 72).

[6] BAL (2009 [1985]: 201).

[7] DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 9).

established by analysing a wide array of grammatical forms which describe them responding to different scenarios and conducting a variety of activities.

An examination of characterisation cannot be overstated. This pertains not only to the Inaros tradition, but the general discussion of fictional portrayal of characters in Egyptian literature on the whole. Indeed, the importance of characterisation has been largely ignored in the field of Egyptian literary studies, particularly in fictitious, non-royal settings. Bennison convincingly argues that such oversight is due to the influence of both structuralism and poststructuralism on Egyptology, which focuses on issues such as plot and message.[8] Hence, rarely has characterisation been made the sole focus of a study, and often functions as a by-product of other forms of literary studies.[9] For example, some of the most comprehensive theoretical discussions of Egyptian literature do not contain any specific contributions on the topic of characterisation.[10] While there are a number of discussions relating to characters in the Inaros context, they have largely been focussed on their historical context / identification and reception.[11] There is yet to be any analysis on the functionality and fictional portrayal of the characters within the narrative framework. Hence, the necessity of the present chapter.

As for the methodology and perspective to be undertaken, Di Biase-Dyson's 'humanising' approach is the most appropriate, which looks at characters as 'individuals' who develop throughout the narrative or have motivations or agenda of their own.[12] Essentially, what is the distinctiveness and personality of the characters within the Inaros tradition? Considering how

---

[8] BENNISON (1993: 79).

[9] DI BIASE-DYSON (2013) is one of these rare exceptions.

[10] Di Biase-Dyson notes that compilations such as LOPRIENO (1996) *Ancient Egyptian literature: history and forms*, and MOERS (1999) *Definitely: Egyptian literature, Proceedings of the symposium 'Ancient Egyptian literature: history and forms'* do not discuss characterisation. Even the more recent compilations such as HAGEN et al. (2011) *Narratives of Egypt and the ancient Near East: literary and linguistic approaches* and ENMARCH and LEPPER (2013) *Ancient Egyptian literature: theory and practice* contain this oversight.

[11] For a few of the prominent studies on the historical context / identification and reception of the Inaros characters in chronological order, see RYHOLT (2004: 484-90), QUACK (2006: 499-505), ALMÁSY (2007: 31-7), HOFFMANN (2008: 49-57), RYHOLT (2009: 231-8), ZAUZICH (2010: 447-65), and ALMÁSY (2012: 143-202). Using Loprieno's terminology, the focus thus far has been placed on the *topos*, as in the general cultural stereotypes developed by the dominant ideology, rather than *mimesis*, as in the individual depiction, see LOPRIENO (1988: 45, 16-7 respectively). For a concise summary and review of Loprieno's *Topos und Mimesis*, see DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 16-21).

[12] Following the categorisation established by Laird and Culpeper, Di Biase-Dyson has divided the means of understanding literary protagonists into four categories: humanising, formalist, internalising / authorial self-expression, and externalising / audience response, see DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 9-11); cf. LAIRD (1997: 282) and CULPEPER (2001: 9). The other three categories will not be considered at present considering their overlap with Chapter 2 (formalist), and Chapter 4 (internalising / authorial self-expression and externalising / audience response).

long we have known the texts for, the lack of a systematic examination of the characters is concerning. Of course, not all characters in the Inaros texts are substantial enough for such in-depth 'humanising' analyses. Despite this, the number of characters who can be convincingly argued to have a functional effect on the progression of the narrative is still considerable.[13] Due to space constraints, only three characters have been selected: Pekrur, Petubastis, and Petechons, who will be analysed individually. The selection of the Pekrur and Petubastis is the result of both characters' prominent presence in *Armour* and *Benefice*, whereas Petechons is selected as the most representative of the young warriors as well as for being the most featured living character in the Inaros tradition. The characterisations in this chapter will be examined intertextually and intratextually.[14] The focus will be placed on the characters' portrayal, as well as examining their most dominant traits. For Pekrur and Petubastis, as the characters with the most character-text, their speech patterns will also be discussed. In contrast, as one of the young warriors, Petechons' personality will be discussed in order to highlight the necessity of valuing each young warriors' individuality. Additionally, by taking both the character-text and the narrator-text into consideration, one avoids overreliance on a single perspective, which as I shall demonstrate, is particularly important in Petechons' case.

§3.1 Methodology

The examination of characterisation is divided into literary and linguistic aspects, where literary is the observation of the characters in the context of a narrative's genre, and linguistic assesses the portrayal of the character using systemic functional linguistics.[15] The two categories are interconnected. The linguistic approach takes into consideration the generic features established by a literary approach, since it sees language use as dependent on a text's literary context.[16] The analysis will also combine both qualitative and quantitative elements. The qualitative approach focuses on the individual level, and is able to analyse, in depth, how each case study affects our understanding of the overall characterisation, and will be relevant to both narrator- and character-text. The quantitative approach, on the other hand, requires the

---

[13] The characters who could be considered are: Pekrur, Petubastis, Pemu, Petechons, Montubaal, Minnebmaat / Minnemei, young priest, and Sarpot.

[14] For other non-characterising aspects of intertextuality, see Chapter 4.

[15] DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 59). Di Biase-Dyson also discusses a third category – historical perspective, which considers the character in relation to his/her surrounding context. This will be touched upon in the present chapter, but will feature more prominently in §4.3.1.

[16] EGGINS (2004 [2001]: 9).

collection of individual sets of data pertaining to specific criteria, which can then be analysed and interpreted for their potential value in pattern determination, and will only be applicable to the character-text for the present chapter. As stressed in the previous chapter, the importance of using linguistic and literary theory outside the standard norms of the Egyptological theoretical paradigm is essential, more so when it comes to characterisation. The current state of Egyptian literary analysis still varies vastly in terms of its use of non-Egyptological methodology, and as mentioned, research on characterisation is still limited. Hence, systemic functional linguistics[17] and conversation structure[18] will be used.

The major methodological approach that will underline this chapter is systemic functional linguistics (henceforth abbreviated as SFL). The term is derived from a combination of 'functional linguistics' and 'systemics'. Functional linguistics deals with language as a social interaction and analyses how language is used (functional-semantics) and how language is structured (semiotics),[19] while 'systemics' places emphasis on language as a system of hierarchically-ordered choices from which the user picks, either consciously or subconsciously, in order to make meaning.[20] This approach breaks each clause down to three types of meaning, or metafunctions: textual, ideational (or experiential), and interpersonal.[21] Alternatively these functions can be described as clause as message, clause as representation, and clause as exchange.[22] To clarify these three metafunctions, this example from *Armour* XI.20-1 will be examined.[23]

> *m-s3 n3y šm n=w n3 rmt ꜥ3y r n3y=w tš irm n3[y=w] tmy*
> After these, the great men went to their nomes and their cities.

The textual metafunction expresses the flow of information about a topic, dividing a clause into 'theme' (the point of departure and psychological subject; in other words, given information) and 'rheme' (new information).[24] The purpose of the theme is that it is the focus point of the sentence, and is the given quantity within a clause. In this case, it is *m-s3 n3y*. The theme is also the grounding factor onto which the rest of the clause attaches, i.e. rheme, in the

---

[17] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]) and EGGINS (2004 [2001]).
[18] LEVINSON (1983: 284-94).
[19] HALLIDAY (1971: 331); EGGINS (2004 [2001]: 3, 20-1).
[20] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 48-9); EGGINS (2004 [2001]: 18-20).
[21] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 30-1, 82-6).
[22] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 83).
[23] See HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 212 Fig. 5.1) for a concise table of a clause with the three metafunctional lines of meaning.
[24] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 88-133); EGGINS (2004 [2001]: 296-326).

form of new information.[25] As for the ideational metafunction, the clause is divided into token, process, and value.[26] The token is the doer, or the subject, of the action (*nꜣ rmt ꜥꜣy*), the process is the verb (*šm*), and the value is the rest. This metafunction focuses on 'transitivity', which centres on the effect of a process.[27] Processes themselves can be further divided into 'doing' processes, i.e. material and behavioural, 'sensing' processes, i.e. mental and verbal, and 'being' processes, i.e. existential and relational.[28] The first four processes will be of particular importance when dealing with characterisation in the Inaros texts, while the last two—existential and relational—will not be considered at present.[29] Therefore, the focus will be placed on the use of first-person perspective as token, and its interactions with the verbal processes. Lastly, the interpersonal metafunction, as the most important metafunction for the analysis of character interactions, is used to interpret the clause as an exchange between the speaker and the listener in order to analyse the grammatical quality of the discourse within the character-text.[30] It allows us to access intentions, expectations, and motivations. There are two parts to a clause as an exchange: mood and residue.[31] The mood denotes both the subject (*nꜣ rmt ꜥꜣy*) and the finite verbal operator, which is the temporal and/or modal function of the verb *šm*. This is contrasted by the residue, which includes the non-finite component of the verb *šm* as the predicator,[32] as well as the rest of the sentence as the complement and/or adjunct.[33] What is of particular importance to the interpersonal metafunction is the element of mood, which is based on the two types of speech roles, giving and demanding of information or goods-&-services.[34] In this case, three particular grammatical features will be examined:

---

[25] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 88-9).

[26] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 211-358); EGGINS (2004 [2001]: 206-53).

[27] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 212-3).

[28] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 213-20).

[29] This is due to the fact that 'being' processes, in the context of Egyptian grammar, relate to nominal sentence structure, and so do not contribute towards the functionality and motivation of a character, which is of more importance for the present chapter.

[30] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 134-210); EGGINS (2004 [2001]: 141-87).

[31] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 134-9, 151-6 esp. Fig. 4.6).

[32] The responsibility of the 'predicator' is four-fold: a) it specifies secondary tense; b) it expresses the aspect; c) it specifies the voice; d) it specifies the process, see HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 151-2).

[33] The complement is comparable to the 'direct object', while the adjunct is to the 'conjunction' (e.g. introductory phrases) and/or the 'prepositional phrase'. Since complements and adjuncts are not crucial to the present discussion, they will not be elaborated upon. For the description and examination of complements and adjuncts, see HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 153-6).

[34] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 134-5).

imperatives, causative imperatives (optatives),[35] and interrogatives.[36] Demanding goods-&-services encompasses the use of the imperative, i.e. a command,[37] which can be divided into the use of imperatives and optatives. Such distinction of the imperative is in its grammatical mood; while the imperative is a command, the optative is a suggestion or a wish, which contains the qualities of both a command and an offer.[38] This distinction, as we shall see, will impact the degree of authority in the characterisation, particularly when it comes to Petubastis. As for demanding information, it is dependent on the use of interrogative particles, both yes/no interrogatives and WH- interrogatives.[39] Yes/no interrogative is related to polar questions, while WH- interrogatives' function is "to specify the entity that the questioner wishes to have supplied."[40]

	Goods-&-services	*Information*
Giving	Offer	Statement
Demanding	Command and Suggestion (imperative and optative)	Question (yes/no and WH-)

Table 3.1 – The two types of speech roles in the interpersonal metafunction.[41]

For the purposes of this chapter, the two metafunctions that are most crucial for characterisation analysis are ideational and interpersonal.[42] In addition to the standard analytical approach proposed by SFL, both metafunctions will also utilise the two aspects of

---

[35] In Demotic, causative imperatives are most commonly used as optatives, see JOHNSON (2004 [1976]: 139-42). For the purpose of this thesis, I have retained the literal translation of *my sḏm=f* as 'cause him to hear', with the understanding that it could also be translated as 'let him hear' as in JOHNSON (2004 [1976]: 140), or 'may he hears' as in TAIT (2015: 393). It must be stressed that other forms of the optative, such as the prospective *sḏm=f*, will not be examined at present.

[36] See Appendix 2 for a full list of all instances of these grammatical features pertaining to Pekrur, Petubastis, and Petechons, as both the speaker and the recipient. The texts from which the database is derived from is P. Krall, P. Spiegelberg, and P. Vindob. D6165/A, see §1.1.2 for the justification on using these three manuscripts. Unfortunately, due to space constraints, I am unable to include all of the characters' grammatical observations.

[37] For the definition of command, see MATHIESSEN, LAM, and TERUYA (2010: 74).

[38] The use of causative imperative construction as the optative is specific to Egyptian language. Hence, its function described here is adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen's observations on the use of the English 'let', which extends to the third person imperative form, see HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 166) and MATHIESSEN, LAM, and TERUYA (2010: 81 Fig. 37). Unfortunately, a comprehensive systematic examination of the functionality of optatives in Egyptian language is beyond the scope of the present study.

[39] In the context of SFL, the particles that are used for yes/no interrogative and WH- interrogative falls under different element of the interpersonal metafunction. Yes/no interrogatives use the particle *in*, which is considered as the finite verbal operator, whereas WH- interrogatives use the particle *iḥ* ('what') and *tb3 iḥ* ('why'), which functions as the adjunct or the complement in the residue respectively. For additional information on this distinction, see HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 143, 160-4 esp. Fig. 4.4, 4.15-6).

[40] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 143, 160).

[41] This table is adapted from HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 136 Table 4.1).

[42] Textual metafunction, on the other hand, with its focus on the presentation of new information, is particularly relevant to discussions such as episodic changes, which has been examined in §2.3.2 and §2.4.2.

conversation structure within the paradigm of pragmatics:[43] 'conversation analysis' and 'preferential organisation'. Conversation analysis, which monitors turn-taking in dialogue, is based on a local management system, where a set of rules dictate the turn-by-turn nature exhibited in all speeches.[44] Such rules are predicated on the occurrences of 'transition relevance place' (TRP), a point at the end of a phrase that signifies the potential to start a new phrase by the same character, or pass it to the next character.[45] As we shall see, this is of particular importance in the use of rhetorical questions, and provides additional information on the mood and personality of a character. On the other hand, preferential organisation relates to how the speech role of demanding is responded to, and can be separated into 'preferred' or 'dispreferred' manner.[46] This is relevant in the discussion on power dynamics and interactions between characters.

§3.2 Pekrur

Pekrur is arguably one of the most interesting and complex characters in the Inaros tradition. Although he is not considered the title figure in any of the texts, his supportive role and importance in the texts is unquestionable.[47] His enduring presence in texts both before and after Inaros' death would suggest his overall popularity in the Inaros tradition. His name *P3-qll*, which simply means 'the frog', does not seem to hold any additional significance, but may be indicative of his origin.[48] *Armour* suggests that Pekrur is from Pisopd, which lies on the eastern branch of the Nile in the Delta, and is one of the eastern most cities in Egypt. More commonly though, Pekrur is referred to as 'Chief of the East' (*p3 wr i3bṭ*), an epithet that is borrowed from Sopdu, the main deity of Pisopd.[49] Being one of the most visible characters in the tradition, the focus will be placed on his portrayal and speech patterns.

---

[43] LEVINSON (1983: 53) defines pragmatics as a device that "can compute out of sequences of utterances, taken together with background assumptions about language usage, highly detailed inferences about the nature of the assumptions participants are making, and the purpose for which utterances are being used… pragmatics can be taken to be the description of this ability."

[44] LEVINSON (1983: 294-332).

[45] LEVINSON (1983: 296-7).

[46] LEVINSON (1983: 332-45).

[47] Pekrur is most likely the protagonist in the episode *Pekrur and Esarhaddon*, but unfortunately, the text is far too fragmentary for this to be of certain.

[48] RANKE (1935: 120 no. 1); *Demot. Nb.* 1277.

[49] Sopdu is mentioned as 'Chief of the East' during one of Pekrur's evocations, *Armour* VIII.21. This title is applied to Pekrur consistently. Combining *Armour* and *Benefice*, Pekrur is mentioned 67 times, and his title 'Chief of the East' occurs 59 times alongside his name. The epithet is also exclusively positioned before his name, and is structured as *p3 wr i3bṭ P3-qll* 'Chief of the East Pekrur'. See §4.2.2 for additional remarks on epithets.

Additionally, as the first character to be examined in the present chapter, a number of the analytical frameworks, e.g. rhetorical questions, will be established here, which will also be utilised in the examination of subsequent characters.

§3.2.1 Historical Pekrur

As noted in Chapter 1, Pekrur is one of the few Egyptian rulers from the Delta about whom we have records from multiple sources dated to the end of the twenty-fifth dynasty. Much like his fictional self, the historical Pekrur was also the ruler of Pisopd.[50] According to prisms A and C of Assurbanipal, Pekrur was among one of 20 rulers who were installed by Assurbanipal's father Esarhaddon and subsequently reinstated by Assurbanipal after the brief deposition by Taharqa.[51] Despite this, Pekrur, along with Necho I and *Šarru-lū-dāri*, rebelled against the Assyrian king. However, the message sent to Taharqa regarding their defection was intercepted by the Assyrians, and as a result, Necho I and *Šarru-lū-dāri* were sent to Nineveh as captives. Pekrur, on the other hand, was not mentioned, which Ryholt speculates to mean that he had escaped capture.[52] This may have contributed to the view of Pekrur as cunning in the literary tradition, especially in *Pekrur and Esarhaddon*. In the Victory Stela of Tanutamani, who succeeded Taharqa, Tanutamani travelled north in order to fight the princes of the Delta, but unfortunately had to retreat to Memphis after finding the rulers barricaded in their fortresses.[53] It was while Tanutamani was in Memphis that a delegation representing the rulers arrived and offered their allegiance. The delegation was headed by Pekrur who was the only named ruler in the group.[54] Thus one could stipulate that based on the evidence from Assurbanipal and Tanutamani, Pekrur would have been one of the major political powers in the Delta at the time.

§3.2.2 Fictional biography

His lineage is mostly unknown except for the fact that in *Benefice* he is named as 'son of Petechons' in three instances (*Benefice* V.21, XII.10-11, and XVII.4). Two of his children are known, the most important one being Petechons, who will be examined separately later. The

---

[50] KITCHEN (1986 [1972]: 458).
[51] ONASCH (1994: 61-129, 147-54).
[52] See §1.3; cf. KAHN (2006: 259-61) and RYHOLT (2004: 487-8).
[53] GRIMAL (1981: 3-20, pls. I-IV); translations in ONASCH (1994: 129-45) and EIDE et al. (1994: 193-209).
[54] Line 36-8 of Tanutamani's Victory Stela, see BREYER (2003: 293-302).

only other named child in the texts is Pasitur.[55] Very little is known of Pekrur's early life, but by the time of *Esarhaddon's Letter to Inaros*, Pekrur was already an ally of Inaros. The exact status of Pekrur before the death of Inaros is unknown. He is never explicitly associated with a title linking him to his hometown Pisopd. His sole title, 'Chief of the East', also only occurs in the texts after Inaros' death. In *Esarhaddon's Letter to Inaros*, tension runs high with the stand-off between Inaros and Esarhaddon at the fortress of Alvand (*ꜣlwnt*),[56] where Esarhaddon sends a letter to Inaros containing a military challenge of some sort. In *Pekrur and Esarhaddon*, he may have sneaked into Esarhaddon's sleeping chamber in order to find something or someone.[57] As observed in the texts after Inaros' death, Pekrur later becomes a senior advisor to the pharaoh, and plays a crucial role in both *Armour* and *Benefice*. In *Armour*, he is a strong supporter of the Inaros clan, whilst playing the mediator in the conflict between Pemu and Wertiamunne. He retains his advisory role in *Benefice*, supporting the pharaoh in his disagreement with the young priest and helping him by summoning Petechons and Pemu.

Pekrur died sometime between *Benefice* and *Diadem*. In *Diadem*, a kalasiris accuses Petechons of burying his father Pekrur away from Egypt, which leads to his confiscation of Inaros' heirloom, i.e. his diadem and lance. It seems that Petechons buried Pekrur in the temple of Horus at Biugem in Nubia, something which Petechons confirms himself in *Diadem* I.14.[58] Unfortunately, it is not known if there is any historical truth to this claim about Pekrur's burial, since the locality Biugem is not well attested.[59]

---

[55] Named in *Armour* XIX.4. Considering that he is named right after Petechons in the battle call, but before Pekrur's call out to the army of Pisopd, it is highly likely that he is the son of Pekrur. The fact that, like Petechons, he is placed against the family of Chayris also supports this observation.

[56] For additional information on the fortress of Alvand and the anachronism that it presents, see RYHOLT (2004: 493).

[57] Unfortunately, due to the state of the papyrus, we do not know at present what Pekrur is looking for, see RYHOLT (2004: 494-5). Regardless, the theme of the narrative, i.e. the violation of a king in his sleeping chamber, may be comparable to *Second Setne*.

[58] The burial of Pekrur may parallel Inaros' own burial in the temple of Osiris at Busiris. For Egyptian burials within temple precincts, see QUACK (2006: 113-32).

[59] Biugem has only been attested in *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, which suggests that it could have been a mythical location, see RYHOLT (2012a: 97).

§3.2.3 Portrayal

Unfortunately, none of the texts from Inaros' lifetime have been fully published, so Pekrur's involvement in these cannot be determined at present. Therefore, his characterisation will be based on the two texts he is in after the death of Inaros, namely *Armour* and *Benefice*.

In these two texts, Pekrur and Petubastis are portrayed as having the highest authority in Egypt. Hierarchically speaking, as the pharaoh, Petubastis is Pekrur's superior. However, their interactions seem to suggest that it is often the case that Pekrur and the pharaoh are placed as equals. The pharaoh has a high level of trust in Pekrur, and on rare occasions, even fears Pekrur.[60] It is Petubastis who points out that "I see that there is no one (else) who can place the two shields into pairs all round, nome against nome, city against another" (*Armour* XVIII.20-1), and requests that Pekrur meets Montubaal in battle so that Montubaal would stop the destruction of the pharaoh's army (*Armour* XXII.17-9). Their equality is confirmed by the fact that upon his arrival at the Sea of the Gazelle, a platform is made for Pekrur opposite the pharaoh Petubastis (*Armour* XVIII.9-10). Similar patterns are observed in *Benefice*, where the pharaoh is often seen in agreement with Pekrur. For example, when Pekrur dismisses Teos' reckless suggestion to deploy the army of Egypt without asking Amun first, the pharaoh agrees with Pekrur's suggestion by saying "Good are these advices instructed by Chief of the East Pekrur" (*Benefice* X.10-1). The pharaoh also had to elicit the help of Pekrur to negotiate with the young priest and to summon Petechons and Pemu (*Benefice* VII.2-4 and XII.1-4 respectively).

Pekrur	*Total clause spoken*	*Imperative*		*Optative*		*Interrogative*		*First-person*
		Speaker	*Receiver*	*Speaker*	*Receiver*	*WH-*	*yes/no*	
Armour	127	39	7	9	6 (1)[61]	2	5	13
Benefice	51	6	4	6	1	0	3 (1)	0

Table 3.2 – Grammatical features in Pekrur's character-text.

Considering the trust that the pharaoh has in him, Pekrur exhibits incredible authority in *Armour* and *Benefice*, which is observed in his imperative and optative usage in the character-text. In *Armour* alone, out of the 127 clauses in his character-text, Pekrur uses

---

[60] For example, after Pekrur's speech in *Armour* IX.12-20, Petubastis quickly responds in a submissive manner with, "If it pleases you…" (*Armour* IX.23-4).

[61] Circle brackets denote the number of instance(s) that the character shares with other characters.

imperatives 39 times (30.7%)[62] and optatives nine times (7.1%). 22 instances of these are from summoning his allies and ten instances are from his allocations on the battlefield.[63] In *Benefice*, although Pekrur does not speak as much as he does in *Armour*, his use of the imperative and optative is nonetheless more than any other character at 12 instances (23.5%). This time, there are six instances of imperatives (11.8%) and six instances of optatives (11.8%). Taking his statistics into consideration, Pekrur's authoritative status should not come as a surprise, particularly in his ability to demand goods-&-services. Having a higher number of imperatives over optatives, in the case of *Armour*, also means that Pekrur's authority is more definitive, rather than mere 'suggestions'. This is based on the observation that suggestions, as discussed, inherently contain the connotation of 'offer', which devalues its authoritative potential.

The data can be further extrapolated by analysing the use of the imperative within its narrative context. Common verbs that are associated with Pekrur's demands are 'to make' (*i.iry*), 'to be' (*ḫpry*), and 'to get up' (*ꜣly*). Qualitatively speaking, this is also indicative of his authority. As observed earlier, a huge number of Pekrur's commands in *Armour* are found during the scenes where he is summoning allies or positioning the troops at *Armour* X.18-XI.14 and XVIII.28-XIX.11 respectively. The summoning is formulaic and repetitive, and it is only in the letters to Horau and Petechons that Pekrur divulges the nature of the summoning in-depth. Each of the summons starts with a request for them to make their preparations for battle; the letter to Horau in particular gives a glimpse of the potential workings of the military organisation, where Pekrur demands that Horau "Cause one to give payment, clothes, and silver! The one who is without an armour and weapon, cause one to give (them) to him! Receive their complaint! Cause their use of force to cease!" (*Armour* X.23-4).[64] This is followed by a short account of the cause and meeting place (*nꜥy*) of the

---

[62] The statistics for imperatives, optatives, and first-person pronouns will be given in numbers as well as percentages to one decimal place, whereas the statistics for interrogatives will only be given in numbers. This is due to there being not enough instances of interrogatives for an accurate representation of the proportions. Additionally, it is not worthwhile to calculate the proportions for interrogatives, since it does not further our understanding of the characterisation for the purpose of the present analysis.

[63] See *Armour* X.18-XI.14 for the summoning of allies, and *Armour* XVIII.28-XIX.11 for allocating oppositions.

[64] It is a possibility that the Ptolemaic model of military organisation is suggested here. During the second century BC, a new type of soldier was introduced in Upper Egypt, *misthophoroi* in Greek or *rmt iw=f šp hbs* ('man receiving pay') in Egyptian. These soldiers serving for pay did not receive a plot of land as cleruch-settlers once did, but rather were paid a salary on a monthly basis for the duration of the service. This is strengthened by the phrase "cause their use of force to cease," which may indicate labour. For a societal perspective on the functionality of the *misthophoroi*, see VANDORPE and WAEBENS (2009: 43-5) and VLEEMING

ensuing battle. For the remainder of the summons, only the request for preparation is written, presumably to avoid unnecessary repetition. The commands in the letter to his son Petechons in *Benefice* XII.7-XIII.7, in contrast, are much more carefully crafted in the style of a personal correspondence.[65] Pekrur is requested by Petubastis to perform this task as a result of the awkwardness caused by the pharaoh not inviting Petechons and Pemu to Thebes in the first place, where Petubastis says, "It comes down to you to send after them. If anyone sends after them, they would not come south at (their) command" (*Benefice* XI.13-4). Indeed, in Petechons' response, he confirms the necessity for Pekrur to step in by saying, "If not for the writing that Chief of the East Pekrur, my father, did for me upon this letter, … one would also not fight for the children of Tahor (i.e. Petubastis), the daughter of Patjenfe" (*Benefice* XIII.19-23). This letter, being one of the best examples of Pekrur's eloquence, will be discussed in more detail later.

From the above examples, Pekrur's influence in *Armour* is noticeable from the number of allies that he is able to summon from across Egypt on short notice, ranging from Pisopd to Elephantine.[66] Furthermore, it means that his commands are often directed towards a specific named character, regardless of how minor, rather than the general background. Being able to command characters with more narrative value also enhances his own authoritative status. Such influence is also present in *Benefice*, when Pekrur commands the presence of the narratively important Petechons and Pemu in Thebes in order to assist the pharaoh against the young priest.

His ability to summon allies is not the only example of his authority. During the onset of the battle in *Armour*, Pekrur is in charge of positioning the troops on the battlefield, where he exercises full authority and control over the army of Egypt. Like the letters that Pekrur sends to his allies, the battle calls are also formulaic. Each call is initiated by the imperative form of

---

(1985: 204-7). Of course, this would also suggest the presence of narrative anachronism, since the formal development of paid soldiers took place after the historical timeframe of the texts.

[65] JAY (2016: 160-1).

[66] The list of allies that Pekrur summoned are as follow: Horau, son of Petese, the Overseer of Woods (?) of the city; Petechons, son of Pekrur, Prince of Pisopd; Ptahmeni, son of Tjanefer, Prince of Permeneshre; Minnemei, son of Inaros, Prince of Elephantine; Inaros the younger; Chayris, son of Nehka / Panehka; an unknown prince, son of Petechons; Sochotes, son of Tjanefer; and Wilheni / Wilwi, son of Chayris, Prince of the fortress of Meidum. It must be noted here that the number of allies that actually arrived exceeds the number of allies that Pekrur summoned, most noticeably, three other sons of Inaros: Pebrichis, Baklul, and Wekhesnaifgemulu.

ꜣly 'up' followed either by the name of a specific warrior or an army of a specific nome.[67] A corresponding opposition is then chosen, which is "according to the manner of their proportion and the manner of the strength of their combat force" (*Armour* XIX.10). This is either a new nominative clause, subordinate clause, or an imperative using the verb 'to occur / happen' (*ḫpry*). After the positioning of the troops, Pekrur continues to oversee the battlefield, where a fragmentary section alludes to him situating himself on a high platform in order to see the entire battlefield (*Armour* XX.21-7). Pekrur is also seen to actively inspect his ships so that no damage would be sustained by them, and to ensure his warriors are well equipped (*Armour* XX.14-21).

In order to complete the discussion of Pekrur's authoritative status, the response to demands must also be taken into consideration. A response is affected by polarity, and in the case of the imperative, it can be either 'acceptance' (positive) or 'rejection' (negative).[68] In the combined 60 instances of imperatives and optatives that are attributed to Pekrur in both *Armour* and *Benefice*, 52 instances are accepted and completed, creating an 86.7% success rate.[69] In support of this, we see that allies from across Egypt answer Pekrur's summons, which is a testament to his influence. Moreover, the warriors and armies also comply with Pekrur's deployment on the battlefield as evidence of his authority and status.

Other than demanding goods-&-services, another commodity type which can be demanded is information, which can be obtained through the use of questions. Questions are divided into two categories: yes/no interrogatives and WH- interrogatives. Similar to the differentiation between 'command' and 'suggestion', the two types of interrogatives also contain different degrees of authoritative value. The importance of the distinction, particularly with regard to yes/no interrogatives, is in its derivation from declaratives and its function in polar questions.[70] Considering that the answer to polar questions contain less information than

---

[67] It is worth noting that only seven pairings are made, despite the fact that more people than these answered the summoning and are present on the battlefield.

[68] MATHIESSEN, LAM, and TERUYA (2010: 41, Fig. 24); cf. HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 173-6).

[69] The five instances that are directed at Horau, son of Petese, the Overseer of Woods (?) are excluded due to the uncertainty with regard to whether they are followed through or not. It is noteworthy that Horau is the only ally to not be mentioned again after the letters are sent out. It seems that he is not part of the entourage that came back with Pekrur. Of course, it is possible that Horau is somehow involved with the other three sons of Inaros— Pebrichis, Baklul, and Wekhesnaifgemulu—who arrived to help despite not being officially summoned by Pekrur; however, this is purely speculative. The other three instances that have a negative response are all from a younger generation, i.e. Pemu and Montubaal.

[70] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 143).

WH- questions, it inherently requires less authority. This is reflected in the smaller number of characters who are able to demand information using WH- interrogatives in the Inaros texts, with Pekrur being one of them. In *Armour*, seven instances of interrogatives are used by Pekrur, five of which are yes/no questions and two are WH- questions. In *Benefice*, we see a noticeable reduction of the number of interrogatives used by Pekrur, at merely three yes/no questions; one of which is shared with the pharaoh and Teos. Yes/no questions are always initiated by the particle *in*, whereas the two instances of WH- vary in terms of their interrogative particle usage. In *Armour* XIX.23, *iḥ* is used at the beginning of the clause to express 'what', and in *Armour* VI.5, *tbꜣ iḥ* is used at the end of the clause to express 'why'. Questions can also be affected by polarity, where a response is either positive ('acknowledgement') or negative ('contradiction').[71] In the case of Pekrur's interrogatives in *Armour* and *Benefice*, only five instances were responded to, four of which are acknowledged positively.[72]

Although it is natural to expect questions to be answered, we also see instances of unanswered questions in the form of rhetorical questions. This accounts for the other five questions which are not responded to. Rhetorical questions are mostly found within the category of yes/no questions, but rare instances of WH- questions have also been observed.[73] The basis for the identification of rhetorical questions is the turn-taking approach of conversation analysis. Within the narrative, a speaker who asks a question that ordinarily requires a response would end his/her speech, which is either continued by another character (Example A), or the response would be explained in the narrator-text (Example B). However, in the case of rhetorical questions, most commonly we see the speaker continuing his speech with additional clauses after the question, either in the form of statements or other questions rather than waiting for a response (Example C). This also correlates with Sweeney's categories of rhetorical questions, particularly her category B (unanswered – A shows no interested in hearing B's answer), and category C (predetermined – have a preferred answer which A wants to elicit from B).[74]

---

[71] MATHIESSEN, LAM, and TERUYA (2010: 41, Fig. 24); cf. HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 173-6).
[72] This is significant since the acknowledgement to the interrogatives also conforms to Grice's 'principle of relation', where the information demanded by the speaker must be provided by the listener, see GRICE (1975: 45-6).
[73] See Appendix 2. Sweeney also found the same trend in late Ramesside letters, see SWEENEY (2001: 107).
[74] SWEENEY (1991: 323).

Example A:

Chief of the East Pekrur, said to him, "What sort of a man in our family are you?" He said, "It is a true matter! My father, Chief of East Pekrur! I am Montubaal, son of Inaros, who is from the foes of the land of Syria…" (*Armour* IX.23-5)

Example B:

Chief of the East Pekrur said to him, "Why do you say this?" He reported every word which had happened to him with Wertiamunne, son of Chayris, before him. (*Armour* VI.5-6)

Example C:

Chief of the East Pekrur said before the pharaoh, "Is it good, these things by Wertiamunne and the speech that which he said? The pharaoh will see the strong one between us. I will cause Wertiamunne and the nome of Mendes to recognise the disgrace of the matter which was by their hand, and what they have said about strife against his companion. I will cause him to be satisfied with strife. I have made the extent so that no battle and strife will happen in Egypt in the time of the pharaoh." (*Armour* IX.12-6)

In Example C, Pekrur's question simply emphasises the inappropriateness of what Wertiamunne said previously, rather than trying to elicit information from the pharaoh. Hence, the following statement is the consequence of Wertiamunne's outburst. In *Benefice*, we see that Pekrur employs the same rhetorical structure, but this time to disapprove of Teos' inappropriateness and lack of proper etiquette, further proving his seniority and authority even when dealing with the pharaoh's family.

Chief of the East Pekrur answered him, saying, "Is it rage that which you would do, or is it […] who would take retribution on the herdsmen who captured Chayris, son of the king, and General Wertiamunne? The army would not be able to withstand any of them. Is that which you say, 'Cause the army of Egypt to prepare against them and the herdsmen in order to cause a great bloodbath to happen among them!'? And then, furthermore, Amun, the great god, he is here with us. It never happens that we do anything without asking him." (*Benefice* X.1-8)

Following Teos' feeble attempt at getting the pharaoh to deploy the army of Egypt after the capture of Chayris and Wertiamunne, Pekrur warns Teos to suppress his anger and not make any rash decisions, especially when the army cannot compete with the young priest and his allies in their present state. Furthermore, Pekrur reminds Teos that one must not forget the proper sequence for a battle, especially during the festival of Amun, where permission from Amun must be obtained first.

Lastly, in terms of Pekrur's use of the first-person pronoun, which features the character as the 'participant' in the ideational metafunction, we also see the same dominating presence. In total, Pekrur uses 'I' in 13 instances in *Armour* (10.2%), whereas he does not speak in the first-person at all in *Benefice*. In order to gain a better understanding of the 'transitivity' of his usages, the instances can be discussed in terms of the different verbal processes.[75] However, non-causative instances will need to be discussed separately from the causative ones, since the causative instances will need to be discussed not on the basis of the primary verb, but the secondary (i.e. the verb in the causative predicate).[76] For the non-causative ones, of which there are eight, Pekrur utilises material process the most out of the four processes at four instances – 'to place' (*ti.t*), 'to go' (*šm*), 'to make' (*ir*), and 'to command' (*sḥny*). Since material processes pertain to the physical aspects of 'doing', this would allude to Pekrur's physical presence. In combination with his use of the imperative, it seems his non-causatives and choice of verbs here may also hint at his capacity as a military leader. This is reinforced by the other aspect of 'doing' process, i.e. the behavioural process, where he uses the verb 'to inspire' (*3ld*).[77] As for the causative instances, on the other hand, we see that Pekrur tended to use verbs belonging to the behavioural and mental processes against his opponents: 'to recognise' (*gmṯ*), 'to see' (*nw*), 'to satisfy' (*sy*), which suggests that he is more interested in eliciting a response rather than an action. This may also indicate his authoritative status. Rather than forcing an opponent to submit through physical prowess, he demands that his presence be felt.

Another observation from Pekrur's use of the first-person pronoun is his caring nature towards the young warriors of the Inaros' clan. This is particularly evident with Pemu and Montubaal. The majority of the 13 instances can be grouped into three speeches. The first four instances are used in a speech in defence of Pemu at the pharaoh's court (*Armour* IX.12-20). In this case, Pekrur retaliates against Wertiamunne's speech, and threatens both Wertiamunne and the pharaoh that if the armour of Inaros is not returned to Pemu. Another

---

[75] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 213-20).

[76] As discussed with optatives, the use of the causative here also creates an anomaly not outlined in the theoretical paradigm of SFL. In terms of its grammatical features, first-person causatives, as a declarative sentence structure, should belong. However, one of the arguments against the inclusion of first-person causative in material clauses would be its functionality, since functionally, first-person causatives contain a secondary verbal form in its predicate not found in declarative clauses. This grammatical pattern can also be compared to when optatives contain a first-person subject in the predicate, e.g. "Cause me to see (i.e. let me see) the armour of my father…" (*Armour* XXIV.23-4), see HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 166).

[77] For the remaining three examples, he used 'to say' (*ḏd*) twice, i.e. verbal process, and 'to know' (*ir-rḫ*) once, i.e. mental process.

four instances take place after Pekrur summons his allies for Pemu. In this speech, he encourages Pemu to continue fighting and to prevail over Wertiamunne (*Armour* XI.15-9) by reassuring him that he will make sure that his allies arrive. Additionally, he motivates him by using a series of imperatives.

> *i.iry ḫlp r-r=f i.i[r]y ḥꜣṭ r mḥ ḫpry n=k ḫr tꜣ ḥꜣ.t n nꜣy=k sn.w na tꜣy=k mhꜣw r.iw=w gmṭ=k n.im=w*
> "Get there before him! Be the first to prevail! Be at the head of your brothers, those of your family, where they shall find you there!" (*Armour* XI.16-8)

Indeed, Pekrur's caring nature towards Pemu can already be observed when Pemu despairs over his lack of allies in *Armour* X.14-6. As discussed in §2.4.1, sadness and despair is often used to prompt actions from another character. In this case, it is the impetus behind Pekrur's summons. The last series of first-person pronouns is used in the speech to Montubaal upon his initial arrival (*Armour* XX.3-13). Here, Pekrur takes the time to explain to Montubaal that the opposition has already been established, but he will still assign an opponent for him due to his dedication. Pekrur then follows the assignment with encouragement for Montubaal, saying, "I know (*ti=i ir-rḫ*) that no one would ever be able to battle against you" (*Armour* XX.10). Although Pekrur did not use first-person pronouns in *Benefice*, his protective and caring nature toward the young warriors is still visible. Upon hearing the insult that the pharaoh committed by not inviting Pemu and Petechons to Thebes, Pekrur exclaims, "My great lord! Many are the insults that you have done to the youth again and again!" (*Benefice* XI.15-6).

It seems that the key characteristics that define Pekrur are his authority and ability to command others, with a strong focus on aspects of warfare.[78] His use of imperatives and the first-person pronoun suggests that although it is rare for him to actively participates in events, his knowledge of warfare is incomparable. Some variations can be observed between his portrayal in *Armour* and *Benefice*, mostly with regard to a reduction in his activity in *Benefice*. However, this may be a result of the variation in the theme of the two texts – with *Armour* having a stronger military focus than *Benefice*. Regardless, he is well trusted by the pharaoh. Despite his imposing status and superiority, he cares about the younger generations in his and Inaros' clan greatly and is willing to defend their honour.

---

[78] As we shall see, this is in contrast to Petubastis' authority.

§3.2.4 Speech patterns

Pekrur is not only portrayed as a capable military commander, one who holds insurmountable authority over the army of Egypt, but also eloquent and excelling at speech manipulation. So much so that one finds that he is able to convince and subject any character to his will. This is predominantly due to Pekrur's speeches always being directed towards a specific character rather than the general audience, which contrasts, for example, with Petubastis' speeches.[79]

Upon Pekrur and Pemu's arrival in Tanis after the funeral feast for Inaros, Pekrur ignores the pharaoh's questions and presents the following argument for their dismissal of the pharaoh's orders in the form of two rhetorical yes/no questions as part of a synthetically parallel couplet.[80]

> *in iw=n rḫ r šm r Ỉwnw*
> *r.bn-pw=n t3 t3 ḫlybš n p3 rp3y Ỉr.t-ḥr-r-r=w r n3y=n tš irm n3y=n tmy ḥ3t̯=n*
> *r p3y=n špy ḫpr ḫn Kmy d̯r=f*
> *in r.iw=n rḫ r.ir ḥb qsis.t [n]=f*
> *r t3y=f ḫlybš n p3 ḫn n p3 sbt [n D̯]w-[Rˁ]*
> *r.bn-pw=n t3 s r p3y=s m3ˁ nty ḫ[n] Ỉwnw*
> "Could we go to Heliopolis,
> when we did not take the armour of Prince Inaros to our nome and our own
> city,
> while our shame happens in all of Egypt?
> Could we make a funerary feast for him,
> when his armour is within the fortress of Djure,
> while we did not take it to its place which is in Heliopolis?" (*Armour* VIII.27-
> 30)

Each of the questions is phrased as three parallel clauses. The first clause is initiated by the interrogative particle *in*, which is followed by two circumstantial clauses initiated by the converter *r* or *r.bn-pw* for the negation. The two circumstantial clauses here function perfectly as the justification for the rhetorical questions asked. They are considered rhetorical, since the answer is predetermined.[81] In the first instance, Pekrur reminds the pharaoh that he and Pemu could not return to Heliopolis without the heirloom of Inaros, which will greatly tarnish their reputation as warriors as well as their clan's honour. Pekrur's second question is subtly condescending, since he refutes the pharaoh's futile attempt to prevent any sort of

---

[79] See §3.3.4.
[80] For the use of parallel phrasing, see JAY (2010: 165-7); cf. COLLIER (1996: 544-5).
[81] SWEENEY (1991: 323).

conflict between the two clans by suggesting that, in fact, the conflict is unavoidable, and having a funeral feast for Inaros while his heirloom is not taken back (*t3*) by force makes a mockery of both Inaros and his children. Stylistically speaking, the parallelism that the questions present is their most striking feature, particularly in their ring composition. We see that he starts with the mention of Heliopolis in the first clause, and concludes his speech with Heliopolis again – a form of rhetoric that Pekrur will use again later.[82]

Following his speech to the pharaoh criticising Wertiamunne's inappropriate behaviour, Pekrur demonstrates his eloquence again, by warning the pharaoh to avoid getting in his way by stating,

> *m-s3 ḫpr mtw ḥwy ṯy Pr-ꜥ3 iw=i ti.t nw Pr-ꜥ3 n p3 mlḫ [n t3] sbšy 2.t iw=k mtl3 n n3 mtw=w ḫpr*
> > *iw=k ir ir.t.w n.im=w r p3 tw 2 r nyn*
> > *[iw=k gšp] r t3 p.t r.iw=s pḥṱ ḥr p3 t3 itm p3y=f g3y mnmn*
> > *iw=k nw r [n3 k3.w na P]r-Spt n3 m3y.w na Mtl3 irm p3y=w g3y n qnqn*
> *p3 bnpy [nty ḥ]dy r.iw=n ti.t ḫmm=f*
> "But if it happens that the pharaoh abandons me, I will cause the pharaoh to see the strife of the two shields, as you are witnessing that which will happen.
> > You will see it, while the two mountains will shake.
> > You will see the sky, as it will turn and be cast down on earth and its manner of quaking.
> > You will see the bulls of those of Pisopd and the lions of those of Metelis with their manner of fighting.
> The iron that is cold, we will cause it to heat up!" (*Armour* IX.17-20)

After the initial sentence, the following figurative sentences make up a triplet, which present three specific metaphorical scenarios.[83] Grammatically, each of these three sentences is initiated by *iw=k*. With the exception of the second sentence, where the lacuna in the papyrus prevents us from knowing which verb is used to express 'to see', the other two sentences all used different verbs to imply the perception of 'seeing'.[84] What is also fascinating is that the last two sentences both ends with a quadri-consonantal verb with reduplicated roots in the

---

[82] Hoffman has also paralleled the ring compositions in *Armour* with other Egyptian literature, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 95-8).

[83] For a brief categorisation on the use of poetry and rhetoric in ancient Egyptian literature, see KITCHEN (1999: XV-XIX).

[84] The verbs used are *mtl3* 'to witness', *ir ir.t.w* 'to see (lit. to cast eyes upon)', and *nw* 'to see'. In Hoffmann's edition, he followed Bresciani's suggestion that the lacuna is likely to be *iw=k nw*, since *iw=k ir ir.t.w* did not fit within the limited space. I have followed this suggestion in my own translation for simplicity, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 219-20 n. 1132). However, considering the pattern that I present here, where each of the sentences uses a different verb, it is also plausible that rather than using the same verb *nw*, another verb could be used, such as *gšp*, see *CDD g*.74.

infinitive, possibly with onomatopoeic influence; moreover, both *mnmn* 'to quake' and *qnqn* 'to fight' are nominalisations of the infinitive.[85] In terms of the content of the triple parallel phrases, the metaphors feature catastrophes of the sky, earth, and men, which is a common motif in Egyptian literature to symbolise a disturbance in the natural order (*mꜣꜥt*). In accordance with the previous example, we also see a repetition in the initial sentence and final sentence. The repetition this time is phonetic, specifically with the word *mtlꜣ*, which is used as the verb 'to witness', but also as the locality 'Metelis'. Pekrur's speech is completed with a proverb, and similar to the previous metaphors with their clear contrasts, the proverb provides a contrast between the adjective *ḫdy* 'cold' and the verb *ḫmm* 'to heat up'.

Although Pekrur in *Benefice* does not speak nearly as much as he does in *Armour*, he does not lose any of his eloquence. We see him ordering Higa, son of Minnebmaat, to write down one of the most complex and cleverly crafted letters in the Inaros texts in an attempt to coerce his son Petechons to come to the aid of the pharaoh in Thebes.

> "Chief of the East Pekrur, son of Petechons,
>> the father of the bulls of Egypt,
>> the good shepherd of the kalasiris,
> greets Prince Petechons, his son,
>> the mighty bull of those of Pisopd,
>> the lion of those of the east,
>> the bronze wall whom Isis gave to me,
>> the great mooring peg of iron whom the Ladies of the Two Lands gave
>> to me,
>> the beautiful rudder of Egypt, upon which the heart of the army of
>> Egypt supports itself.
> It is good, if you can do this, my son Petechons.
> When this letter reaches you,
>> if you are eating, place your bread on the floor;
>> if you are drinking, put down the cup of drunkenness.
> Hasten, hasten! Hurry, hurry!
> Cause one to climb aboard alongside your brothers, your 86 men of the east,
> together with your brother Pemu, son of Inaros, alongside his 40 men of the
> Island of the Star and his four priestly companions!
> Come south to Thebes for me, on account of some herdsmen of Perdjufe who
> are here in Thebes, who are battling with the pharaoh daily!
> They did not cause one to allow him to ferry Amun to Thebes.
> Amun, he rests on the west side of Upper Egypt under a canopy of byssus.
> […] the army of Egypt in the light with the rope,
>> while Chayris, son of the king, son of Pharaoh Petubastis, and General
>> Wertiamunne are captured by the herdsmen.

---

[85] The rarity of such an example and its potential intertextual value is discussed in §4.2.1.

> They are on board the barque of Amun.
> Come south!
>> Make an example of fighting!
>> Cause the army of Egypt to know of your fear and your terror!"
> (*Benefice* XII.9-XIII.7)

Immediately, the most conspicuous feature of the letter is in its phrasing; I have purposefully indented the instances to highlight this.[86] At the start of the letter where Pekrur greets and addresses Petechons, the phrasing is structured as a single clause, followed by two parallel clauses, forming a triplet (1+2).[87] Three sets of such triplets are found. The request officially starts with the line, "It is good, if you can do this, my son Petechons." Although the same level of wordplay in *Armour* is not observed here, the structure and choice of content is much more deliberate and a clear parallel is observed in each couplet. The letter starts with Pekrur asserting his position and attributes, followed by praise for his son Petechons, which foreshadows the end of the letter. The first two metaphors are well known;[88] indeed, the lion and bull motif is present in Pekrur's warning speech to the pharaoh discussed above. The figurative use of the 'bronze wall' (*sbt ḥmt*) is suggestive of Petechons' ability to provide protection,[89] while the metaphorical use of 'great mooring peg of iron' (*t3 ni3.t ꜥ3.t bnpy*) and 'beautiful rudder of Egypt' (*p3 ḥny nfr n Kmy*) not only have strong maritime connotations, but also echo the pharaoh's previous speech on the capture of Chayris and Wertiamunne and the loss of the 'First Shield of Egypt' and 'Great Rudder of Egypt'.[90] As the request portion of the letter starts, the first shift in grammar is observed, changing from the series of nominative clauses to a second tense followed by conditional clauses. The second tense is initiated by the marker *i.ir*, whilst the conditionals started with *in-ir=k*. Each of the conditional clauses reflect the classic coupling of eating and drinking, where Pekrur reminds Petechons of the urgency of the matter, which is confirmed by the next two 'coupling' imperatives, 'Hasten, hasten! Hurry, hurry!' (*ys sp 2 tkr sp 2*). At this point, there is a change in the tone of the letter, as Pekrur shifts from the polite and hypothetical conditional clauses to the more assertive imperative clause. Following this, Pekrur further expresses his

---

[86] The indentation is based on the phrasing of Hoffmann and Quack's translation.

[87] Kitchen refers to this as 'key-line plus dependent couplet', see KITCHEN (1999: XVII).

[88] See §3.4.2 and §4.2.1.

[89] This particular usage appears in P. Insinger XI.15, which says, "He is a wall of bronze for his lord in the darkness," translation adapted from LICHTHEIM (1980: 194). I am grateful to Nicola Barbagli (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa) for pointing out that a similar figurative usage also appears in the Gebel Barkal Stela of Thutmose III line 15-6, where Thutmose was described as *sbt n bi3* 'wall of bronze' (*Urk.* XVII.1233).

[90] This metaphor will be discussed further in Petubastis' speech patterns in §3.3.4. For additional observations on the maritime motif, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 84-5).

authoritative side by commanding Petechons to prepare himself and Pemu, and come to Thebes in order to assist the pharaoh. Only then does Pekrur justify their summoning by informing Petechons of the cause of the conflict in a series of nominative clauses: the first two detailing the incident which took place with Amun, the second two regarding the misfortunes of Chayris and Wertiamunne,[91] and the final one identifying the location where the conflict took place. The letter is completed with a final set of triplet imperatives. The first is a command, while the final two imperatives are constructed as praise, where the concept of 'fighting' (*qnqn*), 'fear' (*snd*) and 'terror' (*nhr*) are manifestations of the iconographical association of bull, lion, and battlefield in Egyptian ideology echoing the first set of triplets in the letter.[92]

Despite not being the protagonist in any of the texts, it can be argued that Pekrur is the real driving force behind the narratives, or at least the 'fixer', especially when it comes to the initiation of a new episode or sub-episode – an observation that is seldom appreciated. His dominance is characterised both semantically and syntactically. Pekrur is able to manipulate his speech to his advantage, which suggests a high level of intelligence and cunning. His cunning is not only limited to the art of speaking, it may also at one point extends to physical capabilities, since he is able to enter the Assyrian king's sleeping quarters undetected in *Pekrur and Esarhaddon*. His abilities serve him well in leading his clan, advising the pharaoh, and becoming the main force to be reckoned within the Inaros tradition.

§3.3 Petubastis

Petubastis (*P3-di-B3st.t* 'One whom Bastet has given'),[93] as the pharaoh of Egypt, functions as one of the highest authorities within the Inaros tradition. Like Pekrur, he is also one of the few characters in the Inaros tradition who has been attributed to a historical figure within the framework of the texts. Petubastis holds an important position in both of the texts he is involved in, being presented as the deuteragonist in *Armour* and the protagonist in *Benefice*.[94]

---

[91] The lacuna does create difficulties in analysing the line "[…] the army of Egypt in the light with the rope" as a separate sentence. However, according to Hoffmann and Quack's translation, this is, in fact, a new sentence. HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 103).

[92] However, in the Tebtunis version of *Benefice*, instead of 'fear' and 'terror', the line has been changed to "Cause that the army of Egypt to know of your authority (ʿw) and your strength (*pḥṭ.t*)" (P. Carlsberg 433 y+I.25), see TAIT (2000: 68-9).

[93] RANKE (1935: 123 no. 5); *Demot. Nb.* I 303.

[94] An unknown pharaoh was also mentioned in *Sarpot* I.6, which may or may not have been Petubastis.

Despite his position, he is more commonly referred to as a weak ruler in contrast to the heroic traits of other characters within the tradition. Yet, no comprehensive examination has been undertaken to understand his portrayal, especially since what has commonly been perceived as his 'weakness' may have been a misunderstanding. Continuing on from the analysis of Pekrur above, the focus here will also be on his portrayal and speech patterns.

§3.3.1 Historical Petubastis

Unlike Pekrur, evidence for the historical Petubastis is harder to decipher. The only evidence we have of a historical Petubastis that may be contemporary to the historical setting of the Inaros tradition is based on inscribed blocks from Tanis and a seated granite statue from Memphis documenting a king who went by *Sḥtp-ib-Rˁ Pꜣ-di-Bꜣst.t*;[95] however, no trace of a regnal year remains. Although the general consensus is that this is one of the rare pieces of evidence for Petubastis II, the dating of his reign differs vastly among scholars. Kitchen dates Petubastis II to the time of the Assyrian invasion under Assurbanipal on the basis of Assurbanipal's prisms A and C containing the name *Putubišti šar San'nu*.[96] Von Beckerath, on the other hand, places Petubastis II within the reign of Piankhy and the end of Dynasty 23 (c. 736-731 BC). In this case, Petubasatis has been assumed to be the son of Iuput II, who serves as the nomarch of Athribis at the time. This is on the basis that the king list of Piankhy placed a Petubastis, who was referred to as the prince of Athribis, next to Osorkon IV.[97] In accordance with von Beckerath's interpretation, Dodson and Hilton also place Petubastis II between Shoshonq V and Osorkon IV, but date his reign to c. 743-733 BC.[98]

§3.3.2 Fictional biography

In the texts set after the death of Inaros, Petubastis is always mentioned as the pharaoh of Egypt.[99] Little of the fictional Petubastis' life is known from the texts other than he resides in

---

[95] MONTET (1966: 67-81) and HABACHI (1966: 69-74, pl. V-VI).
[96] KITCHEN (1986 [1972]: 396-7). This view is supported by POPE (2014: 268). For translation, see ONASCH (1994: 36-55, 118-9).
[97] VON BECKERATH (2003: 31-5).
[98] DODSON and HILTON (2004: 210-23). An alternative date to the reign of Darius was also given, but this view is no longer supported, see HABACHI (1966: 73-4).
[99] However, within the historical framework of the Inaros tradition, he is not the only pharaoh to be named. Necho I is the ruling king before the death of Inaros; while in another Demotic narrative, *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyans*, a king called Wenamun of Natho, who is more or less contemporary with Petubastis and Necho I, is featured, see RYHOLT (2012a: 35-72).

Tanis much like his historical counterpart. In spite of this, several members of Petubastis'

family are referred to in the Inaros texts, particularly with regard to his ancestry. During

Petechons' speech, Petubastis is referred to as the son of Chayris (*Benefice* XIII.15). Later, he

is named as one of the children of Tahor, the daughter of Patjenfe (*Benefice* XIII.23).[100] As

for Petubastis' children, Chayris, who is frequently named as the 'son of the king', is the only

concrete link to Petubastis. Unfortunately, due to how common the name Chayris is, the

potential familial ties of Teos and Wertiamunne—who are both named as 'son of Chayris'—

with Petubastis are uncertain.[101] However, regardless of whether Wertiamunne and Teos are

related to Petubastis, their allegiance to the pharaoh is undisputed, since they have been

consistently named as allies of Petubastis in both *Armour* and *Benefice*.[102]

§3.3.3 Portrayal

In both *Armour* and *Benefice*, Petubastis is depicted as having an aversion to military

confrontations. For example, he is not involved in the summoning of allies or their placement

on the battlefield in either *Armour* or *Benefice*. He may support the summoning of the allies

by allowing the letter-scribe to dictate a letter as seen in *Armour* X.20-1, where he tells the

letter-scribe to, "Make (a letter) according to every word that Chief of the East Pekrur has

said!" His aversion to military tasks is also evident later in the text, where he tells Pekrur to

arrange the troops on the battlefield (*Armour* XVIII.20-1). On the contrary, he would most

often go to great lengths to stop, or attempt to stop, any potential conflict. Indeed, Petubastis

mentions on two occasions in *Armour* that he has "made the extent to not cause war and strife

to happen" (*Armour* IX.32-X.1 and XXIII.30). While the first instance took place before the

war, where he followed his speech with "do not cause Egypt to […]!" (*Armour* X.1-2), the

second instance is an acknowledgement of his own failure and his disappointment with the

other characters by saying, "One did not hear me!" (*Armour* XXIII.30). The same can be seen

in *Benefice*. Although Petubastis disapproves of the young priest for not coming earlier and

---

[100] Hoffmann noted that Tahor appears to be an ancestor of the Petubastis clan, HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 102 n. 148).

[101] To give an idea of the prevalence of the name Chayris, at least two other Chayris are named in the Inaros texts. One is Chayris, son of Helebis, Prince of Tamenpelechtensechmi / Taamienpalekhet (*Armour* X.10-1, XVIII.15, and XIX.9); the other is Chayris the Avenger (?), son of (Pa)Nehka (*Armour* XI.7, XVII.25, XXII.2). Wertiamunne for one, may have had a different lineage, where a potential ancestor named Hareunakhte is mentioned in two instances, once in *Armour* XXV.24, and the other in P. Carlsberg 456 + PSI inv. D 59 + P. CtYBR 4513 III.x+13, see RYHOLT (2012a: 74, 78, 81, pl. X). To my knowledge, it is unknown at present whether Petubastis is related to Hareunakhte.

[102] This can be observed from Wertiamunne's letter to the family of Petubastis (*Armour* X.12-3).

refuses to return the benefice, he remains silent when Chayris and Wertiamunne go to battle, and chooses to express his sorrow only when the warriors have been captured at *Benefice* V.17-21 and IX.11-23. He even goes as far as to order Pekrur on his behalf to negotiate with the young priest and to request that he surrenders peacefully, saying, "Go and adorn yourself, and wear the byssus upon you and the amulets of gold (?) that belonged to the first prophet of Amun, when he comes to Thebes" (*Benefice* VII.2-4).[103] Unfortunately for Petubastis, the young priest interpreted the request as a challenge, saying, "Is this that which you say, 'Go to the bank and wear the byssus upon you! Cause your hands to abandon the weapon of war! I will cause the army of Egypt to surround you. I will cause them to spare you from a very great misfortune'" (*Benefice* VII.7-11), which ultimately results in the capture of Wertiamunne.

Petubastis	Total clause spoken	Imperative		Optative		Interrogative		First-person
		Speaker	Receiver	Speaker	Receiver	WH-	yes/no	
Armour	107	15	0	18	2	4	3	12
Benefice	112	6 [1][104]	0	1 [1]	7	2	11 (1) [2]	23 [3]

Table 3.3 – Grammatical features in Petubastis' character-text.

Petubastis, like Pekrur, has a high amount of character-text in *Armour* and *Benefice*.[105] He speaks for 107 clauses in *Armour*, second only to Pekrur, and 112 clauses in *Benefice*, which is far more than any other character in the text. Befitting his status as the pharaoh of Egypt, Petubastis uses imperatives substantially in both texts to demand goods-&-services. In *Armour*, he uses imperatives 15 times (14.0%) and optatives 18 times (16.8%). In *Benefice*, the number of imperative is six (6.3%) with only a single optative (0.9%). Despite the low numbers, only Pekrur has a higher usage of the imperative than him in this text.[106] Based on our understanding of the different degrees of 'command', where imperatives have a higher

---

[103] The adorning of byssus and gold as a peaceful gesture is expressed earlier when Chayris gets ready to fight the young priest, where it is said that "Chayris, son of the king, turned his face towards the chapel. He placed the byssus, which was upon him, on the floor with the amulets of gold with which he was adorned. He caused one to bring his armour before him. He equipped the amulets of battle, then he went to the dromos of Amun" (*Benefice* III.21-IV.1).

[104] Circle brackets denote the number of instance(s) that the character shares with other characters, square brackets denote the number that is from another character's embedded speech, e.g. the young priest's interpretation of Petubastis' commands in *Benefice* VII.8-9. The numbers in the square brackets do not contribute towards the final tally.

[105] An unspecified pharaoh, presumably Petubastis, appears in *Sarpot* briefly in I.x+6-8, where two instances of the causative are used.

[106] The lower number of instances in *Benefice* may be due to Petubastis' higher number of poetic speeches and interrogatives.

commanding value than optatives, the statistics point to some interesting observations,[107] which is even more significant when the receiving end of imperatives and optatives are also considered. As the pharaoh of Egypt, it is understandable that no one is able command him using imperatives, although several people are able to make suggestions using optatives.[108] In *Armour*, the only person who is able to make suggestions to Petubastis is Pekrur. Although a number of people are able to make suggestions to Petubastis in *Benefice*, the likes of the lector priest and Pekrur use the politer form by prefacing the suggestion with the phrase 'if it pleases the pharaoh'.

Simply from a statistical stand point, Petubastis seems to be far more assertive in *Benefice* than in *Armour*. This contrasts Pekrur, who is far more assertive in *Armour* than in *Benefice*.[109] His reluctance to engage in military affairs is also reflected in the lexicography of imperative usage in his character-text. Despite his lack of success, Petubastis' demands of goods-&-services, i.e. commands, are often an attempt to prevent civil war. Petubastis uses imperatives 15 times in *Armour*, 11 positive and four negative; whereas in *Benefice*, he uses imperatives six times, with only one instance of negation. In *Armour*, his attempts to prevent conflict can be categorised in one of three ways: dispersion, separation, and placation. With dispersion, Petubastis requests Pekrur and Pemu to go back (*šm*) to their nome and cities on two occasions (*Armour* IX.21 and IX.24-5) by promising to return the armour within five days. In three other instances, his commands are made in order to separate two parties from a potential or existing confrontational situation. Upon hearing that Petechons and Chayris are going to fight, Petubastis quickly orders (*wꜣḥ* 'to place') the organisation of the ranks so that Petechons and Chayris would not fight before the ranks are announced (*Armour* XVII.11-5). The other two instances of the imperative are used in order to separate a fight. In *Armour* XXII.17, Petubastis demands that Pekrur meet (*ir mtry*) the warriors so that Montubaal would not cause any further bloodshed in the army of the four nomes; at *Armour* XXIII.32, during the actual fight between Petechons and Chayris, he requests that Petechons withdraw (*stꜣ*) his hand from Chayris, arguing that he has already taken his revenge. Lastly, Petubastis also makes several attempts at calming the anger of the family of Inaros and Pekrur. The first

---

[107] Di Biase-Dyson also makes the same observation between the imperative and optative, see DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 164 esp. n. 153).

[108] For someone in Petubastis' position to be the recipient of more optatives than imperatives also parallels Sweeney's observations on requests to superiors in New Kingdom literature, see SWEENEY (2008: 199).

[109] The implication of this observation is more relevant to the texts' composition and intertextuality, which will be further discussed in §4.2.2.

instance also takes place during the battle between Petechons and Chayris, where he tells Petechons to "protect (ḥlḥ) the breath" (*Armour* XXIII.32). The other instance takes place earlier, when Petubastis tells Pekrur to "be patient (lit. be great of heart (ꜥw n ḥꜣt))" (*Armour* IX.21).

Just as the positive usage of the imperative is suggestive of his aversion to battle, he condemns conflict and aggression in all four instances of negative imperatives.[110] The first case directly follows after the last positive example of being 'patient', where Petubastis tells Pekrur to "not be hasty (lit. small of heart (sbk n ḥꜣt))" by cleverly using opposing verbs ꜥw and *sbk*. Two other instances are related to the need to not create any further strife (ḫꜣꜥ 'to arouse',[111] *Armour* VIII.5-6; *ir* 'to make', *Armour* XVII.18). Immediately following on from one of these cases, he also warns against fighting (qnqn) until the armies have been assembled (*Armour* XVII.19).

Such avoidance of warfare is also observed in *Benefice*. Out of the five positive usages, two have been discussed previously as part of the request for the peaceful surrender of the young priest (*Benefice* VII.2-4). The other three instances are Petubastis' commands to Pekrur with regard to carrying out aspects of negotiation (*Benefice* VII.2) and summoning (*Benefice* XII.2). The single instance of negation, however, is not relevant to conflict and aggression; rather, he simply warns against speaking ill of others (*Benefice* XII.1).

Much like Pekrur, Petubastis' use of the optative provides additional information on his authority. For example, in the 13 instances of positive optatives from Petubastis in *Armour*, both commands and offers are observed, which diminishes Petubastis' authoritative value within the functional grammatical system. One would expect that as the pharaoh of Egypt, he would be able to exert a greater authority than Pekrur, but this is not the case. It seems that the two characters, at least within the framework of the Inaros tradition, hold vastly different domains in terms of their authority. Unlike Pekrur, who is able to demand goods pertaining to the military agenda and services from specific individuals, Petubastis' commands are normally related to rituals and events. Furthermore, rather than addressing an individual, his commands usually address a non-specific crowd. In the five instances where he demands

---

[110] A negative imperative is always constructed using the vetitive *m-ir* + the infinitive of the lexical verb, see JOHNSON (2000 [1986]: 53).
[111] Hoffmann translates it as 'Errege keine Krieg', HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 67).

goods, four are referring to the armour of Inaros itself, where the verbs *sṯꜣ* 'to return' (*Armour* IX.2), *ṯꜣ* 'to take' (*Armour* IX.3), *pḥ* 'to reach' (*Armour* XXVI.x+2), and *ḥmsy* 'to sit' (XXVI.x+3-4) are used. In the only case not referring to the armour, he orders that the funeral equipment and personnel for Inaros' funeral feast to be brought (*in*) (*Armour* VIII.8).

In the other eight positive instances in *Armour*, he is demanding as well as offering services, which focusses on making sure that the events proceed in their correct order. Seven of these are addressed to either his court (*ꜥš* 'to call', *Armour* I.22-3; *šm* 'to go', *Armour* VII.28; *ir* 'to make', *Armour* XVII.11), the funeral party (*ir ꜣ*[112] 'to proceed', *Armour* VIII.14; *ꜥq* 'to enter', *Armour* VIII.14-5; *ir* 'to make', *Armour* VIII.13-4[113]), or a scribe (*hb* 'to send', *Armour* VIII.7); only one instance (*lky* 'to stop', *Armour* XXII.19) is to a named character, Pekrur, and it takes place when Petubastis is distressed over the defeat of the four nomes at the hands of Montubaal. In contrast to *Armour*, only one instance of the optative is found in *Benefice*,[114] when Petubastis commands Pekrur to summon Pemu and Petechons so that they may help him to defeat the young priest, saying, "Send after the youths! Cause them to come to the south in accordance with your greatness and your power, …" (*Armour* XII.2-3).

As a participant in the experiential metafunction—i.e. the use of the first-person pronoun—Petubastis' actions are related to all four processes.[115] 12 instances are found in *Armour* (11.2%) – eight non-causatives and four causatives.[116] With the non-causative instances, Petubastis makes very little attempt at being a figure of action; a trait that has already been observed with his use of the imperative and optative. In his five positive usages, four are related to verbal (*ḏd* 'to say', *Armour* XVII.11-2), mental (*nw* 'to see', *Armour* XVIII.20-1 and *Armour* XXV.17-8), and behavioural (*wḫꜣ* 'to wish', *Armour* VIII.32). His sole instance of material process (*ir* 'to make', *Armour* XXIII.30) is in reference to the abstract notion of strife (*mlḫ*) and war (*ꜣḥ*). The use of negation occurs three times: two are material (*hb* 'to send', *Armour* VI.12; *wꜥt* 'to send away', *Armour* VIII.25-6) and one is mental (*nw* 'to see' *Armour* XXV.19). The two material processes are noteworthy, since they further suggest that

---

[112] This verb will always require the use of the auxiliary verb *ir*, see ERICHSEN (1972 [1954]: 1) *CDD ꜣ*.1.

[113] The verb here has been inserted, since the original skipped the verb, most likely due to scribal error. This reading is also suggested by Hoffmann, see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 67).

[114] Another instance is found at VII.9 with the verb *wy* 'to be far, to abandon', but it is part of an embedded speech from the perspective of the youth priest speaking for Petubastis. As suggested previously, it seems more likely that the young priest has misunderstood the pharaoh's intentions, since this portion is not in Petubastis' original speech to Pekrur at *Benefice* VII.2-4.

[115] HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 213-6, 220-4).

[116] See Appendix 2.

when Petubastis does try to be active, the result is often unsuccessful. For causative instances,[117] all four are part of the material process, and all of them follow the same pattern as the aforementioned optatives. Three instances are in relation to the armour of Inaros, where Petubastis futilely promises the return of the armour; all three instances use the verb *tꜣ* 'to take' or 'to return' (*Armour* IX.21-3, IX.25, XXIII.1-2). The other instance refers to the funeral feast of Inaros, where Petubastis repeats (*wḥm*) the promise of "a large and beautiful funeral according to a lord and a great man" (*Armour* VII.32-3) for Inaros, which does take place.

In *Benefice*, his total use of the first-person pronoun is at 26 (23.2%) – far greater than in *Armour*. Of these, 17 counts (12 positive and five negative) are non-causative, and nine are causative.[118] Petubastis takes on a more active role in *Benefice*, with eight positive usages functioning as material processes relating to travel (*iy/iw* 'to come', *Benefice* VIII.3 and XI.12; *ir ḥt* 'to sail', *Benefice* IX.11-2), to goods-&-services (*ḫꜣꜥ* 'to give away', *Benefice* X.15-7; *sẖ* 'to write', *Benefice* II.15-8), and to other characters (*ḫꜣꜥ* 'to leave behind', *Benefice* XI.19; *hb* 'to send', *Benefice* XI.11; *ir* 'to do' *Benefice* XI.11). The other four instances are verbal (*dd* 'to say', *Benefice* XVII.2; *ꜥš* 'to swear', *Benefice* XVI.24-5) and mental (*nw* 'to see', *Benefice* XVI.25-6 and XVII.1). Even his five instances of negative usage are more varied than in *Armour*, with three being material (*hb* 'to invite', *Benefice* XI.12.3; *ti* 'to give', *Benefice* VIII.1; *in* 'to bring', *Benefice* XI.19-20) and two being behavioural (*sš* 'to despise', *Benefice* XI.18; *šp* 'to recognise', *Benefice* XVI.5-6). In the nine instances of first-person causative, three instances are subjunctive *sḏm=f*, and six are third future.[119] Two of the three subjunctive cases have been discussed before with regard to the young priest's embedded speech; the last instance, although it does not come to fruition, does shed light on the quality of goods that Petubastis is able to command, as well as his refusal to give into the young priest's demand. He says, "would that have been silver, gold, or wonders which the young priest was asking, I would cause it to be taken (*tꜣ*) to him. I will not give him the portable barque of Amun, so that it could be taken to Buto, his city, and becomes a great stranger to Thebes" (*Benefice* VII.25-VIII.2).

---

[117] Two other instances may be included, but they do not take the standard formula of *iw=i ti.t* + subjunctive *sḏm=f*, but rather *sḏm=i* + *ti.t* + subjunctive *sḏm=f*, i.e. *ir=i ꜥ.wy=i ir=i dr.t=i r tm ti.t ḫpr ꜣḥ mlḫ* 'I have made the extent to not cause war and strife to happen.' (IX.32-X.1 and XXIII.30). For the repetition of the second *ir=i* construction, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 227 n. 1179).

[118] See Appendix 2.

[119] These six instances will be discussed later since they tie into Petubastis' use of interrogatives.

The last grammatical component to be discussed is Petubastis' use of interrogatives.[120] Petubastis is one of the few characters who are able to initiate with both yes/no interrogatives and WH- interrogatives, as indicative of someone of his status. In *Armour*, he uses yes/no interrogatives in three instances and WH- in four. Three of these are used in quick succession upon Pemu and Pekrur's return to Tanis after Petubastis thought that he has settled the conflict by providing Inaros with a funeral feast, where he says,

> "What is this, great men?
> Have I not sent you to your nomes, your cities, and your great men, so that one causes a large and beautiful funeral to be made for my divine lord Inaros?
> What is that which is disgraceful with you again?" (*Armour* VIII.25-7)

Unlike Pekrur's examples of sequential questions, Petubastis genuinely would like to know the reason behind Pemu and Pekrur's sudden appearance, in spite of his obvious displeasure. Hence, they are not considered rhetorical questions. Pekrur senses this, and chooses to answer Petubastis in a 'dispreferred' manner, and responds in two cleverly constructed rhetorical questions as discussed previously. Another noteworthy element of Petubastis' use of interrogatives in *Armour* is his tendency to favour questions that are not targeting a single character, but rather, addressing the general audience or as a pseudo-rhetorical question.[121] This is similar to his uses of the causative, which are often addressed to a group of people rather than one in particular. Both yes/no and WH- interrogatives could be interpreted as such, as seen in *Benefice* XXIV.6-10[122] and *Benefice* XVII.5 respectively.

In *Benefice*, there are two WH- interrogatives and 11 yes/no interrogatives.[123] One of the two WH- interrogatives is a rhetorical question to Pekrur at *Benefice* VI.21-VII.2 after the defeat of Chayris, in which Petubastis asks Pekrur what they should do. However, without waiting for advice from Pekrur, Petubastis implements his own plan, demanding Pekrur to negotiate with the young priest on his behalf, a move that ultimately ends with the capture of Wertiamunne. The other WH- interrogative is directed at the young priest at *Benefice* II.16-8, asking him why he arrived so late to make a claim to the benefice. The question is answered

---

[120] See Appendix 2.
[121] They are considered pseudo-rhetorical, because in many cases, Petubastis is not interested in an answer, see SWEENEY (1991: 323).
[122] Due to a missing part in *Benefice* XXIV.8, the rhetorical question could have finished either at *Benefice* XXIV.8 or XXIV.10.
[123] Two instances of yes/no interrogatives, which are found in the lector priest's (*Benefice* II.11-2) and Teos' (*Benefice* V.23-4a) embedded speech, are excluded.

in a correct manner according to the paradigm of 'preferential organisation' and 'principle of relation', ostensibly due to the fact that the young priest has not been angered at this point.[124] As for yes/no interrogatives, two are directed at the priests (*Benefice* II.6-7) and Minnebmaat (*Benefice* XVI.15-7) respectively, and these are also answered correctly.[125]

The nine remaining instances, however, are all from his visit to the oracle of Amun. Consequently, this also explains why his number of yes/no interrogatives is unusually high (considering that the next highest figure is three instances from Pekrur). During the progression of *Benefice*, Petubastis requests the advice of Amun three times. His visits to the oracle mark one of the rare examples of a triple motif in the Inaros texts, which is a notable feature in other Egyptian and Demotic narratives, such as *First Setne*.[126] The first episode, which takes place after the young priest argues that the benefice should have rightfully belonged to him, contains only one question.

> The pharaoh inquired before Amun, saying, "Is the young (priest) the one who has power over the aforementioned benefice?" Amun came forward quickly, saying "It is he." (*Benefice* II.13-4)

Despite Amun's response, Petubastis still refuses to return the benefice, which leads to the defeat and capture of Chayris. Distraught, he goes to see Amun for a second time, this time asking two questions.

> The pharaoh inquired […] of Amun, saying, "Is it the right command that I will cause the army of Egypt to be girded with their armour, so that they will fight with the herdsmen?" Amun gave the rejection, saying, "No!" He said, "My great lord! O Amun, the great god! Is it the right command that I will cause one to bring a stand, so that you will rest upon it, and I will cause one to set a canopy of byssus above you, so that you are here with us until the matter stops between us and the herdsmen?" Amun came forward quickly, saying, "Cause it to be brought!" (*Benefice* VI.1-9)

Although his question to Amun is one of the few examples of Petubastis' attempt to assert some authority over the Egyptian army, it is ultimately unsuccessful due to Amun's rejection. Subsequently, Petubastis resumes his normal function of overseeing the proper procedures of a religious event, something which has been frequently observed as a reoccurring theme in

---

[124] GRICE (1975: 45-6) and LEVINSON (1983: 332-4).
[125] In this second case, Petubastis' question was shared with Teos and Pekrur.
[126] It is dubious whether this triple motif can be considered as a thematic repetition, see §2.5.1; cf. TAIT (2011a: 279-85).

the entire series. Following the miscommunication between the young priest and him, and the defeat of Wertiamunne, Petubastis requests the presence of Amun for the third and final time.

> The pharaoh came before him, the prayers and the pleas are those which he made, while he says, "My great lord! O Amun, the great god! Is it the right command that I cause the army of Egypt to arm against these herdsmen, and that they will fight with them?" Amun gave the rejection, saying, "No!" He said, "My great lord! O Amun, great god! Is it the right command that I present the benefice of the share of the prophets of Amun before the young priest? Will he release Chayris, son of the king, and Wertiamunne?" Amun gave the rejection, saying, "He will not." The pharaoh said, "My great lord! O Amun, the great god! These herdsmen, will they take Egypt from me on their campaign?" Amun gave the rejection, saying, "They will not." He said, "My great lord! Will the herdsmen become the lord over lordship?" Amun gave the rejection, saying "They will not." He said, "My great lord! Will you give me the victory over the herdsmen, in order to cause them to leave the barque of Amun?" Amun came forward quickly, saying, "I will." (*Benefice* X.12-25)

Noticeably, each iteration of Petubastis' visits to Amun is increasingly complex, going from a single question on the first visit, to six questions on the third visit. Much like the second visit, Amun rejects any attempts by the pharaoh to mobilise the Egyptian army, but at the same time, reassures him that Egypt will not be taken by the enemy. Petubastis' final question is crucial, since rather than taking an active approach, he takes a passive voice by asking Amun to grant him victory over the herdsmen. Petubastis' passivity, as observed in his final question, should not come as a surprise, considering that he himself is not responsible for the agency that led to all three visits. In the first instance, the agent responsible for Petubastis' visit is the lector priest, who requests that "if it pleases the pharaoh, cause the pharaoh to inquire before Amun, the great god" (*Benefice* II.10-1). The same can be said for the second and third visit, which are instigated by Teos (*Benefice* V.21-4a) and Pekrur (*Benefice* X.8-10) respectively.

Petubastis may seem to lack the qualities and leadership of an ideal king, considering the general undesirability of military aversion as a trait for an Egyptian pharaoh; yet, his motivation is understandable. In both *Armour* and *Benefice*, the conflicts are not as a result of foreign interaction, but rather they are civil conflicts. As many scholars have noted, the Egyptian concept of *ma'at* is perpetually maintained by the pharaoh as the apex of the cosmic hierarchy.[127] The introductory dating formula at the beginning of *Armour* confirms this, by

---

[127] *Pars pro toto* O'CONNOR and QUIRKE (2003: 11, 13).

stating that an unnamed king, "… who was a beneficent king in the entire land in whose reign Egypt was overflowing with all good things… while the field flourished… without taking fields (?)…"[128] Presumably the pharaoh here is Petubastis, since he is mentioned elsewhere in *Armour*. However, the contradiction between the depiction of Petubastis in the introductory formula and the events of *Armour* is quite obvious. As Ryholt observes, the introduction also describes the ideal state of Egypt, which is the opposite of the narrative itself.[129] This could either suggest that the introduction is intended to state that everything was peaceful prior to the events of *Armour*, or that such an introduction can be regarded as purely conventional.[130] From the perspective of the narrative trope, Petubastis fills the same role as other imperfect kings in Demotic narratives, such as the king in *Amasis and the Sailor*, who is inebriated to the point that he could not complete his duties, or the deceitful king in *Sisobk and Merire* who, among other things, lies and lets his children be murdered.[131] Petubastis' attempt to maintain his composure and dignity, from his use of the imperative for example, is juxtaposed with his undignified body language on more than one occasion, much like the king in *Second Setne*.[132] This contrast is also seen in his desire to perform his duties and maintain order in Egypt, and his constant failure to do so. Such irony then becomes a source of comic relief or satire.

§3.3.4 Speech patterns

As the pharaoh of Egypt, Petubastis' high level of eloquence is unsurprising. His speech patterns, like Pekrur's, are determined by his poetic motifs, which features more usage of parallel phrasing and figurative language than the standard character-text. This is especially true for *Benefice*; it is from this text that I will examine three examples.[133]
In the first instance, after the capture of Chayris by the young priest, Petubastis expresses his alarm and frustration,[134] which is followed by the lines,

---

[128] Carlsberg 456 + PSI inv. D 59 + P. CtYBR 4513 II.1-3, RYHOLT (2012a: 74, 77, pl. IX).
[129] RYHOLT (2012a: 80).
[130] See §4.2.1 for additional discussions on introductory formula and intertextuality.
[131] RYHOLT (2012a: 185).
[132] For example, in *Armour* XXIII.29-31, Petubastis speaks while running to prevent any harm from happening to his son Chayris. Similarly, in *Benefice*, upon recognising Minnebmaat, he is said to have "jumped for him for many hours like a man greeting his beloved" (XVI.22-3). Furthermore, as mentioned in §2.4.1, Petubastis expressed alarm in four instances (two in *Armour* and two in *Benefice*), more than any other character.
[133] Eloquent speeches by Petubastis are surprisingly few in *Armour*, many of these are unfortunately fragmented, thus cannot be examined.
[134] For the use of alarm and frustration, see §2.4.1.

> *ḫr ʾImn pꜣ nṯr ꜥꜣ*
>> *wꜣḥ tꜣ myḥ.t n Pꜣ-mi šm n=s*
>> *wꜣḥ [pꜣ] ḏwrwḏ ls n Pꜣ-ti-Ḫnsw lg*
> "By Amun, the great god!
>> The admiration for Pemu has gone.
>> The fame of Petechons has ended." (*Benefice* V.17-9)

The use of oaths and prayers is reasonably formulaic in the Inaros texts,[135] the parallel phrases that follow, however, are much more exciting. Grammatically, both sentences contain the same rare usage of the perfect tense with the auxiliary *wꜣḥ* within the Inaros texts.[136] In combination, the coupling of two perfect tenses only appears in one other instance in the Inaros texts (*Armour* XXIV.1-2), which happens to be spoken by Petubastis as well.[137] Content-wise, the coupling of Pemu and Petechons foreshadows Amun's prophecy that only these two warriors can deliver victory for the pharaoh (*Benefice* XI.3-6). The ending of Pemu's admiration and Petechons' fame may also allude to the beginning of the text, where the pair were not invited to the festival of Amun,[138] which Petubastis admits to Pekrur later (*Benefice* XI.10-3). Incidentally, this would then tie into the second example, where Petubastis attempts to convince Pekrur that he was not responsible for leaving the pair behind, but rather it was Teos' 'evil confusion'. This is followed by his speech featuring three parallel clauses that condemn Teos. Moreover, this is the only example where Petubastis' eloquent speech is directed towards a specific character, i.e. Pekrur.

> *m-sꜣ ḫpr*
> *pꜣ nty ir nꜣy=f ḥqy iw=w šm n.im=f*
> *pꜣ nty šty šty.t bn.t i.ir=f hyꜣ ḫn=s*
> *pꜣ nty tm sfy iw=s šm n tꜣy=f nḥbꜣ.t*
> "But
> the one who practices his magic, he will be gone.
> The one who digs a bad hole, he will fall into it.
> The one who sharpens a sword, it will go into his neck." (*Benefice* XI.21-3)

Petubastis' disapproval of Teos is not without basis, since we are told that Teos is indeed the one who convinced the pharaoh to leave Pemu and Petechons behind (Pap. de Ricci 1+2, line 1-9). The use of the nominalisation of the relative converter (*pꜣ nty*) is reminiscent of

---

[135] For a brief discussion on oaths and prayers in the Inaros texts, see JAY (2016: 162-3).
[136] JOHNSON (2004 [1976]: 131-4).
[137] It is important to point out that the second *wꜣḥ* is a resconstruction by Hoffmann, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 379).
[138] This part of the text is found on Pap. de Ricci 1+2, line 1-9, which corresponds to Hoffmann's Fragment B, see HOFFMANN (1995b: 51-2). Pemu is explicitly stated, while Petechons is alluded to with the mentioning of Pisopd.

Demotic wisdom literature, which frequently uses the same grammatical construction.[139] Indeed, as Tait notes, Demotic narrative and wisdom literature are closely linked in many ways, particularly with regard to the context of their composition and reception.[140] The shift from a narrative format to a wisdom one at this moment is deliberate.[141] By criticising Teos' plan and pushing the blame onto him in a didactic format, Petubastis regains the moral high ground. Only then, is he able to command Pekrur to summon Pemu and Petechons, as observed in the series of imperatives (*Benefice* XII.1-4) that follow the above example.

The final example takes place after the capture of Wertiamunne. Like the first example, it is initiated by alarm and frustration, followed by a lengthy speech.

> "I sailed to the south,
> where the *rms*-ship of Chayris, son of the king, sailed at the head of the fleet of
> the pharaoh with the army of Egypt, and there being a shield of gold set up at
> the centre of the mast of his *rms*-ship, saying, 'I am First Shield of Egypt',
> where the *rms*-ship of Wertiamunne sailed at the rear of the fleet of the
> pharaoh, saying, 'I am Great Rudder of Egypt'.
> Behold, there was a young herdsman who came to the south.
> He captured 'First Shield of Egypt' and 'Great Rudder of Egypt'.
> He caused Egypt to be confused like a *dy*-ship that has suffered a shipwreck,
> where no sailor steers." (*Benefice* IX.11-21)

Comparable to Pekrur's speech in *Armour* VIII.27-30, a ring composition can also be observed here.[142] Here, the ring is initiated by Petubastis' own journey southward to Thebes, while describing Chayris and Wertiamunne as the 'First Shield of Egypt' (*pꜣ glꜥ ḫṯ n Kmy*) and the 'Great Rudder of Egypt' (*pꜣ ḥny ꜥꜣ n Kmy*) respectively, and concludes with the young priest's journey south and the capture of the 'First Shield' and 'Great Rudder'. The utilisation of naval motifs is logical, considering the importance of the Nile in *Benefice*, not

---

[139] Both *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* and P. Insinger also contain similar warnings. For example, "the one who shakes the stone, it will fall on his foot" (*Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* XXII.5), and "the one who thrusts his chest at a spear, he will be struck by it" (P. Insinger IV.3). Translations are adapted from LICHTHEIM (1980: 176, 188). Such extracts of wisdom literature can also be found in *Armour*, where Montubaal convinces Pemu to not kill Wertiamunne by saying, "A man is not a reed, that when it is cut, it will grow" (*Armour* XXIII.11).
[140] TAIT (2013: 260).
[141] Coincidentally, this shift also touches upon a change in the literary register. Unfortunately, an in-depth analysis of register in the Inaros texts is outside the purviews of the present thesis. However, the question of register in the Inaros texts has been briefly discussed by JAY (2016: 140) with regard to *Sarpot*'s linguistic features based on observations by HOFFMANN (1995a: 17). For an analysis on register in Egyptian literary texts in general, one of the most representative studies is STAUDER (2013: 3-55).
[142] Another comparable ring composition with a maritime theme can be found in *Armour* XIV.4-10, which describes the fleet that Tjanefer saw on the river.

only as a source of transportation, but also as the site of the conflict.[143] The consistency of the figurative language adds to the text's intratextual value, which translates to narrative complexity.[144] This is further evident from the next sentence, where Petubastis continues the naval motif by likening the state of Egypt and the disruption of the festival to a shipwreck.

In contrast to Pekrur, whose speeches are directed at a particularly character with the intention to manipulate and direct a conversation in his favour, Petubastis' speeches are often directed at the general audience. His speech patterns also frequently reference other sections of the texts, and demonstrates the ability to adjust to a different literary format to suit his needs. Therefore, it would seem that his speeches function more within the narrativisation and intratextuality of the text, rather than manipulating a specific character and/or contributing towards narrative progression. The fact that Petubastis is more active in *Benefice* than in *Armour* is noticeable, considering the lack of poetic speeches by him in *Armour*. His higher activity in *Benefice* is also reflected in the use of imperatives, optatives, and the first-person perspective. Like Pekrur, this could be the result of thematic variation in *Armour* and *Benefice*, with *Benefice* having a stronger focus on rituals and festivals.

§3.4 Petechons

The final character to be discussed is the young warrior Petechons. As one of a number of prominent young warriors in the Inaros tradition,[145] the choice to select him as one of the case studies is deliberate. To our knowledge, Petechons is the only living character to appear in every Inaros text after the death of Inaros, i.e. *Armour*, *Benefice*, *Diadem*, and *Sarpot*. He is also the most well represented of the young warriors.[146] Other than his age, Petechons also greatly differs from Pekrur and Petubastis since he has no obvious historical counterpart.[147] However, the name

---

[143] The use of naval movement as a prominent translational phrase group is discussed in §2.3.2.

[144] As discussed previously, even in Pekrur's letter to Petechons, similar naval motifs are used, where Pekrur referred to Petechons as 'the great mooring peg of iron' (*tꜣ niꜣ.t ꜥꜣ.t bnpy*) and 'the beautiful rudder of Egypt' (*pꜣ ḥny nfr n Kmy*) (*Benefice* XII.13-5). The naming of Chayris and Wertiamunne as the 'First Shield of Egypt' and the 'Great Rudder of Egypt' is also mentioned at the beginning of the text in column A.8-11, see HOFFMANN (1995b: 50-1); cf. HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 89).

[145] The other notable young warriors are: Pemu, Minnebmaat / Minnemei, Montubaal, and the young priest.

[146] The next most well represented character is Minnebmaat / Minnemei, who appears in *Armour* and *Benefice*, followed by Pemu, who appears in *Armour* and *King Wenamun and the Lihyan*.

[147] Kitchen compares the fictional Petechons to Petechons of Pharbaithos in Year 8 of Psamtik I's reign, see KITCHEN (1986 [1972]: 460). However, this correlation is not well supported and generally not recognised.

Petechons (*Pꜣ-di-H̱nsw* 'He who was given by Khonsu' or Greek Πετεχῶν(σις)) has been widely attested since the mid-eighth century BC.[148] Petechons has a small role in both *Armour* and *Benefice* as an ally of Pemu and Petubastis respectively,[149] and he may also have been the protagonist in *Diadem*. His most substantial role is in *Sarpot*, where he is the protagonist alongside Sarpot. The most important distinction between Petechons and the previous two case studies is in his lack of character-text, as opposed to Pekrur and Petubastis. As we shall see, his limited character-text is often not representative of his overall portrayal and characteristics.

§3.4.1 Fictional biography

As noted in the discussion on Pekrur's fictional biography, Petechons is the son of Pekrur, whose seat of power is also at Pisopd. At present, nothing more is known of Petechons' family, possibly with the exception of Pasitur as a sibling, assuming that he is indeed a son of Pekrur. In *Armour*, Petechons is first mentioned in Pekrur's summoning letters to his allies (*Armour* X.29-33). He may have first appeared around *Armour* XV.10, but due to the fragmentary state of *Armour* XV and much of *Armour* XVI, this is difficult to discern. Nevertheless, it can be said with some certainty that he is the first warrior to come to Pemu's aid. In the ensuing battle, Petechons is pitted against Chayris, the son of Petubastis, whom he defeats with relative ease, thus contributing to the safe return of the armour of Inaros. In *Benefice*, after much persuasion on Pekrur's behalf, Petechons reluctantly gathers his army alongside Pemu in the battle against the young priest (*Benefice* XIV.1-13). Unfortunately, the papyrus breaks off when Petechons and Pemu arrive in Thebes, and very little is known of his participation in battle. After the death of Pekrur in *Diadem*, Petechons is accused of burying his father outside of Egypt by a kalasiris, who claims the diadem and spear of Inaros as his own. Nothing more is known of the battle itself, other than the fact that Petechons firmly believes that the diadem and spear should have been rightfully his. Potentially after the events of *Diadem*,[150] Petechons travelled to the Land of the Women where he fought Sarpot and her

---

[148] *Demot. Nb.* 336-7.

[149] Petechons' role in *Benefice* is problematic. He would have fought on behalf of the pharaoh for the safe return of the portable barque of Amun and potentially the release of Chayris and Wertiamunne. However, if the portrayal of Petubastis in *Armour* is any indication, it would not be surprising if the pharaoh lost the benefice regardless by the end of the text. Especially since the benefice is given to Chayris erroneously in the first place, which is even acknowledged by Amun himself (*Benefice* II.14). Unfortunately, until further information comes to light regarding the end of the text, this remains speculative at present. This ambiguity is also addressed by Hoffmann in his discussion on the length of P. Spiegelberg, see HOFFMANN (1994: 145-6, 152-3).

[150] For a brief note on *Sarpot* potentially being after *Diadem*, see RYHOLT (2012a: 96).

army in *Sarpot*. Subsequently, what started as an adversarial relationship turns into companionship after Petechons' and Sarpot's mutual appreciation for each other's military prowess. After an attack by the Indians, Petechons and Sarpot led a successful campaign against the Chief of India, ending with the capture of the chief by Sarpot. Although we do not possess the ending of the text, presumably Petechons did eventually return to Egypt, either with or without Sarpot.

§3.4.2 Portrayal

Unlike Pekrur and Petubastis, whose authority is evident through their impressive number of imperative, optative, and interrogative examples—i.e. their ability to demand goods-&-services and information—as well as their status as Chief of the East and the pharaoh, Petechons is understandably less conspicuous in terms of his authority. This is particularly true for *Armour* and *Benefice*, where he plays more of a supportive role.

Petechons	Total clause spoken	Imperative		Optative		Interrogative		First-person
		Speaker	Receiver	Speaker	Receiver	WH-	yes/no	
Armour	16	0	7	2	1	0	0	0
Benefice	17	5	5	0	2	0	0	4
Sarpot	~63	3	0	1	0	1	0	12

Table 3.4 – Grammatical features in Petechons' character-text.

The statistics for Petechons' speeches in *Armour* are problematic. The majority of his speeches are found in *Armour* XVI.12-27, which unfortunately is badly damaged. Even his name at the beginning of the speech in *Armour* XVI.13 is reconstructed based on the earlier mentioning of a *rmt iȝbṭ* 'man of the east' and him being named later along with Chayris (*Armour* XVI.31).[151] Regardless, even with the reconstruction, Petechons only speaks for approximately 16 clauses (in comparison to Pekrur's 127 for example), where only two instances of optatives, both directed towards servants, are used (12.5%).[152] By contrast, he is on the receiving end of imperatives and optatives eight times—three times from his father

---

[151] HOFFMANN (1996a: 313-4 n. 1785). The thematic features of the passage also strengthen the reconstruction of Petechons name. This will be discussed later in §3.4.3.
[152] See Appendix 2. The attribution of one of the optatives is uncertain. In *Armour* XVI.20-1, the fragmented line is […] *nts pȝ* […] *tȝ ntsy my rk*[*y* …] "whore of the […] the adulterer! Cause that […] stops […]." Considering the parallel between the phrase *tȝ nsy* preceding *my* and the phrase *pȝ nk n tȝ ḫl.t* 'widowfucker' which initiated the speech, it can be stipulated that the optative *my* is also spoken by Petechons.

Pekrur, and five times from Petubastis—suggesting his subordination to the senior characters. In *Benefice*, his character-text is found after he receives his father's letter in XIII.12-XIV.13.[153] Petechons speaks for a total of 17 clauses, of which five are imperatives (29.4%).[154] Four instances are directed towards a messenger and one to Pemu. On the receiving end, Petechons is the recipient of five imperatives and two optatives, all from Pekrur's letter to him. Although Petechons speaks for approximately 63 clauses in *Sarpot*, his use of the imperative is still remarkably low.[155] Only three instances of imperatives (4.8%), and one of optative (1.6%) can be accurately identified. Despite this, Petechons, along with Sarpot, is indisputably the most authoritative character in *Sarpot*, since he is never on the receiving end of an imperative or optative. Regarding the recipients of his imperatives, Sarpot is the only named character to be the recipient of an imperative, as the other two instances are directed at unnamed characters; as for causatives, all three instances are directed at the Indian army.[156] It is also pertinent at this point to mention that across all three texts, Petechons only used one interrogative (*Sarpot* A,II.x+24). Though fragmentary, this instance is most likely a rhetorical question, which means that he has not made any demands for information in any of the texts available so far.

Yet his lack of these grammatical features is not indicative of his lack of authority. As the son of Pekrur, as well as a leading figure at Pisopd, Petechons undoubtedly has some form of leadership role within the city, a fact that is stressed often by his father. Hyperboles aside, the letter from Pekrur to Petechons (*Benefice* XII.7-XIII.7) alludes to his importance in Pisopd, where Petechons is addressed as "the mighty bull of those of Pisopd, the lion of those of the east" (*Benefice* XII.12-3).[157] Furthermore, in the Tebtunis version of *Benefice*, Pekrur commanded Petechons to exert his authority (ꜥw) and strength (pḥṱ.t) before the army of Egypt (P. Carlsberg 433 y+I.25).[158] Rather than simply promoting his own son's strength without evidence, Pekrur does deliberately mention the army under Petechons' command in

---

[153] Fragments of his speech can also be found upon his and Pemu's arrival at *Benefice* XVII.22. P. Tebt. Tait 2 also includes a few additional details after Petechons and Pemu's arrival, see §1.1.2; cf. TAIT (2000: 71-4) and TAIT (1977: 14-20).

[154] See Appendix 2.

[155] The approximation is due to the highly fragmentary nature of the text.

[156] As an added note, even in *Diadem*, speech by Petechons is relatively rare; only one instance of the optative is found (*Diadem* I.11-2), which is directed at a certain Petosiris regarding the burial of Pekrur, see RYHOLT (2012a: 90-5).

[157] For a discussion on the diachronic intertextuality in the Egyptian context, see §4.2.1.

[158] TAIT (2000: 68-9). It is noteworthy that this sentence is different in the Akhmim version (P. Spiegelberg), where Pekrur instead says, "cause the army of Egypt to know of your fear (snd) and your terror (nhr)" (*Benefice* XIII.6-7). For comments on the variation of manuscripts and transmission, see JAY (2016: 146-50).

his letters in both *Armour* and *Benefice*.[159] In *Sarpot*, in addition to his army, Sarpot also offers her own army to serve under Petechons' by saying, "I will cause the army of the Land of the Women […], they will serve you, and they will bring tax to you […] the nomes and the towns […] here in the land of Syria" (*Sarpot* 9.x+5-7; A,II.x+27-9). Further proof of his importance lies in his title of 'prince' – a designation that appears in all texts with the exception of the fragmented *Diadem*.[160] It might be of some significance that having the title 'prince' preceding one's name is not present in any other character in the tradition other than Inaros.[161] Furthermore, Petechons is also the only character other than Inaros to receive an epithet, i.e. *p3 wr nmty* 'Great of Power', which appears in both *Armour* and the Tebtunis version of *Benefice*.[162] It is uncertain as to why Petechons is given such treatment as opposed to the other young warriors; not even sons of Inaros or Petubastis receive epithets, but such parallels with Inaros are undeniable. Moreover, as presented in *Diadem*, regardless of whether the heirlooms were passed down to him by his father from Inaros or by Inaros himself, Petechons allegedly inherited his diadem and spear – the spear being the most iconic feature of Inaros' reoccurring epithet.[163] If Hoffmann is correct in placing *Sarpot* as the latest Inaros text to be developed,[164] then Petechons' parallels to Inaros, along with the fact that he is still portrayed as a young warrior rather than a veteran such as Inaros, would certainly

---

[159] In *Armour*, Pekrur writes, "Make your preparation alongside your army, your horses, your cattle, your *m3-ship*, and all men of the east who follow you, …" (*Armour* X.30-1); in *Benefice*, by contrast, Pekrur's letter to Petechons is much more specific with regard to his army, stating, "Cause one to climb on board alongside your brothers, your 86 men of the east, …" (*Benefice* XII.19-20). This is also confirmed by Petechons himself, who referred to his own troops as "my companions, my 86 men of the east, and my eight priestly companions" (*Benefice* XIII.24-XIV.1).

[160] He is referred to as Prince (*rp3y*) Petechons twice in *Armour*, five times in *Benefice*, and 32 times in *Sarpot*. A consistent variation in the spelling of 'prince' can also be observed across the three texts, with *rp3y* being used for *Armour*, *rpʿy* for *Benefice*, and *irp3y/irpʿy* for *Sarpot*.

[161] Of course, a number of other characters have 'prince' as part of their principality, such as Minnebmaat / Minnemei, Prince of Elephantine (*Armour* XIV.18-9, *Benefice* XV.8). Other characters with such a title construction are only mentioned in passing, either in Pekrur's letter and/or in their participation in battle. For example, Chayris, Prince of Tamenpelechtensechmi / Taamienpalekhet; Tenipaini, the prince of an unknown locality; Ptahmeni, Prince of the fortress Permeneshre; Wilheni, Prince of the fortress of Meidum; Psintaes, Prince of Takelliaat and Padju; and Achoapis, Prince of Patjesi. A list of the titles and principalities has also been concisely summarised by ALMÁSY (2012: 123-4). The only other title that precedes a major character's name is the title 'general', which occasionally precedes the names of Pemu and Wertiamunne in *Armour* and *Benefice*. Interesting to note that the term *wr-mšs* for 'general' is used exclusively by Pemu, and *mr-mšʿ* by Wertiamunne. This distinction is consistently presented in both *Armour* and *Benefice*.

[162] Petechons is referred to as 'Great of Power' in six instances in *Armour*, where 'power' can be spelled alternatively as *nmty*. In the Tebtunis version of *Benefice* (P. Tebt. Tait 2), the epithet appeared three times (z+I.3, z+I.4, and z+I.9; the first instance being reconstructed based on the present of the *nmty* determinative preceding his name), see TAIT (2000: 72-3); cf. RYHOLT (2012a: 28). Epithets in this case exclude metaphoric variations of their title such as that of Minnemei, the bull of those of Elephantine (*Armour* XI.1 and XVII.27).

[163] See §4.2.1.

[164] Hoffmann places the development to around 50 BC, citing the emergence of trade between Egypt and India as a potential impetus, see HOFFMANN (2009: 372). Ryholt also identifies parallels in the introduction of *Sarpot* with *Diod. Sic.* XVII.1.37, see RYHOLT (2013: 76-7).

provide a satisfactory explanation as to why he was selected as the *imitatio* of Alexander in *Sarpot*.[165]

As befitting the portrayal of young warriors, Petechons is far more militarily active than his father and Petubastis. However, this is rarely observed in his use of active speech, i.e. the use of first-person perspective. With the exception of *Sarpot*, Petechons' use of active speech is considerably less than the other young warriors. In the total numbers of clauses spoken by Petechons across the three texts, four instances of first-person pronouns are found (23.5%) in *Benefice*, and even in *Sarpot* there are only 12 instances (19.0%).[166] Unfortunately, no active speech can be linked to Petechons in *Armour*, while the instances in *Benefice* are too few to distinguish any formal patterns. In saying that, all four processes (verbal, behavioural, material, and mental) are represented in *Benefice*.[167] *Sarpot*, although generating 12 instances, is no more representative. After removing the three instances of the causative, the remaining nine consist of seven material clauses and two verbal.[168] Hence, based on his character-text, Petechons does not come across as one who would boast about his own accomplishments, unlike Pemu (*Armour* V.6-10). He is also not one who would command others to do his bidding, at least not until *Sarpot*. Consequently, his speech patterns do not present him as a capable figure. However, if one were to take into account the description of his actual fighting scenes within the narrator-text, a different image emerges. In this sense, it is apt to suggest that Petechons' actions speak louder than words. For one, although Pemu and Wertiamunne quibble over their own *sbꜣ n mšs* 'art of fighting',[169] e.g. *Armour* II.7, VII.9, and VII.10, Petechons is the only fighter explicitly stated as having such 'art'. This appears on two occasions in the narrator-text while fighting his opponent Chayris (*Armour*

---

[165] RYHOLT (2013: 74-5).

[166] This can be compared to the other young warriors' use of the first-person perspective in relation to their total number of character-text in *Armour* and *Benefice*. For example, in *Armour*: Pemu – 27 (30.3%), Montubaal – 7 (20.6%), Minnebmaat / Minnemei – 3 (75%); in *Benefice*: young priest – 14 times (18.7%), Minnebmaat / Minnemei – 4 (25%). *Sarpot*, naturally, does not contain any other young warriors, unless one were to include Sarpot and Ashteshyt.

[167] Verbal, "… Petubastis… to whom I did not say (*ḏd*) 'pharaoh'!" (*Benefice* XIII.15); Behavioural, then material, "I having bound (ꜥrq) myself here with that which I will do (*ir*) in the name of Sopdu…" (*Benefice* XIII.18.9); Mental, "I do not want to know (*rḫ*) the punishment of Amun against me…" (*Benefice* XIII.23-XIV.1).

[168] The different verbs observed are: material: *ir* 'to do / make', *iy* 'to go / come', *mr* 'to gird', *in* 'to bring', *šm* 'to go'; verbal: ꜥš 'to call', *ḏd* 'to say'. Some are used more than once, see Appendix 2.

[169] Hoffmann translates it as 'Soldatenkunst', which Jay follows, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 144-5) and JAY (2016: 117, 199). However, I believe that this term and its usage is far more complex than we give it credit for. Even Hoffmann addresses its potential complexity by saying, "Die scheint durchaus auch als negative angesehene Finten und Tricks einzuschließen," see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 63 n. 89).

XXIII.16 and XXIII.19).[170] In comparison to Chayris, Petechons' skills are so overwhelming that it is said that he "made the art of fighting with him (i.e. Chayris) in the manner of some amusement (*hyny sḏyḫy*)."[171] Petechons' *sbȝ n mšs* can also be considered as more refined and civilised than the other young warriors of the Inaros clan. Using their battle scenes in *Armour* as an example, both Montubaal's and Minnebmaat / Minnemei's fighting style are compared to slaughter (*ḫʿȝ/ḫʿ*) and destruction (*wty/wty.t*) in the likeness of Sekhmet (*Armour* XXII.11-4 and XXV.1-2 respectively), whereas Pemu's short battle with Wertiamunne (*Armour* XXIII.5-9) contains no figurative language. On the other hand, Petechons' fighting style is described using a series of comparatives, i.e. "stronger than stone, burns more than fire, swifter than air, and faster than good wind" (*Armour* XXIII.19-21).[172] Arguably the most iconic example of a figurative description of battle, for its use of comparable and parallel similes, can be found in *Sarpot*.

> A man met his companion among them as two. They extended the shafts of their spears out in front of them. They threw the side of their decorated shields over their arms […] insults; the language of warriors. They took death as a friend. They took life as an enemy. […] in their fight of equals. Beautiful were their strikes, cunning were their blows. […] work. They swooped into the sky like vultures. They came down to earth like […]. They took to battle like Bes. They made […] like […] the son of Sobek. The earth resounded […] when the […] while they struck, beat, and lashed out. A man was not inferior to his brother, his companion among them […] as well. He was not inferior to his brother, his companion among them. (*Sarpot* III.46-IV.4)

Even though the above description of the battle between Petechons and Sarpot can be considered poetic and picturesque for both warriors, their individual fighting styles are nonetheless described differently in the remainder of the text. Sarpot's depiction on the battlefield parallels the likes of Montubaal and Minnebmaat / Minnemei, where she is said to have "made a slaughter (*ḫȝ.t*) and destruction (*wty*) among them (i.e. army of India)" (*Sarpot* XII.32). In contrast, the only other time figurative language is used for Petechons with regard to a battle is in relation to his commanding skills, a characteristic observed in neither *Armour*

---

[170] Three other potential instances in the narrator-text may be argued for in the case of Pemu (*Armour* XV.20 and XV.33) and Wertiamunne (*Armour* XIII.23), but these are too fragmentary to be analysed with any certainty. Petechons' 'art of fighting' is also briefly mentioned in *Diadem* II.12, where Petechons "realised that he had gained advantage over him (i.e. a kalasiris) in an art of fighting," see RYHOLT (2012a: 90, 95).

[171] However, this could just as easily have been an indication of the feebleness of the pharaoh's family, since in *Benefice* IV.24-V.3, it is said that the young priest "rose against Chayris… like that which a lion does with cattle in the mountain region, like that which a nurse does with her minor."

[172] In saying that, the pharaoh, in his plight in *Armour* XXIV.10, referred to Montubaal, Pemu, and Petechons as committing a slaughter (*ḫʿ*) and destruction (*wty*) among them, i.e. the army of Egypt. This is particularly evident in his use of the second person plural pronoun *tn*.

nor *Benefice*.[173] In this case, Petechons, after a brief arming scene,[174] is said to be like "a lion that growls, a bull that was full of strength, […] when he announced the attack" (*Sarpot* III.33-4), which as previously mentioned, also echoes his description in Pekrur's letter (*Benefice* XII.12-3).

If one were to base Petechons' characteristics on character-text alone, he does not come across as a capable warrior. However, taking his representation from narrator-text into consideration, one soon discovers that his fighting abilities are unmatched, even among the children of Inaros. This is particularly evident in the consistent usage of his title and epithet across all of the Inaros texts, as well as the figurative description of his *sb3 n mšs* in both *Armour* and *Sarpot*.

§3.4.3 Personality

In order to distinguish and individualise the young warriors in the Inaros tradition as opposed to a homogenised group, each character has been given a set of traits and personalities that would set him apart from the others. For Petechons, despite his *sb3 n mšs* on the battlefield, one of his most distinctive attributes is his impudence towards the royal family, which is evident in his use of expletives in both *Armour* and *Benefice*.[175]

> The moment that Petechons heard these words, […] he raged like the sea […] a statue of Sekhmet […] fire, while he says, "Widowfucker! […] where your father took your mother […] Esamuntep, whom […] Chayris killed (?) […] Egypt, until we have heard, that your father […] after which she knew what he did (sexually), when Esamuntep […] whore of the […] the adulterer!" (*Armour* XVI.12-20)

> He recited it, and heard every word that was in it. He raged like the sea, he flared up like the incense, while he says, "The *ḫlṭ*-fish catcher of a man from Tanis, the *wrs*-plant trapper of a man from Dep, Petubastis, son of Chayris, to whom I did not say 'pharaoh'!" (*Benefice* XIII.12-5)

---

[173] Although Petechons' military prowess is briefly mentioned by Sarpot at the beginning of the text (*Sarpot* II.23-5), where she speaks of his conquest of Syria.

[174] See §4.1.3 for a discussion of arming scenes.

[175] Petechons' impudence may not be limited to his use of expletives. Before his battle against the kalasiris in *Diadem*, Petechons "did not listen to them" (*Diadem* II.3-4). Unfortunately, the 'them' that is referred to here is unknown due to the lacunae prior. Nevertheless, this is the only example of Petechons not following his orders within the Inaros texts. It is also unfortunate that as far as I know, the papyrus breaks off before Petechons could respond to the kalasiris' argument, an omission that prevents us from learning more about Petechons' characterisation in *Diadem*.

In both cases, his outbursts are initiated by something which he has heard or read out loud, which is then followed by the use of figurative language describing his mood.[176] Of significance to the present discussion is what follows the formulaic introduction. Beginning with each of his speeches, Petechons utters a series of expletives that are uniquely his. Expletives function as a reinforcement of the speaker's current attitude or state of mind, which can then generate meaning in the character's persona.[177] In the case of Petechons, the context of the expletives also means that the social status of the recipient of his outbursts is not a factor he took into account, considering that these two outbursts are directed towards Chayris, the son of the king, in *Armour*,[178] and Petubastis in *Benefice*.

For the example in *Armour*, it is probable that the use of *nk n t3 ḫl.t* 'widowfucker (lit. penetrator of the widow)'[179] is intended to be offensive, particularly in combination with his use of *nts* 'whore' and *ntsy* 'adulterer / whore' towards the end of his speech. So far, the word *nts* and *ntsy* has yet to appear in other Demotic texts.[180] Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary state of the passage, it is uncertain who Petechons is referring to as a 'whore' and/or 'adulterer', but presumably the incident is related to Chayris, judging by his reaction. The phallus determinative in both words suggests that the accused is perhaps male.[181] However, the definite article *t3* preceding *ntsy* may also indicate that the person performing the adulterous deed is female, possibly the aforementioned Esarmuntep as the only named character in Petechons' speech.[182] Furthermore, the use of *rḫ* 'to know' has been stipulated by

---

[176] For an analysis of the introductory phrase *t3 wnw.t (n) stm* and equivalent, as well as the expression of anger, see §2.4.1.

[177] The use of expletives is comparable to vocatives, i.e. oaths. Although both are considered an element in the structure of the clause as exchange, they are outside the scope of mood and residue, see HALLIDAY and MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]: 159-60).

[178] Although the section of *Armour* where Petechons' speech is from is fragmentary, it can be safely assumed that the heated exchange of words that Petechons had is indeed with Chayris. This is evident in *Armour* XVI.31, where a request is made for someone to go to Tanis and report "everything which happened with Petechons and Chayris" before the pharaoh. It seems that the rivalry between Petechons and Chayris is a common theme in the Inaros tradition, since a third text, P. Vindob. D6920-22, also details a contest between the two, see §1.1.2; cf. HOFFMANN (1996c: 167-200, pl. 3-4).

[179] The translation is adapted from Hoffmann who referred to *nk n t3 ḫl.t* as 'Hurer der Witwe', see HOFFMANN (1996a: 314 esp. n. 1792). Ryholt, however, thinks that 'widowfucker' is too strong a phrase to use in this context, since *nk* may simply refer to 'the penetrator' (personal communication). I have maintained that the use of 'widowfucker' in this instance in order to highlight the obscenity of Petechons' language and his potential disregard towards the family of the pharaoh.

[180] The word is not found in *Demotisches Glossar*, and was only mentioned in *CDD n*.121 with reference to Hoffmann's edition of *Armour*.

[181] Hoffmann based this observation on the designation by Bresciani, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 315-6 n. 1798-9).

[182] As seen in a number of Demotic literature, women are also capable of committing adultery or prostitution. In *An Unfaithful Wife and Mother* from *The Petese Stories* (P. Petese Tebt. A VI.27), the boy caught his mother "committing an act of adultery" (*ir md.t nḏs.t*) with a kalasiris. In Quack's edition of P. Carlsberg 69, he argues that *nḏs.t*, lit. 'little woman', had come to designate whores during the Graeco-Roman periods, see RYHOLT

103

Hoffmann to be a wordplay containing the connotation of 'knowing (sexually)', in which case, the same could be extended to *tꜣ* 'to take'. Although *tꜣ* is often used to denote 'marriage', it may also be associated with 'taking by force' (*tꜣ n qns*) or 'rape'.[183]

Unfortunately, less can be said of his expletives in *Benefice*, i.e. *pꜣ ḥm ẖlṱ rmt n Dꜥny* 'the *ẖlṱ*-fish catcher of a man from Tanis' and *pꜣ hyṱ gp n wrs n rmt Tp* 'the *wrs*-plant trapper of a man from Dep'.[184] This is predominantly due to our current lack of certainty with regard to the reading of the words, let alone an understanding of the social and historical context of these particular occupations.[185] However, the use of the perceived lesser professions as derogatory terminology is reminiscent of *Trade of the Satire*,[186] so it is possible that Petechons purposely slighted the pharaoh for not being invited to the festival of Amun. Indeed, his refusal to acknowledge Petubastis' authority is encapsulated by his unwillingness to address him as 'pharaoh'. Petechons' dismay is further emphasised later in his speech, where he deliberately demasculinises the pharaoh by referring to him through his maternal heritage (*Benefice* XIII.22-3).[187]

Although his lack of respect towards the royal family is evident, this does not preclude him from exhibiting honour and restraint. Part of his restraint on the battlefield has already been discussed earlier, insofar as he is the only person not associated with slaughter and

---

(1999: 20, 44, 58). Indeed, it is highly likely that *nts* and *ntsy* are unetymological writings of *nḏs.t*. The same terminology can also be found in *First Setne* V.10, where Tabubu said *iw bn-pw=y ir md.t nḏs.t ḥ(r) pꜣ ẖyr ꜥn*.

[183] In Demotic literature, the act of rape often utilises the term *n qns* 'by force'. For example, in *The Prince and the Kalasiris* (P. Petese Tebt. C1 III.23), the king's son of Hermopolis is said to have committed an act of rape on the kalasiris' mother by "taking her by force" (*tꜣy.ṱ=s n qns*), see RYHOLT (2005: 47-9); a similar phrasing can be found in *Rape of Hatmehit* (P. Petese. Tebt. D1 x+6), where the Prophet of Horus of Pe rapes Hatmehit where he "caused that she be brought to his home by force" (*di=f in=w s r nꜣy=f [ꜥwy.w] n qns*) and subsequently sleeps with her, see RYHOLT (2005: 101-2). Petechons' speech also shares a remarkable similarity to *The Petese Stories*, most noticeably *An Unfaithful Wife and Mother* and *The Prince and the Kalasiris*. For the discussion on synchronic intertextuality and themes in Demotic narratives, see §4.2.2.

[184] In Hoffmann's latest translation of the text, he questions the accuracy of the word *Tp* 'Dep', and proposes a possible alternative *ḥpꜣ*, see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 338 *au*). However, no translation or additional information is provided with this reading.

[185] Although Spiegelberg identified the determinatives for both *ẖlṱ* and *wrs*, he could not associate them to any specific fish or plant and simply refers them as 'ein Fisch' and 'ein Pflange' respectively, see SPIEGELBERG (1910: 92-3*); cf. *CDD ẖ*.79 and *w*.125. Jasnow prefers to translate *ẖlṱ* as 'ichneumon', but as Hoffmann convincingly argues, this would take the assumption that the determinative was incorrectly written, see JASNOW (2001: 71 n. 59) and HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 338 *at*). For *hyṱ gp* as 'trap', see *CDD g*.25. It is possible that the mentioning of Tanis refers to Petubastis' origin, but within the Inaros tradition, no evidence has emerged so far of his association with Dep.

[186] I am grateful to Nadja Böckler (Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich) for discussing this passage with me, and for suggesting *Berufssatire* as a potential correlation.

[187] Tahor, the daughter of Patjenfe, as the ancestor of Petubastis is also confirmed by HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 102 n. 148). Incidentally, the name Tahor is also mentioned in Pap. de Ricci 1+2, line 7, where Teos reminds the pharaoh that he has already done more than enough for Pemu by gifting him a tent (*ḥltꜣ.t*) of Tahor. Perhaps Tahor holds more significance in *Benefice* than is given credit for here, but unfortunately without additional information, this is difficult to determine.

destruction. This is further evident in his capability to withdraw from a fight when requested.[188] Upon listening to the pharaoh's request to retreat in *Armour* XVII.18-22, who argues that it would be inappropriate to start a battle before the arrival and placement of the armies, Petechons acknowledges this and stands down from his engagement with Chayris. A similar situation also takes place later in the text, where Petechons releases the defeated Chayris upon the request of both the pharaoh and his father Pekrur, who reminds him that he has already taken his revenge (*Armour* XXIII.31-XXIV.4). In *Benefice*, despite his lack of empathy towards the pharaoh's plight, Petechons still chooses to participate in the battle against the young priest. However, Petechons emphasises that his participation is not for the pharaoh's benefit, but rather as a result of the atrocity committed by the young priest who has interfered with the festival of Amun (*Benefice* XIII.19-23).

For the final points on Petechons' personality, the focus will be placed on *Sarpot*, since unlike *Armour* and *Benefice*, there are a number of subtle variations. This could be largely due to the conceptualisation and composition of *Sarpot* as a text being drastically different from *Armour* and *Benefice*.[189] In *Sarpot*, his outburst is not as overt as *Armour* and *Benefice*, and only feature once prior to his meeting with Sarpot on the battlefield.[190] Following his alliance with Sarpot, Petechons is depicted as more subdued in contrast to his hot-headedness in the other texts, which is evident in his character-text. Hearing of the first attacks on his (?) city,[191] Petechons says, "I will cause them to stop (*rk*). I will cause them to stop (*ḥꜣꜥ ḏr.t*) fighting" (*Sarpot* VII.40). Such preventative measures are more reminiscent of Petubastis in *Armour*. Furthermore, in his conversation with Sarpot in the later part of the text, he expressed his doubt with regard to the Indian invasion, as he says, "I did not cause them to

---

[188] This trait is shared by Montubaal and Pemu, who withdrew upon the pharaoh's reassurance that the armour will be returned to Heliopolis (*Armour* XXII.30-XXIII.4 and XXIII.9-15 respectively). In contrast, the trait is not shared by the young priest in *Benefice*, who held Chayris and Wertiamunne captive even though he won both fights (*Benefice* V.8-11 and IX.4-7). Arguably this could also be due to the withdrawal of Petechons, Montubaal, and Pemu being predicated on the return of the armour, while the pharaoh is reluctant to return the benefice even after Chayris and Wertiamunne's capture.

[189] There are some key changes to the narrative framework of *Sarpot*, most importantly the lack of other native Egyptian characters, particularly senior characters such as Pekrur and Petubastis, as well as the setting being foreign (Syria and India) as opposed to Egypt. The grammatical variation between *Sarpot* and the other texts are observed by HOFFMANN (1995a: 16-7) and JAY (2016: 140), while the compositional incentives for the thematic variation have been mentioned by HOFFMANN (2009: 372) and discussed by RYHOLT (2013: 73-6). Further discussion on this matter falls under the paradigm of intertextuality, see §4.2 and §4.3.

[190] In this instance, after losing to Sarpot's army on the first day, in an attempt to reassure his army that they will be victorious, Petechons' anger and frustration towards Sarpot's army is clearly evident when he says, "the army of women […] a bad death, which will be agonising (*qꜣ*) for them" (*Sarpot* III.26-7).

[191] Due to the large lacuna around *Sarpot* VII.21-34, it is unclear whose city is being attacked, or indeed, if the attack is being made against the city which Petechons and Sarpot are currently residing, or another city all together.

find the place to which I went,[192] (but) they will find it. It frightened the heart…" (*Sarpot* A,II.x+23). His fear is observed by Sarpot, who sees that "his heart is frightened (*ṯḥr*), and he is discouraged (*ti.t qmꜣy.t*)" (*Sarpot* A,II.x+26), and had to reassure him that he still has the full support of the Land of the Women. Although such expressions may be 'uncharacteristic' of Petechons' portrayal in other Inaros texts, the use of sadness and despair as an agency for narrative progression in the Inaros tradition is not.[193] The most comparable example would be Pemu in *Armour* X.14-6, whose despair upon hearing of the number of allies that Wertiamunne had, prompted Pekrur's action. A similar argument can be made here. Petechons' reaction should not be perceived as out of character, instead, it would have served the purpose of driving the narrative progression by eliciting a response from Sarpot. Indeed, in the ensuing battle against the Indian army (*Sarpot* XI.x+10-XII.39), Sarpot occupies the centre stage and is responsible for the defeat and capture of the Chief of India, while Petechons is barely mentioned until the submission scene (*Sarpot* XII.40-5).[194]

Compared to the other young warriors in the Inaros texts, Petechons is the only character to exhibit impudence through his use of unique expletives regardless of the status of his recipient. However, this has not precluded him from still maintaining honour and restraint on the battlefield. It seems that his personality matured between *Armour* / *Benefice* and *Sarpot*, some of which, e.g. showing negative emotions, would have been used for narrative effect, but a large part can be attributed to a change in the compositional style. In this sense, it is comparable to the changes observed in Pekrur and Petubastis between *Armour* and *Benefice*. The effect this would have on our understanding of the Inaros tradition will be discussed further in the upcoming chapter.

---

[192] This may be related to the fact the prior to this scene, Sarpot and her army had to rescue Petechons who wandered off on his own (*Sarpot* VIII.1?-10). Unfortunately, it is unclear as to why he chose to leave his camp without anyone accompanying him or where he was going.
[193] See §2.4.1.
[194] In comparison to Petechons, Sarpot also has a far greater number of imperatives and optatives, at 15 and seven respectively.

§4 INTERTEXTUALITY

As seen in the previous chapters, the presence of an established Inaros tradition is evident in the structural and linguistics elements within the texts. Hence, this last chapter will be focusing on the external aspects of the texts, specifically the author and audience.[1] Continuing with the interdisciplinary nature of the thesis, the approach that is pertinent here is intertextuality, which focuses on the exchange between text and tradition (and potentially text and text when applicable).[2] The present chapter will also re-address some of the observations from the previous chapters by examining them from this external perspective.

The term 'intertextuality' was first coined by Kristeva, who based her theory on Bakhtin's heteroglossia and polyphony, claiming that it is near impossible to have a fixed point for the literary word, rather it is "an intersection of word (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read."[3] According to her, every text can be understood as a "mosaic of quotations."[4] While Kristeva's thoughts were illuminating in the fields of philosophical linguistics and psychology, it was considered to be too generic for literary theory.[5] Thus, literary theorists turned their attention towards Conte, whose own interpretation of intertextuality, which he termed 'allusion', is predicated on the rhetoric function as analogous to the trope.[6] Around the same time, Genette also established his own set of criteria based on Kristeva's terminology, though he defines intertextuality more strictly than both Kristeva and Conte.[7] For him, intertextuality is defined as "a relationship of copresence between two texts or among several texts: that is to say, eidetically and typically as the actual presence of one text

---

[1] For a concise overview on the issue of author and audience in Egyptian literature, see DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 33-5).

[2] The same distinction is also made by Bal, who refers to the two aspects as structural and cultural narratology respectively, see BAL (1999: 20-1); cf. MOERS (2011: 165-6). Alternatively, from a philosophical perspective, the distinction parallels the ongoing debate of ontology versus epistemology.

[3] KRISTEVA (1980: 66); cf. BAKHTIN (1981) for his theory on dialogism and the novel.

[4] KRISTEVA (1980: 66).

[5] SCHMITZ (2007: 78-9).

[6] CONTE (1986: 38).

[7] For example, unlike KRISTEVA (1969), Genette does not consider intertextuality—as the reference to the other texts—to be a general trait of language and literature. Rather, he sees Kristeva's intertextuality as having more parallels with his model of transtextuality, see SCHMITZ (2007: 77-8, 80-1). He considers works by RIFFATERRE (1980: 625-38) in the same way, citing Riffaterre's work as transtextual, but criticises his interpretation for being overtly focussed on semantic-semiotic microstructure, whereas his own work examines the structured whole, see GENETTE (1997 [1982]: 2-3).

within another."[8] This general definition is then subdivided into quoting, plagiarism, and allusion, ranging from the most explicit form of intertextuality to the least.[9] Fundamentally, Genette's intertextuality denotes the effective presence of text A (hypotext) within text B (hypertext).[10]

In combination, these theoretical paradigms provide the premise for the present examination. In accordance with the structure established by Hoffmann and Edmunds,[11] this chapter will be divided into three sections. The first two will focus on author-based intertextuality by examining Greek and Egyptian intertextuality respectively, while the last section will be a short discussion on audience-based intertextuality.[12]

§4.1 The Homeric debate

An in-depth analysis of author-based intertextuality in the Inaros texts cannot possibly be complete without mentioning Homeric influence. The association of the Inaros tradition with Homer, as opposed to other ancient texts from the Mediterranean, is predominantly due to the large quantity of Homeric fragments that have been discovered in Egypt, leading to the general understanding that the Graeco-Roman composer(s) of the Inaros texts would have been more than familiar with Homer. The Homeric debate, first alluded to by Spiegelberg in his text edition of *Benefice* and *Armour*, has been a predominant subject matter for publications on the Inaros tradition over the past century.[13] Featuring a spectrum from pro-Greek influence to pro-Egyptian composition, the discussions have divided the scholarship tremendously with support for all positions on the continuum. However, as the following sections will suggest, the situation is far more complex once thematic, literary, and

---

[8] GENETTE (1997 [1982]: 1-2).
[9] GENETTE (1997 [1982]: 2).
[10] SCHMITZ (2007: 81).
[11] HOFFMANN (1996a) and EDMUNDS (2001).
[12] For the present chapter, the emphasis on the examination of author-based intertextuality will be far greater than that of audience-based intertextuality for two main reasons: 1) there is substantially more evidence and discussions for the presence of author-based intertextuality in Egyptian literary tradition; 2) a prominent aspect of audience-based intertextuality—the implied audience—is simply a recourse of authorial intent, which partially overlaps author-based intertextuality. However, both aspects needed to be addressed, even if only to elaborate on the potential approaches and differing observations.
[13] To name some of the major publication on the subject of Homeric influence in the Inaros texts from the earliest to the latest: SPIEGELBERG (1910: 10), VOLTEN (1956: 147-52), TAIT (1992: 303-10), HOFFMANN (1995a: 29), HOFFMANN (1996a: 49-78), THISSEN (1999: 369-87), QUACK (2005: 55-72), VON LIEVEN (2006: 61-75), GOZZOLI (2009: 274-9), ALMÁSY (2012), SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 114-20), RYHOLT (2013a: 59-78) (although this is related to Hellenistic influence in general), and JAY (2016: esp. 127-210).

narratological considerations have been taken into account. Most importantly, the scene which has become the quintessential piece of evidence for the debate, i.e. the arming scene of Pemu, will be re-examined in order to provide a different perspective.[14]

§4.1.1 History of the debate

The debate over potential Homeric influence on the Inaros texts can be divided into three phases, which are separated by new evidence coming to light, resulting in differing interpretations. The initial phase, as mentioned, is sparked by Spiegelberg, who briefly pointed out that the unbroken series of duels in *Armour* is quite un-Egyptian and therefore suggestive of foreign literary influence.[15] However, he wisely chose not to directly correlate this to Homer, citing "Sie wird sich erst mit Sicherheit beantworten lassen, wenn unsere Kenntnis der demotischen wie der gesamten spätägyptischen Literatur besser geworden ist."[16] The discussion is then continued by Volten and Barns in the 1950s. This took place while Volten was the keeper of the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection in Copenhagen, so he had access to fragments of the Inaros texts from Tebtunis.[17] Volten and Barns, despite often collaborating, are at the two opposite ends of the spectrum. Volten firmly believed that Greek influence could be observed,[18] while Barns not only suggested that Egyptian prose tradition had remained unchanged, but went so far as to speculate that the first Greek romance was a translation from Egyptian.[19] Following Barns, Ray also rejected any influence over the 'original' Inaros texts, and noted that even with the possibility of Homeric features in the later manuscripts, the Egyptian material still outweighs the Greek.[20] Tait, as the last significant scholar of the first phase, tentatively made the suggestion that "a few of the Inaros texts were written with an awareness of the Homeric poems. They take some very general

---

[14] An alternative, less well studied scene that also suggests Homeric influence is the catalogue of ships. This scene has most recently been examined by ALMÁSY (2012: 115-42).

[15] SPIEGELBERG (1910: 10).

[16] SPIEGELBERG (1910: 10). Spiegelberg also cites possible Jewish influence, particularly in terms of the thirteen herdsmen.

[17] VOLTEN (1956: 147-52); BARNS (1956: 29-36).

[18] VOLTEN (1956: 147-52). The stance on Greek influence at this point is also supported by ROEDER (1927: 337-8) and SCHWARTZ (1950: 82).

[19] BARNS (1956: 35). Although Barns does acknowledge and respect Volten's position, saying "Demotic fiction does sometimes borrow from Greek; Dr. Volten suspects the influence of Homer on the plots of some of his new Petubastis texts," see BARNS (1956: 33-4).

[20] RAY (1972: 250).

idea from Homer… and work this up into a narrative within Egyptian traditions."[21] Adding to this, he further suggested that "beyond these broad ideas, the plots pay little regard to what actually happens in Homer, and the texts have no interest in reproducing anything of the outlook or style of the Homeric poems," and "it will not be surprising if other stories in the same cycle prove to take their ideas from other and not necessarily Greek sources"[22] – a stance that was taken by both Spiegelberg and later Hoffmann.

The second phase begins with the first comprehensive comparison of Greek and Egyptian influence by Hoffmann, largely as a result of his text editions of *Sarpot* and *Armour*. Since most of the discussions surrounding the debate had been mere speculation, Hoffmann's systematic approach has become the premise for subsequent debates. In his text edition of *Sarpot*, Hoffmann briefly commented on possible Greek influences in the text as addressed by Barns and Volten.[23] However, he was cautious of this postulation, instead choosing to agree with Thissen, who said, "Ich denke, es wäre der Mühe wert, die Rolle Ägyptens für die Entstehung des Romans zu untersuchen."[24] His text edition on *Armour* is far more comprehensive, and goes through aspects such as formal elements,[25] theme,[26] composition, and conceptualisation for both potential Iliadic and Egyptian parallels.[27] In his examination of the Iliadic parallels, Hoffmann noticed that although some similarities are present between the two texts, more differences could be identified.[28] On the contrary, he is much more favourable of the Egyptian influence,[29] which led him to conclude that "Die Notwendigkeit, irgendeinen homerischen Einfluss auf den P. Krall anzunehmen, besteht daher nicht."[30]

---

[21] TAIT (1992: 310). Tait cites the feud over the armour, the hero's refusal to come to the king's aid, and the land of women-warriors as prime examples. It is noteworthy that Tait does not suggest that the texts themselves are imitating Homer consciously, merely that the writers were aware of Homeric poems.

[22] TAIT (1992: 310).

[23] HOFFMANN (1995a: 29); cf. BARNS (1956: 33-6).

[24] HOFFMANN (1995a: 29); cf. THISSEN (1990: 69).

[25] Including elements such as metre, phraseology, and use of epithets.

[26] Divided into motive, main theme, and type scene.

[27] See HOFFMANN (1996a: 49-78) for Iliadic parallels, and HOFFMANN (1996a: 79-105) for Egyptian parallels.

[28] HOFFMANN (1996a: 78).

[29] With regard to his opinion on the Egyptian parallels, Hoffmann said, "all text-layers from the word to the most general ideas coincide perfectly, especially the points that we have found in both P. Krall as well as in the Iliad" (own translation), see HOFFMANN (1996a: 104).

[30] HOFFMANN (1996a: 105). Hoffmann has been a strong advocate for the absence of Homeric influence since his initial publication on the subject. As one of the most well published scholars on the Inaros texts, his discussions, and by extension the subject of Homeric influence, spans nearly two decades. He later takes the position that Egyptian narrative tradition may have even influenced the Greek romance, see HOFFMANN (2000: esp. 199-205). He re-affirms his scepticism of Homeric influence in HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 10), where he stressed that the current state of the debate has yet to take into account the earlier fifth century Aramaic version, which meant that Homer could not have possibly influenced the emergence of the Inaros texts. Hoffmann continues to express his doubt over the Greek influence in his discussion on warlike women in

Hoffmann's view had not been wholly accepted, and this is particularly evident in Thissen's work. Thissen has multiple concerns with Hoffmann's conclusion, which mainly stems from what he believes to be Hoffmann's Egyptocentric approach and focus on the comparison of isolated passages.[31] He also highlights that the warlord aspect of the Inaros texts is unprecedented in Egyptian literary tradition, whereas such a theme was popular in the Hellenistic-Roman tradition.[32] While not entirely pro-Homeric influence himself, Thissen does stress the necessity to distinguish between 'dependence' and 'influence', i.e. direct and indirect hypertextuality as we shall see.[33]

Quack also ascribed to the Inaros texts a purely Egyptian origin, but he is more receptive to arguments of potential Greek influence. Along with Vittmann, he recognises the Greek concept of the female warriors in *Sarpot*.[34] Quack proposes that instead of Homer, the Inaros texts originated from the values of the Libyan rulers of twenty-second to twenty-fourth dynasty, and so concludes that the original texts were circulated among people who perceived themselves as part of the Egyptian tradition.[35] In saying that, he does acknowledge that it is possible that during the course of time, the narratives were revised and new compositions may have incorporated some Greek influence.[36] Towards the end of the second phase, Gozzoli, in his work on the writings of the first millennium BC, also briefly discusses the

---

ancient Egypt, see HOFFMANN (2008: 54-7). He stresses the differences between Petechons and Sarpot and Achilleus and Penthesilea, as well the historical Alexander's lack of encounter with the Amazons on his way to India (55). Instead, he offers the possibility that the concept of 'Amazon' may not be exclusively Hellenic / Hellenistic, thus negating the argument of a pure Greek literary influence on the Inaros texts without taking into consideration other Near Eastern literary traditions (55). In the following year, Hoffmann discusses the possible dates for the origin and development of the Inaros texts in HOFFMANN (2009: 359-60, 372-3). His 2012 overview on Hieratic and Demotic literature unfortunately did not go into any in-depth detail on the debate, where he simply states that "there is some debate whether there was any Homeric influence on the Inaros and Petubastis Cycle and whether the literary genre of the novel developed this group of texts," see HOFFMANN (2012: 549). Hoffmann's most recent publication on the matter views the intertextual situation in Hellenistic Egypt as being more complex, and compares the reciprocity of the influence between Greece, Egypt, and Mesopotamia with homologous and convergent evolution, see HOFFMANN (2014: 104-7).

[31] Some of the key examples that THISSEN (1999: 369-87) disagreed with are: the evidence of Homeric literary exercise in an Egyptian context (380 n. 52), concern over the duelling scene (379), the question of Sarpot (383-4), and divine intervention (382). Although Smith, in his review of Thissen's *Der verkommene Harfenspieler: eine altägyptische Invektive (P. Wien KM 3877)* expressed his opinion that Thissen's attempt to refute Hoffmann's arguments is unsuccessful. However, no explanation is given other than the fact that Smith is hesitant to agree with Thissen on his interpretation of interchange between Greeks and Egyptians, see SMITH (2000: 186 esp. n. 54).

[32] THISSEN (1999: 383).

[33] Thissen also cites Virgil's *Aeneid* as a comparison to the Inaros texts, where he stresses the difference between 'dependence' and 'influence', see THISSEN (1999: 382). For a concise overview of the debate between Hoffmann and Thissen, see SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 115-7).

[34] QUACK (2005: 56); cf. VITTMANN (1998: 62-77).

[35] QUACK (2005: 56).

[36] QUACK (2005: 57).

issue of Greek influence.[37] Being one of the strongest supporters of Greek influence since Volten, he hypothesises that the insertion of Homer into an Egyptian background is meant to indicate the coexistence of the Greek and Egyptian cultural system in a mutual and reciprocal environment, and cites Manetho as an example.[38]

The third phase, or the current phase, is predominantly led by Ryholt, the current keeper of the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection, whose publication of *Narrative literature from the Tebtunis temple library* marks the starting point for recent analyses.[39] Taking into account the previous discussions on the subject, the scholars in the third phase are more homogenised in their evaluation, and tend to stay in neutral territory where the evidence for Homeric influence is concerned. The majority of the scholars follow the argument that though the original Inaros texts were part of the Egyptian tradition, the additions over the centuries culminating in the Graeco-Roman manuscripts that we have today unmistakably contain signs of foreign influence. Ryholt addresses the degree of *imitatio Alexandri*, vis-à-vis Hellenistic influence, in three Demotic narratives, one of which is *Sarpot*.[40] He pointed out that although Achilleus and Penthesilea became the most compared duo with Petechons and Sarpot, the connection between Alexander and Petechons has rarely been mentioned.[41] Furthermore, Ryholt identifies a parallel between the name 'Sarpot', meaning 'lotus', with the famous Amazon queen in the Greek version of *Alexander Romance*, Thalestris.[42] The most compelling and overlooked evidence for Hellenistic influence that Ryholt identifies in *Sarpot* is in its narrator

---

[37] GOZZOLI (2009: 274-9).
[38] GOZZOLI (2009: 279). Gozzoli also argues against Hoffmann's interpretation of the Homeric element by presenting additional Homeric examples, some of which were based on Thissen. His examples are: the multiplicity of the duels, the catalogue (= *Il*. II. 494-779), the pharaoh saving his son (= Priam), and of course, Petechons and Sarpot (= Achilleus and Penthesilea), see GOZZOLI (2009: 275-8). However, although Gozzoli made a few interesting observations, he did not engage with the latest scholarship after Thissen, particularly QUACK (2005: 55-72) and HOFFMANN (2008: 49-57).
[39] RYHOLT (2012a).
[40] RYHOLT (2013a: 59-78). The other two examples that Ryholt provides are *The Legendary Sesostris and Scythia / India* and *The Legendary Ramesses and Bactria (Bentresh Stela)*.
[41] RYHOLT (2013a: 74). Ryholt draws attention to ALMÁSY (2007: 31-7) as one of the exceptions. Hoffmann also briefly mentioned Alexander, but does not see any similarities because Alexander encounters the Amazons after India, see HOFFMANN (2008: 55). Arrian (*Arr*. VII.13) is also sceptical of this episode in Alexander's life, since neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemy recorded such an event, see CHINNOCK (1884: 394). It has been suggested by a number of scholars that the heroic portrayal and *imitatio* of the Inaros characters could have been a response to foreign domination, see JASNOW (1997: 96); cf. LLOYD (1982: 39).
[42] RYHOLT (2013a: 75). Zauzich, however, identifies Sarpot with the Semiramis, see ZAUZICH (2010: 448-9).

introduction, where similarities can be observed with contemporary Greek literary works, such as Diodorus Siculus.[43]

While other scholars tend to focus on the texts themselves in the discussion of Homeric influence, Salim was one of the first to look at it from an audience-based perspective.[44] She proposes that the Inaros texts serves as both historical fiction, as well as a source of entertainment. By attributing the Graeco-Roman Inaros texts to the rise of Hellenised Egyptians, particularly the veteran class in areas such as the Fayum, she demonstrates that the Homeric epic "formed an essential frame of reference in constructing (literary) warrior identity in the Hellenistic culture."[45] Two of the most recent works on the Inaros texts, those of Almásy and Jay, choose to focus more closely on the interrelationship between Greek texts and Inaros texts. Almásy's unpublished thesis examines the development of the Inaros texts, with a particular emphasis on the portrayal of the heroes and the catalogue scene in *Armour* as case studies. She concludes that the influence of Greek literature and culture on the Inaros texts is inevitable due to the prevalence of Greek education and the general influence of Hellenistic culture.[46] In her most recent publication, Jay comments on the 'Homeric question' and the issue of orality.[47] She argues that "the Inaros Cycle was primarily an indigenous development," and focuses on "its links to the oral tradition more generally rather than any specific connection to the Homeric epics."[48] Thus, the focus of her study includes elements such as formulaic phraseology,[49] type scenes, combat, story-pattern, catalogue, and presents a specific case study on Homer and the arming of Pemu.[50] Overall, she concludes that although certain features "may reflect a direct connection to the Homeric epics," the fact that the Egyptian material was written in prose, and not poetry, affects its relationship to the oral tradition in a different manner than Homeric epics.[51]

---

[43] RYHOLT (2013a: 76-7). Ryholt also noticed another parallel with Diodorus Siculus in the reference to Osiris as 'Osiris the great Agathodaimon of India', which parallels the vocation of the Chief of India, when he said, "By Osiris, the great Agathodaimon of India! He will want to fight him…" (*Sarpot* IX.4/A,II.x+7).

[44] SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 118-20).

[45] SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 119).

[46] ALMÁSY (2012: 140-2, 201-2).

[47] JAY (2016: 127-210). A review of Jay's study by the present author is forthcoming in *Lingua Aegyptia*.

[48] JAY (2016: 152-3). However, she later comments that "it is possible that a few elements from Greek literature were incorporated into the later tales of the cycle," see JAY (2016: 153).

[49] Concerning titles and epithets, and oaths and prayers in dialogue, see JAY (2016: 157-63).

[50] JAY (2016: 157-90).

[51] JAY (2016: 197). Jay also explores the relationship between the oral and written tradition of Inaros more fully than Salim, and discusses in detail the possible motivation behind its longevity in the literary corpus of the Graeco-Roman world. For her conclusion on this matter, see JAY (2016: 197-202, 348-50).

§4.1.2 An alternative paradigm: Hypertextuality

With each iteration of the aforementioned debate, scholars have analysed the parallels and influences in increasing depth. However, so far, the discussions outlined above have predominantly taken into consideration only the Greek and Demotic material, and rarely utilise theoretical applications and explore their implications.[52] Since one of the central focuses of the present chapter is on intertextuality, I would like to further supplement the current Homeric-Inaros conversation by suggesting the application of Genette's 'hypertextuality'. Of course, a number of points have already been raised in the scholarship that allude to the concept of hypertextuality without explicitly stating it as such. Hence, the categorisation presented here is not only a way for one to collate the different interpretations under a single paradigm, but also to introduce an alternative perspective using one of the key literary theories. Moreover, as Thissen pointed out, the usage of 'influence' has often been conflated with 'dependence',[53] leading to the misconception that somehow the Inaros texts would be inferior, or subordinate to, their foreign influence; the use of hypertextuality, being a neutral term in itself, will hopefully negate such connotations.

The term 'hypertextuality' is derived from Genette's *Palimpsests*, which is premised on his interpretation of intertext relationships, or as he terms 'transtextuality'. As exemplified by his work on narratology, Genette meticulously distinguishes different practices of hypertextuality based on the relation between the hypertext and hypotext, and the mood in which they were activated.[54] From this, five categories are established in increasing order of abstraction, implication, and comprehensiveness: intertextuality, paratext, metatextuality, hypertextuality, and architextuality.[55] For Genette, as well as the present chapter, hypertextuality is of direct concern.[56] Genette defines hypertextuality as the derivation of a text B (hypertext) from an

---

[52] Although in his discussion of *imitatio*, Ryholt has followed Green's outline of *imitatio*, *aemulatio*, and *comparatio*, see RYHOLT (2013a: 60); cf. GREEN (1978: 193-4).

[53] THISSEN (1999: 382).

[54] SCHMITZ (2007: 81); cf. GENETTE (1997 [1982]: 25-6). Of course, Genette's model of hypertextuality is not without it criticisms. One of such criticism, and possibly the most relevant to the discussion on Inaros tradition, pertains to his approach. Genette's definition of hypertextuality is derived from the perspective of the composition, and not the reception, which can be highly problematic. This particular issue has been addressed most recently by EDMUNDS (2001: 39-43) and LEWIS (2016: 321-3), and will be discussed further in §4.3.

[55] GENETTE (1997 [1982]: 1-5). For a concise overview of Genette's work, see SCHMITZ (2007: 81-3).

[56] A brief comment on the other four categories: Genette denotes intertextuality as the effective presence of text A in text B in the form of quotations or allusions; paratexts are part of a literary work that are grouped around the text proper; metatextuality is where text B is a commentary of text A; and lastly, architextuality refers to a text that portrays itself as belonging to a certain genre, yet does not explicitly follow the genre's rules, see GENETTE (1997 [1982]: 1-5) and SCHMITZ (2007: 81).

earlier text A (hypotext), without text B being a commentary on text A.[57] He then continued to subdivide the model, creating a distinction between direct and indirect hypertextuality; direct being the transposition of characters or actions in the hypotext into a new hypertextual scenario, whereas indirect is the transformation of the hypertext by drawing on inspiration from the generic model, i.e. formal and thematic, established by the hypotext.[58] As noted in the previous discussions, indirect hypertextuality is what can be observed in the Graeco-Roman manuscripts of the Inaros texts.[59] In addition, Genette rightfully noted that it is quite obvious that hypertextuality is to some degree a universal feature of literature, since "there is no literary work that does not evoke some other literary work, and in that sense all works are hypertextual."[60] Therefore, as the previous scholars point out, the Inaros texts exhibit both Egyptian and Homeric hypertextuality. In saying that, the Egyptian hypertextuality, having never generated the same degree of debate as its Homeric counterpart, is often left unquestioned; the assumption being that a continuation of Egyptian tradition is natural or 'normal'.[61]

One of the most beneficial aspects of applying hypertextual theory here is the realisation that the debate, especially in its present phase, is not concerned, or may have never been concerned, with the presence of Homeric influence, but rather the degree of influence.[62] As Genette suggests with regard to hypertextuality, "some works are more so than others (or more visibly, massively, and explicitly so than others)."[63] This is the real issue with the Graeco-Roman Inaros texts. The spark that started the debate is a result of the very noticeable indirect hypertextuality in these texts, particularly *Armour* and *Sarpot*, given the lack of any concrete comparable past examples in the surviving Egyptian literary corpus thus far. Hence,

---

[57] GENETTE (1997 [1982]: 5).

[58] Genette uses James Joyce's *Ulysses*, and Virgil's *Aeneid* as examples that demonstrate the relationship between direct and indirect hypertextuality. He writes, "to put it more bluntly, Joyce tells the story of Ulysses in a manner other than Homer's, and Virgil tells the story of Aeneas in the manner of Homer – a pair of symmetrical and inverse transformations. This schematic opposition – saying the same thing differently / saying another thing similarly – is serviceable enough here," see GENETTE (1997 [1982]: 6).

[59] Genette, as well as his followers and commentators, uses the term 'transformation' and 'imitation' to describe direct and indirect hypertextuality respectively, see GENETTE (1997 [1982]: 7) and SCHMITZ (2007: 81). However, as previously observed with the use of 'influence' in the Inaros context, the term imitation may also conjure some sort of negative connotation. Hence, the neutral terms of 'direct' and 'indirect' shall remain in place.

[60] GENETTE (1997 [1982]: 9).

[61] To name a few examples where scholars have explored the issue of Egyptian hypertextuality, see KITCHEN (1986 [1972]: 455-61), SPALINGER (1976: 140-2), HOFFMANN (1996a: 79-105), RYHOLT (2004: 484-97), RYHOLT (2012a: 181-208), and JAY (2016: 89-119).

[62] This 'degree' has also been noted by LOPRIENO (1996a: 52).

[63] GENETTE (1997 [1982]: 9).

although I would agree that the Inaros tradition is intrinsically Egyptian,[64] specific additions on a thematic (such as the arming scene and catalogue of ships) and characterisation (such as Sarpot) level is distinctly foreign.

§4.1.3 Case study: Arming scene revisited

Following on from the discussion of the influence between the Inaros texts and Homer and the relevance of indirect hypertextuality, one question still remains unanswered. To what degree are certain stylistic elements of the Inaros texts similar to the *Iliad*?[65] In order to understand this relationship, what has become the quintessential example in the Homeric debate—the arming scene of Pemu in *Armour*—will be re-examined from a narratological and thematic perspective.[66]

> One brought it immediately, and spread it out before him upon a mat of fresh reeds.
> Pemu placed his hand on a piece of a kilt ([…]*qs*)[67] of fine byssus and *mny*-stones, which were spread out […] navel, which reached to the thigh, and finished in gold to its […] where their edges were of red leather, and the centre was finished in […] on which ten flowers of silver and gold to the fastening of his back. He girded it on himself.[68]
> He placed his hand on a piece of light robe (*sḥy n ḥt*)[69] of byssus […] brought from Pernemeh, that was worked through in gold. He placed it on himself.

---

[64] HOFFMANN (1996a: 104-5).

[65] I have deliberately chosen to focus on the debate surrounding potential Greek influence, not only because this aspect has produced the largest amount of scholarship, but also due to my personal background in both Classics and Egyptology. However, I do not deny the possibility that the Inaros texts may also have crossovers with non-Hellenic / Hellenistic literary traditions, such as Jewish, as SPIEGELBERG (1910: 10) suggested; Libyan, as QUACK (2005: 56) suggested; and Near Eastern, as HOFFMANN (2008: 55) suggested. It is most unfortunate that I could not explore these alternatives in more detail in the present thesis due to space constraints.

[66] Without question, Pemu's arming scene is unparalleled in Egyptian narratives. Although several other arming scenes—Pekrur (*Armour* XVIII.20-7) and Petechons (*Sarpot* III.29-34)—are observed in the Inaros texts, none of them come close to the extent or exhibit the same level of complexity as Pemu's. As such, these scenes do not produce enough evidence for the present discussion on Homeric influence, thus they will not be examined.

[67] Although part of the word is missing, Hoffmann argues that this word should be translated as 'Schurz', see HOFFMANN (1996a: 273-4 n. 1499).

[68] Mackay pointed out that a ring composition can be observed here, which is one of the signature motifs for Homeric oral transmission (personal communication). However, as discussed in §3.2.4 and §3.3.4, ring compositions are also observed in Pekrur and Petubastis' speeches.

[69] HOFFMANN (1996a: 276 esp. n. 1521) translated *ḥt* as 'leichten Kleides' following *Wb*. 337, while JAY (2016: 184) translated it as 'light cloth' following *CDD ḥ*.287.

He placed his hand on a piece of a tabard (*ktn*)[70] which was made of 3⅓ divine cubits of Milesian wool, as its *ḫl* was of fine purple *ḏlḫl*-fabric[71] from […]. He placed it on himself.
He placed his hand on his coat of mail (*ḥlꜣ*)[72] threaded with good iron […] their locusts and their camels of the *ipt*-cup, as they were finished with ears of […] as it was formed out of a god-figure and four goddess-figures as the work of a good craftsman, as the gods of battle […].[73] He placed it on himself.
He placed (his hand) on a pair of greaves (ꜥ.*wy ꜣlg*) of cast silver as his […] of Milesian wool, as it was sewn with tracery (?) […] red leather […]. He bound them to his legs.
He placed his hand on a pair of socks[74] (ꜥ.*wy n* […]) […] each star, which were divided piece by piece as they were finished as craft […].
He placed his hand on a pair of sandals (*syḥ n tꜣwꜣy*) of red weave […] of […] leather […] finished from ebony […] on […] on account of the manner […] battle.
He placed […] to man, perish (?) […] gold, which his […] of […] malachite […] his armour [...] the lioness […].[75] (*Armour* XII.24-XIII.16)

Traditionally, Pemu's arming scene has been compared to the shield of Achilleus in *Iliad* XVIII. 470-615, which is an ekphrasis.[76] Indeed, there are some parallels. In the Homeric context, an ekphrasis is used as a literary motif that expresses complexity and contradiction between word and image, and stresses the narrative response to pictorial stasis.[77] Minchin, in her analysis of the cognitive features of ekphrases in the *Iliad*, identifies several categories that can be repeatedly observed in a Homeric ekphrasis, such as the workmanship,

---

[70] Traditionally, Hoffmann has translated the word as 'undergarment', see HOFFMANN (1996a: 277 n. 1527). However, as both Hoffmann and Jay observed, the word *ktn* may be associated with the Greek word χιτών 'chiton', see HOFFMANN (1996a: 277 n. 1527), JAY (2016: 185), and *CDD g*.76.

[71] As Hoffmann noted, the phrase *qlbsꜣ tp ḏlḫl* also occurs in *Sarpot* II.4 to describe the fabric of Petechons' tent, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 277 n. 1530); cf. JAY (2016: 184 n. 179).

[72] Hoffmann translated *ḥlꜣ* as 'Panzerhemd', see HOFFMANN (1996a: 278-9 n. 1536) and *CDD ḥ*.66. It seems that this is the only instance of this particular item in *Armour*, where both Pekrur (*Armour* XVIII.22) and Pemu seem to have been adorned with it. In all other arming scenes, including the reference to the armour of Inaros in *Armour*, a variation of the word for *ḥlybš/lbš.w/šbš.w* 'armour' is used instead, e.g. Montubaal (*Armour* XIX.14), young priest (*Benefice* IV.3-4), thirteen herdsmen (*Benefice* IV.15), Minnebmaat (*Benefice* XIV.21), Petechons (*Sarpot* III.30), Sarpot (*Sarpot* III.43).

[73] Hoffmann suggests that the gods of war were depicted, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 279-80 n. 1545).

[74] Although the word here is missing, Hoffmann makes a compelling argument for the word being 'socks' or 'stockings'. This is due to its proximity to the placement of the greaves and the sandals, and also in relation to the word ꜥ.*wy* 'pair', see HOFFMANN (1996a: 281-2 n. 1559). This argument is strengthened by the discovery of a woollen sock (British Museum EA53912) from Antinoupolis with the impression of the sandal strap still visible. The sock has been radiocarbon dated to 100-350 AD, overlapping exactly with the composition date of P. Krall, see PRITCHARD (2014: 47 esp. n. 3).

[75] It is unclear at what point the arming scene actually finished due to the lacuna; however, *Armour* XIII.18 mentions Wertiamunne as well as the combat-field, which would be the logical end point. The structural division of the arming scene is inspired by Jay's own division, see JAY (2016: 183-4).

[76] For example, HOFFMANN (1996a: 61-2), GOZZOLI (2009: 276), SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 122), JAY (2016: 185).

[77] Using Homer's representation of the cattle on Achilleus' shield (*Il*. XVIII.574-6) as an example of ekphrases, he first reminds the audience of what is represented (i.e. the cattle) and the medium of representation (i.e. gold and tin); then he animates the static representation by turning the single moment into a narrative of successive actions (i.e. the cattle move out), see HEFFERNAN (1991: 301).

decoration, material, and size / value.[78] Such features can also be found in the description of Pemu's armour (Table 4.1).[79]

Mackay further notes that the description of an item, particularly Pemu's coat of mail (ḥlꜣ), as having good craftsmanship, is a particularly strong trait of an ekphrasis – meaning that the item is seen as not only serving a utilitarian function, but also a symbolic one.[80]

Item[81]	Workmanship	Decoration	Material	Size / Value
Kilt	x	x	x	x
Light robe	x		x	x
Tabard		x (?)[82]	x	x
Coat of mail	x	x	x	
Greaves	x		x	x
Socks (?)	x	x		
Sandals	x		x	

Table 4.1 – The types of description of Pemu's armour.

However, this is where the similarities end. There are two main justifications for this. First of all, there is the difference between an ekphrasis and a type scene. As mentioned, an ekphrasis refers to the verbal equivalent of graphic representation.[83] Thus, its function is stylistic rather than agency. A type scene, on the other hand, is a recurrent block of narrative with an identifiable structure, and is used as a signifier of oral transmission and allows one to adapt each scene for a specific purpose.[84] In the *Iliad*, all arming scenes fall under the category of type scenes.[85] Additionally, in both *Iliad* and *Armour*, arming scenes prelude a battle, where the arming scene is used to build up dramatic effects, to foreshadow, and/or to enhance characterisation.[86] Therefore, based on its function, Pemu's arming scene should be

---

[78] MINCHIN (2001: 106-12).
[79] The description of the armour as an object is also briefly discussed by JASNOW (2007: 441-2).
[80] I would like to thank E. Anne Mackay (University of Auckland) for her kind advice on ekphrases in Homer and her observations on Pemu's arming scene.
[81] It is worth noting that the lack of certain features may not be an indication of their absence, but rather due to the lacunae in the papyrus.
[82] It is uncertain what the word ḥl is referring to, it may indicate a feature of the tabard, since the material of the tabard has already been described as made of 3⅓ divine cubits of Milesian wool.
[83] HEFFERNAN (1991: 299).
[84] CLARK (2004: 135); cf. EDWARDS (1992: 285).
[85] There are four arming scenes in total in the Iliad: Paris (*Il.* III.328-38), Agamemnon (*Il.* XI.15-44), Patroclus (*Il.* XVI.130-54), and Achilleus (*Il.* XIX.364-424).
[86] EDWARDS (1992: 302).

categorised as a type scene, and not an ekphrasis.[87] To give an example, the extravagance of Pemu's armour, from the bejewelled kilt, high quality coat of mail, to the use of byssus, is indicative of his own boastful characteristics and the desire to prove himself. This is also observed in the way that he stresses his own accomplishments in *Armour* V.6-10. Such an elaborate description would also serve to foreshadow the upcoming battle, where despite the odds of Pemu being the lone hero facing an entire army, no harm will come to him, much like the foreshadowing in the arming of Agamemnon in *Iliad* XI.15-44. In contrast, what immediately follows the production of Achilleus' shield is not a battle scene, but rather the presentation of the shield to Achilleus by his mother Thetis (*Il.* XIX.1-36).

The second justification is from a narratological perspective. Under the paradigm of sequential ordering, an arming scene is a scene embedded with small interludes of analepses, which results in a slow-down effect.[88] Hence, the dramatic build up is a direct result of the change in narrative time. This is observed in both Pemu's and Iliadic arming scenes. On the other hand, the production of the shield—featuring Thetis and Hephaestus—is a change in the narrative space rather than the narrative time. Since the production of the shield is happening in parallel to the battlefield, the passage cannot be considered as an analepsis of the main storyline.

In saying that, Pemu's arming scene also has a number of variation from the typical Iliadic arming scene. The most important distinction being the order of arming.[89] In all four extended arming scenes in the *Iliad*, each hero arms themselves from bottom to top, in the order of greaves > armour > sword > shield > helmet > spear without variation. However, the arming scenes in the Inaros texts are opposite to those in the *Iliad*, having an order of inside to outside, and top to bottom. For example, Pemu's arming sequence is kilt > light robe > tabard > coat of mail > greaves > socks > sandals. Two other arming scenes—that of Pekrur and Petechons—follow the same sequence. In *Armour* XVIII.22-7, Pekrur puts on his armour first, then greaves, followed by his sword and spear. Although Petechons' arming is much

---

[87] Although both SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 122) and JAY (2016: 185 n. 187) address the use of ekphrases in Pemu's arming scene, neither view it as a type scene.
[88] For the discussion of analepses and slow-down effect in narratology, see §2.1.1 and §2.3 n. 91.
[89] Other factors, which will not be discussed further at present, are the type of equipment and the length of the arming.

shorter in *Sarpot* III.30-31, it explicitly states that the order of his arming is from top to bottom (*t3 t3 ḥ3ṱ š ͨ t3 ḫ3 ͨ.t*), followed by his sickle-sword (*ḫpš n sfy*) and spear.[90]

Therefore, based on these narratological and thematic features, it is arguable that a better comparison to—or more accurately, the inspiration for—Pemu's arming scene is the Iliadic arming scene (e.g. the arming of Achilleus at *Iliad* XIX.364-424), as opposed to the production of Achilleus' shield. This is on the basis of the literary context as well as stylistic features that both Pemu's and Iliadic arming scenes share with type scenes. Furthermore, according to the theory of hypertextuality, although Pemu's arming may have been inspired by the Iliadic counterpart, his scene contains its own variations, such as in the arming sequence. Therefore, the insertion of the arming scene in the Inaros texts was not simply by chance. Its formulation demonstrates a remarkable level of composition, consideration, and complexity.

§4.2 Intertextuality within the Egyptian tradition

To continue the investigation of intertextuality in the Inaros texts, the focus in this section will be on the examination of the evidence for Egyptian intertextuality from the author's perspective. However, before further discussions can be made, the parameters of the intertextuality between the Inaros tradition and the Egyptian context need to be clarified, especially since there is the lack of a specific text with which to make the comparison.

Regardless of Genette's categorisation of transtextuality and its impressive level of specificity, the paradigm of intertextuality nevertheless has been developed with written work in mind, particularly with a strong focus on allusions and imitations of one specific text on another. Hence, unlike the previous case study on the arming scene of Pemu, where the hypertextual relationship with the *Iliad* is much easier to ascertain,[91] such close examination,

---

[90] Since both Pekrur and Petechons' arming concluded with their weapons, it may be possible that at least one of the missing items in Pemu's arming scene from *Armour* XIII.11-16 is a weapon.

[91] Three possible explanations can be provided for the comparative ease of determining hypertextuality in the Homeric context: 1) a lack of precedence in the Egyptian literary tradition allows for more noticeable examples, e.g. the arming scene; 2) as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, ample evidence of scribal exercises with Homeric passages in the temple context, which suggests that it is likely the composer of the Graeco-Roman manuscripts of the Inaros texts had access to written Homeric epics, see SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 100). This is particularly important considering the parameters established for hypertextuality by Genette and Classical scholars is founded on the basis that Text A is a written work that can be referred to; 3) the tradition established by Homeric epics, such as types scenes and ekphrases, has attained stylistic fixity that is uniquely theirs,

where there is an identifiable hypotext, can be exceedingly difficult in the Egyptian context.[92] Parkinson summarised this difficulty into two factors: 1) we still only have a fraction of the entire Egyptian literary corpus at our disposal; 2) there is a lack of ancient Egyptian inherited paradigms for reading and defining literature. Hence, he states that "Egyptian criticism and meta-commentaries are almost non-existent."[93] As a result, the attribution of any stylistic, thematic, or semantic features to a single text is tentative at best in Egyptian literary discussions, especially when most Egyptian standard phrases and motifs are often part of a homogenised collective, e.g. the same motif being used in a variety of texts across multiple genres.

Despite these challenges, intertextual observations are still possible with Egyptian texts, albeit from a different perspective. In order to achieve this, one has to return to Kristeva's original interpretation of intertextuality, as opposed to the far more restrictive Classical definition of intertextuality that we have today. As mentioned previously, Kristeva considered intertextuality as an intersection between word and word, or text and text.[94] Instead of the author, she chose to concentrate on the continual redistribution and reutilisation of linguistic material.[95] Fundamentally, her definition conforms to our current interpretation of motifs and themes in the Egyptian context. This particular strand of intertextuality is not new to Egyptian literary theory, especially when it comes to the comparison between historical and fictional texts from the Middle and New Kingdom. One of the first scholars to address the application of intertextuality in Egyptian literature is Brunner, who referred to it as 'citation' (*Zitat*). He identified intertextuality on the basis of corresponding keywords (*Stichwörter*) between two texts. However, rather than direct quotation, Brunner only considered 'citation' as the derivation of one text from another.[96] This corresponds to Moers's 'generic intertextuality', which he describes as "a form of intertextuality which draws on literary forms rather than on contents."[97] Loprieno also briefly comments on intertextuality, but limited its application in Egyptian literature to only the historical context.

---

especially by the time of the Graeco-Roman periods, which facilitates intertextual comparisons, see EDMUNDS (2001: 6).

[92] The exception being historical texts, a specific text can be identified by its historical information, such as the name of a particularly king or description of a particular campaign.

[93] PARKINSON (2002: 4).

[94] KRISTEVA (1980: 66).

[95] KRISTEVA (1996 [1985]: 190).

[96] BRUNNER (1979: 107, 167-71).

[97] MOERS (1999: 53 esp. n. 59); cf. MOERS (2011: 165-76) on *Sinuhe*. The concept of generic intertextuality was developed by PFISTER (1985: 53-6).

He specifies two criteria of intertextuality: the text appearing outside its purported contextual frame, and the text must be made public.[98] Most recently, both Di Biase-Dyson and Manassa adopted the same model of intertextuality following Moers, where they explore the allusions of established historical and literary genres in the examination of New Kingdom historical fiction.[99]

However, basing the examination of the Inaros texts on this re-interpretation of intertextuality would still not be satisfactory. For one, texts such as *Apophis and Seqenenre* and *Taking of Joppa* can be compared with specific cotemporary motifs and stylistic devices, such as royal historical texts or military reports.[100] The Inaros texts, although also classify as historical fiction, do not have this luxury. Furthermore, to use Hoffmann's analogy, the development of the Inaros texts can be likened to evolutionary biology – both divergent and convergent, which results in the homologous group of texts that we have today.[101] The basis of the homology—i.e. the origin of the tradition—is unfortunately lost to us. The result however, through centuries of evolution, is an amalgamation of different motifs, themes, phraseology, which draws from sources both internal and external to the tradition, as well as both oral and written culture.[102] This culminates in the numerous narratives and versions that we have in the Inaros tradition.

Such a complex relationship between the texts and the tradition cannot be simply explained using Kristeva's synchronic model or generic intertextuality. To address this, two additional theoretical strategies will be incorporated. The first is the application of a diachronic dimension to the examination of intertextuality.[103] The concept of diachronic intertextuality is inspired by Conte, who considers a text as operating within a specifically literary history,[104] and views the chain of discourse that leads to the present iteration as an expression of intertextuality.[105] In short, Conte's idea of intertextuality is the text's relation to the past;

---

[98] LOPRIENO (1996a: 51-2).
[99] DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 195, 259-61) and MANASSA (2013: 13-4). Although not explicitly stating as such, Enmarch's comparison of *Shipwrecked Sailor* and Middle Kingdom expedition inscriptions also fall under generic intertextuality, see ENMARCH (2011: 97-121).
[100] DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 195) and MANASSA (2013: 14-9).
[101] HOFFMANN (2014: 105-6).
[102] On the oral influence of the Inaros texts, see JAY (2016: 197).
[103] In order to explain *First Setne*'s mode of presentation, Vinson also separated his discussion diachronically and synchronically, see VINSON (2008: 304-5).
[104] CONTE (1986: 49).
[105] CONTE (1986: 42-4).

thus, diachronic. This dimension would facilitate the intertextual examination of the development of the Inaros texts since its conception, which would also complement Kristeva's model.

The second strategy is Foley's traditional referentiality, which he defines as "the invoking of a context that is enormously larger and more echoic than the text or work itself."[106] This means that rather than examining the intertextual relationship between a text B and the corresponding text A, the interaction will be between the texts and the much larger tradition on the whole. In the Inaros texts, the two traditions that are most applicable are the Inaros tradition itself and the Egyptian literary tradition in general, which will be termed internal and external tradition henceforth. To distinguish between the internal and external tradition, the two key components of Foley's study—phraseology and narrative structure (such as themes and motifs)—will be used, particularly when they are observed in unusual or poetic combinations.[107] As Ouyang suggests, literature, particularly narrative literature such as the Inaros texts, must "defamiliarize 'ordinary' language in order to achieve a literary affect."[108] She argues that by introducing unnatural language, i.e. poetic and stylistic motifs, which opposes the rules of ordinary language, a level of 'literariness' can be achieved. Indeed, as Edmunds observes, "the various ways in which one text can signal its relation to another (or others) came to be seen not in static terms of imitation and influence but as artistic devices that have the same status as figures of speech or anything else in the poet's stylistic repertory."[109]

Thus, for one to fully appreciate the multi-dimensional intertextuality that shaped the Inaros texts, two axes need to be examined: synchronic and diachronic, and internal and external. The difference between synchronic and diachronic, having a much clearer distinction between the two, will head the following sections,[110] within which internal intertextuality will be examined first, followed by external. To facilitate the easy navigation of the subsequent section, the following table also lists the topics that will be under discussion.

---

[106] FOLEY (1991: 7).
[107] FOLEY (1991: 14-33).
[108] OUYANG (2011: 540).
[109] EDMUNDS (2001: xi).
[110] It is certain plausible that in most cases, examples that can be examined synchronically are a direct result of diachronic intertextuality. For these, they will be addressed under diachronic intertextuality. The discussions surrounding synchronic intertextuality, on the other hand, will only address those features which were developed in the Demotic tradition and are either not present in earlier traditions or the intertextuality is not immediately noticeable.

	Diachronic	*Synchronic*
Internal	Historical names Sheikh el-Fadl dipinto	Transitional phrase groups Characterisation Titles and epithets
External	Figurative language Introductory dating formula Phonetic repetition of words	Introductory phrases Type scenes Themes

Table 4.2 – The two axes of intertextuality in the Egyptian tradition.

§4.2.1 Diachronic intertextuality

The first aspect of diachronic intertextuality is from within the Inaros tradition (internal). The intertextual frame here is finite, since it is impossible for the tradition to be derived before the historical events actually took place. Furthermore, this is also one of the first instances in the Inaros tradition where a comparison can be made between the fictional and the historical. The most prominent intertextual feature in this case is the reuse of the historical names. One of the frequent discussions on the portrayal of the fictional Inaros is the amalgamation of the first and second Inaros from history. The first Inaros, as noted earlier in Chapter 1, has been identified by Quack as the son of Bokennife.[111] While we do not know much about the second Inaros, he was referred to as *Ἰr.t-ḥr-r=w p3 wr n n3 bks.w* 'Inaros, the chief of rebellions' based on a contract from Manawir dated to April–May 462/458? BC.[112] Chauveau finds the use of such a title puzzling, citing that it is possible that the scribe was creative with the contract, but is uncertain how the use of such a title would affect its legality.[113] Alternatively, Winnicki suggested the reading as *Bqn.w* 'Bakalu-tribe' rather than *bks.w*.[114] Nonetheless, there is no doubt that this Inaros is one and the same with the Inaros mentioned by Greek historians.[115] The amalgamation of Inaros I and II is not the only source of

---

[111] See §1.3, also QUACK (2006: 500-2).
[112] O. Man. inv. IFAO 5446, see CHAUVEAU (2004: 39-40, 44).
[113] CHAUVEAU (2004: 44).
[114] WINNICKI (2006: 135-42).
[115] Several notable Greek historians have written about Inaros II, including Herodotus (a contemporary of Inaros II) (*Hdt*. III.12 and VII.7), Thucydides (*Thuc.* I.104 and 109-10), Diodorus Siculus (*Diod. Sic.* XI.71), and Strabo (*Strab.* XVII.1.18). Herodotus has written on Inaros' possible royal heritage, whereas Thucydides suggests that he ruled over the neighbouring Libyans. Diodorus is the only one who explicitly claims that Inaros is Egyptian, while Strabo mentions that Inaros was conquered around the Saite nome and the foundation of Naucratis. For discussions on Greek historians' recount of Inaros II, see DRIJVERS (1999: 16-22) and KAHN (2008: 424-40). Other than Greek historians, another Greek inscription designates Inaros as the king of Egypt, see HUß (2001: 37 n. 45). An Aramaic papyrus dated to the late fifth century BC, which alludes to an Egyptian rebel named Inaros, is also mentioned by Chauveau, see CHAUVEAU (2004: 46 esp. n. 18). It is currently unclear if this Inaros is referring to Inaros II.

conflation in this diachronic Inaros tradition. Ryholt also notes a conflation between the Assyrians and the Persians in general, where the two invasions were confused in later memory. As such, the events of the later Persian invasion also need to be taken into consideration when discussing the development of the Demotic narrative tradition.[116] A large part of this could be due to the uncertainty behind the historical reliability of the Graeco-Roman manuscripts. It is highly likely that there was no general access to reliable historical information for the ancient Egyptians of the late Hellenistic and Roman Period, or they were simply not put to use.[117] Worse yet, considering that the princes during the Assyrian invasion were not formally kings, they were unlikely to have left many surviving monumental structures for later generations to use as a reference.[118] This, in combination with the fact that certain names were re-used either as part of the family lineage or as a tribute to an important figure in the past, means that historical figures were often amalgamated into one entity, which translates into their fictional portrayal. Such is the case with the name Inaros.[119] Chauveau notes, and I am inclined to agree, that caution needs to be taken when discussing the intertextual relationship with the name of Inaros, since Inaros is one of the most frequently used Late Egyptian onomastics.[120] Ryholt, in his discussion on the principle of selection for the characters in Graeco-Roman historical literature,[121] proposes that Inaros and Pekrur were seen as liberators, freeing the Egyptians from what can only be considered a period of great national trauma under Assyrian / Persian rule.[122]

Aside from the diachronic intertextuality from the historical texts, very little evidence is present from the narrative perspective. This is predominantly due to most of the evidence being synchronic rather than diachronic. In saying that, one particular example deserves some attention. The first narrative evidence of the Inaros texts, chronologically speaking, is the

---

[116] For a recent discussion on Cambyses' conquest of Egypt, see QUACK (2011: 228-46). This influence is not limited to the Inaros texts, Ryholt also cites other Demotic narratives as examples, such as the *Story of Ahiqar*, P. Berlin P 15682, P. Trier Univ. Bibl. S 109A, *Djoser and Imhotep*, *Naneferkasokar and the Babylonians*, and the *Story of Nakhthorshen*, see RYHOLT (2004: 497-505).
[117] RYHOLT (2009: 234).
[118] As discussed in §1.3. In saying that, compared to other Egyptian kings and historical figures in the Graeco-Roman literary tradition, the specificity and accuracy of the character portrayal during the Assyrian invasion is remarkable. Although it is unclear as to why this period was more memorable that any other, Ryholt makes a strong case for the remembrance being the result of a series of traumatic events, which includes the destruction of Memphis as well as the plundering of temples by Assyrians, see RYHOLT (2009: 235-6).
[119] See §1.3, as well as CHAUVEAU (2004: 39-46), QUACK (2006: 499-505), and KAHN (2008: 424-40).
[120] CHAUVEAU (2004: 44).
[121] RYHOLT (2009: 232-4, esp. Table 2).
[122] RYHOLT (2004: 483), and RYHOLT (2009: 235-6).

Sheikh el-Fadl dipinto.[123] Lemaire has suggested that the linguistic features of the dipinto are of the seventh century BC, which is extremely close to the contemporary timeframe of the events.[124] As mentioned in Chapter 1, the only reference to the Inaros texts in the inscription is the preserved name of Inaros in Aramaic, while other personal names found in the dipinto are Necho of Egypt, Taharqa of Kush, and Esarhaddon of Assyria. In combination, they strengthen the argument that the inscription is part of the Inaros tradition.[125] Porten tentatively suggests that the inscription can be described as a romance,[126] while Ryholt proposes that for "all intents and purposes, the text—as it is preserved—resembles fictional narrative."[127] However, the theme of the narrative itself, which centres around monetary proposition for sexual favours, exhibits a remarkable level of similarity with the Setne and Tabubu episode in *First Setne*, with Ryholt and Jay also confirming such speculation.[128] If this is true, then thematically, the dipinto is vastly different to the majority of Inaros texts. In which case, it would seem that the only parallel between the dipinto and the later Inaros texts is in the choice of characters. This means that the Aramaic inscriptions and other Inaros texts, although drawing from the same tradition, may have developed divergently as a result of their differing intended purposes. Thus, it would not be surprising that the Aramaic composition of the Sheikh el-Fadl dipinto, rather than Egyptian, may have been a clue. Moreover, despite the fictitious and/or satirical nature of the Sheikh el-Fadl dipinto and *First Setne*, the naming of historical characters, such as Inaros and Setne Khaemwase, provides the text with historical and contextual legitimacy. As I shall examine later in the discussion of synchronic intertextuality in the Inaros tradition, the *Tale of Bes*, potentially even *Sarpot*, reveal the same form of divergent development in their theme when compared to the likes of *The Inaros Epic*, *Armour* and *Benefice*.

In comparison to the intertextuality observed within the Inaros tradition, intertextuality with the general Egyptian literary traditions is more complex, since their presence can be observed throughout the Inaros texts. Due to space constraints, not all comparisons will be discussed in the present chapter, especially when several notable diachronic intertextual elements have

---

[123] See §1.1.1.
[124] LEMAIRE (1995: 110) and JAY (2016: 138).
[125] RYHOLT (2004: 496). The link between the Aramaic inscriptions and the Inaros tradition is also most recently reaffirmed by HOFFMANN (2012: 549), and JAY (2016: 138-9).
[126] PORTEN (1997: 217).
[127] RYHOLT (2004: 496).
[128] RYHOLT (2004: 496), JAY (2016: 138).

already been previously discussed by other scholars.[129] Despite this, a few additional observations will still be made here.

To begin with, some thematic observations have to be addressed. Hoffmann, for one, identifies numerous similarities between *Armour* and other Egyptian royal monumental texts from the New Kingdom onwards, particularly Ramesses II's Kadesh 'poem', Piankhy's Victory Stela, and Tanutamani's Victory Stela.[130] He notes several common features pertaining to the general literary treatment of warfare in the Egyptian tradition that parallel the Inaros texts, such as the concept of combat, tributes, feasting, and phraseology.[131] This is not surprising considering the significant role that military accomplishments have in the Inaros texts.[132] In addition to the war theme, the use of figurative language, both similes and metaphors, also resonates with the royal context, which became increasing popular since the eighteenth dynasty.[133] The most relevant example in the Inaros texts, and arguably also the most consistent, is the figurative use of lions and bulls, where the combination of these two animals is ostensibly a continuation of the well-established royal literary and iconographical tradition from earlier times.[134] For example, while discussing the eloquence of Pekrur[135] and the attributes of Petechons[136] from *Benefice*, the lion and bull motif, used to emphasise the

---

[129] HOFFMANN (1996a: 79-102), JAY (2016: 80-119).

[130] HOFFMANN (1996a: 80-93).

[131] For example, Hoffmann compares the phrase *wꜥ.t ḫꜥ wꜥ.t wty.t ꜥꜣ.t* 'a slaughter and a great destruction' in *Armour* XXV.2 with Piankhy's Victory Stela line 17 and 20, and Tanutamani's Victory Stela line 17, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 81). Although Hoffmann compares the combat sequence in *Armour* with Sinuhe's own duel with the champion of Retjenu, or Horus and Seth, he does not address the consecutive nature of the combat, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 86). The same can be said of his argument against the Homeric influence of the catalogue of ships by comparing the catalogue to the list of dignitaries in Lower Egypt in Piankhy's Victory Stela (line 17-20), see HOFFMANN (1996a: 81). However, the two lists serve different literary purposes. In this case, the Iliadic parallel is far more convincing, see ALMÁSY (2012: 114-42), and JAY (2016: 186-90). This is especially pertinent when one realises that Homer's catalogue of ships is one of the most frequently attested Iliadic fragments found in Egypt (personal communication with Thomas Christiansen, University of Copenhagen), and Homeric passages in general are some of the most well documented literary exercises in a Graeco-Roman Egyptian school setting, see SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 100 esp. n. 435); cf. CRIBIORE (1996: 46).

[132] In *Armour*, Pemu and Wertiamunne often stress their *sbꜣ n mšs* 'art of fighting', such as II.7, VII.9-10, XIII.26. The phrase is also significant to Petechons, see §3.4.2.

[133] For an overview of the use of figurative language and some of its linguistic features, see JAY (2016: 117-9). The use of similes and metaphors have not been distinguished for the purpose of the present discussion, although both function differently linguistically and semantically, especially in the oral tradition.

[134] An excellent example of this particular figurative grouping of bull and lion can be found in Thutmose III's Poetic Stela, where an empowered Thutmose III was said to be "a young bull, firm of heart, sharp of horn, whom none can hinder" (line 16), and "a hostile lion," who "will render them carrion throughout their valley" (line 19), translations taken from SIMPSON (2003 [1972]: 354). Hsu noted that "the wild animals are a metaphor for the king's power because their actions of hunting or domination symbolize [sic] the maintenance of order and containment of disorder," where the bull is considered a primary royal symbol and the lion as a symbol of kingship, see HSU (2013: 14); cf. BAINES (1995: 111).

[135] See §3.2.4.

[136] See §3.4.2.

strength and capability of a warrior, is mentioned when Pekrur refers to his son as "the mighty bull of those of Pisopd, the lion of those of the east" (*Benefice* XII.12-3). Similarly, in *Armour*, the bull and lion are also mentioned by Pekrur when he threatens the pharaoh with "you will see the bulls of those of Pisopd and the lions of those of Metelis with their manner of fighting" (*Armour* IX.18-9).[137] However, with the exception of a single instance where the pharaoh praises Minnebmaat as "a bull, or son of a bull; a lion, or son of a lion, as my likeness" (*Benefice* XVII.2-3),[138] all other instances of the figurative use of bull and lion within the Inaros texts have been non-royal, which is a shift from the royal context of earlier usages.[139]

The next example of a diachronic intertextual element that relates to its historical context is phraseological rather than thematic. In his edition of the narrative literature from Tebtunis temple library, Ryholt identifies several Demotic narratives from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt that begin with an introductory dating formula, which imitates earlier Egyptian historical fiction.[140] This is also one of the few instances where a high degree of standardisation can be observed in the intertextual relationship with the external Egyptian tradition.[141] The purpose of the formula, comparable to the inclusion of named historical characters, is to provide a specific historical context within the literary framework. The rubric of the formula comes in a tripartite form with two variants for the first phrase, which is as follows,

---

[137] Other combination of bull and lion figurative use can be also found in *Benefice* XVIII.7-9 and *Sarpot* III.33. Of course, the figurative use of the lion and the bull does not always need to be together. In fact, in *Armour* the figurative use of lion and bull—both separately and in combination—that we can be certain of is 3:12 respectively, in *Benefice* is 3:4, and *Sarpot* is 2:1. Lions and bulls are also not the only figurative language used to describe the characters; other comparisons made can be categorised into: natural phenomena (sea, incense), divinity ((statue of) Sekhmet, son of Sobek), other animals (lioness, bird of prey, vulture, and panther), and objects (first shield, great rudder).

[138] For this instance, considering that the line is spoken by the pharaoh, it could be interpreted sub-textually as a piece of delusional satire, where the pharaoh's own opinion of himself contradicts his actions throughout the narrative.

[139] If Sarpot is considered to be royal by the Egyptian standard as well, then the one instance where she is compared to a lion (*Sarpot* XII.2-3) can be considered as a royal context.

[140] The pattern is established from 11 texts, which date from the fourth century BC to second century AD. The texts that Ryholt cite that present the formula are: P. Dem. Saq. 28, *Amasis and the Sailor*, *Second Setne*, O. Cairo JE 91282, O. Leipzig UB 2217, Graffito Wadi Nag el-Birka, P. Vienna D 62 verso, *Armour*, *Prophecy of Petesis* I and II, and P. CtYBR 422 verso, see RYHOLT (2012a: 181-2).

[141] Considering that Ryholt notes the pattern based on observations made within the Demotic narrative corpus, we are also dealing with synchronic intertextuality here, see RYHOLT (2012a: 181-3) for the variants.

> 1a. It happened in the [*x*]th regnal year of the reign of king [*royal name*][142]
> 1b. It happened at a time in the reign of king [*royal name*]
> 2. who was a beneficent king in the entire land
> 3. and in whose reign Egypt was overflowing with (all) good things.[143]

Ryholt notices several Middle Kingdom predecessors to this formula, most noticeably the phrase *ḫpr swt wn ḥm n nsw bity* [royal name] *m nsw mnḫ m tȝ pn r-ḏr=f* 'Now, it happens that the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt [*royal name*] was a beneficent king in the entire land.'[144] This formula is preserved in *Prophecies of Neferti*, *Neferkare and Sasenet*, and an inscription of King Ay from Panopolis, which suggests that this particular manifestation of the formula was already well established within the literary tradition since the early New Kingdom.[145] The intertextuality between the earlier Egyptian tradition and Demotic tradition and the continuation of the formula is strengthened by the fact that a copy of *Neferkare and Saseset* is found that dates to the first half of the seventh century BC.[146]

Although there is a high level of consistency in the phraseology of the introductory formula, its use may not always be appropriate, which potentially could undermine aspects of the narratives themselves. This is particularly relevant to the Tebtunis version of the beginning of *Armour*.[147] In his discussions, Ryholt stresses that the term 'beneficent' (*mnḫ*) in the formula does not simply refer to the perfect nature of the king, but a perfection that is the direct result of someone who has fully lived up to their given purpose.[148] However, as discussed in the previous chapter, Petubastis' characterisation, as well as the state of Egypt, contradicts the perfect nature presented in the introduction.[149] It is certainly possible that the introduction is intended to present either the ideal state, or the state of Egypt prior to the conflict.[150]

---

[142] The royal name here could either be the prenomen and nomen, or nomen only.

[143] See RYHOLT (2012a: 183-4) for transliteration and additional linguistic features. Ryholt also mentions a fourth phrase, 'he being generous in granting expenditure and work in the great temples of Egypt', which is only attested in *Second Setne*. Since its singular existence is not yet indicative of a general pattern or intertextuality, it has been omitted here, see RYHOLT (2012a: 183). The last phrase also parallels Diodorus Siculus' account of the reign of Sesostris, which says, "but it also came to pass that all Egypt was filled to overflowing with benefits of every kind" (*Diod. Sic.* I.55.12), translations by OLDFATHER (1968 [1933]: 195). Ryholt suggests that Diodorus may have adapted his description from the demotic formula under discussion, see RYHOLT (2012a: 184).

[144] RYHOLT (2012a: 185).

[145] RYHOLT (2012a: 185). For an in-depth linguistic analysis and the re-dating of these texts, see STAUDER (2013: esp. 282-3, 412-8).

[146] P. Chassinat I (= P. Lourvre E 25351). Ryholt notes that unfortunately this manuscript does not preserve the beginning of the text, see RYHOLT (2012a: 185 esp. n. 184).

[147] RYHOLT (2012a: 73-88).

[148] RYHOLT (2012a: 184 n. 177); cf. RYHOLT (2005a: 6-7).

[149] See §3.3.3.

[150] RYHOLT (2012a: 80).

However, as Ryholt convincingly argues, in all other cases where the pharaoh is less than ideal, a shorter version of the introductory formula is presented, precisely because the scribe does not consider the pharaoh to be perfect.[151] This observation is certainly true in the case of *Amasis and the Sailor*, which only includes the first line of the formula.[152] The portrayal of Amasis can be comparable to Petubastis. While Petubastis is never depicted as drunk and hungover, his inadequacy is evident.[153] Petubastis and his allies having always been portrayed on the losing end of the conflict also does not help his image as the perfect king. Hence, it seems more plausible that the composer of the Tebtunis version of *Armour* simply did not take into consideration the implications of such inconsistency in their engagement with this intertextual theme.

As the examples of diachronic intertextuality become increasing specific, it is only appropriate that this final sub-section be spent on linguistic features. Since the development of several key linguistic features have been addressed by Jay recently,[154] only one additional example will be discussed here. Earlier on, Ouyang's model of 'unfamiliar' language was mentioned in order to conceptualise potential intertextuality in the Egyptian context.[155] This can be extrapolated to include parallelisms in in the phonetic repetition of certain words.[156] The particular passage in question has been discussed previously with regard to Pekrur's eloquence in *Armour* XIX.17-20.[157] To my knowledge, the similar phrasing of quadri-consonantal verbs with reduplicated roots, e.g. *mnmn* and *qnqn*, is incredibly rare, if not unique, in the Demotic narrative corpus. Even its usage in earlier Egyptian texts is relatively uncommon, with only a few instances having been found. The most representative of this usage in earlier tradition, and possibly also the most famous, would be in the *Shipwrecked Sailor*. In the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, the appearance of the serpent is described as *ḫw.t ḥr gmgm*

---

[151] RYHOLT (2012a: 184-5).
[152] RYHOLT (2012a: 182).
[153] Alternatively, it could be argued that Petubastis, despite his inability to control his subjects and apparent aversion to military confrontation, may not have been perceived as less than ideal by the composer; although this is unlikely considering that the celebrated dominant characters and characteristics, i.e. military might, do not extend to such aversions, see §3.3.3.
[154] JAY (2016) made several observations on the development of orality by examining various linguistic features, such as the use of the additive style, for example in *Benefice* V.3-7 and *Armour* XIV.5-8, which can be traced back to the Pyramid Texts (80-88); cf. HOFFMANN (1996a: 39); parallel phrasing (91-6), see also §2.3.2; verbatim repetition (96-100), see also §2.5.1; sound effects and word play (100-4); and temporal adverbials (106-14), see also §2.4.2 and JAY (2011: 287-303).
[155] OUYANG (2011: 540).
[156] See §2.5.1. How phonetic repetitions contribute to our understanding of sounds effects vis-à-vis oral performance has been discussed by JAY (2016: 101-3).
[157] See §3.2.4.

t3 ḥr mnmn 'the trees were shaking, the earth was quaking' (*Sh. S.* 59-60). The fearsome power of the mythical serpent is thus captured by the effective, albeit unusual, phonetic repetition. Other examples also pertain to mythical beings, such as Osiris in O. Cairo CG25209 (*ir ktkt=k iw t3 ḥr mnmn* 'when you move, the earth is shaking'), and *Hymns to Amun* in Leiden V.12-3 (*dww ḥr mnmn… t3 ḥr ktkt* 'the mountains are quaking… the earth is trembling).[158] Arguably, the intertextual potential of such unusual phrasing resonates highly between *Armour* and the earlier Egyptian tradition, where the phrase could have been used to highlight the extent of Pekrur's power. This example is also the most exceptional evidence of possible direct quotation of an earlier text within the Inaros texts to date.

§4.2.2 Synchronic intertextuality

Synchronic intertextuality, in comparison to diachronic, is far more conspicuous. For one, the temporal boundary can be clearly defined, which is more difficult for diachronic analysis. In this case, the temporal frame is confined to the Demotic narrative corpus, with the dates ranging from early Ptolemaic (e.g. *First Setne*) to second century AD (e.g. Tebtunis texts and *Armour*).[159] In addition, more uniformity can be observed in Demotic literature. This is not simply due to their phraseological usage being more standardised, but also has to do with the emergence of structured sequential type scenes not common in earlier Egyptian texts. As before, the emphasis will not be placed on narrative or structural evidence, which has been discussed in Chapter 2, as well as by the likes of Hoffmann, Ryholt, and Jay;[160] but rather, on what the intertextual relationships within the Inaros texts and the wider Demotic narrative corpus tell us about their thematic connotations. Paralleling the two aspects of diachronic intertextuality, synchronic intertextuality also exists both internally and externally.

For the Inaros corpus, the texts that adhere to this temporal criterion encompass the entire Inaros corpus with the exception of the Sheikh el-Fadl dipinto.[161] The intertextuality between

---

[158] Based off *Wb*. II.81, and Belegstellen II.117; see also HOFFMANN (1996a: 220 n. 1135).

[159] The incorporation of such a span of time under 'synchronic' is to highlight the evidence that is specifically relevant in Demotic, as opposed to earlier Egyptian narrative literature. Hence, the time span is approximately five centuries from c. 300 BC to c. AD 200. Naturally, there are marked differences within the Demotic narrative corpus that may have been a result of the date of composition. This is observed even within the same tradition, e.g. *First Setne* and *Second Setne*, *Benefice* and *Armour*.

[160] HOFFMANN (1996a: 105-27), RYHOLT (2012a: 199-208), JAY (2016: esp. 211-83).

[161] The timeframe is from c. second century BC (*Tale of Bes*) to second century AD (*Armour*). For a comprehensive list of the texts in question, their date and provenance, see §1.1; cf. HOFFMANN (2009: 359-60, 372-3) and JAY (2016: 127-31).

the contemporary Inaros texts potentially produces the greatest amount of evidence for intertextual relationships, though in most cases, the intertextuality is in their phraseology, which has already been covered in Chapter 2.[162] To give an example, the formulaic use of transitional phrase groups (TPGs)[163]—such as travel and correspondence—in the Inaros texts is striking, especially for *Armour* and *Benefice*.[164] Hoffmann also notes the similarities with correspondence scenes in earlier texts such as *Contendings of Horus and Seth* and the Bentresh Stela.[165] Although it is certainly true that parallels can be observed in the general sequence of the writing and receiving of correspondence, standard phrases such as *p3 wḥ3 ḫtm=w s tbꜥ=w s ti=w s n ḏrṱ=f wꜥ hgr/rmt iwn* 'the letter was closed, sealed, and placed in the hand of a courier' is uniquely Inarosian. With regard to the use of introductory phrases, on the other hand, the Inaros tradition differs very little from Demotic tradition in general.[166] In this case, the most relevant example is the use of *i.ir n3y ḏr=w ḫpr* 'while all these things happened,' which is a Demotic phenomenon that appears in no less than six Inaros texts, as well as other Demotic narratives.[167]

One of the most iconic intertextual elements within the Inaros tradition is its shared characters.[168] Indeed, not only do the texts, particularly *Armour* and *Benefice*, shown very little variation in terms of their main characters, their characterisation in the texts are also remarkably consistent. Therefore, it is relatively easy to map out the dominant traits for the most well-established characters. Although the complexity of character development in the

---

[162] Other examples of synchronic intertextuality in the Inaros context have been outlined by Hoffmann. In several of his works, Hoffmann has attempted to trace the development, or *Entstehungszeit*, of some of the Inaros texts to an earlier time than the current manuscripts. For example, he cites that *Sarpot* may have been developed around 50 BC in response to the emergence of trade between Egypt and India, see HOFFMANN (1995a: 30). He also dates the development of *Armour* to 150 BC ± 100 years based on palaeographical grounds, see HOFFMANN (2009: 360, 373). Another Inaros text, the *Tale of Bes*, has been dated to c. 200 BC, see HOFFMANN (2009: 360, 373). Jay mentions that Hoffmann communicated with her personally regarding the date of the *Tale of Bes*, which is based on the phrase *m-b3ḥ p3 kwr* 'before the Nubian king' and the good relationship between Egypt and Nubia under the reign of Ptolemy IV, see JAY (2016: 139 and n. 60).

[163] See §2.3.2.

[164] This motif is not only detected in these two texts, but also in *Esarhaddon's Letter to Inaros* and Papyrus Berlin P 15682, see RYHOLT (2004: 493) and RYHOLT (2012a: 346-52) respectively. Moreover, Jay views some of the similarities as potentially indicative of oral tradition, see JAY (2016: 178-82).

[165] HOFFMANN (1996a: 89).

[166] Some of these parallels and usages have been discussed in §2.4.2.

[167] To my knowledge, the phrase appears twice in *Second Setne*, P. Carlsberg 130 recto (unpublished mythological narrative), P. Carlsberg 555 verso, and from the Inaros corpus – *Armour*, *Benefice*, *Sarpot*, *The Inaros Epic* (P. Carlsberg 80, unpublished), *A story about the living Prince Inaros* (P. Carlsberg 606 verso), and *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyan*, see §2.4.2; cf. RYHOLT (2012a: 24, 29, 36, 48, 59, 145).

[168] Hoffmann also briefly commented on characterisation in the Inaros texts, and provided a table listing all of the known characters, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 108-13).

Inaros text is beyond the purview of this discussion,[169] an examination of the characters' most visible traits across the various Inaros texts will be carried out to highlight the intertextual properties of characterisation.[170] In order to provide a level of continuity from the previous chapter, the same three characters – Pekrur, Petubastis, and Petechons, as well their character traits, will be studied.[171]

Pekrur[172]	*Authority*	*Cunning*	*Caring*
Armour	+	+	+
Benefice	+	+	+

Petubastis[173]	*Authority*	*Poetic*	*Military aversion*
Armour	+	-	+
Benefice	+	+	+

Petechons[174]	*sb3 n mšs*	*Impudence*	*Honour*
Armour	+	+	+
Benefice	+	+	+
Diadem	+	+	?[175]
Sarpot	+	-	+

Table 4.3 – The characters Pekrur, Petubastis, and Petechons, and their most visible traits.

---

[169] The typical theme for character development, i.e. self-discovery, in Egyptian tradition is through *Reiseerzählung*, or travel narrative, in narratives such as *Sinuhe*, *Wenamun*, and *Doom Prince*, see MOERS (1999: 51-8).

[170] Undeniably, such a reductionist approach may open itself up to potential criticism. Douglas, for one, heavily criticised Lawrence's reductionist approach, or as he calls it 'the novelist's touch', by saying, "it consists, I should say, in a failure to realize [sic] the profundities and complexities of the ordinary human mind… it takes what it likes and leaves the rest… it falsifies life," see FORSTER (1974 [1927]: 48-9). However, Forster defends the necessity of such an approach in certain circumstances, citing that Douglas's interpretation of the novelist's touch, although inappropriate in a biographical sense, does have its place in fictional narrative, see FORSTER (1974 [1927]: 48-9). In the case of the Inaros texts, an acknowledgement can be made of the fact that this approach does not factor the subtle difference between characters who share the same trait, e.g. the degree and differences in the type of authority that Pekrur and Petubastis command. However, many of these intricacies have been outlined in the previous chapter. Alternatively, de Saussure's binary opposition, although it can be subjected to criticism for its potential favouring of one trait over the other, may be of some use as well in the analysis of character traits, see DE SAUSSURE (1983 [1915]: 117-20); cf. SCHMITZ (2007: 30-3). For example, in *The Petese Stories*, a clear binary opposition is defined in terms of the 35 individual narratives of virtue (*mnḫ*) and vice (*why*), or as Ryholt categorises them as 'story of praise (*ḥs*) of women' and 'story of scorn (*sḫf*) of women,' see RYHOLT (2005a: 5-7). The duality of *mnḫ* and *why*, and *ḥs* and *sḫf* would be a good starting point for such binary analysis.

[171] Other characters who also appeared in more than one text, but will not be discussed here, are: Inaros, Pemu, Minnemei / Minnebmaat, Wertiamunne, Chayris, and Teos.

[172] See §3.2.3 and §3.2.4.

[173] See §3.3.3 and §3.3.4.

[174] See §3.4.2 and §3.4.3.

[175] It is difficult to judge his level of honour in *Diadem* due to the incompleteness of the papyrus.

Referring back to my previous discussions in Chapter 3, the dominant traits of each character are mostly consistent throughout the narratives, with the only a few exceptions, such as Petubastis, who is far more eloquent in *Benefice* than in *Armour*,[176] and Petechons in *Sarpot*, who does not exhibit the same degree of impudence as the other texts.[177] This could be indicative of a shared Inaros tradition from which all Inaros texts from the Graeco-Roman periods drew their inspiration. Moreover, the uniformity of the characterisation goes beyond their traits, when other characterising elements such as titles and epithets are considered.[178] For example, in most cases, Pekrur's name is preceded by his title *pꜣ wr iꜣbt* 'Chief of the East'.[179] Another example is the frequent use of Inaros' epithet in *Armour* is *ḥry nꜣ*[180] *pꜣ in.nw* 'Lord of the Spear'.[181] Despite the title only appearing in *Armour*, Inaros' particular association with the spear extends beyond this one text. In *Diadem*, Petechons fights with a kalasiris over the diadem and spear of Inaros (*Diadem* II.16), while P. Carlsberg 80 also contains explicit and repeated reference to 'the diadem and the lance of Good Prince Inaros.'[182] Furthermore, the word used for diadem, *ḥry*, is unmistakeably a wordplay on the word for 'lord' (*ḥry*).

Within the Demotic tradition, structured type scenes are more apparent. From those that have been identified,[183] the dream sequence is particularly applicable in the Inaros context. Ryholt notes that "the frequent description of dreams in demotic [sic] literature reflects the popularity of oneirology which is also well attested by the common reference to dreams in contemporary non-literary sources and the extant manuals of dream interpretation."[184] As

---

[176] See §3.3.4.

[177] See §3.4.3.

[178] Jay lists the similarities in various other characters' titles between *Armour* and *Benefice*, see JAY (2016: 159), so they will not be discussed further at present. In addition, by comparing Inaros' use of titles and epithets to the Homeric usage of epithets, she stresses the necessity of epithets as reinforcement for character function and their centrality to oral performance, see JAY (2016: 161).

[179] Similarly, Pemu's name is frequently followed by the featured convention *pꜣ šm/ḫm/ḥm* 'the younger' in *Armour* and *Benefice*, as well as P. Carlsberg 433 (Tebtunis *Benefice*) y+I.20 and *King Wenamun and the Lihyan*, Fragment 3 x+6 and Fragment 4 x+3; see TAIT (2000: 68-9) and RYHOLT (2012a: 38, 50-1) respectively for the last two examples.

[180] For a brief comment on the use of *nꜣ* instead of *n* as genitive, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 322 n. 1852).

[181] Petechons also received such epithetic treatment, see §3.4.2.

[182] RYHOLT (2012a: 94-7).

[183] RYHOLT (2012a: 187-208) identified two type scenes: 'conception, birth, and rearing of children', and 'dreams and visions,' while JAY (2016: 272, 275-80) identifies a third type scene, 'seeing and desiring a woman.' However, with the exception of *First Setne*, the rest of the examples of this type scene are unfortunately fragmentary, which has generated a high degree of variation in the result. Hoffmann has identified other scenes present in the Inaros texts, but his choice of comparison is with non-Demotic texts, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 88-93).

[184] RYHOLT (2012a: 199).

discussed in Chapter 2 on embedding, the dreams of Montubaal in *Armour* and Petechons in *Sarpot* function as a legitimising device for the character's presence and actions. Although this has been alluded to by Hoffmann, most noticeably with the Victory Stela of Tanutamani and Bentresh Stela, narratologically they are quite different.[185] In the case of Montubaal and Petechons, supernatural beings communicate with both characters regarding a matter of concern, which consequently adds to the narrative progression upon their awakening.[186] However, in both the Victory Stela of Tanutamani and the Bentresh Stela, the dreamer was never spoken to by the supernatural being.[187] Furthermore, unlike the Victory Stela of Tanutamani, in which the dream serves to legitimise his kingship, echoing the theme of *königsnovelle*, Montubaal and Petechons do not express such ambition.[188]

The final point on synchronic intertextuality in the Inaros texts is related to its thematic value. Though drawing on the same historical backdrop, different texts in the Inaros tradition were composed with different themes in mind, which would in turn affect their function and reception. Returning to Genette's model, he proposes the further categorisation of hypertextuality into three moods: playful, satirical, and serious.[189] Although these three categories are not fully applicable in the context of the Inaros texts, what is applicable is how mood affects the intertextual properties of a text. The previous discussion on the Sheikh el-Fadl dipinto mentioned that rather than portraying warfare, the narrative is one of lust, akin to *First Setne*.[190] However, the theme of lustful narratives goes far beyond these two texts.[191]

---

[185] HOFFMANN (1996a: 89). The dreaming type scene also differs from dream episode in *First Setne* for example, which is most likely due to Setne and Tabubu's episode not being portrayed as a dream, see §2.4.2 n. 146 on the use of *m-sꜣ nꜣy*. Jay also supports this view as she categorises Setne's dream episode as part of her third type scene on seeing and desiring a woman, see JAY (2016: 272, 275-80). The dream of Tanutamani has been discussed by BREYER (2003: 93-4), while the question of *Sitz im Leben* of the Bentresh Stela has been addressed by GLÖCKER and KLIMEK (2015: 68-91).

[186] For example, in *Armour* XIX.26-33, a 'divine song' (*ḥs-n-nṯr*) speaks to Montubaal regarding the strife in Egypt, whereas in *Sarpot* VI.x+9-13, presumably the deceased Inaros spoke to Petechons regarding some concerns over his involvement with the Land of the Women (this cannot be discerned fully due to the fragmentary nature of the papyrus).

[187] For Tanutamani, it is two snakes whose symbolic meaning is later interpreted by oracles (line 3-6), while the prince of Bakhtan in the Bentresh Stela simply saw a god having come out of his shrine as a falcon of gold (line 24).

[188] For the justification of Tanutamani's Victory Stela as *Königsnovelle*, see HERMANN (1938: 8-11). I am grateful to Elizabeth Eltze (University of Auckland) for the discussion on Tanutamani. Another good comparison to Tanutamani's *Königsnovelle* is Piankhy's Victory Stela; see SPALINGER (2016: 235-74) for a recent re-examination of the narrative format and self-conception of Piankhy. For a New Kingdom comparison, see SPALINGER (2007: 137-56) on the royal influence of folktale during eighteenth dynasty.

[189] SCHMITZ (2007: 81); cf. GENETTE (1997 [1982]: 25-6).

[190] RYHOLT (2004: 496), JAY (2016: 138).

[191] Undoubtedly, one of the most famous examples of lustful woman in earlier literary tradition is the wife of Anubis in the *Two Brothers*.

Within the Demotic tradition, *The Petese Stories* contains the largest number of such narratives.[192] The text is a collection of 70 short narratives on the virtues and vices of women, which were framed in a manner most similar to *Myths of the Sun's Eye*. Although the narratives relate to *sḏy n sḫf sḥm.t* 'tales of scorn of women' and *sḏy n ḥs sḥm.t* 'tales of praise of women', the events in a large number of the more substantial fragments are initiated by men, while the women play a more subsidiary role.[193] Several of these narratives subscribe to the themes of lust (*Blinding of Pharaoh*, *Rape of Hatmehit*, *Buried Alive*)[194] and oaths between two men (*Prince and the Kalasiris*). Although not yet fully published,[195] the first part of the *Tale of Bes* shares a remarkable similarity to the theme of *sḏy n ḥs sḥm.t*, where the woman, Tasis, whose husband Haryothes Bes has murdered, kills herself before she could be defiled by him.[196] Bes then receives a divine punishment, much like the pharaoh in *Blinding of Pharaoh*.[197] The oaths between Bes and his friend Haryothes also echo the *Prince and Kalasiris*. Thus, we see the *Tale of Bes*, possibly along with the earlier Sheikh el-Fadl dipinto, conforming to a different theme than that of *Armour* and *Benefice*.[198] Even for the remainder of the Inaros texts, we see some thematic variation. As Ryholt suggests, the reoccurring theme in both *Armour* and *Benefice* is the warning against misconduct during festivities and the potentially disastrous consequences.[199] This can be extended to the *Diadem,* where the contest between Petechons and the kalasiris is a result of Petechons not carrying out the proper process of an Egyptian burial. In each of the three cases, we see that the conflict takes place within Egypt, which adds another dimension to the theme of Egyptian value. As for *The Inaros Epic* and *Sarpot*, we see that the focus is placed on external conquests and repulsions. *The Inaros Epic* presents the repulsion of the Assyrians, whereas

---

[192] Originally published by RYHOLT (1999), he subsequently supplemented this with a much more extensive edition featuring additional fragments and analysis, see RYHOLT (2005a).

[193] Some of the more complete narratives in *The Petese Stories* are: from RYHOLT (1999): *Unfaithful Wife and Mother* (57-8, 83-4) and *Doomed Prodigy Child* (58-9, 85-8); from RYHOLT (2005a): *Blinding of Pharaoh* (31-46), *Prince and the Kalasiris* (47-58), *The Crocodile Story* (59-61), *Rape of Hatmehit* (101-7), a story of adultery and the royal harem (108-10), *Avaricious Merchant* (111-9), story featuring a prophet and his children (120-1), *Buried Alive* (122-7), and story mentioning bartering in Egypt (128-9).

[194] i.e. Jay's type scene of 'seeing and desiring a woman', see JAY (2016: 272, 275-80). However, she did not include *Blinding of Pharaoh* in her list.

[195] Some brief comments and the translation of the first half of the text has been published by Hoffmann, see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 55-9).

[196] Although Jay interprets this narrative as one of young love, see JAY (2016: 302-3).

[197] RYHOLT (2005a: 44-5).

[198] It is possible that Petechons' tirade against Chayris in *Armour* XVI.15-22 could also parallel the theme found in *The Petese Stories*. Unfortunately, this passage is too fragmentary for a clear identification. For a discussion on this passage, see §3.4.3.

[199] RYHOLT (2012a: 80-1).

Sarpot, being a result of an *imitatio alexandri*,[200] portrays the conquest of the Land of the Women and subsequently India.[201]

Given the different themes presented in the Inaros texts, it seems more appropriate to see the texts as being conceptualised based an established historical context and repertoire of characters, but developed into the current form based on different thematic branches and interaction with other contemporary texts.[202] Using the same evolutionary analogy, the Inaros texts are part of a homologous group that evolved divergently through their convergence with other contemporary texts. Therefore, I suggest that they be re-categorised into the following three branches as a result of these thematic variations.[203]

External conquest and repulsion	*Internal conflict / Egyptian value*[204]	*Wisdom / cautionary*
The Inaros Epic *Petechons and Sarpot* *King Wenamun and the Kingdom of Lihyan*	*Contest for the Armour of Inaros* *Contest for the Benefice of Amun* *Contest for the Diadem and Spear of Inaros* *A story about the living Prince Inaros (?)* *A story about a contest between Petechons and Chayris*	*Sheikh el-Fadl dipinto* *Tale of Bes*

Table 4.4 – The three branches of theme in the Inaros texts.

---

[200] Considering *Sarpot*'s connection with *imitatio alexandri*, the conceptualisation of this text would have been different to *The Inaros Epic*, see RYHOLT (2013a: 72-8).

[201] It has been suggested by JAY (2016: 134) that "the application of traditional battle scenes to an 'army of women'" may have been used for comic effect, possibly akin to the personification of cat and mouse in Egyptian animal fables, see FLORES (2004: 233-55). Although with Sarpot and the army of women's strong association with the Amazons, I find this unlikely. On the other hand, hybridisation between different themes is possible. For example, the *Tale of Bes* is potentially a hybrid between 'wisdom / cautionary' and 'external conquest and repulsion'. However, since the text has yet to be fully published, this cannot be certain at present, see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 55-6).

[202] For example, *The Inaros Epic*, which may include three separate narratives, has already been collated in such a thematic manner, see RYHOLT (2004: 492-5). Hoffmann also comments on such thematic issue in his discussion on the style of composition between Ptolemaic and Roman texts, i.e. *Armour* and *Sarpot*, see HOFFMANN (1996a: 125).

[203] Another consideration, which unfortunately cannot be discussed further in the present thesis, is the requirement for the inclusion of a text into the Inaros corpus. It is worth noting that the *Tale of Bes* is the only Inaros text in which the majority of the characters in the Inaros tradition is not present. So far, only Inaros is known to appear in the narrative. Even then, he only appears in the unpublished second half of the text. Arguably, Pemu and Petechons in *King Wenamun and Kingdom of Lihyan* may also not have played a significant part, but this is harder to determine due to the fragmentary nature of the text, see RYHOLT (2012a: 38-9, 51-3). See §1.1 for an overview of the entire Inaros corpus.

[204] Even with *Armour* and *Benefice*, there are thematic differences, potentially as a result of their respective composition dates. *Benefice* contains more traditional Egyptian rhetoric, while *Armour*, being composed later, contains more Hellenic influence.

§4.3 Audience-based intertextuality

A key consideration in any discussion on intertextuality is audience involvement. Both Kristeva and Genette, although meticulous in their interpretation and categorisation, largely observed intertextuality through the lens of the author. As I have demonstrated, this allows one to interpret and analyse the intertextuality in the Inaros texts from a variety of perspectives, both Hellenic and Egyptian. However, from an audience's perspective, the intertextual components may be quite different. The audience plays a crucial role in generating meaning in texts as shown by the development of reader-response criticism.[205] Within this theoretical approach, two main types of audience can be distinguished: implied and real.[206] Popularised by Iser, implied audience relates to function.[207] What is the purpose of the text? And, in turn, who are the ideal audience that would gain the most from the texts? Real audience, on the other hand, simply relates to the exposure of the texts and how they were interpreted by the audience. The usefulness of reader-response criticism is not new to Demotic studies or Egyptology in general, where the theoretical paradigm has often been used synonymously with reception.[208]

With reader-response criticism in mind, it can be applied further in the context of intertextuality. One of the earliest correlations between reception and intertextuality was proposed by Conte, who argues for a 'reader-addressee' as a form of the text, which he defines as "the figure of the recipient as anticipated by the text,"[209] thus serving a similar function as the implied audience of reception theory. Conte proceeds to explain that this 'reader-addressee' then becomes the "model that empirical readers of the text learn to resemble while they progress in understanding it."[210] This means that unless the audience adapt to this model, the full rhetoric of the text would be lost. Such an interpretation of audience-based intertextuality has been criticised by Edmunds, who sees Conte's proposal as

---

[205] Some of the key developers of reader-response criticism are ISER (1974 [1972]), FISH (1980), and JAUSS (1982 [1970]).

[206] To be consistent with the discussions on author-based intertextuality, as well as avoiding the connotation of the term 'reader', the broader term 'audience' will continue to be used.

[207] ISER (1974 [1972]) and ISER (1978 [1976]).

[208] See most recently, TAIT (2013: 251-60) for Demotic narratives, and PARKINSON (2012: 1-3), for example, for a brief account of reception in *Eloquent Peasant*. This distinction also corresponds with Di Biase-Dyson's two categories of text-external features: function (= implied audience) and reception (= real audience), see DI BIASE-DYSON (2013: 7).

[209] CONTE (1994: xx); cf. CONTE (1994: 133) for re-emphasis of the same concept.

[210] CONTE (1994: 133).

a recourse of authorial intentions, which can be construed as being far too subjective, particularly since "Conte nowhere explains how a text could acquire intentions such as he describes if not from its author."[211] Thus, Edmunds, as part of the most recent discussions on the issue of audience-based intertextuality, strives to focus more objectively and examine the material from a real audience's perspective.[212]

However, in the context of the Inaros texts, it is simply not viable to analyse intertextuality purely from the perspective of the real audience without first laying the groundwork for the implied audience, especially when the dichotomy between the implied and real is a major driver behind the re-evaluation of audience-based intertextuality. This is of particular relevance when we take into consideration that discussions on intertextuality in Demotic literature is still limited to sporadic remarks at present.[213] Hence, for the remainder of the chapter, in order to highlight such differences in the perceived intertextuality between the implied and real audience, historical framework and thematic features will be examined.

§4.3.1 Implied audience

As mentioned, the implied audience describes the role that is inscribed into the text, and is a theoretical construction of the ideal recipient of the texts.[214] To (re)construct such an audience, a number of strategies have been proposed by scholars. Functionally, Iser suggests that literary texts, either through conscious or subconscious creation, contain 'empty spaces', or *Leerstellen*, which need to be filled by the audience.[215] As a result, it is the interplay between the concrete textual elements and the indeterminate 'empty spaces' that motivates the engagement of the audience with the texts. In order for the audience to 'fill' these empty spaces, predictability is unavoidable. This corresponds to Bal's model of 'frame of reference', which is predicated on the basis that the more information that the audience has on a character, the more predictable the character becomes.[216] In most cases, the way that the

---

[211] EDMUNDS (2001: 40-2 esp. 41).
[212] To a degree, Edmunds follows Jauss's three-step reading process in order to recapture the original audience's reading, see EDMUNDS (2001: 43-59); cf. JAUSS (1982 [1970]: 139-85).
[213] One rare exception of this is THISSEN (2004: 583-94).
[214] ISER (1978 [1976]: 34-8). The term 'implied reader' was coined by BOOTH (1983 [1961]) originally as a counterpart to 'implied author'. As part of the Constance School of reception, Jauss also proposes a similar strategy to Iser; however, unlike Iser's theory, Jauss's 'horizon of expectations' is primarily targeted towards an understanding of literary aestheticism, see JAUSS (1982 [1970]: 22-5).
[215] ISER (1974 [1972]: 106).
[216] BAL (2009 [1985]: 120).

audience processes these empty spaces are second-nature, so that the spaces are only noticed when one fails to make the connection through a lack of information. The most obvious example of such 'empty spaces' / 'frames of references' in the intertextuality of the Inaros texts would be the historical context and characterisation.

For the Inaros texts, the historical framework has already been discussed.[217] However, this context is rarely explained or elaborated upon in the actual texts, and it is ultimately reliant on the ancient audience's familiarity with the historical milieu, or at least the fictitious version in the Inaros tradition – the exceptions being the fragmented introductory dating formula in the Tebtunis version of *Armour*, and possibly the introduction in *Sarpot*. Presumably localities such as Tanis, Pisopd, Thebes, and Heliopolis were well-known enough that no further elaboration on their location and importance is needed, while the site of the battle in *Armour* is one of the rare exceptions where additional locational input has been given.[218] As for the influence that characters have on the historical contextualisation, it is even more curious. Except for the naming of historical characters, no other concrete historical information is presented.[219] The evidence is even worse for *Benefice*. There is virtually no way of detecting the historical context of *Benefice*, other than it taking place during the festival of Amun.[220] Yet, it is expected that the events of *Benefice* occurred around the time of *Armour* and the Assyrian invasion due to the characters who are present in the text. Indeed, these assumptions have led to scholars searching for a historical comparison to the text.[221] Such is the effect of the 'frame of reference'.

Another issue with regard to the dependence on the historical framework is the conflation of the Assyrian and Persian invasion and the amalgamation of historical figures. This conflation and amalgamation would then also determine and contribute towards characterisation and

---

[217] §1.4, §3.2.1, §3.3.1, and §4.2.1.

[218] The meeting place is first mentioned in Wertiamunne's letter to his allies, where he says, "My meeting place with you is at the Sea of the Gazelle, the pool of Perbutonebimi, the barque chapel of Pihathormefki" (*Armour* X.7-8). For the identification and discussion of the location, see SPALINGER (1976: 141) and HOFFMANN (1996a: 231 n. 1210).

[219] An exception may be Pemu's speech regarding his expulsion of Esarhaddon (*Armour* V.6-10). However, as mentioned in §1.3 and again in §2.1.1, a battle between Pemu and Esarhaddon is regarded as anachronistic.

[220] Of course, this could also be due to the lack of the beginning of *Benefice*, which may contain an introduction similar to *Armour* and *Sarpot*.

[221] Traunecker is inclined to believe that *Benefice* is referring of the High priest of Amun Harsiesi during the reign of Petubastis, while Gozzoli compares the text to the seizure of power in Upper Egypt by Psamtik I, see TRAUNECKER (1995: 199-200) and GOZZOLI (2009: 270). Additionally, Kitchen also attempted to identify the Inaros characters with historical counterparts, see KITCHEN (1986 [1972]: 456-61).

predicted actions. Alternatively, one could consider the characters in the Inaros tradition as having obtained legendary status, and the composer would consider the conflation as of minor concern for the audience. Indeed, Inaros' encounter with the griffin can be nothing less than extraordinary.[222] Bal makes a distinction between historical and legendary characters, though she proposes that legendary characters are no less predictable than historical characters by suggesting that "legendary characters are expected to exhibit certain stereotyped behaviour and set attributes; if the story were to depart too far from these set characteristics, they would no longer be recognizable [sic]."[223] This is certainly true for the characterisation in the Inaros tradition. We see very little deviation in the way that major characters are portrayed, which in turn translates to consistency in their actions. Therefore, how they were to be perceived by the audience.

The historical layer is not the only example. On another layer, the narrative devices, type scenes, and other thematic aspects also fill this 'space'. As I have discussed in author-based intertextuality, there are a number of intertextual observations both within the Inaros tradition as well as with other texts. Diachronically, the use of the introductory dating formula in *Armour*, the necessity for one to be buried in Egypt in *Diadem*, and the dispute over the possession of the benefice in *Benefice* are just a few examples of traditional Egyptian narrative features that are carried across to the Inaros texts, all of which would coincide with the its preservation in temple libraries among other cultic or literary texts.[224] Additionally, intertextuality is also observed between the Inaros texts and other contemporary Demotic literature. The use of proverbs in *Benefice*, for example, alludes to passages in Demotic wisdom literature, while the *Tale of Bes* showed remarkable parallels to *The Petese Stories*, which were preserved in temple libraries as well.[225] Above all, the Hellenic influence on type scenes such as the arming scene, and the catalogue of ships cannot be overlooked.[226] The implied audience, theoretically, should then be able to pick up on these intertextual qualities with the understanding that the usurpation of the historical names is the extent of such intertextuality between reality and fiction, thus they would have been bilingual, or at the very least, a familiarity with Homer and/or Homeric type scenes. This has also been stressed by

---

[222] RYHOLT (2004: 493-4); cf. BRESCIANI (1990: 103-7).
[223] BAL (2009 [1985]: 121).
[224] See §1.4 for additional information on the preservation of the Inaros texts in temple libraries.
[225] See §3.3.3 and §4.2.2.
[226] ALMÁSY (2012: 114-42).

Loprieno in his definition of 'fictionality',[227] with the implicit understanding that the characters in the Inaros texts, although based in history, are nevertheless paper people – a fabrication made up from fantasy, imitation, and memory.[228] As Ryholt states, "it is hardly necessary to emphasise that the stories are historical fiction and contain little of direct historical value."[229]

§4.3.2 Real audience

The presence of the 'real audience' is the most elusive aspect of intertextuality,[230] especially when the Egyptians did not exhibit any form of textual criticism in their own writing.[231] Nevertheless, a discussion on the real audience is an importance piece of the puzzle in understanding intertextuality, especially when the intertextual expectations between implied and real audience can be markedly different.[232]

The issue of the real audience has been rightfully questioned by Edmunds, who wrote, "is intertextuality to be understood with reference to the intention of the poet?"[233] Using Pemu's arming scene as an example again, we can be reasonably certain that a degree of Iliadic influence is present based on our examination, but would the contemporary audience have recognised this? Considering that the texts were composed in Demotic, the native Egyptians would undoubtedly be the first group that comes to mind when discussing the 'real audience', either through oral transmission or the written format and most likely within a temple context.[234] As for the demographic, it is safe to assume that the Inaros texts were intended for adult men. As Tait suggests, "there is no hint of narrative literature directed at children, nor

---

[227] LOPRIENO (1996a: 43).

[228] BAL (2009 [1985]: 113).

[229] RYHOLT (2004: 505).

[230] It is important to point out that there is a marked difference between real audience intertextuality and reception. Reception, in the Egyptian context, is the transmission and perception of the literature, while real audience intertextuality is how the audience will interpret and compare one text against another. For a brief overview of the reception of the Inaros texts, see TAIT (2013: 251-60).

[231] Tait noted that there is no sign of commentary in Demotic narratives, see TAIT (2013: 259).

[232] Unfortunately, there is no available studies on the differentiation between implied and real audience intertextuality in the Egyptian context to my knowledge. As for a Classical example, in Lewis's recent re-examination of the intertextuality between Theocritus' *Idyll* 15 and Catullus' poems 64 and 36, she noted a remarkable separation between the expectations of the implied audience and of the real audience, see LEWIS (2016: 349-53).

[233] EDMUNDS (2001: xi); cf. LEWIS (2016: 321-57).

[234] See §1.4 for an overview of the Graeco-Roman Egyptian context, also RYHOLT (2005: 163), and more recently RYHOLT (2013: 34-6); cf. JASNOW (2015: 1389).

of women as authors, as writers, or as an audience."[235] In the ancient context, the lack of female characters and the overall theme of the Inaros texts would confirm these speculations. Salim also proposes that the Hellenistic community might be a strong possibility for the real audience, especially among the veteran class in areas such as the Fayum.[236] However, this argument would have been strengthened had the Inaros texts been translated into Greek like *Myth of the Sun's Eye*.[237] From a different perspective, although we know that fragments of Homeric epic were found throughout Egypt, yet no Demotic version has been discovered.[238] This is unsurprising, since the metric requirement of the Homeric epic does not lend itself well to translation. Furthermore, as Jasnow notes, the Inaros texts contain surprisingly few loan words, whereby the few that are present have generated a great deal of interest over the years.[239] Undoubtedly, some parts of the audience will be able to pick up on the Homeric intertextuality present in *Armour*, but there is no evidence to suggest that this is true for everyone.[240] In which case, it is plausible that some of the audience may perceive the arming scene, or the catalogue scene, as an Egyptian composition rather than indirect hypertextuality, thus differing from the implied audience.

Contrary to the potential disregard for the foreign motifs by the real audience, far more consistency and attention has been paid to the historical aspects. Indeed, narrative materials like those preserved in the temple libraries were widely exploited by classical authors as genuinely historical documents in their accounts of Egypt's history, regardless of the fictionality of the texts. This is well illustrated by the *Aigyptiaka*—composed by the Egyptian priest Manetho in the third century BC—as one of the few extant native historical records of Egypt.[241] The strength of the tradition concerning Inaros, as well as an awareness of its historical intertextuality, is also demonstrated by the extensive presence of the Inaros texts

---

[235] TAIT (2013: 258).

[236] SALIM [SÉRIDA] (2013: 118-20).

[237] For the Greek version of *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, see WEST (1969: 161-83). For a comparison between the Greek and the Demotic version, see SIGNORETTI (2010: 725-32).

[238] For example, both P. Oxy 20 and 21, discovered in Oxyrhynchus, consist of the second book of the *Iliad* in Greek (730-828 and 745-764 respectively), see GRENFELL and HUNT (1898: 46-7).

[239] The example that Jasnow provides is the discovering of the word *mylt* 'Milesian wool' after Miletus, see JASNOW (2015: 1368).

[240] Jay has suggested that the inclusion of Homeric traits may have been a movement to encourage Panhellenic unity, see JAY (2016: 199).

[241] Although there are no explicit examples of Greek historians drawing on the fictitious Inaros tradition, other Demotic examples can be observed. *The Pheros Story* (*Hdt*. II.111), for one, parallels *Blinding of Pharaoh* in *The Petese Stories*, see RYHOLT (2005a: 13); Setne may also have reached a Greek audience through Herodotus II.141. This tale most likely was told to Herodotus by Egyptian priests, though it is not indicative of whether the narratives themselves were performed before a Greek audience.

throughout the Late and Graeco-Roman periods. It is noteworthy that although Inaros never ruled as king, he is described as a past king in several of the Inaros texts and hence regarded as such in the literary tradition.[242] Significantly, this is also observed in the physical evidence, where the Inaros texts make up a quarter of the narrative material from the Tebtunis temple library.[243] Furthermore, there is no sign of differing regional narratives, i.e. no evidence for local heroes.[244] It seems that regardless of the region, the use of the Inaros characters in the narrative setting is consistent throughout Egypt.[245] Even when the aforementioned branches of theme are taken into consideration, there are far more texts pertaining to internal conflict and Egyptian value than the other two themes, which also suggest a level of interest to specific thematic features. Raaflaub, in the context of ancient epics, suggested that "the audience was invited, and needed to be able, to identify with these dilemmas… thematic constancy over a long period of time was possible as long as it permitted the elaboration of topical issues."[246] Therefore, it would be accurate to say that the widespread popularity of the Inaros texts during the late Ptolemaic to Roman Period is founded upon its historical, and potentially thematic, intertextuality, whereas other features, such as foreign motifs, are less consistent.

---

[242] RYHOLT (2009: 236).
[243] RYHOLT (2005b: 147).
[244] TAIT (2013: 259).
[245] The spread of provenance of the manuscripts is a testament to this, see §1.1.
[246] RAAFLAUB (2005: 69).

CONCLUSION

The study sets out to determine what outstanding features are present in the Inaros texts from an interdisciplinary perspective. In particular, what defines an Inaros text? And how is it different from other Demotic narratives? In order to answer these questions, the focus has been placed on three texts: *Armour*, *Benefice*, and *Sarpot*.

From a narratological perspective, the Inaros texts exhibit a high level of composition in order to make the texts engaging. This is revealed in the different forms of temporal shift between the text and the fabula. The first shift is the change between the sequential ordering of the fabula and the text. Despite the perceived linearity of the narrator-text, the use of analepses and prolepses are observed in the character-text for various narrative effects such as agency, foreshadowing, consistency of characterisation, and/or historical contextualisation. Furthermore, different axes serve different functions in the texts. While analepses are often utilised for the purpose of providing background information, elements such as stories-within-stories and dream sequences—the appearances of which are clearly marked—also function as narrative agencies, and propel the narrative forward by eliciting a response from another character. Such agency is often marked by the use of the reactive introductory phrase *t3 wnw.t sḏm/ḏd/nw*, where the emotion that follows this phrase will determine the direction of the narrative. The type of agency that prolepses produce, on the other hand, is often tied into motivation, where the speaker themselves drives the narrative progression. In one rare instance in *Sarpot*, the prolepsis in the narrative introduction may detail the outcome of the text, thus altering the type of suspense that will be experienced.

Another major narrative force in the Inaros texts is the stretching of fabula time, i.e. rhythm. In each of the texts, the dramatic climax is easily noticeable from the use of scene. This can be further extrapolated in areas of dramatic tension, such as the arming scene of Pemu in *Armour*, where scenes are interspersed with pauses in the lead up to his battle with Wertiamunne. On the contrary, narrative moments that are not important to the overall narrative plot are quickly summarised. The most obvious form of this is the episodic transitions. Since the journeys themselves are not crucial to the narrative progression, they are often truncated. There are two ways to achieve this: by using a transitional phrase group,

or by using spatial and/or temporal introductory phrases. The use of a spatial introductory phrase, most noticeably *i.ir nꜣy ḏr=w ḫpr*, may also account for the lack of some common Egyptian narrative features, such as stories-within-stories. Consequently, certain characters will not be aware of other parallel storylines, which produces a different kind of suspense than most Middle or New Kingdom narratives, where the suspense is derived from dramatic irony.

As for the final aspect of time manipulation, the use of frequency, in particular repetition, can be used to emphasise certain important motifs in the texts. For example, in the case of phonetic repetition, it can produce additional literary effects that may hint at orality. Even the lack of certain frequencies, such as iteration, may be beneficial in our understanding of the Inaros texts, since iterative frequency is often used to summarise a reoccurring event, which is rarely exhibited in the Inaros text. Therefore, it can be summarised that each episode in the Inaros text, each moment, serves to enhance the overall war-theme of the texts.

Naturally, the use of an narratological approach is theoretical in nature, but it nevertheless provides additional evidence on the degree of literary sophistication in Demotic narratives from a different perspective. Of course, this does not mean that such complexity is not evident in earlier Egyptian literature. The reason that modern, or even Hellenic literature, is perceived as 'complex' is not simply because of the intellectual complexity in its composition, but rather the interpretation. Yet, even narratology has its limitations. For one, the concept of authorship would, and still, eludes us; that is under the paradigm of intertextuality. As van der Heijden pointed it out in his review of de Jong's work, narratology is far from perfect, since it cannot speculate "about the intentions of the historical author or about the historical authenticity of the described events,"[730] for the primary narrator will never be the same as the author. A narratological approach focuses on the text as the only reliable source of information, whereas the Inaros corpus, or many other Egyptian narratives for that matter, locating the 'original composition' is beyond our capabilities at present. With that being said, the precise and accurate use of time in the Inaros texts, within the confines of narratology, can be anything but a coincidence. Therefore, this approach has enabled us to gain a better insight into the Egyptian literary psyche during the Graeco-Roman, as well as a chance to perceive glimpses of its effect on the audience.

---

[730] VAN DER HEIJDEN (1990: 465).

Alongside the narrative features, another internal feature that has been examined is characterisation. Three characters are selected based on their prominence in the Inaros texts: Pekrur, Petubastis, and Petechons. By utilising systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and pragmatics, which focusses on language use and structure, each character's characterisation is able to be brought out by their character-text. Pekrur and Petubastis, being the two most senior characters in *Armour* and *Benefice*, naturally have a high usage of imperatives, optatives, and interrogatives, which means that they can be more commanding than the other characters. This also coincides with their portrayal within the fictional framework. Furthermore, both characters exhibit a high degree of eloquence, most noticeably through their use of parallel phrasing and figurative language.

Despite these grammatical similarities, the portrayal of the two characters is vastly different. Pekrur, on the one hand, is able to be more assertive, and predominantly commands from a military perspective. His speeches and dialogues are also geared towards manipulating other characters. However, his efforts are often as a result of his caring nature towards the younger generations in his and Inaros' clans. Petubastis, on the other hand, is shown to shy away from military confrontation. This is based on the types of verbs that he often uses. His aversion extends further to his grammatical usage. In contrast to Pekrur, whose commands are usually military in nature, Petubastis' commands contain the most impact with regard to festival and ritual arrangements. His eloquence is also different to Pekrur's. Where Pekrur's character-text is often directed towards a specific character, Pebutastis' character-text is frequently directed towards the audience. His speeches, in many ways, are used to showcase certain literary constructions, where some of his speeches share similarities to other literary genres, such as didactic literature. It is likely, therefore, that his eloquence serves to enhance the literariness of the Inaros texts.

Unlike both Pekrur and Petubastis, Petechons is the only character examined that is from a younger generation. This accounts for his portrayal and personality being substantially different from the other two. He does not speak as much as Pekrur and Petubastis, thus pinpointing one of the major limitations of SFL, whereby the paradigm functions most successfully in the context of substantial character-texts. Hence, the characterisation of someone like Petechons would have been misinterpreted should SFL be the only approach. What is present his speech patterns, particularly his use of expletives, is indicative of his disregard for authority and his contempt towards the pharaoh's family. Still, he can be

considered a man of honour and a capable warrior, especially with his fighting style being described as the most elaborate and sophisticated of the young warriors, demonstrating a high level of *sbꜣ n mšs*. Plausibly, such achievements would have been impressive enough for Petechons to be bestowed with the diadem and spear of Inaros.

Although it was not feasible to examine all the young warriors in the present thesis, a difference can be observed even in the characterisation of the young warriors from the few instances that Pemu's characterisation is mentioned in Chapter 2. For example, Pemu is far less contemptuous towards the pharaoh than Petechons. At the same time, he would boast about his capability and accomplishments, which is something Petechons does not do. Hence, it would be interesting as a future study to examine each of the young warriors—Pemu, Montubaal, Minnemei / Minnebmaat, as well as the young priest—to see what types of characterisation can be observed, rather than simply placing the young warriors together as a homogenised group. The subtle differences in the character conceptualisation would then further our understanding of the composition of Demotic narratives in general.

The final aspect of the interdisciplinary examination of the Inaros tradition is on intertextuality. The theory of intertextuality, which was developed to examine textual relationships, distinguishes between author-based and audience-based intertextuality. Moreover, author-based intertextuality has been divided further into Homeric and Egyptian intertextuality for the purpose of the thesis. The focus of Homeric intertextuality here is the degree of influence, and whether the influence is observed verbatim, or if the Inaros texts alter the foreign motifs to suit the needs of the narrative. To answer this, the paradigm of hypertextuality is utilised with the arming scene of Pemu as a case study. By comparing the arming of Pemu and the *Iliad*, several observations can be made. Most importantly, Pemu's arming scene has more in common with a Homeric type scene than an ekphrasis; a type scene is used to build up to a battle, while ekphrasis is a stylistic device that brings a visual representation to life. In Pemu's case, both the circumstance of the arming scene and its construction is typical of a type scene. As such, the continued comparison between the arming scene and Achilleus' shield in the scholarship is problematic, whereas it would be more appropriate to compare Pemu's arming scene to an Iliadic arming scene instead. However, when the arming scenes are compared, there are still distinctive differences, particularly in the order of the arming, which is ostensibly drawn from an Egyptian model rather than Greek. Thus, although it can be said that certain motifs in the Inaros texts are

inspired by foreign influence, they are not included without consideration to their literary function(s) and/or social context. Pemu's arming scene, for example, demonstrate a high level of understanding of the Greek motif, which allows for its re-adjustment to suit an Egyptian context.

Despite the fact that Homeric intertextuality is the most widely discussed aspect, the Inaros texts still exhibit more parallels with Egyptian texts than Greek. Egyptian intertextuality can be divided into two aspects: diachronic and synchronic intertextuality. Diachronic intertextuality ties into the discussion of historical fiction, particularly the concept of generic intertextuality, where certain historical events are re-written in a fictional format. Indeed, this is one of Loprieno's categories for literariness in Egyptian literature. In the case of the Inaros texts, the historical intertextuality is with the Assyrian invasion of the mid-seventh century BC. However, as the examination of the character Inaros can attest, a conflation with the Persian invasion of the mid-fifth century BC is also observed. Another aspect of diachronic intertextuality is in the literary style. The Tebtunis version of *Armour*, for one, utilises the introductory dating formula, which is a common motif in historical fictions of the New Kingdom. Additionally, by drawing on the findings from Chapter 2, the most noticeable features in the similarities between the Inaros texts and earlier Egyptian narratives is in the use of introductory phrases and parallel phrasing.

Synchronically, each Graeco-Roman manuscript of the Inaros texts can be compared with each other. As noted, the same group of characters are found throughout the Inaros texts, particularly Pekrur, Petubastis, and Petechons. Furthermore, certain motifs and phrasing are also frequently recycled between texts. However, there are also differences. For example, although civil war is the central theme in both *Armour* and *Benefice*, the focus is slightly different. *Armour* has a strong focus on the military aspects, while *Benefice* places more emphasis on formality and religious conduct. This is exemplified in the number of instances of first-person perspective and imperatives used by Pekrur and Petubastis between the two texts. *Armour* also contains more Homeric influence than *Benefice*. The differences are even more noticeable once other contemporary texts, such as the Setne texts, *The Petese Stories*, *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, and wisdom literature are taken into consideration. Although each text contains some form of historical context, the themes that are presented differ greatly. The first half of the *Tale of Bes*, for one, has more in common with *The Petese Stories* than the rest of the Inaros texts. Even *Sarpot*, which features external conquests and exploits, is

thematically different to *Armour* or *Benefice*. It meant that although the texts in the Inaros tradition are grouped together via their shared characters, these thematic variations are nonetheless present. Thus, a thematic examination and re-categorisation of the Inaros texts will be required in the future.

Finally, with regard to audience-based intertextuality, two levels are present: implied audience and real audience. These two levels also tie into the overview in Chapter 1 on composition and reception. However, there is a difference to composition, reception, and audience-based intertextuality. Crucially, audience-based intertextuality goes one step beyond composition and reception by examining how the audience would perceive the Inaros texts in relation to other contemporary texts. For the implied audience, the audience is subconsciously built into the composition, whereby all aspects of intertextuality should be perceived, both the historical context and narrative features, which include foreign influence and possible thematic variations. However, this contradicts with what the real audience, who are most likely native Egyptians, reveals. Based on our understanding of the reception of the Inaros texts, it seems that the general interest of the Inaros texts by the real audience is placed more heavily on the historical context, characterisation, and native Egyptian values, which can be reflected in their preservation in temple libraries among other cultic texts and historical fictions such as Setne texts and *The Petese Stories*. This can also be glimpsed through Greek historians' observations of the Inaros tradition. The abundance of evidence for Inaros' historical context is contrasted to the evidence for the audience's reception of the narrative features and themes, which are much harder to determine, since we have no records of textual criticism by ancient Egyptians. Additionally, it is particularly difficult to estimate if the audience would notice the Homeric intertextuality. Considering the inconsistency of the inclusion of foreign elements between different Inaros texts, it is most probable that such intertextuality would not have been a focus for the real audience.

Based on the three aspects of the Inaros texts that are examined in the present thesis, a number of observations have been made. Together, they have provided an in-depth look at the narrative, linguistic, and thematic features of the Inaros texts. However, it must be mentioned that the primary sources that are currently in a published format are not without

their complications.[731] Throughout the thesis, I have frequently mentioned the fragmentation and the lack of beginnings and endings as the primary limitations of the texts. This has proven to be particularly challenging while defining the different types of analepses and prolepses, as well as attempting to establish a concrete figure for the quantitative analyses on characterisations. Despite this, the main strength of the Inaros texts, especially when it is compared to other Egyptian narrative literature, is the number of different narratives, as well as manuscripts, that can be attributed to a specific tradition. For one, this has allowed for intertextual comparisons that is unimaginable for other Egyptian narratives. Additionally, even with incomplete texts such as *Armour* and *Benefice*, their length still exceeds the majority of Egyptian narrative corpora, which still enabled for in depth analyses on their narrative devices and characterisations. Thus, it is with a great deal of anticipation that, with each new publication, we are one step closer to uncovering the full picture. Even in its current state, in terms of an Egyptian literary tradition, the narratives in the Inaros tradition represent the most sophisticated group of texts known to date. Therefore, the literary style and complexity that they exhibit can easily account for their popularity and longevity during Graeco-Roman Egypt.

---

[731] I have mentioned in my introduction (n. 15) that it is most regrettable that I was unable to access the latest edition (2016) of the Hoffmann and Quack's translations of the texts, which would have included more information than the 2007 edition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY[1]

AGUT-LABORDÈRE, D. and M. CHAUVEAU (2011), *Héros, magiciens et sages oubliés de l'Égypte ancienne: Une anthologie de la littérature en égyptien démotique*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

ALLEN, J. (2010 [2000]), *Middle Egyptian: An introduction to the language and culture of hieroglyphs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ALLISON, R. S. (2011 [1997]), 'Tradition.' In C. T. MCCORMICK and K. K. WHITE (eds.): *Folklore: An encyclopedia of beliefs, customs, tales, music, and art (vol. 3) (2nd edition).* California: ABC-CLIO, 1198-1202.

ALMÁSY, A. (2007), 'A Greek Amazon in an Egyptian story: The character of Queen Serpot in the Cycle of Petubastis.' In K. ENDREFFY and A. GULYÁS (eds): *Proceedings of the fourth Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists: 31 August - 2 September 2006.* Budapest: Budapest University Press, 31-7.

_____ (2011), 'The Greek subliterary texts and the Demotic literature.' In E. BECHTOLD, A. GULYÁS, and A. HASZNOS (eds.): *From Illahun to Djeme; Papers presented in honour of Ulrich Luft*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 1-6.

_____ (2012), *L'influence de la littérature et de la culture grecque sur l'évolution de la littérature démotique épique: Le role de l'Iliade et la figure héroïque dans la naissance de l'épopée démotique.* Doctoral thesis, École Pratique des Hautes Études and Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar.

---

[1] A note on abbreviations. The only abbreviations used in the present thesis are the conventional abbreviations for dictionaries, compilations, and primary texts, which are as follow:
CDD – Chicago Demotic Dictionary
Dem. Nb. – Demotisches Namenbuch
Urk. – Urkunden der 18 Dynastie
Wb. – Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache

Assmann, J. (1977), 'Das ägyptische Zweibrüdermärchen,' *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 104: 1-25.

Baines, J. (1995), 'Origins of Egyptian kingship.' In D. B. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds.): *Ancient Egyptian kingship*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 9. Leiden: Brill.

_____ (1996), 'Classicism and modernism in the literature of the New Kingdom.' In A. Loprieno (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms*. Leiden: Brill, 157-74.

_____ (2007), *Visual and written culture in ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981), *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bal, M. (1999), 'Close reading today: From narratology to cultural analysis.' In W. Grünzweig and A. Solbach (eds.): *Grenzüberschreitungen: Narratologie im Kontext / Transcending Boundaries: Narratology in Context*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 19-40.

_____ (2009 [1985]), *Narratology: Introduction to the theory of narrative (3nd ed.)*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Barns, J. (1956), 'Egypt and the Greek romance.' In Anonymous (ed.): *Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie, Wien, 1955*. Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 29-36.

Barth, J. (1981), 'Tales Within Tales Within Tales,' *Antaeus* 43: 45-63.

Barthes, R. (1977), *Image Music Text*. [Translated by S. Heath]. New York: Hill and Wang.

Baynham, E. (2001), 'Alexander and the Amazons,' *Classical Quarterly* 51 (1): 115-26.

Bennison, N. (1993), 'Discourse analysis, pragmatics and the dramatic 'character': Tom Stoppard's *Professional Foul*,' *Language and Literature* 2 (2): 79-99.

Booth, W. C. (1983 [1961]), *The rhetoric of fiction (2ⁿᵈ edition)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Botti, G. (1955), 'Quello che anche l'eggittologia deve a Carlo Anti.' In *Anthemon: Scritti di archeologia e antichità classiche in onore di Carlo Anti*. Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1-6.

Bresciani, E. (1963), *Testi demotici nella collezione Michaelidis*. Orientis antique collection 2. Rome: Centro per le antichità e la storia dell'arte del vicino oriente.

_____ (1990), 'La corazza di Inaro era fatta con la pelle del grifone del Mar Rosso,' *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 13: 103-7.

Breyer, F. (2003), *Tanutamani: Die Traumstele und ihr Umfled*. Ägypten und altes Testament 57. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Brunner, H. (1979), 'Zitate aus Lebenslehren.' In E. Hornung and O. Keel (eds.): *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 28. Freiburg, Schweiz, and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 105-71.

Caminos, R. A. (1964), 'The Nitocris Adoption Stela,' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50: 71-101.

Capponi, L. (2010), 'The Roman Period.' In A. B. Lloyd (ed.): *A companion to ancient Egypt*. Chichester, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 180-98.

Chatman, S. (1978), *Story and discourse: Narrative structure in fiction and film*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Chauveau, M. (2004), 'Inarôs, prince des rebelles.' In F. Hoffmann and H.-J. Thissen (eds.): *Res Severa Verum Gaudium*. Studia Demotica 6. Leuven: Peeters, 39-46.

Chinnock E. J. (1884), *The Anabasis of Alexander: The history of the wars and conquests of Alexander the Great; Literally translated, with a commentary, from the Greek of Arrian, the Nicomedian*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

CLARK, M. (2004), 'Formulas, metre and type-scenes.' In R. FOWLER (ed.): *The Cambridge companion to Homer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 117-38.

CLARYSSE, W. (2010), 'Egyptian temples and priests: Graeco-Roman.' In A. B. LLOYD (ed.): *A companion to ancient Egypt*. Chichester, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 274-90.

CLARYSSE, W. and D. J. THOMPSON (2006), *Counting the people in Hellenistic Egypt (vol. 2)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

COLLIER, M (1996), 'The language of literature: On grammar and texture.' In A. LOPRIENO (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms*. Leiden: Brill, 531-53.

CONTE, G. B. (1986), *The rhetoric of imitation: Genre and poetic memory in Virgil and other Latin poets*. [Edited by C. SEGAL]. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

_____ (1994), *Genres and readers: Lucretius, love elegy, Pliny's encyclopedia*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

CRIBIORE, R. (2001), *Gymnastics of the mind: Greek education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

CULLER, J. (1981), *The pursuit of signs: Semiotics, literature, deconstruction*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

CULPEPER, J. (2001), *Language and characterisation: People in plays and other texts*. Harlow: Longman.

DE JONG, I. J. F. (1987), *Narrators and focalizers: The presentation of the story in the Iliad*. Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner.

DE SAUSSURE, F. (1983 [1915]), *Course in general linguistics*. [Translated by R. HARRIS]. London: Duckworth.

DEGAS, J. (1994), 'Navigation sur le Nil au Nouvel Empire.' In B. MENU (ed.): *Les problems institutionnels de l'eau en Égypte ancienne et dans l'antiquité méditerranéenne: colloque AIDEA Vogüé 1992*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 141-52.

_____ (2006), 'Egyptianizing the chancellery during the Great Theban Revolt (205-186 BC): A new study of Limestone Tablet Cairo 38258,' *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 34: 97-105.

DERRIDA, J. (1979), 'Living on – Border lines.' In H. BLOOM, et al. (eds.): *Deconstruction and criticism*. New York: Seabury Press, 75-176.

DI BIASE-DYSON, C. (2009), 'Linguistic insights into characterisation: The case study of Wenamun.' In M. MÜLLER and S. ULJAS (eds): *Proceedings of the fourth International Conference on Egyptian Grammar (Crossroads IV): Basel, March 19-22, 2009*. Lingua Aegyptia 17. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 51-64.

_____ (2013), *Foreigners and Egyptians in the* Late Egyptian Stories*: Linguistic, literary, and historical perspectives*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 32. Leiden: Brill.

DODSON, A. and D. HILTON (2004), *The complete royal families of ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson.

DRIJVERS, J. W. (1999), 'Strabo 17.1.18 (801C): Inaros, the Milesians and Naucratis,' *Mnemosyne* 52 (1): 16-22.

EDMUNDS, L. (2001), *Intertextuality and the reading of Roman poetry*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University.

EDWARDS, M. W. (1992), 'Homer and oral tradition: The type-scene,' *Oral Tradition* 7 (2): 284-330.

EGGINS, S. (2004 [2001]), *An introduction to systemic functional linguistics*. New York, London: Continuum.

EIDE, T. et al. (1994), *Fontes historiae Nubiorum*. Bergen: University of Bergen.

ENMARCH, R. (2011), 'Of spice and mine: *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* and Middle Kingdom expedition inscriptions.' In F. HAGEN, et al. (eds.): *Narrative of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and linguistic approaches.* Leuven: Peeters, 97-121.

ERICHSEN, W. (1972 [1954]), *Demotisches Glossar*. Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica.

ERMAN, A. and H. GRAPOW (1926-63), *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. Seven volumes and five volumes of *Belegstellen*. Leipzig and Berlin: J. C. Hinrichs and Akademie Verlag.

EYRE, C. J. (1996), 'Is Egyptian historical literature "historical" or "literary"?' In A. LOPRIENO (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms*. Leiden: Brill, 415-33.

FISH, S. (1980), *Is there a text in this class? The authority of interpretative communities*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

FLORES, D. (2004), 'The topsy-turvy world.' In A. HIRSCH and G. N. KNOPPERS (eds.): *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean world; Studies in honor of Donald B. Redford*. Leiden: Brill, 233-55.

FOLEY, J. M. (1990), *Traditional oral epic: The Odyssey, Beowulf, and the Serbo-Croatian return song*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

_____ (1991), *Immanent art: From structure to meaning in traditional oral epic*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

FORSTER, E. M. (1974 [1927]), *Aspects of the novel and related writings*. London: Edward Arnold.

FRANDSEN, P. J. (1974), *An outline of the late Egyptian verbal system*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.

GENETTE, G. (1980 [1972]), *Narrative discourse: An essay in method*. [Translated by J. E. LEWIN]. New York: Cornell University Press.

_____ (1997 [1982]), *Palimpsests: Literature in the second degree*. [Translated by C. NEWMAN and C. DOUBINSKY]. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

GIRON, N. (1923), 'Note sur une tombe découverte prés de Cheikh-fadl par M. Flinders Petrie et contenant des inscriptions araméennes,' *Ancient Egypt* 8: 38-43.

GLASSNER, J.-J. (2004), *Mesopotamian Chronicles*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

GLÖCKNER, M. and M. KLIMEK (2015), 'Religionsgeschichtliche Aspekte des Denkmals.' In O. WITTHUHN, et al. (eds.): *Die Bentresch-Stele: ein Quellen- und Lesebuch: Forschungsgeschichte und Perspektiven eines ptolemäerzeitlichen Denkmals aus Theben (Ägypten)*. Göttinger Miszellen, Occasional Studies 2. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie.

GOZZOLI, R. B. (2009), *The writing of history in ancient Egypt during the first millennium BC (ca. 1070-180 BC): trends and perspectives*. London: Golden House Publications.

GREEN, P. (1978), 'Caesar and Alexander: Aemulatio, Imitatio, Comparatio,' *American Journal of Ancient History* 3: 1-26.

GRENFELL, B. P. and A. S. HUNT (1898), *Oxyrhynchus Papyri I*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

GRICE, H. P. (1975), 'Logic and conversation.' In P. COLE and J. L. MORGAN (eds.): *Syntax and semantics (vol. 3): Speech acts*. New York: Academic Press, 41-58.

GRIMAL, N.-C. (1981), *La stele triomphale de Pi('ankh)y au Musée du Caire: JE 48862 et 47086-47089*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéology Orientale 105. Cairo: 'Institut Français d'Archéology Orientale.

GUMBRECHT, H.-U. (1996), 'Does Egyptology need a "theory of literature"?' In A. LOPRIENO (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms*. Leiden: Brill, 3-18.

HABICHI, L. (1966), 'Three monuments of the unknown king Sehetepibre Pedubastis,' *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 93: 69-74.

HAGEN, F. (2013), 'Constructing textual identity: Framing and self-reference in Egyptian texts.' In R. ENMARCH and V. M. LEPPER (eds.): *Ancient Egyptian literature: Theory and practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 185-209.

HALLIDAY, M. A. K. and M. I. M. MATTHIESSEN (2014 [1985]), *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar (4ᵗʰ edition)*. London: Routledge.

HEFFERNAN, J. A. W. (1991), 'Ekphrasis and representation,' *New Literary History* 22 (2): 297-316.

HERMANN, A. (1938), *Die ägyptische Königsnovelle*. Leipziger ägyptologische Studien 10. Glückstadt and New York: J. J. Augustin.

HOFFMANN, F. (1994), 'Die Länge des P. Spiegelberg,' *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17: 145-55.

_____ (1995a), *Ägypter und Amazonen: Neubearbeitung zweier demotischer Papyri P. Vindob. D6165 und P. Vindob. D6165A*. Vienna: Hollinek.

_____ (1995b), 'Der Anfang des Papyrus Spiegelberg: Ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung.' In S. P. VLEEMING (ed.): *Hundred-gated Thebes: Acts of a colloquium on Thebes and the Theban area in the Graeco-Roman Period*. Leiden: Brill, 43-60.

_____ (1995c), 'Neue Fragmente zu den drei großen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten,' *Enchoria* 22: 27-39.

_____ (1996a), *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros: Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus*. Vienna: Hollinek.

_____ (1996b), 'Der literarische demotische Papyrus Wien D6920-22,' *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 23: 167-200.

_____ (2000), *Ägypten Kultur und Lebenswelt in griechisch-römischer Zeit: Eine Darstellung nach den demotischen Quellen*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

_____ (2008), 'Warlike women in ancient Egypt,' *Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 27: 49-57.

_____ (2009), 'Die Entstehung der demotischen Erzählliteratur: Beobachtungen zum überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Kontext.' In H. ROEDER (ed.): *Das Erzählen in frühen Hochkulturen: 1, Der Fall Ägypten*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 351-84.

_____ (2012), 'Hieratic and Demotic literature.' In C. RIGGS (ed.): *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 543-62.

_____ (2014), 'Internationale Wissenschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten.' In F. HOFFMANN and K. S. SCHMIDT (eds.): *Orient und Okzident in hellenistischer Zeit*. Vaterstetten: Verlag Patrick Brose, 77-112.

HOFFMANN, F. and J. F. QUACK (2007), *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 4. Münster: LIT.

HOLM, T. (2007), 'The Sheikh Fadl inscription in its literary and historical context,' *Aramaic Studies* 5: 193-224.

HÖLBL, G. (2001 [1994]), *A history of the Ptolemaic empire*. [Translated by T. SAAVEDRA]. London: Routledge.

HSU, S. W. (2013), 'Figurative expressions referring to animals in royal inscriptions of the 18th dynasty,' *Journal of Egyptian History* 6: 1-18.

HUß, W. (2001), *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit 332-30 v. Chr*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

ISER, W. (1974 [1972]), *The implied reader: Patterns of communication in prose fiction from Bunyan to Beckett*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

_____ (1978 [1976]), *The act of reading: A theory of aesthetic response*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

JAHN, M. (2010), 'Dream narrative.' In D. HERMAN, M. JAHN, and M.-L. RYAN (eds.): *Routledge encyclopedia of narrative theory*. London and New York: Routledge, 126-7.

JASNOW, R. (1997), 'The Greek Alexander Romance and Demotic Egyptian literature,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 56 (2): 95-103.

_____ (2001), '"And pharaoh laughed…": Reflections on humor in Setne I and Late Period Egyptian literature,' *Enchoria* 27: 62-81.

_____ (2007), '"Through Demotic eyes": On style and description in Demotic narratives.' In Z. HAWASS and J. RICHARDS (eds.): *The archaeology and art of ancient Egypt; Essays in honor of David B. O'Connor*. Cahiers supplémentaires des Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte 36. Cairo: Supreme Council of Egyptian Antiquities, 433-48.

_____ (2015), '"From Alexandria to Rakotis": Progress, prospects and problems in the study of Greco-Egyptian literary interaction.' In P. KOUSOULIS, and N. LAZARIDIS (eds): *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists: University of the Aegean, Rhodes. 22-29 May 2008 (vol. 2)*. Leuven: Peeters, 1363-93.

JAUSS, H. R. (1982 [1970]), *Toward an aesthetic of reception*. [Translated by T. BAHTI]. Brighton: Harvester Press.

JAY, J. E. (2010), 'Parallelism in the correspondence between Senwosret I and Sinuhe,' *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 39: 165-89.

_____ (2011), 'Examining the 'literariness' of *Wenamon* from the perspective of the grammar of narrative.' In F. HAGEN, et al. (eds.): *Narrative of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and linguistic approaches*. Leuven: Peeters, 287-303.

_____ (2016), *Orality and literary in Demotic tales*. Culture and history of the Ancient Near East 81. Leiden: Brill.

JOHNSON, J. H. (2000 [1986]), *Thus wrote 'Onchsheshonqy: An introductory grammar of Demotic (3rd edition)*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 45. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.

_____ (ed.) (2001-), *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.

_____ (2004 [1976]), *The Demotic verbal system.* Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 38. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.

KAHN, D. (2006), 'The Assyrian invasions of Egypt (673-633 B.C.) and the final expulsion of the Kushites,' *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 34: 251-67.

_____ (2008), 'Inaros' rebellion against Artaxerxes I and the Athenian disaster in Egypt,' *Classical Quarterly* 58 (2): 424-40.

KITCHEN, K. A. (1986 [1972]), *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.) (2nd edition)*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

_____ (1999), *Poetry of ancient Egypt*. Jonsered: Paul Åströms.

KÖHLER, I. (2011), 'Rage like an Egyptian: The conceptualization of anger.' In M. HORN, et al. (eds.): *Current Research in Egyptology 2010*: *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Symposium*. Oxford: Oxbow, 81-96.

KRISTEVA, J. (1969), *Σημειωτική: Recherches pour une sémanalyse*. Paris: Seuil.

_____ (1980), *Desire in Language: A semiotic approach to literature and art*. New York: Columbia University Press.

_____ (1996 [1985]), 'Intertextuality and literary interpretation.' [Interviewed by M. WALKER]. In R. M. GUBERMAN (ed.): *Julia Kristeva Interviews*. New York: Columbia University Press, 188-203.

LAIRD, A. (1997), 'Approaching characterisation in Virgil.' In C. MARTINDALE (ed.): *The Cambridge companion to Virgil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 282-93.

LECLANT, J. and J. YOYOTTE (1949), 'Nouveaux documents relatifs a l'an VI de Taharqa,' *Kemi* 10: 28-42 and pls. II-III.

LEMAINE, A. (1995), 'Les inscription araméens de Cheikh-Fadl (Égypte).' In M. J. GELLER, J. C. GREENFIELD, and M. WEITZMAN (eds.): *Studia Aramaica: New sources and new approaches*. Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 77-132.

LEVINSON, S. C. (1983), *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LEWIS, M. (2016), 'Catullus' Intertextual Crossroads: Where Theocritus' Idyll 15 Meets Poems 64 and 36,' *American Journal of Philology* 137 (2): 321-57.

LICHTHEIM, M. (1980), *Ancient Egyptian literature (vol. 3)*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

LLOYD, A. B. (1982), 'Nationalist propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt,' *Historia* 31 (1): 33-55.

_____ (2006), '*Heka*, dreams, and prophecy in ancient Egyptian stories.' In K. SZPAKOWSKA (ed.): *Through a glass darkly: Magic, dreams and prophecy in ancient Egypt*. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 71-94.

LOPRIENO, A. (1988), *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

_____ (1995), *Ancient Egyptian: A linguistic introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____ (1996a), 'Defining Egyptian Literature: Ancient texts and modern theories.' In A. LOPRIENO (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms*. Leiden: Brill, 39-58.

_____ (1996b), 'The "King's Novel".' In A. LOPRIENO (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms*. Leiden: Brill, 277-96.

LÜDDECKEN, E., et al. (1980-2000), *Demotisches Namenbuch (vol. 1)*. Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

MACADAM, M. F. L. (1949), *The temples of Kawa: The inscriptions (vol. 1)*. London: Oxford University Press.

MANASSA, C. (2013), *Imagining the past: Historical fiction in New Kingdom Egypt.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MATTHIESSEN, C., M. LAM, and K. TERUYA (2010), *Key terms in systemic functional linguistics*. London: Continuum.

MCADAMS, D. P. and K. C. MCLEAN (2013), 'Narrative identity,' *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 22 (3): 233-8.

MINCHIN, E. (2001), *Homer and the resources of memory: Some applications of cognitive theory to the Iliad and the Odyssey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MOERS, G. (1990-7), 'Epische Texte in ägyptischer Sprache.' In O. KAISER et al. (eds.): *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments: Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen: Mythen und Epen III*. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 872-7.

_____ (1999), 'Travel as narrative in Egyptian literature.' In G. MOERS (ed.): *Definitely: Egyptian literature; Proceedings of the symposion "Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms", Los Angeles, March 24–26, 1995*. Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 2. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 43-61.

_____ (2011), 'Broken icons: the emplotting of master-narratives in the ancient Egyptian *Tale of Sinuhe.*' In F. HAGEN, et al. (eds.): *Narrative of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and linguistic approaches.* Leuven: Peeters, 165-76.

MONTET, P. (1966), 'Le lac sacré de Tanis,' *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 44 (2): 67-81.

MÜLLER, G. (1968 [1948]), *Morphologische Poetik: Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Darmstadt: WBG.

NELLES, W. (1997), *Frameworks,* New York: Peter Lang.

O'CONNOR D. B. and S. QUIRKE (2003), 'Introduction: Mapping the unknown in ancient Egypt.' In D. B. O'CONNOR and S. QUIRKE (eds.): *Mysterious lands*. London: University College London Press, 1-22.

OLDFATHER, C. H. [translator] (1968 [1933]), *Diodorus of Sicily in twelve volumes (vol. 1)*. London: William Heinemann.

ONASCH, H.-U. (1994), *Die assyrischen Eroberungen ägyptens (vol. 1)*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 27 (1). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

OUYANG, W.-C. (2011), 'Intertextuality, ideology, and culture: Trajectories of narratological inquiries in Ancient Near and Middle Eastern literatures.' In F. HAGEN, et al. (eds.): *Narrative of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and linguistic approaches.* Leuven: Peeters, 539-49.

PARKINSON, R. B. (1996), 'Types of literature in the Middle Kingdom.' In A. LOPRIENO (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms*. Leiden: Brill, 297-312.

_____ (2002), *Poetry and culture in the Middle Kingdom Egypt: A dark side to perfection*. New York, London: Continuum.

_____ (2012), *The tale of the eloquent peasant: A reader's commentary*. Hamburg: Widmaier.

PATZER, H. (1972), *Dichterische Kunst und poetisches Handwerk im homerischen Epos*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

PEHAL, M. (2014), *Interpreting ancient Egyptian narratives: A structural analysis of the Tale of Two Brothers, the Anat Myth, the Osirian Cycle, and the Astarte Papyrus*. Fernelmont: EME & InterCommunications.

PFISTER, M. (1985), 'Zur Systemreferenz.' In U. BROICH and M. PFISTER (eds.): *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien*. Konzepte der Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft 35. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 52-7.

POPE, J. W. (2014), *The double kingdom under Taharqo: Studies in the history of Kush and Egypt, c. 690-664 BC*. Leiden: Brill.

PORTEN, B. (1997), 'Egyptian Aramaic texts.' In E. M. MEYERS (ed.): *The Oxford encyclopedia of archaeology in the Near East (vol. 2)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 213-9.

PORTEN, B. and A. YARDENI (eds.) (1999), *Textbook of Aramaic documents from ancient Egypt (vol. 3): Literature, accounts, lists*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

PRINCE, G. (1982), *Narratology: The form and function of narrative*. Janua Linguarum, Seriees Maior 108. Berlin, New York: Mouton.

PRITCHARD, F. (2014), 'Soft-furnishing textiles from the Egypt Exploration Fund season in Antinoupolis, 1913-14,' *British Museum Studies in ancient Egypt and Sudan* 21: 45-61.

PROPP, V. (1968 [1928]), *Morphology of the folktale*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

PYRHÖNEN. H. (2010), 'Suspense and surprise.' In D. HERMAN, M. JAHN, and M.-L. RYAN (eds.): *Routledge encyclopedia of narrative theory*. London and New York: Routledge, 578-80.

QUACK, J. F. (2005), 'Gibt es eine ägyptische Homer-Rezeption?' In A. LUTHER (ed.): *Odyssee-Rezeptionen*. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Antike, 55-72.

_____ (2006), 'Inaros, held von Athribis.' In R. ROLLINGER (ed.): *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante; Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 499-505.

_____ (2011), 'Zum Datum der persischen Eroberung Ägyptens unter Kambyses,' *Journal of Egyptian History* 4 (2): 228-46.

QUIRKE, S. (1996), 'Narrative literature.' In A. LOPRIENO (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms*. Leiden: Brill, 263-76.

RAAFLAUB, K. A. (2005), 'Epic and history.' In J. M. FOLEY (ed.): *A Companion to Ancient Epic*. Malden: Blackwell.

RANKE, H. (1935), *Die ägyptischen Personennamen (vol. 1)*. Glückstadt: Augustin.

RAY, J. D. (1972), 'Two inscribed objects in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 58: 247-53.

RIFFATERRE, M. (1980), 'Syllepsis,' *Critical Inquiry* 6 (4): 625-38.

RUSZCZYC, B. (1977), 'Taharqa à Tell Atrib.' IN E. ENDESFELDER, et al. (eds.): *Ägypten und Kusch*. Schriften Zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 13. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 391-5.

RYHOLT, K. (1998), 'A parallel to the Inaros story of P. Krall (P. Carlsberg 456+P. CtYBR 4513): Demotic narratives from the Tebtunis temple library (I),' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 84: 151-69.

_____ (1999), *The story of Petese, son of Petetum: And seventy other good and bad stories*. The Carlsberg Papyri 4. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

_____ (2004), 'The Assyrian invasion of Egypt in Egyptian literary tradition.' In J. G. DEREKSEN (ed.): *Assyria and beyond; Studies presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nebjie Oosten, 483-510.

_____ (2005a), *The Petese stories II*. The Carlsberg Papyri 6. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

_____ (2005b), 'On the contents and nature of the Tebtunis temple library: A status report.' In S. LIPPERT and M. SCHENTULEIT (eds.): *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 141-70.

_____ (2009), 'Egyptian historical literature from the Greco-Roman Period.' In M. FIZENREITER (ed.): *Das Ereignis: Geschichtschreibung zwischen Vorfall und Befund*. London: Golden House Publications, 231-8.

_____ (2012a), *Narrative literature from the Tebtunis temple library*. The Carlsberg Papyri 10. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

_____ (2012b), 'A Demotic narrative in Berlin and Brooklyn concerning the Assyrian invasion of Egypt.' In V. M. LEPPER (ed.): *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung: Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum*. Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin 1. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 337-53.

_____ (2013a), '*Imitatio Alexandri* in Egyptian literary tradition.' In T. WHITMARSH and S. THOMSON (eds.): *The romance between Greece and the East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 59-78.

_____ (2013b), 'Libraries in ancient Egypt.' In J. KÖNIG, K. OIKONOMOPOULOU, and G. WOOLF (eds.): *Ancient libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 23-37.

_____ (2014), 'A fragment from the beginning of Papyrus Spiegelberg (P. Carlsberg 565).' In A. M. DODSON, J. J. JOHNSON, and W. MONKHOUSE (eds.): *A good scribe and an exceedingly wise man; Studies in honour of W. J. Tait*. Golden House Publications Egyptology 21. London: Golden House Publications, 271-8.

SALIM [SÉRIDA], R. (2013), *Cultural identity and self-representation in ancient Egyptian fictional narratives: An intertextual study of narrative motifs from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman Period.* Doctoral thesis, University of Copenhagen.

SCHENTULEIT, M. (2007), 'Satabus aus Soknopaiu Nesos: Aus dem Leben eines Priesters am Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit,' *Chronique d'Égypte* 82: 101-25.

SCHMITZ, T. A. (2002), *Modern literary theory and ancient texts: An introduction*. Malden: Blackwell.

SIGNORETTI, M. (2010), 'A tale of two tongues? The *Myth of the Sun's Eye* and its Greek translation.' In T. GAGOS (ed.): *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology*. Michigan: Ann Arbor, 725-32.

SIMPSON, W. K. (1996), '*Belles lettres* and propaganda.' In A. LOPRIENO (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms*. Leiden: Brill, 435-43.

_____ (ed.) (2003 [1972]), *The literature of ancient Egypt: An anthology of stories, instructions, stelae autobiographies, and poetry*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

SMITH, M. (1994), 'Budge at Akhmim, January 1896.' In EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY (ed.): *The unbroken reed; Studies in the culture and heritage of ancient Egypt in honour of A. F. Shore*. Occasional Publications 11. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 293-303.

_____ (2000), 'Egyptian invective; Review of *Der verkommene Harfenspieler: eine altägyptische Invektive (P. Wien KM 3877)* by H.-J. THISSEN,' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 86: 173-87.

SOBHY, G. P. G. (1930), 'Miscellanea,' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16 (1/2): 3-5.

SPALINGER, A. J. (1974), 'Assurbanipal and Egypt: A source study,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (3): 316-28.

_____ (1976), 'Psammetichus, King of Egypt: I,' *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13: 133-47.

_____ (2006), *Five views on Egypt*. Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 6. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie.

_____ (2007), 'Transformations in Egyptian folktales: The royal influence,' *Revue d'Égyptologie* 58: 137-56.

_____ (2016), 'Pianchy/Piye: between two worlds.' In C. KARLSHAUSEN and C. OBSOMER (eds): *De la Nubie à Qadech: la guerre dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Brussels: Safran, 235-74.

SPIEGELBERG, W. (1910), *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis nach dem Strassburger demotischen Papyrus sowie den Wiener und Pariser Bruchstücken*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
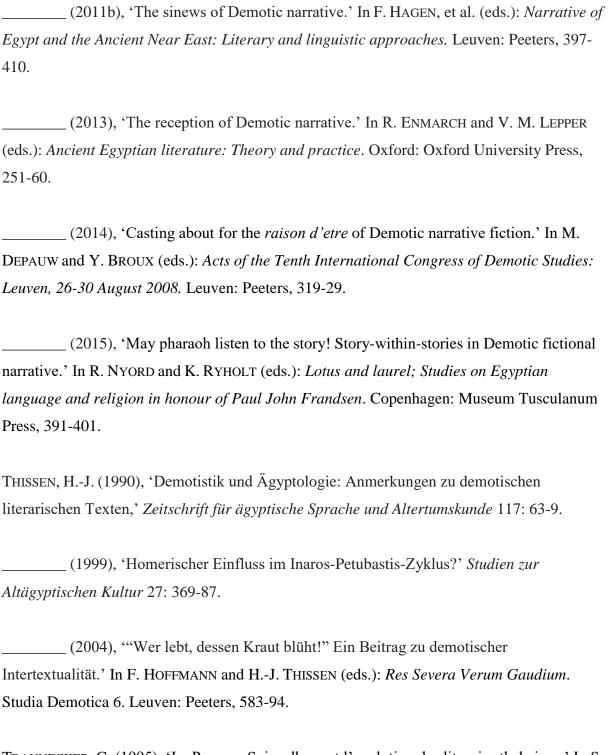
_____ (1922), *Der demotische Text der Priesterdekerete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana) mit den hieroglyphischen und griechischen Fassungen und deutscher Übersetzung nebst demotischem Glossar*. Heidelberg: Winter.

STAUDER, A. (2013), *Linguistic dating of Middle Egyptian literary texts*. Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 12 (2). Hamburg: Widmaier.

STEYNOR, L. (2011), 'The function of metaphor in the tale of the eloquent peasant.' In M. HORN, et al. (eds.): *Current Research in Egyptology 2010*: *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Symposium*. Oxford: Oxbow, 157-73.

SWEENEY (1991), 'What's a rhetorical questions?' In A. LOPRIENO (ed.): *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Egyptian Grammar (Crossroads II), Los Angeles, October 17-20, 1990*. Lingua Aegyptia 1. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 315-31.

_____ (2001), Correspo*ndence and dialogue: Pragmatic factors in late Ramesside letter writing*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 49. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

_____ (2002), 'Gender and conversation tactics in 'The contendings of Horus and Seth',' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 88: 141-62.

_____ (2008), 'Gender and requests in New Kingdom literature.' In C. GRAVES-BROWN (ed.): *Sex and gender in ancient Egypt: 'Don your wig for a joyful hour'*. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 191-214.

TAIT, W. J. (1977), *Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and Greek (P. Tebt. Tait)*. London: The Egypt Exploration Society.

_____ (1992), 'Demotic literature and Egyptian society.' In J. H. JOHNSON (ed.): *Life in a multi-cultural society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and beyond*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 51. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 303-10.

_____ (1994), 'Egyptian fiction in Demotic and Greek.' In J. R. MORGAN and R. STONEMAN (eds.): *Greek fiction: The Greek novel in context*. London: Routledge, 203-22.

_____ (1996), 'Demotic literature: forms and genres.' In A. LOPRIENO (ed.): *Ancient Egyptian literature: History and forms*. Leiden: Brill, 175-87.

_____ (2000), 'P. Carlsberg 433 and 434: Two versions of the text of P. Spiegelberg.' In P. J. FRANDSEN and K. RYHOLT (eds.): *A miscellany of Demotic texts and studies*. The Carlsberg Papyri 3. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

_____ (2009), 'Anger and agency: The role of the emotions in Demotic and earlier narratives.' In A. KJØLBY and R. NJORD (eds.): *'Being in ancient Egypt': Thoughts on agency, materiality and cognition: Proceedings of the seminar held in Copenhagen, September 29-30, 2006*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 2019. Oxford: Archaeopress, 75-82.

_____ (2011a), ''He did its like': Some uses of repetition in Demotic narrative fiction.' In E. BECHTOLD, A. GULYÁS, and A. HASZNOS (eds.): *From Illahun to Djeme; Papers presented in honour of Ulrich Luft*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 279-85.

_____ (2011b), 'The sinews of Demotic narrative.' In F. HAGEN, et al. (eds.): *Narrative of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and linguistic approaches.* Leuven: Peeters, 397-410.

_____ (2013), 'The reception of Demotic narrative.' In R. ENMARCH and V. M. LEPPER (eds.): *Ancient Egyptian literature: Theory and practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 251-60.

_____ (2014), 'Casting about for the *raison d'etre* of Demotic narrative fiction.' In M. DEPAUW and Y. BROUX (eds.): *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies: Leuven, 26-30 August 2008.* Leuven: Peeters, 319-29.

_____ (2015), 'May pharaoh listen to the story! Story-within-stories in Demotic fictional narrative.' In R. NYORD and K. RYHOLT (eds.): *Lotus and laurel; Studies on Egyptian language and religion in honour of Paul John Frandsen*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 391-401.

THISSEN, H.-J. (1990), 'Demotistik und Ägyptologie: Anmerkungen zu demotischen literarischen Texten,' *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 117: 63-9.

_____ (1999), 'Homerischer Einfluss im Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus?' *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 27: 369-87.

_____ (2004), '"Wer lebt, dessen Kraut blüht!" Ein Beitrag zu demotischer Intertextualität.' In F. HOFFMANN and H.-J. THISSEN (eds.): *Res Severa Verum Gaudium*. Studia Demotica 6. Leuven: Peeters, 583-94.

TRAUNECKER, C. (1995), 'Le Papyrus Spiegelberg et l'evolution des liturgies thebaines.' In S. P. VLEEMING (ed.): *Hundred-gated Thebes: Acts of a colloquium on Thebes and the Theban area in the Graeco-Roman Period*. Leiden: Brill, 183-201.

VAN DER HEIJDEN, J. P. (1990), 'Review of I.J.F. de Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers: The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad* (Amsterdam, 1987),' *Mnemosyne* 43 (3-4): 465-8.

VANDORPE, K. (2010), 'The Ptolemaic Period.' In A. B. LLOYD (ed.): *A companion to ancient Egypt*. Chichester, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 159-79.

VANDORPE, K. and S. WAEBENS (2009), *Reconstructing Pathyris' archives: A multicultural community in Hellenistic Egypt*. Collectanea Hellenistica 3. Leuven: Peeters.

VERCOUTTER, J. (1960), 'The Napatan kings and Apis worship (Serapeum burials of the Napatan Period,' *Kush* 8: 62-76.

VERNUS, P. (1990), *Future at issue: Tense, mood, and aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in syntax and semantics*. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar.

VINSON, S. (2008), 'Through a woman's eyes, and in a woman's voice: Ihweret as focalizor in the first tale of Setne Khaemwas.' In P. GUILLAUME and P. MCKECHNIE (eds.): *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World*. Memosyne Supplements 300. Leiden: Brill, 303–51.

VITTMANN, G. (1998), 'Tradition und Neuerung in der demotischen Literatur,' *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 25: 62-77.

_____ (2002), 'Ägyptische Onomastik der Spätzeit im Spiegel der nordwestsemitischen und karischen Nebenüberlieferung.' In M. P. STRECK and S. WENIGER (eds.): *Altorientalische und semitische Onomastik*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 296. Münster: Ugarit, 85-107.

VLEEMING, S. P. (1985), 'The reading of the title 'man receiving pay'.' In P. W. PESTMAN (ed.): *Textes et études de papyrology grecque, démotique et copte*. Leiden: Brill, 204-7.

VOLTEN, A. (1951), 'The Papyrus-Collection of the Egyptological Institute of Copenhagen,' *Archív Orientální* 19: 70-4.

_____ (1956), 'Der demotische Petubastisroman und seine Beziehung zur griechischen Literatur.' In ANONYMOUS (ed.): *Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie, Wien, 1955*. Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 147-52.

_____ (1962), *Ägypter und Amazonen. Eine demotische Erzählung des Inaros-Petubastis-Kreises aus zwei Papyri der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Pap. Dem. Vindob. 6165 und 6165A)*. Vienna: Georg Prachner.

VON BECKERATH, J. (2003), 'Das Verhältnis der 22. Dynastie gegenüber der 23. Dynastie.' In N. CLOTH (ed.): *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück; Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*. Hamburg: Buske, 31-5.

VON LIEVEN, A. (2006), 'Fiktionales und historisches Ägypten. Das Ägyptenbild der Odyssee aus ägyptologischer Perspektive.' In A. LUTHER (ed.) *Geschichte und Fiktion in der homerischen Odyssee*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 61-75.

WEST, S. (1969), 'The Greek version of the legend of Tefnut,' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 55: 161-83.

WINAND, J. (2006), 'A semantic approach to the Egyptian language: The case of time and aspect,' *Lingua Aegyptia* 14: 451-72.

_____ (2014), 'On the increasing relevance of time in later Late Egyptian: *jw sḏm=f* and *jw jw=f r sḏm*, and other things,' *Lingua Aegyptia* 22: 231-66.

WINNICKI, J. K. (2006), 'Der libysche Stamm der Bakaler im pharaonischen, persischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten,' *Ancient Society* 36: 135-42.

ZAUZICH, K.-T. (2010), 'Serpot und Semiramis.' In J. C. FINCKE (ed.) *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhelm: Anläßlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010.* Dresden: Islet, 447-65.

APPENDIX 1: TRANSLATIONS

The appendix includes the translations of *Contest for the Armour of Inaros*, *Contest for the Benefice of Amun*, and *Petechons and Sarpot*. The translation is based on P. Krall, P. Spiegelberg, and P. Vindob. D6165/A,[1] and in consultation with the text editions and Hoffmann and Quack's translations from *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur* (2007).[2] Manuscripts that are comparable with these will be noted, but will not be incorporated in the present translation.[3] The translation is kept as literal as possible in order to facilitate the compilation of the database.[4] Along the same line, the names of the characters are consistent with Ryholt's most recent convention,[5] though I acknowledge the variations that have appeared in literature over the years.[6] When a phrase would be too convoluted as a literal translation, it will be rephrased and annotated instead. It also means that I deliberately chose not to break up any words that are only partially present on the papyri; nor have I indicated areas of reconstruction.[7]

Contest for the Armour of Inaros

Osiris dispatches the demons

(I.1)[8] […] families. […]. The god commanded […] the lands and it was placed before the heart of that which could battle […] strong land which one will give to him […]. Osiris called 'Lover-of-battle' and 'Horus-is-revenge', the two demons. (I.5) He said to them, "Hurry to

---

[1] See §1.1.2 for papyrological background.

[2] SPIEGELBERG (1910), HOFFMANN (1995a), HOFFMANN (1996a), and HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007).

[3] For the translation of additional fragments not included here, see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007) and RYHOLT (2012a).

[4] For my translations, the most frequently cited dictionaries are Erichsen (1972 [1954]) *Demotisches Glossar* and Johnson (2001-) *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*.

[5] For example, RYHOLT (2005a) and (2012).

[6] For example, Pekrur's name (*Pꜣ-qrr*) can also be referred to as Pekruru, Peklul, Peklulu, and Pakleulis, see RANKE (1935: 120 no. 1); *Demot. Nb.* 1277.

[7] It is most unfortunate that due to space restraints, I am unable to include my transliteration of the texts, which contains the reconstruction. For examples of translations where the words are separated in order to reflect the reconstructions and lacunae in the manuscripts, see HOFFMANN (1996a) and HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007).

[8] P. Carlsberg 456 + P. CtYBR 4513 (Tebtunis version) corresponds to I.1-II.20, see RYHOLT (1998: 151-69). Another fragment, PSI inv. D 59, has recently been attached to P. Carlsberg 456 + P. CtYBR 4513 as well, which contains the Tebtunis version of the beginning and end of *Armour*, see RYHOLT (2012a: 73-88). Hoffmann and Quack's translation incorporate these additional fragments. However, for the purpose of the present translation, I have chosen to translate P. Krall only, while acknowledging the additional fragments in my analyses.

earth! Go to Heliopolis! Cause[9] battle to happen in the hearts of Pemu the younger, son of Inaros, against Wertiamunne, son of Chayris! 'Bearer-of-rebellion' and 'Amun-is-misfortune'! Hurry to earth! Go to Mendes! Cause battle and strife to happen in the heart of Wertiamunne against Pemu the younger, son of Inaros!" They said, "Yes, we will not cause these words to be far."

'Lover-of-battle' and 'Horus-is-revenge' hurried to Heliopolis in order to cause battle and strife to happen in the heart of Pemu the younger against Wertiamunne. 'Bearer-of-rebellion' (I.10) and 'Amun-is-misfortune' hurried to the island of Mendes. They caused rebellion in the heart of Wertiamunne against Pemu the younger.

Anubis kills the scribe of the god's book

While all these things happened, the lord Osiris was in the temple of Memphis, while he was in the barque […] water to Inaros […] laying these down […] the scribe of the gods' book […] voice. Anubis, the great god, saw him, while he heard his voice, while he saw […] the gods […] who were standing by, while they deliberated […]. Anubis sprang to the (I.15) […] the feather which was upon the scribe of the gods' book. He caused his hand to touch his neck, where he said, "Woe, you enemy! Why are you so curious?"[10] […]. He humbled his heart in order to not carry out the things which he had seen. […] come […].

While all these things happened, the pharaoh[11] […, "…] strife. Do not cause one to do (I.20) […" …] reported before the pharaoh […]. The pharaoh opened his mouth to the ground in a great cry […]. The pharaoh said, "Cause that (one) call to me […]!" The pharaoh saw […] in order to not allow to happen (I.25) [...], "Yes." […], "Behold! Your […] standing […] the place […] death, which he did again. (I.30) […] Inaros […] mischief which […] death […]. What did he say (I.35) […] outside?" (II.1) But it happened while they came before […] of

---

[9] On the translation of optative *my sḏm=f* as 'cause him to hear' rather than 'let him hear' or 'may he hear', see §3.1 n. 35.

[10] Lit. 'what is the giving of your heart which you have done?'

[11] The convention for titles and epithets must be specified here, since it deviates from the Demotic. For consistency, named characters with a specific title will keep their title capitalised without the use of a definite article (e.g. Pharaoh Petubastis, General Pemu, etc.), while the other instances where their name is not mentioned, their title will not be capitalised and a definite article will be used (e.g. the pharaoh, the general, etc.). The exception to this rule is the Chief of India, whose title of 'chief' is kept capitalised due to his name having never been mentioned in the text. As for other epithets and titles that precede a name, all nouns in the epithet / title will be capitalised without a definite article or a comma separating the epithet / title and the name (e.g. Chief of the East Pekrur, Great of Power Petechons, etc.). This is in spite of the definite article being present in Demotic (e.g. *p3 wr n i3bṯ* 'Chief of the East', etc.).

Petehor, son of Petephre, where he has made […] the scribes of the House of Life before him. The pharaoh commanded it in order to cause […] the scribe of the gods' book. He caused him to rest in his tomb.

The irritation of Pemu

While all these things happened, 'Lover-of-battle' and 'Horus-is-revenge', the two demons, hurried to Heliopolis. They found General Pemu the younger, son of Inaros, while he was sitting at a feast with his 40 men. The two demons entered (II.5) him. In the aforementioned instant, his heart forgot about the feast and he said to his men, "Oh, may you live! My brother and companions! I wish to fight. The inspiration of Atum, the great god, the Lord of Heliopolis! Is there a warrior who will exceed […] at the art of fighting like me except for a man from my family?"

The moment he said this,[12] one came to the middle suddenly, who is a kalasiris, whom they called Padihel, son of […] namely […]. He said, "General Pemu! May you not have an evil eye! May Atum kill your enemies! Should I be silent before you regarding the matter, or (II.10) should I speak with you regarding the matter?" Pemu said, "By Atum, the great god, my god! I would not want to hear the voice […]." He said to him, "By Atum, the great god! I would not speak lies before you. The day on which I was sick […] Mendes, while I was making medicine for my illness […] one day, I came to […] to the house of Wertiamunne, who said, 'My lord! […] your […] I would not be able to […] and the strong bull who […] away from […] (II.15) […] health for his food in […], which he caused to perish […] me […], which I love […].' He brought it […] strong bull. He gave an audience […] the island […] fight […] strong bull […] these things, which General Wertiamunne made. […] (II.20) […] strong bull […] great […] he was enraged, which he hurried. He gave his […] to […] earlier, when he was not able […] reach back […]. He jumped among him […] inside […] to his hand […] knows his feet […] outside […] namely […] on the day […] of cup […] (II.25) […] warrior […] the place […]."

---

[12] This particular introductory phrase, i.e. *t3 wnw.t stm/dd/nw r.ir=f* literally translates to 'the moment of hearing/speaking/seeing which he did', since *stm/dd/nw* is technically in the infinitive. However, a literal translation would be convoluted in some cases. For example, the present sentence would otherwise be literally translated as "the moment of hearing of the words which he did."

Pemu […, "…] preparation. I would not […] sky, indeed to the day of the […] that which […] in it at the water […] the 36 stars, joyful (II.30) […] of gold, where a grapevine […] all […] for the feast […] down." He gave […] Pemu the younger, all preparation (III.1) behind him.

The response by Wertiamunne

He hurried until he has reached Mendes […]. He climbed onto the riverbanks at night, while he […] the house of General Wertiamunne. He found […] Wertiamunne, General of the nome of Mendes […] (III.5) the house of the […] household, the ship (?) […] the tower (?) […] the door of […] of Peteltel […] ramp […] reached the […] of the […] strength to […] (III.10) jump before […] cold […] like […] night […] (III.x+1) […] ebony […]. He jumped […] never […]. It happened that a […] (III.x+5) […] the island […] and Mendes, the great god […] with […] and a lioness which […] morning […] the house of the general […] after […] Pemu the younger, a young servant […] (III.x+10) which they […] while he […] the […] your […] his lord […] (III.x+15) Osiris […] (IV.1) […] young […] Re-Herakhty […] lion […] Pemu (IV.5) […] his […] to (IV.10) […] lioness […] Wertiamunne […] mourning clothes […] temple […] Wertiamunne […] (IV.x+1) […] young […] (IV.x+5) […] General Wertiamunne […, "…] Pemu the younger, son of Inaros […] his house […] in your house […] on their body […]. You are able to […]. By Atum, the great! By Nefertum, the great god, Lord of Heliopolis, my city!" […]. The young servant said to him, (IV.x+10) "[…] four […] at the meeting point […] who came to […" …] General Wertiamunne […], "Report before Pemu […]!" He placed mourning clothes on his body. He said, "I gave […] these […] armour of the son of the king […]. I […] take completely." The young servant said to him.

Pemu's reaction

It happened that the moment Pemu the younger heard these words, (V.1) he opened his mouth to the ground in a loud cry, when he said, "[…] where to him, this curly-haired and resin-eater from Mendes? […]. A bad mood is what I am in." He reported before the leader, the […] they placed their mourning clothes completely on their body, when they said, "Woe! Sorrow! […] (V.5) resin-eater! We will put an end to this woe committed by[13] the curly-haired." Pemu said, "Woe! Sorrow! By Re-Herakhty, Lord of Gods, the great god! I saved

---

[13] HOFFMANN (1996a: 163 n. 728).

Pharaoh Petubastis by the […] against the chief of Assyria, Esarhaddon, son of Sennecherib, came […] in order to take Egypt from the hand of Pharaoh Petubastis. I jumped into the army of Assyria. I made a slaughter and destruction, which was very numerous. I caused him to return to the east, […] Heliopolis, my nome (V.10) and his field and city. Give me the ration as the pharaoh has not yet placed […] until today. One has not given the ration to them from the house of silver and gold to a man who did not fight […] for his city. Has one not found the armour in their house […] the armour of my divine lord […] Inaros […] to Mendes? I gave […] man of […] (V.15) […] reported before […] before he knew […] his warriors […]. Pisopd to the house (V.20) […] to Pisopd […] to the […]. I know the warrior […] on account of […].] reach the heart […] aforementioned […]."

He […] as he said, "Hail to you, hail to you! Chief of the East Pekrur!" He came, as he was joyful, with his army of Elephantine to the nome of Pelusium to the place where he was. He took his hand (V.25) […], when he said, "Hail to you, hail to you! Pemu the younger, son of Inaros, general and […]." He turned his face to the temple of Sopdu with him, to the […] to […]. The priests came to […] to […]. He gave one […] of copper, myrrh […] burnt offerings and libations before Sopdu, the great god. They gave the knife (V.30) […] to […], to the […] the fat of the cattle to the […] fire […] orpiment, the burnt offerings (VI.1) […] its […]. He turned his face from the temple. He travelled up to the harbour. Chief of the East Pekrur said, "My son Pemu! Go to my house! Spend a beautiful day with your great men and your […]! Besides, Pisopd is your city like Heliopolis as well." Pemu said to him, "Leave me alone! My father, Chief of the East Pekrur! I will go up and down by the river next to your vineyard (VI.5) […] outside of it." Chief of the East Pekrur said to him, "Why do you say this?" He reported every word which had happened to him with Wertiamunne, son of Chayris, before him. The moment Chief of the East Pekrur heard these words, […] he placed mourning clothes completely on his body, when he said, "By Sopdu, the great god, my god! […] the people of all of Egypt are with us […] the 40 strong ones, the sons of gods, behind […] (VI.10) […]. Pharaoh Petubastis […] him."

Litigation between Pemu and Wertiamunne (first round)

They sailed to Tanis […], "Pemu the younger, son of the Inaros, general […]. I did not send after you. Is there a matter […]?" […] of everything that had happened to them. […] Sunupaweser, the letter-scribe […, "…] (VI.15) […] General Wertiamunne […] Tanis on

account of Chief of the East Pekrur […]. Pharaoh Petubastis […] to you and family […] said […] to the island […] (VI.20) hand […] letter […] sailed to […] said […] Wertiamunne, son of Chayris […] is […] Pemu the younger, son of Inaros […] in the hand […]. One gave the letter in the hand of Wertiamunne (VI.25) […]."

He climbed on board, he hurried to the place where Wertiamunne, son of Chayris, was. He reported the order of every word before him […] letter which one had brought to him from the pharaoh, as one complained about him. […]. He hurried to Tanis to the place where the pharaoh was. […] the court of the pharaoh. The pharaoh said, "Wertiamunne! Are (VI.30) […] you […] because of these words, which Pemu the younger had said, '[…] the armour of my lord, Prince Inaros.'" (VII.1) Wertiamunne said to him, "[…], since I was not the first to go to him. It is he who went to Djuphre, my city, first, where he took away the armour from my house, while not […]. He took it to his own city, while I was in Taamienpamerihetensekhmy." Everything that his young servant said before him, he reported (VII.5) before Pharaoh Petubastis. Not a word was changed. Pemu said to him, "Ruthless man of Djure! Did you not find an armour that you made in your house, when you did not reach your hand to the armour of Prince Inaros, and take it to Padjure, your city, and you […] also? Have you done it on account of your strength of power or on account of […] your superiority in the art of fighting?" Wertiamunne, son of Chayris, said to him, (VII.10) "[…] again, while my family did not lack in the art of fighting […] the counts, the leaders, the generals, the great people […] of which he speaks. Prince Inaros […] prince of Egypt and the nomes of the land […] from the east until its resting place in the evening. (VII.15) […] out to Egypt and the temple of Athribis […] Osiris, and he fights alone, while he […], that which […] the entire land. Furthermore, a son of the pharaoh of the land […] he appears as Osiris again." The chiefs said, "[…] all truth, that which Pemu (VII.20) […] the fight which Prince Inaros […] Merneith (?) caused that he is struck with […] his head, when they came in order to take him. […] on board the people from Kel, […]. He sailed on the river in the night. He went (VII.25) […] these […], which Wertiamunne made." The pharaoh […]. Chief of the East Pekrur and Pemu the younger placed mourning clothes on their bodies themselves, where they said, "We did not […] here before us." The pharaoh said, "Deputy! […] possess him! Cause that […] go out of the hall!" Chief of the East Pekrur said, "Is it good that which is from Wertiamunne, where he said a curse against (VII.30) Prince Inaros, and he has […] and that the pharaoh hears his voice?" The pharaoh said, "Chief of the East Pekrur and Pemu the younger! Do not cause your heart to be sad on account of these words which he said! By

Amun-Re, Lord of Karnak, the great god of Tanis! I will cause one to repeat for Prince Inaros a large and beautiful funeral according to a lord and a great man."

The moment Pemu heard these (VIII.1) words, he said, "Pharaoh, my great lord! All the things which have been done by this curly-haired and resin-eater of a man from Mendes, they would not have been done by me. Had he […]? By Atum, Lord of Heliopolis, and Re-Herakhty, Lord of the Gods, the great god, my god! I would not […]. The army of Hutseshmy joined him, when I will cause him to make a payment for the insult which he had made […]." (VIII.5) The pharaoh said, "My son Pemu! Do not arouse strife […], so that disturbance happens in Egypt in my time!" Pemu placed his head in […] and his face was sad. The pharaoh said, "Letter-scribe! Cause one to send out among the nomes of Egypt from Elephantine up to Pelusium […] saying, 'Cause one to bring your equipment, your temple workers, and your bandages […] to the House of Osiris, Lord of Busiris, according to that which is written for the Apis, the Mnevis, and the pharaoh, the three gods, and may one […] (VIII.10) all for Prince Inaros!'" They acted according to each and every word that the pharaoh commanded.

Funeral of Inaros

A few days came to pass. Those of the south travelled downstream. Those of the north travelled. Those of the west and east sailed. They went to the House of Osiris, Lord of Busiris. Chief of the East Pekrur said, "My son Pemu! See the army of the nomes of the east! Cause one to make preparation of their bandages, and their myrrh, together with their temple officials, and their lector priests and magicians who are going to the embalming house! Cause them to proceed to Busiris! Cause them to enter the embalming house of (VIII.15) Osiris-king Inaros, to the house of ointment, so that one makes unguent and funeral for him […] a large and beautiful funeral, according to that which is done for the Apis, Mnevis and the pharaoh, the three gods! It has been made for him. One has caused him to rest in his resting place, which is in the dromos of the House of Osiris, Lord of Busiris."

After these, the pharaoh sent the army of Egypt to their nomes and their cities. Pemu said, "Chief of the East Pekrur, my father! Could I go to Heliopolis, my nome, and celebrate a feast while the armour of my father (VIII.20) Inaros is inside the island of Mendes, of Djure?" Chief of the East Pekrur said, "The things are great! Oh Sopdu, Chief of the East!"

and he said, "It is not (good), that which is against my lord Inaros. You cannot go to Heliopolis if we did not take the armour with us." The great men climbed on board. They sailed until they reached Tanis. They came to the audience hall before the pharaoh.

Litigation between Pemu and Wertiamunne (second round)

The moment the pharaoh saw Chief of the East Pekrur and Pemu with their army, he despaired. (VIII.25) He said to them, "What is this, great men? Have I not sent you to your nomes, your cities, and your great men, so that one causes a large and beautiful funeral to be made for my divine lord Inaros? What is that which is disgraceful with you again?" Chief of the East Pekrur said, "My great lord! Could we go to Heliopolis, when we did not take the armour of Prince Inaros to our nome and our own city, while our shame happens in all of Egypt? Could we make a funerary feast for him, when his (VIII.30) armour is within the fortress of Djure, while we did not take it to its place which is in Heliopolis?" The pharaoh said, "Letter-scribe! Make a letter to Padjure at my command for Wertiamunne, saying, 'Hurry to Tanis on account of something which I wish from you!'" The letter was closed, sealed, and given in the hands of a courier who hurried to Padjure.

(IX.1) He placed the letter in the hand of Wertiamunne. He read it. He hurried to Tanis to the place where the pharaoh was. The pharaoh said, "Wertiamunne! Look! The armour of the Osiris-king Inaros, cause it to be returned to its place! Cause it to be taken to Heliopolis to the houses of Pemu, to the places from which you took it!" The moment Wertiamunne heard these words, he placed his head in […] and his face was sad. The pharaoh spoke to him three times, (IX.5) and he did not make an answer. Pemu marched to the middle before the pharaoh, when he said, "Curly-haired, resin-eater! Have you come on account of your strength of power? Fight with me before the pharaoh!"

The moment the army of Egypt heard these words, they said, "Wertiamunne is the one who wishes to battle." Pemu said, "By Atum, Lord of Heliopolis, the great god, my god! Because of the esteem and the respect of the pharaoh who is before you, I will not cause you to take it, because a bad mood is what I am in!" Wertiamunne said, (IX.10) "By Mendes, the great god! The fight which will happen in the nome, the strife which will happen in the city, it will arrive as a family is against another. Also, the strife will happen with one against the other on account of the armour before one can take it out of the fortress of Djure!" Chief of the East

Pekrur said before the pharaoh, "Is it good, these things by Wertiamunne and the speech that which he said? The pharaoh will see the strong one between us. I will cause Wertiamunne and the nome of Mendes to recognise the disgrace of the matter which was by their hand, and what (IX.15) they have said about strife against his companion. I will cause him to be satisfied with strife. I have made the extent so that no battle and strife will happen in Egypt in the time of the pharaoh. But if it happens that the pharaoh abandons me, I will cause the pharaoh to see the strife of the two shields, as you are witnessing that which will happen. You will see it, while the two mountains will shake. You will see the sky, as it will turn and be cast down on earth and its manner of quaking. You will see the bulls of those of Pisopd and the lions of those of Metelis with their manner of fighting. The (IX.20) iron that is cold, we will cause it to heat up!" The pharaoh said, "Do not! Our father, Chief of the East Pekrur! Be patient! Do not be hasty! Go to your nome and your city for us! I will cause one to take the armour of the Osiris-king Inaros to Heliopolis, to the place where it was taken from, when joy will be before it and love after it. If you are hasty, a great strife will happen. Do not cause strife to happen to us! If it pleases you, give me five days! By Amun-Re, Lord of Karnak, the great god! If you go back to your (IX.25) nomes and your city. I will cause one to bring the armour to its place again." The pharaoh became silent.

Pemu the younger marched and came to the middle before the pharaoh, where he said, "My great lord! By Atum, the great god! If one causes the armour to be given to me, I will not take it to Heliopolis, when I did not take it in a fight. On account of it, the spear will be lifted in Egypt, and the army of the entire land will recognise that I will travel in the name of my lord Inaros and I will take his armour (IX.30) to Heliopolis." Wertiamunne said, "Pharaoh, my great lord! O, he has the life of Re! Cause the pharaoh to command the letter-scribe that he will send my command to my nomes and my cities, to my brothers, my companions, my friends, and those of the family, so that they will assemble to me." Then (the) pharaoh said, "I have made the extent (X.1) to not cause battle and strife to happen in Egypt […] after the warriors. Do not cause Egypt to […]!"[14]

---

[14] Hoffmann suggests that the rest of the sentence should be "Let Egypt suffer no shame!", see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 70).

Wertiamunne summons his allies

Wertiamunne went above to the letter-scribe, where he said, "Send to Mendes before the army of the nome of Mendes, Teos, son of Chayris, General of the nome of Mendes, and Ptahmeni, son of Chayris, saying, 'Make your preparations (X.5) alongside your army! Cause one to give them pay, clothing, and silver from the magazines of the pharaoh! Cause one to receive their complaint! Cause their use of force to cease! The one who is without armour and weapon, cause one to give (them) to him from my magazines! My meeting place with you is at the Sea of the Gazelle, the Pool of Perbutonebimi, the barque chapel of Pihathormefki, on account of the meeting place of the princes, the counts, the generals, the […] on account of the dispute of city against city, nome against nome, family against (X.10) another […].' Send to the house of Chayris, son of Helebis, Prince of Tamenpelechtensechmi! Send to the house of Tenipaini, (son) of Wedjaheka, Prince of […]! Send to Tanis, Mendes, Leontopolis, and Sebennytos for their army! Send to Chayris, son of the king […] and his brothers, the sons of the pharaoh, so that they will join me, who happen to be my brothers! Announce the ranks […] in his nome and his cities!" One did according to its likeness.

Pekrur summons his allies on behalf of Pemu

The moment Pemu heard (X.15) […] the armies of the nomes and cities that Wertiamunne sent after, […] since he was young. Chief of the East Pekrur saw him, where his face was sad […] in his heart. He said, "My son, General Pemu the younger. Do not be sad! […] in order for your companions to hear it, and they will reach you." Chief of the East Pekrur said, "Cause the pharaoh to command Sunupaweser, son of Wedjaheka, the letter-scribe! Cause him to write our command (X.20) to our nomes, our cities, our brothers, and our people!" The pharaoh said, "Letter-scribe! Make (a letter) according to every word that Chief of the East Pekrur has said!" He said, "Yes, my great lord!"

Chief of the East Pekrur said, "Letter-scribe! Make a written letter to Horau, son of Petese, Overseer of Woods (?) of the city and those of independent status, saying, 'Make your preparation alongside your army of the nome of […]! Cause one to give payment, clothes, and silver! The one who is without an armour and weapon, cause one to give (them) to him! Receive their complaint! Cause their use of force to cease! My meeting point with you is at the Sea of the Gazelle, the (X.25) Pool of Perbutonebimi, the barque chapel of Pihathormefki, on account of the dispute which has happened, of nome against nome, of family against

another on account of Pemu the younger, son of Inaros, about the armour of the divine lord, Osiris-king Prince Inaros, as he is fighting against Wertiamunne about the armour on account of it being taken to the fortress on the island Padjure, which is in the north of the nome of Mendes.' Make another letter to the east to Pisopd, to Great of Power Petechons, (X.30) saying, 'Make your preparation alongside your army, your horses, your cattle, your *mȝ*-ship, and all men of the east who follow you, on account of the armour of the divine lord, Prince Inaros, as Wertiamunne has taken it to the fortress Padjure! My meeting place with you is at the Sea of the Gazelle, the Pool of Perbutonebimi, the barque chapel of Pihathormefki, on account of the dispute which has happened.' (Make another letter to) Ptahmeni, son of Tjanefer, Prince of the fortress of Permeneshre, as that which is written (XI.1) above! Make another letter […] to Minnemei, son of Inaros, the bull of those of Elephantine, alongside his 34 warriors, his 7 priestly companions, his Nubian combat force, his people […] his horses, and his cattle! Send for Inaros the younger, The Stubborn, saying, 'Make your preparation alongside your army, (XI.5) your warriors, and your 7 priestly companions according to that which was written above!' Make another letter before Baklul, son of Inaros, saying, 'Make your preparation alongside your army!' Make another letter to the island of Heliopolis before Chayris, The Avenger (?), son of Nehka, saying, 'Make your preparation alongside your army and your warriors!' Make another letter to […] son of Petechons, alongside his priestly companions according to that which was written above! Send to Athribis for Sochotes, son of (XI.10) Tjanefer, saying, 'Make your preparation alongside your army and […] of Athribis!' Send for Wilheni, son of Chayris, Prince of the fortress of Meidum, saying, 'Make your preparation alongside your army, your combat force, your horses, and your cattle!'" After these, Chief of the East Pekrur made a letter out to his nome and his cities, saying, "Make your preparation to the Sea of the Gazelle, the Pool of Perbutonebimi, the barque chapel of Pihathormefki!"

(XI.15) After these, Chief of the East Pekrur said, "My son Pemu! Hear the words that I will say to you! Your letters have been sent to your nomes and your cities. You should get away from here, from Tanis. Get there before him! Be the first to prevail! Be at the head of your brothers, those of your family, where they shall find you there! If they do not find you there, they will turn back to their nomes and their cities. I myself will go to Pisopd. I will inspire the army in order (for them) to not complain, and I will cause them to return to (i.e. rendezvous at) the place where you are." Pemu said to him, (XI.20) "What you say is right." After these, the great men went to their nomes and their cities. Pemu the younger came out. He boarded a

new *lms*-ship that was equipped with everything and anything. His *lms*-ship travelled upstream.

Pemu arrives on the battlefield

A few days came to pass. Pemu arrived at the Sea of the Gazelle, the Pool of Perbutonebimi, the barque chapel of Pihathormefki. One gave a private quarter to him. While all these things happened, one reported it before General Wertiamunne, (XI.25) saying, "Pemu the younger has gotten there before you at the Sea of the Gazelle, the Pool of Perbutonebimi. He has made […] Tjanefer, his young servant. Make your preparation […]! Cause him to hurry, while he makes this! Cause those of Tanis, those of Mendes, those of Leontopolis, those of Sebennytos to go with you, where they will do their best with you! Furthermore, […] Pemu […]. He caused himself to get there (XI.30) before you while he is weak […] and two arms (?). The nomes and the cities that are over and under, they should hasten to the battle against him. They can take south, north, west, and east from him. They should not stop […] until they finish his breath of life thereupon, since cunning is used. When his brothers come and find him, when he is (already) finished by killing, their heart will despair, their power will fall from their bodies, and they will turn back to their cities and their nomes, without anything (XI.35) having held them back, so that the armour of Inaros will never be taken out of your house ever again!" He said, "By Mendes, the great god! This is that which I have asked from Mendes. The four (XII.1) nomes […]. After these, cause one to make preparation for a *lms*-ship!" […] immediately. Wertiamunne climbed on board of his *lms*-ship […] warriors. It happened that the army of the […] of the army of the four nomes.

Pemu engages Wertiamunne (arming scene)

A few days came to pass. Wertiamunne arrived (XII.5) at the Sea of the Gazelle. He asked after Pemu. […] got there before him. Wertiamunne sent it to the […] the sea of the Gazelle, the Pool of Perbutonebimi. He said to Pemu, "[…] and you will cause us to spend one hour of fighting as two men, until all your brothers reach you."

The moment Pemu the younger heard these words, his heart was sad immediately, (XII.10) when he said, "If I say, 'I will not fight until my brothers have reached me,' my retreat will be mocked in the heart of the army of the nomes of Egypt when they come here." The answer that Pemu said is, "I am ready to fight." Tjanefer, his young servant, cried as he said, "My

lord! Protect yourself! Your breath, cause it to be intact! It is great in the heart of the god. Do you not know that one alone tends to be weak among the armies of a nome, and they will cause (XII.15) him to be destroyed? Should I name the army that is here with Wertiamunne? Those of Tanis, those of Mendes, those of Leontopolis, those of Sebennytos […] his great men who are behind him. If you go to the battlefield with him, without you having friends, companions, brothers of the family, and all of us, then he will approach you and […] battle […]. By Atum! If the army hastens to battle against you, they will cause you to fall […]. Your breath, (XII.20) it is a great breath. Do not perish on account of the recklessness of the heart!" Pemu said, "My brother Tjanefer! The words which you speak, they are in my heart as well. Although, I will not say, 'I will not fight until my brothers have reached me.' I will be mocked in the heart of those of Mendes. I will be humiliated in the heart of those of Tanis, Leontopolis, and Sebennytos. One will never consider me as a warrior again. As it happens, my brother Tjanefer, you must be patient. Bring the equipment of an armed man to the middle before me!"

One brought it (XII.25) immediately, and spread it out before him upon a mat of fresh reeds. Pemu placed his hand on a piece of a kilt of fine byssus and *mny*-stones, which were laid out […] navel, which reached to the thigh, and finished in gold to its […] where their edges were of red leather, and the centre was finished in […] on which ten flowers (XII.30) of silver and gold (were woven) to the fastening of its back. He girded it on himself. He placed his hand on a piece of light robe of byssus […] brought from Pernemeh, that was worked through in gold. He placed it on himself. He placed his hand on a piece of tabard which was made of 3⅓ divine cubits of Milesian wool, as its *ẖl* was of fine purple *ḏlẖl*-fabric from (XIII.1) […]. He placed it on himself. He placed his hand on his coat of mail threaded with good iron […] their locusts and their camels of the *ipt*-cup, as they were finished with ears of […] as it was formed out of a god-figure and four goddess-figures as the work of a good craftsman, as the gods of battle […]. He placed it on himself. He placed (his hand) on a pair of greaves of cast silver as his (XIII.5) […] of Milesian wool, as it was sewn with tracery (?) […] red leather […]. He bounded them to his legs. He placed his hand on a pair of socks (?) […] each star, which were divided piece by piece as they were finished as craft […]. He placed his hand on a pair of sandals of red weave […] of […] leather […] finished from ebony (XIII.10) […] on […] on account of the manner […] battle. He placed […] to man, perish (?) […] gold, which his […] of […] malachite (XIII.15) […] his armour [...] the lioness […] of Wertiamunne […] to the combat-field. He said, "Of course, my lord!"

He hurried to the place where Wertiamunne was. He said to him everything that Pemu said to him. Wertiamunne said, "[…] Mendes, my young (XIII.20) servant! Cause one to bring […] the armour before me!" One brought it immediately, Wertiamunne […] it on himself. […] cloth (?), sickle sword of a warrior. Wertiamunne girded himself alongside his army. He hurried to the combat-field to […] healing the […] art of fighting […] them. They fought as two. It happened that Pemu […] (XIII.25) […] to Wertiamunne like […], "Do you […] to […] art of fighting […]? […] that which […] bring on account of the occurrence of the painting (?) […] the […]. You shall heal, you shall heal. […] swords do the work." The (XIII.30) […] Pemu. He made its […] like one who did not fight […] Pemu to the chapel […] their heart was sad. They […] weapon, which they (XIV.1) […] a little rain from heaven. […] Pemu, who despaired. He waved […] Tjanefer, his young servant, saying, "Hurry to the harbour and […] friend, companion […] in which I am today!"

Tjanefer waits for reinforcement

Tjanefer found that which he was in, […]. He hurried to the river. He spent an hour where he was standing and looking out. A moment (XIV.5) that which happened, Tjanefer raised his face up, when he saw a *lms*-ship which is painted, that is bright […] that is provided with sailors and boatmen […], which is laden with warriors, and is decorated with a […] gold on its two planks as a gold figure of a protective goddess is at its head and a figure of Osiris is on its rear, along with two *šwt*-ships with rowers […] while […] *tks*-ship, 40 *byly*-ships and 60 *dy*-ships with rowers who are trailing behind it, where the river is narrowed by those of the fleet and the bank is narrowed by (XIV.10) those on horseback. Their chariots are crowded (with) camels and foot soldiers, while a great fear originates from the aforementioned *lms*-ship. Tjanefer spoke, as his voice is loud and his call is high, while he says, "Those of the fleet, those of the white fleet, those of the green fleet, those of the coloured fleet, whose fleet is this? Is it the people of the family of Pemu the younger, son of Inaros? Hurry to him at the battle, where he is on the combat-field and he is fighting! There are no kalasiris, no foot soldiers, no horses, and no combat forces with him, while Wertiamunne is against him. Those (XIV.15) of Tanis, Mendes, Leontopolis, and those of Sebennytos, they protect Wertiamunne, their lord, except for[15] those of Padjure, his brothers, his companions, and his warriors; they (i.e. the rest) all protect him."

---

[15] Although the use of *pȝ bnr* here seems out of place, but Tjanefer may be suggesting that those of Padjure has yet to arrive. Judging by the kalasiris' response, it is possible that the fleet described here is from Padjure.

The moment those of the *lms*-ship heard these words, a kalasiris stood up at the head of the *lms*-ship, where he said, "Woe! The copper lames your tongue and the iron your lips, as one places Pemu and his family in the hands of Wertiamunne!"

Tjanefer returns to the battlefield

Tjanefer turned away from them according to his feet and his steps […] (XIV.20) […] safe. He found the strikes of General Pemu and how he fights. He found the […] Wertiamunne and how he battles, where the ground repeated [...]. Tjanefer said, "Fight […] my lord Pemu! Your brother, […] Inaros […] to you." The moment Pemu saw the arrival (?), he became depressed, […] went from here to the ground […] those of Tanis, (XIV.25) those of Mendes, those of Leontopolis, and those of Sebennytos […] Pemu […] and their […] the spear without causing him to perform with the strength of battle […] Pemu. He raised it (i.e. his face) to the heavens with a […] Egypt reach him. Tjanefer, his young servant, found him […] (XIV.30) as his eyes were distraught from crying […] lion […], "Would they kill you, my beautiful bull?" […]. He raised his face up. He saw a *lms*-ship […] which is provided with sailors and boatmen, and is laden with warriors […] against them, as they shout out behind the wind, "[…] (XIV.35) combat-field to us! Take […]!" He spoke, as his voice is loud and his call is high, while he says, "Are you the men of the family of Inaros […] against him? Pemu the younger, son of Inaros […] (XV.1) the […] the […] (XV.5) raised […] you […] great […] (XV.10) "Cause […] brother […]." The […] Wertiamunne […] cause him to make for him […]. (XV.15) He turned back […, "…] Pemu […] cause him to make strength for him […]."

Arrival of Petechons

[…]. He did not find anyone on the land […] Tjanefer, his young servant, […] (XV.20) a *lms*-ship, which it […] art of fighting […] in it under […] to him […] two […] made for him […, "…] to you, my brother Pemu (XV.25) […] battle on account of this army […] a small beast and […] the *bty*-fish of the […] he perished, whose hand did not carry […] one side of outrage […] of people in our family [… "…] Pemu (XV.30) […] strong bull […] an art of fighting […], which was swift […] jump, which was like […] into Wertiamunne […] to Pemu (XVI.1) […] man (XVI.5) […] his face […] ground to […, "…] twice, my brother, the general […] man of the east, the resin-eater […] here again. (XVI.10) […] all of Egypt […] Egypt, which did not […]."

The moment Petechons heard these words, […] he raged like the sea […] a statue of Sekhmet (XVI.15) […] fire, while he says, "Widowfucker! […] where your father took your mother […] Esamuntep, whom […] Chayris killed (?) […] Egypt, until we have heard, that your father […] after which she knew what he did (sexually), when Esamuntep (XVI.20) […] whore of the […] the adulterer! Cause that […] to stop […] the relationship […] these two youth […]!" Chayris, son of the king, rose up in the middle […] with his spear, which he […] in order to stand […] into the battle. Petechons said, "You should return (XVI.25) to […]. Cause one to bring me my armour on account of […] the young servant […] after me, saying, 'I will not be patient, until he […].'" Pemu turned his face to Wertiamunne, while saying, "You have been […]." They made a truce between the two of them. It left them […] spears. He placed himself before Great of Power Petechons (XVI.30) […, "…] to Tanis. Hurry to the place where the pharaoh is! […] everything which happened with Petechons and Chayris, son of the king […] and the landing (i.e. death)."

The pharaoh stops Petechons and Chayris

He rose up from the combat- (XVII.1) field […]. The answer which the pharaoh said, […] to […, " …] where they came with the battle of the children […] I […] where? I am the lord from (XVII.5) […] to me. What are these wicked acts which they have admitted […]? […] Chayris, son of the king, who battled with the mighty bulls, the men of the east. By Amun-Re, Lord of Karnak […], as the army of Pisopd is friendly, as those of Athribis greet the army of the nome of Mendes who attacks, and those of Sebennytos who fight on account of the family of the counts and the princes, (XVII.10) the children of Lord of the Spear Prince Inaros, are far away until they arrive. Cause one to make preparation from the battlefield to the combat-field! I myself will say a small thing before Prince Petechons, so that he will not fight with Chayris, son of the king, my son, and will not let the spear stand until the army is marching, and one announces the ranks before the pharaoh on the combat-field. Place (XVII.15) the army of the two lineage / sceptres, alongside those of the two shields on the road before him!"

The pharaoh went to the place where Petechons was. He looked at the youth, Petechons, who was armed with an armour of good iron. The pharaoh came to the middle, where he said, "May you not have an evil eye, my son, Great of Power Petechons! Do not make strife! Do not fight until your brothers have reached you! Do not cause the spear to stand until your

family (XVII.20) have assembled!" Petechons saw Pharaoh Petubastis, who was crowned with the diadem of Isis, the crown (?) of the Ladies of the Two Lands. He greeted (him). He did not begin to fight on the aforementioned day. The pharaoh caused one to take services and gifts to Prince Petechons.

The armies gather

While all these things happened, the *lms*-ship of Chief of the East Pekrur landed at the Sea of the Gazelle. The *mlз*-ship of Petechons and those of Athribis, they sailed upstream. One gave a landing place (XVII.25) to their *mlз*-ship. One gave a landing place to the *mlз*-ship of Chayris, son of Panehka. One gave a landing place to the *mlз*-ship of those of Heliopolis with the *mlз*-ship of those of Sais. One gave a landing place to the *mlз*-ship of Minnemei, the bull of those of Elephantine. One gave a landing place to the *mlз*-ship of Ptahmeni, son of Tjanefer, and the army of Permeneshre. One gave a landing place to the *mlз*-ship of Pebrichis, son of Inaros (XVII.30) and the army of the nome of Sais. One gave a landing place to the *lms*-ship of Baklul, son of Inaros, and the army of the nome of Busiris. One gave a landing place to the *mlз*-ship of Wilwi, son of Chayris, and the army of Meidum. One gave a landing place to Wekhesnaifgemulu (XVIII.1) son of Inaros. One gave a landing place to Inaros the younger, the Stubborn, the remainder of the brothers of Prince Inaros, the brothers of Great of Power Petechons, and those of the family of Lord of the Spear. Who has seen the wetlands with birds, and the sea with fish? Who has seen the Sea of the Gazelle (XVIII.5) with the family of Inaros as they bellowed like bulls, as they bristled like lions, as they tore like lionesses?

One reported before the pharaoh, saying, "The two families have assembled. They resemble the lions with their armour, the bulls with their weapons." One made a high platform for Pharaoh Petubastis. One made another platform (XVIII.10) for Chief of the East Pekrur across from him. One made one for Teos, son of Chayris. One made another for Petechons across from him. One made one for Wilheni, General of Meidum. One made another for son of the king, Chayris, son of Pharaoh Petubastis, across from him. One made another for Psintaes, son of Djurenemeh, Prince of Takelliaat and Padju. One made another for Ptahmeni, son of Tjanefer, Prince of Permeneshphre, across from him. One made (XVIII.15) another for Chayris, (son of) Helebis, Prince of Taamienpalekhet. One made another for Chachonsis, Man of Mendes, across from him. One made one for Achoapis, son of Ptahmeni, Prince of

Patjesi. One made another for Sochotes, son of Tephnachthis of Athribis, across from him. The army of the four nomes stood behind Wertiamunne. The army of the nome of Heliopolis stood behind Pemu the younger.

Pekrur positions the troops

The pharaoh said, (XVIII.20) "Chief of the East Pekrur! I see that there is no one (else) who can place the two shields into pairs all round, nome against nome, city against another." Chief of the East Pekrur came out, girded with an armour threaded with good iron, with greaves of wrought silver that he girded, with a sword that had a measure of 45 irons […], his *ḫly*-sword of a man of the east, which shone (XVIII.25) of steel from its grip to its tip, which he […] a spear of […] from Arabia, of which ⅔ was wood (?) and ⅓ was iron, and a shield of gold in his hand.

Chief of the East Pekrur stood in the middle of the army of Egypt between the ranks of the two shields. He spoke, as his voice is loud and his call is high, (XVIII.30) while he says, "Up, General Wertiamunne! You are the battle opponent of General Pemu the younger, son of Inaros! His 27 warriors hasten with him, those who are under the 40 strong ones, the son of the god, of (XIX.1) Prince Inaros! (Up), those of the nome of Heliopolis! Be opposite the army of the nome of Mendes, whose (number) is very numerous! Up, Great of Power Petechons! You are the battle opponent of Chayris, son of the king, son of Pharaoh Petubastis! Up, Pasitur, son of Pekrur, with Ptahmeni, son of Chayris, and Petechons, (XIX.5) son of Bochorinis! Up, the army of the nome of Pisopd! Be opposite the army of the nome of Sebennytos! Up, Ptahmeni, son of Tjanefer, and the army of Permeneshre! Be opposite the army of the nome of Tanis! Up, Sochotes, son of Tjanefer, General of the nome of Athribis, as you are placed with Chayris, son of Helebis, Prince of Tamenpelechtensechmi!" He placed (XIX.10) a man against another according to the manner[16] of their proportion and the manner of the strength of their combat force, who are behind them one by one.

Montubaal asks Pekrur for an opponent

It happened that Chief of the East Pekrur turned himself away from the two troops, when he saw a kalasiris who shines of steel, who is fair of face, who is on the *ꜥnq* of a newly decorated

---

[16] *ṯnf* has been translated here by Hoffmann and Quack as 'Art' as opposed to 'Größe', see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 335 *aq*).

chariot, while he is armed with his armour and his weapon, and 40 warriors (XIX.15) are with him, who are mounted upon 40 young […] mounting-horses of Meder, as another 100 foot soldiers, who are armed with their armour and their weapon, placed upon the road after him, as another 300 Meder with their armours are behind him. He caused his hand to stand (i.e. lifted) before Chief of the East Pekrur, when he said, "Make strength for me, make strength for me, O Baal, the great god, my god! How (XIX.20) come you did not give me my battle opponent, so that I am placed with my brothers, the children of Prince Inaros, my father?" Chief of the East Pekrur saw the kalasiris, whom he did not recognise. Chief of the East Pekrur said to him, "What sort of a man in our family are you?" He said, "It is a true matter! My father, Chief of East Pekrur! I am Montubaal, son of (XIX.25) Inaros, who is from the foes of the land of Syria. By your strength, my father, Chief of the East Pekrur […], as I could not sleep in my bedchamber. I saw myself in a dream, where a divine song was speaking with me, saying, 'Montubaal, son of Inaros, my son! Run! Are you able to run? Hurry down to Egypt! My (XIX.30) meeting place with you is at the Sea of the Gazelle, the barque chapel of Pihathormefki, on account of the battle and strife of those of Mendes, the family of Hareunakhte, son of Smendes, who are against your brothers, those of your family, on account of your armour, as one has taken it to the fortress of Djura today!' My father, Chief of (XX.1) the East Pekrur! Cause one to give me a battle opponent as well! Cause one to give me a battlefield! Do not cause me to be a foreigner […]! Do not allow injustice regarding my father Inaros […]!" Chief of the East Pekrur said to him, "Hail to you, hail to you! Montubaal, son of Inaros, my son! It happened that I (XX.5) have placed the two shields to […] the 27 warriors in the two lineage / sceptres who would match you in the art of fighting, if you fight with your army, but […] fight […] command him. I will command the […]. Come to […] fleet! Cause our *dy*-ships and our *lms*-ships to be intact in (XX.10) battle! I know that no one would ever be able to battle against you. Be there! The army of the four nomes has not come against our *dy*-ships. Do not cause them to do damage, […] they […] come and kill them on the river!" Montubaal said, "I will not cause anything to be far!"

Pekrur oversees the battle

Chief of the East Pekrur went […] the […]. He went (XX.15) to the fleet of the *dy*-ships and the *lms*-ships of those of […] those of Pisopd, those of Heliopolis, those of […] those of […] those of Sais, and those of the family of Lord of the Spear, Prince Inaros. He caused himself to see all of the ships. He caused himself to see in order to not cause damage against their

lms-ships and their *dy*-ships […]. (XX.20) His warriors were by the ships, while they are armed with their armours and their weapons […]. Chief of the East Pekrur went to […] on a great platform […] his platform opposite him […] above (XX.25) the army […] Inaros is […] the army. He […] Taamienpalekhet […] Ptahmeni, son of Tjanefer […] Chief of the East Pekrur, (XX.30) "Are you […] (XXI.1) Inaros […] the words […] this […] Ptahmeni […]." Chief of the East Pekrur said, (XXI.5) "By Sopdu! […]. Many warriors were […] in order to fight against them. I said it, '[…].'"

The battle commences

While all these things happened, the two shields […] weapons (XXI.10) […] east, which he […] cry […] the great Nun […] (XXI.15) to the land, while he […] seized the combat force […] the Sea of the Gazelle, the Pool of Perbutonebimi, the barque chapel of Pihathormefki […] their head […] cloud […] Teos, son of Chayris, who made […] he caused to go (XXI.20) […] the pharaoh. […]. The pharaoh came to […] to the god […] which he decorated with cloth of byssus, while he saw […] battle of the two families, who […] Lord of the Gods, Osiris, Pharaoh of all the Land, Osiris Wennefer, the great god, after […]. The pharaoh […] to the son of the king, Wertiamunne […] and the demon (?) the […], while they stood outside of the tent of the pharaoh (XXI.25) […] a tent of cloth of byssus, and its pillars of faience were […] which was finished in work of silver and gold […] Prince Inaros […] the great god to whom another god […]. (XXII.1) The two families fought from the fourth hour of the morning until the ninth hour of the night, as one warrior fought with his companion.

Montubaal vs. the army of the four nomes

Chayris the Avenger (?), son of Nehka, rose up among the army of the nome of Sebennytos. They fled to the river. It happened that Montubaal was by the fleet upon the river. (XXII.5) He heard the screaming in which the army was, and the neighing of the horses. One said to him, "It is the army of the nome of Sebennytos, who have been defeated before your brothers." He said, "Make strength for me, make strength for me! O Baal, the great god, my god! Behold, it is the time of the ninth hour. My heart is sad, because I have not battled and fought." He girded himself with his armour and his weapons. He jumped down to the army (XXII.10) of the nome of Sebennytos and those of Mendes, those of Djura, those of Leontopolis, and the army of Wertiamunne. He made a slaughter and destruction among them like Sekhmet in her hour of rage, when she burns in the stalks, as the army scattered before

him, while he had slaughter in his eyes, and murder in his heart.[17] He did not become tired when he made a destruction among them. (XXII.15) One caused it to be heard by Pharaoh Petubastis. He opened his mouth to the ground in a loud cry, and he came down from his high platform. The pharaoh said, "Chief of the East Pekrur! Meet the warriors! One said to me, 'Montubaal, son of Inaros, is the one who is making a slaughter and destruction in the army of the four nomes.' Cause him to stop causing the destruction of my army!" (XXII.20) Chief of the East Pekrur said, "Cause the pharaoh to make the way to the place where he is with me! I will cause him to stop the slaughter among the army of Egypt." It happened that Pekrur was girded with his armour. He mounted his chariot with Pharaoh Petubastis. They met Montubaal, son of Inaros, in battle. Chief of the East Pekrur said, "My son (XXII.25) Montubaal! Cause your hand to stand out from the place of the strife […]! Is it good that which has been done by you, making slaughter and destruction among your brothers, the army of Egypt?" Montubaal said, "Is it good that which has been done by you? Did you cause them to bring the armour of my father Inaros […] to the garrison of Djuphre by cunningly taking? Is it not being able to (XXII.30) fight that we are here?" The pharaoh said, "Withdraw your hand, withdraw your hand, my son Montubaal, from them! In the moment, when they have made it, without that […] great […], saying, 'They will happen.' (XXIII.1) I will cause one to bring it to Heliopolis, to the place where it was before, so that joy is before it and celebration behind it." Montubaal caused the herald to call out among his army. They brought out their face from the place of killing, and they were like those who did not fight.

Pemu vs. Wertiamunne

They turned back according to their feet, until they (XXIII.5) came to the battle position at the place where Pemu was. They found him, where he is fighting with Wertiamunne. Pemu brought himself against him by tearing away the shield by a shield bash and a powerful embrace. He caused his feet to go out before him. He threw him on the ground. He raised his hand with his sword in order to cause his destruction. Montubaal said, "Do not! My brother (XXIII.10) Pemu! Withdraw your hand, until we can take our revenge on them again,

---

[17] This passage is interesting, because the convention of this description, also seen in *Sarpot* XII.4, would suggest that the suffix pronoun should be =*f*, i.e. Montubaal, and not =*w*, i.e. the army of the nome of Sebennytos. A case could be argued for the use of 'they' being the 'Montubaal and his army', as suggested by HOFFMANN (1996a: 366 n. 2224); however, for one to switch subject so abruptly between XXII.11 and XXII.13 seems unnatural. The inclusion of Montubaal's army would also have diminished the Montubaal's heroic deeds as a competent solo warrior. Hence, I am inclined to suggest that there was a scribal error here, and thus, have adjusted the suffix pronouns accordingly.

because a man is not a reed, that when it is cut, it will grow! Furthermore, Pekrur – our father, and Pharaoh Petubastis have commanded, so that no strife will occur and everything will be done, all which the pharaoh has said in reference to the armour in order to bring it to its place again. Cause the way to be free for him! (XXIII.15) Cause him to go away!" The two separated themselves.

Petechons vs. Chayris

It happens that Great of Power Petechons is fighting with Chayris, son of the king, as he made the art of fighting with him in the manner of some amusement. After these, Petechons jumped out against him in a leap towards him. He crashed down upon Chayris, son of the king, in an attack of an art of fighting, which was stronger (XXIII.20) than stone, burns more than fire, swifter than air, and faster than good wind. Chayris, son of the king, did not find his resistance and his counter. Petechons brought himself to him by tearing away the shield by a shield bash and a powerful embrace. He threw him on the ground. He stood above him, where his hand was drawing his sickle-sword. A scream that is angry and (XXIII.25) a noise that is numerous in the army of Egypt happened on account of Chayris, son of the king.

The servant did not hide at the place where the pharaoh was, saying, "Petechons has thrown Chayris, your son, on the ground as he stands over him with his sickle-sword on account of that which will cause his destruction." The pharaoh came in great distress, while he says, "Make strength for me, make strength for me! O Amun-Re, Lord of Karnak, the great god, my god! (XXIII.30) I have made the extent to not cause war and strife to happen. One did not hear me!" He said these while he ran. It happened that he was before Petechons. The pharaoh said, "My son, Petechons! Protect the breath! Withdraw your hand from my son, on account of no (XXIV.1) […] happen […] hour! Your revenge, you have taken it. Your war, you have […] strongest in all of Egypt." Chief of the East Pekrur said, "Withdraw your hand from Chayris on account of the pharaoh, his father! His breath, it is a great breath."

He turned away from […] to Chayris, son of the king. The pharaoh said, (XXIV.5) "By Amun-Re, Lord of Karnak, the great god, my god! The […], the lineage of […] from today until all eternity. Have those from Mendes […] Wertiamunne, whom Pemu threw on the ground[18] […] another lord after Chayris, my son, and Petechons was victorious over him

---

[18] Lit. 'caused his chest to be against the ground'.

again in the middle of the army of the four strong nomes (XXIV.10) of Egypt. You were victorious over them. You made a slaughter and destruction among them. They brought their face out from the destruction from the fleet before you. Everything which happened in Egypt, […]."

Minnemei vs. Teos

While all these things happened, Minnemei was sailing up the river with his 40 warriors, his 500 Nubians, men of Meroe, his 500 men of Syene, his 550 hounds (XXIV.15) from Khedjel […], and the warriors of the nome of Thebes, as the river is narrowed on account of those of the fleet, and the bank is narrowed on account of those on horseback. He reached the Sea of the Gazelle. One gave the mighty bull, Minnemei, son of Inaros, Prince of those of Elephantine, a landing place next to the *mlȝ*-ships of Teos, (XXIV.20) General of the nome of Mendes, with his *lms*-ships of war, which was around him. There being the armour of Prince Inaros on it. Minnemei said, "By Khnum, Lord of Elephantine, the great god, my god! These are that which I asked for, saying, 'Cause me to see the armour of my father Osiris-king Prince Inaros, (XXIV.25) as I have been before the two armies!'"

Minnemei girded himself with his armour and his weapon, alongside the army that is with him. He reached the *mlȝ*-ship of Teos, son of Chayris. He found 500 warriors upon it who were guarding the armour of the son of Osiris-Inaros. Minnemei sprang inside (XXIV.30) among them. The one who stood to contend, he caused his contend-field to be resting-field before him. The one who stood to fight, he threw him (XXV.1) on his battlefield again. The one who desired to fight was the one who fell before him. He made […] that which is a slaughter and a great destruction to the […] Teos, son of Chayris, as the 34 warriors were on board of the *lms*-ship […] his warriors […] in order to not cause anyone on land to climb on board of the *lms*-ship […]. (XXV.5) Psammetichos, the man of those of Namawi […] the man of Djure, Mermaihes […] the man of Mendes, Paa'an […] Teos, son of Thotortaios, of the land of […] with him, as he made a destruction to the fleet with Ankh[…]iset, with Patah[…], (XXV.10) son of Kabilis, with Konuphis, son of Pa[…] as they were armed with their armour and their weapon. Minnemei jumped up […] them. They stood […]. He killed four men. He jumped […] the river before him on the *lms*-ships and the *dy*-ships.
After these, the pharaoh heard […] he hurried to the fleet, where he found Minnemei […] (XXV.15) while he was making a slaughter and destruction in the army […], with his army,

the hounds of Khedjel […]. The pharaoh said, "Make strength for me, make strength for me! O Amun-Re, Lord of Karnak, the great god of Tanis! I alone have seen the great strife in all of the land! […] that I have not caused to see the manner […] (XXV.20) which he did. He came in revenge. Chief of the East Pekrur came to the place, and the sons of Inaros […] our strife has ceased. I (?) did not […] that one brought the armour of our father, Prince Inaros with the armour of Hareunakhte before us […] (XXV.25) them."

The armour is returned

After these, one brought the armour of Inaros to its place in Heliopolis. One gave the armour […]. It happened that the sons of Prince Inaros […] with their army above. They (?) stood […] saying, "Our great lord! Seize […] (XXV.30) […] which happened in Egypt, while they did not […] the works and the fights, which the […] made […] and that which he made in Egypt […] which is in the nomes and the cities […] stela of stone for […] (XXVI.1) […] prince […] while he caused to make the nomes […] and gold of the (XXVI.x+1) […] which he […], 'Cause it to reach Heliopolis, its city! […]! Cause it to sit at the festival on account of it, as it […] Prince Inaros!'"

After these, (XXVI.x+5) the pharaoh sent the armies of Egypt to their nomes and their cities on account of the battle and strife that the sons of Prince Inaros made, as they made […] daily until […].

Colophon

It is the completion of the book, as it is written, as it is correct […] against him […]. It is written on the first month of winter, day […] in Year 22 of Hadrian (XXVI.x+10) Pharaoh […], Amun-[…] son of Amun-[…] pleased […] write […].

Contest for the Benefice of Amun

The young priest requests the benefice[19]

(I.1) […] born until […] strong […] diadem (?) of Osiris, his father. The ladle of the barque: Bastet, Ladler of Worries, for it is she who bales out the worries of the gods and goddesses. The mast of the barque: (I.5) Shu, son of Re, the (most) elevated male of the gods. The pennants[20] of byssus, which is upon the mast and the *gby*. The two ladders and the four winds are the crown of Amun, for he is the one who caused the sky to make the air under Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, when he comes in order to libate his father Osiris. The latch of the mast: it is Re, for Amun is the one who steers (I.10) the barque that carries Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, when he comes in order to libate his father Osiris. The *ˁm.t* and rope[21] of the barque: they are the collar of the female gods, for the female gods are those who throw their collar to the barque of Amun, when it comes to the banks and causes that it be fastened under (?) the feet of Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, when he comes in order to libate (I.15) for his father. The great stake of the barque: Wadjet […] for she is the one who grasps the collars […], for she is the lady of the collar of the female gods […] in the sea of lotus. Wadjet and Nekhbet […] the appearance of Amun, the great god, between them, since (I.20) […] Isis of Chemmis, while they travel (?) to Buto with Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, when he comes in order to libate for his father Osiris. […] the barque of Amun: it is Thoth, the great god, since […] the gods and the people, when he is giving these words to his […] with Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, when he comes in order to libate for his father Osiris. (II.1) When Amun, the great god, comes to Upper Egypt, it is Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris […] the gods who serves him. Are there any people […] aforementioned […] before him besides me? I am the prophet of Horus of Pe (in) Buto, who is born of Isis of Chemmis. I am to whom the aforementioned benefice of my father belongs. (II.5) The first prophet of Amun and the priests of Amun, there is nothing that belongs to you."

---

[19] For additional fragments of the beginning of *Benefice*, see §1.1.2; see HOFFMANN (1995b: 43-60) and HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 89-93) for translations.

[20] Hoffmann translates this as 'Bänder', while Spiegelberg translates as 'Segel', see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 93) and SPIEGELBERG (1910: 15). I have taken the translation 'pennant', see *CDD i*.225.

[21] HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 93).

The pharaoh saw the priests, and said, "Do you not hear that which the young priest has said?" The priests said before the pharaoh, "Our great lord, the aforementioned words, we did not hear it besides today. They did not come before us in writing on another day."

The pharaoh inquires before Amun (first time)

The young priest was speaking the aforementioned words, when Amun, the great god, appeared (II.10) and heard his voice. The lector priest said, "If it pleases the pharaoh, cause the pharaoh to inquire before Amun, the great god, 'Is the young priest the one who has power[22] over the aforementioned benefice?'" The pharaoh said, "It is right, what you have said." The pharaoh inquired before Amun, saying, "Is the young (priest) the one who has power over the aforementioned benefice?" Amun came forward quickly,[23] saying "It is he."

Dispute between the young priest and the pharaoh's people

(II.15) The pharaoh said, "Young priest! If it happens that these which was (already) known in your heart, why did you not come yesterday and raised your voice about the aforementioned words, before I wrote on behalf of the first prophet of Amun? Because I would have caused Chayris, son of the king, to present the aforementioned benefice before you."

The young priest said before the pharaoh, "My great lord! If I had come before the pharaoh, my great lord, (II.20) in order to raise my voice against the priests of Amun, Amun, the great god, would have found these words before Horus libates for his father. I have come here on account of the manner of taking as security the portable barque[24] of Amun, the great god, on account of the […] which he made with the manner of causing Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, to go to Upper Egypt in order to libate for his father Osiris. I have made a complaint before him (III.1) after the libation, which he had done (for) his father Osiris." […]

Teos, son of Chayris, said, "It happened that you did not come to complain to him yesterday, do not come today as well! Do not spread bad news about Chayris, son of the king. For he adorned himself at the front of the procession of Amun, the great god, (III.5) when he came

---

[22] Lit. 'made a writing'.
[23] Lit. 'a step which hurries'.
[24] Hoffmann has translated *ḥꜥ* as 'tragbare Barke (?)', see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 337 *o*)

to Upper Egypt. One caused him to remove himself like today, when he came to Thebes."
The young priest said, "Be silent![25] Teos, (son) of Chayris! If one asks you regarding the
words of a general that concern you, then pay attention.[26] The benefice of the temples, where
did you find it? By Horus of Pe in Buto, my god! Amun shall not be ferried over to (III.10)
Thebes on his journey,[27] until Chayris, son of the king, has given me the benefice which is in
his possession." Chayris, son of the king, said to him, "Did you come in order to take the
aforementioned benefice by law, or did you come in order to take it by fighting?" The young
priest said, "If one listens to my voice, then I will cause one to take it by law. If one does not
listen to my voice, then I will cause one to take it by (III.15) fighting."

The moment he said this,[28] Chayris, son of the king, raged like the sea, his eyes made a
flame, and his heart gave birth to dust like the mountain of the east. He said, "By Amun-Re,
Lord of Karnak, my god! The benefice which you are complaining about, you will not have
authority over it. (III.20) I will cause it to turn itself to the high priest of Amun, which it was
under previously."

The young priest vs. Chayris

Chayris, son of the king, turned his face towards the chapel. He placed the byssus, which was
upon him, on the floor, with the amulets of gold with which he was adorned. He caused one
to bring his armour before him. He equipped the armour of battle. (IV.1) He went to the
dromos of Amun. […] the young priest in the chapel himself. See, there was a young servant
in front of him, who was hidden among the crowd, while there being a new, beautifully
decorated armour in his hand. The young priest approached him. He took the armour from his
hand (IV.5) and he tied himself with it. He went to the dromos of Amun. He met Chayris, son
of the king. He struck, and he fought with him.

Teos, son of Chayris, opened his mouth in a heavy warrior's cry before the army, saying,
"Are you standing in the vicinity of Amun, when a herdsman is fighting with the son of the
pharaoh, when you have not given your weapons to him?" (IV.10) The army of Egypt was
confused on all sides. Those of Tanis, those of Mendes, those of Leontopolis, those of

---

[25] Lit. 'abandon your mouth for me'.
[26] Lit. 'make a face'.
[27] Lit. 'on the journey upon which he is'.
[28] Lit. 'the moment of saying this that he did'.

Sebennytos – the army of the four strong nomes of Egypt, they came and they marched[29] to the place of the battle in order to protect Chayris, son of the king. The 13 herdsmen of Perdjufe marched out and came to the army. (IV.15) They tied their armours and their bull faced helmets on their head, their shields are thrown onto their arms, and their hands are raised with their scimitar. They came on the left and right towards the young priest, when their voices rang out, saying, "Swear by us here that which we will do before Amun, the great god, who appeared here today! There is no one on the land among you (IV.20) who will cause the priest of Horus of Pe in Buto to listen, which he hates, and we shall not cause the earth to drink in his blood, and the light his power." The fear of the 13 herdsmen was numerous in the heart of the pharaoh and the army, no man on the land could lift his voice in order to speak.

The young priest rose against (V.1) Chayris, son of the king, like that which a lion does with cattle in the mountain region, like that which a nurse does with her minor. He grabbed the inside of his armour. He threw him to the ground. He tied him […]. (V.5) He threw him on the road himself. The 13 herdsmen hastened to the road behind him. No man on the land could harm them for the nature of their fear. They turned their face to the barque of Amun. They went on board in order to place their weapons on the ground. They caused Chayris, son of the king, to go into the hull of the barque of (V.10) Amun, where he was tied with a rope from Cadiz, and they placed the lock on it. The sailors and the rowers caused them to come to shore. They placed their shield next to them, and they purified themselves for the feast. They brought out bread, meat, and wine that were on board. They brought it out, drank, and spent a good day, (V.15) while their faces were turned towards the bank to the procession of Amun, the great god, while they sacrificed and offered incense before him.

The pharaoh opened his mouth in a loud cry, when he said, "By Amun, the great god! The admiration for Pemu has gone. The fame of Petechons has ended. There is no admiration in my heart besides that of these herdsmen (V.20) who went on board of the barque of Amun, while they are girded with their armour, while they cause one to make a strange shrine of it."

---

[29] Lit. 'put down their feet'.

The pharaoh inquires before Amun (second time)

Teos, son of Chayris, said, "Our great lord! Amun, the great god, has appeared. Cause the pharaoh to inquire before him, saying 'Is it the right command that I will cause the army of Egypt to arm against these herdsmen, and they will deliver Chayris from them?'" (VI.1) The pharaoh inquired […] of Amun, saying, "Is it the right command that I will cause the army of Egypt to be girded with their armour, so that they will fight with the herdsmen?" Amun gave the rejection, saying, "No!" He said, "My great lord! O Amun, the great god! Is it the right command (VI.5) that I will cause one to bring a stand, so that you will rest upon it, and I will cause one to set a canopy of byssus above you, so that you are here with us until the matter stops between us and the herdsmen?" Amun came forward quickly, saying, "Cause it to be brought!" (VI.10) The pharaoh caused one to bring a stand, so that one caused Amun to rest upon it, and one caused one to set a canopy of byssus above him.

The pharaoh asks Pekrur to negotiate with the young priest

After these, Pharaoh Petubastis is in (the) camp on the west side of Upper Egypt, which is opposite Thebes, while Amun, the great god, rests under a tent of Byssus, while the army of (VI.15) Egypt is armed with their armour, and the 13 herdsmen are on board of the barque of Amun—Chayris, son of the king, is tied up inside the hull of the barque of Amun—without fear of the pharaoh or terror for (his) crown in their heart.

The pharaoh raised up (VI.20) his face. He saw them on the barque of Amun. The pharaoh said, "Pekrur, son of Petechons! What is that which will happen to us, on account of these herdsmen who are on board the barque of Amun, where they caused confusion and strife to happen before Amun, (VII.1) on account of the benefice of the share of the first prophet which is in the possession of Chayris, son of the king? Go and say to the young priest, 'Go and adorn yourself, and wear the byssus upon you and the amulets of gold (?) that belonged to the first prophet of Amun, when he comes to Thebes!'"

(VII.5) Pekrur hurried above to the barque of Amun. He met the herdsmen. He said to them every word that the pharaoh had said to him. The young priest said to him, "Say to the pharaoh, 'Is this that which you say, 'Go to the bank and wear the byssus upon you! Cause your hands to abandon the weapon of war! I will cause (VII.10) the army of Egypt to surround you. I will cause them to spare you from a very great misfortune.' If it happened

that the pharaoh desires the benefice for me, cause one to bring the *mlȝ*-binding of byssus with the amulets of gold here to the barque of Amun! I shall put them on. I shall put my weapon on the ground, (VII.15) and you will cause one to bring the portable barque of Amun on board for me. It happened that I received the rudder of the barque, and I ferried Amun from Thebes, where I am on the barque with him and the 13 herdsmen who are here with me, and we did not cause a man on land to climb on board with us.'"

Pekrur came to the place where the pharaoh was. (VII.20) He told before him these words that the young priest had said to him. The pharaoh said, "By Amun! That which the young priest said, 'I have captured Chayris, son of the king, your son. Cause one to give the portable barque of Amun to me! I have caused them to climb on board, the both of them. I shall go downstream to the north with them, and I shall take them to Buto, (VII.25) my city.' Would that have been silver, gold, or wonders which the young priest was asking, (VIII.1) I would cause it to be taken to him. I will not give him the portable barque of Amun, so that it could be taken to Buto, his city, and becomes a great stranger to Thebes. […] I came south to Thebes in order to cause Montu, Lord of Thebes, to rest under his roof, where he cause […], so that he can take […] the portable barque of (VIII.5)[30] Amun to another city and cause it to become a great stranger to Thebes."

Wertiamunne vs. a herdsman

(The) pharaoh was completing these words of the speech, when General Wertiamunne stood in the middle before him. He said, "My great lord! […] upon me against them, the herdsmen, so that I can cause your heart to be pleased with that which will happen to them. […] They did not come here on account of the share of the prophet of Amun. They (VIII.10) desire to cause strife to happen between them and the pharaoh […]." (The) pharaoh greeted General Wertiamunne and sent him off.

He girded himself with his armour and came above to the barque of Amun. He spoke to the young priest on board, saying "Have you thought about the bad things instructed by you and your people, (as in) to go (VIII.15) on board the barque of Amun, where you are girded with your armour and you cause the barque of Amun to be a strange shrine (?)? If it happens that you had come here on account of the share of the prophets of Amun, come onto the bank!

---

[30] P. Carlsberg 433 (Tebtunis version) column x+I corresponds to VIII.3-IX.17, see TAIT (2000: 63-8).

Take it! If it happens that you had come here on account of fighting, come onto the bank! I will satisfy you with it as well!" The young priest said to him, (VIII.20) "I recognise you, General Wertiamunne! You are a man of the north like us. One caused your name to arrive numerous times because of the many words which you speak. I will cause one of the herdsmen to come onto the bank with you. Spend an hour of enjoyment with him!"

The young priest looked at one of the 13 herdsmen who are on board (VIII.25) with him. He raised himself, girded himself with his armour, and he came to the bank. (IX.1) He met General Wertiamunne and fought with him like that which a nurse does with her minor. He […] General Wertiamunne. He took hold of the inside of his armour. He threw him on the ground. He brought […]. His arm restrained (IX.5) his limbs. He bounded him. He threw him under his feet. He took him on board the barque of Amun. He caused him to go into the hull of the ship, in which Chayris, son of the king, was. He placed the lock on it. He caused […] the barque with his armour. He purified himself for a festival with his companions. They caused the best of the offering wine to be sent to the barque. They drank. They spent a good day before (IX.10) Amun, while the pharaoh watched them, while the army of Egypt watched them.

The pharaoh inquires before Amun (third time)

The pharaoh opened his mouth in a great cry, while saying, "I sailed to the south, where the *rms*-ship of Chayris, son of the king, sailed at the head of the fleet of the pharaoh with the army of Egypt, and there being a shield of gold set up at the centre of the mast of his *rms*-ship, (IX.15) saying, 'I am First Shield of Egypt', where the *rms*-ship of Wertiamunne sailed at the rear of the fleet of the pharaoh, saying, 'I am Great Rudder of Egypt'. Behold, there was a young herdsman who came to the south. He captured 'First Shield of Egypt' and 'Great Rudder of Egypt'. He caused Egypt to be confused (IX.20) like a *dy*-ship that has suffered a shipwreck, where no sailor steers. He is stronger than these who ferried across Amun, the great god, who is in the west of Upper Egypt which is opposite Thebes, and they did not cause him to cross the river to Thebes."

Teos, son of Chayris, said, "By your face, my great lord! If the army of Egypt is not prepared against these (IX.25)[31] herdsmen, and one (cannot) cause them to stop the form in which they

---

[31] P. Carlsberg 434 (Tebtunis version) corresponds to IX.24-X.13, see TAIT (2000: 63-8).

are, (X.1) they will take the work of the people of the pharaoh away!" Chief of the East Pekrur answered him, saying, "Is it rage that which you would do, or is it […] who would take retribution on the herdsmen who captured Chayris, son of the king, and General Wertiamunne? The army would not be able to withstand any of them. Is (X.5) that which you say, 'Cause the army of Egypt to prepare against them and the herdsmen in order to cause a great bloodbath to happen among them!'? And then, furthermore, Amun, the great god, he is here with us. It never happens that we do anything without asking him. Cause the pharaoh to inquire before him! If he says to us, 'Fight!', we will fight. If something else happens, that which Amun will give order, we will (X.10) do it accordingly." (The) pharaoh said, "Good are these advices instructed by Chief of the East Pekrur."

The pharaoh commanded it in order to cause Amun to appear. The pharaoh came before him, the prayers and the pleas are those which he made, while he says, "My great lord! O Amun, the great god! Is it the right command that I cause the army of Egypt to arm against these herdsmen, and that they will fight with them?" (X.15) Amun gave the rejection, saying, "No!" He said, "My great lord! O Amun, great god! Is it the right command that I present the benefice of the share of the prophets of Amun before the young priest? Will he release Chayris, son of the king, and Wertiamunne?" Amun gave the rejection, saying, "He will not." The pharaoh said, "My great lord! O Amun, the great god! These herdsmen, will they take Egypt (X.20) from me on their campaign?"[32] Amun gave the rejection, saying, "They will not." He said, "My great lord! Will the herdsmen become the lord over lordship?" Amun gave the rejection, saying "They will not." He said, "My great lord! Will you give me the victory over the herdsmen, in order to cause them to leave the barque of Amun?" Amun came forward quickly, (X.25) saying, "I will." The pharaoh spoke the name of the leaders, the generals, (XI.1) the princes, […] the lords of the army, the generals, the […], and the great men of Egypt before Amun, the great god. He did not agree with them. (Though), Amun agreed with Prince Petechons and General Pemu, where he says, "It is they who will come to the south and they will cause the herdsmen to stop upon the barque of Amun, (XI.5) and they will cause Chayris, son of the king, and General Wertiamunne […], and they will cause me to be ferried to Thebes." The pharaoh caused Amun to be taken to the resting place […].

---

[32] Lit. 'on the campaign upon which they are'.

Pekrur sends for reinforcement

The pharaoh grasped the hand of Chief of the East Pekrur. He told him about the questions that he had made before Amun. Chief of the East Pekrur said, "If it pleases the pharaoh, cause one to send after the youths, so that they will come south! (XI.10)[33] Everything which the pharaoh wishes, they will do them all." The pharaoh said, "By Amun! If I send after them to the south, they would not come due to the insult that I have done to them when I came south to Thebes, where I did not invite them to the procession of Amun, the great god. My father, Chief of the East Pekrur! It comes down to you to send after them. If anyone sends after them, they would not come south at (their) command." Chief of the East Pekrur said, (XI.15) "My great lord! Many are the insults that you have done to the youth again and again! You never calculate warriors until you wish for them against your misfortune." The pharaoh said, "By Amun, the great god! I am not the one who despises them. It is the evil confusion of Teos, son of Chayris, and he is the one who caused me to leave them behind, so that I did not (XI.20) bring them to the south with me, where he says, 'They never cause battle and strife to be far from the army of Egypt.' But the one who practices his magic, he will be gone. The one who digs a bad hole, he will fall into it. The one who sharpens a sword, it will go into his neck. Behold, the brothers of Teos, son of Chayris, are those who have been captured by the herdsmen (XI.25) without a warrior being found among them. But (XII.1) do not speak against the others! […]. Chief of the East Pekrur! Send after the youths! Cause them to come to the south in accordance with your greatness and your power, […] among the army of Egypt on account of you!" Chief of the East Pekrur, said, "Cause (XII.5) one to call Higa, son of Minnebmaat, the letter-scribe, to me!" One ran; one came; one brought him immediately.

Chief of the East Pekrur said to him, "Make a letter! Cause one to take it to Pisopd, to the place where Prince Petechons is! Behold, its content is, 'Chief of the East Pekrur, son (XII.10) of Petechons, the father of the bulls of Egypt, the good shepherd of the kalasiris, greets Prince Petechons, his son, the mighty bull of those of Pisopd, the lion of those of the east, the bronze wall whom Isis gave to me, the great mooring peg of iron whom the Ladies of the Two Lands gave to me, the beautiful rudder (XII.15) of Egypt, upon which the heart of the army of Egypt supports itself. It is good, if you can do this, my son Petechons. When this letter reaches you, if you are eating, place your bread on the floor, if you are drinking, put down the cup of drunkenness. Hasten, hasten! Hurry, hurry! Cause one to climb (XII.20) on

---

[33] P. Carlsberg 433 (Tebtunis version) column y+I corresponds to XI.7-XIII.9, see TAIT (2000: 68-71).

board alongside your brothers, your 86 men of the east, together with your brother Pemu, son of Inaros, alongside his 40 men of the Island of the Star and his four priestly companions! Come south to me, to Thebes, on account of some herdsmen of Perdjufe who are here in Thebes, who are battling with the pharaoh daily! (XII.25) They did not cause one to allow him to ferry Amun to Thebes. (XIII.1) Amun, he rests on the west side of Upper Egypt under a canopy of byssus. […] the army of Egypt in the light with the rope, while Chayris, son of the king, son of Pharaoh Petubastis, and General Wertiamunne are captured by the herdsmen. They are (XIII.5) on board the barque of Amun. Come south! Make an example of fighting! Cause the army of Egypt to know of your fear and your terror!'" The letter, one closed it; one sealed it with the seal of Chief of the East Pekrur; one placed it in the hand of a courier. He hastened to the north by night and day.

Petechons and Pemu prepare for battle

(XIII.10) A few days came to pass. He came to Pisopd. He hurried to the place where Prince Petechons was. He gave him the letter. He recited it, and heard every word that was in it. He raged like the sea, he flared up like the incense, while he says, "The *ḫlṭ*-fish catcher of a man from Tanis, the *wrs*-plant trapper of (XIII.15) a man from Dep, Petubastis, son of Chayris, to whom I did not say 'pharaoh'! Now, he honours (me with) these words, when he wishes for me against his misfortune. When he goes and celebrate the festivals of his gods without battle and strife against him, then he never cares to send after me. I having bound myself here with that which I will do in the name of Sopdu, Chief of the East, my god. If not for the writing (XIII.20) that Chief of the East Pekrur, my father, did for me upon this letter, saying, 'Amun, the great god, is in the west of Upper Egypt, which is opposite Thebes. One did not cause him to be ferried across to Thebes', one would also not fight for the children of Tahor, the daughter of Patjenfe. Besides, I do not want to know the punishment of Amun against me, my companions, my 86 men of the east, (XIV.1) and my eight priestly companions. Climb on board, and make your preparation to the south to Thebes! Fetch the fighter[34] of Sopdu! The youth of the benefice! Hurry to Heliopolis! Speak to Pemu, son of Inaros, saying, 'Make your preparation alongside your 40 men of the Island of the Star and your four priestly (XIV.5) companions! The meeting place with you is your […] of Pernebhetep, the harbour of Heliopolis.'"

---

[34] Hoffmann suggested that *qnqn* may also be translated to 'pointed mouse' as a possible nickname of Pemu, see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 103); cf. JASNOW (2001: 71 n. 59). However, judging by the context, it is more likely that the person here is referring to the 'youth of the benefice' whom Petechons sends to fetch Pemu.

The youth of the benefice hurried to Heliopolis. He presented to Pemu. He reported every word that Petechons had said to him before him. He dealt with them all accordingly. Petechons made his preparation alongside his 86 men of the east and his eight priestly companions. (XIV.10) He climbed on board and hurried to Pernebhetep. He found Pemu there before him, who was upon his *rms*-ship with his 40 men of the Island of the Star and his four priestly companions. They sailed south to Thebes.

New reinforcement for the pharaoh

After these, Pharaoh Petubastis was settling on the west side of Upper Egypt which is opposite Thebes, where the army of (XIV.15) Egypt was armed with their armour, when he went up and down over the barque of Amun daily, and his eyes were looking out for the Prince Petechons and Pemu, son of Inaros.

Suddenly, it happened that the pharaoh saw a new *rms*-ship of fir that travelled downstream. It landed (XIV.20) at the quay of Amun of Thebes. A warrior jumped out before it, who was armed with his armour. He ferried himself over to the west of Upper Egypt. He landed to the south of the fleet of the pharaoh. The warrior came onto the bank, while he was dressed with weapons from head (XIV.25) to feet, and he was like a bull that is armed with horns. He hurried up above to the barque of Amun without going to the place where the pharaoh was. (XV.1) He spoke against the army, saying, "O! Agathodaimon cause you to live! Do you know the outrage that you happen to be in, going on board the barque of Amun, while you are girded with your armour, and you caused one to make a strange shrine of it?" The prophet of Horus of Pe said to him, "Who are you, a man who is in this manner of (XV.5) report?[35] Are you a man of Tanis or are you a man of Mendes?" The warrior said to him, "I was not born in the north of which you speak. I am Minnebmaat, son of Inaros, Prince of Elephantine, the foremost of Upper Egypt in Egypt." The herdsmen said to him, "If you happen to (XV.10) not be a man of the north, why did he (i.e. the pharaoh) call you to the barque of Amun? Come on board with us! Spend a beautiful day before Amun! That which happens to us will happen to you!" […] Minnebmaat said to him, "By great Khnum, Lord of Elephantine, my god! You cannot escape from the outrage which you have done. Could (XV.15) I go on board and spend a beautiful day with you, when the complaint about the injustice that is against the pharaoh has been said? I shall cause him to do it to you. Leave the path of Amun! Cause him

---

[35] Lit. 'a man in this manner of report in which you are'.

to be ferried to Thebes! If that which you have done is not undone, I shall cause you to do it by force as a matter of something which you hate." (XV.20) One of the 13 herdsmen raised himself, where he says, "I will attack you, Nubian of Kush, gum-eater of a man of Elephantine!" He girded himself with his armour. He jumped onto the bank. He attacked and fought with Minnebmaat above the barque of Amun, from the time of the first hour (XV.25) of the morning until the time of the eighth hour of the day, (XVI.1) while the pharaoh watched them, while the army of Egypt observed, where a man punishes his companion severely. One was not able to take the other.

The pharaoh said to Chief of the East Pekrur and Teos, son of Chayris, "By Amun! The feet of this warrior are established on the battlefield! (XVI.5) After (these) happened, I do not recognise him among those from which our good words went." It came to the time of the tenth hour of the evening. The herdsman spoke to Minnebmaat, saying, "The day, we have done its fighting. Cause us to end the battle and strife between us! Cause us to make a truce between us two! One who does not come here tomorrow will make (XVI.10) its punishment through that." Minnebmaat agreed with the words which he had said. They made a truce between the two of them and they withdrew from the battlefield. The herdsman went away on board the barque of Amun.

The pharaoh honours Minnebmaat

After (these) happened, Minnebmaat was going on board his *rms*-ship, (when) the pharaoh came to meet him with Chief of the East Pekrur and Teos, son of Chayris. They said to him, (XVI.15) "Now, does a man go on the battlefield and withdraw, and does not go to the place where the pharaoh is in order to cause one to give the reward of his fighting to him?" The kalasiris turned to the place where the pharaoh was. He took his helmet off his head. He bowed to the ground. He greeted and filled his mouth with dirt. (The) pharaoh (XVI.20) recognised him. He recognised him. The pharaoh went to the place where he was. He embraced him.[36] He kissed him.[37] He jumped for him for many hours like a man greeting his beloved. (The) pharaoh said to him, "Hail to you, hail to you, Minnebmaat, son of Inaros, the foremost of the Upper Egypt in Egypt! This is what I swore (XVI.25) before Amun, the great god, in order to cause me to see you without there being harm to (your) blessing and (your)

---

[36] Lit. 'he caused his two arms to be on his exterior'.
[37] Lit. 'he caused his mouth to be inside his mouth'.

health. By Amun, the great god! (XVII.1) From the time that I saw you on the battlefield, I said to him, 'No man could perform in these manners of fighting except for a bull, or son of a bull; a lion, or son of a lion, as in my likeness.'" Pekrur, son of Petechons, Teos, (son) of Chayris, and (XVII.5) the firsts of Egypt, they took his hand and honoured him. The pharaoh heeded him under the canopy of his tent. It happened that after this, Minnebmaat went on broad his *rms*-ship. (The) pharaoh caused one to bring items of income which are very numerous to him. The firsts of Egypt caused one to bring everything for him.

(XVII.10) Minnebmaat spent another three days of battle—in total four days of battle—on the battlefield, where he would go out and fight with the herdsmen, then he would come back healthy, and they were unable to harm him on land, while the army of Egypt would recite (XVII.15) on account of their companion, saying, "There is no family of warriors in Egypt like the family of the Osiris-King Inaros. See, Chayris, son of the king, and General Wertiamunne, they could not make one day of battle against (XVII.20) the herdsmen. See, it has been four days in which Minnebmaat has come to the battlefield daily. They could not harm him at all!"

Petechons and Pemu arrive

While all these things happened, Petechons and Pemu arrived in Upper Egypt. They landed (XVII.25) their *rms*-ships to the south of the fleet of the pharaoh. They jumped onto the bank, while they were girded in their armour. (XVIII.1) One reported this to the pharaoh, Chief of the East Pekrur, and Teos, son of Chayris, when they saw them. The pharaoh went out. His heart was with Petechons and Pemu. He said to him, "Hail to you, hail to you, Prince Petechons and Pemu, son of Inaros! […] (XVIII.5) on the ground on account of the […] the strip of the noose […] outside Egypt." The […] put on it, the great strength […] the message. The preparation […] (XVIII.10) […] on […] which […] Pemu before the pharaoh […] of which destroys him with the […] (XVIII.15) in order to cause […] in the […] the journey […], where he caused him to make strife […] priest, while he was fighting among […] his lord, after […] Chayris (XVIII.20) son of the king, the children […] above the barque of Amun […] horses on the west side of Upper Egypt which is opposite Thebes on account of […].[38]

---

[38] P. Tebt. Tait 2 (Tebtunis version) column z+I-II contains fragments of XVIII, see TAIT (2000: 71-4).

Petechons and Sarpot[39]

Narrative introduction

(I.1) […] swear […] Petechons. One have not […] day […] pay honour to him […] with Osiris […] (I.x+5) […] preparation […] before you […] pharaoh is the one who is far from you, while he will cause […], while he will cause it to fall into your heart […] he […] in front of the chief after the hastening which he did […] the manner of going which he did to Nineveh (I.x+10) […] manner of finding of his sister, while she […] return which he did to Egypt, […] love and the manner of […] pharaoh, while he […] made difficult […] (I.y+1) […] the manner […] to him before […] oath, saying, "If you […] she […] (I.y+5) […] Prince Petechons […] with Prince Petechons […] after her […] Prince Petechons […] words and I […] (I.y+10) […] camp […]."

Petechons sets up camp

(II.1) Petechons (came) to the Land of the Women with his army. One placed the stones of the fence of the tent. One placed the stones of the fence of the tent of Prince Petechons in the middle of the camp. One placed […] and its columns, its […] were decorated with sistrum face (?) on the ground, while its interior was made with linen […] bound on […] first class purple *ḏrḥr*-material, which was decorated with stars […] bound by […] (II.5) […] all of their exterior, on account of the manner of protecting it from the rain of […], where it was decorated in every way and manners according to the fact that it was a palace. One set up the tent […] the great men of the army, […] the chiliarch to the left and right of the tent of Prince Petechons. They arranged around them it […].

Espionage by Ashteshyt

Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of the Women, was sitting […] her tent. […] of the Land of the Women stood left and right of her. She lifted her face up while […] numerous, where they (II.10) […] in the fortress of the Land of the Women. She said, "Make strength for me! O Isis, my lady […], the great goddess, and Osiris, the great god! Do you not see, as I do, of the manner of establishing camp […] that the army makes […]?" She called Ashteshyt, her younger sister, saying, "Hurry to the place where this countless army is establishing camp!

---

[39] Due to the fragmentary nature of the text, some reconstructions have been made. However, the reconstructions are not as extensive as Hoffmann's, see HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 108-17).

Change yourself in the manner of those inside the camp! Take for yourself […] the custom set by the army! Learn everything and every inquiry for which the army has come upon us […] the chief who is at their head together with the words (II.15) […] which they have come!"

Ashteshyt, the younger sister of Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of the Women, went away. She changed herself into her manner. She went out into the army. One did not know of her movements, and that […] nor that she is a woman. She found out the order of everything that happened in the camp, and she found out that it is the Egyptian […] Prince Petechons is the one who is at the head of them. She inquired after the manner of coming which he did alone to the fortress of the Land of the Women, […] they were serving. She knew the order of everything, and no one in the land knew of her. She returned to the place […] where Sarpot was. (II.20) She reported before her in the order of each and everything which she had seen, with the […] Prince Petechons […] without a thing on the land being changed.

Sarpot's reaction to Ashteshyt's report

The moment Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of the Women, heard these words, she said, "Make strength for me! O Isis, great goddess, and Osiris, great god, and the great gods […]. Where is the evil snake of an Egyptian? Behold! For many days, one caused us to hear of his matters. He has fought against the king, against the land of Syria, where he was fighting with a chief today, and killing another tomorrow. His gods did not know how (II.25) to resist him. Will we know how to resist him? We will, we will! Good fortune is how we will anticipate them. […] anticipate them than causing one to anticipate us. Cause one to assemble the army on the battlefield against the army of the Egyptians! Cause the trumpet to be shouted and the horn to be voiced in the Land of the Women with all its nomes, saying, 'Make your preparation for the battle against a foreign land that lies outside of ours! Do not cause delay to occur! Hasten, hasten! Hurry, hurry!'"

Arming of the army of the Land of the Women

A few days came to pass. The army of all the women that was in all the nomes of the Land of the Women were assembled. They went to (II.30) […] fortress which is at the great bulwark of the Land of the Women with their army […] battle. Sarpot […] went among the army, she saw the women [...] with their weapons […], those who rode on their horses, those who rode

on their […], those who harnessed […] with the shields […] helmets of bull's head […] the opponents, to cause them to send […], those who went back and forth against their (II.35) […] armour, as they placed themselves into ranks and files, while they caused fear to happen, when they stood in a […] their manner of fighting. Sarpot made her preparation […]. She saw their manner of establishing camp which they did, and her heart is glad […]. They (?) said, "You will not meet the evil eye in battle. Beautiful are the youngsters […] Osiris, the great god, our […] beautiful bull, our beautiful fighting bull. He will not (II.40) abandon us […] the pharaoh, while she is with us, she will not abandon us […] this, and reach […] with the pharaoh. […] Petechons, our manner of coming among the […] see before you. […] that you will take them […]. Do not be grievous of heart! (II.45) […] Isis, the great goddess, is ordering the army of women […]. He will not be sitting." Sarpot […] aforementioned camp. Sarpot spoke […] through […] the gate of the fortress […] the leaders outside of the camp (II.50) […] in the land going outside of their camp, […] the *trk*-fight […]. They acted according to each and everything that (III.1) Sarpot had commanded […].

Petechons vs. Sarpot (first day)

They went to the place where Prince Petechons was. […] of the battle against the […]. Prince Petechons sent his army against them […]. They shouted (III.5) curses and insults; the language of warriors […] from the beginning until the end […] out into the army of the […] a lot. She destroyed […] suddenly against them. Those who wished […] (III.10) them in a slaughter and destruction […]. The carnage of a hot-tempered bird of prey among the birds was what Sarpot did among the Assyrians […]. The murder of Apophis was what Sarpot did […] seized before them […] with her in their eyes […] (III.15) aforementioned day.

Petechons […]. He shouted a great cry and […] the dust of the […] the Assyrians […] "[…] against us, the […] (III.20) with us, and we […] the […]. Who […]?" Petechons said, "I have not done my upmost […]. Do not […]! There will be happiness after sorrow […] on the battlefield today, in order to […] the battlefield, in order to cause […] concerning the Land of the Women. […] will not […]. (III.25) When it happens that we are their lord, then we will make the Land of the Women serve. It happens that you will find glory […] his comrades. After […] against […], you will do it tomorrow! The army of women […] a bad death, which will be agonising for them." The Assyrians went to their tents […]. After, Prince Petechons

went to his tent. He drank according to the battle; he ate according to the fight; the manners of the battle were that which he […] under in his eyes.

Petechons vs. Sarpot (second day)

The morning of the next day came. […] (III.30) Petechons […] in his armour and equipped his beautiful weapons of a warrior from top to bottom. He took a pair of […] a sickle-sword which was […] for a warrior. […] of fighting, while his chest was leaned against the shafts of his spears, where he gave […] of battle, where he was like a lion that growls, a bull that was full of strength, […] when he announced the attack. One brought it as news, and one reported it in writing to the place where Sarpot was, saying, (III.35) "An Egyptian went to the battlefield today." She said, "Make strength for me, my lady Isis, the great goddess! May you deliver me from the slaughter of this evil snake of an Egyptian." […] marched […] Ashteshyt, her younger sister. She said, "The fights which you did yesterday were numerous. […] on the battlefield, so I will fight with the Egyptian today." Sarpot said to her, "It will not suit me. The manner of weakness of the Assyrians are the […]. (III.40) Those who are on the battlefield today, you know of their manner […] against them. By Isis, the great goddess, the mistress of the Land of the Women! I am the one whom she will gird herself, who will go on the battlefield against the evil snake of an Egyptian today." She […] and went away from her without a word on the land. She brought up her battle weapons and armour before her. […] She put on her armour and equipped herself with her weapons […] (III.45) as was her manner. One opened the gates before her and she went out to the order of battle […] Petechons. A man met his companion among them as two. They extended the shafts of their spears out in front of them. They threw the side of their decorated shields over their arms […] insults; the language of warriors. They took death as a friend. They took life as an enemy. […] in their fight of equals. Beautiful were their strikes, cunning were their blows. […] (III.50) work. They swooped into the sky like vultures. They came down to earth like […]. (IV.1) They took to battle like Bes. They made […] like […] the son of Sobek. The earth resounded […] when the […] while they struck, beat, and lashed out. A man was not inferior[40] to his brother,[41] his companion among them […] as well. He was not inferior to his brother, his companion among them.

---

[40] Lit. 'leave the road.'
[41] Although *sn* literally means 'brother', in this case it is referring to a companion.

(IV.5) It was from the time of the first hour of the morning until the […] of the evening, that the fight […]. Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of the Women called to Prince Petechons, saying, "My brother, the kalasiris of Egypt […], the sun, it has set. It will shine upon us tomorrow again." Prince Petechons said, "What you say is right, […] one does not fight in the dark as well." Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of the Women, said to him, "My brother Petechons, the sun has set and it is resting. […] rest […] (IV.10) […] follow them, perhaps […]. By my lady and queen, Isis the Great, the mother of the gods, the […] my brother Petechons […] fight in evening." Prince Petechons met […]. They […, "…] here in the nomes of the Land of the Women […] fate of the battle […] (IV.15) […] while it happens that if it pleases you […] the way […] between us, the middle […] them in laughter. […] in the nomes of the Land of the Women […] (IV.20) […] his places of […] these […] the […] is not […] cause […] Sarpot, Pharaoh […]. Make (?) […] the […] under us […]." Sarpot […] into (IV.25) […] Prince Petechons […] hardstone. The moment Sarpot saw him, she did not know where on earth she was, […] on account of the great love which had entered her […]. The moment Prince Petechons saw her by his side, he did not know where on earth he was. […]. He said to her, "My sister, Sarpot […] find it. Do not […] in the Land of the Women […] bad word over me in (IV.30) […], when I will go to the fighting arrangement […] us/we in […] in order to strike the […" …, "…] Prince Petechons […] over you, until I […] back and forth in order to call […] Ashteshyt, my younger sister […] pharaoh […] (IV.35) […] he did it for me […] the Land of the Women. Behold! I […] great of voice heard […] Petechons […] battle […] (IV.40) […] the ambush […] with […] your […]." He said to her, "It is with […] feast, without […] (IV.45) […" …, "…] while I will do my […] the Land of the Women hears […] coming to the battle […] (V.1) to escape from my misfortune. Have I come to you on account […] destruction of the evil snake of an Egyptian?"

Petechons vs. Sarpot (third day)

After these, the morning of the next day came. Prince Petechons arose. He girded himself in his armours […]. Sarpot arose. She girded herself in her armour […]. (V.5) She counted her troops in the fortress, she lined up […] out to the gate of the fortress in the […]. They fought against the […]. They struck again the […] behind her. They caused […] thresh […] saying, "Mount […] (V.10) […] to the fortress to meet […] road to road, street to street […] the Land of the Women." He found […] street, while she […].

The two armies feast

Petechons […] of the Land of the Women. She told […] (V.x+10) "I know that you are wise[42] […] and that you are not raging either. […] some women who have not been pregnant […]" …] (VI.x+1) […] day […] their […] like […] preparation […] out of the Land of the Women […] the half-covered (house) […] half-covered (house) […] of the whole land […] feast in it, while […] (VI.x+5) […] goddess […] feast.

Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of the Women […], she did not care to go to make a feast […] half-covered (house). Water and incense for the cleansing […] out in order to make […] a place of invocation before the gods in order to […] Sarpot […] midday. (She) climbed up the […] Petechons. They drank and rejoiced themselves in the aforementioned half-covered (house). They came to the feast with him to […] the […]. Sinking into sleep was what Prince Petechons did.[43] He saw himself in a dream with the […] while the Good Prince Inaros was speaking to him as follows, "[…] on the fifth day, (VI.x+10) saying, 'You are here! You are […]! Which god is in you? You […] Isis, the great goddess […] while you are in the […] who does not know the hour […] this half-covered (house). Make […] libation […] protect you […] to you out of the misfortune […] in it […]'" Petechons got up in the moment which he was in […] Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land (VI.x+15) of the Women […, "…]. They cursed the […] who does not […] Isis, the great goddess, and Osiris, the great god […] in it. […] Good Prince Inaros, his lord (?) […] lay in […]."

The moment Sarpot heard these words, […] the great wonder in the world […] until […] time. She heard the name of Good Prince Inaros, and she says, "There is no god on the […] (VI.x+20) also in Egypt, the land of his people. What is the value of a single foreigner? We are in the […], that which will perish […] fire, he whose father and mother are very old, which […], which they caused to go down upon to a fortress stronghold […] crown / ash […] the cattle? They placed clothing of royal linen, gold […] oil for the man who died in Egypt like a god. Why […] who will not […] the land smell (VI.x+25) for Good Prince Inaros? We have heard that he is a son of the pharaoh of the land of Egypt […] Wennefer, justified." She caused one to bring cattle, birds, superior myrrh, every incense of sweet scent before Prince Petechons. He made a great offering, burnt offering, and libation, which were all wonders of

---

[42] Lit. 'I know of you being a wise man'.
[43] Part of *Sarpot* VI.x+8-14 has been reconstructed using Ryholt's appendix on dream and visions, see RYHOLT (2012a: 199-208).

the land. Long was their blessing […] god of Osiris-King Inaros. Sarpot said to him, "You are a god before me, Egyptian. Who is it, whom have you also brought here in order to not do harm to us, in order to not do nothing evil to our city? One knows (VII.1) […] until I say […] my brother, Prince Petechons […] I am her […]."

Attack of the Indians

The moment […] saw […] marches […] (VII.5) […] who were with him […] to the Land of the Women. "[…] with you." One reported with his companion among them […]. He […] it, saying, "[…] battlefield. He […]. He perished (VII.10) […] an iron coffin […] great […] that in which we are […]. We went up in […] alive, while he […] spent the day […] (VII.15) […] Osiris, the great god […] prince […] the two men of the east […] while they were armed […] spices, their […] on the […] marches in the night […] (VII.20) […] camp, except him […] he/him (VII.25) […] horse […" …] (VII.30) […] in […] reported before […], "Your […] (VII.35) into the city, where they killed […]. They will not leave anyone on the land alive in the city."

[…] Petechons (?) said (?), "Behold! The words which are suitable to be done by us. Cause the trumpet to be shouted in the city, saying, 'Do not leave anyone fighting with these warriors! Sarpot is the one who will come to the battlefield in order to fight against them, as she knows their manner of fighting.' I will gird my armour myself. I will (VII.40) come to the battlefield. I will call to them. I will cause them to stop. I will cause them to stop fighting." She said, "What you say is right." They girded themselves with their armour, and they went out. They fought.

(A,I.x+1) […] aforementioned […] two men of the east […]. They made […] these (A,I.x+5) […] which you […] brother (A,I.x+15) […] the Land of the Women […] courier […] Petechons like […] after him (A,I.x+20) […] before (VIII.1) […] fight of Prince Petechons […]. The moment Prince Petechons saw that which is strong […] like something which was hidden […] in them. The moment he saw this, he did not know where on earth he was […] fighting […] (VIII.5) to Ahmose in the wall (?) […] strike […] with Sheshonq out on the places where Petechons was. A man (?) […] the Land of the Women. They protected him […]. They rescued him from captivity. […, "…] I […] to you to […]." She turned her face to these […]. It was reported to Prince Petechons […] (VIII.10) the two men of the east. They

drank, ate, and were very glad […] who came after him with Sarpot […] the […] who were with Prince Petechons […] Prince Petechons. She did not see the Egyptian […] the young courier. He alone was what they found. It was reported to a man and his companion among them […] (VIII.15) two, who were here with him. They had gone to them in the evening. They took Petechons […] today. There was worry […] the Chief of India […] who caused […] Egyptian […] smell outside […, "…] go to the land […] (VIII.20) […] fight […] the […] happened at the […] to us […] (VIII.25) Niq […]. Do not […] know […] to […] of the […] (VIII.30) up […" …] Niq […] noon.

Discussion between the Indians

A few days came to pass. […] reached […] the reason for everything which happened to them from this day […], "Sarpot,[44] Pharaoh of the Land of the Women, girded herself with her armours, and she came to the battlefield (VIII.35; A,II.x+1) on the second day. We did not find the manner of […] Have they […] or has he left? It happened that the completion of another day of going […] the two men of the east […]. They did not find the place of going which they did. We prepared with our hearts […], so that they will cause him to perish. It frightened the heart of his companion, when the two men of the east went […] their lord, whose movements they did not find. They went to the […]. No man on earth knew of it. (VIII.40; A,II.x+3) Our own heart was frightened, when we seized Niq, the guide […] until he caused us to reach India."

The moment the Chief of India heard these words, (IX.1; A,II.x+5) […] very […] on account of it. When he heard these, he said, "[…] the great Agathodaimon of India, in order to not cause […] return […]. I will cause the evil snake of an Egyptian to go before me here. […]. By Osiris, the great Agathodaimon of India! He will want to fight him […], (IX.5; A,II.x+8) […] two men of the east. What is the thing which happened to him, the evil snake of an Egyptian? […] who was with him." They said, "We do not care to see them […] the evil snake of a courier who is here with us. He reported with these […]. When you kill a snake, do not leave its tail!" They said, "That is not right, […] come to us. They will be able to meet Prince Petechons […] kill him with us. (IX.10; A,II.x+12) […]. If we do not find him, he will wish us misfortune. We do not care to […] go to him […] words […], while he finds a single fault that concerns us […] and we will guard it until we can find that which came […] came,

---

[44] This conversation may have started earlier.

and we said it to him, 'Guard […] him! That which we will do in order to cause him to be healthy.' Is it […] words […] and you happen to […] Petechons, while he is before us […] him again." The chief said, "What you say is right. […] (IX.15; A,II.x+15) […] battle […] these very much in cunning, in order to go to […] their advices […]."

Petechons' and Sarpot's reaction

While all these things happened, one reported before Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of the Women, saying, "They, the Indians, went away on account of […] in the land who can find their journeys. Where are they? The one who went to them, while they […]" …] her heart was very joyful […, "…] the work of Isis the Great, the mother of the god, the great goddess. She is truly with us. When she appears, she is in us. […] while she is on […]." She reported before Prince Petechons about everything, saying, "Behold! The Indians who are here with us […]."

(A,II.x+20) (The) heart of Prince Petechons was troubled on account of her words, saying, "It is not the word of a warrior, […] your words […] tenth of the army. They did not find my journeys […] before me in the nomes […] foreign land [...] while they arranged […] on account of that which I made with my army. It happens that they do not care to reach the establishing of the numerous armies. They do not care to reach (it), while he is sleeping […] numerous […]. I did not cause them to find the place to which I went, (but) they will find it. It frightened the heart […] going to them […] India forever, and I will be able to make it. What is that which I am able to say before the chief […]? (IX.x+1;[45] A,II.x+25) […] with his heart, saying, 'If my youth does not come, evil then will come to me.' The chief […] reach them."

Sarpot saw him, where his heart is frightened, and he is discouraged. She said, "The […] to you, my brother Petechons […]. (IX.x+5; A,II.x+27) Did you not come here with your army on account of the cause […] the Land of the Women? […] Petechons! I will cause the army of the Land of the Women […], they will serve you, and they will bring tax to you […] the

---

[45] The 9.x fragment is too fragmentary to piece together with the A,II manuscript. However, there are parallel sections between 9.x+3 and A,II.x+26 and 9.x+6 and A,II.x+28. The parallel between 9.x+7 and A,II.x+29 is possible, but Hoffmann is dubious of the match. Alternatively, Hoffmann suggest another match in 9.x+8 and A,II.x+30, but this is unlikely once the line length of the fragment is taken into account, see HOFFMANN (1995a: 103-4, n. 491). For the purpose of this translation, the lines of the 9.x fragment has been placed where an overlap might occur.

nomes and the towns […] here in the land of Syria. My brother Petechons! Is he […]? Where is she […]? (A,II.x+30) […] for you to every place to which you go." Petechons said, "[…] march out […]" …] she […] with them, saying, "Come here, my brothers! […] beautiful […] kill […] food […] the battle […] beautiful […] my brothers […] the […] great […] pleased at them, Isis, the great goddess […] in the nomes of the entire land, without your wrath again. Worth (?) […] and she […]. (A,II.x+35) Be humble! Be quiet! Be pleased! Be glad! Arrangements have been made with the gods! […] since arrangements have been made with them. The uraeus has been arranged with them as well. […] incense […] bore them. They will be sent to the land […] his […]. They do not care to speak it […] great goddess […] all […] face […] (A,II.x+40) excess […] the land […] the nomes of the […] give […] (X.1) […]. Come here, my brothers! Behold! […] gold, precious stones, and some […] to the place where he is. Cause us to prepare ourselves […] fear. Cause us to […] (X.5) […] saying, '[…] arrange […]'" …].

(XI.1) Petechons said […] the counts and the Chief of India, saying, "You are a courier […] before Prince Petechons. Do not […] go […]. We will cause the chief to do something bad to you […]." One brought him before Prince (XI.5) Petechons […] his brother, his companion among them. Petechons said, "[…] service. I brought them here […] pharaoh […] in order to make for them […] the land of […]" …] (XI.x+1) […] towards him […] place […] way […] Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of the Women, (XI.x+5) […] causing […] spear […] outside […] of India […] the […] their horses their […] battle […] a march against her companion outside of the […] India, the army of the nomes of the Land of the Women and the army of the nomes of India.

Petechons and Sarpot vs. the Chief of India (first day)

(XI.x+10) After these, […] they shouted the trumpet and the horn in order to hasten to the battlefield. Sarpot said, "Cause one to bring my weapons and my armour to the middle before me! Make her […] women!" One brought her […] everyone with her, saying, "We will open the battlefield." She did not […] in the land. Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of the Women, girded herself in her armours. She stood by the battle order. She spoke, while her voice was loud, saying, "Behold! The battlefield, the army of the nomes of India! I am (XI.x+15) Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of the Women […]. Do not say, 'It is a business […].' It is a business of the women, which one made for us. […]."

Great is the army of India […], found in the vicinity of their pharaoh to the south, north, west, and east. They caused the […] to come to her […] with […] the light-spear […] clasp the spear […] stood, the rain […] of the heaven […] on the back of the shield face […]. May they know […] the blows of the army are swift. (XII.1) She brought out a curving-spear. Heavy was […]. She threw it, and it went out into the thick mass of the army. She was like a lion among the cattle of Upper Egypt. Those who stood to fight, she caused their fighting-field be their resting-field. […] nice. She brought her face out in destruction as slaughter was in her eyes and murder was in her heart. The carnage of (XII.5) a hot-tempered bird of prey among the birds was what Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of Women, did […] army of India.

While she was doing these, Petechons […] his armours outside alongside his two men of the east. […] of the fight and took her hand […] the […] fight stood against […] (XII.10) […] the battle, while her heart was happy […]. He […] her hand. He caused […] the river. She purified […].

Petechons and Sarpot vs. the Chief of India (second day)

The morning of the next day came. […] of the battle […] (XII.15) […] the middle […] here […] weapons […] her sickle-sword […] caused (?) […] call, saying, "O […] (XII.20) statue […] did not […]. O […] the Chief of India […] side […] Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of the Women, […] again […] the […]. Cause the army […] against me! I am here […]."

The moment the chief heard these words, he opened his mouth to the ground in a great cry […, "…] (XII.25) […] of the […]. Sarpot is the one who will be a punishment on my breath […] out in the camp of the chiefs except for India […] army of the nomes of India. The shame is before […] devastation in us in order to cause us to bring taxes […]" …] inside suddenly. She did not wait to fight […] (XII.30) […], when she grabbed the chief. She struck him […]. He was bound by his hands and feet. Sarpot turned around […] army. She made a slaughter and destruction among them like […"…] fight. If the amazement of the […] destruction, which you alone are not the offering today […] (XII.35) […] the Land of the Women […] nomes of India […] kill […] chief […] before her […] our pharaoh […] the […]."

Submission of the Indians

(XII.40) […, "…] we present this – silver, grain, the treasures of our […]. They […] in our hands. We will be glad, while […] the Land of the Women. Bring them to the place where Prince Petechons is."

[…] Prince Petechons, "What […] wish me treachery, struggle, and […] (XII.45) […" …] while he begged Prince Petechons […].

Appendix 2: Introductory phrases

Line number	Transliteration	Translation	Subject
Contest for the Armour of Inaros			
I.11	*[i.ir n3]y ḏr=w ḫpr*	While all these things happened,	Osiris
I.18	*[i.ir n3y ḏr=w] ḫpr*	While all these things happened,	Petubastis
II.3	*i.ir n3y ḏr=w ḫpr*	While all these things happened,	'Lover-of-battle', 'Horus-is-revenge'
II.7	*[t3] wnw.t ḏd n3y*	The moment he said this,	Pemu
IV.x+13-V.1	*ḫp[r=f] t3 wnw[.t stm n3 m]t r.ir P3-mi [p3 ḥm]*	It happened that the moment Pemu the younger heard these words,	Pemu
VI.6-7	*t3 wnw.t stm n3 mt r.ir p3 w[r i]Bbṭ [P3-qll]*	The moment Chief of the East Pekrur heard these words,	Pekrur
VII.33-VIII.1	*t[3] wn[w.t n s]ḏm n3 mt r.ir P3-mi*	The moment Pemu heard these words,	Pemu
VIII.10-1	*ssw s[bk n3 i.]ir [ḫ]p[r]*	A few days came to pass.	The people of Egypt
VIII.17	*[m-s3] n3y*	After these,	Petubastis
VIII.23-4	*t3 wnw.t n nw r.ir Pr-ꜥ3 r p3 wr iBbṭ P3-qll irm P3-mi irm p3y=w mšꜥ*	The moment the pharaoh saw Chief of the East Pekrur and Pemu with their army,	Petubastis
IX.3-4	*t3 wnw.t stm n3 [m]t r.ir Wr-ty-Imn-Nw.t*	The moment Wertiamunne heard these words,	Wertiamunne
IX.7	*t3 wnw.t stm n3 mt r.ir p3 mšꜥ n Kmy*	The moment the army of Egypt heard these words,	Army of Egypt
X.14-5	*t3 wnw.t stm r.[ir P3-mi r...]*	The moment Pemu heard [...],	Pemu
XI.12	*m-s3 [n3y]*	After these,	Pekrur
XI.15	*m-s3 n3y*	After these,	Pekrur
XI.20	*m-s3 n3y*	After these,	The great men
XI.22	*ḥr[w sbk n3] i.ir ḫpr*	A few days came to pass.	Pemu
XI.24	*i.ir n3y ḏr=w [ḫpr]*	While all these things happened,	A messenger
XII.4	*ḥrw s[bk n3 i.ir ḫpr]*	A few days came to pass.	Wertiamunne
XII.9	*t3 wnw.t n stm n3 mt r.ir P3-mi p3 ḥ[m]*	The moment Pemu the younger heard these words,	Pemu
XIV.16-7	*t3 wnw.t stm n3 [mt r.i]r na p3 lms*	The moment those of the *lms*-ship heard these words,	Those of the *lms*-ship
XIV.23	*t3 wnw.t nw r.i[r P3-m]i [...]*	The moment Pemu saw [...],	Pemu
XVI.12-3	*t3 wnw.t [s]tm n3 mt r.[ir P3-ti-Ḫnsw]*	The moment Petechons heard these words,	Petechons
XVII.22-3	*i.ir n3y ḏr=w ḫpr*	While all these things happened,	*lms*-ship of Pekrur
XXI.7-8	*i.ir n3y ḏr=w ḫpr*	While all these things happened,	The two shields

XXIII.17	m-s3 n3y	After these,	Petechons
XXIV.12	i.ir [n3]y dr=w hpr	While all these things happened,	Minnemei
XXV.13	m-s3 n3y	After these,	Petubastis
XXV.25	m-s[3] n3y	After these,	Armour of Inaros
XXVI.x+4	[m-s3 n3]y	After these,	Petubastis

Contest for the Benefice of Amun

III.15	t3 wnw.t dd n3y i.ir=f	The moment he said this,	Young priest
VI.12	m-s3 n3y	After these,	Petubastis
XIII.9–10	hrw sbq n3 i.ir hpr	A few days came to pass.	Courier
XIV.13	m-s3 n3y	After these,	Petubastis
XVII.23	i.ir n3y dr=w hpr	While all these things happened,	Petechons and Pemu

Petechons and Sarpot

II.21	t3 wnw.t n stm n3 mt.w r.ir Srpt[.t t3 Pr-3.t n p3 t3] n3 shm.tw	The moment Sarpot, Pharaoh of the Land of the Women, heard these words,	Sarpot
II.29	[ssw s]bq n3 i.ir hpr	A few days came to pass.	Army of women
III.29	hpr B3wy p3y=f rs[ty]	The morning of the next day came.	Petechons (?)
IV.26	[t3 wnw.t n nw r.ir Srpt.t r-r=f]	The moment Sarpot saw him,	Sarpot
IV.27	[t3 wnw.t n nw r.ir p3 irp3y P3-ti-Hnsw] r-r=s	The moment Prince Petechons saw her,	Petechons
V.2–3	n.m-s3 n3y [hpr tw3 p3y=f] rs[ty]	After these, the morning of the next day came.	Petechons
VI.x+18	[t3 wn]w.t n stm n3 mt.w r.ir S[rpt]	The moment Sarpot heard these words,	Sarpot
VII.4	t[3] wnw.t n nw[…]	The moment […] saw […],	?
VIII.2	t3 wnw.t n n[w] r<.ir> p3 irp3y P3-ti-Hnsw r.ir=f dr	The moment Prince Petechons saw that which is strong,	Petechons
VIII.3	t3 wnw.t n [nw n3y r.ir=f]	The moment he saw this,	Petechons
VIII.32	ssw [sbq] n[3] i.ir hpr	A few days came to pass.	?
VIII.41	t[3] wnw.t [n] stm n3 [mt.w r.ir p3 wr n Hntw]	The moment the Chief of India heard these words,	Chief of India
IX.16	i.ir n3y [dr=w hpr r.ir=w]	While all these things happened,	A messenger
XI.x+10	n.m-s3 n3y	After these,	Army of women (?)
XII.13	[hpr] tw3 n p3y=f[rsty]	The morning of the next day came.	?
XII.23	[t3 wnw.t stm n3] mt.w r.ir p3 wr	The moment the chief heard these words,	Chief of India

Appendix 2: Imperatives

Contest for the Armour of Inaros

Line number	Transliteration	Translation	Speaker	Recipient
VI.2	ḫꜣꜥ n= k r nꜣy= i ꜥ.wy.w	Go to my house!	Pekrur	Pemu
VI.2-3	i.iry hrw nfr irm nꜣy= k rmt ꜥꜣy nꜣy[= k ....]	Spend a beautiful day with your great men and your [...]!	Pekrur	Pemu
VI.3	qn r-ḥr= i	Leave me alone!	Pemu	Pekrur
VIII.5-6	m-ir ḫꜣꜥ mlḫ [....] mtw [ḥ]vnyn ḫpr ḫn [Kmy] n pꜣy= i hꜣ	Do not arouse strife […], so that disturbances happen in Egypt in my time!	Petubastis	Pemu
VIII.12-3	i.nw r pꜣ mšꜥ [n]ꜣ [tš].w [i]ꜣbṯ	See the army of the nomes of the east!	Petubastis	Pemu
VIII.31-2	[i.ir]y [w]ꜥ wḫꜣ r Pꜣ-ḏw-Rꜥ r ḥrw= i n Wr-ty-Imn-Nw.t	Make a letter to Padjure at my command to Wertiamunne,	Petubastis	Letter-scribe
VIII.32	m-ir ir wlly r ꜣ Ḏꜥny tbꜣ ḥyny mt iw= i wḫꜣ= k n.im= w	Hurry to Tanis on account of something which I wish from you!	Petubastis	Wertiamunne
IX.21	ꜥw n ḥꜣ[t]	Be patient!	Petubastis	Pekrur
IX.21	[m-ir] sbk n ḥꜣt	Do not be hasty!	Petubastis	Pekrur
IX.21	my-šm n= n r nꜣy= tn tš irm nꜣy= tn tmy	Go to your nome and your city for us!	Petubastis	Pekrur
IX.24	ḫꜣꜥ nꜣ.w= i hrw 5	…, give me five days!	Petubastis	Pekrur
X.17	m-ir gs	Do not be sad!	Pekrur	Pemu
X.20-1	i.iry r-ḫ.t [mt nb r.]ḏd pꜣ wr iꜣbṯ Pꜣ-qll	Make (a letter) according to every word that Chief of the East Pekrur has said!	Petubastis	Sunupaweser
X.21-2	i.iry wꜥ wḫꜣ n šꜥy n Ḥr-ꜥw sꜣ Pꜣ-ti-ꜣs[.t pꜣ mr] štꜣ n tmy nꜣ mt n rmt nmḥ.w	Make a written letter to Horau, son of Petese, Overseer of Woods (?) of the city and those of independent status,	Pekrur	Sunupaweser
X.22-3	i.iry pꜣy= k sbty irm pꜣy= k mšꜥ n pꜣ tš n [...]	Make your preparation alongside your army of the nome of [...]!	Pekrur	Horau
X.23-4	šp pꜣy= w s[m]y	Receive their complaint!	Pekrur	Horau
X.29	i.iry kꜣ wḫꜣ r iꜣbṯ r pꜣ Pr-Spt n pꜣ wr nmty Pꜣ-ti-Ḥnsw	Make another letter to the east to Pisopd, to Great of Power Petechons,	Pekrur	Sunupaweser
X.30	i.[i]ry pꜣy= k sbty irm pꜣy= k [m]šꜥ	Make your preparation alongside your army,	Pekrur	Petechons

Line	Transliteration	Translation		
X.34	‹i.iry k3 wḫ3 n› Ptḥ-mny s3 Ṯ3-nfr p3 rp3yn p3 sbt n p3 Pr-mnš-Rˁ	(Make another letter to) Ptahmeni, son of Tjanefer, Prince of the fortress of Permeneshre,	Pekrur	Sunupaweser
XI.1-2	i.iry k3 wḫ3 [… Mn-i]rm=i s3 ʾIr.t-ḥr-r-r=w p3 k[3 n3 rmt] Yb	Make another letter [...] to Minnemei, son of Inaros, the bull of those of Elephantine,	Pekrur	Sunupaweser
XI.3-4	[ḥb] n ʾIr.t-ḥr-r-r=w p3 ḫm p3 nḫt 3my	Send for Inaros the younger, The Stubborn,	Pekrur	Sunupaweser
XI.4	[i.iry p3y=k] sbty i[rm p3]y=k [mšˁ]	Make your preparation alongside your army,	Pekrur	Inaros the younger
XI.5-6	[i.iry k3 wḫ3] i.ir-ḥr Bk-lwl s3 ʾIr.t-ḥr-r-r=w	Make another letter before Baklul, son of Inaros,	Pekrur	Sunupaweser
XI.6	i.iry p3y=k sbty i[rm p3y=k mšˁ]	Make your preparation alongside your army!	Pekrur	Baklul
XI.6-7	[i.iry k3] wḫ3 r t3 m3y n Ḥ.t-nn-nsw i.[i]r-ḥr ˁnḫ-Ḥr p3 gby [s3 Nḫ-k3]	Make another letter to the island of Heliopolis before Chayris, The Avenger (?), son of Nehka,	Pekrur	Sunupaweser
XI.7-8	[i.iry p3y]=k sbty irm p3y[=k mšˁ] n3y=k rmt qnqn	Make your preparation alongside your army and your warriors!	Pekrur	Chayris
XI.8-9	i.iry [k3 wḫ3 r …s3 P3-ti-]Ḫnsw irm n3y=f iry.w n wˁb	Make another letter to [...] son of Petechons, alongside his priestly companions,	Pekrur	Sunupaweser
XI.9-10	ḥb r [H.t-t3-ḥry-ib n Sbk-ḥtp] s3 Ṯ3-nfr	Send to Athribis for Sochotes, son of Tjanefer,	Pekrur	Sunupaweser
XI.10	i.iry p3y=k sbty irm p3y=k mšˁ irm [… H.t-t3-ḥry-ib]	Make your preparation alongside your army and [...] of Athribis!	Pekrur	Sochotes
XI.10-11	ḥb n Wylhny s3 ˁnḫ-Ḥr p3 rp3yn p3 sbt n M[r-ʾItm]	Send for Wilheni, son of Chayris, Prince of the fortress of Meidum,	Pekrur	Sunupaweser
XI.11-2	i.iry p3y=k s[bty irm p3y=k mšˁ	Make your preparation alongside your army,	Pekrur	Wilheni
XI.13-4	i.iry p[3]y=tn [sbty r p3 šy] n t3 Ghsy.t	Make your preparation to the Sea of the Gazelle,	Pekrur	Pisopdians
XI.15-6	stm [r n3 mt mtw]=i dd=w n=k	Hear the words that I will say to you!	Pekrur	Pemu
XI.16-7	i.iry ḫlp r-r=f	Get there before him!	Pekrur	Pemu
XI.17	i.i[r]y ḫ3t r mḥ	Be the first to prevail!	Pekrur	Pemu
XI.17-8	ḫpry n=k ḫr t3 ḥ3.t n n3y=k sn.w na t3y=k mh3w r.iw=w gmṱ=k n.im=w	Be at the head of your brothers, those of your family, where they shall find you there!	Pekrur	Pemu

Reference	Transliteration	Translation		N/A
XVII.14-5	w[3ḥ] p3 mš‘ n p3 ḏm‘ 2 irm na t3 sbšy 2.t r [p]3 myt m-s3=f	Place the army of the two lineage / sceptres, alongside those of the two shields on the road before him!	Petubastis	N/A
XVII.18	m-ir i[r] mlḥ	Do not make strife!	Petubastis	Petechons
XVII.19	m-ir qnqn š‘-mtw n3y= k sn pḥ=k	Do not fight until your brothers have reached you!	Petubastis	Petechons
XVIII.30	3ly p3 mr-mš‘ Wr-ty-’Imn-Nw.t	Up, General Wertiamunne!	Pekrur	Wertiamunne
XIX.1	<3ly> na p3 tš n’Iwnw	(Up), those of the nome of Heliopolis!	Pekrur	Heliopolitans
XIX.1-2	ḫpry n=tn wb3 p3 mš‘ p3 tš Pr-B.tt nty ‘š3 mš‘	Be opposite the army of the nome of Mendes, whose (number) is very numerous!	Pekrur	Heliopolitans
XIX.2	3ly p3 wr n mty P3-ti-Ḥnsw	Up, Great of Power Petechons!	Pekrur	Petechons
XIX.3-5	3ly P3-syt-wr [s]3 P3-qll irm Ptḥ-mny s3 ‘nḫ-Ḥr i[rm] P3-ti-Ḥnsw s3 Bk-rn=f	Up, Pasitur, son of Pekrur, with Ptahmeni, son of Chayris, and Petechons, son of Bochorinis!	Pekrur	Pasitur, Ptahmeni, Petechons
XIX.5	3ly p3 mš‘ p3 tš Pr-Spt	Up, the army of the nome of Pisopd!	Pekrur	Pisopdian army
XIX.5-6	ḫpry n=tn wb3 p3 mš‘ p3 tš ḫbn-ntr	Be opposite the army of the nome of	Pekrur	Pisopdian army
XIX.6-7	3ly Ptḥ-mny s3 Ṯ3-nfr [ir]m p3 mš‘ Pr-mnš-R‘	Up, Ptahmeni, son of Tjanefer, and the army of Permeneshre!	Pekrur	Ptahmeni
XIX.7	ḫpry n=tn wb3 p3 mš‘ p3 tš [Ḏ]‘[ny]	Be opposite the army of the nome of Tanis!	Pekrur	Ptahmeni
XIX.7-8	3ly Sbk-ḥtp s[3] Ṯ3-nfr p3 mr-mš‘ p3 tš Ḥ.t-t3-ḥry-i[b]	Up, Sochotes, son of Tjanefer, General of the nome of Athribis,	Pekrur	Sochotes
XX.2-3	m-ir [ḫ3]‘ bw is p3y=i iṯ’Ir.t-ḥr-[r-r=w …]	Do not allow injustice regarding my father Inaros […]!	Montubaal	Pekrur
XX.8-9	im3 r […] ml	Come to […] fleet!	Pekrur	Montubaal
XX.10	ḫpr n=k n.im=w	Be there!	Pekrur	Montubaal
XX.17	i.iry mtry r n3 rmt qnqn	Meet the warriors!	Petubastis	Pekrur
XXIII.32	hlḥ r p3 t3w	Protect the breath!	Petubastis	Petechons
XXIII.32-XIV.1	s3ṯ ḏrṯ= k m-s3 p[3y=i] šr tb3 ḫpr bn-iw […] wnw.t	Withdraw your hand from my son, on account of no […] happen […] hour!	Petubastis	Petechons
XIV.3	s3ṯ ḏ[r.t=k m-s]3 ‘nḫ-Ḥr tb3 Pr-‘3 p3y=f iṯ	Withdraw your hand from Chayris on account of the pharaoh, his father!	Pekrur	Petechons

Contest for the Benefice of Amun

VII.2	im r-dd s n pꜣ ẖl wꜥb	Go and say to the young priest,	Petubastis	Pekrur
VII.2	im r-dd s n pꜣ ẖl wꜥb	Go and say to the young priest,	Petubastis	Pekrur
VII.2	im shqr [n.im]=k	Go and adorn yourself,	Petubastis	Young priest
VII.2	im shqr [n.im]=k	Go and adorn yourself,	Petubastis	Young priest
VII.8	im r nꜣ krwꜣ	Go to the bank,	Petubastis [Young priest]	Young priest
XI.25-XII.1	m-sꜣ ḫpr m-ir mt wbꜣ tꜣy=s iry	But do not speak against the others!	Petubastis	Pekrur
XII.2	hb m-sꜣ nꜣ ẖm-[ẖl]	Send after the youths!	Petubastis	Pekrur
XII.7	i.iry wꜥ whꜣ	Make a letter!	Pekrur	Higa
XII.19	ys sp 2	Hasten, hasten!	Pekrur	Petechons
XII.19	tkr sp 2	Hurry, hurry!	Pekrur	Petechons
XII.22	r.im n= i r rsy Nw.t	Come south to me, to Thebes,	Pekrur	Petechons
XIII.5	r.im r rsy	Come south!	Pekrur	Petechons
XIII.5-6	i.ir wꜥ sp qnqn	Make an example of fighting!	Pekrur	Petechons
XIV.1	ꜥ[l r mr.t]	Climb on board,	Petechons	N/A
XIV.2	ꜥly pꜣ qnqn n Spt	Fetch the fighter of Sopdu!	Petechons	N/A
XIV.2-3	m-ir wrr r ꜣwnw	Hurry to Heliopolis!	Petechons	Youth of the Benefice
XIV.3	dd r-ti s n Pꜣ-mi [sꜣ'In-ir.t]-r-r=w	Speak to Pemu, son of Inaros,	Petechons	Youth of the Benefice
XIV.3-5	i.iry pꜣy=k sbt irm pꜣy=k 40 rmt n tꜣ mꜣy.t n [syw] irm pꜣy=k 4 iry wꜥb	Make your preparation alongside your 40 men of the Island of the Star and your four priestly companions!	Petechons	Pemu

Petechons and Sarpot

III.22	m-ir [...]	Do not [...]!	Petechons	Assyrians
IV.28-9	m-ir [...] ẖn pꜣ tꜣ nꜣ s[ẖm.tw ...]	Do not [...] in the Land of the Women [...],	Petechons	Sarpot
VII.37-8	m-i[r ẖꜣꜥ rmt] nb n pꜣ tꜣ qnqn irm nꜣy rmt qnqnw	Do not leave anyone fighting with these warriors!	Petechons	N/A

Appendix 2: Optatives

Contest for the Armour of Inaros

Line number	Transliteration	Translation	Speaker	Recipient
I.19-20	m-ir ti̯.t ir rmt [...]	Do not cause one to do [...]!	Petubastis	N/A
I.22-3	my ꜥš n=i r [...] ḥꜣṱ=s	Cause that (one) call for me [...] before it!	Petubastis	N/A
VII.28	my šm n=f [...] ḥr pꜣ wlḥ	Cause that [...] go to the hall!	Petubastis	Deputy
VII.31-2	m-ir ti̯.t tḥl ḥꜣṱ=tn [tꜣ nꜣy m]t r.ḏd=f	Do not cause your heart to be sad on account of these words which he said!	Petubastis	Pekrur, Pemu
VIII.7	my hb=w r-bnr ḫn nꜣ tš.w n Kmy n-ṱ Yb šꜥ Swnwn [...]	Cause one to send out among the nomes of Egypt from Elephantine up to Pelusium [...]!	Petubastis	Letter-scribe
VIII.8-10	my in=w pꜣy=tn glg t[ꜣ]y=tn wpy ḥ.t-ntr i[rm] nꜣy.w=tn mnḥy [...] r pꜣ Pr-Wsir-Nb-Ttw	Cause one to bring your equipment, your temple workers, and your bandages [...] to the House of Osiris, Lord of Busiris,	Petubastis	Nomes of Egypt
VIII.13-4	my pꜣ sbty n nꜣy=w mnḥy.w irm nꜣy=w ꜥnṱ irm nꜣy=w iꜣw.t n ḥ.t-ntr i[r]m nꜣy=w ḥr-ḥb ḥry-ib nty šm r tꜣ wꜥb.t	Cause one to make preparation of their bandages, and their myrrh, together with their temple officials, and their lector priests and magicians who are going to the embalming	Petubastis	N/A
VIII.14	my ir=w ꜣ r Pr-Wsir	Cause them to proceed to Busiris!	Petubastis	N/A
VIII.14-6	my ꜥq=w n tꜣ wꜥb.t n Wsir nsw Ir.t-ḥr-r=w	Cause them to enter the embalming house of Osiris-king Inaros,	Petubastis	N/A
IX.2	my stꜣ=s r pꜣy=s mꜣꜥ	..., cause it to be returned to its place!	Petubastis	Wertiamunne
IX.3	my tꜣ=w s r Iwnw r nꜣ ꜥ.wy.w n Pꜣ-mi [r] nꜣ mꜣꜥ r.in=k s r-bnr n.im=w	Cause it to be taken to Heliopolis to the houses of Pemu, to the places from which you took it!	Petubastis	Wertiamunne
IX.23	m-ir ti̯.t ḫpr mlḥ n.im=n	Do not cause strife to happen to us!	Petubastis	Pekrur
X.1-2	m-ir ti̯.t ir Kmy [...]=f [...]	Do not cause Egypt to [...]!	Petubastis	Wertiamunne
X.19	[my ḫn s Pr-ꜥꜣ n] Swnw-pꜣ-wsr sꜣ Wḏꜣ-hkꜣ pꜣ sḫ n pꜣ wḫꜣ	Cause the pharaoh to command Sunupaweser, son of Wedjaheka, the letter-scribe!	Pekrur	Petubastis
X.19-20	my sḫ=f [n] ḥrw[=n nꜣ]y=n tš irm nꜣy=n tmy nꜣy=n sn nꜣy=n rmt	Cause him to write our command to our nomes, our cities, our brothers, and our people!	Pekrur	Sunupaweser
X.23	my ti=w n=w bk ḥbs ḥt	Cause one to give payment, clothes, and silver!	Pekrur	Horau
X.23	my ti=w n=f	..., cause one to give (them) to him!	Pekrur	Horau

Reference	Transliteration	Translation		
X.24	*my lky s p3y=w t3 n gms*	Cause their use of force to cease!	Pekrur	Horau's army
XVI.20-2	*my rk[y …] n t3 ly.t [...] p3y ḥl 2 [...]*	Cause that […] to stop […] the relationship [...] these two youth […]!	Petechons	Chayris
XVI.25-6	*[my in]=w n3.w=i n3y=i ḥlybš tb3 [...] ḥl stm-ꜥš [...m]-s3=i*	Cause one to bring me my armour on account of [...] the young servant […] after me,	Petechons	N/A
XVII.11	*my ir=w p3 sbty r n3 ꜥ.wy n qnqn r t3 ḥgy n sdy*	Cause one to make preparation from the battlefield to the combat-field!	Petubastis	N/A
XVII.19-20	*m-ir ti.t ꜥḥ ꜥ p3 in.nw šꜥ-mtw t3y=k mh3w twtw*	Do not cause the spear to stand, until your family have assembled!	Petubastis	Petechons
XX.1	*my ti=w [n3].w[=i wꜥ syḥ n qnqn] ḥꜥ.t=i*	Cause one to give me a battle opponent as well!	Montubaal	Pekrur
XX.1-2	*my t[i]=w n3.w=i ꜥ.wy n ti.t*	Cause one to give me a battlefield!	Montubaal	Pekrur
XX.2	*m-ir ti.t n[3.w]=i šm[ꜥ …].w*	Do not cause me to be a foreigner […]!	Montubaal	Pekrur
XX.9-10	*my wd[3 n3y=n ḏ]y irm n3y=n lm[s].w qnqn*	Cause our *ḏy*-ships and our *lms*-ships to be intact in battle!	Pekrur	Montubaal
XX.12	*m-ir ti.t ir=s n=w gm*	Do not cause them to do damage,	Pekrur	Montubaal
XXII.19	*my lky=f s r.iw=f ti.t ꜥq p3y=i m[š]ꜥ*	Cause him to stop causing the destruction of my army!	Petubastis	Pekrur
XXII.20-1	*my ir Pr-ꜥ3 ir m it r p3 mꜥ mtw=f n.im=[f] ir[m=i]*	Cause the pharaoh to make the way to the place where he is with me!	Pekrur	Petubastis
XXII.25-6	*my ꜥḥꜥ ḏr[t]=k r-bnr n p3 ꜥ.wy n p3 mlḥ [...]*	Cause your hand to stand out from the place of the strife […]!	Pekrur	Montubaal
XXVI.x+2	*[m]y pḥ=w r 'iwnw [r p3y]=f [t]m[y]*	Cause it to reach Heliopolis, his city!	Petubastis	N/A
XXVI.x+3-4	*[my ḥm]sy=w rḥl[wt tb3]l=s r.iw=w s-[... p3 rp3]y 'Ir.t-ḥr-r-[r=w]*	Cause it to sit at the festival on account of it, as it [...] Prince Inaros!	Petubastis	N/A

Contest for the Benefice of Amun

Reference	Transliteration	Translation		
II.11	*my šn Pr-ꜥ3 m-b3ḥ 'mn p3 ntr*	…, cause the pharaoh to inquire before Amun, the great god,	Lector priest	Petubastis
V.22-3	*my šn s Pr-ꜥ3 m-b3ḥ=f*	Cause the pharaoh to inquire before him,	Teos	Petubastis
VI.9	*my in=w s*	Cause it to be brought!	Amun	Petubastis

VII.9	*my wy dr.ṱ=k r stbḥ qnqn*	Cause your hands to abandon the weapon of war!	Petubastis [Young priest]	Young priest
VII.12-3	*my in=w p3 ḥrṱ ml3 n šs nsw irm n3 s3.w n nb r-bw.n3y r p3 wtn n 'Imn*	…, cause one to bring the *ml3*-binding of byssus with the amulets of gold here to the barque of Amun!	Young priest	Petubastis
X.5-6	*my ḥ[k s] p3 mšꜥ Kmy wb3=w mtw n3 ꜥ3m*	Cause the army of Egypt to prepare against them and the herdsmen,	Teos [Pekrur]	Petubastis
X.8	*my šn Pr-ꜥ3 m-b3ḥ=f*	Cause the pharaoh to inquire before him!	Pekrur	Petubastis
XI.9	*m[y] hb=w m-s3 n3 ḥm-ḥl.w iw=w iy rsy*	…, cause one to send after the youths, so that they will come south!	Pekrur	Petubastis
XII.2-3	*my iw=w r rsy r p3y=k ꜥw irm t3y=k pḥ[ty]*	Cause them to come to the south in accordance with your greatness and your power,	Petubastis	Pekrur
XII.4-5	*my ꜥš=w n=i r Hig3 s3 Min-nb-[m3ꜥ.t p3] sh šꜥ.t*	Cause one to call Higa, son of Minnebmaat, the letter-scribe, to me!	Pekrur	N/A
XII.7-9	*my t3=w s r Pr-Spt r {r} p3 m3ꜥ nty iw p3 rpꜥy P3-ti-Ḫnsw n.im=w*	Cause one to take it to Pisopd, to the place where Prince Petechons is!	Pekrur	Higa
XII.19-20	*my ꜥ[=w r mr.t irm n3y=k sn.w*	Cause one to climb on board alongside your brothers,	Pekrur	Petechons
XIII.6-7	*my ir-rḫ p3 mšꜥ n Kmy n t3y=k snd irm p3y=k nhr*	Cause the army of Egypt to know of your fear and your terror!	Pekrur	Petechons

Petechons and Sarpot

VII.37	*my tw=w ꜥš.ṱ p3 yš ḫm p3 [t]my*	Cause the trumpet to be shouted in the city,	Petechons	Sarpot

Appendix 2: Interrogatives

Line number	Transliteration	Translation	Speaker	Type	Response
Contest for the Armour of Inaros					
VI.5	iw=k ḏd ḏy tb3 iḥ	Why do you say this?	Pekrur	WH-	Y
VI.12	in wn mt [...]	Is there a matter [...]?	Petubastis	yes/no	Y
VII.29-30	in n3.w-ꜥn n3y nty n-ḏrṱ Wr-tp-ʾImn-Nw.t	Is it good that which is from Wertiamunne, ...?	Pekrur	yes/no	Y
VIII.25	iḥ r=w n3 [rm]t ꜥ3y	What is this, great men?	Petubastis	WH-	N
VIII.25-6	in bn-pw= i wꜥt tn r n3y=tn tš irm n3y=tn tmy	Have I not sent you to your nomes, your cities, ...?	Petubastis	yes/no	N
VIII.26-7	iḥ t3 nty šlf mtw=tn ꜥn	What is that which is disgraceful with you again?	Petubastis	WH-	N
VIII.27-9	in iw=n rḫ r šm r'Iwnw	Could we go to Heliopolis, ...?	Pekrur	yes/no	N/A
VIII.29-30	in r.iw=n rḫ r.ir ḥb qsis.t [n]=f	Could we make a funerary feast for him, ...?	Pekrur	yes/no	N/A
IX.12-3	in n3.w-ꜥn n3y mtw n-ḏr.t Wr-ty-ʾImn-Nw.t irm n3 sḏy mtw=f ḏd [n].im=w	Is it good, these things by Wertiamunne and the speech that which he said?	Pekrur	yes/no	N/A
XVII.4	[...]=i s tmw	[...] where?	Petubastis	WH-	N/A
XVII.5-6	iḥ n3y [m]t i[n].b3n ḫ3ꜥ=w [...]	What are these wicked acts which they have admitted [...]?	Petubastis	WH-	N/A
XIX.23	iḥ n rmt ḫn t3y=n mḥ3w	What sort of a man in our family are you?	Pekrur	WH-	Y
XXII.26-7	[i]n n3.w-ꜥn n3y [nty mt]w=k	Is it good that which has been done by you, ...?	Pekrur	yes/no	N
XXIV.6-10	in wn mtw na Pr-B.tt [...]	Have those from Mendes [...] ...?	Petubastis	yes/no	N/A
Contest for the Benefice of Amun					
II.6-7	in bn iw tw=tn stm in r [n3] nty iw [p3] ḥm-ḫl wꜥb ḏd n.im=w	Do you not hear that which the young priest has said?	Petubastis	yes/no	Y
II.11-2	in p3 ḥm-ḫl wꜥb p3 nty ir sḫ n p3 sꜥnḫ n rn=f	Is the young priest the one who has power over the aforementioned benefice?	Petubastis [Lector priest]	yes/no	N/A
II.13-4	in p3 ḥm-ḫl p3 nty ir sḫy n p3 sꜥnḫ rn=f	Is the young (priest) the one who has power over the aforementioned benefice?	Petubastis	yes/no	Y

II.16-8	*iw bn-pw=k iy n sf iw tꜣ ỉḥ*	..., why did you not come yesterday ...?	Petubastis	WH-	Y
V.23-4a	*in ꜥš-sḥn nfr mtw=i tỉ.t ḫk pꜣ msꜥ Kmy r nꜣy ꜥꜣm*	Is it the right command that I will cause the army of Egypt to arm against these herdsmen, ...?	Petubastis [Teos]	yes/no	N/A
VI.1-3	*in pꜣ sḥn nfr mtw=i tỉ.t mr s pꜣ msꜥ Kmy n nꜣy=w šbš.w*	Is it the right command that I will cause the army of Egypt to be girded with their armour, ...?	Petubastis	yes/no	Y
VI.4-8	*in sḥn nfr mtw=i tỉ.t ỉn=w wꜥ shtp*	Is it the right command that I will cause one to bring a stand,...?	Petubastis	yes/no	Y
VI.21-VII.2	*ỉḥ pꜣ nty iw=f ḫpr n.im=n*	What is that which will happen to us, ...?	Petubastis	WH-	N/A
X.2-4	*in lby pꜣ nty i.ir=k ir=f ḥm-in [...]*	Is it rage that which you would do, or is it [...] ...?	Pekrur	yes/no	N/A
X.4-6	*in pꜣ nty i.ir=k ḏd n.im=f*	Is that which you say, ...?	Pekrur	yes/no	N/A
X.13-4	*in pꜣ sḥn nfr mtw=i tỉ.t ḫk pꜣ msꜥ Kmy r nꜣy ꜥꜣm*	Is it the right command that I cause the army of Egypt to arm against these herdsmen, ...?	Petubastis	yes/no	Y
X.15-7	*in pꜣ sḥn nfr mtw=i bꜣꜥ pꜣ sꜥnḫ n tꜣ ty.t ḥm-ntr ꞌImn i.ir-ḥr pꜣ ḥl n wꜥb*	Is it the right command that I present the benefice of the share of the prophets of Amun before the young priest?	Petubastis	yes/no	Y
X.17-8	*in iw=f wy r ꜥnḫ-Ḥr {ꜥnḫ-Ḥr} sy nsw irm Wr-ty-ꞋImn-Nw.t*	Will he release Chayris, son of the king, and Wertiamunne?	Petubastis	yes/no	Y
X.19-20	*in iw=w tꜣ Kmy n-drṱ=i n pꜣ iwn nty iw iw=w n.im=f*	..., will they take Egypt from me on their campaign?	Petubastis	yes/no	Y
X.21-2	*in nꜣ ꜥꜣm r ir nb n tꜣ iꜣw.t ḥry*	Will the herdsmen become the lord over lordship?	Petubastis	yes/no	Y
X.23-4	*in [i.ir]=k tỉ.t n=i nḫṱ r nꜣ ꜥꜣm*	Will you give me the victory over the herdsmen, ...?	Petubastis	yes/no	Y
XVI.14-7	*in ḫr šm rmt r pꜣ ꜥ.wy n pꜣ ꜥš-sḥn mtw=f sṱ=f r bnr mtw=f tm šm r pꜣ mꜣꜥ nty iw Pr-ꜥꜣ n.im=f*	Now, does a man go on the battlefield and withdraw, and does not go to the place where the pharaoh is ...?	Petubastis, Pekrur, Teos	yes/no	Y

Petechons and Sarpot

A.II.x+24	*ỉḥ pꜣ nty iw=i i rḫ ḏd.ṱ=s i.[ir-]ḥr pꜣ wr r [...]*	What is that which I am able to say before the chief [...]?	Petechons	WH-	N/A

Appendix 2: First-person perspective

Contest for the Armour of Inaros

Line number	Transliteration	Translation	Speaker	Process
VI.12	*[b]n-pw=i ḥb m-s3=[t]n*	I did not send after you.	Petubastis	Material
VII.32-3	*iw=i ty wḥm=w s [n p3 rp3y'][r.t-ḥr-r-r=w n qsis.t ꜥ3.t nfr.t*	I will cause one to repeat for Prince Inaros a large and beautiful funeral,	Petubastis	Material
VIII.32	*m-ir ir wlly r B Ḏꜥny tb3 ḥyny mt iw=i wḫ3=k n.im=w*	Hurry to Tanis on account of something which I wish from you!	Petubastis	Behavioural
IX.14	*iw=i ti.t gmṱ s Wr-ty-ꜣmn-Nw.t irm p3 tš P3-B.tt p3 šlf n3 mt nty n-ḏr.t=w*	I will cause Wertiamunne and the nome of Mendes to recognise the disgrace of the matter which was by their hand,	Pekrur	Behavioural
IX.15	*iw=i ti.t sy=f n mlḥ*	I will cause him to be satisfied with strife.	Pekrur	Behavioural
IX.15-6	*ir<=i> ꜥ.wy ḏr.t=i r tm ḫpr 3ḥ mlḥ ḥn [K]my n p3 h3 n Pr-ꜥ3*	I have made the extent so that no battle and strife will happen in Egypt in the time of the pharaoh.	Pekrur	Material
IX.16-7	*iw=i ti.t nw Pr-ꜥ3 n p3 mlḥ [n B] sbšy 2.t*	I will cause the pharaoh to see the strife of the two shields.	Pekrur	Mental
IX.21-2	*iw=i ti.t ṯ3=w t3 ḫlybš n Wsir nsw ꜣr.t-ḥr-r-r=w r ꜣwnw*	I will cause one to take the armour of the Osiris-king Inaros to Heliopolis,	Petubastis	Material
IX.25	*iw=i ti.t in=w t3 ḫlybš [r] p3y=s m3ꜥ ꜥn*	I will cause one to bring the armour to its place again.	Petubastis	Material
IX.32-X.1	*ir=i ꜥ.wy=i ir=i ḏ[r.t=i r tm ti.t ḫpr 3ḥ mlḥ ḥn] Km[y …] m-s3 rmt qn[q]n*	I have made the extent to not cause battle and strife to happen in Egypt […] after the warriors.	Petubastis	Material
XI.15-6	*stm [r n3 mt mtw]=i ḏd=w n=k*	Hear the words that I will say to you!	Pekrur	Verbal
XI.18-9	*ink ḥꜥṱ=i iw=i šm r Pr-[Sp]t*	I myself will go to Pisopd.	Pekrur	Material
XI.19	*iw=i 3lḏ p3 mšꜥ r [t]m ꜥnꜥn*	I will inspire the army in order (for them) to not complain,	Pekrur	Behavioural
XI.19	*mtw=i ti.t s[B]ṯ=w s r p3 m3ꜥ mtw=k n.im=f*	…, and I will cause them to return to the place where you are.	Pekrur	Material
XVII.11-2	*ḏd=i [ḥꜥṱ]=i mt ḥm.w i.ir-ḥr p3 rp3y P3-ti-Ḫnsw*	I myself will say a small thing before Prince Petechons,	Petubastis	Verbal

Ref	Transliteration	Translation	Name	Category
XVIII.20-1	tꜣ=i nw r-r=s ḏd bn-iw rmt r.iw=f rḫ r tꜣ.t tꜣ sbšy 2.t r ꜥ.wy.w n bnr nb	I see that there is no one (else) who can place the two shields into pairs all round,	Petubastis	Mental
XX.4-5	ḫ[pr=f] r.wꜣḥ-iw=i tꜣi.t n tꜣ sbšy 2.t r [...],	It happened that I have placed the two shields to [...],	Pekrur	Material
XX.8	iw=i sḥny pꜣ [...]=f	I will command the [...].	Pekrur	Material
XX.10	tꜣ=i ir-rḫ [ḏd bn-iw rmt rḫ r] q[n]qn wbꜣ=k ꜥn s[p 2]	I know that no one would ever be able to battle against you.	Pekrur	Mental
XXI.7	i.ir=i ḏd n.im=s	I said it,	Pekrur	Verbal
XXII.21-2	iw=i tꜣi.t lgy=f s iw=f šꜥy iwt pꜣ mšꜥ n K[m]y	I will cause him to stop the slaughter among the army of Egypt.	Pekrur	Material
XXIII.1	iw=i tꜣi.t ꜥq=w n.im=s r ꜣiwnw r pꜣ mꜣꜥ r.wn-nꜣ-i.ir=s n.im=f n tꜣ ḥꜣ.t	I will cause one to bring it to Heliopolis, to the place where it was before,	Petubastis	Material
XXIII.30	ir=i ꜥ.wy=i ir=i ḏr.t=i r tm tꜣi.t ḫpr ꜣḥ mlḫ	I have made the extent to not cause war and strife to happen.	Petubastis	Material
XXV.17-8	[t]i=i nw wꜥ r pꜣ mlḫ ꜥꜣ pꜣ tꜣ ḏr=f	I alone have seen the great strife in all of the land!	Petubastis	Mental
XXV.19-20	ḏd bn-iw tꜣi.t i nw in r pꜣ gꜣy [...] r.ir=f	... that I have not caused to see the manner [...] which he did.	Petubastis	Mental

Contest for the Benefice of Amun

Ref	Transliteration	Translation	Name	Category
II.17	[i.ir]-ḥr=w tw=i sḫ r-ḥr.w pꜣ ḥm-ntr tpy n ꜣimn	..., before I wrote on behalf of the first prophet of Amun...	Petubastis	Material
II.17-8	ḏd wn iw=i tꜣi.t bꜣꜥ [ꜥnḫ]-Ḥr sy nsw pꜣ sꜥnḫ n rn=f i.ir-ḥr=k	Because I would have caused Chayris, son of the king, to present the aforementioned benefice before you.	Petubastis	Material
V.23-4	in ꜥš-sḥn nfr mtw=i tꜣi.t ḥk pꜣ mšꜥ Kmy r nꜣy ꜥꜣm	Is it the right command that I will cause the army of Egypt to arm against these herdsmen,	Petubastis [Teos]	Material
VI.1-2	in pꜣ sḥn nfr mtw=i tꜣi.t mr s pꜣ mšꜥ Kmy n nꜣy šbš.w	Is it the right command that I will cause the army of Egypt to be girded with their armour,	Petubastis	Material
VI.4-5	in sḥn nfr mtw=i tꜣi.t im=w wꜥ shtp	Is it the right command that I will cause one to bring a stand,	Petubastis	Material
VI.6-7	mtw=i tꜣi.t ꜥḥꜥ wꜥ ḥt n šs nsw <n> tꜣy=k ry.t-ḥry.t	..., and I will cause one to set a canopy of byssus above you,	Petubastis	Material

Reference	Transliteration	Translation	Speaker	Process
VII.9-10	tꜣ=i i qty pꜣ mšꜥ Kmy r-r=k	I will cause the army of Egypt to surround you.	Petubastis [Young priest]	Material
VII.10-1	tꜣ=i wsf=w tk r wꜥ.t bwꜣ.t m-šs sp 2	I will cause them to spare you from a very great misfortune.	Petubastis [Young priest]	Material
VIII.1	tꜣ=i ṯꜣ=w s n=[f]	I would cause it to be taken to him.	Petubastis	Material
VIII.1	bn-iw=i ti.t n=f pꜣ ẖꜥ [n ʾImn]	I will not give him the portable barque of Amun,	Petubastis	Material
VIII.3	iy r rsy Nw.t	I came south to Thebes…	Petubastis	Material
IX.11-2	i.ir=i ir ḫt r rsy	I sailed to the south,	Petubastis	Material
X.13-4	in pꜣ sḥn nfr mtw=i ti.t ḫk pꜣ mšꜥ Kmy r nꜣy ꜥꜣm	Is it the right command that I cause the army of Egypt to arm against these herdsmen,	Petubastis	Material
X.15-7	in pꜣ sḥn nfr mtw=i ẖꜣꜥ pꜣ sꜥnḫ n tꜣ ty.t ḥm-ntr ʾImn i.ir-ḥr pꜣ ḥl n wꜥb	Is it the right command that I present the benefice of the share of the prophets of Amun before the young priest?	Petubastis	Material
XI.11	i.ir=i hb m-sꜣ=w r [rsy]	If I send after them to the south,	Petubastis	Material
XI.11	iw-tbꜣ pꜣ sš i.ir=i n=w	… due to the insult that I have done to them	Petubastis	Material
XI.12	iw=i in iwṯ r rsy Nw.t	… when I came south to Thebes,	Petubastis	Material
XI.12-3	iw bn-pw=i hb m-sꜣ=w r pꜣ ẖꜥ ʾImn pꜣ ntr ꜥꜣ	…, where I did not invite them to the procession of Amun, the great god.	Petubastis	Material
XI.18	bn-iw ink pꜣ nty sš n.im=w in	I am not the one who despises them.	Petubastis	Behavioural
XI.19	mtw=f pꜣ i.ir tꜣ.t ẖꜥ=i s	…, and he is the one who caused me to leave them behind,	Petubastis	Material
XI.19-20	iw bn-pw=i in=w r rsy irm=i	…, so that I did not bring them to the south with me,	Petubastis	Material
XIII.15	Pꜣ-ti-Bꜣst.t sꜣ ꜥnḫ-Ḥr nty iw bn-pw=i ḏd n=f Pr-ꜥꜣ	…, Petubastis, son of Chayris, to whom I did not say 'pharaoh'!	Petechons	Verbal
XIII.18-9	ꜥrq=i n.im=i ty pꜣ nty iw=i ir=f n pꜣ rn n Spt wr iꜣbṯ pꜣy=i ntr	I having bound myself here with that which I will do in the name of Sopdu, Chief of the East, my god.	Petechons	Behavioural
XIII.18-9	ꜥrq=i n.im=i ty pꜣ nty iw=i ir=f n pꜣ rn n Spt wr iꜣbṯ pꜣy=i ntr	I having bound myself here with that which I will do in the name of Sopdu, Chief of the East, my god.	Petechons	Material
XIII.23-4	m-sꜣ ḫpr bn-iw n rḫ pꜣ bwꜣ n ʾImn r-ḥr=i	Besides, I do not want to know the punishment of Amun against me,	Petechons	Mental

Reference	Transliteration	Translation	Character	Type
XVI.5-6	bn [tw]=i šp swn r-r=f in ḫn nꜣ [nty] iw tꜣy=n mt nfr.t	I do not recognise him among those from which our good words went.	Petubastis	Behavioural
XVI.24-5	nꜣy wn iw ir=i ꜥš n.im=w m-bꜣḥ ꞌImn pꜣ ntr ꜥꜣ	This is what I swore before Amun, the great god,	Petubastis	Verbal
XVI.25-6	r tiꜣ.t nw=i r-r=k iw mn ḏꜥ ḥr pꜣ ḥyt nfr irm pꜣ wḏy	…, in order to cause me to see you without there being harm to (your) blessing and (your) health.	Petubastis	Mental
XVII.1	ꞽꜣ pꜣ nw nty iw ir[=i mw] r-r=k n pꜣ ꜥ.wy n pꜣ ꜥš-sḥn	From the time that I saw you on the battlefield,	Petubastis	Mental
XVII.2	iw=i ḏd n.im=f	I said to him,	Petubastis	Verbal

Petechons and Sarpot

Reference	Transliteration	Translation	Character	Type
III.22	bn-[pw]=i ir ꜥ.wy-ḏ[r.ṱ=i …] m[…]	I have not done my upmost […].	Petechons	Material
IV.30	[i]w=i r iy r pꜣ sr [qnqnw …]	…, when I will go to the fighting arrangement […]	Petechons	Material
VII.39	iw=i r m[r=i n] nꜣ[y=i] lbš.w ḥꜥ.t=i	I will gird my armour myself.	Petechons	Material
VII.39-40	iw=i r iy r pꜣ ꜥ.wy n ꜣ ḥtby	I will come to the battlefield.	Petechons	Material
VII.40	iw=i r ꜥš r-r=w	I will call to them.	Petechons	Verbal
VII.40	iw=i r ti.t rk[=w]	I will cause them to stop.	Petechons	Material
VII.40	[iw=i r] ti.t ḫꜣ ꜥ=w ḏr.t=w iw=w qnqn	I will cause them to stop fighting.	Petechons	Material
A,II.x+22	r-tbꜣ nꜣ ir=i irm pꜣy=i mšꜥ	… on account of that which I made with my army.	Petechons	Material
A,II.x+23	n.bn-pw=i ti.t gm=w pꜣ mꜣ n šm n=i r.ir=i	I did not cause them to find the place to which I went,	Petechons	Material
A,II.x+24	mtw=i rḫ ir=f	…, and I will be able to make it.	Petechons	Material
A,II.x+24	iḫ pꜣ nty iw=i rḫ ḏd.ṱ=s i.[ir-]ḥr pꜣ wr r […]	What is that which I am able to say before the chief […]?	Petechons	Verbal
XI.6-7	in=i st r m-nꜣy […]	I brought them here […]	Petechons	Material