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THE POETICS OF PLOT IN THE EGYPTIAN AND JUDEAN NOVELLA

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADL	Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim Friedrich Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 4 (Berlin: LIT, 2018)
AEL	William Kelly Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003)
ARE	James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents, from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*, 5 vols. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906)
BDB	Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936)
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago* [Chicago Assyrian Dictionary], 21 vols. (Chicago: Oriental Institute).
CD	Walter E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1939)
CDD	Janet H. Johnson, *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* [Chicago Demotic Dictionary] (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago). https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/catalog/cdd/
CDME	Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962)
CGL	J. Diggle, *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021)
COS	William W. Hallo, ed., *The Context of Scripture*, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1997)
DG	Wolja Erichsen, *Demotische Glossar* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954)

DNWSI	Jacob Hoftijzer and Karen Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1995)
DTTBYML	Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005)
GE	Franco Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, ed. Madeleine Goh and Chad Schroeder (Leiden: Brill, 2015)
HALOT	Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm, eds., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, trans. Mervyn E. J. Richardson, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1994)
KTU	Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, eds., *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten*, 3rd enlarged ed., Alter Orient und Altes Testament 360/1 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013)
JM	Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 2nd reprint of the 2nd edition, with corrections, Subsidia Biblica 27 (Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2009)
LÄ	Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972)
LSJ	Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. with revised supplement (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996)
PL	Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 78 (Leuven: Peeters, 1997)
PM	B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Griffiths Institute, 1927-1951, 1960-)
TAD	Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, eds., *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Dept. of the History of the Jewish People, 1986)
TLA	*Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*. Online at *http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla*.

Urk	*Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906-)
Wb.	Adolf Erman, ed., *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache,* 7 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971).
WMT	Hildegard von Deines and Wolfhart Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte,* 2 vols, Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter 7:1-2 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961-1962).

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N.b.: only ancient texts that are cited shorthand in the dissertation by column and verse (or sim.) without accompanying bibliography are given here.

Amasis and the Skipper	Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris nebst den auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehenden Texten*, Demotische Studien 7 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914), 26–28.
Amenemope	*The Teaching of Amenemope*. H. O. Lange. *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope: aus dem Papyrus 10,474 des British Museum*. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 11 (2). København: Andr. Fred. Høst & Søn, 1925.
Armor	*The Battle for the Armor of Inaros.* Citations follow P. Krall (see below). See also P. Carlsberg 456+.
Contendings of Horus and Seth	Gardiner, Alan H. 1932. *Late-Egyptian Stories*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth (pp. 37-60).
CT	Coffin Texts. Buck, Adriaan de. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 8 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935-2006.
Demotic Chronicle	Spiegelberg, Wilhelm. *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris: nebst den auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehenden Texten*. Demotische Studien 7.

	Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1914.
Edfu	Emile Chassinat, *Le Temple d’Edfou,* vols. I-XIV (Le Caire: 'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1892-1934); Sylvie Cauville and Didier Devauchelle, *Le Temple d’Edfou*, vol. XV (Le Caire: 'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1985)
Eloquent Peasant	F. Vogelsang and A. H. Gardiner, *Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches, I: die Klagen des Bauern*, Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin 4; Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908), 5-7, Tf. 1-4; R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1991).
Esna	Serge Sauneron, *Le Temple d’Esna*. 8 vols. Le Caire: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1959-2009
First Setna	F. Ll Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis: The Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1900); Steve Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe: History, Narrative and Meaning in the First Tale of Setne Khaemwas*, Harvard Egyptological Studies 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2018).
Goethe, *Werke*	Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, *Werke* [the Weimer Edition], 143 vols. (Münschen: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987).
Lamb of Bocchoris	*The Myth of the Sun’s Eye* (Demotic). Spiegelberg, Wilhelm. *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge: nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I. 384*. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1994; Cenival, Françoise de. *Le mythe de l'oeil du soleil: translittération et traduction avec commentaire philologique*. Demotische Studien 9. Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich, 1988.
P. Carlsberg 207	A fragmentary Setna story. W. John Tait, “Two Columns of a Setna-Text,” in *The Carlsberg Papyri 1: Demotic Texts from the Collection*, ed. Paul Frandsen, CNI Publications 15 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1991), 19–46; Joachim F. Quack and Kim Ryholt, “Notes on the Setne Story P. Carlsberg 207,” in *The Carlsberg Papyri 3: A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*, ed. Paul John Frandsen and Kim Ryholt, Carlsberg Papyri 3 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2000), 141–63.

P. Carlsberg 456+	A version of *Armor*. Kim Ryholt, “A Parallel to the Inaros Story of P. Krall (P. Carlsberg 456+P. CtYBR 4513): Demotic Narratives from the Tebtunis Temple Library (I),” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 84 (1998): 151–69; Kim Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, Carlsberg Papyri 10 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2012), 73–88
P. Dem. Saqqara	H. S. Smith and W. J. Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri*, Texts from Excavations 5 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1983).
P. Krall	Friedhelm Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros: Studien zum P. Krall und seine Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus*. Mitteilungen Aus Der Papyrussammlung Der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), n. s. 26. Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek in Kommission, 1996.
P. Petese A-D	See *Petese*.
P. Rylands 9	Günter Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9. Teil I: Text und Übersetzung. Teil II: Kommentare und Indizes*, Ägypten und Altes Testament 38 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998).
Petese	*The Petese Stories*. Kim Ryholt, *The Carlsberg Papyri 4: The Story of Petese son of Petetum and seventy other good and bad stories (P. Petese)*, CNI Publications 23 (Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, 1999); ibid., *The Carlsberg Papyri 6: The Petese stories II (P. Petese II)*, CNI Publications 29 (Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, 2006).
Poetics	Aristotle, *Poetics*. Taran, Leonardo and Dimitri Gutas, eds. *Aristotle, Poetics. Editio Maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries*. Mnemosyne: Monographs on Greek and Roman Language and Literature 338. Leiden: Brill, 2014. See also Kassel, Rudolf (ed). *Aristotelis: De Arte Poetica*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.
Second Setna	Francis Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1900), 142–207; translation: Ritner, *AEL* 479-489
Sinuhe	Koch, Roland. *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca

	17. Brüssel: Ed. de la Fondation Egyptologique, 1990.
Tale of Two Brothers	Gardiner, Alan H. *Late-Egyptian Stories*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932 (pp. IX-X, 9-30).

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation contributes to the history of storytelling literature of the ancient Eastern Mediterranean and North African world and, more specifically, advances the comparative study of Ancient Egyptian and Judean literature, focusing on prose fiction, a promising yet neglected topic of the comparative literature of these two cultures. In the dissertation, I identify a contemporaneous genre of fiction written in both of these cultures during the Achaemenian and Hellenistic Periods which I call novellas, by analogy to the prominent genre of European literature. As a genre of fiction that is usually defined as being shorter than the novel but longer than the short story, novellas are easy to recognize among Egyptian and Judean literature of these periods, yet previous research has not given due consideration to its international basis, nor adequately differentiated the novellas in each culture from other similar genres of fiction. The corpus of works that I identify as novellas are, from Egypt, *First Setna*, *Second Setna, The Armor of Inaros,* and *The Prebend of Amun,* four works of Demotic narrative literature (out of dozens that have survived) that are preserved intact enough that they can be studied carefully, and from Judean literature, *Jonah, Ruth, Esther, Tobit,* and *Judith*, written in Hebrew (*Jonah, Ruth*, and *Esther*), Aramaic (*Tobit*), and Greek (*Judith*).

The basic claim of the dissertation is that the Egyptian and Judean novellas are in fact a genre that would have been recognized as such in elite, literary circles. To substantiate this, I make two separate but related arguments. The first (Chapter 1) is a literary-historical argument about the distinctness of the novella as a form of literature, where I substantiate an initial,

instinctual identification by considering the ways in which these works stand apart in their basic literary form, in their historical period of florescence, and in their footprint in book culture. The second argument (Chapters 2-4) is one from poetics, confirming the literary-historical definition by quantifying an ideal reader's or hearer's experience of the novellas. For this, I focus on plot, which, following the lead of Emma Kafalenos and other theorists of narrative, I present as a construct of a reader who constantly seeks to understand the advancing of the story from a wholistic perspective, anchored on the motivation of protagonists. In constructing a poetics of the plot of the Egyptian and Judean novella, I elicit a significant number of shared features which, when put together, confirm the initial identification of the genre and specify that further. The Egyptian and Judean novellas are presented as complex and engaging stories conveyed in plots that are remarkably cohesive as well as economical in their complexity, relentlessly focused and not prone to digressions or multiple plot-lines and which, most characteristically, center on a single sequences of events which resolve the central, driving conflict of the story and bring it to its conclusion.

INTRODUCTION

1. The Egyptian and Judean Novella

The goal of this dissertation is to advance the comparative study of Egyptian and Judean literature, focusing specifically on prose fiction. While exemplary comparative studies of these literatures have by and large been concerned with instructions, love poetry, prophecy, and apocalyptic, prose fiction, though long maintained to be a genre uniquely shared between the two cultures, is understudied. This may be because of an undue emphasis on the question of influence. In the Schweich Lectures of 1929, the Egyptologist T. Eric Peet proclaimed that Egypt is "the home of the short story."[1] Several decades later, citing Peet with approval, Ronald Williams stated as a matter of fact that the Egyptians "transmitted" the genre "to the Hebrews, who developed it to a remarkably high degree,"[2] pointing to Egyptian coloring in the Joseph story of Genesis, which had recently been given a thorough and learned treatment by Jozef Vergote,[3] as well as to similar folktale motifs preserved in both Egyptian and biblical texts.[4] Nevertheless, the unique convergence of early prose fiction in these two literatures has yielded no extended genre-focused comparative study. This is true even with the Joseph story: as appealing an example of Egyptian influence as it is, the comparative issues concern the reception of Egyptian culture, and not of literature or literary form *per se*.[5]

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[1] T. Eric Peet, *A Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia: Egypt's Contribution to the Literature of the Ancient World*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1929 (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), 27 (see pp.27-50 in general).

[2] Ronald J. Williams, "Egypt and Israel," in *The Legacy of Egypt*, ed. J. R. Harris, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 269.

[3] Jozef Vergote, *Joseph en Égypt: Genèse, Chap. 37-50, à la lumière des études égyptologiques récentes*, Orientalia et Biblica Lovaniensia 3 (Louvain: Publications Univertaires, 1959).

[4] Williams, "Egypt and Israel," 270.

While it is unlikely that Egyptian works or genres of prose fiction were imitated, let alone known by Israelian or Judean scribes,[6] the fact remains that prose fiction is uniquely prominent in Egyptian and Judean literature. In my dissertation, I will undertake a comparative study of one kind of prose fiction composed in the Achaemenian and Hellenistic Periods that shows neither extreme brevity nor length, and was authored, read, and preserved as independent, non-anthologized literature. The popularity of this genre, judging by the number composed and preserved, continued unabated through the Roman Period, whence the fortunes of the two literatures diverged, the Judean becoming transmitted in a canonical and scriptural form into Late Antiquity and beyond, and the Egyptian dying out with the dissipation of the traditional languages. I argue that these works should be identified as novellas, by analogy to the prominent genre of European prose fiction which began to appear in the 14th century and which endured throughout the age of the novel, yielding a generic name today for works that are, on average, shorter and simpler than novels but longer and more complex than short stories.

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[5] Certain texts from Samuel-Kings, especially 2 Sam 7, have been considered to be imitations of the form of the Egyptian *Königsnovelle*, a (debated) type of narrative about deeds of the pharaoh found mostly in hieroglyphic stelae as well as in temple inscriptions, most of which are from the New Kingdom; see Siegfired Herrmann, "Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und in Israel," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift Der Karl Marx-Universität Leipzig* 3 (54 1953): 51–62; Artur Weiser, "Die Legitimation des Königs David: Zur Eigenart und Entstehung der sogen. Geschichte von Davids Aufstieg," *Vetus Testamentum* 16, no. 3 (1966): 325–54. The influence of the *Königsnovelle* on Israel was later discussed by the Egyptologist Manfred Görg in *Gott-König-Reden in Israel und Ägypten*, Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, 6. Folge, Heft 5 (W. Kohlhammer, 1975). For criticism, see William M. Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise to David: The Reception History of 2 Samuel 7:1-17* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 31. It is unlikely that Iron Age Israelian scribes affiliated with the palace would be aware of a genre of monumental narrative inscriptions in the hieroglyphic script. It should also be noted that Egyptologists are in wide disagreement concerning the exact status of the *Königsnovelle* as a literary genre.

[6] One of the soundest examples of such a transmission into Israelian/Judean literature is of the Assyrian treaty form. See e.g. Bernard M. Levinson and Jeffrey Stackert, "Between the Covenant Code and Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 3 (2012): 123–40. Nothing on this order of evidence and textual resonance exists when it comes to Egyptian and Judean literature, except for the well-documented reception of *The Teaching of Amenmope* seen in Proverbs 22-24. This, however, is not an imitation of a genre with other textual effects that follow, but a sustained, creative adaptation or even rewriting between works that are already of the same genre.

Taking the term at face value as a universal type of prose fiction that can be applied rightfully to antique literature, a significant assemblage of texts from Egypt and Judea dating to the Achaemenian and Hellenistic Periods are recognizable as novellas. From Egypt, four texts are preserved well enough to get a sense of them in their entirety: *First Setna* (Cairo CGC 30646),[7] *Second Setna* (P. British Museum 604)[8]—both of which are preserved in only one copy—*The Armor of Inaros* (or *Armor* for short; P. Krall)[9], and *The Prebend of Amun* (*Prebend* for short; P. Spiegelberg)[10]—which are preserved both in a primary copy and in fragmentary additional copies.[11] From Judean literature, five such works are preserved: *Jonah, Ruth, Esther, Tobit*, and *Judith*. Even before these works are examined more closely, a number of common features recommend them as a distinct genre. They are all written in prose, and as narrative literature are framed in omniscient, third-person narration. Moreover, they are all written after the Iron Age, that is, the transition from autonomous rule to provincial status in a larger empire. Finally, all have been preserved as non-anthologized, independent works of prose fiction, even though they were copied, and in many cases expanded, over generations.

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[7] Francis Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1900); Steve Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe: History, Narrative and Meaning in the First Tale of Setne Khaemwas*, Harvard Egyptological Studies 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2018). Translations: Ritner in *AEL*, 453-469; Vinson, ibid.; Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim Friedrich Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 4 (Berlin: LIT, 2018), 146–61.

[8] Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*; no modern edition of *Second Setna* has been published. Translations: Ritner in *AEL* 470-489; *ADL* 126-146.

[9] Friedhelm Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros: Studien zum P. Krall und seine Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus*, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), n. s. 26 (Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek in Kommission, 1996). Translation: *ADL* 71-100.

[10] Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis: nach dem Strassburger demotischen Papyrus sowie den Wiener und Pariser Bruchstücken*, Demotische Studien 3 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910). No modern edition of the novella has yet been published. Translation: *ADL* 100-120.

[11] The additional copies all stem from the Roman-Period Tebtunis temple library. Two additional copies of *Prebend* are P. Carlsberg 433 and 434; W. John Tait, "P. Carlsberg 433 and 434: Two Versions of the Text of P. Spiegelberg," in *The Carlsberg Papyri 3: A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*, ed. Paul John Frandsen and Kim Ryholt, Carlsberg Papyri 3 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2000), 59–82. The additional copy of *Armor* is P. Carlsberg 456+; Kim Ryholt, "A Parallel to the Inaros Story of P. Krall (P. Carlsberg 456+P. CtYBR 4513): Demotic Narratives from the Tebtunis Temple Library (I)," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 84 (1998): 151–69 and Kim Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, Carlsberg Papyri 10 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2012), 73–88.

The claim of the dissertation is that the Egyptian and Judean works of prose fiction that can be called novellas today by instinct are in fact a genre that would have been recognized as such by the ancients. In order to substantiate this claim, I will make two separate but related arguments in the dissertation. The first is a literary-historical argument about the distinctness of the novella as a historical form of literature. In it, I will substantiate the initial, instinctual identification of the genre by considering the ways in which these works stand apart historically and contemporarily, how they cohere as a group, and how these aspects taken together strongly support calling them novellas.

The second argument of the dissertation is based on poetics, with the goal of eliciting an important set of family resemblances in the different works, a routine part of genre identification.[12] The specific aspect of poetics that I will be concerned with is plot. Besides being a practical limitation given the number of texts under study and the novelty of the exercise, plot has a particular weight when it comes to identifying and defining genres of storytelling, allowing a critic to consider the experience of a novella as an entire work of verbal art. As put by R. S. Crane:

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[12] The “family resemblance” approach to genre identification is one that takes advantage of the usefulness (and unavoidableness) of a taxonomic approach to genre, but admits the inherent fuzziness of concepts when it comes, especially, to artistic expression and human creativity, attempting to avoid the pitfall of over-analysis. The classic statement of this approach is Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 37–44 By saying that a group of works of literature have a family resemblance that is the basis of their genre identification, one points to a congeries of features that promotes a general likeness of the genre, without having to identify a specific feature that is the *sine qua non*. A related approach to genre which draws on cognitive psychology is prototype theory; see John Frow, *Genre* (London: Routledge, 2006), 53–55 Family resemblance is one of several approaches discussed and deployed by Carol Newsom for early Jewish literature; see Carol A. Newsom, “Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology,” in *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Ronald Troxel et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 437–50; Carol A. Newsom, “Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 17 (2010): 241–59

> "[T]he plot, considered formally, of any artistic work is, in relation to the work as a whole, not simply a means—a "framework" or "mere mechanism"—but rather the final end which everything in the work, if that is to be felt as a whole, must be made, directly or indirectly, to serve. For the critic, therefore, the form of the plot is a first principle, which he must grasp as clearly as possible for any work he proposes to examine before he can deal adequately with the questions raised by its parts."[13]

Using the well-developed tools of literary criticism, including narratology, and by reasoning back from the effect of the experience of reading, I will describe a poetics of plot for the novellas and thus quantify the reader's experience of these works of prose fiction.[14] As the argument from poetics will show, the novellas as a whole are characterized by a limited set of plot features and techniques that are unique to the individual cultures, as well as broader yet coherent set that recommends, in support of the literary-historical argument, that the Egyptian and Judean novella was a distinct genre of prose fiction.

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[13] Ronald S. Crane, "The Plot of *Tom Jones*," *The Journal of General Education* 4, no. 2 (1950): 115–16.

[14] The phrase "reasoning back from effect" is from Thomas Pavel, "Gerald Prince and Narrative Studies," *Narrative* 22, no. 3 (2014): 298–303, 299, used to describe the neo-Aristotelian approach of R. S. Crane and the Chicago School of literary criticism in studying poetics, especially that of plot, as a key to understanding "the specifically artistic principles and reasons governing their construction" (Ronald S. Crane, "Chicago Critics, The," in *Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 117). For this *a posteriori* reasoning which is characteristic of Aristotle and of the Chicago School, see James Phelan and David H. Richter, "Introduction," in *Fact, Fiction, and Form: Selected Essays*, ed. James Phelan and David H. Richter (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2011), 4. For the Chicago School, in addition to Crane, see Julian Wolfreys, ed., *Modern North American Criticism and Theory: A Critical Guide* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 12–18; Gregory Castle, *The Blackwell Guide to Literary Theory* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 125–27; Genevieve Liveley, *Narratology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 135–57. A succinct description can be found in Dan Shen, *Style and Rhetoric of Short Narrative Fiction: Covert Progressions behind Overt Plots* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 13: "The first generation of Chicago critics followed Aristotle in subordinating literary language to the larger structure of the work in a given genre. The basic assumption is that disregarding style or language enables them to focus on the 'architecture' of literary works."

A comparative study of the Egyptian and Judean novellas of the Achaemenian and Hellenistic Periods with a focus on plot is of interest for a number of reasons. The novellas have not been hitherto identified in this particular way as a distinct genre of prose fiction in either field, precluding productive comparative study. As I will show in detail in §2 below, a widespread neglect of plot has led to novella-like genre designations that overlap with the corpus as I define them but include works of manifestly different genres. More generally, previous work on Egyptian and Judean literature in the Achaemenian and Hellenistic Periods with a comparative approach has tended to focus on Hellenistic Greek literature. Only one such genre, the story-collection, has been studied recently with attention to Egyptian and Judean literature, although with a focus on the latter.[15] This lack, despite the fact that these two literary cultures yielded similar kinds of prose fiction simultaneously and contemporarily, is in sore need of remedy.

2. Approaches to the Novella, Past and Present

The most pressing question concerning the history of research on the works I identify as novellas is whether the corpus has been previously identified as here in the dissertation, either from a comparative perspective or individually in the two literary cultures. The simple answer is no. While this may not be a surprise from the former perspective, given the relatively small amount of attention given to common genres of prose fiction in Egypt and Judea, it is noteworthy that, in Egyptology, there is little differentiation of genres of prose fiction, while in biblical and early Jewish literary studies the natural grouping of *Jonah, Ruth, Esther, Tobit*, and *Judith* is avoided in favor of broader and more vaguely defined conceptions of genre that exclude some of these while including numerous other works. Why this is the case is the result of several trends in the two fields which derive from a similar wellspring of 19th century literary studies in Europe (especially Germany). Although research on prose fiction in both fields has proceeded virtually independently from each other from the start, a decisive step taken in the late 19th centuries in each involved the identification of genres of prose fiction according to a widely-agreed-upon system of genres derived from classical and European literature, and based on a consensus understanding of the developmental relationship between oral storytelling and written literature. In short, the identification of novellas as well as the important, related genre of cycles in both Egyptian and Judean literature, assumed that these works consisted of the literary shaping of pre-existing, oral material. As I will argue, while this paradigm has been largely left behind or, in the case of Egyptology, updated in light of more recent advances in oral formulaic theory and a better understanding of the oral matrix of all written literature, the general failure to replace the outdated genre system with a new approach to differentiating kinds of literature has led, ultimately, to the strange phenomenon of a clear group of texts being hidden in plain sight for decades.

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[15] Tawny Holm, *Of Courtiers and Kings: The Biblical Daniel Narratives and Ancient Story-Collections*, Explorations in Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013). See also Tawny Holm, “Daniel 1-6: A Biblical Story Collection,” in *Ancient Fiction: The Matrix of Early Christianity and Jewish Narrative*, ed. Jo-Ann A. Brant, Charles W. Hedrick, and Chris Shea, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 32 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 149–66.

2.1. The Novella through the Early to Mid-Twentieth Century

The term novella has been used in a particularly idiosyncratic way in biblical studies ever since Hermann Gunkel (1862-1932) introduced the term to wider scholarship in his commentary on Genesis, which appeared first in 1901 and was revised two more times.[16] His particular conception of the genre and his influential identification of the Joseph story of Genesis as a novella *par excellence* have survived the vicissitudes of Pentateuchal criticism in the 20th and 21st centuries, with the name still used primarily for the Joseph story and applied to other texts as well. Gunkel's use of *Novelle*, and the Romantic spirit which underlies it, can be ascribed generally to his knowledge of Johann Gottfried von Herder, to trends already seen in German Biblical criticism (Budde, Reuss), and to the general thought world of German literary and folklore studies at the end of the 19th century.[17]

For Gunkel, a *Novelle* is the literary transformation of short, orally transmitted stories called *Sagen* into a longer, artistic composition called a *Kunstform*.[18] Another kind of *Kunstform* based on the transformation of *Sagen* identified by Gunkel is the cycle or *Sagenkreis*/*Sagenkranz* (often called more generically *Sammlung*[19]). Gunkel identifies both types in Genesis, with the Abraham and Jacob stories representing a *Sagenkranz*, and the Joseph story a *Novelle.*[20] The two are distinguished by a higher degree of artistic shaping in the latter, seen across the entire work and blurring the distinctions between the original *Sagen.* If the artist/collector imparts a sense of unity on *Sagenkranze,* it is based on character and general story arc. A *Novelle*, in distinction, is "a particularly coherent composition."[21] Drawing out the distinctions between these two *Kunstformen*, Gunkel notes that, while the creation of *Novellen* implies "an aesthetic sense that has become more pure" in search of more expansive means of creativity, *Sagenkränze* are more primitive, allowing the primordial *Sagen* to exist in their original shape, which means they can be studied and interpreted on their own.[22] The implication is that the proper use of *Novelle* to identify and name a work of literature is left to the aesthetic discrimination of the individual critic, a fact that is confirmed in the trends surrounding the use of the term following Gunkel.

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[16] Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis*, Handkommentar zum Alten Testament 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901). Before Gunkel, the term novella was used in a technical sense for short stretches of legal discourse in the Pentateuch that were thought to supplement others, e.g. Abraham Kuenen, *Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des alten Testaments* (Leipzig: Otto Schulze, 1885), 1:90. This is based on a particular meaning of the term going back to Latin *novella* in Justinian's Corpus Juris Civlis, referring to the body of supplementary laws, co-opting the classical Latin word meaning "newly planted tree" (Robert J. Clements and Joseph Gibaldi, *Anatomy of the Novella: The European Tale Collection from Boccaccio and Chaucer to Cervantes* (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 4); cf. Simeon Chavel, *Oracular Law and Priestly Historiography in the Torah*, Forschungen Zum Alten Testament, 2. Reihe 71 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 12.

[17] See Werner Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel: zu seiner Theologie der Religiongeschichte und zur Entstehung der formgeschichtlichen Methode*, 100 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 108–11. For the intellectual background to Gunkel's literary criticism, see Jay A. Wilcoxen, "Narrative," in *Old Testament Form Criticism*, ed. John H. Hayes (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1974), 57–98.

[18] Hermann Gunkel, "Die Israelitische Literatur," in *Die orientalischen Literaturen* (Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1906), 54. Similarly, the Brothers Grimm held that all art could be divided into *Naturpoesie* and *Kunstpoesie*, a touchstone concept for Romantic literary theory. See Fabian Lampart, "The Turn to History and the *Volk*: Brentano, Arnim, and the Grimm Brothers," in *The Camden House History of German Literature, VIII: The Literature of German Romanticism*, ed. Dennis F. Mahoney (Rochester, NY: Cambden Houe, 2004), 173.

A crucial fact for our purposes is that Gunkel did not refer to *Jonah, Ruth, Esther, Judith*, and *Tobit* as novellas without qualification. In his contribution to *Die orientalische Literatur*

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[19] E.g. Gunkel, "Die Israelitische Literatur," 54.

[20] Gunkel, "Die Israelitische Literatur," 71. Gunkel also lists short narratives that supplement the legal literature in the Torah as *Novellen* (ibid., 76). See Wilcoxen, "Narrative," 66–67. Gunkel used the term *Kunstform* as the heading for his introduction to the literary forms found in Genesis. In the frequently used 1997 English translation of the commentary, *Kunstformen* in the heading is translated "artistry," a literal translation that completely obscures Gunkel's method; see Wilcoxen, "Narrative," 60. Without knowing what Gunkel meant by the term *Kunstform*, the word could be easily misunderstood to refer to the aesthetic qualities or artistry found in the stories of Genesis.

[21] Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis*, 7th ed. (Göttingen: Vandehoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 396. This, in fact, at least as Gunkel conceived it in his Genesis commentary, is the only way to distinguish between the two *Kunstformen*: witness how he initially calls the Joseph story a *Sagenkranz*, but then explains that, since its unitary artistry is much more pronounced in its plot, characters, and style, it should rightly be called a *Novelle*. See Gunkel, Genesis, 1966, 396–98 and Wilcoxen, "Narrative," 67.

[22] Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1966, xxxiv; note he does not use the word *Novelle* in this passage.

(1906), published four years after the first edition of the Genesis commentary, Gunkel calls these five works legends (*Legende*), drawing on a term which functions much like *Novelle*, but, in his conception, is decidedly religious in purpose.[23] While he often uses *Legende* and *Sage* rather interchangeably, when speaking of distinct works like *Jonah* and *Ruth*, he uses former term as a species of *Kunstform* parallel to *Novelle* (the latter, however, being more elaborately conceived). This explains his intriguing qualification of *Ruth* as a "lovely and completely non-tendentious novella,"[24] the key being what he perceives is its *tendenzlos* nature, the other works being more obvious in their edificatory purpose: its *tendenzlos* nature is what makes it more akin to a novella.[25] Naturally, he compares the artistry of *Ruth* to that of the Joseph story.[26] Yet, notwithstanding the qualification of *Ruth*, only the Joseph story is called a novella by Gunkel. Even when he later moved away from a *Sage*-focused understanding of the formation of Genesis to an approach grounded in folklore genres,[27] Gunkel continued to use the word novella for the Joseph story, only now calling it a *Märchennovella*,[28] borrowing a term from contemporary folklore studies.[29] Consequently, the Joseph story exerted a veritable stranglehold on what novella could mean for the Hebrew Bible,[30] and the nature of its perceived aesthetic value and integrity enshrined it as the paradigmatic novella.[31]

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[23] Gunkel, "Die Israelitische Literatur," 76.

[24] Gunkel, "Die Israelitische Literatur," 76 (" eine liebenswürdige und gänzlich tendenzlose Novelle").

[25] As Anthony Campbell notes, in a revised version of his article on Ruth in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (reprinted in Hermann Gunkel, *Reden und aufsätze* (Göttingen: Vandehoeck & Ruprecht, 1913), 65–92), Gunkel added a reconstruction of the history of the text of *Ruth*, tracing its development from a fairytale (*Märchen*) about Naomi to a more complex *Novelle* with the addition of the parallel Ruth plot. See Edward F. Campbell, "The Hebrew Short Story: A Study of Ruth," in *A Light unto My Path: Old Testament Studies in Honor of Jacob M. Myers*, ed. Howard N. Bream, Ralph D. Heim, and Carey A. Moore (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), 86.

[26] Gunkel, *Reden und aufsätze*, 85.

[27] This later approach is exemplified in *Das Märchen im Alten Testament*, Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher für die deutsche christliche Gegenwart, II. Reihe, 23/26 Hft. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1921). Gunkel's shift from *Sage* to *Märchen* is owed to his enthusiastic reception of Hugo Gressmann's article Hugo Gressmann, "Sage und Geschichte in den Patriarchenerzählungen," *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 30 (1910): 1–33. Gunkel's older approach, crystallized in the introduction to the first edition of his commentary on Genesis, was not revised after 1910 (see J. W. Rogerson in Hermann Gunkel, *The Folktale in the Old Testament*, trans. Michael D. Rutter (Sheffield: Almond, 1987), 15–16).

[28] Gunkel, *Das Märchen im Alten Testament*, 123–24.

Gunkel maintained a strict distinction between the Joseph story, which was dated to the monarchic period and believed to be the most sophisticated work of (non-historical) narrative prose written in Ancient Israel,[32] and novellas like *Esther*, which were late (i.e. post-classical) and therefore only "epigones," mere imitations of sophisticated works like the Joseph story.[33] The epigones, unlike the Joseph story and other so-called classics of Israelite prose (like the Succession Narrative), *Ruth*, *Esther, Tobit*, and *Judith* were produced by a community—post-exilic Judeans—whose literary production was circumscribed by their lack of historical agency, an "unlucky people...who dreamed of their own world domination."[34] Instead of fashioning artful literary compositions from *Sagen*, post-exilic Judean authors, now no longer "experiencing history,"[35] assembled the novellas from short, religious *Legende*. According to Gunkel, the focus in these works on the deeds of religious heroes (even, apparently, Jonah!) reflect the individualistic and isolationist perspective of early Judaism.[36] The antisemitic connotations of "epigone" *and* Gunkel's characterization of the novellas are clear.[37]

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[29] For this term, Gunkel cites Adolf Thimme, *Das Märchen*, Handbücher zur Volkskunde 2 (Leipzig: W. Heims, 1909), 2. The same term is used by Donald B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37-50)*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 66–68.

[30] Witness the discussion of characteristic plots of the novella in W. Lee Humphreys, "Novella," in *Saga, Legend, Tale, Novella, Fable: Narrative Forms in Old Testament Literature*, ed. George W. Coats, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 35 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 89–91 which only uses Genesis 37-50 for examples.

[31] Otto Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1934), 38

[32] After Gunkel, the most influential discussion to this effect was Gerhard von Rad, "Josephsgeschicthe und ältere Chokma," in *Congress Volume: Copenhagen 1953*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 120–27 (trans. Gerhard von Rad, "The Joseph Narrative and Ancient Wisdom," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1966), 292–300). For a discussion of this view, see R. N. Whybray, "The Joseph Story and Pentateuchal Criticism," *Vetus Testamentum* 18, no. 4 (1968): 521–24.

[33] Borrowed from the Greek ἐπίγονος (lit. "what is born upon (i.e. after)"), epigone—rare in English today—is a pejorative term for an inferior, later creation that imitates something earlier and better. According to the *OED* (s.v.): "One of a succeeding generation...the less distinguished successors of an illustrious generation." For the term in German usage, see s.v. in *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, digitalisierte Fassung im Wörterbuchnetz des Trier Center for Digital Humanities, Version 01/21, https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB2?lemid=E10761 (accessed 10/21/21).

[34] "unglücklichen Volke...von einer eigenen Weltherrschaft träumt" (Gunkel, "Die Israelitische Literatur," 36).

Scholars influenced by Gunkel in his generation and the next began to apply the term novella more widely across the narrative literature of the Hebrew Bible, such as *Esther*,[38] an identification which fit the common understanding of the literary history and oral origins of the book.[39] Eissfeldt calls *Esther* and *Ruth* novellas, but identifies *Jonah* as a collection of legends about the prophet Jonah combined with a mythological motif (the great fish),[40] likely because of its more overt religious nature. Without needing to subscribe to a specific system of literature based on distinguishing (oral) *Sagen* from (written) *Kunstform* like Gunkel, but nevertheless assuming generally an oral background to all ancient literature, scholars begin to identify a wide variety of texts as novellas which are judged to be the "literary creation of an individual, an artfully crafted piece from the hands of an author," showing a complexity that is "better comprehended as the work of a literary craftsman...than as the expansion" of oral stories.[41] With this more general definition, reliant on the critical and aesthetic sense of the interpreter, a wide swathe of texts in the Hebrew Bible were given the name of novella, even short texts from larger compilational wholes such as the Judah and Tamar story of Gen 38.[42] This led to a confusion between novella and short story. When a distinction is maintained, it is solely a matter of length and related factors, such as a richer characterization in the latter which the longer length of a novella allows.[43] Thus, *Ruth* and *Jonah,* along with the stories of Daniel 1-6, can be called short stories,[44] while longer narrative units and individual books, not only *Esther, Tobit,* and *Judith* but the Samson stories in Judges, are called novellas.[45] Carrying forward Gunkel and Gressmann's comparison between novellas and the most sophisticated examples of historiography in the Hebrew Bible,[46] examples of the latter are called "historical novellas,"[47] just novellas, or highly refined compositions that attain to a novella-like depth of literary artistry, most notably the Succession Narrative of Samuel-Kings.[48] Novellas are also compared with other prose genres:

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[35] "Neue Geschichtswerke sind damals sehr wenig mehr geschrieben worden, weil man keine Geschichte mehr erlebte" (Gunkel, "Die Israelitische Literatur," 96).

[36] Gunkel, "Die Israelitische Literatur," 97.

[37] The antisemitism underlying the disdain of "late" works is obvious in Gunkel's description of the apocalyptic prophecy of Daniel as an epigone compared to earlier Israelite prophecy; see Hermann Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895), 334–35 and, for discussion, Paul Michael Kurtz, *Kaiser, Christ, and Canaan: The Religion of Israel in Protestant Germany, 1871-1918*, Forscungen Zum Alten Testament 122 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 246. We can compare Wellhaseun's discussion of the "epigoni" of Jewish ideas that corrupt Jesus's teaching (see Kurtz, *Kaiser, Christ, and Canaan: The Religion of Israel in Protestant Germany, 1871-1918*, 109).

[38] E.g. Johannes Hempel, Die althebräische Literatur und ihr hellenistisch-jüdisches Nachleben (Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1930), 153; Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 561.

[39] Eissfeldt describes how *Esther* bears a *Märchen*- or *Novelle*-like imprint on original historical legends about the Persian court as well as about Purim, the latter of which (before Gunkel) had been already proposed to have been its own *Sage* (cf. Wilhelm Erbt, *Die Purimsage in Der Bibel* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1900)). Eissfeldt also says that Ruth is a *Novelle* created from an original *Sage*, with the Davidic aspect being part of the artistic shaping (Eissfeldt, ibid., 240).

[40] Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 449–50.

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[41] Humphreys, "Novella," 93–94.

[42] Bernhard Luther, "The Novella of Judah and Tamar and Other Israelite Novellas," in *Narrative and Novella in Samuel: Studies by Hugo Gressmann and Other Scholars 1906-1923*, ed. David M. Gunn, trans. David E. Orton, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 116 (Sheffield: The Almond Press, 1991), 89–118. This identification was made only five years after Gunkel's commentary on Genesis first appeared.

[43] Cf. the typological discussion in Humphreys, "Novella," 82–85.

[44] Humphreys, "Novella," 85.

[45] Humphreys, "Novella," 85–86.

[46] Hugo Gressmann, "Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels," Die Schriften des Alten Testaments, II.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921).

[47] Humphreys, "Novella," 86.

[48] Hugo Gressmann, "The Oldest History Writing in Israel," in *Narrative and Novella in Samuel: Studies by Hugo Gressmann and Other Scholars*, ed. and trans. D. M. Gunn (Sheffield: The Almond Press, 1991), 16, 48–49,

Eissfeldt calls the frame narrative of *Job* a fairytale-like novella, and *Susanna* a legend-like novella.[49]

While the term novella has been nowhere near as widespread in Egyptology as in biblical studies, the discovery of Egyptian narrative literature in the second half of the 19th century, including that of *First Setna* in the 1860's, brought up the issue of how to define these works and relate them to other traditions of narrative literature, leading to a natural use of the term by some.[50] Stemming from the same German milieu as Gunkel, a similarly Romantic approach to Egyptian literature developed, but with some differences. The first-discovered Demotic literary narratives were often called novels (*Roman*),[51] used as a generic term for extended works of prose fiction.[52] *Roman* soon fell out of use and is rarely found for Egyptian narrative literature still today in Egyptology.[53] In a popular lecture on Egyptian narrative literature published in 1898, Wilhelm Spiegelberg, drawing from the same milieu as Gunkel, defined the *Novelle* as a

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56, 58.

[49] Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 38.

[50] For the discovery of Egyptian narrative literature, with an emphasis on Demotic texts, see E. A. E. Reymond, "A Contribution to a Study of Egyptian Literature in Graeco-Roman Times," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 65, no. 2 (1983): 208–29.

[51] Brugsch famously called *First Setna* a *Roman* in the first published discussion of the text ("Entdeckung eines Romanes in einem demotischen Papyrus," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 4 (1866): 34–35), and Jakob Krall the *The Armor of Inaros* as well ("Ein neuer historischer Roman in demotischer Schrift (nach einem auf dem Orientalisten-Congresse in Genf am 10. September 1894 gehaltenen Vortrage)," *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* 6 (1897): 19–80). For a later example, cf. Max Pieper, "Zum Setna-Roman," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 67 (1931): 71–74.

[52] Cf. the definition of Roman in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*: a "fictitious or poetically embellished narrative of a rather large scope in prose" ("erdichtete oder dichterisch ausgeschmückte erzählung gröszeren umfanges in prosa"; *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, digital edition by the Wörterbuchnetz of the Trier Center for Digital Humanities, Version 01/21, https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB, accessed 1/14/22). This generic meaning explains the curious designation of *The Petition of Petiese* (P. Rylands 9) as a *Roman* in J. Capart, *Un roman vécu il y a XXV siecles; histoire relations dủne famille sacerdotale égyptienne avec les pretres du temple de Teuzoi depuis l'an IV du regne de Psammétique I jusqu'a l'an IX du regne de Darius (VII-VI siecles av. J.-C.) par Pétéisis fils d'Essemteu* (Bruxelles: Vromant & Co, 1914).

[53] A modern exception to the disuse of novel is the little known pamphlet of Jan Quaegebeur, *Le Roman Demotique et Greco-Egyptien*, Les Civilizations Orientales: Grandes Oevres, G 22 (Liège, 1987).

short, artistic form of storytelling which, though a literary genre, nevertheless had precedents in folklore and legend,[54] and identified as *Novellen* all of the hitherto-known literary narratives known from Egypt (e.g. *Sinuhe* and *Two Brothers*). Since this lecture was delivered before the publication of *The Armor of Inaros*, he names *First Setna* as the only Egyptian *Novelle* from the Ptolemaic Period.[55] After Spiegelberg, *Novelle* was occasionally used as a genre of prose fiction,[56] but its difference from other genres (like *Märchen*) was left to the discretion of the critic.[57] As a critic of literature, Alfred Hermann played the role of literary theoretician in Egyptology analogous to Gunkel, arguing that works of written literature like *Novellen*, which were *Kunstformen*, should be distinguished from "spontaneously created" folk literature which was occasionally written down (like *The Tale of Two Brothers*) as well as *Sagen* and myths which develop (orally) over a long period of time.[58] The Egyptian *Novelle* in particular, Hermann argues, should be held up as the progenitor of the genre, like Homer is for epic and Aeschylus for tragedy.[59] Hermann's theory, which was meant to be programmatic for future studies of Egyptian literature, did not, nevertheless, spur a wide-scale discussion of whether there were novellas in

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[54] Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die Novelle im alten Aegypten: ein litterar-historischer Essay* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1898), 4. The stories about Egyptian pharaohs collected in Herodotus are also, for Spiegleberg, *Novellen*, since they too are based on oral legend and reached their present form in writing.

[55] Spiegelberg, *Die Novelle im alten Aegypten: ein litterar-historischer Essay*, 51–52.

[56] *Novelle* is listed as a genre alongside *Märchen* and *Erzählung* in Max Pieper, *Die ägyptische Literatur* (Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1927).

[57] Cf. the criticism of Alfred Hermann, "Zur Frage einer ägyptischen Literaturgeschichte," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 83 (1929): 48.

[58] Hermann, "Zur Frage einer ägyptischen Literaturgeschichte," 49. See also pp. 58-59.

[59] Hermann, "Zur Frage einer ägyptischen Literaturgeschichte," 59–60. Hermann was reticent to say anything specific about the oral forms like *Sagen* underlying the literary *Kunstformen*, believing it to be too conjectural of an endeavor (see ibid., 59n2). He thus would reject Gunkel's entire research project on Genesis wholesale, even though he largely shares the same presuppositions.

Egypt beyond the special case of the *Königsnovelle*, a term that he himself pioneered.[60]

Around the same time that Hermann applied 19th century German literary theory to Egyptian literature, Spiegelberg—working in the hindsight of more discoveries—offered a new perspective on Demotic narrative literature.[61] On the one hand, like Gunkel he holds that Graeco-Roman period literature is fundamentally epigonic, being monotonous and characterized by "fatigue" (*Müdigkeit*), a far cry from earlier literature from the classic period of Egyptian civilization.[62] He connects this epigonic nature to the priestly class who authored the literature, a criticism with strong parallels in the Wellhausian strain of antisemitism regarding early Jewish as opposed to Israelite literature. Spiegelberg asserted that the priests relied more extensively on folklore in order to ruthlessly bring down to a mundane level once-lofty cultural touchstones like the divine nature of the pharaoh, to convey instead a strictly theological teaching.[63] On the other hand, Spiegelberg points to innovation in this period, namely the *historischen Novelle* (a term used for the Succession Narrative in biblical studies), which is a late expression of an inherent drive for storytelling (*Fabuliertrieb*) shared by Egyptians of all periods.[64] Nevertheless, he argues, this late expression of storytelling falls far short of the lively conviction of earlier historical literature, such as the Kadesh account of Ramesses II (functioning analogously to the Succession Narrative in Egyptological imagination as a classic): in comparison, Demotic historical novellas are written by priests who are far removed from the realities about which they write.[65]

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[60] Alfred Hermann, *Die ägyptische Königsnovelle*, Leipziger Ägyptologische Studie 10 (Hamburg: Glückstadt, 1938).

[61] Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Die demotische Literatur," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 85 (1931): 147–71, published posthumously from draft materials.

[62] Spiegelberg, "Die demotische Literatur," 169.

[63] Spiegelberg, "Die demotische Literatur," 154.

[64] Spiegelberg, "Die demotische Literatur," 150.

By the time of the first two major volumes of translations of Egyptian literature produced by Maspero (1906) and Petrie (1913),[66] the names given to Egyptian narrative literature begin to multiply, such as *conte*/tale, *récit*/story, and *Erzählung*.[67] Hermann's theoretical approach gave way to this more general terminology, with *Erzählung* becoming especially common.[68] The only technical genre designation to persist was *Märchen*, typically reserved for works (like *Two Brothers)* which were considered to be close to folklore.[69] This situation endures even today, where works of as disparate types as *The Myth of the Sun's Eye, The Swallow and the Sea*, and *First Setna* are simply called narratives/*Erzählungen*. Two years before Jan Assmann's 1974 article "Der literarische Text im Alten Ägypten" gave a theoretical basis in structuralism to genre agnosticism (discussed in §2.2), Wolfgang Helck proclaimed that the existence of literary genres like novel, novella, fairy tale, in the sense that they are used in European literature should be unquestionably ruled out.[70]

Nevertheless, a theoretical approach confined to Demotic literature in the late 19th and early 20th centuries which parallels Gunkel's work on the stories of Genesis is still operable in scholarship today: this concerns the Inaros cycle (*Sagenkranz*/*Sagenkreis*),[71] to which belong *The Armor of Inaros* and *The Prebend of Amun*. As seen in Gunkel, a cycle is a *Kunstform* in which oral *Sagen* or *Legende* were given literary shape, but unlike the *Novelle*, a cycle does not typically exist in a single text unless collected together as one.[72] While, individually, *The Armor of Inaros* and *The Prebend of Amun* were called either novels or novellas in the earliest scholarship, the term "cycle" received widespread acceptance after Spiegelberg's 1910 edition of *Prebend*, entitled *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*.[73] Spiegelberg intended this to not only be the *editio princeps* of the newly discovered novella, but a state-of-the-art presentation of the "Petubastis Cycle" itself, an early term for the Inaros Cycle (Inaros himself not being known until later).[74] The first to identify a Petubastis Cycle was Gaston Maspero. First in his *Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* (originally published in 1882),[75] and then in his 1897 review of Jakob Krall's publication of *Armor,*[76] Maspero discussed the existence of a cycle associated with

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[65] Spiegelberg, "Die demotische Literatur," 152.

[66] Gaston Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Egypte ancienne*, 3rd ed. (Paris: E. Guilmoto, 1906); Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales Translated from the Papyri. Second Series, XVIIIth to XIXth Dynasty*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1913).

[67] Cf. also W. Golenischeff, *Le Conte du Naufragé*, Bibliothèque d'étude 2 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1912); Alan H. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris: Librarie Honore Champion, 1916).

[68] This is perhaps owed to its use in Adolf Erman, *Die Literatur der Aegypter: Gedichte, Erzählungen und Lehrbücher aus dem 3. und 2 jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1923).

[69] E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Märchen* (Düsseldorf: E. Diederichs, 1963).

[70] Wolfgang Helck, "Zur Frage der Entstehung der ägyptischen Literatur," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 63/64 (1972): 23.

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[71] The origin of the term "cycle" is ancient Greek literary criticism, which used the word κύκλος to describe the collection of poems about the Trojan War and its aftermath, usually called the Epic Cycle. The events of the Trojan War and its aftermath presented a grand, sweeping story available to storytellers that was divisible into individual segments. The term used in German literary criticism, *Sagenkreis* (also occasionally *Sagenkranz*), is defined in the Grimms' *Deutsches Wörterbuch* as a "gruppe von Sagen, die sich um einen gemeinsamen Mittelpunkt zusammenschliessen." The primary definition for *Zyklus* in the same dictionary is of the more generic kind, namely a temporal sequence or series; the dervied literary meaning is "eine folge, reihe, gruppe, zumal im bereiche der literatur und kunst, wo sich einzeldarstellungen zu einem ganzen zusammenschlieszen." A *Sagenkreis* is characterized by a "gemeinsamen mittelpunkt," whereas a *Zyklus* follows a certain temporal order. For the definitions, see *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, digital edition by the Wörterbuchnetz of the Trier Center for Digital Humanities, Version 01/21, https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB, accessed 02/25/2021.

[72] This is precisely what Gunkel held was the case for the Abraham and Jacob stories collected by the Jahwist and Elohist.

[73] The edition included a translation of *The Armor of Inaros* as well, and reference to *Armor* throughout the glossaries of *Prebend*.

[74] "So vereinigt denn dieser Band alle bisher bekannt gewordenen Materialien der Petubastissage," (Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 3).

[75] Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Egypte ancienne*, 722.

[76] Gaston Maspero, "Review: Krall, J. 1897. *Ein Neuer Historischer Roman in Demotischer Schrift*," *Journal Des Savants*, 1897, 649–569, 717–31.

Petubastis some eighteen years before the second relevant Demotic text, *Prebend*, was known. Thus, even though but one related literary work in Demotic was known, it was enough for Maspero to conjecture the existence of an entire cycle of stories.[77] Besides a Petubastis Cycle, Maspero also spoke of a Sesostris and a "Pyramid" cycle,[78] drawing not on Egyptian texts but on legends recorded in Herodotus and others. These were "véritables cycles romanesques autour des personnages et des événnements principaux de leur histoire nationale," the adjective *romanesque* directly evoking medieval romance cycles centered on figures like Charlemagne and Arthur as well as the *Nibelungenlied*.[79] Because *Armor* is based on characters and events with a clear historical reference, according to Maspero, it must have originally consisted of orally-circulating stories about the same figures (i.e. *Sagen*). Maspero could be confident that such *Sagen* existed because, alongside the emergent Demotic novellas (*First Setne* and P. Krall by this time), legendary stories from Egyptian history were preserved in Herodotus, Diodorus, Manetho, and Josephus which were derived from stories told by Egyptian informers. With the discovery of P. Spiegelberg, Maspero (like Spiegelberg) groups both *Armor* and *Prebend* together as part of the Petubastis Cycle.[80] Additionally, Maspero identified a "Setna Cycle" based not only on *First*

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[77] The term (Fr. *cycle*) makes its appearance in his discussion of the historicity of the characters of Armor, especially Petubastis and Pekrur, who were known from historical records dating to the Assyrian period. Maspero argues that, even though (as he believed) the historical figures behind the characters of the novella were not true contemporaries as presented in the story, they were associated with the general period of the "Dodecarchy," the name Herodotus gives for the interregnum between the Kushite and Saite periods when twelve kings ruled Egypt (see *Histories* 2.147-151). For this reason, he calls *Armor* a legend from a "cycle de la Dodécharchie." Thus, he made this leap despite having no other *Egyptian* textual evidence because other Egyptian legends from the era of Petubastis are known from the Greek historians.

[78] Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Egypte ancienne*, 722.

[79] For uses of this phrase in French scholarship contemporary with Maspero, see e.g. Charles Martens, "Épopées et romans chevaleresques," *Le Magasin litteraire* 7 (1890): 267ff.; Eugène Geruzes, *Histoire de la littérature française depuis ses origines jusqu'à la révolution* (Paris: Perrin, 1981), 1:70; also Gaston Maspero, *Études de Mythologie et d'archéologie Égyptiennes* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), 3:421.

[80] As shown in the fourth edition of his *Contes populaires* (the basis of subsequent English editions; see

Setne and *Second Setne*, but the “Sethon” story from Herodotus 2.141,[81] and a “Ramesses II Cycle” which including legendary stories from Greek historiography as well as the Bentresh Stele.[82] Thus, the discovery of Demotic narrative literature was made to fit into a literary-historical schema, one which endures to this day: narrative literature grouped in cycles is typically named as a primary feature of Demotic literature.[83]

As more texts associated with Petbuastis and Inaros—who was soon realized to be the true common denominator of the cycle—were discovered and (more rarely, unfortunately) published, the sheer number of texts serves to confirm Maspero’s original identification, perhaps beyond what he could have hoped for.[84] Despite its profound literary footprint in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, however, the essence of the Inaros Cycle was believed in the generation succeeding Maspero and Spiegelberg to lie in its oral origins, exactly like the presupposition of Maspero (as well as Gunkel). Aksel Volten, who knew not only *Prebend* and *Armor*, but “20 or 30” unpublished fragments of other texts from Copenhagen and Vienna with which he was personally acquainted, and in some cases drawing up editions for,[85] spoke of them as part of an

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Gaston Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Hasan M. El-Shamy (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2002)).

[81] Discussed along with the edition of the two Demotic novellas in Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*.

[82] Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, cxxxi–ii.

[83] W. John Tait, “Demotic Literature: Forms and Genres,” in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, Probleme Der Ägyptologie 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 183ff.; Günther Vittmann, “Tradition und Neuerung in der demotischen Literatur,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 125 (1998): 66; Jacco Dieleman and Ian S. Moyer, “Egyptian Literature,” in *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*, ed. James J. Clauss and Martine Cuypers (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 435–36; Kim Ryholt, “Late Period Literature,” in *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, ed. Alan B. Lloyd (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 712–13.

[84] For an overview of the texts of the Inaros Cycle, see Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 105–7 and Jacqueline E. Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 81 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 127–40.

[85] Based on his description, this includes texts from the still-unpublished “Inaros Epic,” the Bes story, and the *Amazons* novella.

"epic" cycle which were poetic embellishments of a historical kernel, and argued that court poets employed by the family of Inaros composed the earliest versions of the works of the cycle, which were later expanded by novelistic embellishments.[86] Later, Karl-Theodor Zauzich argued that the legendary antecedents of works in the Inaros Cycle originated in the Saite period as propaganda against the Tanite pharaohs, represented by Petubastis.[87]

2.2. Contemporary Paradigms for the Novella

Contemporary discussion of Judean novellas primarily operates within one of two paradigms. The first identifies the Joseph story as well as a number of works of prose fiction from the post-Iron Age as "diaspora novellas," an idea related to the (ultimately folklore-derived) notion of the court tale in Near Eastern literature. This is essentially a continuation of Gunkel's approach (minus the bias against the "late") that retains a strong focus on the Joseph story, but transformed by post- or non-documentarian approaches to the Pentateuch which allows (even encourages) a late dating. The second paradigm, that of the Jewish novel(la), developed in relative independence from the traditional Gunkelian conception of the novella and positions itself as a phenomenon of Hellenistic Judaism.

The idea of the diaspora novella was first coined by Arndt Meinhold in the 1970s. Meinhold defines the novella as a *Kunstform* with an ultimate historical basis that is embellished with a dramatic plot and brought to a definitive ending in a concise manner. The Joseph story and *Esther* share these features, but Meinhold notes more specifically that they also both depict the promotion of their main protagonist to the second-highest rank in the (foreign) kingdom, with that promotion being beneficial for the Israelites who are living in diaspora. For that reason, they are *Diasporanovellen*.[88] Like "folklore novella" and "historical novella," "diaspora novella" points to a malleable notion of novella in the hands of its critics to identify artistically-shaped narrative texts.

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[86] Aksel Volten, "Der demotische Petubastisroman und seine Beziehung zur griechischen Literatur," in *Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie, Wien, 1955*, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), neue Serie 5 (Wien: R. M. Roher, 1956), 149–51.

[87] Karl-Theodor Zauzich, "Serpot und Semiramis," in *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhelm anläßlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010* (Dresden: ISLET, 2010), 463–65. See also Dieleman and Moyer, "Egyptian Literature," 433.

Meinhold's identification is possible because of the developing consensus in the field that the Joseph story is separate from the rest of Genesis and is a literary unity, and that it dates (following Donald Redford's influential study from an Egyptological perspective[89]) to the early exilic period, ca. 650-425. Meinhold lists fourteen different plot motifs (in a Proppian fashion) that the Joseph story and *Esther* have in common, which he calls the *Gattungsformular,* such as "I. Cancellation of the danger and difficulties of the main character" (pointing to Gen 41:14 and Est 8:7-14).[90] Following the norm in form criticism of deriving a *Sitz im Leben*, and thus an insight into authorial intent, from generic features, Meinhold then claims that diaspora novellas were for representing as well as interpreting (*Darstellung und Deutung*) the diasporic life of Judeans.[91] As W. Lee Humphries later summarized, diaspora novellas are not only entertaining but "develop a particular theological emphasis addressed to the emerging Jewish communities of the Persian and Hellenistic diaspora" by presenting "the possibility of a creative and rewarding interaction with the foreign environment."[92]

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[88] Arndt Meinhold, "Die Gattung der Josephsgeschichte und des Estherbuches: Diaspora-novelle I," *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 87 (1975): 308.

[89] Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37-50)*.

[90] Meinhold, "Die Gattung der Josephsgeschichte und des Estherbuches: Diaspora-novelle I," 317; Arndt Meinhold, "Die Gattung der Josephsgeschichte und des Estherbuches: Diaspora-novelle II," *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 88 (1975): 86.

[91] Meinhold, "Die Gattung der Josephsgeschichte und des Estherbuches: Diaspora-novelle I," 320.

Meinhold's articles were influential and led to a fairly wide-scale adoption of the term diaspora novella and applications of it to other biblical texts. Today, not only the Joseph story (sometimes tempered as only Gen 39-41[93]), but Genesis 14,[94] *Jonah*,[95] *Esther*, *Tobit*, Daniel 1-6, and (the non-Judean) *Ahiqar* have been called diaspora novellas. The latter four examples are the commonest examples, encouraged no doubt by their association since the 1970s with another genre, or more properly text type,[96] the court tale,[97] codifying in folkloric terms the oft-noted shared motif of a (frequently foreign) courtier finding success against all odds in the court of a king.[98] This overlap has no doubt encouraged the persuasiveness of Meinhold's concept. Though de-emphasizing the specific Gunkelian understanding of *Novelle* in favor of general appeals to unity and pronounced literary artistry, scholars today maintain in nearly identical terms Meinhold's claim concerning the purpose of the Joseph story and *Esther* as to reflect Judean life in diaspora,[99] though there are still dissenting voices from both documentarian[100] and non-documentarian[101] perspectives regarding the former.[102]

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[92] W. Lee Humphreys, "A Life-Style for Diaspora: A Study of the Tales of Esther and Daniel," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 92, no. 2 (1973): 211, 213.

[93] "[T]he classification as a 'diaspora novella' certainly does not fit the entire Joseph story" but is "apt for chapters Gen 39-41 (and 47)" (Reinhard Kratz, "The Joseph Story: Diaspora Novella - Patriarchal Story - Exodus Narrative," in *The Joseph Story between Egypt and Israel*, ed. Thomas Römer, Konrad Schmid, and Bühler Axel, Archaeology and Bible 5 (Berlin: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 31).

[94] Volker Glissmann, "Genesis 14: A Diaspora Novella?," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 34, no. 1 (2009): 33–45.

[95] Roger Syrén, "The Book of Jonah: A Reverse 'Diaspora-Novella'?," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 58 (1993): 7–14.

[96] The concept of text type, which is broader than genre, is used to "integrate common features of historically varying genres (novella, novel, short story, etc.) and thus to reduce the complexity of the many overlapping kinds of texts to distinct textual phenomena" (Matthias Aumüller, "Text Types," in *The Living Handbook of Narratology*, ed. Peter Hühn et al. (Hamburg: Hamburg University Press, 2014), §1, https://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/node/121.html).

[97] Humphreys, "A Life-Style for Diaspora: A Study of the Tales of Esther and Daniel" (*avant la lettre*); John J. Collins, "The Court-Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 94 (1975): 218–34; Susan Niditch and Robert Doran, "The Success Story of the Wise Courtier: A Formal Approach," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96, no. 2 (1977): 179–93; Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990). Sidnie White Crawford argues that the fragmentary narrative of 4Q550 (4QTales of the Persian Court) is a court tale; Sidnie White Crawford, "4Q Tales of the Persian Court (4Q550 a-e) and Its Relation to Biblical Royal Courtier Tales, Especially Esther, Daniel and Joseph," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 121–37. For a state-of-the-art discussion and survey that includes material from Egypt and the Near East, see Tawny Holm, Of Courtiers and Kings: The Biblical Daniel Narratives and Ancient Story-Collections, Explorations in Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations ; 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 377–414.

The second approach has been pioneered by Lawrence Wills, who considers the corpus of diaspora novellas as well as *Joseph and Aseneth* as Jewish novellas or novels which take their definitive shape in the wider context of the spread of Hellenism and the accompanying phenomenon of novelization.[103] In his most recent discussion, Wills uses "novel" exclusively, naming *Esther*, Daniel 1-6, *Tobit, Judith,* and *Joseph and Aseneth,* and defines the genre as

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[98] Important precursors to the identification of these works as court stories are L. A. Rosenthal, "Die Josephgeschichte mit den Büchern Ester und Daniel vergleichen," *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 15 (1895): 278–85 and Shemaryahu Talmon, "'Wisdom' in the Book of Esther," *Vetus Testamentum* 13 (1963): 419–55.

[99] Thus Thomas Römer, "How 'Persian' or 'Hellenistic' Is the Joseph Narrative?," in *The Joseph Story between Egypt and Israel*, ed. Thomas Römer, Konrad Schmid, and Bühler Axel, Archaeology and Bible 5 (Berlin: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 43: "It is easiest to explain the attention given to describing the Egyptian integration and career of Joseph if one assumes that the Joseph narrative is a 'diaspora novella' and was composed as a story reflecting on the possibilities of a life outside of the land."

[100] See Joel S. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 51–52; Baruch Schwartz, "How the Compiler of the Pentateuch Worked: The Composition of Genesis 37," in *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, ed. Graig A. Evans et al., Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 152 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 263–78. While it is technically possible to maintain the perspective of Gunkel or von Rad on the compositional nature of the Joseph story and refer to its genre as a novella, neo-documentarian approaches to the Pentateuch avoid this term altogether.

[101] Erhard Blum and Kristin Weingart, "The Joseph Story: Diaspora Novella or North-Israelite Narrative?," *Zeitschrift Für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 129, no. 4 (2017): 501–21.

[102] In the recent volume Thomas Römer, Konrad Schmid, and Axel Bühler, eds., *The Joseph Story between Egypt and Israel*, Archaeology and Bible 5 (Berlin: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), there is no explicit engagement with Meinhold's theory in any detail beyond simply presuming it as true.

[103] Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Lawrence M. Wills, "Jewish Novellas in a Greek and Roman Age: Fiction and Identity," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 42 (2011): 141–65; Lawrence M. Wills, "The Jewish and Hellenistic Novel," in *The Biblical World*, ed. Katherine J. Dell, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2021), 189–205.

"entertaining prose narrative fiction, in written form as opposed to oral...which attains enough length to allow for the development of plot and subplot, description, dialogue, characterization, and the examination of thoughts and motives."[104] True novels are compared with "novelistic" versions of other prose genres with fictional embellishment, such as some works of historiography (2 Maccabees, 3 Maccabees, the "Tobiad Romance" from Josephus) and the testaments.[105] In an earlier discussion, Wills used the term novella for the same works.[106] Regardless of the terminology, for Wills, true novel(la)s did not arise until the Hellenistic Period, and are to be distinguished from prose fiction from the Iron Age through the Achaemenian. The Jewish novel is a new genre in comparison with genres of "rewritten scripture," historiography, wisdom literature, and others that continue or transform Iron Age genres of Israelite literature.[107] These two eras are not completely separated, however, since the Jewish novel(la)s of the Hellenistic period are developments or expansions of earlier narrative works: for example, MT Esther, which Wills identifies as a court tale, underwent a transformation into a Jewish novel in Greek,[108] with the Daniel literature, *Tobit, Judith,* and *Joseph and Aseneth* undergoing a similar process from original *Stoffe* (folktales, legends, court stories, even biblical narrative when it comes to *Joseph and Aseneth*) to novel.

While the concept of the novella endures in biblical studies, in studies of Demotic literature, as well as Egyptian literature in general, not only has the term (as well as novel) been almost entirely abandoned, but so has the endeavor to distinguish genres of prose fiction. A turn to historicism starting in the 1970s led to a distaste in applying extrinsically derived concepts of genres to Egyptian literature,[109] especially narrative subgenres that are more specific than *Erzählung*.[110] The progenitor of this approach was Jan Assmann in his influential 1974 article "Der literarische Text im Alten Ägypten," where he argued that Egyptological literary criticism should not seek to define genres but (like Russian Formalism and high structuralism) explore what makes literary texts literary in the first place; any resultant categorization of literary texts should be based on their functional role in society.[111] Many genre-oriented studies of narrative that have been undertaken post-Assmann identify and study texts groups that, from an outside perspective, cut across literary genres, based, for example, on theme[112] or periodization,[113] but ignore distinguishing literary features that, in other contexts and literatures, would likely warrant some discussion. An exception is Steve Vinson’s 2004 article “The Accent's on Evil: Ancient Egyptian ‘Melodrama’ and the Problem of Genre,” which argues for the validity in Egyptian literature of the traditional pursuit of genre from the perspective of literary theory and criticism, and makes a specific case for identifying the plot-type of melodrama found in three representative narrative works of different eras and genres.[114]

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[104] Wills, "The Jewish and Hellenistic Novel," 189.

[105] Wills, "The Jewish and Hellenistic Novel," 189–90.

[106] Wills, "Jewish Novellas in a Greek and Roman Age: Fiction and Identity."

[107] Wills, "The Jewish and Hellenistic Novel," 189.

[108] See Wills, *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World*, 93–131. See also Lawrence M. Wills, "Jewish Novellas in a Greek and Roman Age: Fiction and Identity," Journal for the Study of Judaism 42 (2011): 161–62. Note this developmental approach is not emphasized as much in his more recent work.

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[109] Roland B. Parkinson, "Literary Form on the 'Tale of the Eloquent Peasant,'" *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 78 (1992): 166; Wolfgang Schenkel, "Ägyptische Literatur und ägyptologische Forschung," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. Loprieno, Antonio, Probleme der Ägyptologie 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 32–33; Steve Vinson, "The Accent's on Evil: Ancient Egyptian 'Melodrama' and the Problem of Genre," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 41 (2004): 38, 43.

[110] Roland B. Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection* (London: Equinox Pub. Ltd, 2002), 109; Camilla di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories: Linguistic, Literary and Historical Perspectives*, Probleme Der Ägyptologie 32 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 5–8.

[111] Jan Assmann, "Der literarische Text im Alten Ägypten," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 69, no. 3–4 (1974): 117–26. In many ways, this historicist approach follows Helck, "Zur Frage der Entstehung der ägyptischen Literatur". For a functional approach to Egyptian literature following Assmann, see Antonio Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968). For a more detailed overview of this seachange in the approach to genre, see Vinson, "The Accent's on Evil: Ancient Egyptian 'Melodrama' and the Problem of Genre", who argues for the usefulness, if only as a heuristic, of a traditional, "universalizing" approach to Egyptian literary genres.

[112] For example, the travel narrative (G. Moers, *Fingierte Welten in der ägyptischen Literatur des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.: Grenzüberschreitung, Reisenotiv und Fiktionalität*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2001)) which encompasses fictionalized tomb autobiographies (*Sinuhe*), embellished expedition reports (*Wenamun*), and literary epistles (*Tale of Woe*).

[113] Elke Blumenthal, "Die Erzählung des Papyrus d'Orbiney als Literaturwerk," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 99 (1972): 1–17, studying the Late Egyptian stories as "light fiction" (*Unterhaltungsliteratur*).

In place of attention to literary genres in studies of Demotic literature in particular is the continued centrality of the idea of cycles. Besides the Inaros Cycle, the Setna novellas are commonly said to be part of a Setna Cycle, as already supposed by Maspero. A distinction between works associated with these two cycles in particular is one of the few genre-like divisions prevalent today, but it is based not on typical cyclic features (notably the prevalence of the same characters) but on theme: the “Setna cycle” concerns magic, while the “Inaros cycle” has an *Iliad*-like focus on armed conflict.[115] *Armor* and *Prebend* are usually studied together as examples of common themes and techniques associated with Ptolemaic-period literature applied to older legends.[116] Kim Ryholt has suggested that they share the trope of the improper celebration of religious festivals,[117] while Jacqueline Jay has shown in detail that these two novellas share distinct features of narrative technique pointing to an abiding oral milieu of literature.[118] In his study of the Inaros Cycle, Friedhelm Hoffmann has taken a different approach, emphasizing the diversity inherent in the different works, noting that, besides the cast of characters and a number of striking similarities between *Armor* and *Prebend*, very little remains that is shared among all of the cyclic texts. Furthermore, he points out, the works are not all strictly about military or heroic exploits, but witness to a variety of plot-types and narrative genres, from "historical" novels to "fantastic stories, fables, and tragic love novellas."[119] Yet alongside this quite unique (in the context of Demotic literary studies) interest in differentiating prose genres, Hoffmann still promotes Volten's idea that the ultimate basis of the cycle is the real historical events that they presuppose, which, in various trajectories, through oral storytelling and literary art, became the works we have today. The long period of incubation, from the events themselves to the literary form that we have from the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods, accounts for the variety: *Prebend* and *Amazon* seem to be closer to historical events, while other work like *Amazons* are fictionalizations about individual heroes found in the earlier works that were inspired by them (*Amazons* only has Petechons as a character from other works in the cycle). For this reason, Hoffmann uses the term "complex" instead of "cycle."[120] Jacqueline Jay sympathizes with Hoffmann's qualms about the generalizing implications of the term "cycle," but she points out that its semantic range is applicable to more disparate collections that do not have "a tight relationship among members," drawing on examples of legend cycles around figures like Charlemagne and Alexander the Great.[121] Jay, presuming like Volten and Hoffmann that the works of the cycle reach back, in various ways, to oral legends about historical figures, suggests also that there may be written antecedents to the great literary works seen in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, such as the Sheikh Fadl dipinto (*TAD* D23.1) in Aramaic which bears a literary narrative mentioning Inaros, Esarhaddon, and others,[122] and the potential of written propaganda promoted by the Saites (following Zauzich).[123] Nevertheless, she continues to articulate the interrelation of the cyclic works as shown by textual indicators their oral matrix, which encourages a diachronic reconstruction of legendary, orally circulated antecedents to the later written compositions.[124] Despite their legendary origins, they also bear traces of entextualization[125] and realization as written literature from the various periods that intervene between the Assyrian and the Roman periods, with a preponderance stemming from the Ptolemaic Period, though some features suggest the Achaemenian Period as well. The cyclic works, regardless of their prehistory, are "written compositions engaging with written culture in specific ways," and not merely transcriptions of oral stories.[126]

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[114] Vinson, “The Accent’s on Evil: Ancient Egyptian ‘Melodrama’ and the Problem of Genre.”

[115] W. John Tait, “Egyptian Fiction in Demotic and Greek,” in *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context* (London: Routledge, 1994), 210–11.

[116] Cf. Volten, “Der demotische Petubastisroman und seine Beziehung zur griechischen Literatur,” 148.

[117] Ryholt, “Late Period Literature,” 715.

[118] Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 153–54.

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[119] Friedhelm Hoffmann, *Ägypter und Amazonen: Neubearbeitung zweier demotischer Papyri: P. Vindob. D 6165 und P. Vindob. D 6165 A*, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), n. s. 24 (Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek in Kommission, 1995), 20–22.

[120] Hoffmann, *Ägypter und Amazonen: Neubearbeitung zweier demotischer Papyri: P. Vindob. D 6165 und P. Vindob. D 6165 A*, 21. See also Vittmann, "Tradition und Neuerung in der demotischen Literatur," 66 and Friedhelm Hoffmann, "Die Entstehung der demotischen Erzählliteratur: Beobachtungen zum überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Kontext," in *Das Erzählen in frühen Hochkulturen I: Der Fall Ägypten*, ed. Hubert Roeder, Ägyptologie und Kulturwissenschaft 1 (München: Fink, 2009), 356.

[121] Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 153–54.

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[122] The inscription of the dipinto can be dated to the early 5th century BCE, with its text originating perhaps as early as the 7th, judging by the Aramaic dialect; see Andre Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméens de Cheikh-Fadl (Égypte)," in *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*, ed. Markham J. Geller, Jonas C. Greenfield, and Michael Weitzman, Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 77–132. See also Kim Ryholt, "The Assyrian Invasion of Egypt in Egyptian Literary Tradition," in *Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*, ed. J. G. Dercksen (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 496–97. A more recent study of the Sheikh Fadl tomb suggests lowers the dating of the dipinto to the early 4th century; see E. Christiana Köhler et al., "Preliminary Report on the Investigation of a Late Period Tomb with Aramaic Inscription at El-Sheikh Fadl/Egypt," *Ägypten Und Levante* 28 (2018): 81.

[123] Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 138–39.

[124] Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 154, citing John Miles Foley, "Analogues: Modern Oral Epics," in *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, ed. John Miles Foley (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 198: "[L]iving oral epics are never discretely organized into a well-anthologized series but exist as complementary and overlapping stories loosely associated with various heroes, events, and the like. The model of an ordered whole with neatly demarcated, interlocking pieces is a textual imposition on the immanent, emergent nature of oral tradition."

[125] For this term, see Antonio J. Morales, "From Voice to Papyrus to Wall: Verschriftung and Verschriftlichung in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts," in *Understanding Material Text Cultures: A Multidisciplinary View*, ed. Markus Hilgert (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 69–130.

[126] Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 152.

2.3. Evaluation

Contemporary approaches to the novellas and other related works are substantial improvements over the negative assessment of "late" works as derivative and of less inherent interest than those from so-designated classical periods, a view represented in the late 19th and early 20th century perspectives of Gunkel and Spiegelberg. These works are now seen as emblems of the continued flourishing of Egyptian and Judean culture after the Iron Age, and their relationship to Hellenistic literature and culture taken as reflecting an increasingly multicultural world, an approach which we have seen especially in the work of Wills but which is also found in studies of Demotic literature.[127]

Despite this advance, the foregoing discussion has shown that further work on defining genres of prose fiction in post-Iron Age Egyptian and Judean literature is a general need. While the Egyptian texts identified here as novellas have been studied in the wider context of Demotic narrative literature, there has yet to appear a study of particular genres of prose fiction, or even, in fact, a fully worked out argument that there are distinct genres of Egyptian prose fiction composed in Demotic in the first place.

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[127] While earlier research on the Inaros Cycle tended to hold that the texts like *Armor* and *Prebend* showed clear Greek influences (see Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 10; Edda Bresciani, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros (Papyrus Krall)*, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), n. s., Folge 8 (Wien: G. Prachner, 1964), 9–15), some went further and argued that this influence was perhaps even responsible for the emergence of these new kinds of Egyptian literature; see Volten, "Der demotische Petubastisroman und seine Beziehung zur griechischen Literatur"; Heinz-Josef Thissen, "Homerischer Einfluss Im Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus?," *Studien Zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 27 (1999): 369–87. While some argue against substantial Greek influence in general (the strongest opposition can be found in Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 102–4), currently, the question of Greek influence is mostly kept separate from considerations of the origins of the Inaros Cycle in the first place, which is generally held to have its origins in the Saite Period and to be a thoroughly Egyptian creation which, in its eventual literary expression, was able to show the influence of Greek literature (see Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 190–91).

Research on the Judean novellas presents a more complex situation: genre identification proliferates, but with a lack of attention to literary form, resulting in genre concepts like the diaspora novella which include works of manifestly different literary form. In both prevailing novel(la) paradigms in biblical and early Jewish literature studies, a corpus of prose fiction is poorly defined both in its members as well as in its omissions. The inclusion of story collections (Daniel 1-6), instructional texts with frame stories (*Ahiqar*), and, above all, a work which has to be recognized as such through significant literary-critical argumentation, the Joseph story of Genesis 37-50*, makes it clear that the novella as conceived is not strictly a literary genre but a more general text type based on an amalgamation of features concerning fictional technique, thematic focus, and supposed *Sitz im Leben*. The thematic focus on explicit diasporic concerns in the texts has also excluded from consideration *Jonah* and *Ruth,* two works which scholars increasingly agree date to the Achaemenian Period or even later, and thus, as works of short prose fiction, immediately invite comparison with *Esther, Tobit,* and *Judith*.

While formal features such as plot are only one of the many structural dimensions of literary works that factor into genre, including theme and setting,[128] both of which are amply attested in discussions of the diaspora novella, the lack of attention to form in general risks a superficial treatment of how literature is experienced. If genre is “the most powerful explanatory tool available to the literary critic,”[129] this absence particularly calls into question the diaspora novella’s explanatory power as a concept, based as it is on global claims about the formally distinct nature of groups of texts based on how they provide a comforting reading experience. A critical re-assessment of the similarities between the Joseph story and *Esther* since Meinhold's influential work, which reduced the comparison to a Proppian analysis of motif sequences without fully engaging in a comparative poetics, would be a first step in reassessing the diaspora novella's potential literary basis, since the similarities between these two texts historically anchors the concept. The centrality of the Joseph story is itself problematic, however, since it not only admits of radically different literary-historical reconstructions, but, beyond the subtraction of the Priestly material, little agreement even by non-documentarians concerning its present extent in Genesis. This does not present good data for the study of poetics.

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[128] Frow, *Genre,* 6–10.

[129] Adena Rosmarin, *The Power of Genre* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 39.

The concept of the diaspora novella is best served in a modified form as part of an endeavor to model, reconstruct, and study forms of Judean reading cultures, given a surer basis in richer understanding of the array of prose fictional, and related, genres. As defined, the diaspora novella places a significant amount of weight on a straightforward identification of literary genre with the needs of the concrete audience, most of whom are considered to live in the Judean diaspora and, for that reason, are assumed to be in need of edification, encouragement, or distraction.[130] This reconstruction (however speculative and reductive it is in its own right) is primarily relevant within the higher conceptual framework of reading culture, and not that of genre. To better serve the important research questions associated with the concept of the diaspora novella, a stronger basis in the relatively narrow confines of genre is needed.

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[130] Even Wills's conception of the novelization of narrative literature by elite, urban Judeans, which makes manifold connections between literary phenomena and their multidimensional social context, falls pray at times to an oversimplification of this relationship: "The audience of the Jewish novels evidently felt very keenly the attractions of living in the Hellenistic diaspora, at the same time that fears of persecution or assimilation could be projected as threats to the safety of all Jews" (Wills, "The Jewish and Hellenistic Novel," 192).

3. Overview of the Dissertation

In Chapter 1 (“The Egyptian and Judean Novella: Approaches and Definitions”), after outlining my theoretical approach to plot, I will lay out the dissertation’s first argument concerning the distinctness of the novella from a literary-historical perspective, taking three perspectives on the genre. First, as a genre of prose fiction, the novella stands apart from other contemporary genres in its relatively dense storytelling which nevertheless is conveyed with focused (as opposed to sprawling) effect, a factor which is evident even before taking a closer look at its poetics (the topic of Chapters 2 and 4). Second, the novella is a particular historical form of prose fiction in Egyptian and Judean literature: while narrative literature in general is attested in multiple eras in these cultures, the novellas have a particularly strong association with the eras after the Iron Age, especially the Hellenistic. Third and finally, the novella’s distinction as a genre of prose fiction can be seen in its unique footprint in reading or book culture, preserved almost universally in non-anthologized form and in a one-to-one configuration of composition to volume.

In Chapter 2 (“The Poetics of Plot in the Judean Novella”), I will examine closely the poetics of plot in the five surviving Judean novellas and characterize the Judean novella plot type in general, with a significantly fine level of grain. In its scale of plot, the Judean novella is complex in its texture as well as focused, centered on the acts of a protagonist that take place in a crowded web of agency that accomplishes the reversal of an external threat. In each plot, the reading experience of the stories in their entirety takes on definite shapes according to beginnings, middles, and ends, and how these phases of story correspond to the development of the fabula. With their beginnings that taper into their middles, their narrow or focused central sections, and their expansive endings, the plots can be described generally as hyperboloid-shaped, like an hourglass. More specifically, the significant number of features shared by all of the plots yield a clear set of family resemblances that can identify a Judean novella plot as such. In terms of the sequential structure of the plot, these are: beginnings characterized by a displacement of the primary crisis that motivates the plot, the delay of the protagonist(s)'s action in response, the preponderance of falsely or anti-climactic climaxes in the middles, and dynamic gestures towards their beginnings in their endings. In addition, several other common features were identified: a marked use of foreshadowing, and a wide-ranging, general complexity, with most novellas containing subplots, and all containing multiple interacting fabula sequences

The same endeavor will be carried out in Chapter 4 ("The Poetics of Plot in the Egyptian Novella"), after the short Chapter 3 ("Reconstructing the Plot of *The Prebend of Amun*"), in which I reconstruct several aspects of the plot of *The Prebend of Amun*, attempting to further the general state of knowledge of this novella by carefully considering what the (relatively) newly published fragments of the primary manuscript of the novella have to offer. In Chapter 4, I will apply the same approach to the poetics of plot to the Egyptian novellas, having to modify the scope of analysis, however, in order to account for the significantly different status of the corpus: since none of the Egyptian novellas are preserved intact, I am unable to conduct as far-reaching and comprehensive a study of the poetics of their plots as I was with the Judean novellas. Nevertheless, enough is preserved of all four novellas under study to not only get a reliable sense of the scale of their plots in general, but to isolate a number of specific features shared by them to yield a clear (although, of necessity, more restricted) set of family resemblances. In terms of the scale of their plot, the four Egyptian novellas all evince complex story structures (which I identify as their fabulas). In *First Setna* and *Second Setna*, we see two distinct yet closely interrelated portions connected to characters motivated by their own quests. In the case of *The Armor of Inaros* and *The Prebend of Amun,* we see intricate plots revolving around the conflict among two or three distinct parties which center on the acquisition of a single prize (the armor of Inaros, the high priesthood of Amun). Despite the diversity of motivation and conflict, all four novellas see the different strands of their plots coincide and reach their climaxes within concrete sequences of events that have wide-scale implications. If the Judean novellas are marked generally by a preponderance of false or anti-climax, the four Egyptian novellas all include multiple, clear turning points and climaxes. Finally, another characteristic of the plots of the Egyptian novellas is the use of modular strategies of composition at crucial junctures of their plots, whose primary effect in terms of plot dynamics is an interruption of the generally linear and continually-moving narrative stream. Two specific kinds of modularity were discerned: emboxment (or the “story within a story” technique) and *ekphrasis*, the use of extended, focused description.

CHAPTER ONE:

THE EGYPTIAN AND JUDEAN NOVELLA :

APPROACHES AND DEFINITIONS

1.1. Introduction

This chapter prepares the way for my in-depth study of the poetics of plot in the novellas by providing an introduction to my theoretical approach (§1.2) and a more extensive discussion and justification of identifying the corpus in the way that I do (§1.3). In it, I will lay out the dissertation's first argument concerning the distinctness of the novella from a literary-historical perspective, taking three approaches to recognizing and defining the genre. First, as a genre of prose fiction, the novella stands apart from other contemporary genres in its relatively dense storytelling which nevertheless is conveyed with focused (as opposed to sprawling) effect, a factor which is evident even before taking a closer look at its poetics (the topic of Chapters 2 and 4). Second, the novella is a particular historical form of prose fiction in Egyptian and Judean literature: while narrative literature in general is attested in multiple eras in these cultures, the novellas have a particularly strong association with the eras after the Iron Age, especially the Hellenistic. Third and finally, the novella's distinction as a genre of prose fiction can be seen in its unique footprint in reading or book culture, preserved almost universally in non-anthologized form and in a one-to-one configuration of composition to volume.

The theoretical discussion in the first part of the chapter will provide an important methodological approach to defining the novella as a genre of prose fiction in more detail in §1.3, which I identify in §1.2.3 as "scale," a flexible concept which packages together the structure of the story which underlies the plot, which I describe as its fabula, and the dynamic experience of the plot when read or heard, the most important components of which I will outline in §1.2.2. I will focus the presentation on those aspects which have the greatest impact when considering plot from the effect-based perspective taken in the dissertation[1] and which are in need of more discussion and disambiguation: the part(s) of a plot with the most weight in the experience of the plot as a whole (turning point and climax), and the major ways that a plot can be structured temporally and in temporal sequence in general (scenic narration vs. scenes, and episodes vs. episodic narration).

1.2. The Poetics of Plot: Theoretical and Practical Approach

Plot is arguably the most important aspect of narrative literature, providing the organizational force of the entirety of a work. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a plot is the "plan or scheme of a literary or dramatic work"; more specifically, it consists of "the main events…considered or presented as an interrelated sequence."[2] Definitions of the term in literary handbooks also capture these two aspects: event and event presentation.[3] Following the basic story/discourse distinction of narratology,[4] there is an ambiguity in the term plot, since the narration of events is theoretically distinct from the events themselves.[5] This raises the question of whether plot is a useful concept for studying storytelling, especially with a goal of articulating genre, as in this chapter. One way out of this dilemma is to associate plot strictly with the narration or discourse side: according to Gerald Prince's *Dictionary of Narratology*, plot strictly speaking can concern just the arrangement of events or incidents narrated to a reader or audience, its "expression plane," while the series of events themselves considered abstractly is more strictly called the story or, in the term I will prefer, fabula, and thus its "content plane."[6] This notion is especially indebted to the Russian Formalists, whose term for plot, *sjuzhet*, identifies the narrated events presented to the reader or audience. In the dissertation, I reserve the term "fabula" and not "story" for the content plane because it is a particular object of research and reconstruction, as will be discussed below. I prefer to use "story" as a more general term to identify the work of prose fiction under analysis.[7] Nevertheless, as Rimmon-Kenan states, "a complete model" of story "should also include the transformations leading from" deep to surface structure.[8]

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[1] See p. 5.

[2] OED s.v. "plot, n.", II.6. This definition is subsumed under the general meaning of "map, plan, scheme."

[3] René Wellek and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature, 3rd ed. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1956), 216; J. A. Cuddon, The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory, Revised by M. A. R. Habib (London: Penguin, 2013), 540; Hilary P. Dannenberg, "Plot," in Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory, ed. David Herman, Manfred Jahn, and Marie-Laure Ryan (London: Routledge, 2005); S. S. Lanser, "Plot," in The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics, ed. R. Green, S. Cushman, and C. Cavanagh, 4th ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012). According to Aristotle, plot (*mythos*) is a sequence or composition of successive events (*Poetics* 1450a5).

One possible approach to applying this Janus-like understanding of plot to narrative literature, the most basic, could proceed in three steps: for a given story, reconstruct the fabula, compare it to the way in which it is narrated to the reader/audience, and, considering any discrepancies or noteworthy features of this interaction, derive specific explanations for the narrator or storyteller's, as well as the (implied) author's rhetorical goals in emplotting their story in such a way. While this proceeds in the spirit of Rimmon-Kenan's prescription, it does not capture the integrating function of plot, being situated instead more on the "mechanism" side of Crane's conception than the (Aristotelian) "first principle" side. In danger of being overlooked is the fact that plot is the way in which a reader or audience accesses a fabula, and that a plot does not make sense unless it is considered in terms of the fabula. Not merely a scholarly construct, fabula as the story in its essence is a construct of the reader as they attempt to make sense of narrative.[9]

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[4] For the story/discourse distinction already having been made by Aristotle, see Kent Puckett, *Narrative Theory: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 24–39.

[5] Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 5–8.

[6] Gerald Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, Revised edition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 93.

[7] In addition, "fabula" is the term used by Emma Kafalenos, whose functional analysis of fabula I follow closely in this chapter (to be discussed in detail below).

[8] Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 27.

The approach to plot that I will follow in the dissertation is to track how the fabula emerges through it as a readerly construct of where the story is going: in Chatman's phrase, how the plot is "story-as-discoursed."[10] Peter Brooks, who works in this spirit, defines plot as "the interpretive activity elicited by the distinction between *sjuzet* and *fabula*, the way we *use* the one against the other."[11] For Brooks, the act of reading a story is "reading for the plot": plot consists of the "temporal dynamics that shape narratives in our reading of them," begetting "the play of desire in time that makes us turn pages and strive toward narrative ends."[12] Brooks recasts the Aristotelian view of plot as the organized, composed narration of events consisting of a beginning middle, and end, into “the motor forces that drive the text forward” and “connect narrative ends and beginnings, and make of the textual middle a highly charged force.”[13] Borrowing one critic’s description, one can think of this story-as-discoursed approach to plot as an attempt to simulate “the thoughts of readers as they ponder the reasons for events and the motivations of characters and consider the consequences of actions in their quest to make sense of the narrative as a whole.”[14] Yet approaching plot by quantifying the effect of events in the story on a presumed ideal reader risks personifying ancient readers and basing an argument on something that is technically impossible. While considering how real readers would experience a story, ancient or modern, is unavoidable, care has to be taken to have a sure basis of argumentation that is as objective as possible. To this end, I will pursue in the dissertation what I call the functional analysis of fabula, which aims to quantify how a reader interprets and constructs for themselves the meaning of the story when reading or hearing its plot. Based on a method developed by the narratologist and literary theorist Emma Kafalenos, the functional analysis of fabula identifies the moments in the plot that the reader/hearer would mark as corresponding to a major moment in the story as a whole (called a function). These follow in sequence and comprise a sort of story skeleton, the fabula itself, which the plot expresses.

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[9] Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 14–16.

[10] Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 43.

[11] Peter Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 13.

[12] Brooks, *Reading for the Plot*, xiii.

1.2.1. The Functional Analysis of Fabula

In her 2006 book *Narrative Causalities*, Emma Kafalenos developed a schema of universally found functions of fabula, what she calls "interpretive sites"[15] that name and describe the decisive events in stories which make up the causal sequence of a plot. Kafalenos's method draws out for the purposes of analysis the way in which a reader or audience encounters and assimilates events of a story *as part of a plot*.[16] According to Kafalenos, plots present events to a reader in a temporal succession that she calls the "path of the representation,"[17] and the reader then understands the connection between the events through an assimilation of overt and covert connections made in the narrative. She uses the term function to name the cardinal events that the reader identifies as crucial for the story itself; they are "acts of characters defined from the point of view of their significance for the story as a whole."[18] This approach to plot is based on a "vocabulary of functions that name positions (sites, stages) in a causal sequence" and which "enables describing and comparing individual experiences of moving through a narrative."[19] Thus, functions play a fundamental role in the makeup of plot, being the seat of narrative causality, character agency, and the reader's understanding.

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[13] Brooks, *Reading for the Plot*, xiv.

[14] Karin Kukkonen, “Plot,” in *The Living Handbook of Narratology* (Hamburg: Hamburg University, 2014), §5.

Kafalenos identifies ten functions that she believes are found in most if not all stories, narrowing down a much longer list developed by Propp's influential *Morphology of the Folktale*:

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[15] Emma Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2006), 3. Kafalenos's functional analysis has previously been applied to biblical literature by Susan Zeelander, *Closure in Biblical Narrative*, Biblical Interpretation Series 111 (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

[16] Kafalenos's book is one of several important contributions to the study of the affective experience of reading plots that generally continues the rhetorical approach of the Chicago School of literary theory, including Brooks, *Reading for the Plot*; James Phelan, *Reading People, Reading Plots: Character, Progression, and the Interpretation of Narrative* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); James Phelan, *Experiencing Fiction: Judgments, Progressions, and the Rhetorical Theory of Narrative* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2007); Patrick Colm Hogan, "A Passion for Plot: Prolegomena to Affective Narratology," *Symploke* 18, no. 1–2 (2010): 65–81; Shen, *Style and Rhetoric of Short Narrative Fiction: Covert Progressions behind Overt Plots*.

[17] Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 4.

[18] Marie-Laure Ryan, "Review of Emma Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*," *Comparative Literature* 59, no. 4 (2007): 349.

[19] Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 4.

Table 1: Kafalenos's schema of fabula functions

A/a	Destabilizing event (or reevaluation that reveals instability)
B	Request that someone alleviate A/a
C	Decision by C-actant to attempt to alleviate A/a
C’	C-actant’s initial act to alleviate A/a
(*the donor functions)*	
D	C-actant is tested
E	C-actant responds to test
F	C-actant acquires empowerment
G	C-actant arrives at the place, or time, for H
H	C-actant’s primary action to alleviate A/a
I	Success of H

Kafalenos’s ten functions are finely-parsed enough to allow a full and nuanced description of fabulas, but simple enough to facilitate comparison of different works. These ten functions “denot[e] positions…in an abstract causal sequence—a logical pattern that readers (listeners, viewers) with narrative competence bring to the analysis of the narratives they encounter.”[20] Each function identifies one position within a causal sequence that “leads from the disruption of an equilibrium to a new equilibrium.”[21] A function can correspond to more than one narrative segment, and it can also be left unexpressed in the narrative, implied only by its consequences.[22] Instead of, like Propp, identifying functions abstractly as part of a reconstructed and static fabula, Kafalenos aims to capture the interpretive process involved in the experience of narrative storytelling, something carried out not only by readers but by characters as well as narrators:

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[20] Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 5–6.

[21] Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 7.

[22] Cf. Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 198 (s.v. “empty function”).

“[I]f readers or characters or narrators ‘define’ an event according to its consequences, or its significance, they are interpreting its consequences or significance.”[23] A function, then, is the position or site of this interpretive act, representing “events that change a prevailing situation and initiate a new situation.”[24]

The functions can be divided into two groups. The first is the central sequence of (A, C, C`, H, I) that all stories, arguably, have. **Function A** is the destabilizing event that begins the fabula. When this event more accurately reflects a reevaluation of a situation that makes manifest a previously unknown instability, rather than an event that creates one, a lowercase “a” is used. The process of responding to function A in order to reverse or alleviate it is carried out by what can be referred to as the **C-actant**, a technical term for the story’s main protagonist or hero (Propp’s term, though it is coded a bit too specifically for general use). Their first action in response to the establishment of function A takes place in two stages: the decision concerning how to counteract A, **function C**, followed by the first step towards that goal, **function C’** (“C prime”). The initial action of C’ is distinct from what Kafalenos calls the C-actant’s “primary action” for countering A,[25] **function H**, which occurs in the last part of the fabula and leads to the C-actant’s success (or failure), represented by **function I**.

There is a second-tier group of functions that are optional, (B, D, E, F, G). These arguably do not need to be present in a story, but are possible ways of expressing how the C-actants proceed from C to H. **Function B**, a “call for help; specifically, a request that someone alleviate” what is perceived to be a function A disruption.[26] **Functions (D, E, F)** make up a special set of these, with Kafalenos calling them the "**donor functions.**" These are events "that provide experiences that, if successful, may allow a C-actant to develop or acquire empowerment… necessary to accomplish a function-H endeavor."[27] Kafalenos's initial illustration of the donor functions draws on the *Bildungsroman*, which represents several sequences where a "protagonist is challenged, meets challenge, and develops in ways that help her become a person who can accomplish her goals."[28] Function D represents a testing of the C-actant, while function E represents how they respond to it. Function F is the C-actant's acquisition of a new state as a consequence of the test. Finally, Kafalenos identifies a **function G**, which bridges the donor functions and the culminating function H: it is the "arrival of the C-actant at the place or time… where function H will take place."[29]

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[23] Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 6.

[24] Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 7.

[25] Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 7.

The function associated with a manifestly important event in a story can change meaning (be recoded) as the reader continues, either as a result of deliberate ambiguity or new information. New information can also reveal the nature of a specific function that was only perceived initially as a placeholder. An added layer of complication can result from functional information revealed through the voices of characters or through their perspective on what has happened. Functions can sometimes only be realized in a negative sense, such as when a character fails to pass a test (E_{neg}) or to overcome the most important obstacle on the way to happiness (H_{neg}). Most importantly for our purposes, while it is possible that a story can consist of one sequence of functions from A to I, many works of storytelling can contain multiple sequences of functions, from stories where multiple attempts to remedy function A/a fail, to partially successful ones concatenate into a longer sequence, to the most complex examples with subplots or multiple plots in parallel, with their own inner complications.

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[26] Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 199.

[27] Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 199.

[28] Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 18.

[29] Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 199.

The ways that a single story can involve multiple sequences of fabula functions can be used to characterize different types of plots, which would be useful for defining genres of fiction more broadly. For the sake of illustration, Thomas Pavel has identified several plot types found in Elizabethan drama in his book *The Poetics of Plot: The Case of English and Renaissance Drama* (1985) which can be described in terms of sequences of fabula functions and serve as an illustration for how to think about genre. One is the solution-oriented plot which focuses on the resolution of a difficult problem which is the main focus of the plot. Some such plots do not depict the resolution through a single sequence of events (functions A-I) but are cumulative. This can happen in different ways. For example, for Pavel, some solution-oriented plots feature series of individual efforts that yield partial, more limited successes and eventually build towards a solution (or ultimate failure); others involve multiple failed attempts that transpire in one after another and can be called repetitive.[30] These efforts and attempts that end up in failure or success before the failure or success of the plot as a whole correspond to distinct sequences of fabula functions that the protagonist undergoes. Each can follow directly from an overarching function A/a which steers the entire plot, or indirectly though a more narrowly defined A/a that has to be countered as part of the whole. While fabula sequences in Pavel's cumulative or repetitive plots correspond to cycles of action that a character undergoes in pursuit of an ultimate goal, another type identified by Pavel illustrates how fabula sequences can be anchored by interacting motivations that drive the action of different characters. In what he calls polemical plots, characters (or groups of characters) create problems for each other and vie alternatively to bring an end to them.[31] Such a plot would contain two parallel or interacting complete fabula sequences. This raises the possibility of a narrator shifting the focus in any story to a different character or group of characters that relate in an embedded or supplementary way to what is perceived to be the most important fabula sequence, presenting a new fabula sequence or a different perspective on one.[32] For example, one character's success in countering a function A/a is coded by the reader from this character's perspective (based on what the narrator chooses to present) as function H, but the failure or new obstacle that this creates for a different character could be presented as a new function A, an H_{neg}, etc. The reader would only construct such fabulas depending on the perspective afforded by the narrator. Finally, Pavel also speaks of algorithmic plots, where "every step presupposes the correct solution to the preceding step."[33]

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[30] Thomas Pavel, *The Poetics of Plot: The Case of English Renaissance Drama*, Theory and History of Literature 18 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 122–24.

These examples demonstrate the need to make distinctions among sequences of fabula functions within the fabula of the entire story, which can be more succinctly designated as fabula sequences. A complete fabula sequence proceeds, at the minimum, from A to C/C' to H to I (the other functions being optional); H or I may be negative functions (H_{neg} and I_{neg}), since a story or part thereof does not necessarily have a successful conclusion. These sequences are complete because they can be taken as complete stories on their own, depicting the process of change from a function A/a to its resolution or the failure to resolve it. In distinction from complete sequences, partial fabula sequences can be found within complete sequences: for example, a protagonist may go through several tests before they are able to definitively attain their goal. These tests would be understood by the reader to be repeated sequences of the donor functions (D, E, F). Another example of a partial sequence would be when a protagonist takes more than one approach to resolving function A/a (represented by multiple function C and C'), either because of failure or because of partial success. Partial fabula sequences bolster complete fabula sequences, and cannot technically be found alone, since they need a function A and C to give them meaning and direction.

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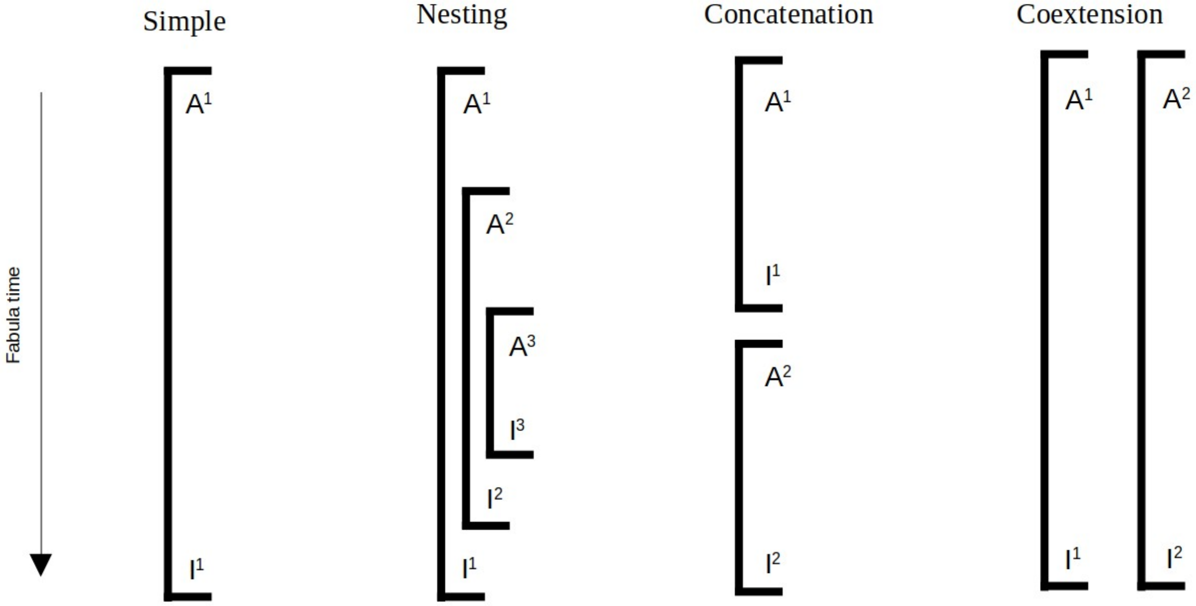
[31] Pavel, *The Poetics of Plot: The Case of English Renaissance Drama*, 125–26.

[32] For the difference between sequences determined to be primary to the plot vs. secondary, see below, p. Error: Reference source not foundff.

[33] Pavel, *The Poetics of Plot: The Case of English Renaissance Drama*, 124.

The fabulas of entire works are usually comprised of more than one sequence, partial or complete. Works of fiction that contain more than one complete fabula sequence are of a significantly different textural quality than those that only involve multiple partial fabula sequences. Since complete fabula sequences anchored on functions A/a are expressed by events instigated by and happening to protagonists who are motivated to reverse the function A/a, or to prevent that from happening, the requirement to track multiple such sequences, even if based on the same characters, adds a significant depth to the experience of reading. In Figure 1 below, I have represented the different ways in which complete fabula sequences, depicted as brackets based on a function A/a (represented as “A” for simplicity) and I, can be related. Although not represented in Figure 1, each complete sequence can potentially contain any number of partial fabula sequences.

Figure 1: Ideal configurations of complete fabula sequences



These different configurations are ideal, not representing empirically existing stories in the real world, but types that can be used to analyze and compare the fabulas of different works and genres.

Sequences nest when a function A/a is not yet fulfilled with its function I, but, in the meantime, another function A/a arises. The nesting can continue for multiple levels. While, in Figure 1, the nesting is Russian doll-like in that each function A/a is resolved in inverse order to their first appearance, with the original A/a being resolved last, it is theoretically possible that the functions I are resolved in different orders, or that the resolution of nested sequences (near-)simultaneously effects that of a higher-order sequence.

In concatenation, one function A/a is fulfilled before another one arises. The concatenated sequences can be related through development (a function A/a may be solved, but it results in another problem), based on a logical connection of events, or by simple juxtaposition, with their unity being based on other aspects of the work (such as, most importantly, character). Concatenation of the latter type implies some kind of broad, sense-making connection between the sequences made by the reader. Practically speaking, then, concatenated sequences would often themselves be nested, or would imply a more general function A/a that underlies the fabula as a whole, even if it does not take shape concretely. While it is difficult to imagine a concatenating fabula without some kind of explicit, higher-order nesting, such an arrangement exists in story-collections that do not utilize frame narratives.

Finally, a relationship of coextension holds when two complete sequences occur simultaneously in the same work. In a technical sense, describing sequences as coextensive could be reserved for those which are not related on the level of event causality, such as in a work with multiple plot-lines or subplots. If one function A/a results in another, the fabulas are technically nesting. A fabula with nesting sequences that are extensive and of a relatively high degree of independence, nevertheless, would (asymptotically) approach having the shape of coextension, which would greatly effect the effect that the work would have on a reader. Practically speaking, then, a plot which Pavel would characterize as polemical could be described as consisting of two coextensive, complete fabula sequences.

The possibility that more than one complete fabula sequence can co-exist in a single work, each containing their own function A/a with their own trajectories towards resolution (H, I), raises the important question of distinguishing between fabula sequences which are deemed by a reader to be of greater and lesser importance to the story as a whole. These we can refer to as the primary fabula sequences, and those that support it in various ways, subsidiary. It is not given that sequences which occur first in order (of the fabula time) will be felt to be the most consequential for the story as a whole. Ultimately, the reader can only know from the sure perspective of hindsight. Those that are felt to be the most important will consist of the most pressing, all-encompassing, or most urgent function A/a, or the one which has the greatest effect upon resolution, namely by hastening the plot to its ending. Since plot is experienced sequentially, revision is a possibility: some sequences may initially appear to follow a major function A/a, or imply one, but end up being either stepping stones to another that replaces or transforms it, or even being a complete misdirection. Because sequences can be embedded, a fabula sequence felt to be primary can include subsidiary sequences that contribute in some way to the action in response to a primary function A/a and are in a certain sense inseparable. For example, in the *Odyssey*, the different obstacles of Odysseus on his way home (the Cyclops, the Lotus Eaters, etc.) are embedded sequences in the primary fabula sequence of the hero's *nostos*.

Fabula sequences should be distinguished from plot-lines. The simplest plot-line, in terms of fabula, would be equivalent to the simple fabula depicted in Figure 1, while any plot-line could contain multiple complete and partial sequences. Works that include more than one plot have been discussed as such since Aristotle, who briefly discusses narratives with more than one plot when he defines epic as a "multi-plot" (πολύμυθος) genre.[34] In most stories with multiple plot-lines, there is a relationship of subordination, with one plot-line playing the dominant role, distinct from others to which it relates. Rimmon-Kenan (using the term story-line) distinguishes them thus:

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[34] *Poetics* 1456a12.

> A story-line is structured like the complete story, but unlike the latter it is restricted to one set of individuals. Thus in *King Lear* one can distinguish the story-line involving Lear and his daughters from the one concerning Gloucester and his sons, although the two often intersect. Once a succession of events involving the same individuals establishes itself as the predominant story element of a text (and, unfortunately, there are no clear-cut criteria for predominance), it becomes the *main story-line*. A succession of events which involves another set of individuals is a *subsidiary story-line*.[35]

To keep the terminology straight, I will use plot-line and not story-line, to keep the concept clearly distinct from fabula sequence (fabula often being called story by narratologists). Plot-lines are often, like some fabula sequences, anchored in specific characters. In *The Odyssey*, one can speak of the Telemachus plot-line as well as the Odysseus plot-line, with each involving a series of fabula sequences aligned, for example, through concatenation (e.g. Odysseus's different adventures), all of which combine and nest to make up the primary fabula sequence anchored on each character: Telemachus's quest for news about his father, and Odysseus's *nostos*.

A main plot-line may be recognized as such based purely on its time of narration (either in total time allotted, or because it came first and/or outlasted other plot-lines or sequences),[36] or for more qualitative reasons, perhaps because, in hindsight, it turned out to be the most consequential.[37] Subplots correspond to some kind of subsidiary fabula sequence and have the same relationship as main plot-lines and fabula sequences in general. Subplots, like subordinate complete fabula sequences, can be linked together or to the primary plot-line.[38] They can stay ultimately separable from the main plot-line, and thus be truly supplementary, contributing to another aspect of the story as a whole (such as characterization), or they can intersect with the main plot-line and affect it in important ways.[39] A subplot could terminate when intersecting the main plot, or it can merge and continue on in a transformed way. A traditional kind of intersecting subplot, the counterplot, is a plot-line whose purpose is (better, whose protagonist(s) have the purpose) to counteract the main plot.[40]

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[35] Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 16.

[36] Jan-Philipp Busse, "Zur Analyse der Handlung," in *Einführung in die Erzähltextanalyse: Kategorien, Modelle, Probleme*, WVT–Handbücher zum literaturwissenschaftlichen Studium 6 (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2004), 43.

[37] See Manfred Pfister, *The Theory and Analysis of Drama*, trans. John Halliday (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 212–15.

[38] Busse, "Zur Analyse der Handlung," 47.

While different plot-lines and/or fabula sequences can be kept distinct by a reader because of additional considerations of time, place, and theme,[41] a connection to character matches the experience of plot and has a sound basis in narrative theory since Aristotle.[42] Aristotle understands plot (*mythos*) to be a constructed entity (*systasis*) consisting of events directed towards a goal and coherent as a sequence, linked together by the way that characters, according to human nature, respond to events according to natural responses or cultural norms.[43] This idea is similar to the concept of motivation as used by the Russian Formalist Boris Tomashevsky as a name for the coherence given by storyteller to the series of functions (which the Formalists called "motifs"—hence, "motivation") that make up a story.[44] Modern definitions of plot often note the important relationship between plot structure and character motivation, the latter used in the more usual meaning of motivation as a conscious or unconscious mental stimulation towards a goal.[45] For example, Monika Fludernik, in a nod to the formalist meaning of motivation, but based on the ordinary use of the word, defines plot as "a logically structured story that spells out motivations."[46] Peter J. Rabinowitz proposes that, in addition to the classic pair of story and discourse, narratives should also be divided into what he calls "paths," identifying not merely an abstract sequence of events, but a series of events grounded in character experience.[47] Turning back to Kafalenos's functional analysis of fabula, distinct fabula sequences can be identified as paths traced by characters in the plot, who act against a function A/a and are identified in that way as C-actants.

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[39] Busse, "Zur Analyse der Handlung," 44.

[40] Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 17.

[41] See Busse, "Zur Analyse der Handlung," 43.

[42] For character as plot-bearer (*Handlungsträger*), see Reingard M. Nischik, *Einsträngigkeit und Mehsträngigkeit der Handlungsführung in Literarischen Texten* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1981), 73–74.

[43] See Elizabeth Belfiore, *Tragic Pleasures: Aristotle on Plot and Emotion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 111–17.

[44] "The system of motifs comprising…a given work must show some kind of artistic unity. If the individual motifs, or a complex of motifs, are not sufficiently suited to the work, if the reader feels that the relationship between certain complexities of motifs and the work itself is obscure, then that complex is said to be superfluous. If all the parts of the work are badly suited to one another, the work is *incoherent*. That is why the introduction of each separate motif or complex of motifs must be *motivated*. The network of devices justifying the introduction of individual motifs or of gropus of motifs is called *motivation*"; Boris Tomashevsky, "Thematics," in *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*, ed. Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis, Regents Critics (Lincoln: University of

1.2.2. The Components of Plot

1.2.2.1. Turning Point and Climax

Aristotle divides plot into a period of *desis* (complication or entanglement) and a *lusis* (resolution or solution).[48] The *desis* phase of a plot corresponds to a period of rising tension

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Nebraska Press, 1965), 78. See ibid., pp. 78-87 for a full discussion. The concept of motivation was used in general by the Russian Formalists for the artistic rationale behind both plot construction and the formal coherence of a complex but single-authored work of storytelling like the *Decameron*, *Don Quixote*, and *Tristram Shandy*, especially by Schklovsky; see Boris Eichenbaum, "The Theory of the 'Formal Method,'" in *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*, ed. Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 119–22.

[45] Cf. *OED* s.v. "motivation," 1b.

[46] Monica Fludernik, *An Introduction to Narratology* (London: Routledge, 2009), 29.

[47] Peter J. Rabinowitz, "They Shoot Tigers, Don't They?: Path and Counterpoint in The Long Goodbye," in *A Companion to Narrative Theory*, ed. James Phelan and Peter J. Rabinowitz (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 181–90 See also Puckett, *Narrative Theory: A Critical Introduction*, 52–53.

[48] *Poetics* 1455b24-32. As Lucas notes, this division was not influential, ignored by the Aristotelian scholia in favor of beginning, middle, and end; Aristotle, *Poetics*, ed. D. W. Lucas (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 184.

before a decisive moment or climax (also called crisis).[49] For Aristotle, the climax occurs at the furthest point (*eschaton*) of tension in the *desis*, as far as the events can be taken before falling apart. The *lusis* is the result of the climax and may be extremely short, such as in tragedies where there is a *deus ex machina* near the very end. This basic two-fold division of complication and unraveling is typically neglected in modern literary criticism in favor of the analysis of sequences (ultimately after Propp) or of discursive surface structures that reflect the underlying story or fabula.[50]

The term climax as a distinct part of a plot is the legacy of later Greek literary criticism to describe the portion of the *desis* with the highest inherent interest and tension that reaches toward (the word κλῖμαξ meaning "ladder") the *lusis*. The actual term climax, however, was originally used as a rhetorical figure for "an ascending series, usually of phrases or clauses concatenated together...leading to a summative or cumulative conclusion."[51] The corresponding word used in literary criticism was ἄκρα, literally "the furthest (or highest) extent,"[52] although this usage does not appear to have been widespread enough to merit it being considered a technical term.[53] The word climax is closely associated today with the dramatic theory of Gustav Freytag which, though influential, is overly reductive, normative, and biased towards certain genres and traditions of drama.[54] Some understandings of climax associate it not only with the point of highest tension in the build towards the resolution of the plot, but with the accomplishment of the ending.[55] In other understandings, a climax leads to a catastrophe (Freytag's term) or crisis,[56] which then leads to the ending.

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[49] See Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 169–70.

[50] Peter Childs and Roger Fowler, *The Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms* (London: Routledge, 2006), 150.

[51] Alex Preminger and T. V. F. Brogan, *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 220. See Demetrius, *De Elocutione* 270, Quintillian 9.3.54, and Longinus 23.1.

[52] In a scholia to the *Iliad*; see René Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 58.

[53] *GE* 74a, s.v. ἄκρα lists "culminating moment" as one definition, i.e. an ἄκρα considered temporally, not spatially, as was usual. This sense is lacking in *LSJ* and *CGL* The word τέλος is often translated "climax," but in the sense of "final part" or ending, e.g. of the final line of the (original) *Odyssey*; see Irene J. F. de Jong, *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 561, *ad Od.* 23.296.

To overcome this confusion, we should distinguish the true plot climax from a narrative or storytelling style which is climactic: the climax of the plot can be defined according to the fabula, while climactic narration can be described as a narrative or storytelling technique that is often associated with the former, but not necessarily. The plot climax would most naturally be identified with function H in Kafalenos's schema, the primary action of the C-actant to reverse or alleviate function A/a. A narrative does not have to have a single climax, a classic example being *Othello*, which has three, culminating in the accusation against Desdemona, which itself follows several minor crises.[57] Subplots or subsidiary fabula sequences may undergo their own climax, and consequent resolution, independently of the main plot-line or higher-order fabula sequence, and with a more scaled-back presentation, with the higher-order members experiencing, in contrast, a true denouement.[58]

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[54] Pfister, *Theory and Analysis of Drama*, 239–40 See also Manfred Jahn, "Freytag's Triangle," in Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory, ed. David Herman, Manfred Jahn, and Marie-Laure Ryan (London: Routledge, 2005), 189–90 and Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 36.

[55] "The complication moves towards a moment, an event, when something has to happen, when something has to crack. This moment is the point of highest tension, the moment when the story turns toward it ssolution. This is called the *climax*"; Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren, *Understanding Fiction*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1979), 36. See also Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 14. The definition of climax in Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 130 implies that the crisis is what achieves the end of the plot.

[56] E.g. Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 130 Cf. also, for the rhetorical sense, Alex Preminger and T. V. F. Brogan, The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 220: "the point of supreme interest or intensity of any graded series of events or ideas, most commonly the crisis or turning point of a story or play." It is difficult to tell the two apart in handbooks: a climax happens at a crisis, while a crisis consists of the kind of tension resolution that characterizes a climax.

[57] Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 169–70. Note Cuddon here is speaking of crisis, not climax.

The related technique of climactic narration would be associated with a portion of the plot which leads the reader to expect a climax to happen, as well as with the plot climax itself. When occurring at a certain part of the plot which the reader interprets as leading towards a climax (for example, a series of donor functions presenting as leading to function G and H, or the preparation for function H itself), climactic narration can build expectation. Common features of climactic narration include a change of tempo towards scenic narration (see below for more discussion of this idea),[59] focusing on certain pregnant details or on stretches of dialogue where one character tries to influence another (using what is called conative or appellative dialogue).[60] Internal focalization, creating a vivid experience of the unfolding events for the reader/audience, can also be encountered with climactic narration. The specifics of a plot climax often, but not always, are a surprise to the reader,[61] but when they are not, the narrator can allow the reader/audience to share the experience of surprise with a character through internal focalization, allowing even an outcome which was foreshadowed to be presented climactically. An important, associated technique is delay, a common modification of the dynamic of the story to heighten expectation.[62] One common means of delaying a climax is the insertion or intercalation of a sequence of events into the build towards a climax; the closer to the expected climax that this occurs, the stronger the sense of delay.[63] While delay does not overlap completely with the technique of climactic narration—an intercalated scene could be completely devoid of features like scenic narration or internal focalization—from hindsight, a climax which arrives with a certain expectation engendered by delay would be considered to be a product of a climactic narrative technique in general.

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[58] Manfred Pfister, *Das Drama: Theorie und Analyse* (München: W. Fink, 1977), 288.

[59] According to Mieke Bal, Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative, 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 104-105, a storytelling technique that presents climaxes through a general or summarizing perspective on the events (defined below as panoramic narration here), and not with the more concrete, real-time experience of a scene, is atypical of most storytelling.

[60] Pfister, *Theory and Analysis of Drama*, 111.

[61] In Homer, the climax of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are not mentioned in the proems; S. E. Bassett, "The Proems of the Iliad and Odyssey," Transactions of the American Philological Association 54 (1923): 347, cited in James V. Morrison, *Homeric Misdirection: False Predictions in the Iliad* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 143n57.

[62] Cf. Lüthi, speaking of delay in folktales: "sie den Fortgang der Haupthandlung hemmen, die Spannung

While most plots will have events that can be defined as a climax, they are not necessarily conveyed to the reader with climactic narration. An event that is conveyed climactically in its build-up, and even in the event itself, but does not result in a true plot climax, would be a false climax.[64] An anticlimax would, then, consist of an event which is built up to be a climax but does not end up being so in the way expected: it effects the reversal of function A/a and the definitive turn towards the ending, but in a way that mismatches the original weight of function A/a. This may be through the use of anticlimactic narration, or because of the quality of the climactic event itself. A climax which effects the reversal of the function A/a by revealing that the risk the protagonist (C-actant) faced was not what it seemed, perhaps by accomplishing the reversal with unexpected ease, will thus be felt to be an anticlimax. Practically speaking, there is a fine line between surprises or twists in a plot and anticlimaxes.

An important, related term associated with plot climax and climactic narration is the turning point. As a distinct part of a plot, the turning point is prominent in literary criticism of the

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intensivieren" (Max Lüthi, "Dynamik," in Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung, ed. Kurt Ranke et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 953).

[63] See Pfister, *Theory and Analysis of Drama*, 217–18.

[64] Called *Scheinkatastrophe* by Lüthi ("Dynamik," in Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung, ed. Kurt Ranke et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 953).

German novella, tracing its roots back to Goethe and reaching its most influential formulation in Ludwig Tieck's influential criticism.[65] As defined by Prince, a turning point is an event which "is decisive in making a goal reachable or not."[66] It may be that a turning point is indistinguishable from a plot climax, for example when functions F, G, and H are identified by the reader at the same time. In other plots, the turning point is a distinct move towards the highest portion of the rising tension that results in a climax. A turning point can thus itself be the beneficiary of climactic narration, and could even on account of it be considered a climax in its own right. A classic example of a turning point is Odysseus's successful attempt to string his bow in *Odyssey* 21 (which is narrated climactically after the three failed attempts by Telemachus as well as the suitors to do the same): once he does this, he completes the shooting challenge with ease, and is poised to slaughter his enemies in the next book.

1.2.2.2. Narrative Tempo, Scenes, and Episodes

In high structuralist narratology, it was said that the events of the fabula are arranged in distinct sequences (regardless of how those sequences are realized in the narration/*sjuzhet*). Narratologists have developed numerous approaches to understanding and mapping these sequences, going back to Propp.[67] Since we already have a method of dividing up the fabula into sequences of functions, what is needed is a *sjuzhet*-focused method of differentiating the ways in which events are narrated. For this, we can draw on the notion of narrative speed and its specific

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[65] See J. H. E. Paine, *Theory and Criticism of the Novella* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1979), 15–16.

[66] Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 102.

[67] Roland Barthes, "An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative," *New Literary History* 6, no. 2 (1975): 253–56 is one such example.

forms that can be called tempos.[68] Speed refers to the relationship between the temporality of the fabula and the time it takes to read its presentation in a narrative, which can be considered even in the physical terms of lines or columns (pages).[69] While there are theoretically innumerable ways that this can play out concretely by the narrator, in practice there are a handful of tempos (which can be called "canonical" in a qualitative sense after Prince):[70] ellipsis (which technically is not a speed at all, since the quotient would be zero), summary, scene, stretch, and pause, when the fabula is virtually stopped while narration continues. This understanding of scene in particular is helpful for describing the arrangement of the plot. A period of scenic narration can be called a scene, comprising a coherent stretch of narrated events where the time of narration comes across as natural and roughly equal to the (hypothetical) time of the events in the storyworld as humans would normally experience it. The most straightforward way to conceive of a scene is by analogy to drama (where the term is derived) or film, where the unity is given a clear representational basis with "some sort of equivalence between a narrative segment and the narrated it represents."[71] For Chatman, scene is "the incorporation of the dramatic principle into narrative" where the two times are of "relatively equal duration."[72] In fiction, scenes are often associated with narrative units that detail specific events as they would happen in real time, an important example of which is dialogue, which usually takes place at a natural, life-like pace. Scenes, then, correspond to a distinct way to experience the plot and to construct the fabula. Climactic narration would naturally lend itself to scenic narration as well as, in more restricted time, stretch narration, where the narration time is far slower than the fabula time. Non-scenic tempos have uses in other contexts, such as summary, which can panoramically treat a situation or state of affairs that exists as background information, in order to "throw the contextual centrality" of the main story material "into high relief against the background of other periods."[73]

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[68] See Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 98 for "tempo" and pp.91-92 for "speed." Prince's "speed" is called "duration" by Rimmon-Kenan (*Narrative Fiction*, 53ff) and "rhythm" by Bal (*Narratology*, 99ff).

[69] Cf. Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse Revisited* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 87–88 (who uses speed—Prince's source—but "duration" (like Rimmon-Kenan) instead of "tempo," as here.

[70] By analogy: the speed of performed music can be measured by beats-per-minute, or described qualitatively as (from slower to faster) *grave, largo, adagio, andante*, etc.

[71] Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 84 Cf. Christian Metz, *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema*, trans. Michael Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 129 (on film): a scene "represents a spatio-temporal integrality experienced as being without…brusque effects of appearance or disappearance." See Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 636, with reference only to theater (including plays and operas).

[72] Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film*, 72.

Scenes should be distinguished from episodes, an important structural component of narrative, though the two terms are often used interchangeably. Going back to Aristotle who used the term frequently, an episode can be defined as "a separate incident in a larger piece of action,"[74] a "series of related events standing apart from surrounding (series of) events because of one or more distinctive features and having a unity."[75] Traditionally, following Aristotle, episode has been used for stretches of narrative that are not merely separate from what comes before or after, but are digressive.[76] This more specific usage is a legacy of Aristotle who, in addition to using it in a technical sense for a scene in a tragedy that follows a choral prologue, used the word more generally for an individual section or scene in a narrative work (whether play or epic poem)

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[73] Meir Sternberg, *Expositional Modes and Temporal Ordering in Fiction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 19.

[74] See Aristotle, *Poetics*, 180; Günther Dammann, "Episode," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, ed. Kurt Ranke et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 69; Belfiore, *Tragic Pleasures*, 121ff.

[75] Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 27.

[76] *OED*, s.v. "episode," 2; Rafey Habib, *A History of Literary Criticism* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 245 (s.v. "episode," a).

that is superfluous.[77] Aristotle also describes episode as something that poets insert into a story, after the plot has been worked out, in order lengthen it or create other effects.[78] Because of his emphasis on unity, he looks down on works of epic or tragedy that are overly episodic,[79] leading to the word being used with a strongly pejorative sense in later literary criticism which took its cue from the *Poetics*, especially in the Renaissance.[80] In folklore studies since the 19th century, however, episode was rehabilitated and used in a neutral, non-digressive sense as a technical term for a distinct segment of story that makes up a folktale. According to Max Lüthi, the folktale's "bare-bones story line…is divided into separate segments that are sharply divided from one another. Each episode stands alone. Individual elements need not relate to each other."[81]

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[77] *Poetics* 1452b20-21: an episode is "all that comes in between two whole choral songs" (trans. Aristotle, *Complete Works: The Revised Oxford Translation*, Bollingen Series 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 4983). The literal meaning of Greek *epeisodion* is "entrance," thus the term here refers to the appearance of characters/actors on the scene. In *Rhetoric* 1418a33, Aristotle uses the verb to describe the way a orator mentions new people for purposes of eulogy (cf. Richard Janko, *Aristotle on Comedy: Towards a Reconstruction of Poetics II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 236).

[78] An example is the Polyphemus scene in *Odyssey* 11, which is an episode, but not the slaying of the suitors in book 22 (see Lucas in Aristotle 1968, 180-181). Cf. his memorable summary of the story (fabula) of the *Odyssey* in *Poetics* 1455b16-23 (Aristotle, *Complete Works: The Revised Oxford Translation*, 4993), for which see Belfiore, *Tragic Pleasures*, 108. Aristotle uses (invents?) the verb *episodioun*, "to episodize" or "add episodes" in *Poetics* 1454b35-55b1; cf. the translation in Aristotle, *Complete Works: The Revised Oxford Translation*, 4922: "His story…whether already made or of his own making, he should first simplify and reduce to a universal form, before proceeding to lengthen it out by the insertion of episodes." Cf. also Dammann, "Episode," 69: "Die konkreten—eigentümlichen und organisch verknüpften—Szenen, in die der Dichter die allg. Skizze der zugrundegelegten Fabel gliedernd ausarbeiten muß."

[79] *Poetics* 1451b35 as well as *Metaphysics* 1909b19: "Nature is not a series of episodes, like a bad tragedy" (Aristotle, *Complete Works: The Revised Oxford Translation*, 3702). Aristotle's "penchant for unity is hardly likely to commend to him plentiful digressions and irrelevancies as a mark of tragedy's full development," (Janko, *Aristotle on Comedy*, 236). Margalit Finkelberg, "Aristotle and Episodic Tragedy," *Greece & Rome* 51, no. 1 (2006): 65ff. makes an astute connection between the literary form of Plato's dialogues, which are strongly episodic when it comes to topics being discussed, and Aristotle's general repudiation of Plato's literary theory. See also Dammann, "Episode," 69.

[80] Dammann, "Episode," 69–70. Janko suggests that the broader meaning of the term as a discrete, often digressive scene developed out of the technical meaning as a part of a tragedy, since the former is often characterized by the introduction of new personages (Janko, *Aristotle on Comedy*, 236).

[81] Max Lüthi, *The European Folktale: Form and Nature*, trans. John D. Niles (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982), 38 See also Kaarle Krohn, *Die Folkloristische Arbeitsmethode*, Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning 5 (Cambridge: Harvard Univeristy Press, 1926), 29; C. W. von Sydow, *Selected*

Here, then, we have an example of how a genre of storytelling can be defined with reference to an experiential feature of its plot.

1.2.3. Scale as Indicator of Plot Type and Genre

Taken together, the foregoing aspects of plot, considered in terms of structure of the fabula which the plot expresses, and of the dynamic way that plot unfolds and creates a certain experience for the reader, raise the possibility of capturing the experiential texture of a given plot and plot-type. In his survey of the different aspects of genre, and speaking of literature broadly, Alastair Fowler identifies one structural aspect of literature that can be useful for identifying genre as "scale,"[82] which he characterizes as a structural aspect not in an abstract sense, but experientially in terms of the way a work of literature unfolds and is understood by the reader.[83] For this reason, scale can be connected to the understanding of plot advanced here, quantifying under an umbrella concept the experience of both the unfolding fabula as well as the dynamism of the events: what it is like to read or hear the plot. Although he is brief and allusive in his description, Fowler illustrates scale by turning to prose fiction and imagining a reader experiencing the death of what was thought to be a main protagonist early in a story, implying that the ensuing story feels like it will consist more of "sketches" than protracted, integrated

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Papers on Folklore (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1948), 60–85. This is in stark distinction from Propp, who, after Aristotle, used the term episode for a segment of a story that interrupts the main narrative sequence; see Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, trans. Laurence Scott, 2nd revised ed., American Folklore Society Bibliographical and Special Series 9 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 92–93; cf. also 132-133.

[82] Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 64.

[83] Cp. Barbara Herrnstein Smith's definition of poetic structure as "what keeps it going," a perspective that emphasizes "temporal and dynamic qualities" (Barbara Herrnstein Smith, *Poetic Closure: A Study of How Poems End* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 4).

storytelling. While other relevant features contributing to scale could be marshaled, plot is a *sine qua non* since it relates directly to how a story is experienced as a distinct work of literature in its entirety; to quote Crane again, it is "the final end which everything in the work, if that is to be felt as a whole, must be made...to serve." In terms of fabula structure, a work whose plot consists largely of a simple, complete fabula sequence with little to no partial sequences will not seem to be of a significantly different scale than a similar work with a larger number of partial sequences, such as a series of tests that the C-actant must endure. Instead, the latter example would likely seem just longer. On the other hand, a work of a length similar to that of the latter example, but whose fabula is comprised of nesting, concatenation, or both, will come across as being of a significantly different, more complex scale. It is also likely that two works of roughly the same length, but with different dominant structural configurations, will also differ in their apparent scale. For this reason, scale's distinction from size (i.e. length), and its advantage for defining genres of prose fiction, comes to the fore when the significantly different reading experiences of two narratives of roughly the same length, but of significantly different fabula structure, are compared: for example, Daniel 1-6 versus *Esther*. The former is a concatenating story-collection consisting of short stories that are linked only broadly following a chronological scheme and based on a small cast of characters (one of them, found in all of the stories, is the role of king that is given several specific instantiations). Each story itself contains its own complete fabula, some of which are simple fabulas with multiple partial sequences, while others contain coextensive fabulas representing the conflict between a protagonist (or group of protagonists) and an antagonist (the king), and can be characterized as polemical. Since the collection does not have a frame narrative, the concatenating fabulas are not explicitly nested within a higher-order fabula, giving Dan 1-6 a strongly inflected concatenating scale as a whole.[84] In distinction from this, as I will show in detail in Ch. 2, *Esther* is made up of multiple complete fabula sequences that coalesce around two groups of characters (Haman, and Esther and Mordecai) in pursuit of their own goals which nevertheless are intimately related in the cause-and-effect relationship that a protagonist and an antagonist have with each other. Like some of the stories in Dan 1-6, *Esther* is broadly polemic, based on coextensive fabula sequences centering on the polemic of Esther and Mordecai versus Haman, but unlike the Daniel stories, this portion of the fabula develops out of an earlier concatenated fabula centering on King Ahasuerus. Thus, *Esther* shows a shift or development of scale. As these examples show, the structural configuration of fabula according to the ideal types presented in Figure 1[85] contributes substantially to a plot's scale and allows an approach to plot type that is more nuanced than length alone.

In addition to the general structural configuration of ideal types, as illustrated in Daniel 1-6 and *Esther*, the number of sequences contained within the fabula of the entire work, which can be called its density of fabula, contributes to the sense of scale as well. A higher number of sequences, which define the material that a reader must track when reading for the plot, creates a markedly different reading experience: the more the fabula is realized in discrete sequences (whatever their configuration), the denser and more information-heavy the plot. The most straightforward example of a dense fabula is a work of fiction with multiple plot-lines versus one with only one. Since plot-lines, it should be remembered, themselves consist of one or more fabula sequences that can be configured in the different canonical ways, it is also possible for two works that each have multiple plot lines, but ones with different fabula densities or significantly different structures, to appear to have different scales. A related aspect of density, when it comes to multiple plot-lines, is how they can diverge and converge in straightforward ways, or can be more tangential or coincidental. In either scenario, a plot's density will be affected.

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[84] For a closer analysis of the scale of an individual story in the Daniel collection, Dan 3:1-10, which I show to be characterized by (two) coextensive fabulas, see p. 397ff.

[85] See p. 48.

Besides fabula structure and density, another contributing dimension of scale is the dynamism of the plot's action as it evolves consequent upon the fabula composition. Simpler and less dense works will tend to have fewer, but more impactful events that represent major changes, while longer and denser works can have a series of such events. Theoretically, a work with more than one complete fabula sequence would have just as many turning points and climaxes, but practically speaking, this is not always the case. A prominent kind of plot type with a distinct scale is one in which the narrator frequently episodizes. An episodic plot, following Lüthi's lead, is "loosely woven" and contains "no strong causal continuity…between one event or episode and the next."[86] The first theorist of episodic plot was Aristotle: believing them to be the worst kinds of plots, he defined them as having "neither probability nor necessity in the sequence of [their] episodes."[87] Moving away from a judgmental perspective, episodic plots can rather be seen as one possible realization of narrative, in contrast to more continuous narration that utilizes scenic alternating with summary or panoramic passages to mark the passage of time or to make more general connections.[88] In episodic narratives, since episodes are in many ways miniature stories,[89] the main plot-line is mostly made up of self-contained subplots (which could, but not necessarily, correspond to fabula sequences) that string together to create a broader plot.[90] Episodizing is thus a strategy of narration that can be used to expand plots according to different ways to present story information. Episodic narration can take two general forms depending on how the episodes related to one or more plot-lines in the story: digressive and discontinuous. A plot-line with digressive episodes may utilize these to create subplots (which may be built episode-by-episode) or to create momentary diversion from the main plot-line, centered around a major or minor character. A plot-line itself may be essentially episodic, taking place not in a tightly knit story with a high level of continuity and continuous narration, but in discrete episodes with significant levels of discontinuity, such as of *dramatis personae*, setting, or even theme. When a main plot-line (or a plot-line existing in a story by itself) is episodic, it is likely that the fabula would be constructed by the reader to consist of a series of sequences with a high level of discreteness, like some of Pavel's solution-oriented plots, although it is also possible to plot a fabula with a high degree of continuity between its events in an episodic fashion.[91] A typical episodic plot in the discontinuous mode is the picaresque novel, e.g. the *Golden Ass*; of the digressive, *The Odyssey*. A genre characterized by emboxment, such as story collections like The Thousand and One Nights, would not normally be called "episodic," even though the broad sweep of the narrative is mostly made up of discrete episode-like short stories. Indeed, as Fludernik says, episodes are akin to microstories,[92] but when they themselves are their own stories, the term loses its usefulness.

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[86] Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 27; see also Brooks and Warren, *Understanding Fiction*, 511 (s.v. "Episodic").

[87] *Poetics* 1451b33-34 (trans. Aristotle, *Complete Works: The Revised Oxford Translation*, 4980).

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[88] For such alternation, see Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film*, 75–76.

[89] Monica Fludernik, *Towards a Natural Narratology* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 48–49.

[90] See Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 69–70.

[91] An example would be *Don Quixote*: the fabula in a strong sense is continuous, but the plot proceeds episodically, reflecting how Don Quixote himself experiences and indeed engineers his life and adventures as episodes in a grand adventure, as noted by Jean Paul, cited in Dammann, "Episode," 70 (72n12).

Episodic narrative has a distinct effect on the reader: by nature, episodes arrest movement with respect to the wider plot, and thus can be used to build tension or for other dramatic effects.[93] In his study of the episodic structure of the play *Tamburlaine*, Thomas Pavel notes that episodes that are not "clearly connected to the main thread" can be used for "emphasizing a problem, a solution, the nature of a convention, etc."[94] They can also be useful for introducing different plot-lines or subplots. Episodes as digressions can be used to flesh out certain aspects of the story (such as thematics or characterization[95]) or to pace the reader's encounter with the unfolding fabula.[96] Episodic narrative can give a story a kind of grandeur and scope beyond just the story.[97]

These considerations of the different aspects of scale in prose fiction accord with Fowler, who gives the picaresque novel as an illustration of scale in prose fiction, implying that a highly episodic novel has a distinct scale compared with other genres. The usefulness of scale for distinguishing genres can be summarized by relating it to the structural dimensions of genre formulated in John Frow's *Genre* (2005), namely formal features (e.g., for the picaresque, a narration divided into episodes or larger story blocks in sequence) and rhetorical function (the pragmatic effects of the division of the narration, such as a more generally engrossing feeling of being "taken into" the storyworld).[98]

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[92] Fludernik, *Towards a Natural Narratology*, 48–49.

[93] Pavel, *The Poetics of Plot: The Case of English Renaissance Drama*, 126.

[94] Pavel, *The Poetics of Plot: The Case of English Renaissance Drama*, 58.

[95] Cf. *Poetics* 1455b12-15: "The next thing, after the proper names have been fixed as a basis for the story, is to turn it into episodes. One must ensure, however, that the episodes are appropriate, like the fit of madness in Orestes, which led to his arrest, and the purifying, which brought about his salvation" (trans. Aristotle, *Complete Works: The Revised Oxford Translation*, 4992).

[96] Cf. *Poetics* 1459a30-37, regarding Homer's superiority as a poet (i.e. storyteller): "He did not attempt to deal even with the Trojan war in its entirety, though it was a whole with a definite beginning and end…he singled out one section of the whole; many of the other incidents, however, he brings in as episodes, using the Catalogue of the Ships, for instance, and other episodes to relieve the uniformity of his narrative" (trans. Aristotle, *Complete Works: The Revised Oxford Translation*, 5003–4).

[97] Cf. *Poetics* 1460b230.

1.3. Defining the Egyptian and Judean Novella

"Novella" is a widely used name for a genre of prose fiction. In this section, I will show that it is eminently applicable to the corpus of Egyptian and Judean prose fiction under study from three perspectives:

1. *Novella as literature*. This aspect concerns its distinctness as a genre of prose fiction in general. My approach will rely on the general meaning of the term "novella" as well as a justification of its use by appealing to the notion of scale discussed in §1.2.3, showing that novellas differ significantly from other contemporaneous genres in Egypt and Judea. The novella, then, is a distinct kind of prose fiction as tragedy is a kind of drama, a name relevant for a diverse array of works like *Oedipus Rex* and *Tamburlaine*. More specifically, the novellas under study have empirically observable,[99] shared features in their plot that allow them to be defined more narrowly, as I will show in Chs. 2 and 4. To continue the analogy with kinds of drama, the particular style of plot means that "novella" has the semantics of a term like "Elizabethan drama," whose exemplars

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[98] Frow, *Genre*, 9.

[99] For literary genres that can be defined on an empirical basis, cf. Gérard Genette, *The Architext: An Introduction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 66.

frequently feature a double plot.[100]

2. *Novella as historical genre*. While narrative literature in general is attested in multiple eras in Egyptian and Judean literary history, novellas have a particularly strong association with the Achaemenian and Hellenistic Periods. For this reason, "novella" when used for a genre of Egyptian and Judean fiction also has a narrowly historical valence, like the term "Greek tragedy," which pertains only to works of tragic drama produced in 5th century Athens.
3. *Novella as book*. Finally, the surviving novellas show a distinct literary embodiment in book culture that further sets them apart, tending to be preserved in non-anthologized form and in a one-to-one configuration of composition to volume in a way not seen with other genres of prose fiction. "Novella," then, does not only name a literary and historical genre, but a kind of book, as novellas and novels today.

These three senses of the word novella, literary (like "tragedy"), historical ("like Greek tragedy"), and bibliographical (like "novella" today) overlap in a close way which is all the more remarkable given that we are dealing with two parallel literary phenomena produced almost entirely independently. Considering the nature of the genre from these perspectives also helps isolate the distinction of the dissertation's endeavor in general. The study of the Egyptian and Judean novella differs substantially, for example, from a hypothetical, comparative study of instructional literature in these two cultures that would pick a narrowly defined historical era for a corpus: while works like *Onchsheshonqy* and *Ben Sira* could be studied as Hellenistic instructional literature, the genre of the novella itself is confined to a particular period.

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[100] William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (New York: New Directions, 1974). See also Pamela McCallum, "Figural Narrative and Plot Construction: Empson on Pastoral," in *William Empson: The Critical Achievement*, ed. Christopher Norris and Nigel Mapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 196–212. Elizabethan drama is the subject of Pavel, *The Poetics of Plot: The Case of English Renaissance Drama*.

1.3.1. The Novella as Literature

First, I need to justify my use of the term novella in general by connecting to how the word is widely used in European literature and literary criticism.[101] Today, and since perhaps the late 19th century, novella is a name for a genre of prose fiction defined most often according to its length and manner of collection.[102] Like the short story and the novel, the novella is a major kind of prose fiction, as opposed to other general kinds or subtypes like historical fiction and the *Bildungsroman*, which are defined based on other constellations of formal and thematic features, or historically-specific types of major kinds of prose fiction, like the Graeco-Roman novel or the Renaissance novella.[103] Novellas, as a major genre of prose fiction, are longer than short stories and tend to be published independently, with short stories typically found in collections or published in magazines or other periodicals.[104] While modern novellas and short stories can both be published first in periodicals, short stories typically end up anthologized in short-story collections of their authors, while novellas are eventually published on their own.[105] In terms of scale, a short story lends itself to anthologization because of the intrinsic smallness of its action: a series of short stories, and not just an individual example, is a rich reading experience that can easily be continued over multiple sittings. On the contrary, novellas, which are less often anthologized, match the scale of a series of short stories when read individually. From the other direction, novellas are distinct from the longer (sometimes much more so) novel. Like short stories and novellas, novels were originally published in magazines, but serially, and were later published as their own books.[106] While "novella" is readily understood as a diminutive version of "novel," even appearing to be roughly synonymous with "short novel" (or, conversely, "long short story"),[107] the relationship between the words novel and novella belies their apparent origin: novella is actually the older term. Confusingly, many works which were originally called novellas would be called short stories in English today.[108] Nor are the words always used by practitioners in fictions in ways that match historical or contemporary usage: Henry James called his works, which we would today call novels, *nouvelles* (after the French) because they allowed him to tell focused stories in a more expanded form than the short story would allow.[109]

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[101] For the following, see Albert Gier, “Novelle,” in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, ed. Kurt Ranke et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 10:120-126. For the history of “novella” and related terms (novel, *Roman*), see Gerald Gillespie, “Novella, Nouvelle, Novella, Short Novel? — A Review of Terms,” *Neophilologus* 51 (1967): 117–27, 225–30 and Graham Good, “Notes on the Novella,” *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* 10, no. 3 (1977): 197–200.

[102] Margaret McCarthy, “Novella,” in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory*, ed. David Herman, Manfred Jahn, and Marie-Laure Ryan (London: Routledge, 2005), 404.

[103] Cf. Judith Leibowitz, *Narrative Purpose in the Novella*, De Proprietatibus Litterarum, Series Minor 10 (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 12.

[104] Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 653.

[105] As an example: Poe’s “Fall of the House of Usher,” originally published in 1839 in a magazine latter

Historically, the origin of the word novella as the name for a particular genre of prose fiction is the short stories making up Boccaccio's *Decameron* (13th century) which little resemble what we would call novellas today. This usage derives from the Italian word *novella* which

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collected in Poe's *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* (1840) with 25 other stories. In contrast, Thomas Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig*, while also first published in a magazine, was eventually printed as its own volume in 1913.

[106] See N. N. Feltes, *Modes of Production of Victorian Novels* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

[107] Cf. *OED* s.v. "novella": "a short novel, a long short story."

[108] Cf. Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 477; Clements and Gibaldi, *Anatomy of the Novella*, 2–3.

[109] Henry James, *The Art of the Novel* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1934), 220.

meant several things: something young or new (as an adjective), a piece of news, and, a "historical or imaginary story that could be new or recently acquired or just unusual in nature."[110] Following Boccacio, the term took on the technical meaning of a genre of storytelling, "a story that could be true or fictional, new or simply unusual, written or recited."[111] Boccaccio's were colorful, often lurid tales, and carnivalesque in their sending-up of traditional society in their portrayal of clergymen and nobility. Following Boccaccio's model, the Renaissance novella was short (much more so than its successors), and was as a rule published in collections, usually embedded in a frame story, as with the *Decameron*. Renaissance novellas consisted both of new stories as well as re-tellings of medieval legends and exempla, and episodes known from classical literature. Unlike legends, Renaissance novellas are born literary (i.e. written); and unlike legends and *exempla*, they typically problematize or parody the clear-cut moral universe of short narratives meant for edification. Starting in the 17th century, the Renaissance novellas began to be read, discussed, and collected outside of their original framed form, which lead to the word "novella" losing its close association with works like the *Decameron*, and became a more generic term for a *conte* or *Erzählung* of a short nature.[112] Since Boccaccio's novellas were quite short and of a small scale, short works of prose fiction written in the ensuing centuries, even if longer, would aim for the small-scale focus and impact of novellas. In Spain, the word *novela* was used for short stories in collections, like Cervantes's *Novelas ejemplares*, as well as the first true novels, most notably *Don Quixote*.[113] In Italy, France, and Germany, novels were called *romanzo*/*roman*/*Roman*, after the genre of the medieval courtly romance. With the 17th and 18th centuries, novellas as independent works of fiction, some of which we might call today short novels, were written all over Europe, with a particular crystallization found in Germany that grew into an accompanying, sophisticated theory of novellas. While some novella authors imitated Boccaccio and included them inside frame stories (e.g. Goethe's *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten*, 1795), novellas could also be presented independently. Goethe famously defined the novella as "eine sich ereignete unerhörte Begebenheit," suggesting that plot, not character dominates, and that the subject matter is not a well-known story.[114] After Goethe, German theorists of the novella aimed to specify formally what the essence of the genre is, the two most famous examples being the prominence of a turning point (*Wendepunkt*) in the plot and a strong focus on a central image or theme (called the "falcon," derived from a *Decameron* novella).[115]

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[110] Clements and Gibaldi, *Anatomy of the Novella*, 4. Cf. Dante, *Inferno* XVIII.57 for this meaning.

[111] Clements and Gibaldi, *Anatomy of the Novella*, 5.

[112] Gier, "Novelle," 122–23.

[113] Gillespie, "Novella, Nouvelle, Novella, Short Novel? — A Review of Terms," 119.

As this brief history of the word has shown, the term "novella" is appropriate as a name for a genre of prose fiction characterized by stories which are shorter in length than the lengthier narrative genres prevalent at a given time (most often epic, romance, or novel) and, at the same time, are artful and even complex. More specifically, the novella as a universal type of prose fiction can be defined as tending towards a denser scale of fabula content than short stories typically have, but towards a dynamism of action more akin to the latter than to novels. Longer novellas from the tradition can illustrate this. *Death in Venice* and *Heart of Darkness* are lengthy and feature a number of episode-like scenes, but which combine to portray the build towards a protagonists' long-expected (though for entirely different reasons!) and highly consequential meeting with a mysterious figure (Tadzio and Kurtz), both of which result in highly consequential scenes (the death of Aschenbach; the lie told to Kurtz's widow) that bring the novella to a close. In their almost relentless build and focus, these novellas are much closer in their compact scale of dynamism (especially in comparison with the often-sprawling novels) to short stories; but, at the same time, they involve significant more story content than short stories.

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[114] See Gier, "Novelle," 123 for an unpacking of this definition.

[115] A second important and related development in the history of the novella is its role in folklore studies. Novella as a type of folktale is found in Aarne and Thompson's index of folktale types, a rather amorphous group comprised of complex, multi-motif folktales with a realistic, not a fantastic, bent (nos. 850-999). According to folklorists, novellas are realistic in their setting and characters and incorporate folklore motifs. They are complex like *Märchen*, based on the combination of multiple episodes, but are distinct in their more realistic setting and characters. The use of the term novella for complex folklore types suggests that the term was generally associated with independent yet artful and complex storytelling. See Christine Shojaei Kawan, "Novellenmärchen," in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, ed. Kurt Ranke et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 10:126-129; Eli Yassif, "The Novella as an Ethnopoetic Genre," in *Papers I-IV [&] Plenary Papers: The 8th Congress for the International Society for Folk Narrative Research, Bergen, June 12th-17th 1984*, ed. Reimund Kvideland, Torunn Selberg, and Eli Yassif (Bergen: International Societry for Folk Narrative Research, 1984), 3:283-289; Charlie T. McCormick and Kim Kennedy White, *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and Art.*, 2nd ed. (Santa Barbara, CS: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 561; Maria Leach and Jerome Fried, eds., *Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1949), 803 (s.v. "novella"). As a type of folktale, novella appears to have fallen out of general use outside of references to Aarne and Thompson; it is already missing from William Bascom, "The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives," *The Journal of American Folklore* 78, no. 307 (1965): 3–20.

There is no difficulty in distinguishing novellas from novels, especially in terms of scale, since the latter are characterized by longer, more complex plots with sprawling effect. This is also the case with Egyptian and Judean literature in the Achaemenian and Hellenistic Periods. When looking at prose fiction of the southeastern Mediterranean world as a whole, the clearest examples are the Greek and Roman novels which begin to be attested as early as the 1st century CE,[116] and which are substantially longer and more complex than the Egyptian and Judean novellas. Despite the evidence of the reception of Egyptian novellas and other fiction by authors of Greek novels,[117] and of the Greek-language novel by Judeans (*Joseph and Aseneth*),[118] novels are products of cosmopolitan Hellenistic literature, while the Egyptian and Judean novellas are products of those who existed within and interacted with a cosmopolitan world, not only the Hellenistic but arguably the Achaemenian as well. Historical considerations aside, the scale of Egyptian and Judean novellas differs in numerous ways from that of the Greek and Roman novels: the novels populate a broad story arc with different (sometimes overlapping, sometimes not) and less closely integrated storylines. This difference of scale is even evident when comparing the novellas with the Judean *Joseph and Aseneth,* which, though only around 40% longer than the longest Judean novella (*Judith*),[119] has a noticeably different plot dynamic and episodic structure.[120]

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[116] *Ninus* (in fragments); see Susan A. Stephens and John J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments:* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 23. Cf. however Ewen Bowie, "The Chronology of the Earlier Greek Novels since B. E. Berry: Revisions and Precisions," *Ancient Narrative* 2 (2002): 47–63.

The Egyptian and Judean novella can also be distinguished from another genre of usually lengthy prose fiction that existed alongside the novellas which we can call episodic narrative, although this may more accurately be called a mode[121] of narrative literature since it is associated with a wide variety of genres, including novels (e.g. a picaresque like Apuleius's *Golden Ass*)

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[117] J. W. B. Barns, "Egypt and the Greek Romance," in Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie, Wien 1955, ed. Hans Gerstinger, Mitteilungen Aus Der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), N.S. 5 (Vienna: Rohrer, 1956), 29–36 (out of date and theoretically problematic, but still important); Ian Rutherford, "Kalasiris and Setne Khamwas: A Greek Novel and Some Egyptian Models," *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 117 (1997): 203–9; Steve Vinson, "Good and Bad Women in Egyptian and Greek Fiction," in *Graeco-Egyptian Interactions: Literature, Translation, and Culture, 500 BCE-300 CE*, ed. Ian Rutherford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). For an overview and critical discussion, see Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 293–344.

[118] See Ross Shepard Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph: A Late Antique Tale of the Biblical Patriarch and His Egyptian Wife, Reconsidered* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 9–11; Angela Standhartinger, "Recent Scholarship on *Joseph and Aseneth* (1988-2013)," *Currents in Biblical Research* 12, no. 3 (2014): 375–80.

[119] This calculation was made by comparing their lengths in the translation of Lawrence M. Wills, *Ancient Jewish Novels: An Anthology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[120] For an overview of the story of *Joseph and Aseneth*, see Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph*, 3–5.

[121] For "mode," see Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 107–11.

and, outside of the realm of fiction, historiography (e.g. Herodotus). Episodic narrative is similar to the novel in its preference for a wider story arc, but in the former, the individual segments of the story are more discrete. Thus, plot scale continues to be an important factor for defining the novella as a literary genre. Mixed genres as well as *sui generis* texts also are frequently episodic, in some cases because of the disparate origin of the material that went into their creation. An example in Judean literature from the Hellenistic Period is *1 Esdras,* which combines material reworked from Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, an originally independent short story, and new material.[122] The Pentateuch, both in its compiled form as well as in its original sources (following the Documentary Hypothesis), should also be compared, above all when considered with respect to its legal portions which are integrated into the narrative yet maintain an air of discreteness.[123] Episodic narrative may have been prominent in Egyptian literature of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods in Demotic, although the publication of important, likely examples still awaits. The most important is the *Inaros Epic* (surviving in four or five copies, P. Carlsberg 68+123, 80, 164, 591, and possibly 458), which has only been published in part, and only in translation.[124] According to Kim Ryholt, the complete text is the longest surviving work of narrative literature from Egypt, and was episodic in its composition. An admixture of fantastic adventures and political intrigue can be found within, including a duel between the king Inaros and an Assyrian sorcerer who takes the form of a griffin, a letter sent from Esarhaddon to Inaros, and the stealthy visit of one of Inaros's allies, Pekrur of Pisopde, to Esarhaddon's bedroom.[125] Shorter, but apparently equally episodic, is the unpublished P. Carlsberg 85, which Ryholt calls *The Life of Imhotep*, and includes an episode featuring the quest for the limbs of Osiris in Syria, the blindness of pharaoh Djoser, and a conflict against the Libyans among others.[126] Finally, a major episodic narrative from Hellenistic Egypt is the *Alexander Romance.*[127] All of these examples differ from novellas, which are not only significantly shorter on average but evince a high degree of story integration.

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[122] For a translation, see Jonathan Klawans and Lawrence M. Wills, eds., *The Jewish Annotated Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Version Bible Translation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 99–123. For the short story, see Bob Becking, “The Story of the Three Youths and the Composition of 1 Esdras,” in *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth S. Fried, Ancient Israel and Its Literature 7 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 61-71), 2011.

[123] See Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch*, 169–92, and the recent approach of Liane M. Feldman, *The Story of Sacrifice: Ritual and Narrative in the Priestly Source*, Forschungen Zum Alten Testament 141 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020). The strictly narrative portion of the Priestly source in the present confines of Genesis is remarkable for its highly episodic nature, consisting only of four (Baden, ibid., 172). The classic presentation of the episodic narrative mode of Genesis is Gunkel’s commentary (see Genesis, 7th ed. (Göttingen: Vandehoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), xxxi-xxxv (nos. 7-9), li-lvi (nos. 19-22), lxxx-xcii (§5)).

[124] Edda Bresciani, “La corazza di Inaro era fatta con la pelle del grifone del Mar Rosso,” *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 13 (1990): 103–7. For an overview, see Ryholt, “The Assyrian Invasion of Egypt in Egyptian Literary Tradition,” 492–95.

When it comes to novellas versus short stories, however, there is the potential for overlap and even confusion. While some literary cultures may show a great deal of overlap between the two with a distinction often being made *ad hoc* and continually evolving, this is not the case in Achaemenian and Hellenistic Egypt and Judea. While the same difficulty of distinguishing the forms theoretically applies, fortunately, as I will discuss in detail in §1.3.3, the evidence allows us to easily distinguish stories of short length and smaller scale, which are always found in collections (with and without frame narratives) or in non-literary contexts, from stories of generally (though not always) longer length and of a markedly denser and more dynamic scale are found independently. These latter kinds of prose fiction are rightfully called novellas. Moreover, when the poetics of the plots of the surviving Egyptian and Judean novellas is studied in detail with an eye towards defining their scale, their distinction from short stories—which, seeing that they are only preserved in collections or non-literary contexts, can thus only be considered abstractly as a distinct genre—is even more clear. This will be the subject of Chs. 2 and 4.

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[125] These last two examples, incidentally, resemble episodes in the *Alexander Romance*. There is an exchange of letters between Alexander and Polykratos of Thessalonica, the king of Tyre, and, most importantly Darius. A similar motif, it should be noted, is found in the Late Bronze Age *Kirta* epic from Ugarit (cf. *KTU* 1.14, iii.123-53, trans. Pardee in *COS* 1.335), suggesting that the protocol of palace communication in general was a rich source of storytelling embellishment in different eras. Pekrur's stealthy visit to Esarhaddon's bedroom is reminiscent of the episode where Candace sends a painter to secretly make a likeness of Alexander (see Richard Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance* (New York: Penguin, 1991), 136–37, 139–41). Of course, the shared precedent could be the famous secret escapade of Odysseus and Diomedes in the walls of Troy in *Iliad* 10.

[126] Kim Ryholt, "The Life of Imhotep (P. Carlsberg 85)," in *Actes Du IXe Congrès International Des Études Démotiques: Paris, 31 Août - 3 Septembre 2005*, ed. Ghislaine Widmer and Didier Devauchelle, Bibliothèque d'étude 147 (Le Caire: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 2009), 305–15.

[127] Richard Jasnow, "The Greek Alexander Romance and Demotic Egyptian Literature," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 56, no. 2 (1997): 95–103 makes the case for antecedents in Egyptian literature. The different editions and translations of the *Romance* that survive show that it had a very complex composition and transmission history with many blocks of material with diverse origins, as well as sections composed anew, combining into the whole; see Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance*, 8–17.

1.3.2. The Novella as Historical Genre

A second aspect of the Egyptian and Judean novella's distinction as a genre is its era of association.[128] The Judean novellas of *Esther, Tobit,* and *Judith* are without a doubt products of eras after the Iron Age, with most scholars today dating them to the Hellenistic period. Regarding the Hebrew *Esther,* while an older (but by no means unanimous) view in scholarship convinced by its realistic portrayal of the Achaemenian court and its numerous Persian loanwords dated it to that period,[129] a Hellenistic dating is more widespread today.[130] A strong indicator of this is the general perspective on the Achaemenians (especially its extent, structure, and cultural landmarks) which *Esther* shares with a Hellenistic literary perspective on this world empire from hindsight.[131] The current consensus for dating *Tobit* is between the mid-3rd century and the advent of the Hasmonean period.[132] *Tobit* is attested in Hasmonean-period fragments at Qumran and thus must precede the 1st century BCE.[133] Its association with the body of Judean Aramaic literature, such as the *Genesis Apocryphon* suggests that it was composed at the earliest in the late Achaemenian period to allow for the permeation into Judean literati circles of texts (namely *Ahiqar*), genres, and techniques required to compose in the language.[134] With *Tobit,* the *Genesis Apocryphon,* and other new Aramaic compositions by Judeans, a cosmopolitan literary dialect became adapted as a vehicle of local literature, suggesting a date in the late Achaemenian Period at the earliest, to allow this process to gain sufficient traction.[135] Finally, *Judith* is generally believed to be roughly contemporaneous with *First Maccabees* and written around 100 BCE.[136] Despite being formally written in a cosmopolitan language (like Aramaic *Tobit*), *Judith's* Greek is cast partly in the Judean-inflected literary dialect of the Septuagint, and at the same time keeps a distance from the vernacular, Koine Greek spoken by the Judeans who would have read the novella, switching back-and-forth between Septuagintal and classical Greek.[137]

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[128] For the concept of historical genre, as opposed to theoretical genre, see Tzvetan Todorov, The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), 13-14}.

[129] E.g. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 691. An older opinion that *Esther* is Hellenistic can be found in Lewis Bayles Paton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther*, The International Critical Commentary 13 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 60–63.

[130] See Beate Ego, "The Book of Esther: A Hellenistic Book," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 1, no. 3 (2010): 279–302 for an overview of how the novella has been dated, and for a convincing argument concerning its Hellenistic date.

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[131] See J.-D. Macchi, "Le livre d'Esther: Regard hellénistique sur le pouvoir et le monde perses," *Transeuphratene* 30 (2005): 97–135; Ego, "The Book of Esther," 287–90.

[132] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 51–52; Beate Ego, *Buch Tobit*, Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit, II.6 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1998), 130.

[133] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 57 (1995): 656.

[134] Daniel A. Machiela and Andrew B. Perrin, "Tobit and the Genesis Apocryphon: Toward a Family Portrait," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 133, no. 1 (2014): 111–32.

[135] For a similar argument about the development of Demotic literature, see p. 87 below. For Aramaic as a cosmopolitan language of literature, see Seth L. Sanders, *From Adapa to Enoch: Scribal Culture and Religious Vision in Judea and Babylon*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 167 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 153–62; Holger Gzella, *Aramaic: A History of the First World Language* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2021), 133–34. For the Aramaic literature at Qumran as a distinct corpus, see Machiela and Perrin, "Tobit and the Genesis Apocryphon"; Sidnie White Crawford, *Scribes and Scrolls at Qumran* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2019), 252–55.

[136] See Deborah Levine Gera, *Judith*, Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 39–44; Carey A. Moore, *Judith*, 1st ed., The Anchor Bible 40 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), 67–70.

There is a growing consensus among biblical scholars that the Hebrew *Jonah* and *Ruth* were written after the Iron Age as well, with the earliest date typically found for *Jonah* being the Babylonian Period (6th century),[138] and, for *Ruth*, the early Achaemenian.[139] As discussed in the Introduction, in 19th and early 20th century historical criticism of the Hebrew Bible, it was common to identify an *Entstehungszeit* for both in legends and folk-stories that circulated in the monarchic period, but which attained written form much later.[140] From this perspective, arguments for dating the latter rely on linguistic features as well as certain attitudes that can be ascribed to the final editor of the text (chiefly, for *Jonah*, its supposed universalism, and for *Ruth*, its supposed antiquarianism).[141] Today, linguistic features, especially apparent Aramaisms, focus prominently in discussions of dating of these two novellas.[142] While lexicon (especially loans), orthography, and morphology are all important for building a linguistic profile of a text that can be useful for making arguments of dating, syntax (and related features like tense) is of paramount importance, since a speaker or author will be less able to completely avoid such effects of structural, diachronic change, even when imitating earlier styles.[143] The Hebrew literature (especially in prose) of the Achaemenian and Hellenistic Periods shows significant syntactic development in the verbal system (especially infinitives and participles) alongside the continued use of other verb forms found prominently in Iron Age Hebrew prose, such as the *wayyiqtol* verb form.[144] The perdurance of the *wayyiqtol* form in particular, whose prominence has the effect of anchoring the "flow" of narrative,[145] shows that diachronic considerations have to be combined with an attention to style when discussing the date of Hebrew prose works which are generally agreed upon to stand on the threshold of so-called Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew—as is

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[137] See the in-depth treatment of Gera, *Judith*, 79–97.

[138] For *Jonah*, see generally Peter Weimar, *Jona*, Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Freiburg: Hereder, 2017), 65–66.

[139] See the overview of Irmtraud Fischer, *Rut*, Herders Theologischer Kommentar Zum Alten Testament (Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 86–91.

[140] See p. 12.

[141] For example, Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 450–52 is, on the one hand, suspicious that the material of the novella is simply written later in Jonah's name, but, on the other, is convinced that the novella was formed out of two separate legends about Jonah that stem from the historical prophet known from 2 Ki 24:25—an oral-written dichotomy apparent in much thinking about the novellas, as I will discuss in section 1.4.1. For Eissfeldt, the imprint of the time of the compiler of these legends can be detected in its universalism. For *Ruth*, see S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 10th ed. (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1900), 426.

[142] For *Jonah*, see the survey of potential Aramaisms and Late Biblical Hebrew features in George M. Landes, "Linguistic Criteria and the Date of the Book of Jonah," *Eretz-Israel* 16 (1982): 147*-170* (Landes takes a minimalist approach to the dating) and Alexander Rofé, *The Prophetical Stories: The Narratives about the Prophets in the Hebrew Bible, Their Literary Types and History* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), 152–56; for *Ruth*, cf. Ziony Zevit, "Dating Ruth: Legal, Linguistic, and Historical Observations," *Zeitschrift Für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 117 (2005): 592–93. and Robert D. Holmstedt, *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text*, Baylor Handbook on the

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Hebrew Bible (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2010), 34–39. See Eva Mroczek, "'Aramaisms' in Qohelet: Methodological Problems in Identification and Interpretation," in *The Words of the Wise Are like Goads: Engaging Qohelet in the 21st Century*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Tremper Longman, and Cristian G. Rata (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 343–64 for a discussion of the value of Aramaisms for dating purposes. A comparative argument for not putting too much stock in loanwords is the stunning lack of Green loanwords in Demotic literature; see J. D. Ray, "How Demotic Is Demotic?," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994): 251–64; Mark Depauw, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 28 (Brussels: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth, 1997), 41–43.

[143] Cf. Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*, Harvard Semitic Monograph Series 12 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 2, and Avi Hurvitz's discussion of how to date the prose of *Job*: "in spite of his efforts to write pure classical Hebrew and to mark his story with 'Patriarchal colouring', the author of the Prose Tale could not avoid certain phrases which are unmistakeably characteristic of post-exilic Hebrew" (Avi Hurvitz, "The Date of the Prose-Tale of Job Linguistically Reconsidered," *The Harvard Theological Review* 67, no. 1 (1974): 18). For a recent, wide-scale endeavor to ground Late Biblical Hebrew prose in terms of tense, see Ohad Cohen, *The Verbal Tense System in Late Biblical Hebrew Prose*, Harvard Semitic Studies 63 (Eisenbrauns, 2013).

[144] For example, participles and infinitives (both construct and absolute) have become functional parts of the verbal paradigm, serving to alter the traditional verbal sequence patterns anchored on the *wayyiqtol* and *w^{e}qatal* forms. For a *précis*, see Cohen, *The Verbal Tense System in Late Biblical Hebrew Prose*, 275–76.

[145] Dennis Pardee, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System in a Nutshell," in *Language and Nature: Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 67 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2012), 291.

usually the case today with *Jonah* and *Ruth*.[146] As Avi Hurvitz points out, even *Esther*, an unambiguous exemplar of Late Biblical Hebrew, is suffuse with the older Hebrew style.[147]

On the one hand, *Jonah* and *Ruth* broadly resemble the narrative style of Genesis-Kings, something which has encouraged those who date them to the monarchic period.[148] Discussion of the linguistic dating of *Jonah* has focused above all on lexical features, not only Aramaisms but vocabulary and idioms in general that preponderate and strongly suggest an association with Late Biblical Hebrew, and an Achaemenian date at the earliest,[149] even though its syntax is for all intents and purposes that of the classical idiom. *Ruth*, on the other hand, displays clear syntactic features of Late Biblical Hebrew syntax,[150] most notably the non-modal use of *qatal* (1:14, 22; 4:1, 18-22).[151]

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[146] Following Hurvitz's principle that "an abundance of late linguistic features," of all kinds, should be the criterion for late dating (Avi Hurvitz, *A Concise Lexicon of Late Biblical Hebrew : Linguistic Innovations in the Writings of the Second Temple Period*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 160 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 13), a transitional dating of *Ruth* is the most logical from a strictly linguistic perspective, as Bush and Holmstedt, for example, argue for *Ruth* (see n.82 above), when considered independent of other aspects of the dating question (see below).

[147] Avi Hurvitz, "The Recent Debate on Late Biblical Hebrew: Solid Data, Experts' Opinions, and Inconclusive Arguments," *Hebrew Studies* 47 (2007): 209. For more discussion, see Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, 3–4. Polzin argues that *Esther* "is a clear example of a Late Biblical Hebrew author who was exceptionally successful in mimicking the style of classical Hebrew" (ibid., 3).

[148] E.g. Edward F. Campbell, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible 7 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975), 26–28.

[149] Uriel Simon, *Jonah: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1999), 39–41; Jack M. Sasson, *Jonah: A New Translation with Introduction, Commentary, and Interpretation*, The Anchor Bible 24B (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 22–23; Hans Walter Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah: A Commentary*, Continental Commentaries (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1986), 76–77. See also Landes, "Linguistic Criteria and the Date of the Book of Jonah", though arguing against all of the examples being definite indicators of a late date.

[150] For more examples and discussion see Frederic William Bush, *Ruth, Esther*, Word Biblical Commentary 9 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1996), 22–30; Zevit, "Dating Ruth: Legal, Linguistic, and Historical Observations"; Holmstedt, *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text*, 25–31.

[151] Discussed in Holmstedt, *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text*, 25. For this feature of Late Biblical Hebrew in general, see Cohen, *The Verbal Tense System in Late Biblical Hebrew Prose*, 51–94.

Because of its rich engagement with biblical literature recognizable today,[152] an Achaemenian dating of *Ruth* at the earliest is even more likely. Two examples are of special note, since they imply a knowledge of biblical literature, specifically Genesis-Kings, in a literary configuration much like it is today which would have first emerged in the Achaemenian or early Hellenistic periods,[153] namely: a creative engagement with disparate parts of Pentateuchal law that implies a knowledge of the canonical Torah, and a setting "in the time of the Judges" which presumes a periodization of Israelo-Judean history owed to the canonical form of the Primary History, which includes the scroll of Judges.[154]

Jonah presents more of a challenge when considering its implied literary milieu.[155] Verbal echoes between Jonah 3:9, 4:2 and Joel 2:13-14 factor into the attempts of some to date it,[156] but the anthologization of *Jonah* in the Twelve Prophets scroll and the possibility of secondary editing means that verbal echoes with its anthologized companions are not a reliable piece of evidence on which to hang an entire dating scheme. The depiction of Nineveh may be the best clue. As Jack Sasson notes, Nineveh must be an absurd choice for prophecy in order for the novella's comedic portrayal of Jonah to work.[157] If *Jonah* were written during or immediately after the period when the Neo-Assyrian Empire threatened Israel and Judah, it would be hard to explain the *tendenzlos* and general storytelling air to the description of it as what we could today call a ‘mythical’ city of the past (“Now Nineveh was a great city…”, 3:3) of unreal size,[158] although this argument is not much different from earlier appeals to its so-called universalistic features. Supporting an Achaemenian, or even Hellenistic dating is the prominence of Nineveh in Aramaic narrative literature from Mesopotamia (*Ahiqar* and the narrative about Ashurbanipal and Shamashsumukin on Papyrus Amherst 63), and in Judean (*Tobit*, *Judith*), Egyptian (*The Lamb of Bocchoris*, *Egyptians and Amazons, The Inaros Epic*, and the stories of Imhotep on P. Carlsberg 85), and, finally, Greek historiography (namely Ctesias) which were under Aramaic influence.[159]

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[152] Chavel, *Oracular Law and Priestly Historiography*, 250.

[153] See, e.g., David Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 215–21; Konrad Schmid, *The Old Testament: A Literary History* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 160–62.

[154] Yair Zakovitch, *Das Buch Rut: ein jüdischer Kommentar*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 177 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1999), 14–35

[155] For an overview of different approaches to dating the novella, see Sasson, *Jonah*, 20–28.

[156] See Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah: A Commentary*, 77–78 and Joseph Ryan Kelly, "Joel, Jonah, and the Yhwh Creed: Determining the Trajectory of the Literary Influence," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 132, no. 4 (2013): 805–26.

[157] Sasson, *Jonah*, 21.

The close association of the Judean novellas with the eras after the Iron Age, and frequently the Hellenistic period it seems, is put in starker relief when they are compared with contemporary Judean narrative genres. Daniel 1-7 represents the only other story literature in the Hebrew Bible preserved from this period, and the only narrative literature besides this the complex historiographical work of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah. The Greek Bible/Old Testament presents a similar picture, preserving in the way of story literature only the Greek edition of Daniel that included more short stories (*Susanna*, *Bel and the Dragon*), and for narrative literature generally, only the historiographical works like 1-3 *Maccabees*. That leaves the problematic Joseph story, for which there is a growing consensus today that it is a discrete work of literature now readable in an edited and supplemented form as Genesis 37-50 which dates from the Achaemenian or Hellenistic Period.

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[158] See Simon, *Jonah: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*, xli.

[159] See Steven W. Holloway, “Nineveh as Meme in Persian-Period Yehud,” in *Memory and the City in Ancient Israel*, ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 267–92.

Turning to ancient Judean literature that came to light from Qumran, a rare surviving work of apparent prose fiction akin to the novellas that was not later anthologized in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament is the fragmentary Aramaic text 4Q550, originally called 4QProto Esther by its first editor, J. T. Milik, who considered it to be a story which either influenced *Esther,* or is the novella's *Vorstoff.*[160] This text is rather a court tale with interesting textual and thematic overlap with *Esther,* being about a Judean living in the court of Xerxes.[161] Its state of preservation is poor unfortunately, and it is far too fragmentary to assess whether or not it could be identified as a novella.[162]

The oldest copies of the four Egyptian novellas under study in the dissertation date to the mid-Ptolemaic period at the earliest. The sole copy of *First Setna* (P. Cairo 30646) dates to as early as 268 BCE and as late as 146 BCE (depending on how the broken date of the colophon is read),[163] making it the oldest manuscript under study. The oldest copy of *The Prebend of Amun,* P. Spiegelberg, was likely inscribed in the mid-1st century BCE.[164] The oldest copy of *The Armor of Inaros,* P. Krall, was copied either in the 22nd year of Hadrian (137 or 138 CE) or in the 22nd year of Antoninus Pius (158 or 159 CE).[165] Friedhelm Hoffmann believes, based on certain errors in the manuscript, that the scribe copied from an older, perhaps Ptolemaic copy.[166] Finally, the sole manuscript of *Second Setna* (P. BM 604) dates no earlier than year 7 of Claudius (46-47 CE), based on a the date of an erased Greek account on the verso. Thus, three of the four manuscripts have certain or likely Ptolemaic provenance.

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[160] Jozef Milik, "Les Modèles Araméens Du Livre d'Esther Dans La Grotte 4 de Qumrân," *Revue de Qumran* 59 (1992): 321–406.

[161] Crawford, "4Q Tales of the Persian Court (4Q550 a-e) and Its Relation to Biblical Royal Courtier Tales, Especially Esther, Daniel and Joseph"; Sidnie White Crawford, "Has *Esther* Been Found at Qumran? *4Qproto-Esther* and the *Esther* Corpus," *Revue de Qumrân* 17 (2007): 307–25.

[162] Michael G. Wechsler, "Two Para-Biblical Novellae from Qumran Cave 4: A Reevaluation Fo 4Q550," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7, no. 2 (2000): 130–72 argues that 4Q550 contains three distinct narrative compositions, which suggests that 4Q550 is some kind of story-collection.

[163] See Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 177.

[164] This date is from Hoffmann's comparison of the handwriting of P. Spiegelberg to that of P. Moscow 123 from Akhmim (where P. Spiegelberg likely came from;) which bears the date of year 13 of Ptolemy XII, or 68 BCE (Friedhelm Hoffmann, "Neue Fragmente zu den drei großen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten," *Enchoria* 22 (1995): 38–39; Michel Malinine, "Partage testamentaire d'une propriété familiale (Pap. Moscou no. 123)," *Revue d'égyptologie* 19 (1967): 67–85).

The distinctness of the Egyptian novella in Demotic as a historical genre of prose fiction would ideally be brought to the fore from two perspectives: as a genre closely associated with the Ptolemaic Period in general, and distinct in comparison with contemporary genres as well as earlier Egyptian (namely Middle and New Kingdom) forms. The latter approach is difficult given the lack of attention to narrative genre in studies of Demotic literature. Nevertheless, the features that make Demotic literature stand out historically are particularly prominent in the novellas. Besides the prominence of cyclic storytelling,[167] the most striking, general feature is their length.[168] While marked length is not particular to the novella, but to Demotic narrative literature in general, as the *Inaros Epic* and the *Myth of the Sun's Eye* show, it seems that Demotic in general was suited for lengthily elaborated narrative texts, as already seen in the earliest preserved examples from the early Ptolemaic Period,[169] as well as in the non-literary, but artistically embellished and exceptionally long *Petition of Petiese* from the late 6th century.[170]

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[165] Hoffmann, "Neue Fragmente zu den drei großen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten," 29; Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 398n2541.

[166] Hoffmann, "Die Entstehung der demotischen Erzählliteratur," 360; Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 22.

[167] See p. 27 above.

[168] As noted by Tait, "Egyptian Fiction in Demotic and Greek," 206.

[169] P. Dem. Saqqara 1 preserves column numbering which goes as high as 17. Tait estimates that this scroll would be around three times as long as *First Setna* (Tait, "Egyptian Fiction in Demotic and Greek," 206). If this scroll was part of P. Dem. Saqqara 2 (whether physically or conceptually), as its editors consider a possibility, this would mean an exceptionally long text. See n.176 below.

Other features particular to Demotic literature and exhibited in the novellas include:

- Narrator speech which is replete with formulaic phrases;[171]
- In complementary fashion, a propensity for dialogue as well as dramatic, elaborate speeches or soliloquies by characters;[172]
- Emboxment, or the use of frame stories, which is found throughout Egyptian literature, but which is a prominent, even structural principle of some Demotic novellas in a way not seen before,[173] and found even in Demotic short stories copied in extract (namely "Amasis and the Skipper" and the *Krugtexte*);
- Finally, a handful of examples in the novellas where the anonymous, heterodiegetic narrator addresses the audience directly outside of storytelling mode (*First Setna* 4.20-21; *Second Setna* 3.31; *Armor* 18.3-7)

The most straightforward context for the composition of the four novellas is during or after the rise of written narrative literature in Demotic (i.e., not only in the Demotic language but written in the demotic script), first evidenced in the early Ptolemaic Period. At the absolute earliest, written literature in Demotic could date back to the Saite Period, but practically speaking, a conservative dating would be no earlier than the Achaemenian. Furthermore, it is unlikely that sophisticated written literature would be authored any earlier than the latter part of the Achaemenian Period. By that time, the widespread fragmentation of Egyptian bureaucracy, temples, and places of learning (reaching back to the late Third Intermediate Period) would have been counteracted by an enduring centralized state (of which Egypt was a province) that yielded a period of stability, the kind that would engender enough momentum towards literature within and surrounding the kinds of institutions that could produce authors and readers of literature, likely in association with temple scriptoria and the associated Houses of Life.

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[170] Günter Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9. Teil I: Text und Übersetzung. Teil II: Kommentare und Indizes*, Ägypten und Altes Testament 38 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998). For a discussion of its literary features, see Jacqueline E. Jay, "The *Petition of Petiese* Reconsidered," in *Mélanges Offerts à Ola El-Aguizy*, Bibliothèque d'étude 164 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 2015), 229–47.

[171] Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 157ff. For examples, see Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 178–82.

[172] Cf. Tait, "Egyptian Fiction in Demotic and Greek," 206–7; W. John Tait, "The Sinews of Demotic Narrative," in *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and Linguistic Approaches*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 189 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 399, 404-405.

[173] Cf. Tait, "Egyptian Fiction in Demotic and Greek," 211–12; W. John Tait, "Demotic Literature and Egyptian Society," in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 51 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1992), 306; and p. 360 below.

If the late Achaemenian Period is a possibility, the early Ptolemaic Period is even more attractive given both the manuscript evidence and the widespread support that the Egyptian literati—priest-scholars—would have enjoyed.[174] While there is some evidence of the continuation of narrowly literary traditions from the New Kingdom into the Late Period,[175] providing an important example of the persistence of cultural forms during a transition to foreign rule, the early Ptolemaic Period represents a drastic shift in literary culture with the first attestation of a relatively large amount of literature, notably prose fiction, written in Demotic,[176] that is, in the demotic script and language. Before this period, going back to the Saite, Demotic was used only for documentary purposes.[177] A shift into new realms of literary production can also be seen in the proliferation of new genres of funerary literature written in Demotic which only occurred in the Ptolemaic period.[178] The relatively late appearance of this literature (when considering the history of Demotic in general) supports the model that, the longer the Ptolemaic Period went on, the more momentum there would have been for the rise of specific kinds of literature and associated contexts.

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[174] See Hoffmann, “Die Entstehung der demotischen Erzählliteratur,” 367–70; Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 54–55. It is a general assumption that Egyptian priests-scholars were the authors and audience of Demotic literature. See Tait, “Demotic Literature and Egyptian Society”. As I will discuss in more detail below, this fits the internal evidence of the novellas, but is also nearly true *a priori* given the way that priests, or priest-scholars, stood at the nexus of literacy in Demotic, knowledge of textual genres and traditional culture, and ability to interact with the Greek world. For the Ptolemaic priesthood in general, see now the wide-ranging study of Marina Escolano-Poveda, The Egyptian Priests of the Graeco-Roman Period: An Analysis on the Basis of the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman Literary and Paraliterary Sources, Studien zur Spätägyptischen Religion 29 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020).

[175] Richard Jasnow, “Remarks on Continuity in Egyptian Literary Tradition,” in *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, ed. Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 58 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1999), 193–210; Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 51–55.

The existence of a literary and learned storytelling literature demonstrated by the Ptolemaic and Roman manuscripts implies what William Johnson calls a distinct "sociocultural system" or "culture of reading"[179] that flourished among the Egyptian literati in the Ptolemaic Period, a system which was indirectly enabled by the Ptolemaic state itself. While there is no overt evidence of the Ptolemaic state supporting the sociocultural system of literature among Egyptian priests, their general support (especially financial) of the Egyptian temples and associated institutions was wide-ranging and would have been an important generative principle for that momentum alluded to earlier which can explain the apparent explosion of Demotic literature in this period. Enlisting the support of the Egyptian priesthood was a crucial aspect of what Joseph Manning calls the Ptolemies' "multidimensional basis" of rule, seen for example in the sponsorship of a universal synod where the Egyptian priesthood as a corporate body would accept the Ptolemies as legitimate rulers on behalf of the Egyptian populace in return for the official support of the temples.[180] The Ptolemies then leveraged temples, financing their renovation and construction, to efficiently extend state reach into the non-Greek parts of Egypt, not only in the royal cult but more generally through taxation and through the use of temple facilities to mediate land administration.[181] Temples also housed industries that generated cash flow for the benefit of the state, such as wine, beer, linen, and book materials. The increasing reliance of the Ptolemies on the Egyptian temples meant temples were institutional microcosms:[182] they were under their own administration, which meant in-house routines of training and membership and, consequently, inward-looking ideologies concerning membership in the priestly guild that took textual form.[183] Literate Egyptians were employed as notaries in offices attached to temples for writing contracts and other economic documents.[184] Though a Greek-language bureaucracy was established once Egypt became the Hellenistic kingdom of the Ptolemies, until the mid-first century BCE, Demotic documents, which had been in use for several centuries, continued to be produced in parallel to Greek for the purposes of the native population. Furthermore, contracts in Demotic were not only written in temple notary offices, but were transcribed into Greek and recorded in official registries called *grapheia*.[185] Egyptian notaries navigated this juxtaposition of cultures constantly, with the *grapheia* eventually becoming true bilingual Demotic-Greek offices as more Egyptians learned Greek.[186] Similarly to the temple, the Demotic notary office was its own institutional microcosm which nevertheless interacted in substantive ways with the Greek-language Ptolemaic world. Different notaries had their own administrative structure with their own handbooks and compendia of legal formats.[187] The pressing need for some Egyptian notary scribes to communicate with the Greek-langauge chancellery led to them learning Greek. This must have been taught in schools, probably associated with Egyptian temples, since some priests not employed in the chancellery would learn Greek as well.[188] These members of the Egyptian elite were given opportunities to integrate with the cosmopolitan Ptolemaic Greek world through a process of acculturation in order to work directly for the state.[189] There were further incentives for finding work in the Greek administration, not only due to the professional connections and positions it opened up, but for economic reasons: Greek scribes, for example, paid less in taxes on salt. This made disalignment from traditional Egyptian structures, not only from the temple but the family, possible.[190]

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[176] H. S. Smith and W. J. Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri*, Texts from Excavations 5 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1983). The literary texts from Saqqara may date to as early as 305-304 BCE (Cary J. Martin, "Memphite Palaeography: Some Observations on Texts from the Ptolemaic Period," in *Aspects of Demotic Orthography: Acts of an International Colloquium Held in Trier, 8 November 2010*, ed. S. P. Vleeming, Studia Demotica 11 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 43). For possible fragments of pre-Ptolemaic literary texts attesting to sporadic literary production in Demotic, see Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 56.

[177] See Depauw, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*, 22–23.

[178] See Depauw, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*, 116–20; Joachim F. Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III: Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur*, 3rd ed., Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 3 (Münster: Lit, 2016), 2–3; as well as the in-depth study of Foy D. Scalf, "Passports to Eternity: Formulaic Demotic Funerary Texts and the Final Phase of Egyptian Funerary Literature in Egypt" (Phd dissertation, University of Chicago, 2014).

[179] William Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

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[180] Joseph Manning, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt under the Ptolemies, 305-30 BC* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 92–93. The Ptolemies thereby presented themselves as Egyptian pharaohs, keeping in motion the apparatus of the traditional, public Egyptian religion and cult which was focused on the pharaoh, in return for official, formal activities of legitimization carried out by the priests, such as worshiping statues of the Ptolemies and their queens and holding festivals celebrating their rule.

[181] Joseph Manning, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Structure of Land Tenure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 60–67, 83–85, 147. All Egyptians (not Greeks) were required to pay taxes and engage in litigation and contracting through temples. For textual evidence, see Edda Bresciani, "Registrazione Catastale e Ideologia Politica Nell'egitto Tolemaico: A Completamento Di "la Spedizione Di Tolomeo Ii in Siria in Un Ostrakon Demotico Inedito Da Karnak," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 6 (1983): 15–31 and Karl-Theodor Zauzich, "Zwischenbilanz Zu Den Demotischen Ostraka Aus Edfu," *Enchoria* 12 (1984): 67–86.

[182] Manning, *The Last Pharaohs*, 83.

[183] This can be seen in the extremely popular and widely copied *Book of Thoth* and (still unpublished) *Book of the Temple*.

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[184] See Mark Depauw, "Conflict Solving Strategies in Late Pharaonic and Ptolemaic Egypt: The Demotic Evidence," in *Außergerichtliche Konfliktlösung in Der Antike: Beispiele Aus Drei Jahrtausenden*, ed. Guido Pfeifer and Nadine Grotkamp, Global Perspectives on Legal History 9 (Frankfurt am Main: Max Planck Institute for European Legal History, 2017), 93–95; Brian Muhs, *The Ancient Egyptian Economy: 300-30 Bce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 215–19.

[185] This led to a curious situation where, from the Egyptian perspective on their own documents, there was much continuity, but when including Greek documentation into that perspective, there was a clear break with the past. See Willy Clarysse, "Prosopography and the Dating of Egyptian Monuments of the Ptolemaic Period," in *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten: Akten Des Internationalen Symposions, 27.-29. September 1976 in Berlin*, ed. Herwig Maehler and Volker Michael Strocka (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1978), 239.

[186] Starting in the 1st century CE, in the Roman period, Demotic contracts fell by the wayside since, as Brian Muhs has argued, they no longer represented the language spoken by the non-elite native populace. See Brian Muhs, "The Grapheion and the Disappearance of Demotic Contracts in Early Roman Tebtynis and Soknopaiou Nesos," in *Tebtynis Und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben Im Römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten Des Internationalen Symposions Vom 11. Bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen Bei Würzburg*, ed. Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 93–104.

[187] Carolin Arlt, "The Egyptian Notary Offices in the Ptolemaic Fayum," in *The Graeco-Roman Fayum: Texts and Archaeology*, ed. Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 15–26; Muhs, *The Ancient Egyptian Economy: 300-30 Bce*, 216ff.

In sum, the Ptolemaic Period presented the Egyptian priesthood with the support that allowed an inward-looking ecosystem of literature and reading to develop. Egyptian priests cultivated a Demotic reading culture based around works that would not circulate widely or "travel,"[191] in Sheldon Pollock's term,[192] representing an express commitment to the traditional, non-cosmopolitan culture.[193] While, at the same time, there were ample opportunities and incentives to interact with the Greek world,[194] the evidence of a wide-ranging, popular, and enduring Demotic literature shows the allure of remaining in the local sphere and not participating exclusively with the cosmopolitan system of culture and literature despite this mobility.

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[188] Willy Clarysse, "Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek," *Chronique d'Égypte* 68, no. 135–136 (1993): 186–201. A striking example of bilingualism on the part of native Egyptian scribes are the economic texts in the Medinet Madi/Narmuthis ostraca.

[189] Janet H. Johnson, "Ptolemaic Bureaucracy from an Egyptian Point of View," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, ed. McGuire Gibson and Robert Biggs, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 46 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1987), 123–31.

[190] Manning, *The Last Pharaohs*, 88.

[191] There is, nevertheless, evidence of Egyptian literature being translated into Greek, but not for the purposes of transmitting Egyptian literature to Greek circles, but for Egyptians who used Greek. For example, a Greek translation of the beginning of *The Prophecy of Petesis* (also known as "Nectanebo's Dream") was made by a *katochos* of the Serapeum in Saqqara named Apollonios. For discussion, see Ryholt, "Late Period Literature," 711 and Escolano-Poveda, *The Egyptian Priests of the Graeco-Roman Period: An Analysis on the Basis of the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman Literary and Paraliterary Sources*, 86–87. Translation of ritual texts into Greek are also known, viz. the *Book of the Temple*; see Joachim F. Quack, "Translating the Realities of Cult: The Case of the *Book of the Temple*," in *Greco-Egyptian Interactions: Literature, Translation, and Culture, 500 BCE-300 CE*, ed. Ian Rutherford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 267–86. For a brief overview and discussion of Greek texts which seem or purport to be translations from Egyptian, see Quack, ibid., 278-281.

[192] Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 21.

[193] Alexander Beecroft identifies such sociocultural systems of literature (a concept he treats using the metaphor of ecologies) which stand between a purely local and a cosmopolitan, transnational literature as

While ascribing a Ptolemaic context to the creation of the novellas and to Demotic literature in general is uncontroversial, the origins of the subset of Demotic narrative literature grouped together as the Inaros Cycle, which includes two of the novellas under study (*The Armor of Inaros* and *The Prebend of Amun*), is frequently ascribed to the Saite or even Assyrian Period.[195] This perspective on the historical depth of the stories that took shape in Demotic is identical with the traditional historical-critical perspective on *Jonah* and *Ruth* found in early 20th century biblical criticism discussed above, which held that earlier legends circulating orally were eventually put in writing and given a creative stamp by a *Verfasser*.[196] Although this is not the context in which to consider in detail the possibility of legendary antecedents to *Armor* and *Prebend*, it is important to show that the two Inaros novellas in their full literary realization are Ptolemaic Period products.

Armor and *Prebend* show unmistakable characteristics of the Ptolemaic system of

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"panchoric." They are characterized by more extensive circulation of literature than a purely local (which he calls "epichoric") literature, and a degree of self-awareness vis-a-vis the wider world within which they exist. Panchoric literatures, according to Beecroft, are concerned with effecting unity in the textual record as a way to reflect (and create) a kind of cultural subjectivity. This idea has particular resonance with the sustained interest in creating and reading literary narratives about the Third Intermediate Period as well as other eras of Egyptian history. Beecroft poses Classical Greece as one example. See Alexander Beecroft, *An Ecology of World Literature: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2015), 33–34.

[194] See Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 193–96 for an overview of many examples of Greek-Egyptian interaction from the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.

[195] Hoffmann, "Die Entstehung der demotischen Erzählliteratur"; Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 127–40.

[196] See p. 12.

Demotic literature: while *Prebend* looks inwards to Egyptian culture, *Armor* shows significant interaction with Greek literature. Instead of being small-scale textual aspects that point to, or rather give away, a date of composition,[197] amounting practically to a textual veneer that does not necessarily intersect the substance of the literature, these two broad kinds of characteristics—like the reference to Judges in *Ruth* and the portrayal of Nineveh in *Jonah*—show the inextricability of literary expression with a literary system. Since the examples of Greek influence on *Armor* are closely concerned with matters of plot, I will reserve the discussion of it for Chapter 4,[198] and treat *Prebend* as a representative example here, illustrating it with four examples:

1. An important component of the story of *The Prebend of Amun* is Petubastis's return of a cult image of Montu to Thebes, a feature of the novella which requires some textual reconstruction and which I will discuss in more detail in Ch. 3.[199] Based on the centrality of divine cult images for temple ritual as well as the public practice of religion,[200] this component of the novella's story draws on an Egyptian motif of the pious pharaoh reinstalling divine images which had been plundered or lost and restoring their cult, Found in 30th Dynasty inscriptions[201] this motif took an especially prominent role in the

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[197] For Demotic literature, cf. the oft-cited presence of the name of Ahura Mazda in the *Inaros Epic* as well as the curious mention of Gaugamela, which would only be of note as a place after Alexander. Kim Ryholt, however, argues that the reference to Gaugamela is part of a more widespread program of *imitatio Alexandri* in Demotic literature (Kim Ryholt, "*Imitatio Alexandri* in Egyptian Literary Tradition," in *The Romance Between Greece and the East*, ed. Tim Whitmarsh and Stuart Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 72–73).

[198] See p. 370.

[199] See below, p. 257.

[200] Cf. the Middle Kingom *Teaching for King Merikare*: "Let God be revered upon his path, he being made of costly stone and fashioned from copper" ([*try*].*tw nṯr ḥr wꜣ.t⸗f jry.w m ꜥꜣ.t msj.w* [*m ḥmty*]; 11.5).

[201] See David Klotz, "Two Studies on the Late Period Temples at Abydos," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 110 (2010): 153–54; Damien Agut-Labordère, "Persianism through Persianization: The Case of Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Persianism in Antiquity*, ed. Rolf Strootman and Miguel John Versluys, vol. 29 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 2017), 155–56.

early Ptolemaic period: as recorded in the Canopus, Raphia, Memphis, and Philae synodal decrees,[202] the Egyptian priesthood agreed to set up cult images of the Ptolemies and their queens in Egyptian temples in return for this and other pious acts.[203] Resonance with this aspect of Ptolemaic propaganda in *Prebend* is based in part on the phrase *tj ḥtp* "install."[204] The motif was given textual expression by Egyptian priests, or in cooperation with them, not only in Ptolemaic propaganda,[205] but in Demotic literature outside of

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[202] "The recovery of the sacred statues of the gods...was a persistent topos in the efforts by the early Ptolemies to represent themselves as ancient Egyptian pharaohs" (Günther Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, trans. Tina Saavedra (London: Routledge, 2001), 81). See texts and discussion in Damien Agut-Labordère, "Persianism through Persianization: The Case of Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Persianism in Antiquity*, ed. Rolf Strootman and Miguel John Versluys, vol. 29 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 2017), 150–53. Another important example not usually cited is the Famine Stele, in which a (fictional) royal decree includes the appointment of an overseer of the restoration of statues fallen into disrepair (Paul Barguet, *La stèle de la famine, à Séhel*, Bibliothèque d'étude 24 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1953), 31–32).

[203] The statues anchored a new cult where the Ptolemies and their queens would be worshipped as gods and carried in procession during festivals (hence the Ptolemaic epithet *synnaoi theoi*, "shrine-sharing gods"). See Paul Edmund Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), 7–9.

[204] Lit. "to cause to rest," found in *Prebend* D.2 and 8.3. This expression is used generally for bringing or returning something to a safe place where it belongs (e.g. a scroll, in *Second Setne* 5.13; a mummy in *First Setna* 4.11, 6, 25; *Armor* 6.10, 8.17; O Ḥor 19, vso. 9.19; P. London-Leiden 15.30) but is also found in the Raphia Decree, in which Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-204 BCE) is said to have restored divine images in temples after the defeat of Antiochus III at the Battle of Raphia in 217 BCE: "As for the divine images which were (formerly) in the temples, which Antiochus had harmed, he commanded that others be given as their replacements and installed (*tj ḥtp*) in their places"; see R. S. Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1996), 242–57. The expression is also found in the Memphis Decree (Rosetta stone) for the isntallation of the cult statues of Ptolemy V Epiphanes and Cleopatra I (ibid., 268-269).

[205] Agut-Labordère, "Persianism through Persianization: The Case of Ptolemaic Egypt," 154. David Lorton, "The Expression Iri Hrw Nfr," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 12 (1975): 23–31 and J. K. Winnicki, "Carrying off and Bringing Home the Statues of the Gods: On an Aspect of the Religious Policy of the Ptolemies towards the Egyptians," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 24 (1994): 149–90 argue that this was in fact an actual policy of the Ptolemies and not merely propaganda. For a critical overview, see Pierre Briant, "Quand Les Rois Écrivent l'histoire: La Domination Achéménide Vuè à Travers Les Inscriptions Officielles Lagides," in *Événement, Récit, Histoire Officielle: L'écriture de l'histoire Dans Les Monarchies Antiques: Actes Du Colloque Du Collège de France 2002*, ed. Nicolas Grimal and Michel Baud (Paris: Cybele, 2003), 173–86. It should be noted that the removal and restoration of statues from temples is a trope in Near Eastern royal inscriptions used to vilify impious rulers; e.g. in the Cyrus Cylinder (see Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002)), and was adopted into Greek historiography to vilify Xerxes (ibid., 545).

Prebend[206] as well as in hieroglyphic inscriptions of a strictly Egyptian context.[207] as well as in Ptolemaic propaganda.

2. The motif of statue return is a particular expression of a broader motif associated with the ideal pharaoh, found in numerous monumental inscriptions that record voyages up and down the Nile to establish or confirm his rule. Examples are attested in Middle Kingdom,[208] New Kingdom,[209] and Kushite Period (notably the Piye Stele) inscriptions. The most pertinent examples that resonate with *Prebend* are from the Third Intermediate

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[206] Besides *Prebend*, an unpublished collection of Djoser and Imhotep stories from Tebtunis in Demotic (P. Carlsberg 85), contains a story where Djoser recovers the forty-two limbs of Osiris (in idol form?) throughout the land of Assyria after a successful campaign, but instead of bringing them back to Egypt, is told in a dream that they are to stay (see Ryholt, "The Life of Imhotep (P. Carlsberg 85)"). The *Prophecy of the Lamb* (P. Vienna D 10000) depicts a messianic pharaoh discovering shrines of Egyptian gods erected around Nineveh in the distant fugure by Egyptian who were deported by a foreign conquerer (3.24-4.1; see Michel Chauveau, "L'Agneau revisité ou la révélation d'un crime de guerre ignoré," in *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*, ed. Richard Jasnow and Ghislaine Widmer (Atlanta: Lockwood, 2016), 37–69). There is no talk of returning the statues; rather, the discovery is presented as a marvel and, implicitly, as an eschatological inversion of the trope of a foreign conqueror plundering statues of Egyptian gods.

[207] The motif is found in the Bentresh Stele (Louvre C 284) which contains a pseudepigraphic narrative in hieroglyphic Egyptian presented as a royal inscription of Ramesses II, created by priests of the Khonsu shrine at Karnak as cultic propaganda (Michèle Broze, *La Princesse de Bakhtan: Essai d'analyse Stylistique*, Monographies Reine Élisabeth 6 (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1989)). In the story, a prince of Bactria ("Bakhtan" in the text) writes to the pharaoh in search of healing for a princess named Bentresh, sister of Ramesses's wife Neferure, and is eventually sent a state of Khonsu-the Authority. The prince decides to keep the statue after Bentresh is healed, but after a period of three years and nine months sends it back to Egypt on account of a vision where he saw the statue "having come out of his shrine as a falcon of gold, flying up toward Egypt" (see Ritner, *AEL* 365). Instead of being a cult image, however, the statue is likely akin to small healing statues like cippi. Unlike the other examples, the Bentresh Stele does not associate the discovery of statues abroad with the activity of a pharaoh, but presents the momentous occasion of a statue's return as the basis for the establishment of a new cult, funded by gifts sent with the statue by the prince.

[208] On the Abydos Stele of Neferhotep I, the pharaoh sails to Abydos from (presumably) Itjtawy to renew the festival of Osiris, after consulting with sacred scrolls in the palace library; Max Pieper, *Die grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos: ein Beitrag zur ägyptischen Religions- und Literaturgeschichte* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1927); Breasted, *ARE* 1:332-337.

[209] In his Great Abydos Inscription (*KRI* 2:323-336; Breasted, *ARE* 3:102-117), Ramesses II leaves Karnak (after celebrating a festival there) for Abydos, where he discovers that the necropolis is in ruins and, after summoning the official records of construction at the sacred district, that the work of his father Seti I is still incomplete. In the Coronation Inscription of Horemhab (Alan H. Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Haremhab," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39 (1953): 13–31; Breasted, *ARE* 3:12-19), the god Horus, not a pharaoh, is depicted travelling to Egypt after identifying the need to crown Horemhab as pharaoh; afterwards, Horemhab enters the palace as pharaoh and then himself travels throughout Egypt to restore temples.

and Saite Period erected at Thebes, relevant not only to the setting of *Prebend* but perhaps to its place of origin (the nearby Akhmim). In these inscriptions, three of which survive, a ruler based in the Delta travels to Thebes in order to secure his authority over the region by means of manipulating or controlling the office of the high priest of Amun. In all three, the pharaoh or his deputy reaches Thebes to great acclaim, and, as it happens, during a festival of Amun.[210] The theme of the pharaoh's journey is also found in the "sequel" to the *Prophecy of Nectanebo*.[211] In its use of the traditional motif of the pharaoh traveling elsewhere in Egypt to restore a cult, *Prebend* could also be said to be a prose fiction adaption of the genre of the *Königsnovelle*, a generic category for royal inscriptions, distinct from annals, which include third-person accounts in the classical language that depict a single pivotal event in the reign of a pharaoh which he accomplished through decisive action.[212] Emphasis is placed on how the pharaoh's plan is developed, including both his own action and his delegation of authority, which is often accorded formal praise by his advisors or another body. Although, unfortunately, too little of *Prebend's* beginning is preserved, it seems likely that Petubastis (whether through his fault or not) was depicted as falling far short of this ancient ideal.

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[210] In the Maunier or "Banishment" Stele (Louvre C. 256) of the High Priest Menkheperre, during the reign of Neferkare Amunemnisut (21st Dynasty), Menkheperre, summoned by Amun through an oracle, travels south to Thebes to quell a rebellion and is triumphantly received (Jürgen von Beckrath, "Die 'Stele der Verbannten' im Museum des Louvre," *Revue d'égyptologie* 20 (1968): 7–36; Robert K. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, vol. 21, Writings from the Ancient World 21 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 124–29). Similarly, in the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon inscribed on the Bubastite Portal at Karnak, Osorkon sails south from Hermopolis, landing at Thebes to the acclaim of the gods as destined to "repulse wrongdoing" (Ricardo A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, Analecta Orientalia 37 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1958); Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 21:348–77; see ll.22-26). Finally, the Adoption Stela of Psamtek I, erected in Karnak in the 26th Dynasty, ca. 656 BCE, shows even closer affinities with Prebend (Caminos, Ricardo A., "The Nitocris Adoption Stele," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50 (1964): 71–101; Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 21:575–82). In both texts, the pharaoh's parties head to Thebes from the Delta in order to make an agreement with the Theban priesthood concerning one of their children (Psamtek for his daughter to become God's Wife of Amun), with a goal of strengthening their control over the entire Nile Valley. Petbuastis corresponds to Psamtek, although the parallel is not exact, since the latter does not himself travel to Thebes, only his daughter Nitocris, whose correspondent in Prebend is Ankhhor. Both pharaohs are supported by allies and accompanied by an army. Both this stele and *Prebend* show a particular concern for describing the royal fleet. In both texts, the success of the pharaoh is based on the transfer of property rights.

[211] Ppreserved only in writing excercises, P. Carlsberg 424, 499, 499; Kim Ryholt, "Nectanebo's Dream or the Prophecy of Petesis," in *Apokalyptik Und Ägypten: Eine Kritische Analyse Der Relevanten Texte Aus Dem Griechisch-Römischen Ägypten.*, ed. A. Blasius and B. U. Schipper, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 107 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 221–41; *ADL* 182-183). Here, Nectanebo hurries to the town of Wenkhem after receiving the troublign news of an impending foreign invasion.

3. Before the conflict over the office of the High Priest of Amun becomes armed, the priest of Buto makes his case for rightful ownership. The language that he and the others use to describe the details of his case is drawn from an array of technical terms taken from the sphere of contracting. The word used for the actual holding that entitles the holder to the office is *sꜥnḫ* "prebend," and not the more relevant term *jꜣw.t* "office."[213] In the Saite Period, the term is used for land grants,[214] while in Demotic texts it is an annuity or

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[212] See *LÄ* III, 556-557; Antonio Loprieno, "The 'King's Novel,'" in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. Antonio Loprieno, Probleme Der Ägyptologie 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 277–95; Jansen-Winkeln, Karl, "Die ägyptische 'Königsnovelle' als Texttyp," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 83 (1993): 101–16; Spalinger, Anthony, "Königsnovelle and Performance," in *Times, Signs and Pyramids: Studies in Honour of Miroslav Verner on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Vivienne Gae Callender et al. (Prague: Faculty of the Arts, Charles University of Prague, 2011), 351–74. The genre was "discovered" by Alfred Hermann (*Die ägyptische Königsnovelle*), who used the term *Novelle* to identify an artistic, literary version of a historical, legendary event. The word "novella" in *Königsnovelle* is the legacy of Hermann and should not be confused with the way the term is used in the dissertation. Nevertheless, Hermann's teacher, André Jolles, defined *Novelle* much like Hermann Gunkel did, which means the *Königsnovelle* and the term "novella" used to describe the Joseph story are sibling concepts, both deriving from 19th century German *Literaturwissenschaft*.

[213] This term is used for *wꜥb*-priests as well as high priests (*ḥm-nṯr tpy*) in Demotic inscriptions and documents. See *DG* 245 and *CDD j*, 8 for examples.

[214] The earliest attestation of *sꜥnḫ* is in a hieroglyphic donation stele (Louvre E. 10572) from year 8 of Psammetichus I (Robert K. Ritner, "Third Intermediate Period Antecedents of Demotic Legal Terminology," in *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies. Copenhagen, 23-27 August 1999*, ed. Kim Ryholt, CNI Publications 27 (Copenhagen: The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), 353; Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 21:583), where it refers to a land grant. The word is based on the causative (s-) stem of the verb *ꜥnḫ*, "to live," and thus means something that produces sustenance or a livelihood for its owner. The term *sꜥnḫ* replaces the earlier term *ḥnk* "land gift" as the standard term in Demotic (Ritner, "Third Intermediate Period Antecedents of Demotic Legal Terminology," 353). An earlier, comparable term is *sꜣḥ*, found in New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period texts to refer to land endowed to a priest (Dimitri Meeks, "Les Donations Aux Temples Dans l'Égypte Du Ier Millénaire Avant J.-C.," in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the*

revenue, not property itself but income based on it.[215] In *Prebend*, being the legal owner of the *sꜥnḫ* entitles one to the office itself,[216] but the accompanying income is a topic of discussion as well.[217] The language used to describe possession, transfer, and contestation of the *sꜥnḫ* is drawn from the technical terminology of Demotic contracts. For example, *jr shy* "to have control over" (2.2, 12, 14);[218] *jr ẖr* "to be in the possession of" (3.20(?), 7.1-2);[219] *ḫꜣꜥ* "to transfer (ownership)" used with the preposition *j.jr-ḥr* (2.17-18,

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14th of April 1978, ed. Edward Lipiński, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 5–6 (Leuven: Peeters, 1979), 646n185).

[215] The first attestation of *sꜥnḫ* with this economic meaning in a Demotic document is in the *Petition of Petiese* 16.2, 4, 5. The term went on to signify documented revenue, including a stipend for holding an office, as well as annuity on property or an investment (Francis Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, vol. 3 vols. (London: Quaritch, 1909), 3:99n3). The commonest use of *sꜥnḫ* in Demotic legal documents of the Ptolemaic Period is in contracts where a man guarantees income to his wife based on his property holdings. *Codex Hermopolis* 4.7-8 contains a model *sꜥnḫ* contract. For examples of such contracts, see George R. Hughes and Richard Jasnow, *Oriental Institute Hawara Papyri: Demotic and Greek Texts from an Egyptian Family Archive in the Fayum (Fourth to Third Century BC)*, Oriental Institute Publications 113 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1997). The drawing up of an annuity contract is found in the memorable Tabubue scene in *First Setna* (5.19-20) as well as in a fragmentary Demotic story that is likely part of the *Story of Petese*; see P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt: A Contribution to Establishing the Legal Position of the Woman*, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 46–47; Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 168–69; Kim Ryholt, "An Elusive Narrative Belonging to the Cycle of Stories about the Priesthood at Heliopolis," in *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies: Copenhagen, 23-27 August 1999*, ed. Kim Ryholt, CNI Publications 27 (Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, 2002), 363.

[216] Cf. 7.1-4. In 3.21, Ankhhor takes off the priestly robes to put on his combat gear, which shows that the title had already been transferred; cf. also 2.17-18.

[217] In 10.16, Petubastis refers to "the prebend of the share (*tny.t*) of the priest of Amun." For *tny.t* meaning a stipend or income that stems from ownership of property, see George R. Hughes, "A Demotic Letter to Thoth," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17, no. 1 (1958): 11. The *Petition of Petiese* concerns a dispute over the ownership of a share to which a priest of Amun is entiteld to (see 3.11ff). In *Prebend* 3.6-8, the priest of Buto refers to "the prebends of the temple," implying that temple prebends belong to priests.

[218] Cf. Chicago Hawara Papyrus 4.4, 5.4, 7A.5, 9.5. See also Ritner, "Third Intermediate Period Antecedents of Demotic Legal Terminology," 352.

[219] Cp. the generic formulation *jnk pꜣ sꜥnḫ*, "The prebend is mine!" in 2.4. This term denotes the possession itself, normally expressed through a derivational use of the preposition *ẖr* lit. "underneath," but verbalized here (perhaps uniquely?) as *j.jr ẖr*. For *ẖr* denoting possession, see Chicago Hawara Papyrus 5.3 (3x) and *Codex Hermopolis* 2.7.

10.16);[220] *smy* “to dispute (ownership)” (2.24, 3.18-19);[221] *sṱꜣ* “to revert (ownership)” (3.20);[222] *mn mtw*+pronoun *mt mtw⸗f* “to have no disposal over it” (lit. “to not have anything to do with it”; 2.5);[223] *wy* “to cede (ownership)” (lit. “be far from”; F.14, cf. 10.15-17).[224] Finally, the priest of Buto uses the correct term *ḫrw* “plea” (lit. “voice”) for his contestation of the prebend, which consists of a long speech and a display of elaborate theological knowledge (see no. 4 below).[225] All of these technical terms are found in the speech of characters, both the plea of the priest of Buto and the ensuing verbal disputes, giving the dispute a strong air of verisimilitude. On the other hand, wedding the dispute over the lofty office with the quotidian language of the chancellery may have had an uncanny, perhaps humorous effect.

4. Finally, a significant portion of the priest of Buto’s plea is an extended exegetical

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[220] Cp. the less technical *tj* “to give” used in 3.11. For *ḫꜣꜥ* “transfer,” see, from the Asyut archive, P. BM 105600, 13 and 15 (Herbert Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut: From Papyri in the British Museum, Including an Account of a Trial Before the Laocritae in the Year B.C. 170* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), 79–80). The phrase *ḫꜣꜥ j.jr-ḥr* appears to be closely associated with land rights; see Françoise de Cenival, “Un document inédit relatif à l’exploitation de terres du Fayoum (P. dém. Lille, Inv. Sorb. 1186),” Revue d’égyptologie 20 (1968): 48–49.

[221] The verb *smy* is used generically for legal processes acting on a complaint made against someone in a court of law; see Sandra Lippert, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 5 (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2012), 184; Muhs, *The Ancient Egyptian Economy: 300-30 Bce*, 217–18. It is found *passim* in the Asyut archive (e.g. B I.8, 22; B ii.15). See also *Codex Hermopolis* 2.6, 6.15, 8.27.

[222] See Pestman, P. W., “‘Inheriting’ in the Archive of the Theban Choachytes (2nd Cent. BC),” in Aspects of Demotic Lexicography: Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19-21 September 1984, ed. Vleeming, S. P., Studia Demotica 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 1987), 62 (§6), 68-70 (§12).

[223] See Chicago Hawara Papyrus 5.9.

[224] Cf. Hughes and Jasnow, *Oriental Institute Hawara Papyri: Demotic and Greek Texts from an Egyptian Family Archive in the Fayum (Fourth to Third Century BC),* 76 for examples, also *DG* 78 and *CDD* w, 20.

[225] This term points to an oral basis for legal disputation, but its use in Ptolemaic documents denotes the written transcription of a plea that is submitted to a court (*laokritai).* Their written nature gave pleas a finality which allowed the judgment to be mad without any alteration or reformulation of the plea taking place. See Muhs, *The Ancient Egyptian Economy: 300-30 Bce*, 216; Lippert, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 176–77. For examples from the Asyut archive, see B iv.20 and B v.2. Once a written plea is submitted to a court, it cannot be changed (Lippert, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*, 177).

commentary that mimics, and likely parodies, a technical genre of discourse that was an important part of religious training. In Ch. 4, I will analyze this in detail as a mobilization, in Egyptian garb, of the technique of *ekphrasis*, arguably borrowed from Greek education, and nicely representing the literary potential of the Ptolemaic system of literature.[226]

These four examples draw from the multifaceted milieu of text production of Ptolemaic priest-scholars, relying on a thorough knowledge of traditional Egyptian genres as well as contemporary documentary and scholarly techniques. The theme of statue return resonates strongly with Ptolemaic propaganda, something that the audience of *Prebend* would have been involved in creating. Taken together, these features evince a general appeal of standing at a distance from Egyptian and Macedonian/Ptolemaic institutions alike and subjecting them to literary play.[227] *Prebend*, it seems, represents the full expressive potential of the Ptolemaic Period novella as an erudite literature of entertainment.

1.3.3. The Novella as Book

A third and final aspect of the Egyptian and Judean novella's distinction as a genre, besides its literary form and its prevalence after the Iron Age, is its footprint in reading or book culture. Absent any native Egyptian or Judean literary criticism, a crucial kind of evidence for the ancients' attitudes about the novellas as works of literature is how they were made into books, physical objects that allowed them to be realized in the intended way as verbal artworks.

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[226] See p. 370ff.

[227] For the association of play with complex and erudite literature in Middle Kingdom Egypt, see Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 101–7.

The points of access to a work of literature in textualized, book form, and the way in which the act of reading or performance was conditioned by features in and adjacent to the books themselves, is called paratext by Gérard Genette.[228] Distinct from the text that makes up the work of literary art itself, paratext frames the text of the works themselves and allows a work "to become a book" in the first place.[229] Genette makes the further distinction between "peritext," paratext that is associated closely with the book itself like titles, headings, and, in the modern world, blurbs and summaries on covers, and "epitext," which consists of text *about* books and relevant to how they are read and interpreted, such as, to give another modern example, interviews with authors heard on the radio or read in magazines—not in or on the books themselves. The former kind of paratext is relevant here.[230] As books, the novellas share many paratextual features with other genres of narrative literature, and with Judean and Egyptian book culture in general. There are also features that are unique to the genre, or have a particular effect when combined with others. Three kinds of paratext associated with ancient manuscripts of the novellas can be singled out: colophons (which include a consideration of titles), aids for reading, and what Genette calls the “publisher’s peritext,” or general book format. Colophons (though limited in number) contribute to our understanding of how novellas could be conceptualized as books in general. The final two kinds of peritext concern the handling of novellas as books, the first in performance, and the second, by scribes who copied and preserved them as reflecting use.

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[228] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[229] Genette, *Paratexts*, 1.

[230] As far as epitext goes, one ancient example would be lists of books, which are found in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period on scrolls (in Demotic and hieratic) as well as in temple inscriptions in hieroglyphics. No preserved examples list what appear to be novellas, or other strictly literary genres. Instead, they appear to be exclusively used for ritual texts. For examples and discussion, see Siegfried Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im Alten Ägypten: Verzeichnis der Buch- und Spruchtitel und der Termini technici* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990), 324–25; Dieter Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu* (Zürich: Artemis, 1994), 140–47; Kim Ryholt, "A Hieratic List of Book Titles (P. Carlsberg 325)," in *The Carlsberg Papyri 7: Hieratic Texts from the Collection*, ed. Kim Ryholt, CNI Publications 30 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006), 151–55; Kim Ryholt, "A Catalogue of Ritual Handbooks," in *The Carlsberg Papyri 11: Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond*, ed. Joachim F. Quack and Kim Ryholt, CNI Publications 26 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2019), 151–59. See also Kim Ryholt, "On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library: A Status Report," in *Tebtynis Und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben Im Römerzeitlichen Fajum*, ed. Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 157–63.

1.3.3.1. Colophons

Colophons survive for four novellas: *The Armor of Inaros, First Setna, Second Setna,* and in the Septuagint tradition of *Esther*. The first three are preserved on the ends of ancient manuscripts, while, with LXX *Esther,* the colophon is found in a received Late Antique text whose archetype was a scroll held in a library collection of a Hellenized Judean community in Egypt which was miraculously along with its main text.

The colophon in *The Armor of Inaros* is poorly preserved (26.x+12). The colophon of *Second Setna* is in much better condition, but it presents the barest of paratext, merely affirming that the copy is complete: “It is the end of the scroll, written...” (7.11).[231] Often, the name of the scribe who copied the scroll is given after “written,” but it is missing here.[232] While the colophon of *Second Setna* only refers to the text itself as a “scroll” (like that of the *Lamb of Bocchoris*[233]) other colophons identify the nature of even genre of the composition, such as the instructional text of P. Insinger, which calls it an “instruction” (*tj rḫ ꜥm,* lit. “a causing to be able to know”;

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[231] *pꜣ mnq n pꜣy ḏꜥm pꜣy sẖ.*

[232] For colophons in Egyptian literary texts including Demotic, see Giuseppina Lenzo Marchese, “Les colophons dans la littérature égyptienne,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 104, no. 1 (2004): 359–76. See also Kim Ryholt, “Scribal Habits at the Tebtunis Temple Library,” in *Variation in Scribal Repertoires from Old Kingdom to Early Islamic Egypt*, ed. Jennifer Cromwell and Eitan Grossman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 174; Joachim F. Quack and Kim Ryholt, *The Carlsberg Papyri 11: Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond*, CNI Publications 36 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2019), 502–3, 506–7.

[233] 4.10-12; see Chauveau, “L’Agneau revisité ou la révélation d’un crime de guerre ignoré,” 42.

33.13-15).[234] This is a new feature in Egyptian literature particular to Demotic.[235] One example of this, fortunately, is in the colophon of *First Setna* (omitting from the discussion here the scribe's name and the date): "It is a complete writing: the Story of Setna Khaemwas and Naneferkaptah and Ihweret his wife and Merib her son" (6.19-20).[236] The possibility that *sḏy* names the genre of the work was first suggested by Brugsch when announcing the discovery of *First Setna* in 1867.[237] The root of the noun *sḏy* is *ḏd* meaning "to speak," inflected with the causative prefix *s*. The Demotic verb *sḏy* is usually translated "to speak, narrate" (*DG* 482; *CDD* s, 525), and the noun, "speech, report, story" (*DG* 482; *CDD* s, 526). In earlier Egyptian, the cognate verb *sḏd* is used for an act of oral storytelling (e.g. *Shipwrecked Sailor* 139-140) or, more generally, any kind of oral narrative which can serve as an explanation (e.g. P. Anastasi 1, 9.4).[238] Based on its usage in Demotic, *sḏy* is used to identify narratives that are both oral and in writing,[239] and does not appear to be a name for a particular genre of storytelling, but a much more general designation for both oral narrative as well as a kind of verbal narrative art. There are numerous examples of the noun *sḏy* being used within works of prose fiction to describe a formal tale told by one character to another.[240] As Tait points out, the noun *sḏy* in these contexts is closely associated with the verb *sḏm* "to listen to."[241] In *Second Setna*, the plural form of the noun (*sḏy.w,* e.g. 6.32) is used to identify the story that Si-Osire/Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf magically read from the scroll, though a single story from a scroll is being read.[242] Günther Vittmann, drawing on the use of *sḏy* in the *Petition of Petiese* to name accounts of past events used for legal evidence (delivered orally and put in writing), argues that the word should be translated "events."[243] In a legal context, it is the event itself which is made admissible as evidence by an act of narration, and not the act of narration itself. It follows that the Egyptian idea of *sḏy* in the period of Demotic referred to the content as much as the speech act.

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[234] František Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1926).

[235] Lenzo Marchese, "Les colophons dans la littérature égyptienne," 368.

[236] *sẖ mnḳ pꜣy sḏy n stne ẖꜥ-m-wꜣs(.t) i͗rm nꜣ-nfr-kꜣ-ptḥ i͗rm i͗h(.t)-wre.t tꜣy⸗f rmṯ.t mr-i͗b<-Ptḥ> pꜣy⸗s šr*. For the name and the date, the latter which admits of difficulties of reading and interpretation, see Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 176–77.

[237] Heinrich Brugsch, "Le Roman de Setnau contenu dans un papyrus démotique du Musée égyptien à Boulaq," *Revue archéologique, 2nd series* 16 (1867): 162.

[238] See, generally, Donald B. Redford, "Scribe and Speaker," in *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Michael H. Floyd, SBL Symposium Series 10 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 176ff.

[239] See W. John Tait, "May Pharaoh Listen to the Story! Stories-within-Stories in Demotic Fictional Narrative," in *Lotus and Laurel: Studies on Egyptian Language and Religion in Honour of Paul John Frandsen*, CNI Publications 39 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2015), 391–401; Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 233 for a brief discussion (esp. note 80).

This dual meaning accords with the expression that includes *sḏy* in the colophon of *First Setna*: "The Story of Setna Khaemwas and Naneferkaptah and Ihweret His Wife and Merib Her Son." This appears to preserve the way the work as a whole would have been identified and referred to, or its title, describing both the general kind of literature it belonged to as well as a memorable aspect of its content.[244] Notably, the content is identified with its main characters—even the child Merib, who, as far as can be ascertained from the novella in its current form, does not play a major part in the story. The genitival relationship of the two terms in the title is objective: it is a story *about* these figures, in accordance with the event-focused meaning of the term. Since titles like this are not normally given in the colophons of Demotic texts, the title of *First Setna* was judged by the scribe who copied the scroll to be an important paratext needed for the reader, along with the name of the scribe and the date of copying. Given the existence of several other works of prose fiction about Setna Khaemwas, some of which seem to have similar stories to *First Setna*, and even include Naneferkaptah,[245] the colophon may exist to differentiate the work on this scroll from others, which could have been of similar length and copied by the same scribe (and thus looked the same), and also, when taking a quick glance at its contents, not easy to tell apart from other similar stories. This would explain why the child Merib is named, despite playing a very minor role in the novella.[246]

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[240] As in "The Story of Djed-her," 5-6 (W. John Tait, "Pa-Di-Pep Tells Pharaoh the Story of the Condemnation of Djed-Her: Fragments of Demotic Narrative in the British Museum," *Enchoria* 31 (2009 2008): 113–43); the "Swallow and the Sea," 17 (Philippe Collombert, "Le conte de l'hirondelle et de la mer," in *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies: Copenhagen, 23-27 August 1999*, ed. Kim Ryholt, CNI Publications 27 (Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, 2002), 59–76; see Ritner in *AEL*, 494-496); throughout the *Myth of the Sun's Eye,* e.g. 2.6-7 (Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge: nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I. 384* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1994)); "Amasis and the Skipper," 13-14 (Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris nebst den auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehenden Texten*, Demotische Studien 7 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914), 27–28; Ritner in *AEL,* 450-452). Elsewhere, the cognate verb is used more generally to describe the recounting in narrative form that a character can do, as when, in *First Setna,* Setna "tells" Pharaoh what happened to him after he robbed the scroll of Thoth (6.5)—the *sḏy* Setna tells Pharaoh is not repeated by the narrator.

[241] Tait, "May Pharaoh Listen to the Story! Stories-within-Stories in Demotic Fictional Narrative".

[242] See p. 362.

[243] See P. Rylands 9, 4.4, 5.13-14, 6.20, 11.17); see Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9. Teil I: Text und Übersetzung. Teil II: Kommentare und Indizes,* 355 and Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 233n80.

A colophon preserved at the end of the Septuagint textual tradition of *Esther* and presumably present in its original scroll archetype, suggests a similar disambiguating use of this specific kind of paratext. While it does not name genre or text type, it does include what appears to be a title:

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[244] For titles including both generic specifications (like “The Novel”) as well as a title in a more strict sense, see Genette, *Paratexts*, 57–58.

[245] Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 247ff; Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III: Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur*, 37–51. For an example, see p. 300.

[246] This may also explain why the scroll of *First Setna* uses column numbers despite its short length (only six columns). The numbers would not have helped keep track of one’s place in the scroll (as is clearly the case in lengthy Roman-period scrolls which use column numbers; see Ryholt, “Scribal Habits at the Tebtunis Temple Library,” 168), but to help differentiate *First Setna* from other Setna stories.

> LXX Esther F:11 (colophon)
>
> Ἔτους τετάρτου βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας εἰσήνεγκεν Δωσίθεος ὅς ἔφη εἶναι ἱερεὺς καὶ λευείτης καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιστολὴν τῶν φρουραί ἣν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ ἑρμηνευκέναι Λυσίμαχον Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἐν Ιερουσαλήμ
>
> In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy[247] and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and a Levite, and Ptolemy his son, brought the above Letter of Purim, which they said was authentic and had been translated by Lysimachus son of Ptolemy, a member of the Jerusalem community.

Esther as a whole is apparently referred to as the “Letter of Purim,”[248] a phrase that references the description of Esther’s letter in LXX Est 9:29.[249] Since the word ἐπιστολή strictly means “letter” and is not a synonym for βίβλιος “book-scroll,” this means that a particular feature of the story (the letter sent by Mordecai and Esther to decree the commemoration of the defeat of their enemies on the 14th of Adar) can stand, as a synechoche, for the work as a whole and even be given as its title. If this was a widespread convention, it stood in distinction from the use of the name(s) of protagonists for titles, which is seen in *First Setna* and which became enshrined in the scriptural traditions of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament.[250]

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[247] Argued by Benno Jacob, “Das Buch Esther bei dem LXX,” *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 10 (1890): 274–80 to be Ptolemy IX Soter II (117-107, 88-80 BCE) and by Elias J. Bickerman, “The Colophon of the Greek Book of Esther,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 63, no. 4 (1944): 339–62 to be Ptolemy XII Auletes (reigned 80-58 BCE).

[248] Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 258n2; Bickerman, “The Colophon of the Greek Book of Esther,” 350; Carey A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, The Anchor Bible 44 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 251.

[249] “Esther the queen, daughter of Aminadab, and Mordecai the Judean wrote down what they did as well as a confirmation of the letter about Purim” (καὶ ἔγραψεν Εσθηρ ἡ βασίλισσα θυγάτηρ Αμιναδαβ καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος ὁ Ιουδαῖος ὅσα ἐποίησαν τό τε στερέωμα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῶν Φρουραι, 9:29). MT Esther 9:29 has them writing “the second letter of Purim” (אֵת אִגֶּרֶת הַפּוּרִים הַזֹּאת הַשֵּׁנִית). For the convoluted picture that this represents and an attempt to make sense of the MT with and without emendation, see Michael V. Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 123–25, who argues that the general idea of the story (in the MT version) at this point is that Esther wrote a second letter to confirm, in virtue of her authority as queen, the letter Mordecai already wrote (9:20ff).

[250] Bickerman goes on to argue that the reason for this designation was that Judeans in Egypt considered Esther to be a “festal letter requiring common acceptance of Purim,” like one concerning Hanukkah reproduced in Second Maccabees 1:1-9 (“The Colophon of the Greek Book of Esther,” 350). See also Charles C. Torrey, “The

Unfortunately, we do not have colophons attached to other reconstructible versions of *Esther,* or other works of Hellenistic Judean literature in general, to know if adding a colophon like this was the norm in a Judean library to distinguish among different copies of the same work. Nevertheless, the presence of a colophon here could be taken to imply that this copy of *Esther* appeared markedly different from other copies held in the same collection in a way that—the author of the colophon feared—could raise doubts about its authenticity.[251] As Bickerman observed, colophons like this were appended to new acquisitions in general in Hellenistic libraries like at Alexandria in order to affirm the pedigree of the copy.[252] For a similar reason, this copy of *Esther* could have been given a pedigree which connected it to another reading community, that of Jerusalem, a connection that may itself have been an argument for its authenticity (assuming the reading community of Jerusalem had that kind of innate authority), but also could have served as a rationale for its difference: this is *Esther,* yes, but a Jerusalem version of it.

As paratext, both of these colophons intervene in unaccustomed ways to ensure that the book-scroll in hand, when treated as a work of literature and as a novella, were also treated *as* a Setna story and *as* a version of *Esther*. For the latter in particular, especially given the diverse editions of the novella preserved in the Hebrew and Greek traditions, this kind of paratext concerning not merely textual accuracy but compositional identity presumes a degree of

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Older Book of Esther," *The Harvard Theological Review* 37, no. 1 (1944): 1–40.

[251] Carey A. Moore suggests that the *raison d'être* for this rare colophon in general is that the individual who copied or accessioned the scroll for their library had "reservations about either the authenticity or the accuracy of this particular text, possibly because he was aware of another competing Greek translation" (Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, 251).

[252] Bickerman, "The Colophon of the Greek Book of Esther," 340–43.

flexibility about what can be identified as the same work of literature. In terms of the novella as a genre of prose fiction, these two rare examples of descriptive colophons both point to the content of their stories (either, in shorthand, by naming characters or important events) as *enough information to identify the works*.

1.3.3.2. Aids for Reading

Book-scrolls of Egyptian and Judean novellas are characteristic of ancient literary book-scrolls in general in their general dearth of paratext that aids in the reading process, specifically, in their limited and sporadic use of spacing to demarcate sections, and *paragraphoi*-like signs to mark different speakers,[253] as well as *scripta continua* with little punctuation or other markers of prosody.[254] Though describing books from Graeco-Roman antiquity, especially unearthed at Oxyrhynchus, William Johnson's summary of the book-scroll as an artifact is equally applicable to Egyptian and Judean book-scrolls: "the net effect" of the general lack of reading aids, and the high bar of reading *scripta continua*, is not designed "for ease of use, much less for mass readership."[255] On the contrary, book-scrolls were an "egregiously elite product."[256] Although the sample size of surviving ancient manuscripts is not ideal, especially for the Judean novellas, there is a marked absence of reading aids in manuscripts of the novellas like spacing or paragraphing.[257] In lieu of this kind of paratext, the reader-performer of the novellas had to be confident enough in articulating what they read as their eye moved along to be able to keep track of where they are in the story and even glance ahead in preparation for what comes next.[258] Furthermore, the reader-performer was also faced with the challenge of reading the role of both narrator and character, not only speaking for the duration of the entire text, but embodying in some way the voices of characters, virtual human subjects that the audience has to picture and understand in order to follow the story.[259] The burden of dramatic reading would also have been felt with the numerous embedded speech genres (whether parodied or not), especially poetic ones like prayers and hymns often spoken by characters. Thus, a performance-oriented reading of the relatively paratext-less running text of novella book-scrolls was a highly skilled art, beyond linguistic competence.

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[253] *Paragraphoi* and other similar markers are found throughout the Dead Sea Scrolls (Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 167–75) but are not found on any book-scroll fragments containing the novellas.

[254] For the Graeco-Roman book-scroll, see William Johnson, "The Ancient Book," in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 256–65 and L. Hurtado and C. Keith, "Writing and Book Production in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 1: From the Beginnings to 600,* ed. R. Marsden and E. Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 65–66.

[255] Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture,* 20.

[256] Ibid., 21.

The general dearth of spacing and paragraphing or other section indicators also reflects the novellas' nature as complete stories that are not easily broken into sections, but were generally read in single sittings. Any divisions would have been made *ad hoc* in the running text by a scribe, based on their intuition of breaks in the story and to aid in their reading or recitation. If a reading of lengthier novellas, such as *Judith* and *Armor,* was broken up into more than one sitting, which cannot be ruled out, where to stop would be up to the reader-performer based on their own sense of the story. In a longer story, a good stopping point would be a pause in the action between major scenes. One potential example can be found in *The Armor of Inaros,* after the summarizing scene where the arriving warriors are named as their ships land at Gazelle Lake: the scene culminates with a rare example of the narrator uncharacteristically speaking as if directly to a narratee, and in a markedly parallelistic fashion:

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[257] Some manuscripts the Judean novellas from Qumran, as is common there, employ blank lines and spacing to mark units of texts, but none are attested with certainty in the manuscripts of the Egyptian novellas, although the practice is attested (though uncommon); see Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, 2004, 134–55. For two possible *spatia* in P. Krall, see Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 22. In Egypt, uninscribed lines and spaces are used in some of the Saqqara papyri and in some narrative texts from Tebtunis (e.g. P. Carlsberg 710 rto.). See Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, 131.

[258] See Johnson's discussion of Quintillian's program for becoming a good reader (Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture*, 28ff.).

[259] While it is unknown if reader-performers would change their voice and speak in the voices of characters, it is hard to rule out some degree of impersonation, especially when it comes to the extended, dramatic, and emotional addresses by characters found in many of the novellas.

> *The Armor of Inaros* 18.3-7
>
> *nm pꜣ ỉ.ỉr nwe r ḳbḥ ẖr ꜣpt r pꜣ ym ẖr ly nm* [*pꜣ*] *ỉ.ỉr nwe r pꜣ šy tꜣ gḥsy.t ẖr tꜣ mhꜣ.w ỉr.t-ḥr-r⸗w ỉw⸗w hmhm m-ḳty kꜣ.w r-ỉw⸗w ḳs nmty m-ḳty mꜣ r.ỉw⸗w stst m-ḳty lby.t*
>
> “Who has sighted the cool place full of birds, the sea full of fish? Who has sighted Gazelle Lake full of the family of Inaros? While they roar like bulls, while they are strong like lions, while they claw like lionesses?

Such junctures in the plots of the novellas that could be used as clean breaks in storytelling, however, are rare. As I will show when studying the poetics of plot of the novellas, the plots are highly cohesive, non-episodic, and consist of a continuous build of tension.

1.3.3.3. Book Format

The third and final kind of paratext relevant to the novellas, existing on a high *peri*textual level, is the format or presentation of novellas as complete compositions in books. This is what Genette calls (anachronistically, in its application to ancient literature) “the publisher’s peritext”: “the zone that exists merely by the fact that a book is published...in one or several more or less varied presentations.”[260] Though not strictly a textual phenomenon in that it does not consist itself of text, how novellas were presented as compositions in and through book-scrolls is an important indicator of how the genre was conceived, especially given the lack of other paratext beyond the few examples discussed above.

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[260] Genette, *Paratexts,* 16–36 (for the quotation, see p. 16).

For the Egyptian and Judean novella, the ancient book format was the book-scroll. What was conceived to be one literary work or composition was originally made into its own book-scroll, as long as it could fit[261] and there were enough blank scrolls to go around.[262] Unrolling a book-scroll is the first paratextual threshold that a reader crosses, signaling to them that the text inside is meant to be considered as a book. This does not mean that the text inside as a whole was always ascribed by readers to a single authority behind the text (the theoretical implied author): texts copied as book-scrolls also include anthologies of previously-existing works as well as composite works made into new kinds of wholes.[263] When it comes to specific genres of literature, some include features of both, such as story-collections using frame narratives, which often use paratext such as headings, rubrics, or even verbal cues alone to demarcate the framed stories from the framing narrative, allowing the stories to be searched out and read on their own. For true anthologies,[264] distinctions normally take the paratextual form of blank lines or larger intermargins, making it possible for multiple works to be inscribed on a single scroll. Unlike true anthologies, book-scrolls of the fully composite type do not preserve distinctions between the component works.

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[261] Menahem Haran, “Book-Size and the Device of Catch-Lines in the Biblical Canon,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 26 (1985): 1–11. For Judean literature at Qumran: Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, 2004, 74. As for works that took up more than one scroll, besides Genesis-Kings and the Chronistic History, Ryholt has argued that *The Story of Petese* was written across two separate scrolls (see Kim Ryholt, *The Carlsberg Papyri 6: The Petese Stories II (P. Petese II)*, CNI Publications 29 (Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, 2006), 26).

[262] Besides true anthologies (discussed below), anthological book-scrolls could contain a mixture of texts, sometimes in extract, for , e.g. the scroll containing the *Demotic Chronicle* from Egypt (Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik*). Papyrus Amherst 63 may be another example of this kind of anthology. Anthologies like this may have been made due to scarcity of writing materials, or have been intended to serve as working copies of texts—not as literary book-scrolls.

[263] E.g. the Penteatuch or 1 Esdras. It is difficult to find an example of such composite works from Egypt, although the unpublished *Inaros Epic* is a possibility.

[264] David Stern uses the word anthology for both of these kinds of works, depending on whether they

Since scrolls (whether papyrus or leather) are easily made as long as needed, as well as reused and assembled from discarded sheets and fragments,[265] book-scrolls containing more than one composition set clearly apart from each other will tend to be deliberately anthological, assembled together as a book-scroll. Conversely, works that are considered to be independent and desired to be read that way will tend to be inscribed on their own book-scroll, making up a one-to-one ratio of composition to volume. On the other hand, ultralong scrolls could be used to bridge compositions that normally would exist across more than one scroll, or to anthologize other normally independent works. Such ultralong scrolls are known from rabbinic Judaism[266] as well as from Roman Egypt.[267] Examples of the former, like the *Sefer Torah*, were used in liturgy, while other combinations of works on ultralong scrolls (such as the entirety of the Prophets or the Writings) were made for other purposes, judging by the controversy in rabbinic discourse concerning their treatment.[268]

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preserve distinctions among the anthologized works (for which I reserve the term “anthology”) and ones which blur the distinctions (David Stern, “The Anthology in Jewish Literature: An Introduction,” in *The Anthology in Jewish Literature*, ed. David Stern (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1–11). Nathan Mastnjak refers to the former as explicit, and the latter as implicit anthologies, “obscuring” their “own nature as a collection” (Nathan Mastnjak, “The Book of Isaiah and the Anthological Genre,” *Hebrew Studies* 61 (2020): 52).

[265] Ryholt, “Scribal Habits at the Tebtunis Temple Library,” 155–61.

[266] See Menahem Haran, “Archives, Libraries, and the Order of the Biblical Books,” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 22 (1993): 61; B. Mordecai Ansbacher and Cecil Roth, “Books,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 71–72; David Stern, *The Jewish Bible: A Material History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 22.

[267] From Tebtunis, a copy of the *Myth of the Sun’s Eye* (PSI Inv. D 104 + P. Carlsberg 970), comprising 124 columns, and the *Inaros Epic* (P. Carlsberg 164), containing 46 columns of extremely small writing. See Ryholt, “Scribal Habits at the Tebtunis Temple Library,” 168.

[268] Haran, “Archives, Libraries, and the Order of the Biblical Books,” 61; Ansbacher and Roth, “Books,”

The book format of both Egyptian and Judean novellas contrasts sharply with that of short stories, which are never attested in book form on their own. From Egypt, short stories are found on book-scrolls in story-collections which have frame narratives, such as *The Story of Petese*[269] and *The Myth of the Sun's Eye.*[270] In the former, the individual stories are not kept distinct in the running text through true paratext, but through embedded speech.[271] Another example, "Amasis and the Skipper," is found in an anthology using blank space to present it alongside animal fables, regulations for priests, an selection of Egyptian law codified under Darius, and a text concerning temple finance under Cambyses.[272] Another source of short stories from Graeco-Roman Egypt is a jug formerly held in the Berlin Museum and destroyed in the Second World War which contained several examples(referred to as the *Krugtexte*)[273] framed as letters and probably copied as writing practice, not as a book.[274] Judean short stories from this

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[269] Kim Ryholt, *The Carlsberg Papyri 4: The Story of Petese Son of Petetum and Seventy Other Good and Bad Stories (P. Petese)*, CNI Publications 23 (Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, 1999); Kim Ryholt, *The Carlsberg Papyri 6: The Petese Stories II (P. Petese II)*, CNI Publications 29 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006)

[270] Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge*; Françoise de Cenival, *Le mythe de l'oeil du soleil: translittération et traduction avec commentaire philologique*, Demotische Studien 9 (Sommerhausen: Gisela Zuazich, 1988)

[271] See Ryholt, *The Petese Stories II*, 4–6: the baboons of the frame narrative (who tell the short stories) explicitly introduce the story they are about to tell, using the same formula throughout the work, and give each both a number and a category (a story of "scorn of women" or "praise of women"). When finished telling the story, each baboon noted that it was complete and gave some kind of title or mnemonic for the story (this can only be inferred, however, based on syntax)—a verbal colophon. Although the short stories are kept distinct, and could be referenced individually (especially because of the numbering), the speaking voice is continuous and coherent throughout.

[272] Found on the first column of the verso of P. Bibliothèque Nationale 215, the recto of which contains the *Demotic Chronicle*. See Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik*. Since "Amasis and the Skipper" was only copied in extract, starting from the beginning but ending in the middle of the story, the scroll, though an anthology of some kind, was apparently not meant to be a source for the complete reading or performance of the work, used perhaps as a florilegium of different genres.

[273] Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Texte auf Krügen*, Demotische Studien 5 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912).

[274] *ADL* 254.

period are fewer in number and are mostly associated with what can be called Daniel literature. In the Hebrew Bible, this can be found in the book of Daniel, specifically the story-collection of chapters 1-6, a collection that is itself anthologized with apocalyptic material making up the second half of the book. Short stories featuring Daniel and other associated characters were composed in Hebrew as well as Aramaic, and are were anthologized, as far as the Qumran evidence suggests, using blank lines to keep the stories distinct.[275] The textual form of the stories making up Dan 1-6 prior to their anthologization is unknown, but were likely adapted and transcribed from oral stories as well as written archetypes,[276] and possibly even composed anew when the anthology was made. Three other short stories were collected with the book-scroll of Daniel in the Greek Bible (as part of the "Additions to Daniel," along with the "Prayer of Azariah"): "Susanna," and two stories which now make up a unit commonly referred to as "Bel and the Dragon" (or, perhaps two episodes of one story).[277] Besides the Daniel literature, other potential Judean short stories have to be reconstructed from composite book-scrolls which do not keep them distinct paratextually, but have to be seen as such through literary criticism (in the traditional biblical sense).[278] It is technically possible, and perhaps even likely, that short stories were at some point inscribed on their own book-scrolls. There is no surviving evidence for this, however, suggesting that the trend was to give this genre a literary footprint only in anthological or composite contexts. The Egyptian and Judean short story, then, is technically not a genre of literature in the strict sense.

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[275] See 4QDan^a, frag. 3, which preserves the transition between chs. 2 and 3 (viewable at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362105).

[276] One of the stories in Daniel 1-6 was adapted from a source that should not technically be called a short story, namely the text of Dan 3:31-4:34, which is a first-person dramatic monologue of Nebuchadnezzar which recounts (in its fictional situation of address) an edict of the king, spoken in the first person, to his entire kingdom concerning a miracle that happened (see Dan 3:31 and 4:34). This text closely resembles the Aramaic "Prayer of Nabodinus" text found at Qumran (4Q242). See John J. Collins, "4QPrayer of Nabonidus Ar," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. George J. Brooke et al., Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 22 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 83–93; Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 4th ed. (London: Penguin, 1997), 614. For more discussion of the relationship between these texts, see Carol A. Newsom, "Why Nabonidus? Excavating Traditions from Qumran, the Hebrew Bible, and Neo-Babylonian Sources," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuller, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 92 (Leiden: Brill, 57-79); Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Prayer of Nabonidus in the Light of Hellenistic Babylonian Literature," in *Jewish Cultural Encounters in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern World*, ed. Mladen Popović, Myles Schoonover, and Marijn Vandenberghe, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 178 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 64–75.

[277] These texts are found in Old Greek and Theodotion texts of Greek Daniel.

The anthologies, excerpts, and reconfigurations of short stories in Egypt and Judea stand in marked contrast to the novellas, which are almost always, as far as the evidence shows, configured with a one-to-one ratio of composition to volume. This fact is starkest in Judean literature, which I will treat first.

Direct, ancient evidence of the book-scroll format of the novellas is from the Dead Sea Scrolls, and unfortunately scanty. *Jonah* is found in three copies from Qumran[279] and the Greek translation of 8ḤevXII gr from the Nahal Hever; as uniquely part of an anthology, it is a special case to be considered separately below. *Ruth* is found in four copies from Qumran,[280] and *Tobit* in six.[281] *Esther* itself is not attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls,[282] although other works read there seem to allude to or at least presume knowledge of it.[283] The only distinct feature of book format related to the copies of the novellas from Qumran is the use of small format scrolls, which contained fewer words and lines per column. Two copies of *Ruth* (2QRuth^{a} and 4QRuth^{b}) and one of *Tobit* (4QpapTob^{a} ar) were inscribed in such a format, a fact evidenced by the small number of lines each had per column (4(!), 11, and 13 respectively).[284] Besides the novellas, the narrative work 4QTales of the Persian Court (4Q550, 7 lines per column) as well as copies of Lamentations[285] and the Song of Songs are found in this format. It has been argued that the use of the small format for texts like these shows that they were considered to be entertainment literature.[286] As a glimpse at the kinds of texts found in Tov's listing of small-format scrolls shows,[287] the determining factor concerning which kinds of texts were copied onto short scrolls

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[278] Such as the Elijah stories from Kings. See Simeon Chavel, "Compositry and Creativity in 2 Samuel 21:1-14," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 122, no. 1 (2003): 23–52 for the identification of originally independent stories about David which were incorporated with other material at the end of Samuel. From the Graeco-Roman period, another example is the "Tale of the Guardsmen" which is currently preserved as 1 Esdras 3:1-5:6. Whatever its original form, it was included in 1 Esdras, and likely modified, to be a background story that explains why Zerubabbel found favor with Darius.

[279] 4QXII^{a}, 4QXII^{f}, 4QXII^{g}.

[280] 2QRuth^{a}, 2QRuth^{b}, 4QRuth^{a}, and 4QRuth^{b}.

[281] Five Aramaic (4QpapTob$^{a\text{-}d}$ ar) and one Hebrew (4QTob^{e}).

[282] Note, however, that Chronicles, the longest biblical scroll, only survives in a small fragment containing portions of but five legible lines of text (4QCh = 4Q118).

[283] Shemaryahu Talmon, "Was the Book of Esther Known at Qumran?," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2, no. 3 (1995): 249–67. Cf. also the list in Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*, Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011),

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186, though not this resource only lists verbal resemblances and is not itself a reliable list of allusions. For possible allusions to *Esther* in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, see J. Finkel, "The Author of the Genesis Apocryphon Knew the Book of Esther," in *Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of E. L. Sukenik*, ed. Y. Yahin and C. Rabin (Jerusalem: Hekhal Ha-Sefer, 1962), 63–182 (in Hebrew), discussed by Kristin De Troyer, "Once More, the So-Called Esther Fragments of Cave 4," *Revue de Qumrân* 19, no. 3 (2000): 411–13. If correct, this would not say anything about the Qumran library, only the author of the *Apocryphon*, suggesting that *Esther* was widely known in the time period in Judean circles. Jonathan Ben-Dov, "A Presumed Citation of Esther 3:7 in 4QDb," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11, no. 1 (1999): 282–84 argues that the scribe who copied 4Q Damascus Document (4Q267) at Qumran inadvertently betrayed their knowledge of the novella by miscopying a phrase using a collocation only found in *Esther*. If correct, this, unlike the potential allusions in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, would show that *Esther* was known and probably read at Qumran. The oldest copy of Esther is a codex (P. Chester Beatty 967) of the LXX text which follows Ezekiel and Daniel; see Siegfried Kreuzer, "Papyrus 967: Its Significance for Codex Formation, Textual History, and Canon History," in *The Bible in Greek: Translation, Transmission, and Theology of the Septuagint*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 255–71.

[284] Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, 2004, 79–80.

[285] According to Tov, 4QLam "may have contained all five *Megillot* or at least more than Lamentations alone. The first preserved column...starts at the top with Lam 1:1b, and since the column length of the scroll is known (10-11 lines), the preceding column would have contained at least the first line of the book, a few empty lines, and the end of the book preceding Lamentations" (Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 70 (see table 10)). The claim that the scroll contained other copies of the *Megillot* is based solely on the association of these five works (Sons of Songs, *Ruth*, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and *Esther*) in later Judaism and their grouping together in the Masoretic bibles.

[286] First suggested by Milik, "Les Modèles Araméens Du Livre d'Esther Dans La Grotte 4 de Qumrân," 363–65; see Wills, *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World*, 72 and Lawrence M. Wills, *Judith: A Commentary on the Book of Judith*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2019), 94.

[287] Tov, ibid.

appears to be a combination of the size of the composition and the way it was read or used: alongside copies of entertaining literary texts like *Ruth*, *Tobit*, and the court tales of 4Q550 can be found copies of incantations, prayers, hymns, sayings, and calendars, as well as excerpts from larger works (4QExod^{e}). Thus, in Genette's terms, the "publisher's" peritext of the small-scale book format suggests that these copies were meant for private use in non-formalized contexts.

None of these ancient fragments of the novellas are complete or even represent substantial remains of the complete texts,[288] and although no editor has included them with fragments of other distinct compositions as part of the same book-scroll, it cannot be ruled out that they were anthologized in some way. Though the list is small, there are several sure examples of single book-scrolls containing more than one literary work.[289] According to Michael Wechsler, the book-scroll containing 4QTales of the Persian Court (4Q550) contains not one but three separate narrative works,[290] which suggests it could be a story-collection like Daniel 1-6, or a looser anthologization of independent works.[291] There are also examples of works that were originally independent scrolls that have been inscribed together. The most certain examples are 4QpaleoGen-Exod^{l}, which preserves the last word of Genesis, three empty lines, and the beginning of Exodus, as well as several copies of the Twelve Prophets (MurXII, 4QXII^{b}, 4QXII^{g}, and 8ḤevXIIgr), all of which use blank lines to separate works or compositions.[292]

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[288] The fragment with the most coverage of the entire composition is 4QRuth^{a}, which includes 1:1-12, 2:13-23, 3:1-8, and 4:3-4, less than 1/3rd of the text preserved in the Masoretic Text. Aside from these, the oldest copy of *Judith* is extremely small P.Oxy.LXXV 5020, containing only a few words from 6:16-17 and 7:1-2, dated by its editor to the 4th century CE, and which may be a leaf from a codex. An ostracon in Cairo bearing Jud 15:2 (Cairo, IFAO Ostracon 215) dates to the second half of the 3rd century CE; see J. Schwartz, "Un fragment grec du livre de Judith," *Revue Biblique* 52 (1946): 534–37.

[289] See Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, 2004, 36–37.

[290] Wechsler, "Two Para-Biblical Novellae from Qumran Cave 4: A Reevaluation Fo 4Q550".

[291] Note, however, that 4Q550 is a small format scroll (to be discussed below), suggesting that it was not very long.

One example of what we could call the sporadic anthologization of a novella can be seen with *Ruth*. There is indirect evidence that *Ruth* was associated with the Former Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings) at least far back as the 1st century CE and attached to the scroll of Judges, probably by copying it. Origen claims that Jews considered Judges and *Ruth* to count as one book (παῤ αὐτοῖς ἐν ἑνί) which was called Σωφτειμ,[293] suggesting that the two were inscribed on the same scroll. Similarly, Jerome says that Jews combine (*conpingunt*) *Ruth* with Judges, and that these together were “stitched” (*subtextunt*) to Joshua. Jerome describes another tradition where *Ruth* and Lamentations do not follow Judges and Jeremiah, but are included individually among the writings.[294] The association of Ruth with Judges is also found in Josephus’s narration of Israelite history in *Jewish Antiquities* V.9, where the events contained in Ruth intervene between those of Judges and Samuel. This tradition is represented in the canonical ordering of the books in the Old Testament, where *Ruth* follows Judges. In the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, *Ruth* is preserved in the Writings. These different traditions show that *Ruth* was read as a distinct work, even if, at times, closely associated with Judges and Samuel, as the fictional conceit of its opening, and its relationship to David, would encourage.

Unlike the sporadic anthologization of *Ruth*, the anthologization of *Jonah* with other short prophetic oracle texts as early as the 1st century BCE,[295] and possibly earlier, had lasting effects, eventually being standardized as the Twelve Prophets scroll (also known as the Minor Prophets). While it is difficult to argue based on their state of preservation to what degree the scroll fragments containing works later found in the Twelve Prophets scroll resemble the later canonical scroll, there is evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls that the individual prophetic works could be inscribed on their own scroll as well as in different anthologies.[296] *Jonah,* which is less than half as long as *Ruth*, was likely anthologized for several reasons. First of all, it was easily associated with the other short prophetic texts. In the fragments of (proto-)Twelve Prophets anthologies from the Judean Desert, as in the later canonical collection, the figure of an Israelian or Judean prophet was the principle of anthologization, instead of, as Nathan Mastnjak has recently argued to be the case for Isaiah,[297] as well as is the case in Daniel, a single figure. This, coupled with the short nature of all of the works we find in the collections (both attributed and originally anonymous), encouraged anthologization. *Jonah,* of course, is a markedly different genre from the other anthologized works, and so there may have been other particular reasons for including it with the others. Since the work of anthologization included making explicit the attribution of anonymous prophetic texts,[298] *Jonah* would have been readily incorporated into an anthology of literary works attributed to prophets, since its opening line (assuming that it is original to the novella and not an example of (post-)anthological editing), which identifies Jonah as the recipient of the דבר יהוה, resembles the openings of several of the other works in the anthology.[299] While *Jonah* is an exception among the novellas in being anthologized, it presumably was copied on its own scroll as well, and even in the Twelve Prophets scroll, its distinctness is preserved through the use of blank lines, as the copy in 4QXII^g shows.[300]

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[292] Other supposed examples of multiple (from a later perspective) biblical books written on a single scroll do not preserve the actual joins, which means their editors had to make this claim based on paleography and physical characteristics of the fragments: namely, 4QGen-Exod^{a}, 4QExod-Lev^{f}, 4QLev-Num^{a}, and Mur 1. See Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, 2004, table 10.

[293] Quoted in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 6.25.

[294] Donatien De Bruyne, *Prefaces to the Latin Bible*, Studia Traditionis Theologiae 19 (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2015), 24–25.

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[295] This is the likely date of the Greek 8ḤevXII gr scroll from the Judean Desert. See Peter J. Parsons, "The Scripts and Their Date," in *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr)*, ed. Emmanuel Tov, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 19–26.

[296] Philippe Guillaume, "A Reconsideration of Manuscripts Classified as Scrolls of the Twelve Minor Prophets (XII)," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 7 (2007): 2–12.

[297] Mastnjak, "The Book of Isaiah and the Anthological Genre."

[298] Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel*, 2nd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 309.

Finally, the persistence of the novellas as works of prose fiction that were read singly, even with the limited examples of anthologization, which still kept them distinct, is evident in the Late Antique and Medieval codices of the Hebrew Bible and Old Testament, the book format which took over from the scroll (outside of liturgical contexts).[301] Although paratextual possibilities multiply in the codex, creating a "new discursive space"[302] for literary culture, works which were read and conceptualized individually were kept separate by a similar use of

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[299] Despite its generic difference, *Jonah* may also have been anthologized for the sake of convenience (to make a popular work of literature more accessible with the kinds of literature that individuals collect), for theological reasons, or even to fill out the number to a "round" twelve. Cf. Guillaume, "A Reconsideration of Manuscripts Classified as Scrolls of the Twelve Minor Prophets (XII)," 11–12. For a critical discussion of the Twelve Prophets as an anthology, see Ehud Ben Zvi, "Twelve Prophetic Books or 'The Twelve': A Few Preliminary Considerations," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts*, ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. Houe, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 125–56. For the roudness of the number twelve, see Uriel Simon, Jonah: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation, The JPS Torah COmmentary (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1999), 46.

[300] Cf. Eugene Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 610.

[301] For the transition from scroll to codex in Judaism, see generally J. Olszowy-Schlanger, "The Hebrew Bible," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*, ed. R. Marsden and E. Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 24–28; Stern, *The Jewish Bible*, 63–68. This process probably began among Greek speaking Jews in Egypt with the Septuagint, but by and large Jews continued to use scrolls exclusively until well into the Middle Ages. See Stern, *The Jewish Bible*, 66–67. For the adoption of the codex by Christians, which was more widespread at an earlier date than in Judaism, see Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: The British Academy, 1983), 38–66.

[302] Stern, *The Jewish Bible*, 67.

(multiple) blank lines in the Masoretic bibles,[303] seen for example in the way Exodus follows Genesis,[304] *Esther*, Lamentations,[305] and the books of the Twelve Prophets after each other, e.g. Jonah from Obadiah).[306] In the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, the novellas are presently the only genre of prose fiction to be preserved in the 1:1 configuration of composition to volume. Every other work narrative literature is either an anthology (Daniel) or an installment of a larger, edited, multi-“book” whole (Genesis-Kings, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah).[307]

As discussed in the previous section, while the prominence of Egyptian novellas in Ptolemaic and Roman Period Egypt is clear, the fragmentary nature of the manuscript record does not allow us to draw conclusions about their statistical prevalence in terms of book configuration. While there is no surviving evidence for the anthologization of novellas in any form, it cannot be ruled out. Scribes were capable of creating long scrolls, certainly in the Roman Period, and perhaps as far back as the early Ptolemaic,[308] that would have easily allowed long novellas like *The Prebend of Amun, The Armor of Inaros*, or the numerous other stories featuring many of the same characters to be combined in some way, either as an anthology or as a new, composite whole. Something similar may have happened with the *Inaros Epic* based on pre-existing literature.

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[303] In the paratextual apparatus of the Masoretic text, boundaries between biblical books, as well as between the individual compositions of the Twelve Prophets, were indicated by the use of several blank lines, to keep them distinct from single uninscribed lines to mark some sections within books (*parashiyyot*; see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd rev. and expanded (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2012), 48–49).

[304] Cf. Leningrad Codex, folio 31v, viewable at https://archive.org/details/leningradcodexcomplete/02%20Exodus/mode/1up.

[305] Cf. Leningrad Codex, folio 432v, viewable at https://archive.org/details/leningradcodexcomplete/18%2022%20megilloth/page/n23/mode/1up.

[306] Cf. Leningrad Codex, folio 312v, viewable at https://archive.org/details/leningradcodexcomplete/13%20Twelve%20minor%20prophets/page/n17/mode/1up.

[307] The only other narrative genres which are preserved independently in the same 1:1 ratio of composition to volume are 1-4 Maccabees, each of which are primarily historiographical.

[308] As mentioned above, scribes at Tebtunis in the Roman Period were able to manufacture extremely long scrolls, and were also known to inscribe texts of extreme length on relatively shorter scrolls, but using a minute hand (as the copy of the *Inaros Epic* on P. Carlsberg 164). There may be an example of a long scroll containing more than one story in the Saqqara Papyri, the earliest evidence for Demotic literature, dating four or five centuries before the Tebtunis papyri. The texts published separately as nos. 1 and 2 are considered at the least to be closely related by their editors: although the papyrus in each differs slightly in its color, the hands are identical, and both scroll fragments use the same column numbering system. If from the same scroll, they would contain at least three different stories, the texts of which, though difficult to reconstruct, do not overlap in their characters or in other aspects, suggesting that this might be an anthology. See Smith and Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri* for discussion.

The best evidence for the editing of literary texts into new forms or configurations is with *Onchsheshonqy:* besides the fuller, well-known Ptolemaic copy, which includes both a frame story and a lengthy series of proverbs, a version of just the narrative portion of *Onchsheshonqy* has been discovered from Roman Tebtunis (P. Carlsberg 304+).[309] It is almost certain that the Tebtunis copy omitted the instructional portion: like the small format scrolls at Qumran, P. Carlsberg 304+ only has 10 lines of text per column. As Ryholt calculates, if this copy included the instructions, the scroll would be more than 100 columns long.[310] Assuming the frame narrative and instructions of *Onchsehshonqy* go together originally, this copy of the story portion may have been made for personal use (if we compare the Qumran evidence for small format scrolls) as a private reading or performance copy of just the story. Since it is unlikely that the entirety of *Onchsheshonqy*, complete with maxims, would be read aloud in one sitting, this extracted version suggests that the story itself appears to have had inherent value as a work, and thus was made into a book. The discovery of at least two copies of *Onchseshonqy* with the maxims at Tebtunis (though found in rubbish heaps and not associated directly with the temple library holdings) shows that the story-only version was made by deliberately subtracting the proberbs.[311] While copies of older texts may have been made by Tebtunis scribes for preservational reasons, or, as Ryholt argues, with historiographical interest (seeing that most of the narrative literature from Tebtunis feature pharaohs and other historical figures from the past as characters),[312] the extracted version of *Onchsheshonqy* shows that new copies of older Demotic narrative literature were also made to create books for the use in reading culture.

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[309] Kim Ryholt, "A New Version of the Introduction to the Teachings of 'Onch-Sheshonqy (P. Carlsberg 304 + PSI Inv. D 5 + P. CtYBR 4512 + P. Berlin P 30489)," in *The Carlsberg Papyri 3: A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*, ed. P. J. Frandsen and Kim Ryholt, CNI Publications 22 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2000), 113–40; Quack and Ryholt, *The Carlsberg Papyri 11: Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond*, 489–99. The nearly complete, Ptolemaic copy is P. BM 10508 (S. R. K. Glanville, *The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy (British Museum Papyrus 10508), Part I: Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Plates*, Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 2 (London: British Museum, 1955)).

[310] Ryholt, "A New Version of the Introduction to the Teachings of 'Onch-Sheshonqy (P. Carlsberg 304 + PSI Inv. D 5 + P. CtYBR 4512 + P. Berlin P 30489)," 114.

There is no evidence for similar creative treatment of the novellas. While many texts with Ptolemaic Period copies are also attested at Tebtunis, the versions of *The Armor of Inaros* and *The Prebend of Amun* are in fragmentary form.[313] While the later copies show a similar density of words per column, implying a generally similar book-scroll size, and thus that the length of the scroll's contents were not greatly altered by anthologization or wide-scale expansion and combination, this, again, only amounts to an argument from silence.

A final type of evidence that brings the manuscript record of both the Judean and Egyptian novellas together is the significant number of different, often expanded versions of novellas in both traditions. Despite being the recipient of creative reworking, and not only copying, the novellas are nevertheless, as far as the evidence shows, not interpolated or constructed into larger narrative compositions.

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[311] See Quack and Ryholt, *The Carlsberg Papyri 11: Demotic Literary Texts from Tebtunis and Beyond*, 490. It is unknown if these were copies of just the maxims, or of the entire composition.

[312] See Ryholt, "On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library: A Status Report," 163. Ryholt makes an intriguing observation that the historical figures attested in narrative literature from Tebtunis (not only Inaros and Petubastis, but Djoser, Amenemhat (I and II), Sesostris (I and III) and others) seem to have been ones who left a substantial legacy of monumental architecture; Kim Ryholt, "Egyptian historical literature from the Greco-Roman Period," in *Das Ereignis: Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Vorfall und Befund. Workshop vom 03.10. bis 05.10.08* (London: Golden House, 2009), 231–38.

[313] See p. 3, n. 11.

In the Judean novellas, such expanded editions are is seen in *Esther*[314] and *Tobit*.[315] A major feature of these editions is the presence of expanded endings. Their existence has to be deduced through both textual and literary criticism, evident in thematic, stylistic, and storyline divergences in material found at the end (MT Est 9-10; AT Est 8*-10; Tob 14:3-14,[316] or possibly all of chs. 13-14[317]) as well as, in the case of *Esther,* through a careful comparison of the Hebrew and Greek versions of the novella which can support a literary argument. If it is accurate to say that such versions which included expanded endings existed, this does not entail that text was simply added on to the end of a copy of the novella, but that the entirety of the novella was reworked or re-authored in a way that included an expanded ending, something that has been demonstrated by Michael V. Fox in detail for *Esther,*[318] and which should be argued for *Tobit* as well in a different context. In *Esther,* this took shape, above all, by drawing out the implications of the new emphasis on the persecution of the Judeans, as well as in forging a connection to Purim, and, in *Tobit,* by extending the ending to include a valedictory speech by Tobit which connected to earlier instructional aspects associated with his character, as well as a narration of the final destruction of Nineveh and the escape of Tobias and Sarah to Media.

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[314] In addition to the Masoretic Text (MT) of Esther, two distinct Greek editions of the novella are preserved in canonical collections: the Septuagint (LXX) version and a second version preserved in only four Greek Bible manuscripts that is referred to as the Alpha Text (AT), originally believed to be a Lucianic recension of the LXX, but now seen to be a separate version which likely goes back to a Hebrew version that is similar to the MT. Scholars disagree on how these texts relate to their Hebrew protoversions, and how many original Hebrew versions can be reconstructed from the evidence. For a brief overview, see De Troyer, "Once More, the So-Called Esther Fragments of Cave 4," 402–5 and Kristin De Troyer, "17.1 Textual History of Esther," in *Textual History of the Bible* (Brill, 2018), http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/textual-history-of-the-bible/171-textual-history-of-esther-COM_0017010000#. For in-depth treatments, see David J. A. Clines, *The Esther Scroll: The Story of The Story*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 30 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1984); Michael V. Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther: On Reading Composite Texts*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 40 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991); Karen. Jobes, *The Alpha-Text of Esther: Its Character and Relationship to the Masoretic Text*, SBL Dissertation Series 153 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996); Kristin De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text: What the Old Greek Texts Tell Us about the Literary Growth of the Bible*, Text-Critical Studies 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[315] Besides the five Aramaic and one Hebrew copy of *Tobit* at Qumran, two Greek versions of the novella exist, designated GI and GII. The latter is approximately 20% longer (Giancarlo Toloni, "14.4 Greek (Tobit)," in *Textual History of the Bible*, ed. Armin Lange, 2015, 14.4.5.2). The current consensus is that GII (which contains more semitisms) is prior to GI, and that GI a more concise version "produced in an effort to improve the Greek phraseology and literary character of the Tobit story" (see J. D. Thomas, "The Greek Text of Tobit," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 91 (1972): 463–71) and which also omits repetitions (Alexander A. Di Lella, "Tobit," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 457). The Aramaic and Greek manuscripts from Qumran seem to agree more with GII and may attest to there being more than one edition of *Tobit* being read simultaneously at Qumran (see T. Nicklas and C. Wagner, "Thesen zur textlichen Vielfalt im Tobitbuch," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 34 (2003): 141–59). These are published in Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4".

[316] As Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 43 notes, parts of chs. 13-14 are preserved in the Qumran versions of *Tobit*, which means the novella had already . Ch. 14 appears only in Aramaic versions, while the Aramaic version and the one Hebrew version contain texts from ch. 13 (cf. Fitzmyer, ibid., 10). See Carey Moore, *Tobit*, The Anchor Bible 40A (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1996), 22.

[317] See Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 41–45 for an overview. Fitzmyer argues in favor of the integrity of the entire received text of *Tobit*.

The fragmentary Egyptian evidence does not allow wide-scale reconstruction and requires a detailed treatment on its own in another context, but as is becoming increasingly apparent with the continued publication of manuscripts from Tebtunis, significant textual variation is the norm between (the better preserved) Ptolemaic or early Roman Period copies of literary texts in general, novellas included, and versions found in Tebtunis. When looking at *The Armor of Inaros* and *The Prebend of Amun* in particular, the later, Tebtunis versions show differences in character speech (and comparatively less in narrator speech) as well as a desire to update the language to reflect contemporary idiom (whether spoken or just literary). Importantly for our purposes here, the Tebtunis version of *The Armor of Inaros* shows an expanded ending like that of *Esther* and *Tobit,* which Ryholt argues to include a discussion between Inaros and Horemnakhte (the ancestor of Wertepamunniut) in the underworld.[319] This is not merely added on to the end of *Armor*, as far as can be glimpsed in the fragmentary end of P. Krall, but takes place before Paklul's command that the events which just happened be recorded on a monument. A sword and a lance are also mentioned near the end of the Tebtunis version, which may be a connection to another known Inaros story (P. Carlsberg 125).[320] A more explicit connection of the events of the novella with the legacy of Inaros and the conflict with Petubastis and Wertepamunniut's families[321] makes sense given the manifest interest in stories from the Inaros Cycle at Tebtunis. Note, however, that the text of P. Carlsberg 456 ends here,[322] and despite its clear relevance to other aspects of the Inaros Cycle (which may even have been incorporated into the ending at Tebtunis), it is significant that the integrity of the novella is maintained, and that it is not integrated into other texts. Although the *Inaros Epic* shows that extended narratives about figures from the past could be built out of multiple episodes or even stories (although ultimate judgment has to be left until the text is published), similar to what happened with David and Alexander, the same did not necessarily happen with novellas centered on figures associated with Inaros.

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[318] Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 99–113.

[319] See Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, 81–83.

Given all the ways that literature can change, the Egyptian and Judean novellas, as far as the evidence allows us to see, were resolutely maintained in non-anthologized form, even when, as dialects, tastes, and literary needs changed, they were recreated. This is most obvious with the Judean novellas, which are virtually the only surviving works of prose fictional storytelling that are preserved independently in all of Judean literature. For this reason, the term "book" is uniquely appropriate to the novella as a genre of written literature in Achaemenian and Hellenistic Egypt and Judea.

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[320] For this text, see Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, 89–102.

[321] Note that this was already present in the version of *Armor* on P. Krall: Horemnakhte's armor, which Wertepamunniut had, is surrendered as payback for taking the armor of Inaros.

[322] The bottom of the column is preserved, and the final words are written in a cramped style, projecting slightly into the left margin, which leads one to believe that this is the end of the text (see ibid., pl. 10).

1.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the dissertation’s first argument concerning the distinctness of the novella from a literary-historical perspective, taking three approaches to recognizing and defining the genre. First, as a genre of prose fiction, the novella stands apart from other contemporary genres in its relatively dense storytelling which nevertheless is conveyed with focused (as opposed to sprawling) effect, a factor which is evident even before taking a closer look at its poetics (the topic of Chapters 2 and 4). Second, the novella is a particular historical form of prose fiction in Egyptian and Judean literature: while narrative literature in general is attested in multiple eras in these cultures, the novellas have a particularly strong association with the eras after the Iron Age, especially the Hellenistic. Third and finally, the novella’s distinction as a genre of prose fiction can be seen in its unique footprint in reading or book culture, preserved almost universally in non-anthologized form and in a one-to-one configuration of composition to volume.

The ultimate proof of the distinctness of the novella will lie in the analysis of the poetics of its plot in Chapters 2 and 4. Taking the approach to plot outlined here, I will investigate the Egyptian and Judean novellas from the perspective of the structure and density of their fabulas, and of the main dynamic characteristics associated with the experience of reading or hearing their plots. These will allow me to define in specific terms what the scale of the typical novella plot is, which I will do for each corpus at the end of Chs. 2 and 4, and for the novellas as a whole in the Conclusion. In order to characterize the scale of the typical novella plot as a whole, in the Conclusion I will briefly pick up the comparative approach used here in order to illustrate the usefulness of scale and to throw into starker relief the uniqueness of the novella.

CHAPTER TWO: THE POETICS OF PLOT IN THE JUDEAN NOVELLAS

2.1. Introduction

Unlike the Egyptian novellas, all of which are fragmentary, and none of which preserves both the beginning and their end, the Judean novellas survive complete. This offers a unique opportunity to describe the poetics of their plots through carefully considering their overall effect when experienced as a whole. In this chapter, I will derive a significant number of shared features of the poetics of the plots of the five Judean novellas, enough to yield a clear set of family resemblances that can identify a Judean novella plot as such. These will be discussed in terms of the sequential structure of the plot (beginning, middle, and end) and in terms of the two aspects of plot scale which is the focus of the poetics of plot: density of fabula and dynamism of action. As I will show, the plots of the Judean novellas have numerous, unmistakable features in common, which can be conceptualized and re-inscribed into a conceptual model which, in brief, can be called, using a geometric analogy, hyperboloid or hourglass-shaped.

2.2. Plot Organization in the Judean Novellas

The complete state of preservation of all five Judean novellas provides an opportunity for studying their plots as complete structures of discourse that present the entirety of each novella's story to an implied reader. In the following sections, I will chart how the implied reader of each constructs the (most important parts of the) fabula as they read, organizing it into sequences following Kafalenos's functional analysis.[1] The method that I will follow to break up the analysis is based on the classic tripartite division of storytelling acts into beginning, middle, and end, a scheme whose prominence in literary theory is owed to Aristotle,[2] but which is also a commonsense approach to the basic structure of story.[3] This approach is heuristic in the sense that it is aimed at grouping features of the plot into understandable wholes, as well as intended to reflect something of the universal way that plots are experienced.[4] At the end, this endeavor will reveal a number of trends shared by all of the novellas: beginnings which build into the central conflict of the plot only gradually, middles which, once that conflict is established, , and, finally, endings which cast new light on originating factors in each plot. In combination, these features of the poetics of the novella plots yield a remarkably similar approach to dynamic and engaging storytelling.

The following discussion will reference and reproduce, when discussed, portions of the fabula sequences from *Jonah*, *Ruth*, *Esther*, *Tobit*, and *Judith.* For charts of the complete fabulas of the Judean novellas, see Appendix A.

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[1] A noted below, charts of the complete fabulas, as I see them, can be found in Appendix A. For the sake of space, I will not discuss every function in every fabula here, but only the most important to get a sense for the plots as a whole.

[2] "The beginning is that which is not itself after something else by necessity, but after it something else is or comes to be by nature. The end, on the contrary, is that which is itself after something else by nature, either by necessity or for the most part, but after this there is nothing else. The middle is that which is itself after something else, and after it there is something else"; *Poetics* 1450b27-31, trans. Belfiore, *Tragic Pleasures*, 122. See also *Poetics* 1450b7ff., esp. 27-31, and *Metaphysics* 1023b26-28, where Aristotle says that anything which is a whole can be divided into these three components.

[3] This threefold structure has had widespread influence in literary theory and still appears in different guises. For example, Bal speaks of three phrases to a story: possibility/virtuality, event/realization, and result/conclusion; Bal, *Narratology*, 196.

[4] In some narrative works, like the *Odyssey* or in much modern fiction, this tripartite schema would have to be nuanced and the fabula considered with a higher degree of separation from the narrative. Here, the almost entirely synchronous nature of narration in the novellas allows this simple schema to be applied without any major complication.

2.2.1. Beginnings

The beginning comprises the background or exposition of the story leading up to the problem, obstacle, or crisis that motivates the actions of its protagonists. For Aristotle, the beginning is “the situation from which the other events [of the plot] follow by necessity or probability, but which does not itself follow anything else in this way.”[5] Thus, it is the non-derived portion of the story and the initial events that follow from that portion, culminating in an event or revealed situation that, in Kafalenos’s conception, destabilizes the story world built so far: function A/a. Once the reader encodes an act of C-actancy in response to this, the beginning is technically over. Since stories can cycle in and out of periods of exposition, it is possible for the beginning of a story to be left and returned to again if a function A/a or C-actancy in response does not develop into what the reader perceives to be the heart of the story.

Each of the Judean novellas begins in a straightforward, expositional mode, even *Jonah*, which communicates its background information in a highly coded and compressed way. The narrator first relates information that anchors the coming narrative in a particular time and place, and then (with the exception of *Jonah*[6]) begins a period of panoramic narration that relates general states of affairs or habitual action that precede a period of scenic narration, that is, a sequence of distinct, one-time events narrated where the time of narration closely follows the story time, that is, in real-time or near real-time. For a breakdown of the expositional material in each novella, see table 2.

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[5] Belfiore, *Tragic Pleasures*, 123.

[6] See p. 154ff.

Table 2: Expositional material in the Judean novellas

	Jonah	***Ruth***	***Esther***	***Tobit***	***Judith***
Time and place	(implied: reign of Jeroboam II, Israel)	When the Judges ruled; Israel (implied)	Reign of Ahasuerus; his court at Susa	Reign of Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Essarhaddon; Nineveh	Reign of Nebuchadnezzar; Nineveh and Ecbatana
Panoramic narration	(none, but cf. 3:3)[7]	Elimelech's migration to Moab, death of Elimelech and sons	Ahasureus and Vashti's banquets	Tobit's lifetime, focused on his pious acts in Nineveh and persecution under Sennacherib	Arphaxad of Ecbatana fortifies his city, and Nebuchadnezzar makes war against Media with his allies
Scenic narration beginning	(Out of the blue:) Yahweh sends Jonah to prophesy to Nineveh, but Jonah instead flees	(At some time afterward:) Naomi sets out for Judah with her two daughters-in-law	(On the seventh day:) Ahasuerus summons Vashti to his banquet	(During reign of Esarhaddon, after he returned home:) Tobit and his family have dinner to celebrate Pentecost	(At an unspecified time afterward:) Nebuchadnezzar summons his allies to attack Ecbatana

This method of exposition, where panoramic narration leads into scenic narration, is typical of prose fiction. Where the novellas begin to show their distinction as a genre is in the way that the scenic narration, in each case, does not lead directly to the primary function A/a of the novella. Instead, this function arises secondarily after various means of displacement from the beginning of the scenic narration. This displacement occurs in two primary ways: by development or, what we can more accurately call devolution (*Ruth*, *Tobit*, *Judith*), and by postponement (*Jonah*), with one novella (*Esther*) exhibiting features of both. In each case, one or more function A/a events which develop into fabula sequences exist, either in whole or in part, before what we can call the primary function A/a of the novella gets underway with a phase of C-actancy. With novellas of devolution, the primary function A/a is caused by and develops out of one or more of the initial functions, although there are often intimations of what is coming.[8] With novellas of postponement, there are overt indications of and responses to the primary function A/a at or near the novella's initialization, but another situation involving a different function A/a not only intervenes but comes to a more firm conclusion first.

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[7] There is a brief narration of expositional information in 3:3: "Now, Nineveh was a great city to God, a walk of three days," וְנִינְוֵה הָיְתָה עִיר־גְּדוֹלָה לֵאלֹהִים מַהֲלַךְ שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים. This is the only overt piece of exposition in the novella, and it provides important background information for the scene that follows. By noting the size of the city, the narrator ensures that Jonah's delivery of the message of Yahweh is marked as occurring only 1/3rd of the way into the city, which in turn makes the quickness by which his message spreads incredibly. The odd qualification of עִיר־גְּדוֹלָה with לֵאלֹהִים is discussed by Sasson, *Jonah*, 228–30. Following Sasson, I translate it literally, but with an ethical dative and not a possessive meaning (for which, see Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 208–9). the idea being that Nineveh's large size is something Yahweh recognizes, and is something the narrator wishes the reader to know at this point.

2.2.1.1. Displacement by Devolution: Ruth, Judith, Tobit

The clearest example of devolution is *Ruth*. *Ruth* begins with a clearly articulated temporal or historical background, the "time when the Judges ruled (lit."judged")" (1:1) as well as an unfortunate, prolonged situation: a famine lasting long enough (it is implied) that families had to leave their homeland to grow their food elsewhere. A famine disrupts the normal equilibrium of family life, above all day-to-day survival, but also the seasonal rhythms of life (planting, harvesting, storing), which threatens also the future of the family. The first function coded by the reader is the threat to the livelihood and future of Elimelech's family because of the famine (A). Elimelech is the first C-actant of the novella, moving his family to Moab to escape the famine and attempt to carve out subsistence for them, and to provide for its future. Elimelech and his family were poised to find success and to continue on: the family stays in Moab for at least ten years after Elimelech dies, long enough for the two sons to marry, implying a temporary success, even though the patriarch himself has passed.

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[8] According to the different senses of the verb "devolve" in the *OED*, devolution involves not merely a general unrolling but a passage from one state into another. Specific things that can devolve include inheritances, titles to property, offices, and obligations. The verb "devolve" also has an intransitive meaning of rolling or following into a different condition.

A	Famine means the future of Elimelech's family is at risk
C C'	Elimelech moves his family to Moab
G	Elimelech's family is poised to flourish

This originating fabula of the novella, however, quickly devolves. Not only Elimelech dies (1:3), but his sons, Mahlon and Chilion, die as well, after they had taken Moabite women as wives (1:4); this could have taken place before or after their father's death. They die before they are able to have children (an important fact that is nevertheless not directly mentioned by the narrator; 1:5); any marginal gains following Elimelech's attempt to provide for his family are negated: the family, as it currently stands, is unable to continue, made clear by Naomi's wish that Orpah and Ruth (her widowed daughters-in-law) find their own husbands in Moab (1:8ff):

H_{neg} Elimelech and his sons die Ineg Elimelech's family is at risk of dying out

All of this develops by 1:5. Naomi knows that she will not have any more children, and is resigned to the extinction of her own immediate family and to a life of widowhood. With 1:6, we have the beginning of a new phase of the story: the famine is over, and Naomi sets out to return to Judah with her daughters-in-law, responding to the new, more complex situation. The original function A, the threat to Elimelech’s family because of the famine, endures, but for a different reason: all of the male members of his family have died. Even though the famine is over, and the family was able to grow marginally in Moab, no sons were produced, and any gains were cut short by the death of Elimelech’s sons. This means that Naomi is a widow without support. She is now a C-actant, responding to this situation by returning to Judah to find support.[9]

A^2	Naomi is an old without support
(C)	Naomi decides to return to Judah
C’	Noami leaves for Judah

A third function A is the need for Ruth to find a new husband, initially shared with Orpah. Though technically operative in the fabula as soon as their husbands die, the narrator brings a function A out as a concrete concern faced by Ruth and Orpah through the scene where Naomi pleads with them both to return to Moab as she herself sets out for Judah (to remedy her personal A), having heard that the famine was over (1:6-7). Ruth and Orpah try to stay with Naomi (1:10), but Naomi’s reaction is strong: it will be impossible for them to remarry in Judah, since there are no family members to do so. Naomi’s speech to the two, portraying an absurd scenario where Naomi can somehow give birth to more sons (1:11-13), implies the dire plight faced by the foreign widows with no recourse in the family itself. In functional terms, Naomi is playing the role of function B (requesting that someone alleviate a function A) for Ruth and Orpah's need to find a new family. Orpah remains in Moab, but Ruth wants to accompany Naomi back to Bethlehem. Naomi, still believing that Ruth's refusal to stay in Moab puts her in a more difficult position to counteract a function A, tries to convince her to follow Orpah, back to "her people" and "her god" (1:15), but Ruth asserts that Naomi's people and god will remain her own (1:16). Orpah's return brings out the implication what Ruth is exactly doing by choosing to stay with Naomi: she is sacrificing her future, or a certain kind of future, for the sake of Naomi, even coming across as willing to stay a widow for her entire life: "where you die, I will die, and there I will be buried" (1:17).

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[9] The hint of a transition from Elimelech to Naomi can be seen already at the notice of the former’s death (1:3), where he is called “Elimelech husband of Naomi.” Naomi is the subject of the following verb ותשאר, and is also the focus in 1:5 after Mahlon and Kilyon die, repeating the same verb.

Naomi's pleading that Ruth stay in Moab, Ruth's eloquent attempt to convince Naomi to allow her to stay with her, and, finally, Naomi's acquiescence, appear to be functions D, E, and H: a testing, a response to the test, and a successful act. These, however, need to be understood under the umbrella of C-actancy in response to a particular function A. It is possible that Ruth wishes to stay with Naomi because she wants to help her, which would mean Ruth would be acting as a C-actant against Naomi's function A. More specifically, it is possible to read Ruth's fealty to Naomi as heartfelt and as a desire to try and take care of her mother-in-law. The tearful departure of Orpah and Ruth and, when she decided to stay with Naomi, Ruth's impassioned speech suggests at the least that she is acting out of deeply felt obligation.[10] Yet there is no indicated motivation on the part of Ruth beyond her strongly stated desire to not be without Naomi. For this reason, a function a ("small a"), which is Ruth being faced with separation from Naomi, and acting as a C-actant to reverse it, makes the most sense, originating in the fabula in response to Naomi’s decision to return to Judah and her encouragement that Ruth and Orpah stay in Moab.

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[10] Outside observers in Bethlehem later interpret her actions in 2:11 as an act of loyalty (חסד).

Ruth’s success in reversing her function a has two results in the fabula. First, by willfully not pursuing it (her being a widow) by staying in Moab, the most likely way for Ruth to re-marry as Naomi makes clear, Ruth’s function a is not only maintained but worsened in what can be represented as a function I_{neg}: now, Ruth is not simply a widow, but a widow in a more hostile environment (a foreign land). Secondly, Ruth’s and Naomi’s fortunes are now bound up together, in the shared experience of widowhood and of needing support in Judah. As they return to Bethlehem, the reader understands their search for support as a new function A reflecting their joint status.

The stretch of the fabula from the widowing of Naomi and Ruth to the indigence of both women can be visualized thus, with the different functions A/a discussed above, and the most important functions that follow, given superscript numerals to keep them distinct:

Figure 2: The fabula of Ruth 1:3-19

A^2 Naomi is an old widow
(C) Naomi decides to return to Judah
C’ Naomi leaves for Judah

A^3 Ruth and Orpah are young widows

B Naomi sends Ruth and Orpah home to remarry

    a^4 Ruth is faced with separation from Naomi
    (C) Ruth decides to stay with Naomi
    C’ Ruth attempts to convince Naomi to let her
    D Naomi begs Ruth to turn back to Moab
    E Ruth tries to convince Naomi to let her stay
    H^4 Naomi allows Ruth to stay with her
    I^4 Ruth is not separated from Naomi

I^3_{neg} Ruth remains a widow in a worse situation

A^5 Naomi and Ruth are without support

The surprise return of Naomi to Bethlehem, she perhaps being initially unrecognizable to onlookers (cf. 1:19),[11] and Naomi's dramatic proclamation of her sorry state, round out the first part of the novella. No mention is made of Elimelech and his sons by the Bethlehemites, or, directly, by Naomi; the focus is resolutely on the person of Naomi, based both on the narration of her arrival focalized through the onlookers as well as on her expressed perspective on herself as "empty." The transition from this first part of the novella which has established, most prominently, function A^5 in figure 2, is marked by a summarizing statement by the narrator: "Naomi and Ruth the Moabite woman, her daughter-in-law, who returned from the countryside of Moab, returned, and they entered Bethlehem at the beginning of the barley harvest" (1:22).[12] This statement looks forwards by including a straightforward piece of exposition that establishes the setting for what will follow (Bethlehem; the harvest). The epithets attached to Ruth, which draw attention to her precarious position as a foreigner[13] and the fact that she returned with Naomi,[14] present not in her own right but as part of Naomi, reiterate the complex situation of function A^5, looking forward to a function C and a C-actant who will begin to address it. While A^2 and A^3 are also technically outstanding, the situation of Naomi and Ruth is joint, suggesting they rise, or fall, together.

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[11] Those who saw her returning to the city were "disturbed" (וַתֵּהֹם), and the women in particular asked "Is this Naomi?" (הֲזֹאת נָעֳמִי), implying either that they did not expect her, or that, though expected, she looked haggard and downcast, or, of course, both (1:19). These possibilities follow the potential of questions marked with the interrogative ה to be either polar ("yes/no") or rhetorical, even exclamatory; see JM §161b (translating the question in 1:19 as "This is indeed Naomi!") and Waltke and O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 684. The verb וַתֵּהֹם, referring to a state of agitation or commotion (for the possible parsings of the word, see Jeremy Schipper, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Yale Bible 7D (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 106–7), could be taken to imply concern or excitement.

[12] וַתָּשָׁב נָעֳמִי וְרוּת הַמּוֹאֲבִיָּה כַלָּתָהּ עִמָּהּ הַשָּׁבָה מִשְּׂדֵי מוֹאָב וְהֵמָּה בָּאוּ בֵּית לֶחֶם בִּתְחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׂעֹרִים

[13] The word מוֹאֲבִיָּה appearing for the first time here, and the word מוֹאָב not mentioned since 1:6, even in Naomi's dialogue with her daughter-in-laws.

[14] Schipper, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 109. For the syntax of the relative clause הַשָּׁבָה מִשְּׂדֵי מוֹאָב, see Holmstedt, *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text*, 100–101. Its antecedent is Ruth and not Naomi: "Ruth" is closer and, as Holmstedt (ibid.) notes, specifying that Naomi returned would be redundant. The following clause employs the plural pronoun הֵמָּה as the (redundant) subject of בָּאוּ to mark a switch to the two women acting in unison as the topic of the discourse. The singular הַשָּׁבָה also, of course, mitigates against this, although the verb וַתָּשָׁב, which refers to the two of them, is singular (according to the normal way that a singular verb is used with a compound subject of juxtaposed nouns; see JM §150p-q).

With the ideal reader expecting the plot to develop towards C-actancy in response to A^5, the tempo slows down to a pause while the narrator introduces a new character, Boaz (2:1), a “man of importance from the clan of Elimelech” (אִישׁ גִּבּוֹר חַיִל מִמִּשְׁפַּחַת אֱלִימֶלֶךְ) who is also a (reconstructing the *ketiv*) מְיֻדָּע or (according to the *qere*) a מוֹדָע, “relative.”[15] Given the recapitulation of Naomi and Ruth’s plight and the pathos-laden scene of Naomi’s return just before in 1:19-22, and the emphatic pause of the narration as the plot appears to be entering its middle phase, the narrator all but says out right that Boaz is a C-actant. At the same time, the narrator creates suspense by being vague about his specific relationship to the story. The introduction includes the important piece of information that Boaz is relative of Elimelech (2:1), making this an act of communication strictly between the narrator and the ideal reader. By keeping Naomi’s knowledge of Boaz’s existence unknown, but communicating an important plot point about a family member—the kind of individual who would be poised to help a widow of a relative—the ideal reader expects not only Boaz’s C-actancy, but is keen to see how Naomi and Ruth will discover the possibility for themselves.

Since the narrator left Boaz’s exact relationship to Naomi vague, part of the suspense also concerns exactly what Boaz is capable of doing. As a family relation, Boaz may turn out the be under an obligation to offer support or stability to Naomi and Ruth seeing that he is of the

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[15] For the technique of introducing major characters in the middle of narratives in the Hebrew Bible, see Shimeon Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art in the Bible* (Sheffield, England: Almond Press, 1989), 117–18.

משפחת of Naomi's late husband,[16] an obligation had a particular expression in Pentateuchal law as the role of the גאל or "redeemer" and the obligation called גאלה.[17] Boaz could provide for Naomi and Ruth by restoring, or at least approximating, the *status quo ante* to the best of his ability. This could play out in different ways. One way could concern the land of Elimelech: although nothing is known of what happened to the family's land while they were in Moab (presumably most agriculture and related endeavors were put on hold due to the famine), by purchasing it from Naomi, Boaz would provide her with income[18] and would keep ownership of the land in the family.[19] Another possibility is the institution of levirate marriage.[20] Although not directly associated with the institution of גאלה in the Hebrew Bible, levirate marriage is already a topic of the novella, referenced (*ante litteram*) by Naomi in 1:12-13. Boaz could take Naomi as a wife, even in her old age, or, more likely, Ruth, though a non-Judean; both possibilities raise difficulties. Since the narrator does not specify Boaz's exact relationship to Naomi, nor use a technical term (like גאל) to describe Boaz to clue the reader in more specifically to what role he might play, the possibilities are maximized.

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[16] The term משפחת is itself vague, "a unit larger than a single household but smaller than an entire tribe" (Schipper, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 112).

[17] See Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible 3B (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 2189. For a general example of this kind of obligation, cf. Num 5:5-10, where a גאל receives the restitution for a wrong committed to his kin in place of them (assuming, for it is unstated, that the kin cannot receive restitution, presumably because they are deceased; see 5:8). Repaying the גאל, in fact, is a given and not stated explicitly (suggesting the naturalness of the institution), this role only mentioned as part of a case where there is no גאל to receive the payment (in which case, a priest does). The other examples of the institution of גאלה in the Hebrew Bible, vengeance for murder (Num 35:19-28 and Dt 19:6, 12; also Jos 20:1-6) and buying someone who was sold into slavery because of debt (Lev 25:47-55) is not relevant to *Ruth*, but nevertheless point to the important role that kinship obligation plays when it comes to misfortune experienced by a member of an extended family.

[18] For an example of this, see Jer 32:6-15.

[19] For the purchase of land as an act of גאלה by a kin, when the land's owner is no longer disposed to take care of it and is at risk of it falling into the hands of an owner outside of the family, cf. Lev 25:23-28. In Ez 11:15, a person's kin (אחים, lit. "brothers") is referred to as his גאלה, that is, the group of people related to him who have the right of redemption.

[20] See Deut 25:5-10; for a narrative that presumes the institution (besides *Ruth*), see Gen 38 (Judah and Tamar). For levirate marriage in the Hebrew Bible in general, see, briefly, Philip J. King and Lawrence E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 56–57; Raymond Westbrook, *Property and the Family in Biblical Law*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 113 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 69–89; and Chavel, *Oracular Law and Priestly Historiography*, 236–40, who argues that the Israelian/Judean codification of the concept in Deut 25 is particularly meant to safeguard the memory of the deceased husband by ensuring that the widow remains within the orbit of the family. For a cross-cultural perspective, see Timothy M. Willis, *The Elders of the City: A Study of the Elders-Laws in Deuteronomy*, The Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 55 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 235–50.

While the foregoing assumes that Boaz would be generous to the widows, the possibility that he would be antagonistic (deliberately or not) to Naomi and Ruth has not been foreclosed. An ambivalent potential lies in the epithet of אִישׁ גִּבּוֹר חַיִל ("a man of importance").[21] It is clear in one sense about his extraordinary nature as a person, but vague in its exact characterization. The phrase גִּבּוֹר חַיִל (and similar) in Biblical Hebrew describes important men (e.g., generically, 2 Ki 24:14) who stand out in different ways:[22] the phrase could refer to Boaz's wealth (cf. 1 Sam 9:1, 2 Ki 15:20), respect (cf. 1 Ki 1:42), authoritativeness (cf. 1 Ki 11:28), or valor as a warrior (cf. Jos 1:14, 8:3, 10:7; also 2 Chr 13:3). The ideal reader of *Ruth*, who would be familiar with *Judges*,[23] may think especially of the final category since it is associated with two important figures in *Judges* (when the novella is set), Gideon (Jdg 6:12) and Jephthah (Jdg 11:1)—two characters of very different types.[24] The epithet is also applied to David in 1 Sam 16:18.

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[21] Reading איש and גבור חיל as two nominals in apposition (גבור can function adjectivally, but it is most natural to take it in construct with חיל). The second members in an expression of apposition can indicate the species of the first or its quality or material (see *JM* §131b-d), and איש/אישה is frequently placed in apposition with with other substantives, denoting occupation, relation of kin, and even general quality (Deut 13:14, אנשים בני בליעל, although a play on the kinship usage).

[22] As discussed by Campbell, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*, 90; Holmstedt, *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text*, 105 and Schipper, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 112, with numerous examples. The collocation is especially numerous in *Chronicles*.

[23] See p. 83.

[24] Will Boaz be like Gideon, pious, deferential, troubled by dreams, and even unsure of himself (cf. Jdg 6:27), or like Jephthah, an outcast and bandit eventually entrusted with defending Israel against the Ammonites, but

Whatever its exact implication, the epithet אִישׁ גִּבּוֹר חַיִל marks Boaz as a heavyweight in the evolving fabula.[25]

Similar to *Ruth*, the primary function A/a of *Judith* devolves out of a general bad situation, but in *Judith* this devolution does not come to its completion until roughly halfway through the lengthy novella. Beginning with a regnal dating formula in the 12th year of Nebuchadnezzar (Ναβουχοδονοσορ), who is said to reign over Assyria from Nineveh (1:1), the first character properly introduced is King Arphaxad of Media, who is fortifying his capital city of Media with a wall of massive dimensions.[26] The reason why Arphaxad was fortifying Media is then given: Nebuchadnezzar was making war with Media (1:5),[27] part of a coalition of Mesopotamian and Iranian peoples. Against this coalition, Nebuchadnezzar attempted to raise his own from Persia, Syria, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, and Ethiopia, but they refused, and instead looked down on Nebuchadnezzar: "in their eyes he was but one man" (ἐναντίον αὐτῶν ὡς ἀνὴρ εἷς, 1:11). This angered Nebuchadnezzar, who swore to punish all those who did not join him (1:12). Israel or Judah are not mentioned. Five years later (in the 17th regnal year), Nebuchadnezzar finally takes the field against Arphaxad and defeated him definitively, with no resistance. Afterwards, he and his army celebrated in Nineveh for 120 days. The next year (the

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who tragically kills his own daughter? Both Gideon and Jephthah are forced to deal with dissension in their ranks (in both cases from the Ephraimites; 8:1-3, 12:1-6). Jephthah was dispossessed by his brothers for being the son of a prostitute, and thus was not landed. The reader may also think about Jephthah's conflict with Moab (Jdg 11:12ff).

[25] In Demotic literature, the epithet "great person" or "person of substance" (*rmṯ* ꜥꜣ) has a similar ambiguity. See W. John Tait, "Two Columns of a Setna-Text," in *The Carlsberg Papyri 1: Demotic Texts from the Collection*, ed. Paul Frandsen, CNI Publications 15 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1991), 30.

[26] The numbers would evoke those of other famous Near Eastern cities like Nineveh and Babylon. According to Wills, the dimensions are "magnificent, but not beyond belief"; Wills, *Judith: A Commentary on the Book of Judith*, 178.

[27] Arphaxad's fortifying work is introduced in 1:2 in the aorist tense (ᾠκοδόμησεν), while Nebuchadnezzar's war against Media is said to happen "in those days" (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, 1:5).

18th), Nebuchadnezzar assembles his courtiers and nobles and made a plan for seeking vengeance on the nations that refused to fight with him against Media, fulfilling his promise made six years before. Here, the third character of the novella is introduced, the general Holophernes, second-in-command of the army (2:4). In a long speech, Nebuchadnezzar gives Holofernes his orders: assemble a large army and prepare the way for the king. On the one hand, Nebuchadnezzar speaks of the future slaughter and deportation that he himself will do (2:7, 9), but what he charges Holofernes to do in preparation appears tantamount to what Nebuchadnezzar says he himself will accomplish.[28] Holophernes comes across as the agent of Nebuchadnezzar, acting as his deputy but, in a sense, also acting *as* the king.[29] With verbiage that evokes the speech patterns and motifs of royal inscriptions, including the messenger formula known from the Hebrew Bible,[30] Holofernes is poised to play a role analogous to that of the Rab-shakeh in 2 Ki 18, but instead of merely speaking in the persona of the king, he is going to act in that way. As the story progresses, this seems to be the case. In 2:19, Holofernes "set out…to cover the whole face of the earth," just as Nebuchadnezzar said he himself was going to do. Nebuchadnezzar as a potential foe thus devolves to Holofernes, who is set to collide with Israel.

Before Israel enters the story, however, the first actions of Holofernes postpone the imminent confrontation and underscore Holofernes's potential for violence. After destroying and plundering cities in the Upper Euphrates and Syria nonstop, peace envoys from Ashdod (᾽Αζώτος) and Ashkelon (᾽Ασκαλῶν) are sent to him (2:28ff) who declare themselves willing to serve Nebuchadnezzar, to provide a place for the army to decamp, and to offer their citizens as slaves; in return, Holofernes destroyed their temples and sacred sites. As the narrator matter-of-factly summarizes, "It was commanded to him to completely destroy all the gods of the earth so that every nation worship Nebuchadnezzar alone and all tongues and their peoples call upon him as god" (3:8)[31] This sets a up a conflict between the Assyrian army and Jerusalem, specifically the temple.[32] It also leaves open the possibility that some kind of compromise, while it would spare a great deal of death and, likely, exile, would result in its destruction.

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[28] Holofernes is commanded to "occupy all their territory for me in advance" (προκαταλήμψῃ μοι πᾶν ὅριον αὐτῶν, 2:10) and slaughter any who refuse to swear allegiance to the king. On the one hand, Nebuchadnezzar says that he "will come in my anger against them" and will "cover the whole face of the earth" (ἐξελεύσομαι ἐν θυμῷ μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ καλύψω πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, 2:7), and that "I have spoken, and will do this in my own hand" (λελάληκα καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα ἐν χειρί μου, 2:12).

[29] Cf. Wills, *Judith: A Commentary on the Book of Judith*, 185.

[30] Nebuchadnezzar begins his address: "Thus says the Great King, the Lord of the entire earth (Τάδε λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας, ὁ κύριος πάσης τῆς γῆς, 2:50). For more discussion, see Gera, *Judith*, 140–42; Wills, *Judith: A Commentary on the Book of Judith*, 186–88.

With chapter 4, the Israelites are finally introduced in a way that confirms the suspected trajectory of the fabula: "The sons of Israel dwelling in Judea heard all that Holophernes had done to the nations…and the way that he had despoiled all their temples and gave them over to destruction" (4:1).[33] They begin making strategic preparations for war (4:4-8), implying they are planning on mounting an armed resistance. The first Israelite character introduced, the high priest Joakim, orders two towns at the most vulnerable location—on passes leading from the Jezreel valley, near Dothan—named Bethulia (Βαιτυλουα) and Betomesthaim (Βαιτομεσθαιμ)[34] to "occupy the ascents of the hill country."[35] Although Bethulia will soon become the setting for the rest of the novella, at this stage, given its location on the periphery of Israel, and the center of interest thus far lying in Jerusalem and the temple, this is not at all evident. Indeed, the action shifts back to Jerusalem and to the public acts of prayer of the populace, asking Yahweh to spare them from oblivion and to protect the temple (4:8ff). Though there are many unknowns so far, including who exactly in Israel will lead the charge to withstand Holofernes (and by Yahweh's hand?), that is, what C-actant will emerge, the ideal reader's understanding of the fabula at this juncture can be represented as follows:

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[31] ἦν δεδομένον αὐτῷ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς τῆς γῆς, ὅπως αὐτῷ μόνῳ τῷ Ναβουχοδονοσορ λατρεύσωσι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ γλῶσσαι καὶ αἱ φυλαὶ αὐτῶν ἐπικαλέσωνται αὐτὸν εἰς θεόν

[32] Like Orpah was in Ruth 1, the envoys of Ashdod and Ashkelon are counter-examples or foils for what the central protagonist will do shortly afterwards.

[33] Καὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ πάντα, ὅσα ἐποίησεν Ολοφέρνης τοῖς ἔθνεσιν…καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐσκύλευσεν πάντα τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὰ εἰς ἀφανισμόν

[34] Both towns are otherwise unknown and are likely inventions of the author.

[35] διακατασχεῖν τὰς ἀναβάσεις τῆς ὀρεινῆς (4:6).

A	The Assyrians are about to conquer Israel
C	Joakim and the elders decide to mount an armed resistance
C'	Joakim orders that Bethulia and Betomesthaim fortify the mountain passes
C C'	The Israelites pray to Yahweh for deliverance as well

As I will discuss in more detail below, the narrator notes that Yahweh heard the Israelites' prayer (4:13), implying, at the least, that Jerusalem and the temple will be saved.[36]

Because the Israelites did not send envoys to Holofernes (like Ashdod and Ashkelon did) and assume a posture of submission to Nebuchadnezzar, Holofernes grows angry and confused about why a small nation like Israel is willing to stand toe to toe with the Assyrian army, and summons allies from the area, including from Moab and Ammon, to learn more about the Israelites (5:1-4). The advice of a certain Achior, an Ammonite leader, giving a historical resumé of Israelite history, is that the Israelites are a unique people whose god punishes them when they turn away from him, but also comes to their rescue when they need him (cf. 5:12: "they cried out to their god, and he struck all the land of Egypt with plagues," reflecting what the narrator said in 4:13). Thus, Achior suggests, Holofernes should ascertain "if there is negligence in this people and they sin against their god"[37], and if so, they should only then attempt to defeat them in battle (5:20); if it seems that they are being faithful to their god, Achior recommends that Holofernes "pass them by…lest their lord grant them protection" (5:20-21).[38] From the Assyrians' perspective, this logic is ludicrous, and it is not at all surprising that Holofernes rejects it. He is also offended because Achior is suggesting that Israel's god has the prerogative of protecting and punishing the nations, not Nebuchadnezzar (6:2ff). Holofernes then banishes Achior, and he is picked up by Bethulians. Achior informs the Israelites what he told Holofernes, and how Holofernes is intent on capturing Bethulia and destroying all of Israel (6:17-18; cf. vv. 2-4), causing the Bethulians to pray even more fervently to Yahweh, even after a drinking party (πότον, 6:21). The next day, Holofernes advances his army, and they encamp in the Jezreel Valley, facing the pass occupied by the Bethulians (7:1-3). While Holofernes and his army prepare for war, the Bethulians occupying the pass watch them and are frightened, but nevertheless hold their ground (7:4-5). It turns out that their persistence in occupying the paths forces Holofernes to take another approach. The Edomite and Moabite advisors of Holofernes, who are intimately familiar with the terrain of Palestine, know that capturing and crossing the paths will be difficult. They suggest that the Bethulians will be impossible to defeat in the mountains (7:10), and imply that the Assyrian army not be up to the difficult task.[39] This is a modicum of success for the Bethulians, temporarily checking the advance of Holofernes:

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[36] See p. 243.

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[37] εἰ μὲν ἔστιν ἀγνόημα ἐν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ ἁμαρτάνουσιν εἰς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν (5:20).

[38] παρελθέτω…μήποτε ὑπερασπίσῃ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Ironically using κύριος, after referring to Yahweh just as θεὸς

[39] The advisors communicate this to Holofernes in secret, and not before the entire army or before a larger body of advisors, "lest there be θραῦσμα in your army" (ἵνα μὴ γένηται θραῦσμα ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου, 7:9). θραῦσμα

D The Bethulians are overwhelmed by the size of the Assyrian forces (7:4)
E The Bethulians nevertheless hold their ground (7:5)
F The Bethulians avoid direct conflict with the Assyrians in the passes (7:8ff)
G The Israelites protect themselves from direct invasion[40]

The advisors of Holofernes then suggest that the Assyrians should occupy the springs in the valley that the Bethulians use, and induce famine until they surrender, or all die (7:8-15). Holofernes agrees, and after the springs are occupied,[41] the army camps in the valley and waits. The Bethulians despair and begin immediately suffering the effects of the siege, and harangue their leader Uzziah to sue for peace with Holofernes, arguing that it is better to become slaves[42] than to suffer death in this way. Uzziah convinces them to wait five more days for Yahweh to deliver them, and if nothing happens, he agrees to approach Holofernes (7:30-31).

Thus, at this stage of the plot, the Bethulians have temporarily kept the Assyrians back, but have not definitively stopped them. Instead, the Assyrians have taken a new approach (due in

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refers to the scabs of leprosy in Lev 13:30 (נתק), but the similar nouns θραυσμός and θραῦσις mean "devastation" more generally. The advisors, then, may be referring to isolated but detrimental casualties in the army that could inhibit it going forward, and not the destruction of the entire army (cf. Gera, *Judith*, 240). Coming from the verb θραύω which means, in the active, "to crush," but which, in the passive, has the experiential sense of "to feel overwhelemed, daunted" (cf. Deut 20:3, 1 Sam 20:34 LXX), the noun here, in hindsight after the conclusion of the novella, will have twofold reference to the devastation of the Assyrian army once they flee and are slaughtered by the Bethulians, as well as to the profound sense of disturbance and dread felt by the Assyrian army after they discover the dead body of Holofernes (cf. the description of their reaction in 14:19-13:2). Judith uses an imperative of this verb in her prayer to Yahweh, asking him to "shatter their high stature by the hand of a female" (θραῦσον αὐτῶν τὸ ἀνάστεμα ἐν χειρὶ θηλείας, 9:10), drawing on this phrase again in her prayer of thanksgiving (13:14).

[40] Function G stems from the success of D E F, but is not a function H, which would be the defeat of the Assyrians.

[41] Note that Holofernes has already done this, it turns out in 7:7 (where Holofernes "occupied them in advance," προκατελάβετο), but in 7:16ff, he agrees with the advice and "instructs" his men "to do just as they said" (συνέταξε ποιεῖν καθὰ ἐλάλησαν).

[42] As had happened to Ashdod and Ashkelon, as they likely learned from Achior.

fact to the Bethulians' temporary success) which threatens the Bethulians doubly: not only is the original function A still threatening, but there is a new, more specific threat of famine. Moreover, the Bethulians are tempted to cease trusting that Yahweh will deliver them, and are on the verge of surrendering to Holofernes. The five-day ultimatum given by the people of the town gives the coming story much more urgency: whatever is to happen, however the Assyrians are to be driven away from occupying the springs, it has to be accomplished quickly, not only before the people suffer more and begin to die from famine, but before the likely disastrous decision to capitulate to Holofernes

H_{neg}	The Assyrians find another approach
A	Bethulia is suffering from famine
A	Bethulia is growing closer to apostasy

By the time that Judith is introduced in 8:1, avoiding or preventing the general threat of the Assyrian invasion of Israel has come down to the resistance by the small town of Bethulia. After the initial attempts to keep the Assyrians away have failed, with the Assyrians modifying their tactic and attempting to force Bethulia into submission by imposing famine on the town, the inhabitants of the town are eager for their leader to surrender, an act which would have two outcomes with detrimental effects: the mountain pass would be opened to the Assyrian army for invading Judea, and, more importantly, the Bethulians would have forsworn their trust in Yahweh. Judith is forced to intervene to prevent these two, especially the latter, from happening.

The third novella that relies most clearly on devolution is *Tobit*. The primary fabula sequence begins well into the text, midway through chapter 2, in the scene where Tobit is blinded by the bird droppings. Before this, the novella begins with a significant stretch of narration (1:1-2:9) consisting of the scene-setting for the blinding as well as, prior to that, significant background about Tobit's life. These events, nevertheless, are narrated summarily and with a brisk tempo, not having the breathing room to take shape as a scene, dulling the feeling that the story proper was beginning. They imply an over-arching function A, "Tobit is a pious Yahwist in a hostile Nineveh," against which Tobit acts

(A)	Tobit is a pious Yahwist in a hostile Nineveh
C/C'	Tobit decides to adhere to his pious obligations
D	Tobit discovers the bodies of dead Israelites
E	Tobit buries the dead Israelites
F_{neg}	Tobit is persecuted by Sennacherib
G	Tobit is restored by Ahiqar's intervention

With chapter 2, the story's first scene begins: Tobit and his family celebrate the feast of Pentecost, and Tobit sends his son Tobias to find a poor Israelite to share the meal with (2:1-2). This begins a chain of events that leads to the blinding, which is function A^2. Tobias encounters a dead Israelite, and Tobit promptly removes the body and brings it into a his home, waiting until sundown to bury him. Unlike before, when Tobit's practice of burying was narrated only in summary, here we witness the events in more detail. In the meantime, while waiting for the sun to set, we see Tobit eating his meal in sadness. Instead of seeing Tobit bury the Israelite directly (merely informed about it in 1:7), the event is focalized through his neighbors, overheard laughing at his recklessness in once again doing something that got him into serious trouble before (2:8). After burying the Israelite, Tobit washes himself and settles down to sleep in his courtyard (likely because he is unclean)[43] below the kind of place a bird would want to rest, and his eyes are coated in droppings while he sleeps.

D	Tobit hears about another dead Israelite
E	Tobit buries the dead Israelite
F_{neg}	Tobit is blinded by bird droppings
A	Tobit is blind

Tobit’s blindness results from his decision, despite the known risks, to once again bury an Israelite (i.e., to continue to mitigate against the original A). This repeated act, given what happened earlier, would naturally lead to something bad happening to Tobit as a response; but instead of being, for example, an even harsher response by the Assyrians for his recidivism, the bad result happens to him only incidentally. Though it would not have taken place had he not buried the Israelite, from one perspective on the events, the blinding has nothing to do with the burying: it is a coincidence.

Once Tobit is fated to remain blind after physicians unsuccessfully attempt to cure him, he endures four years of being “powerless” (ἀδύνατος, 2:10), that is, poor, helpless, and afflicted,[44] a period narrated with utmost brevity by the narrator:

(C C’ H^2_{neg} I^2_{neg})	Tobit is unable to be healed

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[43] See Moore, *Tobit*, 130; Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 136.

[44] The word ἀδύνατος is used throughout LXX Job for Hebrew אֶבְיוֹן and דַּל (e.g. 5:15).

The panoramic perspective on Tobit's attempts to heal himself, and the worsening situation he and his family are in, comprises a new stretch of exposition which prepares for the plot to develop towards a response to Tobit's blindness (the second A which developed), as if the story is truly starting now. What comes next, however, is a further devolution of the beginning towards a new instability in the story. Building on the exposition of the long period of time of fruitless attempts to heal the blindness, and given expression in the episode about the goat,[45] Anna reproaches Tobit for being responsible for the poverty their family faces: a further destabilization resulting from the blindness which can be designated as a function a ("small a"). Anna's reproach drives him to pray to Yahweh for death. In his prayer, Tobit expresses the view that his blindness is not a coincidence but is Yahweh's punishment for the apostasy of the Israelites and that, though he himself did not act wrongly, he deservedly receives punishment for what the Israelites have done (see 3:4-6). In this, he is resigned to death and, it is implied, to not seeking healing for his blindness (the original A).

Thus the beginning of *Tobit* culminates in a two-step destabilization of Tobit's world: he has become blind (A), and as a result his family is poor and supporting itself only with difficulty (a).[46] While Tobit is resigned to being blind forever, and dying an immanent death, the ideal reader may be suspect that function A (his blindness) will be addressed by C-actancy in the middle of the story. As Tobit's next actions in the plot show, however, he is only concerned with function a (his poor family).

Before the plot continues into the middle, however, a subplot is introduced: the narrator briskly shifts attention to a sequence of events occurring simultaneously with Tobit’s prayer in Media. Its protagonist, Sarah, is introduced *in medias res,* with an ongoing plight presented in a scene depicting the a household servant’s reproach that all seven of Sarah’s husbands have died on their wedding night.[47] The reproach is understandable, even if it seems unfair to Sarah: by not keeping a husband, and thus not having any children, the family of Raguel is threatened for survival, and thus the servant’s future is under threat.[48] In response to the reproach, Sarah ascends to the upper room of her father’s house distraught and, after deciding not to hang herself, prayed instead to Yahweh for death (3:10ff), a sequence of events that closely parallels what happened to Tobit. Thus, just after the functions A/a of Tobit had been introduced, but before the expected, ensuing reaction (C-actancy), there is a shift to a subplot consisting of a parallel situation. The implied reader marks Sarah’s plight as a function A: Sarah desires a husband but has been unable to keep one after many tries, a repeated process mirroring Tobit’s attempt to have his eyes healed:

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[45] For more discussion of this episode, see p. 231.

[46] The situation is exacerbated by the departure of Ahiqar, who was supporting Tobit's family for two years, for Elam (2:10).

A Sarah desires a husband
(C C’ G H^5_{neg} I^5_{neg})^{x7} Sarah prevented by Asmodeus

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[47] The Aramaic of 4QTob^b (which reads (…ן מן חדה..., “…from one…”) can be restored with some confidence as חסדין מן חדה, “reproachment from one.” For the restoration of חסדין “shame, disgrace, revilement,” since 4QpapTob ar at 3:10 preserves [ח]⌜ס⌝ד (Gk. ὀνειδίσωσιν). For this Aramaic word, cf. 4Q213a (Aramaic Levi Document) frag. 3-4, l.6: לא מתמחא שם חסדה “the name of her reproach will not be blotted out” (see Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of the Judaism 96 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 110, 236); as well as the phrase דבר חסד “word of disgrace” in Ben Sira 41:22 (Gk. λόγων ὀνειδισμοῦ). See also Edward M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 88.

[48] If the reason for the servant’s reproach initially was mysterious and narrated out of the blue and even seemed unfair (why reproach a poor woman whose husbands keep dying?), when the narrator eventually quotes the servant, the reason becomes clearer: Sarah has been physically abusing her servants—the Gk. verb μαστειγοῖς literally means “to whip, lash.” See Moore, *Tobit*, 148.

The parallel introduction of a function A in each is accompanied by numerous clues that the subplot is bound to be closely related to (what is now) the main plot-line,[49] not in the least in the way that Sarah was abruptly introduced at a crucial moment in Tobit's plight leading up to C-actancy. As we have seen, Tobit's and Sarah's plights are carefully placed in parallel, sharpening this coincidence and raising the suspicion that their fates are intertwined. First of all, the two pray at the same time in the story world. While initially said to happen more generally ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ, "on the same day,"[50] Tobit and Sarah both leave the place in which they said their prayer "at the same moment," ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ (3:17).[51] Thus they simultaneously pray for death after being harangued by a woman they are close to. More particularly, each ends their prayer by implying that their death would limit further reproach, in Tobit's case, by avoiding hearing any more of his wife's, and in Sarah's, by preventing Yahweh from hearing any more of her own.

2.2.1.2. Displacement by Postponement: Jonah

Unlike the other novellas, *Jonah* begins with no overt exposition, such as the specification of a time period (as in a dating formula, either the formal one found in *Esther* or the informal one in *Ruth*) nor a summarily-narrated general situation. While the novella does begin, like *Esther* and *Ruth*, with the word וַיְהִי, the usage of the verb in *Jonah* is not as an aspectual marker followed by an embedded circumstantial clause,[52] which can also be found at the beginning of compiled works like *Joshua* and *Judges* as well as at the beginning of episodes or other discrete units of narrative.[53] Instead, וַיְהִי is a main verb predicating the existence of its subject, דבר יהוה.[54] Without any exposition finding syntactic expression in a וַיְהִי-embedded circumstantial clause (or another formula, as in Dan 1:1), *Jonah* begins with the narration of an act of communication between two characters, Yahweh and Jonah (1:1-2). Not narrated in a typical fashion as such (i.e. “Yahweh said to Jonah”), this communication is instead expressed in the coded language of the phrase דְּבַר־יְהוָה with the verb היה*, literally “the word of Yahweh was,” which is used in Samuel and Kings[55] as well as in the literary prophets[56] when Yahweh speaks with prophets.[57] More specifically, the phrase דְּבַר־יְהוָה with the verb היה* in a narrative context can mark the beginning of a standard sequence of events (which we can call a script)[58] where Yahweh communicates a message to a prophet intended for another party, as well as the directions for how to deliver it, with the actual recitation by the prophet sometimes narrated, sometimes not. The phrase דְּבַר־יְהוָה is also used in a non-narrative context as a generic title for an oracle or collection of oracles ascribed to a prophet (e.g. Hos 1:1, Joel 1:1, Mic 1:1, Zeph 1:1) delivered as Yahweh's own words. Therefore, the opening sentence of the *Jonah* says (literally) "The word of Yahweh was to Jonah," but *means* "Yahweh commissioned Jonah as a prophet to deliver a message to someone else," implying that a message would follow. No other background on Jonah, nor concerning where the communication between Yahweh and Jonah happened, is given.[59]

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[49] In introducing the Sarah subplot, the narrator is careful and sparing in presenting detail, details which, nevertheless, lead the reader to speculate that her fate is intertwined in some way with Tobit's. Her father Raguel, who shares a name with Tobit's great-great-great-great grandfather, may be related to Tobit or of the same tribe of Naphtali. The kinship of Sarah and Tobias is not overtly mentioned until Raphael explains Anna's situation to Tobias (6:11ff). Nevertheless, Sarah is clearly a Judean. Intriguing also is her location in Media, which is where Tobit was keeping money (1:14).

[50] ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ is likely a rendering of the Hebrew phrase ביום ההוא (through Aramaic?), which could also be translated "at the same time." Note the absence of ἐγένετο corresponding to ויהי. In third person narrative, ביום ההוא is found with ויהי (Gen 26:32; 1 Sam 3:2) but more frequently without (Gen 15:18; Lev 22:30; 1 Sam 3:12; 1 Ki 8:64), especially in Late Biblical Hebrew (Est 8:1, 9:11; Neh 13:1; 1 Ch 16:7).

[51] ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ undoubtedly renders בעת ההוא, found in classical Hebrew narrative, both with ויהי (Gen 21:22, 38:1; 1 Ki 11:29) and without (Jos 5:2; Jdg 14:4; 1 Ki 14:1; 2 Ki 16:6, 18:16, 20:12, 24:10) and in Late Biblical Hebrew as well (Est 8:9; 1 Chr 21:28; 2 Chr 16:7).

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[52] See Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1976), 123 (§110). As an initial form in a discourse sense, ויהי as the head of a clause is marked morpho-syntactically as a continuative form, comprising the lexeme “and.”

[53] E.g. Gen 11:2, Ex 2:23; Lev 9:1; Num 7:1; 10:11; Deut 31:24; Jos 9:1; Jdg 11:4; 1 Sam 8:1; 1 Ki 18:1; Isa 7:1; Est 5:1; Neh 1:1; 2:1.

[54] Sasson, *Jonah*, 66–68, however, renders it as a temporal clause, with the first main clause starting with ויקם.

[55] E.g. with Samuel (1 Sam 15:10), Nathan (2 Sam 7:4), Shemaiah (1 Ki 12:22), Jehu son of Hanani (1 Ki 16:10), and Elijah (1 Ki 17:2). Cf. also Gen 15:1. As a designation for the inspired, directly communicated prophetic message, it is found e.g. in 1 Ki 17:2, 22:19 (more obliquely, 1 Ki 16:7, 2 Ki 3:12).

[56] E.g. Jer 1:2, 4; Ez 1:3; Hag 1:1, 3; Zech 1:1.

[57] As commentators of Jonah have noted, the formula וַיְהִי דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֶל is found in the middle of longer narrative works to mark the beginning of an episode which narrates the prophetic act of a prophet who has already been introduced, e.g. 1 Sam 15:10, 1 Ki 17:2; cf. also Jer 1:11 and Ezek 6:1, among dozens of other examples in these scrolls; Sasson, *Jonah*, 67; Simon, *Jonah: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*, 3-4. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah: A Commentary*, 98 suggests that the opening of the novella is meant to be especially akin to the Elijah stories.

Instead of immediately introducing a prophetic message, the דְּבַר־יְהוָה is a directive by Yahweh: "Arise, go to Nineveh, the large city, and proclaim against it" (1:2).[60] The reader still expects a message to follow,[61] but in 1:3, the story takes an unexpected turn: instead of the message, followed by a general movement towards Nineveh and a build-up towards some kind of event of opposition or testing, the narrator states that Jonah instead fled towards Tarshish.

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[58] A script is a stereotyped, set sequence of events that is meaningful and identifiable as a whole. The events are defined as things that should be done, with the relevant participant roles clearly defined. Scripts are inherently goal-directed, which means that the recognition of one, even a part thereof, facilitates the anticipation for how events will unfold. See Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 86; David Herman, *Story Logic: Problems and Possibilities of Narrative* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 89–90, 106ff.

[59] While it is possible that Jonah son of Amittai is known by a reader of the novella from 2 Kings 14:25 and to have prophesied during the reign of Jeroboam II, this does not eliminate the starkness of the opening and its lack of more explicit exposition.

[60] קוּם לֵךְ אֶל־נִינְוֵה הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה וּקְרָא עָלֶיהָ

[61] While ויהי דבר יהוה is not always followed by a quotation of the message the prophet is meant to deliver (as in e.g. Ezek 6:1), but by a directive (1 Sam 15:10, 1 Ki 17:20) or a conversation (Jer 1:11), since Yahweh mentions that Jonah is to deliver (קרא) a message, it is natural to think that the message will follow.

While a word like “but” or “however” could be used in translation, the Hebrew continues to be stark: all that is said is “Jonah arose” (קום* here used almost as an auxiliary, cueing that he is about to do something, which the reader assumes will be the first step in carrying out Yahweh’s mission), not to go to Nineveh, but “to flee to Tarshish.” The English misses the importance of the use of an infinitival construction, not a *wayyiqtol* form, for “flee” after ויקם: the narrator subtly communicates that flight was intended, but will not be successful.[62] Thus, the *wayyiqtol* verbs that follow (וירד, וימצא, ויתן, וירד) express Jonah’s *attempt* to flee from Yahweh, a harbinger of the difficulty for him that is to come.

Instead of a build-up towards a climactic confrontation in Nineveh, the story develops the tension that arises from Jonah’s refusal to go to Nineveh. His desire to flee from Yahweh and his mission makes Yahweh’s commission of Jonah a function A event from the latter’s perspective:

A Yahweh wants Jonah to go to Nineveh
(C) Jonah decides to not obey
C’ Jonah flees from Yahweh

No explicit reason for Jonah’s flight is provided. Especially in view of the interpretive frame of reference of the prophetic call expressed in the opening words of the novella, Jonah’s flight to

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[62] When used in this sense, ויקם, in classical prose, is almost always followed by another *wayyiqtol* verb and clause detailing what the character purposefully did (e.g. Gen 22:3, 31:17; Ex 2:17; Num 16:25; 1 Sam 3:6; 1 Ki 19:8). This occurs in Jon 3:3 and 3:6. When followed by ל + infinitive construct, the meaning is that the character started to do something. This is a rare construction, found e.g. in Jdg 19:9, when the Levite gets up to go but is stopped by someone; cp. with v. 10 when the subject actually departs, where ויקם וילך is found); see also 2 Sam 12:17, where what the actor intended to do did not happen right away.

Tarshish evokes the literary motif of the reluctant prophet[63] (seen in the portrayals of Moses,[64] Balaam—not only of Num 22-24 but perhaps the Deir Alla inscription[65]—and Jeremiah), but instead of voicing his objection (to Yahweh or otherwise), this prophet simply flees. Moreover, no reason for the prophet’s reluctance is given, leaving the reader to infer what, in terms of the fabula is the specific nature of the function A/a that motivates him. One possibility suggested by the text is that Jonah was afraid of what would happen to him at Nineveh, a city Yahweh forebodingly notes to be a “large city” whose wrongdoing (רעה) that he has taken note of (1:2b). Jonah is being asked to travel to the city itself, into the heart of Israel’s greatest foe. How will they react to a prophetic condemnation delivered by an Israelite from a god who is not their own? Jonah may believe that his life will be endangered by Yahweh’s fiery destruction of the city as well.[66]

Starting in 1:4, Jonah’s attempt to flee is matched by Yahweh’s desire to pursue him, whether to punish him, to woo him in order to accept the mission, or to ensure that this happens by any means possible. While Moses, Balaam, and Jeremiah engaged in dialogue with Yahweh after expressing their reluctance, Jonah’s actions have ruled that out. Instead of narrating from either Jonah’s or Yahweh’s perspective, and indeed without giving us any insight into Jonah’s understanding of the events at all, the narrator brings in a new cast of characters, the ships’ hands and skipper, and portrays the devastating storm from their perspective as they try to save their lives, and eventually discover what is to blame for it, and how they can rectify it.[67] In this scene, Jonah's efforts to escape from Yahweh coincides with Yahweh's efforts to round him up. Each of Jonah's rebellious actions finds a counterpart from Yahweh's perspective, eliciting responses from Yahweh that operate under their own function a ("small a"), Jonah's unwillingness to go to Nineveh. As soon as Yahweh hurls a mighty wind against the ship (1:4), the failure of Jonah's attempt is clear. Eventually, the sailors are able to save themselves by throwing Jonah overboard, despite one last attempt to row back to shore under their own power (1:13). Jonah is the one who suggests that they do this. By appearances, it comes across as selfless and sacrificial, but his motivation in having the sailors throw him overboard remains murky. Knowing that Yahweh was the cause of the storm,[68] and thus that it was impossible to flee from him and shirk his mission, did he think that death was his only escape, or was he counting on Yahweh saving his life? Neither option precludes Jonah acting, or being forced to act, for the sake of the lives of the sailors, but if suicide was his goal, this would represent one last, extreme effort to attempt to avoid having to go to Nineveh; but once he is saved miraculously by Yahweh via the giant fish, it would be clear to Jonah that there is no way to avoid the mission to Nineveh.

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[63] Cf. David A. Lambert, *How Repentance Became Biblical: Judaism, Christianity, and the Interpretation of Scripture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 116.

[64] See Jeffrey Stackert, *A Prophet like Moses: Prophecy, Law, and Israelite Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 55–62.

[65] See *COS* 2.142 for Balaam’s sorrowful response to the revelation he was given by gods.

[66] Yahweh’s claim that their wickedness “has come up” (עלתה) to him could remind the reader of the flood as well as the destruction of Sodom (Gen 6:5, 18:21); cf. Simon, *Jonah: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*, 4–5.

For an overview of the back-and-forth attempts of Jonah to flee from Yahweh and Yahweh's attempt to bring him back, see figure 3.

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[67] For more discussion of this episode, see p. 235.

[68] The narrator does not tell us when he realizes this, but it must have been before the lot pointed to him.

Figure 3: The fabula of Jonah 1:1-3:3 (simplified)

Yahweh attempting to deliver message to Nineveh			*Jonah attempting to avoid being a prophet*	
(A^1)	Nineveh is too wicked			
(C)	Yahweh needs to send a prophet			
C’	Yahweh commissions Jonah to deliver message	→	A^2	Yahweh wants Jonah to go to Nineveh
			(C)	Jonah decides to not listen
(a^3)	Jonah is unwilling to go to Nineveh	←	C’	Jonah flees from Yahweh
(C)	Yahweh decides to retrieve Jonah		D	Jonah must flee as far & as quickly as he can
C’	Yahweh brings a storm against the ship	→	E_{neg}	Jonah is unable to be far from Yahweh
(C)	Yahweh decides to save Jonah	←	D	Jonah tries to escape Yahweh by suicide
C’	Yahweh rescues Jonah from the ocean	→	E_{neg}	Jonah’s life is saved by the giant fish
(H^3)	Yahweh convinces Jonah to obey call		(G_{neg})	Jonah is unable to avoid Yahweh
(I^3)	Jonah is willing to go to Nineveh			
C’	Yahweh commissions Jonah again	→	H^2_{neg}	Jonah agrees to go to Nineveh
			(I^2_{neg})	Jonah is no longer free from Yahweh

As a result of Yahweh’s pursuit, Jonah is unable to avoid the prophetic call, which means, with even death not an option for escaping from Yahweh, he is forced to do Yahweh’s bidding. When Jonah receives the call the second time, he definitively surrenders the attempt to counteract function A^2 by agreeing (it is implied) to go to Nineveh. In 3:1-3, the narrative restarts with Jonah accepting Yahweh’s mission, and the postponed story of a prophet traveling to Nineveh is finally under way.

Thus, although the C-actancy expected at the beginning of the novella is postponed until 3:3, when Jonah finally goes to Nineveh with Yahweh’s message, a significant amount of story intervenes between the beginning of the story and the transition to the middle.

2.2.1.3. Displacement by Both Means: Esther

The beginning of *Esther* includes features of both types of beginnings. The primary fabula, which is centered on Esther and Mordecai confronting the evil Haman and his decree ordering all Judeans to be put to death, begins in earnest only in chapter 3 when Haman learns that Mordecai refuses to bow down to him and with the fallout from this defiance. Before that, the novella opens with an extended period of exposition, starting with a feast scene in the court of Ahasuerus that, though leading directly into the introduction of Mordecai and Esther—after dismissing Vashti, Ahasuerus looks for a new queen, and Esther is one of the women chosen—is extensive in its own right and “striking for the *absence* of the chief characters” of the novella.[69] Instead, in the strict terms of the series of events that make up the plot, the scene of Ahasuerus’s feast eventuates, through a chain of causality, the two function A events of the novella that emerge in chapter 3, the hatred of Haman for Mordecai and the decree that all Judeans be put to death (the latter developing out of the former). For some, however, the feast scene comes across as being “by no means indispensable” for the rest of the novella.[70] To paraphrase Michael V. Fox, if the purpose of the opening scene was simply to “get to” Mordecai and Esther, why was it not instead narrated in a few verses? While the opening scene is a rich contribution to different aspects of the novella,[71] not in the least in the characterization of Ahasuerus who, though not a prominent protagonist in much of the novella, still plays a crucial role, from the perspective of plot, the opening scene strongly influences the reader’s orientation to the developing fabula.

The setting in the royal court of a despotic Achaemenian ruler, which in other contemporary works of fiction is a hostile environment for Judeans,[72], may hint that a conflict over the place that Judeans have in the foreign empire will occupy the story. The reader’s suspicion is encouraged by the portrayal of Ahasuerus, who in anger dismissed his queen Vashti for not appearing at a banquet and who was convinced by his courtiers to promulgate a decree across the empire that not only formally deposed Vashti (as could be expected), but which was intended to encourage, or enforce, the subordination of wives to their husbands (1:20). This curious decree follows the brief but puzzling notice that the king made a decree (דת) earlier that all should drink as much as they wanted at the feast (1:7-8).[73] Angry though he may be, and thus evoking the stock character of the angry king like those in the Daniel stories, Ahasuerus also comes across as easily influenced by his courtiers and willing to make decrees at the drop of a hat.[74] Is he a king worthy of fear and respect or a "spoiled playboy"?[75] The fabula thus far can be represented as follows:

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[69] Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 24. Fox states also that “anything else that bears directly on the crucial events to come” is absent, but this is not true, since Esther and Mordecai would not be in or around the royal court if Ahasuerus had not dismissed Vashti.

[70] Clines, *The Esther Scroll*, 31.

[71] For a discussion, see Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 24–26.

[72] Namely, the stories of *Daniel*, including *Bel and the Dragon*, as well as *Tobit*.

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[73] Presumably so that nobody was concerned about overindulging beyond what would normally be rationed. The MT appears to mean, "The drinking was according to the law (there was none compelling(?))," וְהַשְּׁתִיָּה כַדָּת אֵין אֹנֵס. The word אֹנֵס is pointed as a Qal participle. The second phrase is often said to imply something contradictory to the previous: that, on the one hand, the drinking seems to be given special dispensation by the king, but then is said to be without constraint (see Paton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther*, 141–42; Carey A. Moore, *Esther*, The Anchor Bible 7B (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971), 7–8); this arguably is how the verse was understood by the LXX (sim. in the Vulgate), which accordingly adds that there was drinking "according to no prescribed law," ὁ δὲ πότος οὗτος οὐ κατὰ προκείμενον νόμον ἐγένετο (followed by Moore). In the Alpha text, אין אנס is omitted. Since the meaning of the sentence with אין אנס omitted makes perfect sense, and says that, by royal decree, everyone could drink as much as they wanted, one easy solution is to takeאין אנס as a later insertion, possibly of an explanatory (marginal or superlinear) comment, althought it does not immediately follow how such a comment could clarify. For אנס* (which is borrowed from Aramaic) meaning here "constrain" or "keep from (drinking)," cf. Dan 4:6 וְכָל־רָז לָא־אָנֵס לָךְ, which in context means "no mystery being too difficult for you," that is, prevents from acting (LXX (Theodotion) translates πᾶν μυστήριον οὐκ ἀδυνατεῖ σε). Cf. Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 17. In this case, אנס may be better understood to be a noun, as in the NJPS: "And the rule for the drinking was, 'No restrictions!'"

[74] Moore, *Esther*, 14 suggests that it is "ridiculous" that the king "brought into full play the communications system of the entire Persian empire" to order wives to submit to husbands.

[75] Jon Levenson, *Esther: A Commentary*, The Old Testament Library (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 46. For a discussion of the trope of the angry king in Judean literature, see Tessa Rajak, "The Angry Tyrant," in *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 50 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 110–27 and Michael J. Chan, "Ira Regis: Comedic Inflections of Royal Rage in Jewish Court Tales," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 103, no. 1 (2013): 1–25. Chan argues for pervasive comic aspects of the portrayal of kings in contemporary literature: for example, Nebuchadnezzar of Dan 2's impossible demand that his magicians not only interpret his dream, but tell him what he dreamt in the first place.

A	Vashti offends Ahasuerus by not coming to the feast
B	Ahasuerus’s advisers suggest that a decree should be issued
C	Ahasuerus decides that their advice is good
C’	Ahasuerus propagates a decree that deposes Vashti
H^1	Vashti is deposed as queen
I^1	Vashti can no longer offend Ahasuerus

The empire-wide search for women to replace Vashti follows (2:2-4):

A	Ahasuerus is in need of a new queen
B	Ahasuerus’s advisers suggest conducting a search for a new queen
C	Ahasuerus decides that their advice is good
C’	Ahasuerus entrusts the vetting process to Hegai

The continuation of the scene, however, is interrupted by the introduction of the Judean Mordecai and his beautiful niece Esther (2:5ff). With far-reaching implications for the fabula on the order of the introduction of Boaz in Ruth 2:1, the reader immediately knows that Esther is going to replace Vashti, not in the least because she is noted to be extraordinarily beautiful. Moreover, given how Ahasuerus is given to anger when he detects insubordination, the reader also strongly suspects that her ascent will lead to the main crisis of the story; by drawing attention to Mordecai’s descent from Judean exiles under Jeconiah, the Judeanness of Esther is strongly suggested to be the underlying cause. This becomes explicit in 2:10: after the reader is told how Esther is favored by Hegai, who was grooming women to appear before Ahasuerus, the narrator, parenthetically, tells the reader that Esther kept her ethnicity a secret “because Mordecai had enjoined her to not do it” (2:10), that is, reveal her origin. While the C-actant of this sequence is Ahasuerus, who is in search of a new queen, Esther is presented in 2:8-10 as if *she* is a C-actant undergoing a test (donor functions), passing it by keeping her ethnicity a secret. While the actual threat is only implicit, the reader is lead to believe that a function A, “Esther is endangered by being a Judean," or something similar, will soon take shape. The likelihood of this inches closer to being reality once Ahasuerus, unsurprisingly, chooses Esther to be his new queen (2:16-7):

D Hegai presents Ahasuerus with Esther

  D Esther is taken into the court's harem
  E Esther keeps her ethnicity a secret
  F Esther is admired by all

G Ahasuerus loves Esther most of all
H Ahasuerus makes Esther his queen
I Ahasuerus has a new queen

To commemorate Esther, Ahasuerus throws a feast in celebration (2:18), evoking the downfall of Vashti. Ominously, the narrator calls it "the feast of Esther" (מִשְׁתֵּה אֶסְתֵּר). Finally, the scene ends in 2:20 with the narrator reiterating that Esther did not reveal her ethnicity: "Esther did not inform of of her ancestry, just like Mordecai had commanded her."[76] It is difficult to overstate the suspicion that a reader would have that trouble impends for Esther. Since Mordecai is closely associated with her, it could very well be suspected that he would be involved as well.

After this, the narrator transitions rather unexpectedly to a sequence that begins like a brief episode, where it is reported that Mordecai learned about a plot to assassinate Ahasuerus (2:21-23):

A Ahasuerus is the subject of an attempted assassination plot
B Mordecai learns of the plot (somehow)
C Mordecai decides to report it to Esther
C' Mordecai reports it to Esther
C/C' Esther reports the plot to Ahasuerus
H The perpetrators are arrested
I The plot is foiled

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[76] אֵין אֶסְתֵּר מַגֶּדֶת מֽוֹלַדְתָּהּ וְאֶת־עַמָּהּ כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה עָלֶיהָ מָרְדֳּכָי.

This happens at an unspecified time when Esther first became queen ("in those days" or "at that time," בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם), and thus is narrated without any overt connection to what came before. The action proper is relayed without details and in a summary fashion: no motivation is given for the eunuchs, no details about their plot, and no information on how Mordecai found out.[77] The result is given in a brief series of clauses: he told Esther, and Esther told the king "in Mordecai's name," suggesting that she informed the king that Mordecai was the one who found this out. The matter is investigated, but it is not said by whom (i.e. another opportunity to fill in more background on the eunuchs is passed up), and the two eunuchs are executed. Finally, Mordecai's deed was written in an official registry or book of annals[78] in the king's presence[79] (2:23), that is, the official recognition of Mordecai's deed is worded as if it took place in a court ceremony before the king.

This event is unexpected in several ways. Esther, and not Mordecai, though an important figure, had been the focus of the narrative thus far, with Ahasuerus positioned as a likely antagonist; yet Esther is still involved in the affair, as her involvement in the intrigue makes clear.[80] Second, the events in the episode are only described in a general way, placing the emphasis not on what the events themselves mean, but on what they lead to in the story: a situation where Mordecai—another Judean, with all the worry that goes along with that—is primed to be honored by the king. Thus, the events read like the beginning of the fabula, building towards a function A, casting the previous scenes as background and exposition. Originally expecting Esther to find trouble in the court, the reader now turns their attention to another Judean on the verge of prominence, and what kind of complication that will (finally) entail. One possibility is that Mordecai's deed will force him to reveal his ethnicity (either deliberately or not), possibly in concert with his relationship to Esther; what if Mordecai is put into a problematic position because of his ethnicity, but Esther's is still a secret?

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[77] The verb in the Nifal, וַיִּוָּדַע, cloaks this information.

[78] סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים

[79] לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

[80] Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 40 puzzles over the reason for Esther's involvement.

As the narrative continues "after these things" (אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה), Ahasuerus is said to honor someone; this would be expected, and not honoring Mordecai would be strange.[81] But this is not what happens: a man named Haman instead, mentioned for the first time, is honored.[82] It is striking that Haman is not introduced with a backstory that explains any of his motives for rising up in the ranks, nor detailing exactly what he did to achieve this. Instead, his promotion is starkly related immediately after Mordecai does something that itself deserves this. The only information given about Haman, besides his father Hammedatha, is that he is an Agagite, that is, descended from Amalek, an ancient enemy of Israel. This does not clarify his position of prominence, but is intended to foreshadow his enmity with Mordecai, though on the basis alone of the abrupt insertion of the unknown Haman into the story and his usurpation of Mordecai's place of prominence, the reader could already suspect as much. Haman's new status, according to the king's direct order, is accorded much dignity, involving kneeling and bowing down in obeisance. Mordecai refuses. The courtiers wonder why he would transgress the king’s order (3:3); they even tell Haman about it, trying to threaten or goad Mordecai into compliance for fear of retribution. The stage may be set for a confrontation between Mordecai and Ahasuerus, with Haman as the intermediary, over the disobeyed order; but by 3:5, Haman is the one who grows angry (much as Ahasuerus grew angry in 1:12). While the reader originally was led to believe that Esther’s Judeanness would cause trouble, it ends up being Mordecai’s that does; and while Ahasuerus would have naturally been suspected to be the source of the animus, Haman now is. While the trouble initially concerns Mordecai alone, Haman, in anger, makes the extreme choice of punishing the entire Judean populace of the empire, all because he happened to have been “told whose people Mordecai was” (3:6) by the informants.[83] Esther thus ends up being endangered because of her ethnicity, but for roundabout and ironic reasons: though Mordecai was adamant that Esther not reveal her ethnicity, he has no problem doing so!

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[81] Cf. Moore, *Esther*, 35; Jonathan Grossman, *Esther: The Outer Narrative and The Hidden Reading*, Siphrut 6 (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2011), Jonathan Grossman, Esther: The Outer Narrative and The Hidden Reading, Siphrut 6 (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2011),. Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 40 compares stories in Herodotus of Persian kings diligently rewarding acts like Mordecai's.

[82] It is reasonable to assume that, on first reading or hearing, one would expect Mordecai to follow אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה גִּדַּל הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ אֶת־.

A3	Haman wants to get rid of Mordecai
C	Haman decides to have all Judeans killed
C’	Haman promulgates a decree in Ahasuerus’s name
A	All Judeans lives are threatened

Devolution is evident in the beginning of *Esther* in the sequence of events that results in the anti-Judean decree: Ahasuerus’s need for a new queen (including the events leading up to that), which is it’s own function A/a, leads to the ascent of Esther, a Judean woman. With her comes her concerned uncle, who, spending much of his time around the court to look after his niece, happens to offend a newly-promoted official, leading to the horrific decree as an extremely over-reactive attempt at vengeance. Unlike the other novellas featuring devolution, however, this chain of causality does not have the same kind of development, where an initial function A/a that is left outstanding develops into more specific events; indeed, if there is any function A before Haman appears, it is Ahasuerus's problem with Vashti, but this is confronted by the king and quickly solved.

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[83] The reader learns in 3:4 that Mordecai explained his refusal to bow (הִגִּיד לָֽהֶם, “he told them”): because he is a Judean, the implication being that a Judean would not bow to an Agagite, as Haman is said to be at his introduction (3:1). See Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 45–46 for a discussion of this clause’s placement and meaning.

Since the reader expects Esther, even before she becomes queen, to find trouble because of her Judeanness and for it to be manifest in her relationship to the king, something that does eventually happen (but for roundabout ways), we can also speak of a kind of postponement in the beginning of *Esther* as well. With Esther introduced early in the scene where Ahasuerus begins searching for a new queen, and on the heels of the first queen being dismissed with the full force of the law due to her intransigence, the reader strongly suspects that the ensuing function A of the novella will be a risk Esther will face in the king's court due to her being a Judean. The suspicion is strengthened by Mordecai's solemn charge that she keep her ethnicity hidden, and by the suggestive summary statement found after he has risen through the ranks, that she obeyed Mordecai. The build-up towards the expected function A takes an unexpected turn with the development of the conflict between Mordecai and Haman: eventually, it is Mordecai who confirms the reader's suspicion, facing a function A situation due to his Judeanness, yet the immediate threat to Mordecai is almost immediately expanded to cover all the Judeans in the empire.

2.2.2. Middles

The beginning of a story crosses the threshold into its middle once and for all with the enactment of C-actancy in response to a primary function A/a. In dramatic terms (borrowing the terminology of Freytag's pyramid), this consists of what can be called the rising action or the momentum towards the climax of the story. In the Aristotelian terms discussed in Chapter 1, the middle consists of the *desis* towards the furthest point of tension, culminating in the climax or moment of *lusis*. Besides function C and C', which can take place in more than one cycle, the middles can consist of the donor sequences (D-F) which generally prepare the C-actant for the definitive undoing of the primary function A/a. The undoing takes place in relationship to a climax of some sorts. Sometimes the events of the climax itself undoes the primary function A/a of the fabula immediately (function H), but the undoing may happen afterwards (prepared for by the result of the donor functions and/or function G).

It is important to keep the climax separate from function H or its lead-in: while these two aspects of the plot are related to the resolution of function A/a, climax is both a term for the most important moment of a story as well as an experiential component of the plot when the reader, while function H, a strict concept of fabula, is the event that the ideal reader recognizes to be the moment where this happens. In service of that, the narrator can narrate the events that make up function H (more accurately: that the reader encodes as such) in a climactic style which fosters a heightened interest and feeling of suspense.

Two common ways of building towards the climax are utilized in the novellas. One way, found most markedly in *Ruth* and *Judith*, and to a more limited extent in *Esther*, is a delay of the

C-actancy by prolonging the wait between the introduction of the primary C-actant and the function C/C’ itself, as well as the rest that follow. This will be treated in this section. Another way, found most blatantly in *Tobit*, but also in *Judith*, is when the substance of the novella’s climax is given away ahead of time through foreshadowing. Since this is a prominent kind of plot dynamism across the Judean novellas, I will treat it separately below.[84]

In §2.4.1 below (“Turning Points and Climaxes”), I will discuss in more detail the most consequential part of the middles of the novellas: the turning points and climaxes which transition into the endings. Because the nature of the climaxes in the novellas is an important component of the picture of the the scale of their plots, specifically, of their dynamism, this aspect of the plots needs to be treated in its own section, in service of the dissertation’s general argument. Unfortunately, this will lead to the slightly awkward position in §2.4.4. of discussing the endings of the novellas before treating the events that lead to the ending in the first place.

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[84] See p. 241ff.

2.2.2.1. Delayed C-actancy

The emergence of the C-actant of a story represents a “coming-into-being of intent” which is often “the keystone element that permits us to construct a causal sequence” in a story”;[85] in other words, the reader relies on a main protagonist’s endeavors in responding to the disequilibrium of the story to make sense of the story in the first place. We have already seen an example of this in the way that Esther acts like a C-actant in Est 2 before she is revealed as such, and how this leads the reader to posit an immanent function A. For this reason, Kafalenos refers to the “comfort” of C-actancy for the reader, who not only is reading for the ending but is eagerly expecting to see how the story gets there.

In a plot characterized by delayed C-actancy, the primary function C/C’ is not only expected by the reader, but eagerly so. While the difference between function C/C’ and function H, when (if successful) function A/a is finally reversed, implies that some kind of delay of action is always associated with a story, this delay means accompanying the C-actant often through trials (the donor functions) or sometimes more than one failed cycle of attempts. In the Judean novellas, on the contrary, the fabulas are significantly advanced before even the first move towards function H via function C/C’ occurs. When this does not happen immediately, various effects are engendered, such as increased expectation and the tension it brings, or surprise when the novella takes an unexpected turn.

Besides the primary C-actant in each novella who accomplishes the definitive function(s) H, it is noteworthy that all of the novellas contain secondary C-actants in supporting roles. The great majority of these non-primary C-actants in the novellas are found in the beginnings, in the lead-in to the main part of the fabula, with the exceptions of *Jonah* and *Tobit*, discussed below. The relatively crowded field of supporting characters contributes to general delay of C-actancy delay when it comes to the central part of each fabula. Once the main C-actants are introduced by the middle of each novella, there has already been in most cases a significant delay. There are three types of secondary C-actant: 1. preliminary, 2. antagonistic, and 3. sub-fabula C-actants.

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[85] Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 68.

1. *Preliminary C-actants*. As discussed above, all of the novellas in some way delay the central part of the fabula. Naturally, this opens up different storytelling possibilities in the interregnum of the beginning. Each of the following C-actants is active during the displaced beginning part of each novella.

- *Jonah*. Jonah's attempt to shirk Yahweh's call is the first C-actancy encountered in the novella, although it is secondary to the central part of the plot: the delivery of Yahweh's message to Nineveh. Although Jonah eventually succumbs and acts as Yahweh's intermediary, before that he is an obstacle to Yahweh: as long as Jonah is pursuing his own function A (the undesirability of going to Nineveh), the primary fabula cannot be underway.
- *Ruth*. The story passes through several rounds of C-actancy before culminating in Boaz's negotiations to secure the right to marry Ruth: Elimelech, saving his family from the famine (and given relatively infinitesimal narrative time); Naomi and Ruth, forced to find support as widows; and Ruth, in particular, in need of a husband, sent by Naomi to convince Boaz.
- *Esther*. Ahasuerus is the C-actant of the preliminary fabula, which concludes once he has

found a new queen, which creates the circumstances for the main fabula to get underway. After this, the next C-actant in the order of narration is Esther—although without an explicit function A/a to act against—then Mordecai and Esther together, cooperating to foil the plot against Ahasuerus. Eventually, Esther will step into the role of C-actant in response to the threat posed by Haman.

- *Tobit*. Tobit himself is a preliminary C-actant in several ways: he attempts to continue to lead a pious life in a hostile environment (Nineveh under Sennacherib), and as a result of his blinding (occurring as an apparently random accident resulting from his stubborn decision to continue burying dead Israelites), he attempts unsuccessfully to heal himself. His final action as a C-actant is his decision to take care of his family to the best of his ability by sending Tobias to Media to fetch money. Although the primary C-actancy passes to Tobias at this point, Tobit still undergoes a series of donor functions as a C-actant, concomitant with his sending of Tobit: he risks losing Tobias on a dangerous journey, but perseveres in his decision to send him, finding a suitable guide (Azariah/Raphael) to take Tobias to Media, and trusting that God will take care of him. Finally, Raphael is a C-actant in the novella. Although the reader sees him acting generally like a C-actant, being sent by Yahweh to guide carefully the unfolding events, the revelation at the end of the novella that Tobit was being tested by Yahweh anchors this in its own fabula sequence: Yahweh desires to have Tobit be a model for pious living, and sends Raphael to both test him to see if he is up to the job (he is), and to heal him, so that (it is implied) he can continue to live as an example for all. Raphael is the one who accomplishes this.

- *Judith*. The first C-actant of the novella is Nebuchadnezzar, attempting to rally his allies to fight against Ecbatana. The C-actancy then passes to his general Holofernes, whom he appoints to go ahead of him to his rebellious western vassals, with the goal of forcing them to submit to him. With the impending Assyrian invasion, the high priest Joakim is the specific C-actant from Israel who acts to combat the impending Assyrian invasion, although the Israelites in general are represented as preparing for it (cf. 4:4-5).

2. *Antagonistic C-actants*. A special subtype, the novellas which contain plots featuring antagonists feature the latter as C-actants pursuing a goal that is to the detriment of the main, Judean protagonist(s).

- *Jonah*. Jonah is technically an antagonist for the first part of the novella, since he pursues a goal—escaping from Yahweh and not going to Nineveh—that is diametrically opposed to Yahweh's.[86] After Jonah delivers the prophecy, his antagonistic role is brought out explicitly.[87]
- *Esther*. If Jonah is an antagonist, then Haman is a true villain and direct instigator of misfortune for other characters, operating with the goal of getting rid of Mordecai and attempting to achieve that goal as a C-actant by promulgating the anti-Judean decree, a function C/C' that is moderately successful, though only initially. When his anger against Mordecai is raised again, he engages in a second series of C functions in planning to have him hanged the next morning.

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[86] Cf. the definition of antagonist in Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 6.

[87] For more discussion, see pp. 198ff.

- *Judith*. Nebuchadnezzar and Holofernes are encountered as C-actants first, the former disappearing from the narrative after his commission of Holofernes. Holofernes is the novella's central villain.

3. *Supporting C-actants*. The third and final category of secondary C-actants are those who are found only in limited fabula sequences embedded within larger sequences. These are minor characters who, nevertheless, are elaborated to some degree by the narrator. In each case, these C-actants are involved in complete sequences (function A to I, though not always including every possible function) that are, ultimately, plot devices to advance the story.

- *Jonah*. The novella contains two scenes that feature minor characters: the storm at sea and the conversion of Nineveh. In the former, the sailors are C-actants who try to save their lives (C/C'); they accomplish this by identifying the cause of the storm (Jonah's flight) and by casting Jonah overboard. The storm episode is a fully realized fabula with each function from A to I, and includes two sequences of donor functions, the first unsuccessful (the attempt to save the ship by natural means), the second successful (determining that Jonah is to blame and casting him overboard). In the scene at Nineveh, the Ninevites, and their king in particular, are C-acants with the goal of avoiding destruction by Yahweh, and are successful. The Ninevites are one of the few C-actants beyond the primary C-actant of each novella that takes part in the middle of a novella.
- *Tobit*. Sarah's role in the novella is in many ways that of a C-actant in a supporting role. Her C-actancy is mostly latent, however. narrated only retrospectively (via the harangue

of her female servant) as her seven-time failed attempt to marry (3:8). Although Sarah's fabula is in many ways parallel to Tobit's, especially from the perspective of the ending, it is mostly subordinate to Tobit's.

Besides generally contributing to the expansive feel of the novellas, the focus on fabula sequences centered on some of the secondary C-actants is a primary means for the narrator to build suspense for the eventual action of the primary C-actant. This is evident especially in the antagonistic behavior of Jonah, where the exciting and action-packed scene where Yahweh brings him around to being receptive to the mission makes more acute the expectation for the climactic confrontation at Nineveh. The initial scenes with Ahasuerus in *Esther* serve much the same function, though, unlike in *Jonah*, they do not postpone the pursuit of an already established function A, but strongly hint about what the function A will be, with Ahasuerus being positioned as an antagonist even before Judeans are relevant to the story, and doubly so when Esther and Mordecai are introduced. In *Tobit*, it is not apparent for a significant stretch that the main C-actant of the novella will be Tobias, Tobit's son, and not Tobit himself, even though he is mentioned a few times early on.[88]

A more elaborate delay of C-actancy concerns an already introduced main character who the reader, for various reasons, believes to be the primary C-actant of the novella. By keeping the reader in the dark about what the C-actant's motives are, about what exactly they are doing in response to function A/a, the reader may "pencil in" a provisional or general function C/C', and wait for more direction. This approach is a major part of the storytelling art of *Ruth*, *Esther*, and

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[88] Tobias is introduced very briefly in a biographical notice in 1:9, and is mentioned again in 1:20 as (along with Anna) the only thing Tobias still had after his property was confiscated under Sennacherib, as well as at 2:1, at the beginning of the feast scene.

Judith.

In *Ruth*, though Boaz is introduced as a likely C-actant in virtue of being a possible גאל for Ruth, he does not step into this role until the novella's climax, where he confronts the nearer kinsman of Elimelech. Before this, the novella passes through several preliminary phases of C-actancy, reaching all the way back to Elimelech; starting with the advent of Boaz on the scene, however, the C-actancy of Ruth and Naomi is expected to give way to Boaz's C-actancy. During this protracted build-up, the reader is unsure of Boaz's motives when it comes to the major question of whether Boaz will act as a גאל or not.

After his introduction, the ensuing scene where Ruth begins gleaning to support herself and Naomi brings him, as expected, onto the stage. Boaz looms large over the scene from the very start. Identified as a likely C-actant by the reader due to his suggestively timed introduction at 2:1, the narrator overtly states that it is Ruth's luck to glean in his field in 2:3.[89] Leaving Ruth in the dark about the potential relief that may come because of the owner of the field in which she happened to begin gleaning, but making the coincidence more than obvious to the reader, the narrator steers the interest of the story away from a dramatic unfolding of events, to one consisting of different, coextensive levels of understanding (and suspicion) concerning the meaning of the narrated events, each anchored on different centers of perception on the story. In Ruth's case, she is unaware that she gleans in the field of a kinsman of Elimelech (and he being an honorable man, or a man of means, at that), but as she begins to glean and meets Boaz, who is exceptionally kind to her, and when he tells her that her acts of loyalty (חסד) to Naomi are well known and ensures that she receives ample grain to feed her and Naomi for the duration of the harvest, she believes that she is beyond fortunate to “find favor in the eyes” of someone like Boaz (a hope she expressed to Naomi in 2:2, and which, in her own words to Boaz in 2:10, was fulfilled). For the reader, Boaz is expected to be a C-actant even before Ruth begins gleaning, and now, given his proximity to her, a function C/C’ in terms of Ruth’s own disadvantage seems imminent. There is no apparent movement towards or against Ruth’s disadvantage in this scene, however. Rather, Boaz plays against Naomi and Ruth’s general misfortune situation which they share by providing Ruth with an excess of grain and making her gleaning as easy as possible, not *as* a C-actant, but by *responding* to a C-actant, Ruth. In his dialogue with Ruth in 2:8ff, Boaz makes it clear that he affords Ruth extra grain and protection because of “all that you have done with” her mother-in-law by staying with her and not remaining in Moab with her family (2:11). In other words, this is an empowerment of Ruth (function F) as a consequence of her earlier successful attempt to convince Naomi to allow her to stay.

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[89] "It was her luck to be a part of a field belonging to Boaz," וַיִּקֶר מִקְרֶהָ חֶלְקַת הַשָּׂדֶה לְבֹעַז. It is unclear if the חלקה or the שדה belongs to Boaz. The word מקרה refers to something that happens outside the control of the person concerned; see Deut 23:11 and 1 Sam 6:9.

When Ruth returns home and tells Naomi about Boaz, the contrasting centers of understanding on the events in the field continue to develop distinctly. For the first time, a character in the story assesses Boaz’s role as a potential C-actant against Ruth’s situation as a widow. Furthermore, Naomi’s discussion of Boaz sharpens the reader’s sense of his impending crucial role. Naomi informs Ruth that she has been gleaning in the field of “someone close” (a קרוב) who is one of the redeeming kinsmen (גאל) in Elimelech’s family (2:19). Not called either of these terms by the narrator when first introduced in 2:1, Boaz is confirmed to be a גאל, something the reader may already have suspected.[90] These two terms together, besides making explicit the obligation that Boaz has to take care of Naomi and Ruth suspected by the reader, are found in Pentateuchal laws concerning the same general custom.[91] Calling Boaz a קרוב, even apart from potentially evoking Pentateuchal law, implies that his obligation is extensive: more reason to believe he will rise as the C-actant against Ruth's function A. For Ruth, this explains his kind treatment: while Boaz explained that he was rewarding Ruth for her kindness and loyalty to Naomi, Naomi's revelation that he is a גאל tells Ruth that he was also acting out of his own obligation of loyalty to indigent members of his משפחת.

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[90] Naomi first identifies Boaz more generally as a קרוב, a word that elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible by itself

With Boaz's role now concretely expressed as a potential גאל, the reader notes that, when talking to Ruth in the previous scene, Boaz implied a knowledge of Naomi and of Ruth's relationship to her (2:11), but says nothing to Ruth about being a kinsman of Elimelech's. Boaz appears to be fully cognizant that he was acting out of his obligation to Ruth and Naomi as a kinsman, perhaps even as a גאל. The reader, however, knows that he could do more, something amplified by his obvious lack of further response to Ruth: though Ruth remained among Boaz's female servants for the duration of the harvest, as on the day she met Boaz, the harvest concludes with Ruth having no further interaction with him. Though not made into an explicit issue, Boaz's lack of movement towards helping Ruth further, though he is a קרוב and a גאל—in other words,

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refers to a close companion that is not necessarily kin, but then clarifies that he is מגאלנו, "one of our redeemers." In Ex 32:27, קרוב listed as a third kind of relation after אח "brother" and רעה "friend." In Ps 15:3 and 38:12, it is found in parallel with רעה. Cf. also Job 19:14, where קרוב and מידע are used together.

[91] The phrase גאלו הקרב "his closest redeemer" is found in Lev 25:25, stating that a family member's property which he sold out of poverty should be purchased by his kinsman who is nearest in relation. In Num 27:11 (from the legislative ruling of the story of the daughters of Zelophehad), קרוב identifies the closest family member to a brotherless, deceased head of household who is to receive the property of the deceased. In both of these legal texts, קרוב is used in close association with a term denoting kinship, and refers to the obligation that accompanies the kinship with the family member in need.

his apparent eschewing of being a C-actant in the way that the reader expects him to be—brings the unfolding fabula to a standstill but propels the plot forward based on the reader's eager expectation for the revelation of the reason.

Ruth's third scene begins in 3:1 with a speech of Naomi's, asking Ruth two rhetorical questions: "My daughter: should I not seek a place of rest for you so that it be well for you? And now, is not Boaz family to us, among whose female servants you are?"[92] Naomi's use of ועתה to connect the second rhetorical question with the first implies that Boaz is the one whom Naomi believes can provide that place of rest.[93] Naomi's perspective on the events comes into explicit alignment with the reader's, both now believing that Boaz is a possible C-actant against Ruth's widowhood. Naomi explains to Ruth how she should go about getting Boaz to take notice of her. This leads the reader to mark a new function A: Boaz is, for whatever reason, unwilling to take Ruth into his household as a wife, a situation that Naomi is helping Ruth attempt to reverse. Naomi's plan is for Ruth to all but force Boaz to take notice of her: she is go to Boaz's threshing floor that night and lie next to him stealthily while he is already asleep, after carefully uncovering his feet (3:3-4), in order to cause him to stir and awake (presumably being cold since he is sleeping out in the open) and notice her—as he does in 3:8.

The encounter between Ruth and Boaz at night is anticipated to be test of whether Ruth can convince Boaz to notice her or not. Nevertheless, though the task is Ruth's, in another sense Boaz is being tested, since Ruth is dependent upon how he responds. The hybridity of the donor functions in Ruth and Boaz's upcoming second encounter results from the complex state of the fabula: Ruth is only temporarily a C-actant, the goal of which is to hand off the C-actancy to Boaz in convincing him to be willing to take Ruth as a wife, a C-actancy whose ultimate reference is Ruth’s widowhood that Boaz is poised to correct. When Boaz awakes and asks Ruth who she is (3:8-9)—the threshing floor would be pitch black—Ruth does not wait for him to act, as Naomi said, but addresses him: “I am Ruth. Spread your wing over your maidservant, for you are a redeemer” (3:9).[94] While a typical interpretation of Ruth’s action and request, and Boaz’s response, is that she is formally asking him to take her as a wife by requesting he perform a symbolic gesture of betrothal,[95] it is more likely that Ruth is cold and is asking him to help warm her up. The reason that she gives for her request, כי גאל אתה “for you are a redeemer” (3:9), comes across as slightly odd and perhaps extraneous in context, but she is speaking formally to him here (referring to herself as his “maidservant”) and has spoken that way before to him (2:10, 13). Regardless, Boaz, based on his response in 3:10, understands Ruth to be making a more formal and far-reaching request of him as a redeemer, and that by כנף understands her to mean “wing,” that is, to be speaking metaphorically of the kind of protection he can offer her. Praising her loyalty (חסד), saying that it is in greater evidence now than before in the field, Boaz immediately expresses his willingness to act as a גאל: “Everything you say I will do” (3:11), proving Naomi right and finally matching the reader’s expectation since his introduction in 2:1.

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[92] בִּתִּי הֲלֹא אֲבַקֶּשׁ־לָךְ מָנוֹחַ אֲשֶׁר יִיטַב־לָךְ׃ וְעַתָּה הֲלֹא בֹעַז מֹדַעְתָּנוּ אֲשֶׁר הָיִית אֶת־נַעֲרוֹתָיו.

[93] Cf. Holmstedt, *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text*, 149.

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[94] אָנֹכִי רוּת אֲמָתֶךָ וּפָרַשְׂתָּ כְנָפֶךָ עַל־אֲמָתְךָ כִּי גֹאֵל אָתָּה.

[95] Commentators compare Ruth 3:9 with Ezek 16:8 and suggest that the action “serves as an idiom for conjugal activity” (see Paul A. Kruger, “The Hem of the Garment of Marriage: The Meaning of the Symbolic Gesture in Ruth 3:9 and Ezek 16:8,” *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 12 (1984): 79–86, 83–84; Schipper, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 149) and represents “a practice of obtaining a wife” (Gordon Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant: A Study of Biblical Law and Ethics Governing Marriage, Developed from the Perpsective of Malachi*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 52 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 75, 305), though there is disagreement exactly as to what the symbolism of the skirt is (Kruger, “The Hem of the Garment of Marriage: The Meaning of the Symbolic Gesture in Ruth 3:9 and Ezek 16:8,” 84). Ezek 16:8, however (against received wisdom), does not allude to an act of betrothal, for the Jerusalem that Yahweh covers with his skirt is an exposed infant, not a grown woman, and the protection offered is literal, meant to save the infant from death, who acc. to 16:4-5 was completely uncared for after birth. It seems that interpreters have been led to picture this as an act of betrothal (e.g. Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible 22 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 277) because of the embedded speech of Yahweh to the infant in 16:6-7 (starting with בדמיך), where he promises to raise the infant girl and imagines what she will be like as a grown woman; but with 16:8, when Yahweh describes covering Jerusalem with his skirt, the narrative of vv.4-6 concerning an exposed infant is picked back up. The injunction not to “uncover the skirt of one’s father” in Deut 23:1 is also frequently compared to Ruth 3:9, in order to show the general idiomatic associations of “skirt” with sexual relations. If we cp. Lev 18:7-8, which spells out a similar prohibition to Deut 23:1 in more detail, we see that the statement in the latter is highly compressed, and that “the skirt of one’s father” is a euphemism for illicit relations with one’s mother (if not alluding, more specifically, to the taboo of seeing one’s parent); see S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, 3rd ed., The International Critical Commentary 5 (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1895), 259. Arnold B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel: Textkritisches, Sprachliches und Sachliches* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), 2:316-317 argues that the skirt refers metaphorically to the wife as being under the father’s protection.

At this moment, hypothetically, the novella is able to move to a resolution, but Boaz informs Ruth that he is not legally next in line to act: “Now, while it is true that I am a redeemer, there in fact is a redeemer who is closer than I” (3:12).[96] This immediately explains Boaz’s hesitancy to be a C-actant in the way the reader expected and Naomi hoped. For the first and only time in the novella, there is a retrospective modification of a major function of the fabula: it was originally supposed that Boaz was unwilling to marry Ruth and needed to be convinced, but it turns out it had nothing to do with will or desire, but a legal obstacle. Boaz does not say that he had desired Ruth but was not able to act on it (i.e., this is not a love story), and whether or not Ruth’s meeting with him was the first time it had occurred to him is left unstated.

While Ruth was successful in convincing him to act as a גאל, and Boaz is poised at last, as has been long anticipated, to step into the role of C-actant, there is an immediate obstacle that he has to overcome that was not foreseen, and therefore a new function A emerges (a lower case

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[96] וְעַתָּה כִּי אָמְנָם כִּי גֹאֵל אָנֹכִי וְגַם יֵשׁ גֹּאֵל קָרוֹב מִמֶּנִּי. The MT reads כי אמנם כי אם, but אם is not vocalized. It is likely that it resulted from dittography; cf. LXX, which reads καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῶς ἀγχιστεὺς ἐγώ εἰμι, καί γε ἔστιν ἀγχιστεὺς ἐγγίων ὑπὲρ ἐμέ (i.e. reading as the emended text presented above, without אם). The compound conjunction כי אם “unless” is well attested in Hebrew, which could explain why the dittography was not corrected. Note that this part of ch. 3 is not preserved in the 2QRuth fragments.

"a," given the tension results from a situation that had already been the case but is only now revealed to be so): as it stands, Boaz is not legally allowed to redeem Ruth. This sets up a confrontation with the closer גאל, which the reader would expect to take place in a set of donor functions. Thus, this portion of the fabula, leading up to the transferal of C-actancy, proceeds as follows:

D	Ruth asks Boaz for protection	
E	Boaz responds favorably	
H	Ruth convinces Boaz to be willing to redeem her	
I_{neg}	Boaz cannot act as a redeemer	
	a	Boaz is not legally allowed to act as Ruth's גאל
	C/C'	Boaz decides to obtain the legal right

As in *Ruth*, the delay of C-actancy found in *Judith* is based on an extended period of uncertainty about the motives of a character, but unlike *Ruth*, this character—Judith—is not introduced until halfway through the novella, after seven chapters (according to the later division of the text). This uncertainty continues until the novella's turning point, the beheading of Holofernes. Before that, when Judith first appears on the scene, the reader is in the dark about what she is planning to do in the Assyrian camp, although not without hints.

Judith, a widow living in Bethulia, is introduced with an extended filiation (through her father Merari) that reaches back to Jacob/Israel (8:1), but unlike the individual Judean characters already in the narrative (Joakim, Uzziah), she is given an extensive backstory which explains how she became a widow and how she lives a life of mourning, even to the present day (8:2-6).

She is also said to be beautiful, relatively wealthy, subsisting on gold, silver, and servants left to her from her husband, and god-fearing (8:7-8). This backstory serves to pause the narrative progress which was speeding unrelentingly towards disaster. Announced as "having heard in those days" (Καὶ ἤκουσεν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, 8:1), but without a specification of *what* Judith heard, the reader waits expectantly until the end of the lengthy introduction to hear that it was "the wicked words of the people against the ruler (Uzziah)."[97] Given this prominent introduction as well as the stark contrast between her fidelity to Yahweh and the Bethulians' willingness to compromise, Judith is positioned to be a prominent figure in the resistance: a C-actant, to which there can be no doubt, much like with Boaz in Ruth 2:1. Judith is first seen calling a meeting with Uzziah and two city elders and, in a long speech, criticizes them for arrogantly conceding to the populace and putting Yahweh on a timetable for his intervention,[98] arguing that even complete destruction by Yahweh is preferable to abandoning hope in him (see esp. 8:14-15). Furthermore, she argues, surrender will lead to the destruction of the temple, for which the Judeans will have to atone with their own blood (see 8:20). The only way out, she implies, is to continue to hope for deliverance, and, even if the worst happens, to trust that they are being tested. Uzziah responds with appreciation, but that the people will not be able to last much longer, and that Judith's prayer might be their best hope. The ornate and pious theological reasoning she gives for continuing to trust in Yahweh and waiting for him to deliver Bethulia does not suggest that Judean action will somehow defeat the Assyrians, yet, in response to Uzziah's polite unwillingness to listen, she mysteriously announces that she will do something (a πρᾶγμα) that will be remembered forever (8:32),[99] keeping the details a mystery beyond informing them that she and her servant will leave the town that night. The reader is kept in suspense about Judith’s plan, and is in fact never told, either directly or through Judith’s thoughts or speech, what it is. Instead, with the occasional clue, once Judith’s lengthy and elaborate prayer to Yahweh ends and she prepares to leave, the narrator shuts the reader out from Judith’s thoughts and guides them through her preparations and departure from Bethulia, her infiltration of the Assyrian camp, and her encounter with Holofernes, where the reader (and the Assyrians, unknowingly) observe Judith’s preparation for her πρᾶγμα. In terms of functional analysis, function C and C’ are clearly expressed in Judith and her intended πρᾶγμα, but not in specifics: she is going to act, and we see her actions without knowing exactly what is planned. Based on her elaborate prayer to Yahweh before she leaves Bethulia, the reader knows only that she intends her πρᾶγμα to lead to the defeat of the Assyrians[100] and that she is intent on doing this by “her deceitful word” (λόγον μου καὶ ἀπάτην, 9:13). Unsure if the πρᾶγμα is intended to be the final act that resolves function A (function H), defeating in some way the Assyrians, or if it is preparatory to that (C’), at this stage the reader understands Judith’s role as a C-actant thus:

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[97] τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ λαοῦ τὰ πονηρὰ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα

[98] Cf. Wills, *Judith: A Commentary on the Book of Judith,* 261.

C	Judith plans an action to defeat the Assyrians via deception
C’/H	Judith acts or prepares for action

After praying, Judith begins her preparations, taking off the clothes of mourning and donning the clothes she used to wear before her husband died (10:3). She then “extraordinarily beautified herself for the gratification of the eyes of whichever men should see her” (10:4).[101] By making herself sexually attractive, Judith immediately suggests to the reader that seduction of some form will accompany the λόγος καὶ ἀπάτη. This is evident to the men at the gate of Bethulia who, watching her leave the town, notice how beautiful she looks and then wish her success in her pursuits (τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματά, a suitably vague word; 10:8).

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[99] καὶ ποιήσω πρᾶγμα ὃ ἀφίξεται εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν υἱοῖς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν

[100] Initially, Judith’s prayer appears to be her pleading with Yahweh to intervene directly and destroy the Assyrians (9:7-8), but the culmination of the prayer is her request that Yahweh defeat the Assyrians through her own hand (9:9-10).

From 10:11-13:10, starting when Judith and her slave enter the Assyrian camp and ending with her shocking beheading of Holofernes, everything Judith says and does is understood in two ways by the reader: as a narration of her purposeful interaction with the Assyrians, and as a subtle communication about what her plan of action is. Though the reader technically shares the Assyrians’ ignorance about what Judith’s true motives are, we also are highly suspicious of her communications, and know that she is planning something and is motivated to act duplicitously. A source of interest, and arguably comedy, is the very obvious lack of suspicion of this on the part of the Assyrians, who are proverbial putty in Judith’s hands due to the way that they are entranced by her beauty, something constantly noted by the Assyrians in her time in the camp.[102] In terms of the fabula, standing between the still indeterminate function C/C’ and the almost inevitable climax where Judith somehow defeats the Assyrians, or hastens them thereto, the reader observes Judith taking the steps necessary to achieve a function H and is thus on the lookout for function D E F. Some events in the narrative are coded as these donor functions, leading up to the assassination and its aftermath, but others do not clearly fall into place until from the perspective of hindsight. Leading up to the assassination, one task of Judith's is to offer a convincing reason why she wants the Bethulians and Israelites, her own people, to be destroyed. Paradoxically, the more she plays up her piety, the more Holofernes has reason to believe her. Taking advantage of her knowledge of what Achior had told the Assyrians, and with ample flattery, Judith convinces Holofernes that a herald is currently on the way back to Bethulia with a word of approval for their plan to eat food consecrated to Yahweh to stave off famine. Judith convinces Holofernes that, once they begin to do this, Yahweh will forsake them, and when Judith finds out about it through prayer, the Assyrians will be able to destroy them. She acts as if she fled because she could not bear to see the Israelites fall away and also out of self-interest, knowing that she can find refuge—so she says—with Holofernes and Nebuchadnezzar. Her devoutness is also manifest in her resolute faithfulness to eating only her food lest she offend (it is implied) her god (12:1-4). Once she beheads Holofernes and walks out of the camp with her servant without any problems, it becomes clear why she was careful to involve a nightly trip outside the camp to communicate with Yahweh in her plan she made with Holofernes: she needed an excuse to leave the camp at night, whenever she wanted.[103] Even the food ends up playing a larger role: she uses the bag to hold Holofernes's severed head.

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[101] καὶ ἐκαλλωπίσατο σφόδρα εἰς ἀπάτησιν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι ἂν ἴδωσιν αὐτήν

[102] Judith’s beauty is observed and/or commented on by: the guards in their first encounter with her (10:14), by the onlookers when she is escorted to Holofernes (10:19), by Holofernes’s attendants when she is brought into his tent (10:23), and finally by Holofernes himself (11:23).

Despite all her careful deception, Judith is still reliant on Holofernes taking to her and wanting to sleep with her, the most straightforward way for the two to be alone together and for Judith to kill him, and for this to happen in a timely fashion: while the invitation may seem inevitable and immanent to the reader, the narrator notes that Judith stayed in the Assyrian camp for three days (12:7), and only on the evening of the fourth day does Holofernes hold a banquet (a sign that Judith's plan is inching to fruition) and invite Judith to participate. This means that Judith must accomplish what she set out to do that night, since on the fifth day Uzziah was going to sue for peace on behalf of Bethulia, which Judith (and likely the reader too) believed would be disastrous. Although the passing time and the tension that could derive from it is not the focus of the narration, as soon as Judith receives Holofernes's invitation from Bagoas on the evening of the fourth day, her relief may be palpable in her exclamation: "But who am I to speak against my lord? For whatever will be pleasing in his eyes I will do in haste, and it will be a joy to me until the day of my death!" (12:14).[104] The exquisite irony of this statement, which culminates the plotting and deception, and references her claim to Joakim back in Bethulia about the importance of what she will do (8:32), is that the κυρίος Judith speaks of is equally Holofernes as it is Yahweh, and that she is equally likely to be speaking in deception to Bagoas (as has been the case while in the camp) as she is to be speaking honestly from the heart.[105]

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[103] Cf. 13:10, after Holofernes is beheaded, Judith and her servant are said to leave the camp "as their custom for prayer" (κατὰ τὸν ἐθισμὸν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχήν).

With the successful assassination of Holofernes and escape back to Bethulia, the fabula takes a definitive shape: the content of function C/C' is now known, and the series of donor functions that led to function H are now able to be perceived completely because of the hindsight that a culminating function H accords:

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[104] Καὶ τίς εἰμι ἐγὼ ἀντεροῦσα τῷ κυρίῳ μου; ὅτι πᾶν, ὃ ἔσται ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀρεστόν, σπεύσασα ποιήσω, καὶ ἔσται τοῦτό μοι ἀγαλλίαμα ἕως ἡμέρας θανάτου μου.

[105] Cf. Gera, *Judith*, 383: "she may well take Bagoas' invitation as a sign from heaven that the time has come, a sign to which she quickly and happily responds."

C	Judith decides to murder Holofernes by deception
C’	Judith infiltrates the Assyrian camp and gains the trust of Holofernes
D	Judith must make the Assyrians receptive and trusting of her
E	Judith makes herself attractive
D	Judith must convince the Assyrians to let her leave the camp at night
E	Judith convinces the Assyrians that she needs to pray to Yahweh outside the camp
D	Judith must be able to carry a large bag without suspicion
E	Judith convinces the Assyrians that she must eat the food she brought with her
F	Judith is trusted by the Assyrians (Holofernes invites Judith to a banquet)
G	Judith is able to kill Holofernes and escape unnoticed
H	Judith beheads Holofernes and escapes

As in *Ruth*, it is the transition to the climax after a turning point that the full import of the C-actancy in *Judith* is revealed.

Finally, *Esther* is noteworthy for its delayed C-actancy, but in a way that differs from the extreme kinds found in *Ruth* and *Judith*. In this novella, the notion of delay is part of the characterization of the C-actant itself, a feature exploited by the storyteller to build to a tense climactic sequence which teeters on the edge of tragedy.

In the immediate fallout of Haman’s decree, Haman ceases actively being a C-actant, since, from his perspective, he has already countered a function A with the decree, and so what becomes the next (and central) function A in the novella, the immediate crisis Esther and Mordecai face, is treated by Haman as a definitive function H. Only later does Haman confront his own function A again, and play the role of a C-actant when he decides to hang Mordecai after seeing him again. Before that, the featured C-actancy in the novella falls finally on Esther; initially, however, she is unwilling to intervene for the Judeans. Encouraged by Mordecai to raise the issue to Ahasuerus (function B), Esther explains to Mordecai that she has not been summoned by him for a month’s time (4:11), and explains that entering into the king uninvited would not only be a faux pas, but would cost her her life: “for any man or women who enters unto the king into the inner court, but has not been summoned, there is one decree: to be put to death” (4:11).[106] After Mordecai persuades her that her life is already under threat, and encouraging her by suggesting that her fortune to become queen may have been for just such an occasion as this (4:14), Esther requests that Mordecai lead the Judeans of Susa in prayer and fasting along with her and her maidens for three days in anticipation of her approaching Ahasuerus (4:16), an ominous request, with her resolutely resigned to death if necessary: “In such a condition [i.e. of fasting] I will approach the king, which is not according to the law, and if I perish, I perish!” As Moore notes, having fasted for three days, Esther will be far less desirable to the king in appearance,[107] especially if the rigorous and lengthy preparation of beautification for the young women to enter the court is compared. Finally, the precedent of Ahasuerus’s treatment of Vashti, who did not come when invited, suggests that a similar contravention of the king’s wish could end badly. In other words, not only Esther’s conviction, but precedent in the story itself, prepares the reader to see Esther go through with an extremely risky action.

The risk is immediately allayed as soon as Esther enters the court: Ahasuerus invites her to approach him, empowering her to make her request—he even asks her what is troubling her (5:1-3)! Esther’s first move is to invite the king and Haman to a banquet, presumably to confront Haman before the king, although one might think that she squandered a good opportunity to tell Ahasureus about the decree right from the start. Ahasureus understands Esther to have proposed the feast as an occasion for her to finally make her request (cf. 5:6). At the feast, again invited by Ahasureus to tell him what she desires (even half of the kingdom!), Esther, after a halting preface to her request (is she stalling?),[108] only asks that they have another banquet the next day (5:8). While the original threat of Ahasureus's anger at being approached uninvited was easily overcome, Esther was not able to do what was necessary in the moment, a moment where Ahasureus appeared especially receptive. Despite being fortunate that Ahasuerus so cared for her that he thought nothing of her unexpected appearance (in more than one sense of the word), she was unable to overcome her fear of making such a big request, seeking to make the king hostile against one of his high officials, someone with whom he had previously feasted with (3:15). It should also be remembered that it was instilled on Esther that revealing her ethnicity would be dangerous, and although this did not factor into her back-and-forth with Mordecai, there is now a clear and present danger in doing so: Haman's decree. Thus, the already expected payoff of the building tension between Esther the Judean and Ahasuerus, though diverted and repackaged in a different way from what was expected via Haman's decree, is postponed even further, and, even though Esther cleared the high bar of approaching Ahasuerus with the intention of asking him to annul the decree, the task ahead of her can only seem more difficult, and the reader suspects that Esther has lost her chance:

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[106] כָּל־אִישׁ וְאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר יָבוֹא־אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־הֶחָצֵר הַפְּנִימִית אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִקָּרֵא אַחַת דָּתוֹ לְהָמִית

[107] Moore, *Esther*, 51.

B Mordecai tells Esther that she has to risk convincing Ahasuerus
C Esther decides to approach Ahasuerus

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[108] Esther initially speaks as if she is going to explain her request (שְׁאֵלָתִי וּבַקָּשָׁתִי, "My request, my petition…", 5:7), and follows with a highly formal, measured begging for favor in anticipation of the request itself (אִם־מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאִם־עַל־הַמֶּלֶךְ טוֹב לָתֵת אֶת־שְׁאֵלָתִי וְלַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־בַּקָּשָׁתִי, "If I find favor in your eyes, O king, and if it is the king's pleasure to grant my request, to carry out my wish…", 5:8).

C’ Esther enters the court
D Esther risks her life approaching Ahasuerus uninvited
E Ahasuerus receives Esther and is willing to grant her any wish she has
F_{neg} Esther does not ask for him to save the Judeans, but invites him and Haman to a feast the next day

The further delay caused by Esther’s hesitancy is immediately detrimental: Haman sees Mordecai on his way home after the feast[109] and is once again thrown into a fit of anger (5:9). The focus now passes back to the original A1, Haman’s desire to get rid of Mordecai, which is once again directly addressed by Haman. The chance occurrence of seeing Mordecai leads Haman to prepare to have him hanged the next morning. Though earlier shunning physical contact with and direct punishment of Mordecai, Haman is encouraged by his family to expedite his vengeance (function B) after hearing him lament how, though he had been accorded the privilege of a high rank in Ahasuerus’s court, even to be able to feast with the king and queen themselves, he cannot fully enjoy his honors because he keeps seeing “Mordecai, that Judean” in the court (5:13). He points in particular to the fact that he is invited to a second feast “tomorrow” (למהר), encouraging his family to suggest hanging him “in the morning” (5:14, בבקר) so he can enjoy that second feast without a thought of Mordecai. Haman accordingly has the gallows erected in anticipation (5:14):

A Haman wants to get rid of Mordecai
…
B Haman’s wife and friends encourage him to have Mordecai hanged the next morning
C Haman is pleased with their advice
C’ Haman erects gallows for hanging Mordecai

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[109] This is not his first time seeing Mordecai since the original encounter (3:5); later, Haman complains to his family that he is enraged “every time” (בכל עת) he sees Mordecai (5:13).

Esther’s momentary action as the primary C-actant is once again postponed in favor of Haman. As it stands, Mordecai is doomed, since the hanging is set to take place before the second feast is held, and before Esther is able to request that Ahasureus annul Haman’s power over the Judeans, which makes it possible (though not guaranteed) that the king would intervene and protect Mordecai. Esther’s C-actancy will become an issue once again following the turning point of the novella, when Ahasureus reads about Mordecai in the annals.[110]

2.2.3. Endings

For Aristotle, the events of the end follow from the middle in a necessary or probable way, but do not themselves have any events that follow from them.[111] In terms of functional analysis, the end can be equated with what happens after the most consequential function H. For some stories, this may involve further events that qualify as function H (see *Ruth* below) which do not involve the high level of tension that subsisted in the build-up towards the major function and the climax. Finally, the ending consists of the narration of events that the ideal reader marks as function I, representing the improved (or, for some stories, definitively worsened) state of the protagonist(s) and their world.

A term closely associated with the ending is the “denouement,” a term borrowed from French which means “unknotting” (and thus is often spelled *dénouement,* as a loanword). This term can seem ambiguous when considered in light of the interacting aspects of, on the one hand, the fabula sequences the reader encodes to make sense of the story, and on the other, the dynamic structure of the plot that expresses the events. In common usage, denouement sometimes refers to all of the events of a story after the climax. In my terms, this would sometimes include the undoing of function A/a in function H and the function I that follows afterwards. In other usages, denouement is used for a more protracted, and even tension-filled period of the "unraveling of a plot's complications" at the end of a story, not really a period of aftermath but of the important final moves of the story, set in motion by the most consequential (climactic) event which we would call the most important function H.[112] To keep these distinct, I will use denouement strictly for the latter usage, which means not every story has one. Whether it does depends generally on the fabula density and how many fabula sequences remain to be resolved after the most consequential one attains to its function H and I, as well as on the decision of the narrator to linger in the story world and present a period of a less consequential but still interesting resolution of the supporting strands of the story.

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[110] See p. 211.

[111] Belfiore, *Tragic Pleasures,* 124.

Much storytelling involves some kind of referential return to the beginning at the end. In addition to the formal, aesthetic effects of closure that result when the end refers back to the beginning,[113] in terms of plot, a new stasis is reached that often recaptures the situation at or before the beginning or is a development out of it and explicitly compared thereto. Often, the significance of the events of the plot and their outcome is only fully expressed when the events are evaluated as a whole, which can include some kind of reference to the original state of affairs.[114]

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[112] See Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 194, which includes both of these aspects.

[113] Often by means of parallelism or repetition; see Barbara Herrnstein Smith, *Poetic Closure: A Study of How Poems End* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 27, 53–54, 65–67, 107.

The endings of the five novellas are particularly conspicuous in the dynamic way that they return to the beginning.[115] In *Ruth* and *Judith*, the original problem that animated the plot in the first place and gave way to the specific crisis confronted by the protagonists is deliberately referenced and, perhaps in an unexpected way, resolved at the end. In *Jonah* and *Tobit*, the events of the beginning are explicitly reassessed, and a new understanding of the reason for crucial originating events is provided to the reader. In a turn that may not be surprising based on earlier discussion, the ending of *Esther* by itself represents a third approach to the beginning-in-ending: a strongly inflected motif of reversal that includes features of both resolution and reassessment.

2.2.3.1. Return to the Beginning: Resolution (Ruth, Judith)

The ending of *Ruth* resolves the originating crisis of the novella and, in its denouement, impresses upon the reader how much was at stake in that crisis. Besides counteracting Ruth's A (her widowhood), Boaz's marriage to Ruth (H) produces a male child that is the continuation of Elimelech's line (I), fulfilling Elimelech's original mission at the beginning of the novella (the continuation of his family), and counteracting the misfortune that befell his family after moving to Moab (the original function A of the novella). Finally, by taking Naomi into their household as the child's nurse (4:16), Boaz counteracts the her own function A: Naomi is now provided for in her old age by being once again being a member of a household. Thus, at this stage there is no outstanding tension or lack in the story world that needs to be corrected:

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[114] For plot and significance, see Brooks and Warren, *Understanding Fiction*, 37.

[115] For an explanation of why I discuss the endings of the novellas here without treating their turning points and climaxes (below in §2.4.1), see p. 170 above.

H Naomi taken into Boaz and Ruth’s household as nurse
I Ruth and Naomi are members of a household
I Elimelech’s family continues

The novella does not conclude here, however, but briefly continues with a denouement that begins with the naming of the child as Obed, and an explanation, with full, formal genealogy, that shows how Obed, the son of Boaz and Ruth, is in the line of descent that leads to David (as his great-grandfather). Beginning with a description of a tragedy befalling the family of Elimelech, with the hope for its future put in the hands of the head of household’s widow and her non-Judean daughter-in-law, the novella not only ends with a reversal of this dire outlook, but with a surfeit of blessing: not just any family line, this ended up being a line of royal descent for the greatest king of Israel. The ultimate success of the events of *Ruth* differs from the function I events, since its truth lies beyond the space-time boundaries of the majority of the novella (several days at the end of the harvest season one year in the time of the Judges, in Bethlehem): an example of external prolepsis, pointing to events that fall outside the bounds of the novella.[116] Even before the perspective from the future occupies the final lines of the novella, a shift begins at 4:13, when Boaz marries Ruth and Ruth gives birth to a son, the final action and appearance of these two protagonists in the novella. The focus is now on Naomi and the son of Ruth. The latter is called a גאל by an unspecified group of women (perhaps present at the birth?), whose speech serves to bring home to the reader the definitive reversal of Naomi’s bereft situation, which, in 1:20-21, she described as a state of being abandoned by Yahweh, but now is said to be the opposite: Yahweh providing Naomi a גאל in the child who will “restore life” for

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[116] Jong, *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey*, 16.

Naomi (לְמֵשִׁיב נֶפֶשׁ) and “provide” her “old age” (לְכַלְכֵּל אֶת־שֵׂיבָתֵךְ) (4:14-15). The role of גאל has now passed from Boaz to the child. The final event in the novella is the naming of the child as Obed,[117] which looks back to the novella’s beginning and the threat to the line of Elimelech—the name of the deceased now restored in his land—and forwards to the future.

Judith represents an uneasy resolution of a crisis going back to the beginning. The novella ends with the Israelites’ successful prevention of the immanent Assyrian invasion, the despoiling of the Assyrian camp, the glorification of Judith, and an act of communal worship of Yahweh, culminating in a three month-long festival in Jerusalem. In the final part of the novella’s denouement, the rest of Judith’s life is summarized briefly in 16:21-24: Judith continued to lead a life of solitude (still not remarrying) and generosity, freeing her servant eventually and, before dying, making sure that her property was passed on to her husband’s nearest relatives as well as to her own (πᾶσι τοῖς ἔγγιστα…καὶ τοῖς ἔγγιστα τοῦ γένους αὐτῆς, 16:24). The very last sentence in the novella[118] looks ahead to a future that is made secure for the time being because of Judith, much like the refrain about peace in the land in Judges (e.g. 3:30) as well as 1 Mac 7:21, 50 and 2 Mac 15:37: “There was not one who spread terror among the Israelites in the days of Judith, nor after her death for many days" (16:25).[119] Noticeably absent both here and, in fact, anywhere in the story after the defeat of Holofernes, is Nebuchadnezzar. Though Holofernes, as discussed earlier, is positioned in the novella's beginning as Nebuchadnezzar's agent and representative in a strong sense, the king nevertheless promised that he was "coming against them in my anger," (2:7) and framed Holofernes's task as an advance mission (cf. 2:10ff). This does not happen in the novella.

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[117] Unlike the notice that Obed was the great-grandfather of David and the narration of the genealogy of Perez, the naming is a bounded event taking place at a specific time and place, whereas the meaning of the name represents both a direct communication of knowledge to the reader (like the lineage of Boaz in 2:1) and a reference to a more permanent state of affairs that exists over generations. See Herman, *Story Logic: Problems and Possibilities of Narrative*, 38–50 for a taxonomy of event types.

[118] In the Vulgate, there is an additional verse of aetiological import at the end: *Dies autem victoriae huius festivitatem ab Hebraeis in numero dierum sanctorum accepit et colitur a Iudaeis ex illo tempore usque in praesentem diem*, “Moreover, the day of this victory is numbered by the Hebrews as a festival among their holy days and has been observed by the Judeans from that time until the present day.” Cp. the aetiologies of Purim in *Esther* and Nicanor’s Day in *2 Maccabees*. For a discussion of the Vulgate version of *Judith* see Wills, *Judith: A Commentary on the Book of Judith*, 389–401, followed by his synoptic English translation of the LXX and the Vulgate.

2.2.3.2. Return to the Beginning: Reassessment (Jonah, Tobit)

Unlike the other Judean novellas, *Jonah* ends with a focus on the character of its central protagonist. Jonah's response to Yahweh's decision to not destroy Nineveh leads to the revelation of why Jonah fled from Yahweh in the first place, which

Jonah makes it clear that he refused to prophesy to Nineveh because he knew that Yahweh is a "compassionate and merciful god, slow to anger, abundant in loyalty, and one who feels sorry concerning disaster (הָרָעָה)" (4:2).[120] While this does not completely reassess Jonah's original motives, it does explicitly paint Jonah in a worse light: not reluctant to a comical degree, or merely acting out of the interest of self-preservation, his character is guilty of an extreme kind of misanthropy.[121] The final part of Jonah's complaint mirrors the language used by the narrator to note that Yahweh decided to not punish Nineveh (3:10). It turns out that he is quite perceptive about Yahweh, and he had a strong suspicion that his prophecy would not result in destruction, but in mercy; Jonah was intent on the former, and became upset when he saw that the promised spectacle would not deliver. In other words, Jonah, though hoping to avoid having to prophesy against Nineveh in the first place, was at least hopeful that his prophecy would result in its destruction.

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[119] καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ὁ ἐκφοβῶν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ισραηλ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ιουδιθ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὴν ἡμέρας πολλάς. The language here evokes that of LXX Lev 26:6: Yahweh's promise of peace in Canaan: וְנָתַתִּי שָׁלוֹם בָּאָרֶץ וּשְׁכַבְתֶּם וְאֵין מַחֲרִיד, "I will give (you) peace in the land, and you will dwell where there is no one to cause you to tremble (LXX: ὁ ἐκφοβῶν)."

[120] אֵל־חַנּוּן וְרַחוּם אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם וְרַב־חֶסֶד וְנִחָם עַל־הָרָעָה

[121] Lambert, *How Repentance Became Biblical*, 116.

Jonah’s immediate course of action after complaining to Yahweh is asking him to take his life, which Yahweh does not do; instead, Yahweh simply asks Jonah if he is really that upset (4:3-4). Next, Jonah goes into the wilderness outside of Nineveh[122] and waits under the shade of a hut he constructed “until he saw what would happen in the city” (4:5).[123] This implies that he is waiting to see if the inhabitants of the city begin to act in a way that offends Yahweh again, something he assumes is going to happen. If Jonah’s exasperation at Yahweh’s decision regarding Nineveh made him out to be misanthropic, his decision to wait for Nineveh’s backslide and to try and prove Yahweh wrong shows that he is as stubborn as he is misanthropic. This issue is not brought up again in the story, however. Instead, it ends with a lesson that Yahweh teaches Jonah, to make explicit the implications of his attitude, using Jonah's fondness of the plant that he had grow over him, and the effect that its demise had on his psyche. Yahweh tells Jonah that, just as Jonah “was troubled about the *qiqayon*-plant” (חַסְתָּ עַל־הַקִּיקָיוֹן), so he, Yahweh, “was troubled about Nineveh, the great city (חוּס עַל־נִינְוֵה הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה) with its large population (4:10-11). The effect of using the verb *חוס, and not *נחם, which was used earlier by the narrator to qualify Yahweh’s decision not to destroy Nineveh and which is itself theologically charged, is to characterize and draw explicitly in parallel the psychological state one would share when presented with the destruction of something that they cared about.[124] The similarities that Yahweh draws out between the plant and Nineveh are meant to justify his response to Nineveh's begging for forgiveness: the plant was something that Jonah was not himself responsible for in any way, but whose existence he took delight in, while the inhabitants of Nineveh both number greatly ("more than twelve myriad human beings") and "do not know their right hand from their left," which probably is to say, using a colloquialism, are innocent or even naive folk.[125] Their naivety is evident especially in the way that they involved their animals in the penitential acts, which Yahweh references (comprising, in fact, the final two words of the novella: וּבְהֵמָה רַבָּה). Jonah had no such concern for the inhabitants of Nineveh, which is why he wished that they would have been destroyed.

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[122] Jonah watched from the east side of the city (4:5),מִקֶּדֶם לָעִיר, a locale that evokes the state of being outcast when compared with Gen 3:23 and 4:16.

[123] עַד אֲשֶׁר יִרְאֶה מַה־יִּהְיֶה בָּעִיר

The novella ends before Jonah responds, punctuating the entirety as singularly concerned with painting a portrait of a character with an intractable flaw, unlike any of the other novellas. Jonah does not change his mind or his attitude about Yahweh the entire time, even after Yahweh saved his life twice (in the ocean and in the desert).

A stronger and more far-reaching example of reassessment evident in the novellas is found in *Tobit*. As is certainly expected to occur after the novella's climax, Raphael reveals himself to Tobit and Tobias. Though the reader knew all along the identity of Azarias and that Yahweh, via Raphael, was the instigator of the events of the plot, Tobit and Tobias knew nothing of it. Nevertheless, Raphael, at the end, also reveals something new to the reader. After telling them to bless God and speaking a handful of maxims (12:6-10), he says that he will now speak "the whole truth" (πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν) to them; in order of presentation by Raphael:

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[124] See Rofé, *The Prophetical Stories*, 163–64, arguing that the verb here to describe the "concern for the loss of waste or property" that one can feel. While the root חוס in Hebrew is often translated "to pity" (*BDB*, *DCH*) "to look upon with compassion" (*BDB*, *HALOT*, *DCH*), "to be troubled about" (*HALOT*). Ludwig Köhler, "Hebräisch 'ḥs' [Hebrew], aramäisch 'ḥs' [Syriac]," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 32 (January 1, 1929): 617 that the original root meaning was "to flow," based on the Arabic سح (*saḥḥa*) "to flow down, run" (with metathesis; note the Arabic cognate حس (*ḥassa*) "to feel, sense"), which would nicely illustrate the Biblical Hebrew idiom תחוס עין על "the eye looks with compassion (waters?) for" (Gen 45:20, Deut 7:16, Is 13:18, Ezek 20:17).

[125] Simon, *Jonah: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*, 47 and others suggest that Yahweh refers only to the children of the city, but see Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah: A Commentary*, 175 and Sasson, *Jonah*, 314–15. Sasson offers the suggestion that "not knowing their right from their left hand" refers to the population density of the city, that there are so many people that they are unable to know all of their neighbors (ibid., 315).

1. He brought the record (μνημόσυνον) of Tobit and Sarah's prayer to Yahweh (12:12, first half).
2. He also, before that, brought a record of Tobit's good deeds of burying the dead (12:12, second half);[126]
3. When Tobit interrupted his Pentecost meal to once again bury a dead Israelite, he was "sent…to test" him (ἀπέσταλμαι…πειράσαι, 12:13-14);[127]
4. Finally: "at the same time, God sent me to heal you and Sarah" (12:14, second half).[128]

Raphael only gives away his identity ("I am Raphael, one of the seven angels who approach and enter before the glory of Yahweh," 12:15) after saying all of this. Raphael reveals two things the reader did not know: that he brought records or memoranda of Tobit's pious acts of burying Israelites before Yahweh,[129] and that he was “sent…to test” Tobit when Tobit buried the Israelite during the fest of Pentecost. In the way that this last statement is phrased, it is clear that the test was in response to Tobit acting in a pious way above and beyond what is normal: “when you did not hesitate to get up and leave your dinner.” The reader remembers that he was risking much (as the mocking neighbors remind) in burying an Israelite again after what happened with Sennacherib. This means that Tobit’s blindness was not a vicarious punishment for the general sin of the Israelites, nor a chance occurrence, but was a way for Yahweh to test Tobit. This was no small thing: Yahweh willingly blinded Tobit for years, causing him to be useless and, eventually, despair of his life. The effect of Yahweh’s test even redounded on his family, who became poor, at least for the two years that they had to get by without Ahiqar’s support. This means that the entire period of Tobit’s life from the moment the birds defecated on him to his prayer for death, a period of at least four years, with two in particular spent without any extra support, was a test from Yahweh.

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[126] There is a discrepancy in formulation between GII (which we follow in general) and GI. GII reads: καὶ ὅτε ἔθαπτες τοὺς νεκρούς ὡσαύτως, "…and, likewise, when you buried the dead"; GI reads: καὶ ὅτε ἔθαπτες τοὺς νεκρούς, ὡσαύτως συμπαρήμην σοι, "…and when you buried the dead, I was present with you in a similar fashion." Thus, GII expresses clearly that Raphael also reported to Yahweh when Tobit would bury the dead, presumably by means of a written record (which he would then read aloud from in the heavenly court), where as GI only implies this, instead focusing on the invisible presence of Raphael when Tobit was burying the dead. Assuming GII is closer to an original version (see p. 125, n. 315 above), a later version may have made adjustments in response to the way that Raphael's revelations are out of order chronologically. It should be noted that the Vulgate is quite different and simplifies the entire picture.

[127] GI and the Vulgate omit any reference to testing, instead portraying Raphael as comforting Tobit that he was "present with" him during his trials.

[128] καὶ ἅμα ἀπέσταλκέν με ὁ θεὸς ἰάσασθαί σε καὶ Σαρραν τὴν νύμφην σου.

The reason why Yahweh tested Tobit is not given in the novella, but is an important aspect of construction of the fabula, since it consists of a function A/a that motivates the entire novella. In general, this feature of the novella draws on the plot motif of the divine test found in Genesis 22 and in *Job.* Yahweh’s motive in each of these examples is to ascertain experimentally if the human being in question was truly pious, that is, “god-fearing” (יְרֵא אֱלֹהִים, Gen 22:12) or “like no other on the earth” in piety (Job 1:8). With Tobit, we know that the test was deliberate and planned since Yahweh, with Raphael’s help, was observing Tobit’s pious acts in Nineveh for a long period, only intervening in Tobit's life by testing him once he proved himself willing to risk his life again. Taking note of Tobit's pious acts over a long period of time, and deciding to test him once he acted over and beyond what was expected, suggests that Yahweh had a specific outcome in mind: in terms of the fabula, a reversal of some kind of function A perceived by Yahweh.

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[129] Earlier, the reader only knew about Yahweh hearing the prayer (3:16). The imperfect verb ἔθαπτες tells us that this happened for the extent of time that Tobit was burying Israelites, not just the last time.

An important clue comes from the timing of the healing. Raphael did not heal Tobit (or Sarah) immediately when he was sent, but only after subjecting Tobias to the journey to Media. Since he was sent to heal Tobit after he heard his prayer (which we knew already in 3:16-17), and only then, the prayer itself (3:1-6), and the attitude of Tobit's that it revealed to Yahweh, are key. In his prayer, which culminates in a request that Yahweh kill him, Tobit continually maintained Yahweh's righteousness in everything that he does. Tobit also equated his own sins with Israel's: there is a continual slippage between Tobit's "I" and "my" and the "they" as well as the "we"/"our" of Israel: he asks that Yahweh not punish him for his own sins as well as those of his ancestors; "they sinned" and Yahweh "gave us over to plunder and exile and death." Tobit states that Yahweh's judgments are true "according to my sins, because we did not keep your commandments." While Tobit does not admit to having personally done anything wrong, he consents to bearing the full consequences of the wrongdoing of the corporate body of the Israelites. Tobit also understands that punishment for sin serves the purpose of "illustration" (3:4),[130] that the humiliation he and the Israelites experience in exile is deserved and, indeed, is the point of the punishment; for Tobit, this means that being blind for years and increasingly marginalized and subjected to poverty is deliberately inflicted by Yahweh so that he can be seen by all to be receiving just punishment on behalf of the people as a whole. Since it is revealed in 12:11-15 that this prayer is what led to Yahweh assenting to Tobit being healed, this attitude is what assured Yahweh that Tobit passed the test, and is what Yahweh was on the lookout for: a correct perspective on suffering that is situated by the one experiencing it a theological or theodical context, affirming the traditional view of corporate responsibility as well as the particularly Israelite view that the exile was Yahweh’s punishment for apostasy.

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[130] "You gave us over to plunder and exile and death, and for an illustration and conversation topic and reproach among all the nations…", ἔδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς ἁρπαγὴν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ θάνατον καὶ εἰς παραβολὴν καὶ λάλημα καὶ ὀνειδισμὸν ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

In terms of the fabula of *Tobit*, this major revelation at the ending requires not only a reassessment of the beginning, but a reconstruction of a third major portion of the fabula to explain the events that led to Tobit’s blindness and the reason for the testing. While a function A along the lines of “Yahweh needs to see if Tobit is pious” is a possible motivating factor, there is a basis in the text for a more specific reason. Before ascending back to the heavenly court, Raphael orders Tobit and Tobias to “write down all these things” that happened to them (γράψατε πάντα ταῦτα τὰ συμβάτα ὑμῖν, 12:20).[131] No reason is given by Raphael for why Tobit and Tobias

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[131] The first part of this sentence is missing in 4QTob^{e}, but the final words המעשה הזה are preserved. After this is found the word והעלהו. While commentators understand it to correspond in some way to Gk. καὶ ἀνέστησαν “and he went up,” referring to Raphael, as Fitzmyer notes, the verb appears to be a Hiphil perfect with a 3rd masc. sg. suffix, suggesting that it might be a reflexive use of the stem, i.e. “he made himself go up” (Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 298). The subject may be understood to be Yahweh, and left unstated; cf. when Yahweh causes Elijah to ascend in 2 Ki 2:1: וַיְהִי בְּהַעֲלוֹת יְהוָה אֶת־אֵלִיָּהוּ (using a Hiphil infinitive). A more creative understanding would be to read והעלהו as the conclusion of Raphael’s speech, and continuing the previous imperative “write” (not preserved in 4QTob^{e}), meaning the subject of the imperative would be Tobit (note, however, that the imperative is plural in the Gk., referring to Tobit and Tobias) and the antecedent of the suffix pronoun, the scroll that Tobit will write (note that GI adds “in a scroll” after “write down”).

For the Hiphil of עלה* meaning something like “publish,” cf. 2 Chr 20:34: וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יְהוֹשָׁפָט הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרֹנִים הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים בְּדִבְרֵי יֵהוּא בֶן־חֲנָנִי אֲשֶׁר הֹעֲלָה עַל־סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, “As for the rest of the deeds of Jehoshaphat, the first and the last (of them): they are written in the words of Jehu, son of Hanani, which are inserted [lit. “taken up”] into the Book of the Kings of Israel,” where עלה* is in the Hophal. This is the only time that העלה is used in the so-called “regnal-resume” of *Chronicles* instead of the Qal passive of כתב with על, e.g. 1 Chr 29:29, which suggests *עלה in the Hophal can be used for the process of recording something in a scroll. Since *כתב is not used, the idea should do this, but a likely goal is to make known and accessible an example of the kinds of things that Yahweh does for people like Tobit, by creating and publishing an account of what happened to him—and how he responded.[132] This is evident in Raphael's twice-proclaimed maxim that "It is good to conceal the secret of a king, but to reveal gloriously the works of God," (12:7, 11), which he repeats to Tobit and Tobias in explicit comparison with the revelation that he is about to make. What happened to Tobit and Tobias is something that is "good to reveal." While divine and angelic figures who address mortals and command them to write down what was revealed to them in order to transmit that secret knowledge are found in other contemporary (and post-contemporary) works of Judean literature,[133] a closer analogy to what is happening in *Tobit* is the topos of the dying patriarch giving a final speech to his children found in the

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may not be as straightforward as "to inscribe" or "write"; hence the rendering "to insert," which could be connected to the semantics of *עלה in the Hophal, i.e. to "cause something to go up" into a written account. Cf. Edward Lewis Curtis, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, The International Critical Commentary 11 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 412. For this formula, see Pancratius Cornelis. Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles*, Studia Semitica Neerlandica 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 131–32. This use of *עלה in the Hophal was misunderstood in the Targum as referring to Hanani being appointed to be a scribe (J. Stanley McIvor, *The Targum of Chronicles*, The Aramaic Bible 19 (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1994), 193; cf. the emendation proposed by Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel: Textkritisches, Sprachliches und Sachliches*, 7:367). While the LXX translates העלה more generically as κατέγραψεν, the Vulgate renders it *digessit*, possibly meaning "arrange" (the verb can also mean "set in order" or "dispose").

[132] For a literary representation of the act of taking dictation from a teacher to produce something that can be used as an example for instruction and edification, cf. the major precedents of Ex 34:27 and Deut 31:19-22. For this aspect of scribal education in Ancient Israel and the Near East in general, see Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 143–72, and for Deut 31:19-22, pp. 166-167; . While Ex 34:27 and Deut 31:19-22 have a more limited direct reference (the Ten Commandments and the Song of Moses, respectively), in *Jubilees* 1:4-6 (drawing on Deut 31:19-22 latter; see James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018), 145), Yahweh instructs Moses to write down the entirety what he was about to reveal to him so that future Israelites "might know that I have not abandoned them on account of all of the evil which they have done" (preserved in part on 4Q216, II.13; see Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 458). See also *The History of the Rechabites* 7:14 (James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 2:454) for a similar idea of writing down a narrative of something miraculous that happened for the benefit of all who read it.

[133] Besides *Jubilees*, cf. 1 Enoch 82:1; 2 Enoch 23:4, 33:8-10; 4 Ezra 12:37.

testament literature,[134] examples of which include the testator commanding that what he says be written down; this is found in the milieu of Aramaic literature from Qumran (of which *Tobit* is a member), namely in the *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542)[135] and the *Book of Noah* (4Q536).[136] Of course, the situation in *Tobit* is structurally different: Tobit and Tobias are instructed to write down a narrative (πάντα ταῦτα τὰ συμβάτα), not merely instructions.[137] The similarity between the two, besides the trope of the command to write something down, is that they share the same end: edification for those who read it. Thus, at the end of the story, Tobit passed the test, and the result of his faithfulness has led to an overabundance of blessing for him and his family (and Sarah's family as well):

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[134] For testament literature, see Anitra Kolenkow, "Testaments: The Literary Genre 'Testament,'" in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 57–71; John J. Collins, "Testaments," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 325–26; Anitra Kolenkow, "The Genre Testament and Forecasts of the Future in the Hellenistic Jewish Milieu," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 6 (1975): 259–67; Robert A. Kugler, "Testaments," in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 1295–97; Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Textuality between Death and Memory: The Prehistory and Formation of the Parabiblical Testament," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 104, no. 3 (2014): 381–412; Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Demons, Angels, and Writing in Ancient Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 106–9.

[135] In frag. 1, col. II.9ff, Qahat instructs his son Amram to pass down his teaching to his own sons, with his "writings" being discussed in l.12-13. See García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1082–83; Géza Vermès, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York, N.Y., U.S.A.: Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1997), 533.

[136] The speaker asks, "Who will write these words of mine in a book that does not get worn out?" (מן יכתוב מלא אלה בכתב די לא יבלא, frag. 1, col. II, 12; see García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1074–75). For Noah literature at Qumran in general, see Cana Werman, "Qumran and the Book of Noah," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 January, 1997*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 171–81; Michael E. Stone, "The Book(s) Attributed to Noah," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 13, no. 1 (2006): 4–23; Dorothy M. Peters, *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conversations and Controversies of Antiquity*, Early Judaism and Its Literature 26 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008). Cf. also Eve in the *Life of Adam and Eve* (Vita) 50:1. The act of writing testaments for posterity grows more prominent in later (often Christian) testamental literature; cf. the *Testament of Isaac* 1:12, 21; *Testament of Jacob* 1:2, 6; *Testament of Solomon* 26:8.

[137] *Tobit* does contain testament-like material, namely the speech to Tobias before leaves for Media (4:5ff). Reed, "Textuality between Death and Memory," 390 identifies Tob 14 as a "discrete testament," but it should be noted that the original novella likely ended at 14:2. Incidentally, an expansion of the novella where Tobit gives a formal testament to Tobias strongly suggests that it was generally perceived that *Tobit* draws on the topos and idiom of the testament genre (cf. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Pseudepigraphy and First Person Discourse in the Dead Sea Documents: From the Aramaic Texts to Writings of the Yaḥad," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6-8, 2008)*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 302). Note that only one small part of the speech, 14:8-9, is strictly testamental, i.e. contains general instruction; the rest concerns specific instructions for Tobias to follow (flee from Nineveh with his family). On the other hand, for a clearly attested expansion of a testament-like instruction in *Tobit* between versions, cf. the text of Tobit's address to Tobias in 4:5ff between GII and the later GI.

I The events that happened to Tobit and Tobias are models for leading a pious life

This was able to happen because Raphael was sent to heal both Tobit and Sarah, resulting in everything which happened to Tobit, Tobias, and Sarah as soon as Raphael appeared as Azarias. The healing followed Tobit's successful passing of Yahweh's test, the test having been administered by Raphael as Yahweh's agent. Thus:

C Yahweh decides to test Tobit
C' Yahweh sends Raphael to test Tobit
D Raphael informs Yahweh that Tobit passed
H^4 Yahweh sends Raphael to restore and repay Tobit

Regarding the original reason for these actions to happen: if the goal was to put a pious Israelite through an ordeal that, hopefully, led to him emerging as an person even more worthy of emulation, the function A that motivates Yahweh to send Raphael to test Tobit and which ends up being the most original and originating of the novella, is best stated as:

(A) A model for leading a pious life is needed

Knowing that Raphael informed Yahweh about Tobit's pious deeds, the reader also posits a function B, where a path towards alleviating the function A has become apparent:

B	Raphael informs Yahweh about Tobit's piety

The dissemination of a written account of what happened is presented as the ultimate way in which Tobit's piety and Tobias's involvement resolve function A, although this is not given a narrative basis in the novella. Ultimately, the fabula truly comes to a completion when the reader, consenting to the fiction of authorship presented in 14:20, reconsiders the text as a whole as having been framed by a fictional act of Tobit and Tobias writing down and publishing the events under the name of the father, and introduced as such by the narrator in 1:1: "The words of Tobit..."[138]

2.2.3.3. Return to the Beginning: Reversal (Esther)

Reversal is a common feature of stories. The events of a plot's resolution by nature relate in a transformative way to the beginning: with a happy ending, the climax and its aftermath, ideally speaking, effect a restoration of an original *status quo* which often takes the shape of reversal. Reversal can also be a characteristic of other aspects of a story besides the plot, for example in character attitude, knowledge, or role,[139] or in theme.[140] As would be expected, many of the Judean novellas have strong elements of reversal in their plots: Ruth goes from a widow to a wife, and the family of Elimelech from being future-less to having a future; Tobit's blindness is healed; the mighty Assyrian army ends up being put to flight.[141] A specific kind of reversal that Aristotle calls *peripeteia* or peripety is character-centered and is is situated at a major turning point in the plot, consisting of an unexpected twist or deviation preventing them from meeting their objectives that is not merely different but decisively and poetically so. For example, in *Oedipus Rex,* the messenger sent to the king "to cheer Oedipus and release him from the fear regarding his mother" ends up "doing the contrary," that is, revealing to him that Jocasta is his mother.[142] In *Esther*, reversal, specifically the peripety of Haman, goes beyond the examples in the other novellas, playing a prominent role in the climax of the novella and its aftermath.[143]

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[138] Moore, *Tobit*, 273; Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 298; see also Andrew B. Perrin, "Capturing the Voices of Pseudepigraphic Personae: On the Form and Function of Incipits in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 20, no. 1 (2013): 108.

[139] Cf. Crane on reversal in *Tom Jones*; Crane, "The Plot of *Tom Jones*," 121–22.

[140] Cf. Brooks's discussion of the ribbon episode in Rousseau's *Confessions*, where love ends up becoming sadism; Brooks, *Reading for the Plot*, 29–34.

Before discussing the ending of the fabula of *Esther*, it is necessary to compare the MT and the Greek translation of the Alpha Text (AT), which differ significantly, with the AT representing (in its implied Hebrew archetype) an older version of the novella, predating the MT. With Haman deposed, the outstanding tension in the story is the decree he issued. In the MT, Esther reiterates her request to the king that he save the Judeans by issuing counterdecrees against Haman's declaration (8:3-6), and so Ahasuerus gives Mordecai Haman's authority and permission to issue one, "for, as for an edict which is written in the name of the king and sealed with the seal of the king, there is no revoking (it)" (8:8). The decree does not annul what Haman ordered, but rather permits the Judeans to attack any armed group (כָּל־חֵיל עַם וּמְדִינָה) who persecutes them (8:11), which leads to an account of the Judeans finding great success in defeating their enemies on the day that Haman’s decree was set to take place (the 13th day of Adar), including the ten sons of Haman, whose corpses are then hung up for display by Esther’s wish (9:13). What is implied in this is that the animus incited against the Judeans (cf. 3:14: the edict was to be put on public display “to all peoples, so that they might be prepared on that day”) was going to erupt in violence on the appointed day no matter what. After the Judean victory and the impaling of the corpses of Haman’s sons, and a second round of slaughter by the Judeans, the narrative then segues directly into an aetiology for the festival of Purim (starting in 9:19), originating in the celebration held by the Judeans on the days after they were supposed to be slaughtered (the 13th and 14th of Adar).

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[141] On the other hand, reversal does not factor in to *Jonah* in any significant way.

[142] *Poetics* 1452a24-26. For the difficulty of squaring Aristotle's description of the play with the text as we know it, see Aristotle, *Poetics*, 129 (note *ad loc.* by Lucas).

[143] For in-depth studies of reversal in *Esther*, see Abraham Winitzer, "The Reversal of Fortune Theme in Esther: Israelite Historiography in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 11 (2011): 170–218 (connecting it to the theme of reversal in Babylonian divination) and Kenneth M. Craig Jr., *Reading Esther: A Case for the Literary Carnivalesque* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knos, 1995), 80–119 (a Bakhtinian literary analysis).

In the AT,[144] when material taken from the LXX is removed, leaving what is likely to be the original ending (or something close to it),[145] the ending is simpler. Unlike the MT, Haman is not said to be executed as soon as he is arrested; rather, after his arrest, Mordecai asks Ahasuerus to revoke the decree, and the king obliges by “putting into” Mordecai’s hands “the affairs of the kingdom” (8:16-17). This implies, unlike the MT, that the decree of Haman can be canceled by a further decree. Before that, however, Esther requests that Haman and his sons be punished first (8:18-19), which Ahasuerus, again, agrees to, and they are all hanged (8:20-21). Skipping the Septuagintal addition E, and continuing to 8:33, Mordecai then sends out a decree that cancels Haman’s (8:33), and then sends a letter that informs the Judeans that Haman is dead and that their lives are no longer endangered, and that they should celebrate instead (8:33-38). In the AT, the decree of Haman is effectively annulled once Haman dies: as Fox succinctly states, “the plot has no life beyond the man who engendered it.”[146] The additional complication of the unalterability of royal decrees is not found in the AT either, and is thus part of an augmented novella that underlies the MT[147] Since this motif is not present in the AT, it was likely not part of versions of the novella that preceded the AT and MT (“proto-Esther”).[148]

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[144] For the text of the AT with a facing English translation, see Clines, *The Esther Scroll*, 217–47.

[145] Ch. 8 through v.21, then continuing with vv. 33-38, according to Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 38–39.

The grand reversal in *Esther* happens in several stages. In the following, the AT and the MT are kept separate and compared:

1. *Haman informs Ahasuerus about what he thinks should be done for someone deserving of honor by the king, and, misinterpreting the king’s question to refer to him, is forced to dignify his nemesis Mordecai with the very treatment that he suggested.* This begins the series of reversals, and itself is the most peripety-like of them all. The reversal of Haman’s intentions came from something completely out of his control: Ahasuerus’s fortuitous sleeplessness and idle consultation of the annals, as well as the lack of proper commendation of Mordecai’s good deed, all of which led the king to desire to reward him as soon as possible (6:3-4). In the MT, the sharpness of the reversal is increased by the stretch of ironic dialogue where Ahasuerus’s questions are answered earnestly by Haman as if the king is speaking of him; while Haman bestows the honors on Mordecai, however, the narrator says nothing about Haman’s reaction to this, leaving the reader to

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[146] Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 41.

[147] See Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 118–19, 121–22.

[148] “It is most unlikely that this notion was present in proto-Esther and omitted by the proto-AT. A redactor would be unlikely to systematically remove this notion” (Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 119).

only hear him proclaim before Mordecai, “Thus is it done for the man whom it is the king’s pleasure to honor!” (6:11). The narrator of the AT, on the contrary, is quite unsubtle in his description of the ensuing events. First, he relates Haman’s dismayed and crestfallen reaction to Ahasuerus’s command (AT 6:13). Next, when Haman dresses Mordecai for the parade (AT 6:14), the narrator remarks that Haman honored Mordecai “on the very day that he had planned to hang him.” Unlike the MT, however, the AT gives a perspective on Mordecai’s feelings during these events: still in the garb of mourning and believing that the Judeans are doomed, he is depicted reluctantly being led in the parade, “troubled, as one who is dying,” putting on the “garments of glory” in “anguish” (AT 6:16-17). Leaving nothing to the imagination, and vivdly portraying with quite a bit of *pathos* Haman’s and Mordecai’s experience of the events, the narrator of the AT forces the reader to have a keener sense of the reversal of fortune.

2. *Haman plans to hang Mordecai, but ends up himself being hanged on the same gallows that he erected for Mordecai.* Put another way, Haman’s anger at Mordecai stemmed from his refusal to bow to him despite his high status, but Haman’s downfall was eventually caused by Mordecai. In the MT, the hanging happens immediately after Haman was accused by the king, at the suggestion of the eunuch Harbonah (7:8-9).[149] Harbonah’s[150]

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[149] After the king catches him begging for his life and mistakes that for an attempt to rape Esther, the narrator says regarding Haman that וּפְנֵי הָמָן חָפוּ, “His face they covered,” which could be taken to describe the process of arrest. Nothing else is said to happen to Haman except that he is hanged (7:9-10). While the AT does not have an equivalent for this, in the LXX, after the king makes his accusation, the narrator says that Αμαν δὲ ἀκούσας διετράπη τῷ προσώπῳ, lit. “Haman, hearing this, was changed with respect to his face,” i.e. looked aghast. It is possible that the Hebrew *Vorlage* read חפרו “became red” or חורו 'became pale” (see Moore, *Esther*, 72), or that the translator misread חפו or, not understanding it (and misled by the inverted syntax), translated in a way that made sense in context. Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 87 believes the MT should be emended towards the LXX.

[150] Called Harmonah in the MT, Bougathan in the LXX, and Agathas in the AT.

suggestion, present in the MT and AT, makes the reversal explicit: he mentions the gallows that “Haman made for Mordecai, who spoke something beneficial on behalf of the king” (7:9), alluding to his informing the palace about the plot. While, in the MT, the hanging of Haman precedes the final events, of the annulling and the Judeans’ preemptive attack, in the AT, Haman is not immediately hanged after Ahasuerus orders it (AT 7:13). First, after his signet ring is removed, “everything belonging to Haman” (πάντα τὰ τοῦ Αμαν), which seems to include both his possessions and his title and the authority it brings, is given to Mordecai, who then requests that the king grant him to annul Haman’s decree (AT 7:15-17). Before Mordecai does that, however, Esther asks (the next day!) to have Haman hanged along with his children. Haman, thus, dies after his property and rank are given to his archrival, setting up the final event of the novella’s ending, the reversal of the decree.

Reversal is continued into the ending. New state is a reversed state of before: esp with Esther being queen with lots of authority

3. *Haman intended to have all of the Judeans killed because of the action of one man, but Esther ends up having all of Haman’s family killed for the same reason.* While the MT separates Haman’s death from that of his children, who are killed in the Judean’s preemptive slaughter and have their corpses desecrated by Esther’s order, the AT has them executed together by Esther’s request. The AT’s sequence is thus a more built-out reversal of Haman’s desire to have an entire people killed for the (perceived) transgression of one, leading to a different punishment (the word Esther uses in AT 8:18)

of a group of people (Haman's children) as a result of the transgression of one (Haman). If the AT is more focused on the reversal inherent in this punishment, the MT augments it to become an act of extreme revenge.

4. *Mordecai is given Haman's possessions and authority.* In the MT, as mentioned above, Esther is given Haman's property (בֵּית הָמָן) while Mordecai receives Haman's rank and authority, being given Haman's ring by Ahasuerus. Moreover, Esther puts Mordecai in charge of what she received from Haman. The connection between Haman's downfall and the transfer of his property and authority is dulled: in 8:1, it is just said that "on that day," i.e. the day that Haman was arrested and hanged, his property was taken away and given to Esther (8:1), and then Haman's ring was given to Mordecai after the king learned that Mordecai was Esther's uncle (8:2). This leads to Esther's second request and, eventually, the counter-decree particular to the MT. In the AT, Mordecai receives both (AT 8:15: πάντα τὰ τοῦ Αμαν). Moreover, Ahasuerus grants Mordecai this after remarking with disbelief that Haman was going to hang the same person who saved him from the plot of the eunuchs (AT 7:14).[151]

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[151] Here, Ahasuerus also remarks with disbelief that Haman was going to hang someone who was related to Esther (finding no parallel in MT). Unlike MT 8:1, which says that Esther told the king (after Haman is arrested and hanged) that she is related to Mordecai, and thereafter that the king gave Mordecai Haman's ring, the AT does not mention Ahasuerus's learning about Mordecai's ethnicity, nor Esther's as well…in fact, missing entirely in the AT is the notice that Mordecai warned Esther to keep her ethnicity a secret in the court (found in MT (and LXX) 2:10, 20). Absent any mention of Esther's Judeanness at all in the entire AT until this moment, it must be assumed either that Ahasuerus knew already or was told (but this fact was not told to the reader), or, more likely, that her ethnicity did not matter: note how the only time that Judeanness is a problem is in the account of Mordecai and Haman's enmity. For this reason, Clines is in one sense right that Haman is the only true adversary of the Judeans in the novella (see Clines, *The Esther Scroll*, 42–46). Fox, however, points out that the idea of a general animus against Judeans is nevertheless implied and important to discern since Haman's decree would be nonsensical, and its threat basically immaterial, if the reader did not understand that violence against the Judeans could be so easily stirred up; see Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 113). Morever, Haman's description of the Judeans to Ahasuerus, in both the AT and the MT, is suffused with antisemitic tropes known from Hellenistic literature (ibid., 47-51). Thus, AT and MT differ both in the way that they thematize antisemitism, which, in the MT, ends up being intertwined more with

5. *Haman's public decree against the Judeans is overturned and followed by a public letter from Mordecai that celebrates his death.* Haman's decree was displayed public ally (גָּלוּי לְכָל־הָעַמִּים) all across the empire (3:14). Mordecai's letter also appears to be addressed to everyone.[152] Just as the entire city of Susa (Judeans and non-Judeans alike) was aghast (נָבוֹכָה) at Haman's decree, where it was proclaimed out loud (3:15), so was Mordecai's first decree given similar scope (8:8), the same phrase used to describe the public display of Haman's decree in 3:14 (גָּלוּי לְכָל־הָעַמִּים). The description of the widespread publication of Mordecai's decree in 8:9 also closely parallels that of Ahasuerus's decree concerning Vashti: a rare parallel at the novella's end to the Vashti episode of ch. 1. The parallel is also reinforced by Mordecai's decree being written in the name of the king (8:11). As can be expected, the AT differs and, though still characterized by reversal, much more restricted in its scope. There is not much attention devoted to the publication of Haman's decree, only Ahasuerus's command to Haman to write to "all the lands" of the empire, and a note that it was given to couriers to deliver (AT 4:13). The general effect is also given but brief notice: Susa was "in turmoil concerning what happened" (AT 4:1, ἐταράσσετο ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις). Nor is there, in fact, any report of the content of the decree (Add. B is derived from LXX[153]), only what its intent was, discerned by the reader through Haman's discussion with Ahasuerus (AT 4:7-11). The emphasis, instead, is placed on Mordecai and Esther's response. With Mordecai's counter-decree at the end of

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the plot's intrigue, concerning Esther's vulnerability in the court.

[152] Cf. Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 41.

[153] J.-C. Haelewyck, "Le Text dit 'Lucianique' du livre d'Esther, son étendue et sa cohérence," *Le Muséon* 98 (1985): 5–44; Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 16.

the novella in the AT, the narration is subsequently brief as well: the decree was published in Susa (AT 8:33), followed by Mordecai's letter attached to the order that the Judeans should celebrate, apparently sent to Judeans only, unlike the MT.

In general, the theme of reversal, substantially present in the endings of both the MT and the AT, is a clear, original feature of the novella. The AT, which attests to an older Hebrew version of the novella than the MT, is often more explicit in its expression of it (perhaps to the point of clumsiness, as in the initial peripety of Haman), as well as more narrowly focused on the rivalry of Haman and Mordecai. On the other hand, the MT, even in its expanded form, maintains that aspect. Given the emphasis on the general danger that Judeans face in the empire, a theme which is firmly in the background of the AT, the ending fittingly reverses that situation. As we suggested earlier, Mordecai's solemn warning to Esther to not reveal her ethnicity begins to meet the probable expectation of the reader that a theme of the novella, and a source of conflict, as in the Daniel literature, is anti-Judean hostility.[154] This turns out to be even more relevant for the MT, once the ending is considered (in distinction from the AT's). Not only is there a reversal of the initial situation of uncertainty faced by Judeans, but an overabundant compensation that completely over-matches the earlier hostilities: not only do the Judeans kill thousands, on top of the execution and public desecration of Haman and his family, and inspire fear up and down the ranks (9:4), but many people in the empire are so afraid of them that they profess to be Judean themselves (whether sincerely or as disguise: מִתְיַהֲדִים in 8:17). While the MT version of *Esther* goes above and beyond the earlier ending with its dominant theme of reversal, the later state of the novella shares this general feature of overabundance that, as I will discuss shortly, characterizes Judean novellas in general.[155] Thus, though significantly augmented, and even transformed, *Esther* firmly remains a typical Judean novella.

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[154] See p. 168 above.

2.3. Structure and Density of Plot

2.3.1 Fabula Structure

The first aspect pertinent to the density of the novella plots is the relationship between what is felt by the ideal reader to be the most pressing, all-encompassing, or most urgent function A/a and the other parts of the fabula. As the analysis of their beginnings, middles, and ends has shown, all of the Judean novellas feature multiple fabula sequences, many of which occur simultaneously. Nevertheless, the plots eventually come down to resolving a specific threat that, upon resolution, leads to the ending of the novella by resolving the primary function(s) A/a. These are summarized in summarized Table 3.

Table 3: Primary function(s) A/a and threat responses in the Judean novellas

	Primary function(s) A/a	**Threat response**
Jonah	(see discussion)	
Ruth	Naomi and Ruth are widows	Boaz obtains the right to marry Ruth
Esther	All Judean lives are threatened	Esther tells Ahasuerus about Haman
Tobit	Tobit’s sad position	Tobias obtains the fish entrails
Judith	Israel is threatened by the Assyrians	Judith beheads Holofernes

For full diagrams of the fabulas, see Appendix A.

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[155] See p. 248.

The threat response in each novella responds to a threat that is external and particular, allowing it to be addressed and countered in a concrete, singular fashion. Some of the protagonists experience the external threat directly and are changed by it (in *Ruth* and *Tobit*), while for others, the threat looms and must be addressed before it is too late (*Esther, Judith*); regardless, in both cases, the threat itself, or the situation it springs from, changes the protagonists and their world definitively. Once this threat is met and neutralized, the primary function A/a is resolved and the novella ends.

Jonah is several ways an exception. There is a specific threat whose resolution transitions the novella to its ending: the one faced by Nineveh, forced to decide how to respond to Yahweh's impending destruction. Yet, the Ninevites are not the novella's protagonists. Instead, the novella turns on the relationship of Yahweh and Jonah, which is the focus of the actual ending of the novella: Yahweh's decision to not punish Nineveh causes Jonah to reveal his original reason for fleeing from Yahweh (he knew that Yahweh would forgive Nineveh and did not want to be a part of that). The ending of *Jonah* concerns the revelation of Jonah's true character as well as his perspective on the events.

In each novella, one or more protagonists strive for a solution, leading to a sequence of events that invests the reader in their hopeful success. The protagonists eventually accomplish a feat that leads to the resolution, coming not as a result of maturation or moral reform, but through external action. R. S. Crane would identify them as plots of action: "the synthesizing principle[156] is a completed change…in the fortunes of the protagonist."[157] Even in the plot of

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[156] What Crane means by this is the general quality of the plot which combines the distinct storytelling features (action, character, and thought, according to him and Aristotle) into a whole (Aristotle's *systasis*).

[157] Crane, "The Plot of *Tom Jones*," 114.

Ruth, which culminates in a betrothal following the question of whether Boaz will take Ruth as a wife, the endeavor to convince Boaz is action-based and not about the interior conflict of characters (most of which is occluded from the reader) who wrestle with desire; moreover, the turning point of the novella does not consist of a change of heart (and it certainly could have), but the clearing of obstacles, none of which, it turns out, had any basis in attitude or feelings.

Corresponding to the unity of accomplishment of each protagonist is the singularity of the result of each once the threat is met (see table 4):

Table 4: Result of the threat responses in the Judean novellas

	Threat response	**Result**
Jonah	(Nineveh seeks mercy)	The revelation of Jonah’s true self
Ruth	Boaz obtains the right to marry Ruth	The marriage of Ruth
Esther	Esther tells Ahasuerus about Haman	The downfall of Haman
Tobit	Tobias obtains the fish entrails	The healing of Tobit
Judith	Judith beheads Holofernes	The defeat of the Assyrians

These all lead directly to the situation depicted in the ending of each novella: the continuation of Elimelech’s family (eventually yielding David), the nullification of Haman’s decree (and its effects), the restoration of Tobit’s dignity and the continuation of his family, and the deliverance of Jerusalem from the Assyrians (for the time being…). *Tobit* is a complication of this straightforward picture, since two fabulas are involved; compensating for this, however, is the unity of the protagonist who accomplishes the resolution on each side (Tobias), as well as the unity of the goal (the restoration of Tobit), engineered as such by Yahweh. Even *Jonah* retains a focus on the singularity of result: after Nineveh seeks Yahweh’s mercy, and is successful, Jonah reveals his true self, causing Yahweh to confront him about it.

The way in which the attempts to achieve the solution of the primary function(s) A/a are focused to a high degree, and do not consist of a lengthy series of failed attempts, contributes to the feeling of the relative shortness and focus of the plots of the novellas. Nevertheless, the plots are not linear, but relatively complex, consisting of multiple fabula sequences beyond those that immediately pertain to the primary function(s) A/a and its resolution. In significant portions of the plots of all the novellas, the reader tracks multiple fabula sequences simultaneously, all of which involve, to varying degrees, back-and-forth causality between them.

Ruth and *Tobit* have the least amount of back-and-forth causality. In *Ruth,* Naomi's decision to return to Judah (following A^2) and her consequent attempt to convince Orpah and Ruth to stay in Moab and remarry (a function B) causes Ruth to be threatened with separation from her (A^4); once Ruth convinces Naomi to let her accompany her back to Judah (H^4 I^4), Naomi's original dire situation as a widow (A^2) is now transformed into the joint situation that they both share, which leads to the heart of the plot. After this, upon the return to Bethlehem, the remaining fabula sequences develop out of each other. In *Tobit,* when Tobit, Tobias, and the reader learn near the end that Yahweh was responsible for Tobit's blindness and for bringing Tobias to Sarah (12:13-14), it becomes clear that Tobit's pious behavior spurred Yahweh on to test him. Yahweh's endeavor to test Tobit is a separate fabula sequence since Yahweh's motivation—which is never stated explicitly but must be implied—exists separately from any other function A/a in the novella, most importantly Tobit's, which, at the highest level, concerned his desire to remain pious in Nineveh. Once Tobit responds well to the test, Yahweh sends Raphael to heal him. While it is possible that Yahweh also decided to bring Tobias to Sarah and have them marry as a way to reward Tobit and restore his dignity, this connection is not made in the story: all Raphael says is that Yahweh heard Tobit's and Sarah's prayers at the same time. While *Tobit* does not have as much wide-scale, back-and-forth interaction between concurrent sequences, the interaction between the Yahweh- and Tobit-centric sequences have perhaps the most consequence for the plot as a whole.

Back-and-forth causality between sequences is more prominent in *Esther* and *Judith.* These are the only two Judean novellas which are hero/villain or protagonist/antagonist plots, which can be called polemical plots after Pavel, where characters create problems for each other and vie alternatively to bring an end to them.[158] In each, a major portion of the fabula is devoted to the antagonist's efforts to overcome their own function A: for Haman, the need to get rid of Mordecai, and for Holofernes (after the baton is passed, as it were, from Nebuchadnezzar), the rebelliousness of the western lands. The function A motivating each antagonist leads to function C/C' which creates a concrete obstacle the protagonists must address (their own function A/a), and represents the antagonists attempts to do away with what stands in their way: in *Esther,* Esther must attempt to get Ahasuerus to counter the anti-Judean decree; in *Judith,* Israel must withstand the Assyrian invasion, but their attempt to do so makes things worse for them, eventually leading to Bethulia facing famine and Judith being forced to act. An added complication in *Esther* is Esther's delay in asking Ahasuerus to help counter Haman's decree: this leads to Haman taking a new approach to getting rid of Mordecai, but also hastens Mordecai to his destruction (thanks to coincidence). In these two polemical plots, not only are there actions and reactions between the antagonist's and protagonist(s)'s fabulas, but the protagonists ultimately act in a way that decisively keeps the antagonist from meeting their goal, in fact making it impossible. In both cases, this happens by their death.

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[158] Discussed on p. 46.

The plot of *Jonah* is best described as a polemical plot. Even though Jonah is not a villain like Haman and Holofernes, he has an antagonistic relationship with the other protagonist of the novella, Yahweh. These two protagonists are motivated by different function A/a situations, with those of Jonah arising as a result of Yahweh's: Yahweh wishes to bring an end to Nineveh's wickedness, and so he sends Jonah to deliver a message of judgment, but this goes against Jonah's wishes to stay independent of Yahweh. As discussed above, Jonah's refusal to align himself with Yahweh stems from a flaw in his character, and thus a function A/a-like situation which is aboriginal to the plot of the novella as a whole. Yahweh and Jonah's clashing motivations are played out first during the storm scene, with the narrator backgrounding their activities by portraying Yahweh's actions from a distance with respect to the storm, and by shutting the reader out of Jonah's mental state and experience. In its place, the narrator paints a vivid picture of the storm from the sailors' perspective. Similarly, with the scene in Nineveh, Jonah's delivery of the message—which is the only moment in the fabula as a whole where Jonah is not attempting to remedy his own function A/a—gives way quickly to the scene in Nineveh, once again backgrounding the two protagonists: Yahweh is called אֱלֹהִים by the king of Nineveh (3:8-9) as well as by the narrator (3:5, 10), and Jonah is not mentioned at all until Yahweh's forgiveness is *fait accompli*. The narrator does not even describe how Jonah learned of this, whether from Yahweh or by his own observations. At this time, the polemical plot is underway again, and Jonah's antagonistic motivation once again surfaces, leading to the final confrontation between the two, and ending with the humiliation of the antagonistic member, as in *Esther* and *Judith*, although Jonah's absurd situation is nothing like the downfall of Haman or Holofernes.

Finally, another aspect of the fabula structure that contributes to the general plot density is the widespread involvement of multiple cycles of functions embedded within broader fabula sequences. In terms of meeting the external threat each novella plot comes down to, it takes at least two attempts, sometimes more, with at least one attempt being either partially or wholly unsuccessful in some way:

- *Jonah*: Yahweh tries to send Jonah to Nineveh, but he refuses; on his part, Jonah tries to get away from Yahweh, but he is unable.
- *Ruth*: Elimelech is initially partially successful in saving his family, but his death and that of his sons dooms them. As a result, Naomi and eventually Ruth commit to support each other, which works in a measure, but the fact remains that Ruth still needs to find a new husband, not only for her sake, but for the sake of the legacy of Elimelech and the future of his family. When a potential husband is identified, though he is willing to marry Ruth (partial success), he must secure the legal right to do so.
- *Esther*: Both Esther and Haman are unable initially to meet their objectives: Esther, though fortunate to be granted an audience with the king, does not ask him for the help that she needs initially, leading to a new cycle of request which, it turns out, endangers Mordecai even more; and Haman, who is originally satisfied with the universal condemnation of the Judeans as a way to eliminate Mordecai, is unable to wait any

longer, and so devises a new way: to hang him the next morning.

- *Tobit*: Tobit undergoes several unsuccessful attempts to live a pious life in Nineveh without punishment or harm caused to his family: first punished for burying Israelites who are killed by Sennacherib, Tobit the recidivist endangers himself once again by doing the same thing, but is instead blinded by (what appears to be) a freak accident, leading to a new set of problems. His initial attempt to alleviate his blindness fails. At the same time, Sarah in Ecbatana attempted seven times to be married, but failed on each occasion due to the demon Asmodeus. Once the Tobias portion of the plot begins, there is no more failure or partial success, only a carefully-plotted sequence of events that all go exactly as planned (Tobias is able to drive away Asmodeus and heal Tobit) and easier than planned (obtaining the money from Rages is basically effortless).
- *Judith*: In terms of fabula structure, *Judith* is in many ways the simplest. After the initial subplot, the story focuses on the resistance of Bethulia and their need to keep the Assyrians in check at the mountain pass in order to keep Jerusalem safe. The successful fortification of the pass is a brief victory for the Bethulians (the Assyrians are unable to simply march through), but it leads to the Assyrians rethinking their strategy and, instead, capturing the springs and thus induce famine on the town. This new crisis is solved by Judith without any partial success or failure.

Ruth and *Esther* share many features with Pavel’s cumulative plots in their fabula structures,[159] featuring individual efforts that yield partial successes and eventually reach a solution. In *Ruth*, Ruth and Naomi approach a resolution to their dire situation gradually, finding limited success and striving to take full advantage of their closeness to Haman. In *Esther*, Esther and Mordecai, single-mindedly pursuing the solution by banking entirely on the good will of Ahasuerus, become caught up, thanks to coincidence and the whim of the king, in a chain of events that leads to the downfall of their rival, building towards and enabling the solution (defeating Haman and annulling the decree) in a roundabout way.

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[159] See p. 45.

Judith resembles two other plot-types described by Pavel. In one sense, its plot is repetitive, notably in the first half of the novella, where the attempts of the Bethulians (as well as the other Syrian and Levantine peoples) to prevent the invasion only hasten them towards suffering and worsen their situation. In its second part, it is thoroughly algorithmic in Pavel's sense:[160] Judith carefully plans, step by step, her sortie against Holofernes, and the turning point, as in *Ruth* and *Esther*, hastens towards the climax and conclusion in an unexpected and easy way. Similarly, *Tobit*, after an initial portion that sees several partial sequences (Tobit's attempts to both act piously and survive) gives way to an algorithmic middle and ending, consisting of a significant number of moving parts between the blinding and the healing of Tobit. Unlike *Judith,* an omniscient perspective afforded to the reader and centered on Raphael in *Tobit* makes the dimensions of the algorithm clear, and by unburdening the plot of its riskiness, assures a happy ending at an early phase.

The structure of the fabulas of the Judean novellas, each taken as a whole, are all of a markedly dense scale. While each plot is focused eventually on protagonists meeting specific threats in a way that has definitive implications for the plot, leading to the endings, getting to that point is not a straightforward process. On that journey to the decisive moment, the reader of the

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[160] See p. 46.

Judean novellas must construct a complex fabula, tracking simultaneous sequences with back-and-forth causality, or marking out stages in the conflict between a protagonist and antagonist. The journey also consists of observing multiple attempts at resolving problems, with both partial successes and temporary failures, as well as carefully planned, intricate sequences of events.

2.3.2. Subplots

In *Esther*, the Vashti episode that starts the novella ends up being subsidiary to what follows. It can rightly be called a subplot since it represents, in itself, a complete fabula sequence (in fact, two), but it nevertheless leads directly into the main plot-line of the novella. The subplot is based on two function A situations: the offense of Vashti and the need to find a new queen; these happen sequentially, with the resolution of A1 leading directly to A2.

A	Vashti offends Ahasuerus by not coming to the feast
B	Ahasuerus's advisers suggest that a decree should be issued
C	Ahasuerus decides that their advice is good
C'	Ahasuerus propagates a decree that deposes Vashti
H	Vashti is deposed as queen
I	Vashti can no longer offend Ahasuerus
A	Ahasuerus is in need of a new queen
B	Ahasuerus's advisers suggest conducting a search for a new queen
C	Ahasuerus decides that their advice is good
C'	Ahasuerus entrusts the vetting process to Hegai
D	Hegai presents Ahasuerus with Esther
G	Ahasuerus loves Esther most of all
H	Ahasuerus makes Esther his queen
I	Ahasuerus has a new queen

While, as represented here, Ahasuerus is the C-actant, we observed above that Esther's entry into the scene in her preparation to be brought to the king suggests to the reader that she is playing the role of a C-actant as well, and implies that the immanent conflict in the story, poised to be the main one, is going to be between her and Ahasuerus, and due to her Judeanness. Thus, the initial subplot in *Esther* transforms into the main plot by a shift of focus away from one C-actant (Ahasuerus) to another (Esther), but even this transformation is incomplete and initially misleading.

A subplot found in *Judith* comes, like that of *Esther*, at the beginning, but it is at the same time less closely interlinked with what follows. In it, Nebuchadnezzar deals with Ecbatana:

A	Media (esp. Ecbatana) poses a formidable risk to the Assyrian army
C/C’	Nebuchadnezzar enlists his vassals to help
F_{neg}	The western vassals do not join in
H	Nebuchadnezzar defeats Ecbatana
I	Media is no longer a threat

No real obstacles that will constrain or impact the major characters in the novella develops in this subplot, since Nebuchadnezzar is positioned as an antagonist, and there is no elaborated rival protagonist to receive the reader’s sympathy. In addition, the fabula sequence is complete, but short. Like *Esther*, but minus the misdirection and subtle shifting of C-actancy, its main purpose is to motivate the main plot-line: Nebuchadnezzar’s desire to punish the rebellious western lands. The beginning of the main plot-line of *Judith* can be said to begin when Nebuchadnezzar decides to punish the lands and sends Holofernes, even though the primary fabula sequence concerns Bethulia. Notably, the main plot begins with a function A (A2) expressed from Nebuchadnezzar’s, and eventually Holofernes’s perspective, but the narration of the novella is mostly in favor of the fabula from the perspective of Israel and, especially, the Bethulians (beginning with A3, the consequence of Nebuchadnezzar's A2). In contrast to *Esther*, Nebuchadnezzar's (second) function A never gets resolved, while Ahasuerus's does, and gives way entirely to the main plot.

Subplotting is most noticeable in *Tobit*. Unlike *Esther* and *Judith*, the subplot of *Tobit* is encountered once a plot-line was already in development. When Sarah is introduced, with her own problem and having already attempted a solution, she is presented as if in a subplot, related to the outer plot-line purely by coincidence, albeit in a way that seems orchestrated: both Tobit and Sarah pray for death at the exact same time. The subplot then dovetails with the outer plot-line, via Tobias. Tobias's involvement with Sarah, which resolves the problem that she originally faced, is kept separate from Tobias's quest to obtain the money from Rages (thus the combination is aptly described as a dovetailing), even though Tobit's accomplishments, bringing the money back and having a wife, are both to the benefit of Tobit. With the revelation of Raphael, however, the possibility is raised that the Sarah subplot was instigated by Yahweh as part of the elaborate means of healing Tobit once he passed his test. Although he does not claim anything to that effect directly, only stating that Yahweh heard Tobit and Sarah's prayers at the same time, and sent Raphael to heal them (12:12, 14), the focus is resolutely on Tobit, and Yahweh's rationale for sending Raphael is only explicitly laid out with respect to him, not Sarah. These considerations, in addition to the keenness of the coincidence, suggests that even the potential Sarah subplot is already part of the Tobit main plot. Nevertheless, the narrator allows the coincidence to stand and leaves the ultimate connection unknown. Thus, *Tobit* could rightly be said to contain a subplot that does not merge completely with what ends up being the main plot-line, but is nevertheless closely connected to the latter.

2.3.3. Episodes

Within the novellas, there are few digressive stretches of story that have a secondary purpose outside of the main plot. For example, there are no sequences whose purpose is to “deliver” a character to a certain central situation or affair, serving primarily as a means of transition as well as tension-building, as can be found in Homeric epic.[161] Even the scene with Ahasuerus and Vashti, which leads to the rise of Esther, is connected to the main story in ways beyond simply providing background for Esther’s rise. There are, nevertheless, a handful of scenes in that could arguably be labeled episodic. Two episodes initially appear to be self-contained but, retrospectively, are central to the unfolding fabulas.

A special case are the two episodes in *Jonah*, the storm scene and the Nineveh scene. These are not digressive in any way, since, as discussed above, they continue the polemical plot of Yahweh versus Jonah, although backgrounding these two for their duration.

Two episodes in the novellas portray events that are among the most consequential for the wider story. One is *Esther* 2:20-23, when Mordecai foils the conspiracy against Ahasuerus. Initially appearing discontinuous with what came before, and implying a continuation of events (the reward of Mordecai by Ahasuerus) which ends up not happening, the discontinuity of this episode abides until the turning point of the novella when Ahasuerus reads from the annals.[162] Another episode is found in *Tobit* 6:2-6, when Tobias catches the fish in the Tigris. Again, like

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[161] Cp. the episode of Potiphar’s wife in the Joseph story (Gen 39).

[162] See p. 211.

Est 2:20-23, the episode initially seems to be without direct relevance to the unfolding fabula. This is suggested by the context of the scene, Tobias and Azarias/Raphael's journey to Media: journey narratives are naturally fit for episodic narrative relevant for the general arc of the story, where "adventures, each an incident, which might be an independent tale, are connected by the figure of" the protagonist.[163] Unlike in the Mordecai episode, the narrator is explicit about how the events of the episode of Tobias and the fish impact what will follow;[164] nevertheless, the two episodes are fundamentally similar in the way that they initially present themselves as digressive or self-contained, but end up determining the turning point of the story.

There are four other episode-like scenes in the novellas which still advance the plot in important ways, even if they are not so crucial to the unfolding fabulas that they could be re-imagined. Another way of putting it would be that, if the novellas were to be retold but the basic story (fabula) kept the same, these episodes could be strongly altered or even, perhaps, done away with, but there would still need to be a device in the plot to replace them. It is also likely no coincidence that, of the five novellas, it is mostly the longer ones that include episode-like scenes. They are:

- **Est 1** (Ahasuerus vs. Vashti). While the scene of Ahasuerus's feast and the downfall of Vashti is fairly separable from the ensuing novella,[165] as discussed above, besides serving as a direct catalyst for the main part of the story (Esther's rise and Mordecai's conflict with Haman), the scene of the feast also serves as a way to build the reader's expectation for there to be a conflict between Ahasuerus, presented as a temperamental king who is prone to wrath and willing to leverage his extensive bureaucracy on a whim, and Esther, whom the reader cannot help but think is in a dangerous position—an expectation which is subverted by what follows, making Est 1 almost a snare for the reader.[166]

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[163] Wellek and Warren, *Theory of Literature*, 222.

[164] See p. 247.

[165] See Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 24; Clines, *The Esther Scroll*, 31.

- **Tob 2:11-14** (Tobit vs. Anna). The short episode where Tobit and Sarah argue over the goat could initially appear to be extraneous, and one could argue that it could be taken out of the novella without effecting the whole. Indeed, it does seem to contribute more towards the characterization of Tobit and Sarah than to advancing the plot. Nevertheless, the episode directly motivates Tobit's decision to pray to Yahweh for death, representing the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back. It also is the basis for the synchronization of the Tobit and Sarah portions of the fabula, both being reproached by a woman of their household, the reproach leading directly to their wish for death. Finally, the episode portrays Tobit as helpless and without authority in his own household, contributing to the dire picture faced by him and his family: not only are they poor, but Tobit is an object of reproach in his own household. This situation is reversed at the ending: instead of being isolated and scorned, Tobit is respected in his community as a patriarch who has been blessed by being able to see his children's children.
- **Jud 1** (Nebuchadnezzar vs. Arphaxad). Like Est 1, this first scene is the direct catalyst for the crisis of the novella: the Assyrian invasion of the west, caused by Nebuchadnezzar's desire to punish the nations there for not supporting his invasion of Media. Also like Est

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[166] For which, see Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980), 77.

1, the initial scene features a character (Arphaxad) that disappears from the story and is given a bare-minimum of narration and characterization.

- **Jud 2:28-3:8** (Holofernes vs. Sidon and Tyre). Like Tob 6:2-6, the context in which Jud 2:28-3:8 is found is a journey (in this case, the march of an army). After a period of geographically-focused, summary narration concerning Holofernes's march through the west, the narrator returns to scenic narration with the stop near Sidon and Tyre. Here, a brief episode ensues where Holofernes, despite the two cities sending envoys suing for peace and promising to allow the Assyrians to do anything they please to them, destroyed their temples and sacred areas. In a brief, non-narrative, explanatory note, the narrator reminds that Holofernes "had been appointed to root out all of the gods of the land…that every nation and tongue should serve Nebuchadnezzar, and him alone." (3:8). This is the episode with the loosest connection to the surrounding story. Since the novella still has not reached the point of the threat against Israel, which the ideal reader knows is coming, this episode serves as a pause before the central action of the novella. The episode also serves to introduce an important theme of the novella, the destructive banning of the worship of any god except for Nebuchadnezzar (no matter whether the people sue for peace or not; cf. Jud 4:1, which explicitly makes this connection in terms of the plot).

The manifold links to the rest of the story show that these episode-like scenes are integral to the experience of the novella as intended by the implied author, even though not all are crucial steps in the unfolding fabula or plot devices to move things along. Furthermore, it is surely no coincidence that all are in the beginning portions of the novellas. With the exception of Tob 2:11-

14, they also involve antagonists, or, in the case of Est 1, a character who at first is portrayed as an antagonist. Conversely, except for Tob 2:11-14, which occurs at the very beginning of the novella's middle, no episodes exist in the middles and ends of the novellas, during the period when the tension is at its highest and in the immediate aftermath thereof. Thus, the sparing use of episodes in carefully-chosen contexts evinces a narrative art of creating tension by portraying conflict through (momentarily) less integrated storytelling, but also of resolutely focusing on the unfolding fabula when the tension is at its highest. Episodic storytelling, and even isolated episodes inserted into cohesive narratives, cause readers to search out links beyond the plot itself, in terms of character or theme instead. For audiences who are highly attuned to the narrative art of the genre they are reading or hearing, such episodes may even be suspected to be seeds that will bear fruit in the coming conflict or confrontations.[167] This would be a natural reading for episodes that, as in the novellas, involve antagonists. In other words, some may recognize the difference between Est 2:20-23 and, say, Jud 2:28-3:8, and ascribe to the former a more important bearing on the unfolding story. The way that Tob 2:11-14 turns this feature on its head is thus quite noteworthy: instead of presenting a series of events whose implications and motivations for the coming story strongly cue the reader about the direction of the future story, the narrator here dispenses with all mystery and lays bare exactly how this episode is determinative.

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[167] See Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 76–77.

2.4. Plot Dynamics

2.4.1. Turning Points and Climaxes

For an overview of the most consequential turning points and climaxes in the Judean novellas, see Table 5. A feature of plot dynamics shared by all the Judean novellas is the prominent use of both false climaxes and anticlimax. As discussed in Chapter 1, an event that is conveyed climactically in its build-up, and even in the event itself, but does not result in a true plot climax, would be a false climax, while an event which is built up to be a climax, and ends up playing that role in the story, but in a way that is not expected, is an anticlimax.[168]

Table 5: Central turning points and climaxes of the Judean novellas

	Jonah	***Ruth***	***Esther***	***Tobit***	***Judith***
Turning point	Jonah delivers the prophecy to Nineveh;	Boaz agrees to marry Ruth if he is able to	1. Ahasuerus reads about Mordecai in the annals; 2. Esther beseeches Ahasuerus	Tobias obtains the healing entrails from the fish	Judith is invited into the tent of Holofernes
Climax	Yahweh does not punish Nineveh	Boaz obtains the right of redemption from the nearer kinsman	Haman is confronted by Ahasuerus and killed	1. Tobias drives away Asmodeus 2. Tobias heals Tobit	Judith beheads Holofernes

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[168] See p. 57.

In *Jonah*, there are two clear phases of climaxes and their builds: the scene at sea, and the proclamation to Nineveh, with the scene with the whale occupying a transitional place between them. While the Nineveh scene is built up from the beginning of the novella as a climax of the entire story and, as I will discuss shortly, ends up being a false climax, the scene at sea is a textbook example of climactic narration featuring a straightforward turning point and climax, with no false climax or anticlimax in sight. The turning point happens with a moment of recognition—something often associated with turning points in storytelling[169]—when the sailors identify Jonah as the cause of the storm, and must decide how to deal with him in order to save their lives. The climax occurs when, after trying to escape the storm by their own power, the sailors relent and toss Jonah overboard, as he himself wished, leading to the sudden and dramatic abatement of the storm. As the perspective of the story shifts to Jonah in the sea, the short scene with the whale takes place. Despite the unambiguously climactic nature of what happens to Jonah, who is swallowed by a whale then spit out onto the beach, escaping death, it is difficult to analyze this scene as having its own turning point and climax like the previous. The return of Jonah to the land plays a crucial role in the wider story, representing the definitive defeat of Jonah's attempts to stay away from Yahweh. From the perspective of the second call of Jonah (3:1-2), the incident with the whale is a turning point towards the coming climax at Nineveh.

As exciting and memorable as the storm and whale scene are, the plot has yet to reach the moment which was originally "billed" as the climax of the story: the proclamation at Nineveh. The turning point happens at the intimidating and long-expected moment when Jonah finally delivers the condemnation of Yahweh. Yet, not only does this not cause any danger to Jonah,

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[169] See Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 743 (s.v. "turning point").

Jonah's proclamation quickly results in the entire city, both on their own accord an instigated further by their king, to ask for forgiveness and cease from doing the (unspecified) evil acts that caused Yahweh to become angry, as their king further instigated them to do, causing Yahweh to feel compassion for them and not punish them: as David Lambert observes, "God only persists in anger when actively provoked by seeing evil done."[170] Like the climax of *Ruth* and *Esther*, the climax of *Jonah* involves the unexpected ease with which a difficult task was able to be accomplished.

The quick and unexpected conclusion of the Nineveh scene transitions to the final phase of the story which casts the plot of the novella in a new light, and is centered on the revelation of Jonah's intractable stubbornness, as discussed in detail above.[171]

Ruth builds towards the climax of the plot in a protracted way, and finds its turning point with Boaz's surprisingly quick agreement to take Ruth as a wife. Boaz's easily-obtained willingness to be a גֹּאֵל for Ruth serves as a false climax after Naomi's scheme for Ruth to have Boaz take notice of her, as discussed earlier.[172] The false climax leads to a new problem: Boaz's need to circumvent the nearer kinsman, who is obligated to be the גֹּאֵל before Boaz is. The following scene, which is poised to be the climax of the novella, sees Boaz overcome the sole obstacle that prevents him from stepping into the role of a גֹּאֵל: by convincing the nearer kinsman to not exercise his right of redemption. While the scene itself is transactional and technical, an unexpected topic is Elimelech's land; before this, there are no overt indications in the novella that this land would play such a central role in the resolution of the story. Boaz asks the kinsman if he wishes to redeem it—it and not Ruth, as Boaz's language suggested would happen in 3:13 on the threshing floor—and makes it known that, if he does not, then he himself will (4:3-4). As the closest living relative to Elimelech, based on custom, this kinsman is the one who is obligated purchase the land, which is why Boaz raises it as an issue. The kinsmen affirms that he wishes to, but when Boaz informs him that this entails acquiring Ruth as well,[173] the kinsman forswears and decides not to redeem, the reason being that he does not wish to complicate the inheritance of his own property and legacy for his descendants between his own children and those that would be born from Ruth (פֶּן־אַשְׁחִית אֶת־נַחֲלָתִי, “lest I imperil my property,” 4:6). Once Boaz has a verbal statement from the kinsman in the presence of the elders finalized with the symbolic removal of the shoe (4:7-8), he is able to legally assume the right of redemption. In his formal declaration (4:10), Boaz makes the first explicit mention of marriage (וְגַם אֶת־רוּת הַמֹּאֲבִיָּה אֵשֶׁת מַחְלוֹן קָנִיתִי לִי לְאִשָּׁה, “Ruth the Moabite, wife of Mahlon, I acquire for myself as a wife”) in the novella. This completes Boaz’s role as a C-actant, carried out as a straightforward property transaction. In less complex or tragic circumstances, with there being living sons and grandsons in Elimelech’s line, the purchase of Elimelech’s field would not require at the same time the promise to continue his line and his memory (the same thing) through levirate marriage, but the unique series of events of *Ruth*, where the dead head of household’s sons had wives but no children yet, and had themselves died, means that the obligation for the גֹאֵל is more extensive. Although the novella consists of an accumulating, nesting doll-like series of function A/a situations, with everything (even David!) depending on Boaz making a successful negotiation, not only is the negotiation itself straightforward, but the cumulative act itself, the removal of the shoe, like a domino which makes all the others fall, is maybe the most anticlimactic aspect of them all given its out-sized effect.

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[170] Lambert, *How Repentance Became Biblical*, 28. The penitential acts of Nineveh moves Yahweh to not destroy the city, unlike the similar attempt of the sailors in 1:5-6, which did *not* move Yahweh, because Yahweh was punishing Jonah, not the sailors. David Lambert observes that "the sailors know instinctively...that their appeals have failed not because of insincerity...but rather because it is infelicitous in the current circumstance": to avert divine wrath, prayer must be accompanied by ceasing sinful action and removing its effects, something that they were only able to do by casting Jonah overboard; see Lambert, *How Repentance Became Biblical*, 23–24. Following Lambert's articulation of the two "tracks" in Yahweh's behavior, one concerned with mercy, the other with justice, . Without the urging of their king to not only ask for forgiveness (which is what the Ninevites did on their own accord; 3:5), but to "turn each from their evil way and from the violence which is in their hands" (3:8), וְיָשֻׁבוּ אִישׁ מִדַּרְכּוֹ הָרָעָה וּמִן־הֶחָמָס אֲשֶׁר בְּכַפֵּיהֶם, (for a full discussion, see Lambert, ibid., 23-28).

[171] See pp. 200ff.

[172] See p. 182.

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[173] MT Ruth 4:5 reads בְּיוֹם־קְנוֹתְךָ הַשָּׂדֶה מִיַּד נָעֳמִי וּמֵאֵת רוּת הַמּוֹאֲבִיָּה (q. קָנִיתָה) לְהָקִים שֵׁם־הַמֵּת עַל־נַחֲלָתוֹ אֵשֶׁת־הַמֵּת קניתי, with וּמֵאֵת either meaning "and from" followed by the direct object marker, or "and from with," a compound preposition consisting of מן + את. Regardless, וּמֵאֵת רוּת הַמּוֹאֲבִיָּה אֵשֶׁת־הַמֵּת is attached to the verb קניתי (q. קָנִיתָה), unless וּמֵאֵת רוּת is taken to be parallel to מִיַּד נָעֳמִי and thus to mean that both Naomi and Ruth own the property (as Holmstedt, *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text*, 190–91). While this may be the simplest solution (however one interprets מֵאֵת) and accords with the use of מִיַּד and מֵאֵת in Pentateuchal law concerning property transfer from multiple parties (see Schipper, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 165 for discussion), the broader context of Boaz and the kinsman's discussion does not portray Ruth as a property owner but akin to property herself, acquired by Boaz explicitly in 4:10, in a formulation which parallels 4:5 in many ways: וְגַם אֶת־רוּת הַמֹּאֲבִיָּה אֵשֶׁת מַחְלוֹן קָנִיתִי לִי לְאִשָּׁה לְהָקִים שֵׁם־הַמֵּת עַל־נַחֲלָתוֹ. This has led some to emend וּמֵאֵת in 4:5 to read וְגַם אֶת as in 4:10, following the Vulgate and Peshitta; e.g. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel: Textkritisches, Sprachliches und Sachliches*, 7:28.

Another complicating factor is that the *ketiv* of the final verb reads קניתי "I acquire," while the *qere* reads קָנִיתָה* "you acquire," possibly with a feminine object suffix" (the ה could also be an example of *plene* orthography; cf. Eric D. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology*, Resources for Biblical Study 76 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 35ff). The OG, Vulgate, and Targum support the *qere*, and this reading makes the most sense: reading according to the *ketiv* would mean that the kinsman would acquire the property, and Boaz (the speaker here) Ruth, especially if וּמֵאֵת is parallel in meaning to מִיַּד. But this cannot be the case, since the kinsman forswears acquiring the property in response to this statement of Boaz (4:6), supporting taking מֵאֵת, or whatever it could be emended to, to mark רוּת הַמּוֹאֲבִיָּה as the direct object of קָנִיתָה*. As a result, the inverted syntax of the second clause ("You acquire property from Naomi, and Ruth too you acquire") is an appropriate topicalization of Ruth. However the original text read, the erroneous מאת may have been maintained by subsequent scribes because of the aforementioned use of מֵאֵת in Num 35:8 and Lev 16:5, encouraged perhaps by a misunderstanding of Ruth's ownership of the property.

In *Esther*, the threats are neutralized with little effort, contrasting starkly with the danger Esther and Mordecai faced, and their weighty responsibility to save the lives of all the Judeans in the empire. The neutralization beings with Ahasuerus’s fortuitous discovery of Mordecai’s responsibility for saving the king’s life, which prevents him from being hanged, and is followed by the unexpected ease with which the hesitant and careful Esther finally confronts Ahasuerus about the anti-Judean decree and convinces him to act, aided by a fortuitous misunderstanding caused by Haman's actions. Ahasuerus's chance discovery of Mordecai in the annals and his desire to (finally!) honor him for saving his life not only prevents Mordecai from being hanged, but leads to Haman's downfall.[174] In a sense, therefore, the groundwork for the defeat of Haman already took place before Esther became a C-actant, and indeed before the threat was even real; after this, all it takes is a recognition by the king and the king's response.[175] Haman's downfall, however, directly results from Esther's own efforts to save the Judeans. Once the second feast is held, after Haman's failed attempt to hang Mordecai is foiled, Esther makes a formal request: that Ahasuerus grant her and her people their lives, which were endangered by Haman (7:3-5):[176] Ahasuerus angrily asks who ordered this, and Esther tells him it was Haman. After Ahasuerus leaves the room in anger, apparently to collect himself (7:7), Haman begs Esther to save his life, while lying on Esther's couch—either he flung himself towards her to beg mercy, or fainted in response to what had just happened.[177] Ahasuerues took Haman's situation to indicate that hje was forcing himself upon the queen, and as a consequence orders Haman to be hanged on the gallows he had erected for Mordecai, as the eunuch Harbonah suggested (7:9-10). This completes the cycle of poetic justice which began with Mordecai's parade. The misunderstanding is what leads directly to Haman's execution, regardless of what Ahasuerus would have done to Haman based on Esther's word alone.

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[174] Though an ideal reader would expect Mordecai to be rewarded immediately after his original good deed in chapter 3, the delayed recognition by Ahasuerus is in fact more fortunate, and also allows poetic justice against Haman, who has to parade Mordecai around the city (by Haman's own suggestion!), to take place.

[175] Following Aristotle's categories, the turning point of *Esther* is a moment of both *anagnorisis* and *peripeteia*, the recognition of Ahasuerus simultaneously being the diversion and foiling of Haman's intentions. Moreover, Aristotle would consider *Esther's* plot of a superior kind, since, instead of featuring contrivances that manipulate the resolution of the plot (as in *Tobit*!), the events themselves (reading the annals and acting accordingly) create the resolution in a natural or probable progression, though reliant still on both coincidence and the unpredictable behavior of the king, which certainly has precedence itself in the story. For discussion, see Marie-Laure Ryan, "Cheap Plot Tricks, Plot Holes, and Narrative Design," *Narrative* 17, no. 1 (2009): 57.

[176] Esther asks Ahasureus תִּנָּתֶן־לִי נַפְשִׁי בִּשְׁאֵלָתִי וְעַמִּי בְּבַקָּשָׁתִי, "may you grant me my life as my request, and my people as my petition," building on the language she used in her earlier, unsuccessful attempt to say what she wanted.

[177] When the king returned from the garden,וְהָמָן נֹפֵל עַל־הַמִּטָּה אֲשֶׁר אֶסְתֵּר עָלֶיהָ, "Haman was fallen over the couch which Esther was upon" (7:8).

In *Tobit*, which has the most moving parts in its plot, the nature of the climax of the novella is assured far ahead of time once Tobias—at the very beginning of his journey, no less—obtains the entrails with healing power from the fish he caught in the Tigris, giving him the power in one fell swoop both to drive away Asmodeus (and marry Sarah) and heal his blind father. The turning point of *Tobit* then, occurs right at the beginning of the narrative sequence in which the C-actant has only just begun to pursue function H. Once the fish is caught, and the healing powers of its entrails spelled out by Azarias/Raphael, the reader only has to wait for Tobias to arrive in Media for the mission to be carried out and to find success. This striking foreshadowing by Azarias/Raphael nearly gives away the entire plot of the novella, and will be discussed in more detail below.[178]

Finally the climax of *Judith* is clearly the beheading of Holofernes, carefully prepared for by Judith's algorithmic preparations and the explicit turning point of when she is invited, at last, into Holofernes's tent. When viewed in the wider context of the plot, however, the beheading is actually a turning point towards the defeat of the Assyrians, which takes place in a markedly anticlimactic fashion with the surprisingly easy victory of the Israelites over the Assyrians, the enemy fleeing as soon as they discover that their leader has been murdered. Given how quickly the discovery of the body of Holofernes and the rout of the Assyrians is narrated, especially after the measured build towards the beheading, these final events read like a denouement after the central crisis has been averted, but are nevertheless the climax of the story.

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[178] See p. 244.

2.4.2. Prolepsis, Foreshadowing, and Advance Mention

The use of foreshadowing, both subtly and in stronger ways, colors the experience of several of the Judean novellas. Two such examples are found: advance mention (also called seeds), a part of the story whose significance becomes clear only later in the story, usually a significant amount of time after it is first mentioned,[179] and foreshadowing, when later events are not narrated but are hinted at or suggested to happen a certain way.[180] A third kind, prolepsis (or flash forward), when events in a story are narrated asynchronously ahead of time, "an evocation of one or more events that will occur after the 'present' moment" in the narrative,[181] is lacking. The scholiasts held that prolepsis in Homeric epic "renders the reader attentive and emotionally more engaged" by making their expectation of coming action more acute, as well as by allaying their anxiety about what is coming by indicating a happy ending.[182] Presumably, prolepsis is not employed in the novellas because such storytelling devices are not needed: the works are short enough not only to be engaging throughout, but, more importantly, to present a complex story in its full extent in a single sitting.

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[179] Also called a "seed"; Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 4. See Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 76–77 for a discussion of the kind of acute competency on the part of the reader to recognize "seeds" of the future story.

[180] Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 33.

[181] Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology*, 79. For the treatment of prolepsis by the Homeric scholiasts, see N. J. Richardson, "Literary Criticism in the Exegetical Scholia to the *Iliad*: A Sketch," in *Ancient Literary Criticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 180–84. An example would be the famous "Rosebud" incident in the film *Citizen Kane*.

[182] See Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work*, 37.

There are examples of advanced mention in *Tobit* and *Esther*, and possibly *Ruth* as well. In *Tobit*, Tobit stashing silver in Media is highly disconnected from its context, making its relevance for the ensuing story ominous. Another example is the eunuchs’ plot in *Esther*, which happens out of nowhere and which is concluded as quickly as it started, and transitions uneasily (as discussed above) into the start of the primary fabula with the introduction of Haman. A potential example of advanced mention in *Ruth* has to rely not on strictly plot-based intuition, but on familiarity with other works of literature. If we presume for the sake of argument a reader of *Ruth* familiar with Chronicles, the introduction of Elimelech’s kinsman as Boaz, the same name as Boaz, the father of Obed, grandfather of Jesse, and great-grandfather of David in 1 Chr 2:11-12, would be an advance notice that the novella at least has the potential to treat the origin of the ancestral line of David. This is a weaker kind of advance notice than the earlier examples, which related to concrete events in the plots that can overshadow the plot. Assuming the reader recognized Boaz’s relationship to David, the speculation that the reader would undergo would not be along the lines of, “What effect will this event have?” but “Why does it matter that someone who is potentially David’s great-grandfather is going to play an important role in this story?” If we go a step further and presume that the reader was also familiar with Samuel, the speculation narrows, and the advance mention based on the name of Boaz becomes more pronounced and suggestive. By the time that Boaz is introduced, another bourgeoning resonance with the story of David in the book of Samuel may have already been noticed: Naomi and Ruth have returned to Bethlehem, the home of their deceased husband/father-in-law, which is the hometown of David and his family in 1 Sam 17 and 20:6. The name of Boaz and the location of Bethlehem may not have had the same suggestive power if occurring in isolation. Returning to the hypothetical question posed earlier, if the reader wonders what significance the name Boaz will have for the story, given that it takes place “in the time when the Judges judged” (1:), that is, in the era preceding the era of David, and in the town of David, the reader may consider it possible that the story will position Ruth not only as Boaz’s wife (something that would already be suspected given the way Boaz is introduced) but the mother of Obed, whether that happens in the story or not.[183]

An example of foreshadowing can be found in *Judith*. In a brief statement interposed in the midst of the scene where the Israelites of Jerusalem, having learned that the Assyrian army was approaching, prayed and fasted in front of the temple, the narrator reports that Yahweh heard their prayer (4:13).[184] It is not said what Yahweh did in response, or planned to do, but the implication is that he will rescue Israel from the Assyrians. In fact, this is the first and only time that Yahweh as a character appears in the story, besides being involved in the speech of characters. Unlike other Judean texts, both earlier and contemporaneous, where Yahweh is said by a narrator to hear a prayer of someone in distress,[185] the narrator does not foreshadow in more detail how this will happen: Yahweh is simply not saving the Israelites just yet. Instead, things first get progressively worse for Israel, heightening the anticipation of the deliverance.

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[183] There is also the potential of resonance with the story of 1 Sam 22:3-5, which tells how David was sheltered by the king of Moab in Mizpah during his flight from Saul, which could be encouraged by the name Boaz and the setting in the time of Judges and in Bethlehem. On the other hand, the link is not as concrete as the one that the name Boaz could immediately suggest.

[184] καὶ εἰσήκουσεν κύριος τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν καὶ εἰσεῖδεν τὴν θλῖψιν αὐτῶν. In the Vulgate, this statement by the narrator is replaced by an exhortation by the high priest, who promises that Yahweh hears their prayers and will save them if they remain faithful to him. Moore, *Judith*, 152 believes that the language in the Latin reflects a Semitic *Vorlage*.

[185] The passage evokes Ex 3:7 (cf. Neh 9:9 also), as well as the similar motif throughout Judges. As Wills notes, the role of Yahweh hearing Israel’s prayer and sending leaders to deliver them from their enemies is found in 2:18, 3:9, 15; Lawrence M. Wills, *Judith: A Commentary on the Book of Judith*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2019), 213. Finally, Susanna vv. 40-46 can be compared: there, as in *Judith*, the narrator states that Yahweh

The strongest examples of foreshadowing are found in *Tobit*. The first takes place as soon as Sarah’s prayer (which followed a similar one by Tobit) concludes, right when the coincidence between the main plot and the subplot is at its sharpest and most suggestive. Turning his attention to the divine realm, the narrator relates how Yahweh hears Tobit and Sarah’s prayer “at that very moment” (Ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ, 3:16), and then describes his response:

> *Tobit* 3:17
>
> καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ραφαηλ ἰάσασθαι τοὺς δύο, Τωβειν ἀπολῦσαι τὰ λευκώματα ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἴδῃ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ φῶς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ Σαρρα τῇ Ραγουηλ δοῦναι αὐτὴν Τωβεια τῷ υἱῷ Τωβειθ γυναῖκα καὶ λῦσαι Ασμοδαιον τὸ δαιμόνιον τὸ πονηρὸν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς, διότι Τωβια ἐπιβάλλει κληρονομῆσαι αὐτὴν παρὰ πάντας τοὺς θέλοντας λαβεῖν αὐτήν
>
> Raphael was sent to heal the two of them, Tobit, by removing the whiteness from his eyes so that he might see with (his) eyes the light of God, and Sarah (daughter) of Raguel, by giving her to Tobias, the son of Tobit, as a wife and by freeing Asmodeus the wicked demon from her (for it was right for Tobias to take possession of her before all others who wished to take her).

The advent of this global perspective greatly impacts how the reader assesses the unfolding fabula. Textually speaking, the foreshadowing occurs in purpose clauses that explain why Yahweh sends Tobit. They are not themselves narrative clauses, and thus are not true prolepses, but exist in the future of the story. For this reason, the infinitive clauses may be best understood as indirect speech-like expressions of Yahweh’s intention in sending Raphael.

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heard the prayer (in this case, of Susanna), but immediately after this then specifies that Yahweh sent Daniel to rescue Susanna. See Gera, *Judith*, 188.

Though much is revealed here, the way in which the two parts of the plot will dovetail (a fact already suspected before the perspective of the heavenly court was given) still waits for the reader to discover; and of course, Tobit does not know that he is going to be healed, and indeed has given up hope—Sarah, on her part, despairs as well.

In terms of the functional analysis of the two parallel parts of the fabula, with this sweeping perspective the reader now knows that, eventually, Tobit will be healed (function H), implying that he will continue to live his life as before (function I), but the way in which this will happen and especially the agent accomplishing it (the C-actant) is still unknown. Since Tobit’s blindness will be healed (unbeknownst to Tobit), it is a true function (A), and not merely a plot device to lead to a different function A; before, Tobit had despaired of being healed. Tobit’s blindness is nevertheless not the only problem in the story world that he faces: the two function (a) situations—his family’s poverty (a1) and his loss of esteem in the eyes of his wife (a2)—result from the blindness, but are not expected to be automatically reversed once his blindness is healed.

A	Tobit is blinded
(C C’ H_{neg} I_{neg})	Tobit is unable to be healed
a^1	Tobit’s family has become poor
a	Tobit is an object of reproach.
…	
H*	Someone (a C-actant) will heal Tobit’s blindness
I*	Tobit will be able to see again

The identity of the C-actant for this part of the fabula is as yet unknown.

More detail is given about the future direction of the Sarah subplot, including how it will merge with the main plot-line. The C-actant is Tobias, who will marry Sarah and vanquish Asmodeus. Since we already know that Asmodeus has killed Sarah’s husbands “before they could be with her” (πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι αὐτοὺς μετ’ αὐτῆς, 3:8), that is, before they had sexual relations, the reader posits the Sarah fabula as follows:

A	Sarah desires a husband
$(C\ C’\ G\ H_{neg}\ I_{neg})^{7x}$	Sarah prevented by Asmodeus
C	Tobias marries Sarah
(D)	Tobias is threatened by Asmodeus
E	Tobias defeats or wards away Asmodeus (how?)
F*	Tobias is protected from Asmodeus
G*	Tobias is able to consummate his marriage
H*	Tobias and Sarah consummate their marriage
I*	Sarah has a husband

Shifting back to Nineveh and to Tobit in 4:1, the narrator turns their attention back to the unfolding Tobit fabula, resuming “On that day,” that is, at the same time that he prayed earlier. Knowing that Tobit’s will be addressed, the reader instead sees Tobit deciding to send Tobias to fetch the money he left in Media: Tobit’s attempt to alleviate his families poverty (a1). This preserves the ironic distance between Tobit’s understanding of the events and the reader’s. Tobit’s desire to fetch the money springs from his belief that he is bound to die soon, and so he needs to take of his family the best he can. Tobias is thus a C-actant with respect not only to Sarah, but to Tobit as well.

Before Tobias fortuitously meets Azarias/Raphael, the reader, already knowing that Tobias will marry Sarah, can suspect how the Tobit fabula will intersect with Sarah’s: Tobias is sent to Media, where Sarah lives; her city of residence, Ecbatana, is still a long ways from Rages, where Tobit's money is kept, but it is an easy stop on the road from Nineveh to Rages. It is also surely no coincidence that Tobit encouraged Tobias to marry an Israelite so he can be "blessed" with children (4:12).

With the beginning of Tobias and Azarias/Raphael's journey to Media and the struggle with the fish, another major act of foreshadowing concerning the story is made. Like the first example, the foreshadowing is associated with the consciousness of a character, but instead of through loosely constructed indirect statements, in this example it is through the direct speech of Azarias/Raphael. Unlike the first example, here the reader's understanding is advanced at the same time as a character's. In an episode on the Tigris, stopping for the first night on the journey (6:2), Tobias (at Raphael's encouragement) catches the fish in the river that tried to swallow his foot (6:3-4). Raphael tells him to cut it open and save its heart, liver, and gall (6:5), only later revealing to Tobias (after he asks) that they can be used to ward away Asmodeus (the heart and liver, by burning them to make them smoke) and cure blindness (by rubbing the gall on the eyes; 6:8-9). Tobias is now identified as the C-actant to correct the original function A of Tobit's blindness (which we already knew was going to happen) in addition to being the C-actant for Sarah. His role in healing Tobit, however, is not mentioned until just before the return to Nineveh.

2.5. Conclusion: The Hyperboloid ("Hourglass") Plot of the Judean Novella

In this chapter, I have observed and described numerous aspects of the poetics of plot of the Judean novellas which, when taken as a whole, point to a plot type that is complex in its texture as well as focused, centered on the acts of a protagonist that take place in a crowded web of agency that accomplishes the reversal of an external threat. In each plot, the reading experience of the stories in their entirety takes on definite shapes according to beginnings, middles, and ends, and how these phases of story correspond to the development of the fabula:

1. Consisting of rich narrative material before the main fabula leading up to that act begins, the **beginnings** give way or develop over time into the central crisis and confrontation against which the main protagonist acts: an initial situation of high stakes narrows down to the possibility of one person countering it. If there is a subplot, it exists in the beginning and feeds into the middle, merging with it completely; and if there is more than one cycle of action, they create the situation for the central act. If any tension is left outstanding at any point in the beginning, it contributes to articulation of the tension which sets the story in motion and frames the action of the protagonists (function A/a), and resolved in the middle and ending.
2. After the beginning, there is a narrowing or tapering down into the **middles**, focusing on the the protagonist’s central act of accomplishment which consists of, participates in, or leads to a turning point and climax.
3. The narrowly-focused middle is followed by **endings** which include the reversal of the primary crisis of the novella but expand beyond it. After the central act of accomplishment, the ending shows the reverse tendency of the tapering or narrowing transition from the beginning to the middle: a process of widening or expansion. The endings are not only happy, but euphoric, with the central crisis not merely overcome but

abundantly so. For example: an initial action which was intended to salvage something[186] ends up accomplishing that and more,[187] and an act of defeat leads to poetic justice[188] or an improved state of affairs going beyond mere restoration.[189] This is starkest in *Judith*, where the defeat of Sennacherib's general changes history and protects Jerusalem and the temple beyond the reign of Sennacherib, as well as in the person of Tobit, who now lives to the ripe age of 112, able to see his "children's children," fulfilling the proverbial desideratum for any head of a household.[190] *Jonah* is an exception to this, not ending with the euphoric reversal of Nineveh's situation, but concluding by depicting its protagonist at a low point.

For these reasons, the plots of the novellas, with their beginnings that taper into their middles, their narrow or focused central sections, and their expansive endings, can be described generally as hyperboloid-shaped, like an hourglass.[191] Like Freytag's pyramid[192] or Frye's U-shaped plot,[193] which offer a visual or (two-dimensional) geometric symbol that attempts to capture something essential about plots in general (Freytag) or by genre (Frye), the (three-dimensional) symbol of the hyperboloid is intended to capture the narrowing and expanding dynamic of the plots. Furthermore, since an hourglass has a top and bottom (i.e. the beginning and the end) that are similarly shaped, each wider to the same degree than the thin middle portion, this shape captures (is an icon of) the fact that the endings involve not just a return to a baseline or equilibrium (as Freytag and Frye's both imply), but evoke a marked symmetry, and even reciprocality, with the beginnings. By their very nature, the beginnings (and ends) of the hyperboloid plot, considered geometrically, contain more volume than the middle does, which accords with the narrowing of the possibilities and the concomitant sharpening of the reader's observation into the middle section of the plot (see below).

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[186] Nineveh perhaps was not believed to repent entirely, but to merely be warned; Naomi can at least find a home for Ruth; Tobit can at least get some money to help take care of his family.

[187] All of Nineveh repents; Ruth's marriage to Boaz restores the future of Elimelech's family and creates the ancestral lineage of King David; Tobit's errand for Tobias ends up letting him see again.

[188] Haman's family is murdered and put on public display; the Assyrian army is slaughtered by the Israelites as they flee.

[189] Cf. David in *Ruth*; also, Esther and Mordecai are in positions of power while the erstwhile pariahs, the Judeans, enjoy widespread respect. *Tobit* shows ample examples. Tobit himself lives for 50 more years, returns to a life of almsgsiving, and commands respect by all. Tobias too, unexpectedly returning with half of Raguel's property (10:10), his rightful possession since Sarah's father was without a son (6:12, 8:21), was also able to keep the full amount of the money from Ecbatana, since Raphael had no need of it.

[190] See Pr 13:22 and Ps 128:6; cf. also Ezek 37:25. This idea is expressed in *Tobit* at 10:12, when Edna (Tobias's mother-in-law) wishes that she will live long enough to see her grandchildren.

[191] See David Wells, *The Penguin Dictionary of Curious and Interesting Geometry* (London: Penguin, 1991), 112–13; David A. Brannan, Matthew F. Esplen, and Jeremy J. Gray, *Geometry*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 48.

[192] For a critical discussion, see Sternberg, *Expositional Modes and Temporal Ordering in Fiction*, 5–8.

The three-dimensional nature is meant to reflect not only the complexity of the plot but the reader's experience of them. The expanse of the beginning reflects the more general possibilities for the direction of the story that the reader experiences there. While not misleading or wandering like a garden-path sentence, the beginnings all foster certain expectations that are modified or thwarted before the middle of the novellas begin:

- *Jonah* first takes a quick, unexpected, and highly dramatic detour;
- *Ruth* builds slowly towards a climax, even well into the middle of the novella;
- *Esther's* first scene is notorious for being separate from everything that follows, and then only reaches the crisis of the novella after the out-of-the-blue heroism of Mordecai, and

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[193] Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), 169–76.

even that does not proceed in the way expected;

- *Tobit* builds towards the protagonist dealing with fallout from an inevitable act of recidivism, but instead ends up being about him dealing with the aftermath of a freak accident that only (at least from the initial, limited perspective) was tangentially related to his recidivist act, and which dovetails in a strange way with a completely independent, parallel fabula;
- *Judith*, finally, has the greatest amount of narrative between the story's initialization and the main conflict, which starts halfway through the novella with an unexpected hero swearing to rise to the occasion alone, after a narrative of clashing armies, pushing the limits of the novella plot, it seems, as far as they can go.

It seems that the threshold of producing a novella plot was devising some kind of diversion for the reader before allowing them to settle on the central fabula. Because engaging in an act of storytelling means trusting the storyteller that what is presented at the beginning is relevant and important, the product of a displaced beginning is a heightened activity of what Iser calls the "wandering eye"[194] in search of story coherence.[195] While any text in general requires that a reader carefully parse its stream of denotative meanings in search of a "Gestalt" understanding of the whole, in a story with a displaced beginning, the "Gestalt" concerns the build-up to the its inevitable conflict, that is, "where the story is going." The reader looks for a situation that will beget trouble (something that they can be cued to detect based on their cultural and literary competence). In all of the novellas, trouble of some kind is evident from the start: the prophet is sent to proclaim a dangerous message to a notorious city; a family leaves its homeland to save their lives; a fickle emperor dismisses his queen and searches for a new one; a pious Israelite finds himself in danger when attempting to carry out his religious obligations; an angry emperor threatens to punish the lands that defied his order. Nevertheless, in each case, this trouble, which is not only given exposition but *narration* with story import (that is, reflects a fabula),[196] fosters a heightened suspense for how the story will pass from general (even potential) to specific trouble when it becomes clear that story *continues to develop* out of (even despite) the initial trouble, making room for something new, albeit related. As the possibilities narrow. anticipation for a resolution of the central conflict grows keener.[197] The story content of the beginnings, and its impact on the reader, recommend the three-dimensional hyperboloid over the flat pyramid (really, rising and falling line) of Freytag. By the time the reader is firmly in the middle of the novella and witnesses the protagonist in the process of accomplishment, there is a palpable sense of relief as well as focus. This sense is engendered in particular by the delayed (primary) C-actancy observed in the novellas, which made the reader wait for the “comfort” (Kafalenos) that comes with the center of the story, a concrete obstacle, and a clear path forward against it. The reader's heightened attention is reflected in the thinner middle section of the hyperboloid. From another angle, the prominence of prolepsis in the novellas causes the reader to be even more attuned to what the protagonist accomplishes in the middle. With prolepsis, the end is suspected, or even known, but the detail of the steps are, in various ways, vague. Of course, this presupposes that readers were accepting of spoiled endings and a significant amount of narrative time devoted to observing characters act with the success (or failure) of their actions known.

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[194] See Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 108ff.

[195] Kafalenos compares the human mind's natural understanding of events in terms of causality to a competency in understanding narrative (drawing on Genette) that forms habits of looking for cues about an unfolding fabula, such as a function A/a event or situation (Kafalenos, *Narrative Causalities*, 1–3).

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[196] Put another way, not only panoramic, expositional narrative is found in the beginnings, but scenic narrative; see p. 132ff.

[197] In *Jonah*, the difficulties that Jonah goes through, to the point of death, to avoid having to travel to Nineveh and deliver a word of condemnation, makes what he will experience in Nineveh once he finally accepts the mission more foreboding. In *Ruth*, the family tragedy leads to the seemingly intractable problem of an aged widow and a foreign woman finding a future. In *Esther*, the reader is primed for there to be conflict between the temperamental Ahasuerus and his new Judean queen who is warned to keep her identity a secret. The protracted opening of *Tobit* prepares for an inevitable conflict between a hostile state and a Judean man who cannot help but act in ways that will get him into trouble there. Finally, in *Judith*, the increasingly slim odds of the Israelites escaping the wrath of Holofernes verges, in a kind of narrative brinkmanship, on them growing increasingly despondent of Yawheh’s fidelity, thus effectively doubling the impending doom.

When it comes to the endings, the sense of satisfaction they give the reader is engendered in large part by the anticlimactic middles (in varying ways), preparing for resolutions that do more than give a brief denouement. Thus, the conversion of Nineveh leads to the final scene in *Jonah* where a long-awaited revelation about Jonah's perspective on the events is followed by an elaborate lesson from Yahweh. *Ruth,* though building up a relatively low level of tension following the early introduction of Boaz, ends with a massive payoff in the revelation that Boaz and Ruth create the lineage of David, though an ideal reader may have suspected this. In *Esther*, while reversing Haman's decree ends up being quite easy, the payoff is that of a revenge fantasy, starting even before the climax is reached with the striking *peripeteia* of Haman's forced celebration of Mordecai. *Tobit* ends with perhaps the most surprising, at least far-reaching, twist of all, the revelation of Raphael, which the narrator kept to themselves despite revealing so much about the future story at an early juncture of the narrative. *Judith*, it should be said, is an outlier here since its turning point (the beheading scene) is shocking and relatively unexpected, but it still ends with the improbable events of the full-scale flight and slaughter of the Assyrian army, as well as the remarkable (and brief) note that Jerusalem knew peace for a period that easily surpassed the rule of Nebuchadnezzar. In sum, none of the novellas squanders readerly interest or allow their complex, often contradictory momentum to go to waste. Their plots are rightfully described as hyperboloid, their endings as involved and entertaining as their beginnings.

In conclusion, a high number of shared features of the plots of the five Judean novellas have come to light, enough to yield a clear set of family resemblances that can identify a Judean novella plot as such. In terms of the sequential structure of the plot, these are: beginnings characterized by displacement, delay of C-actancy and anticlimactic climaxes in the middles, and dynamic returns to the beginnings in the endings. In addition, several other common features were identified: a marked use of foreshadowing, and a wide-ranging, general complexity, with most novellas containing subplots, and all containing multiple interacting fabula sequences. Despite the various complexities, however, the coherent feel of the plots shines through: not only can the novellas be experienced in their entirety in a relatively short period of time, whether read or heard, but in their sparing use of discontinuous, episodic narrative, and in their closely interwoven narrative fabric, the novellas have an unmistakable unity of effect. Describing the overall shape or nature of the novella plot as, perhaps awkwardly, hyperboloid or hourglass-shaped, my aim is to encapsulate the experience of reading a novella plot, an experience taking similar shapes for all five works.

CHAPTER THREE: RECONSTRUCTING THE PLOT OF THE BATTLE FOR THE PREBEND OF AMUN

3.1. Introduction: The State of Knowledge

Before turning to the poetics of plot of the Egyptian novellas, one Egyptian novella in particular, *The Prebend of Amun*, is in need of momentary attention by itself. Fragments from the best-preserved version of the novella, P. Spiegelberg, which were published long after the *editio princeps* in 1910, allow a new glimpse at portions of the beginning and middle of the plot. Since these have been little studied in terms of their import for the plot, there is a unique opportunity to further the state of knowledge of this novella and, importantly for this dissertation, provide more textual basis for the ensuing study of the poetics of plot in the Egyptian novellas.

In its fragmentary state, P. Spiegelberg contains a substantial eighteen columns of text that, with only a few exceptions, provide a long, continuous story, albeit from the middle portion of the novella. Friedhelm Hoffmann, in two contributions published in 1995, produced legible portions of seven columns that precede Spiegelberg's col. 1, which he has labeled A-G, based on joins of a number of unattached fragments of P. Spiegelberg published in the *editio princeps* (the "Papyri Ricci") as well as fragments discovered later.[1] Two pairs of these are known to be sequential by joins (D-E and F-G), and col. G immediately precedes col. 1 of P. Spiegelberg, providing helpful continuity. Although most of the pivotal parts of the plot's beginning and early portion of its middle are still missing, enough has been recovered that, combined with a careful reading of the substantial amount of text preserved in P. Spiegelberg, new light can be shed on the plot. Despite the availability of Hoffmann's reconstructed columns for over 25 years, significant work on the new text remains to be done. As I will show in this chapter, even though much is still lost, enough text has been reconstructed by Hoffmann that a significant reassessment of the plot of *The Prebend of Amun* is possible.

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[1] Friedhelm Hoffmann, "Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung," in *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period*, ed. Sven Vleeming (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 43–60; Hoffmann, "Neue Fragmente zu den drei großen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten".

Even when including the new fragments, perhaps one third of the text of the beginning of the novella is lost, as well as a significant part of its ending, including the resolution of the story's tension and its denouement. This leaves many questions unanswered: how Petubastis finds out that his son Ankhhor could become the High Priest of Amun, and how the transfer took place; what role of the festival of Amun (as well as its identity) plays in the proceedings; what happens when Pami and Petechons arrive; how the Buto party is defeated, and how exactly the priest of Buto retains the prebend; what happens to Petubastis when all is said in done. In this chapter, I will sift through the evidence and conduct a targeted reassessment of the plot by focusing on three major aspects, choosing these particular examples because of substantial textual coherence that Hoffmann's fragments A-G create with the main text of P. Spiegelberg. These are:

1. *The role of a cult image of Montu*, an object referenced several times in the text and named by Pharaoh Petubastis. This statue appears to be part of the reason why he and his entourage travel to Thebes in the first place.

2. *The nature of the festival of Amun which is celebrated*. Assumed to be a version of the Festival of the Valley, a careful reconstruction of what can be known about this festival will provide additional support for recapturing the role of the cult image of Montu.

3. *The reason why Pami and Petechons are alienated by Petubastis*, a fact whose implications is of utmost importance for the story. As I will show, the nature of the alienation of Pami in particular, the narration of which is preserved (though incompletely) in col. B, raises a further question, which I will argue is a crux: why does Petubastis's fleet stop in Pami's city, Heliopolis, in the first place? As a way to tie the loose threads of the reconstructed story together, I will propose that the easiest solution is to relate the ill-fated stop in Heliopolis with the cult image of Montu, although this is only one potential way to join the fragments of the story.

3.2. Reconstructing the Plot of The Prebend of Amun

3.2.1. The Role of the Cult Image of Montu

There are three references to the god Montu in P. Spiegelberg (D.2, E.23, 8.3) that have escaped the attention of most scholars who have worked on the text.[2] Though never explicitly described as such, these references to Montu imply that there was a statue or a cult image (*sḫm*, a word is not found in *Prebend*, however) of the god, simply referred to as "Montu," that Petubastis brings to Thebes. By looking carefully at the surviving occurrences in the text, it becomes clear that the statue was an important, if not central part of the portion of the novella leading up to the confrontation with the party of the priest of Buto and the shepherds.

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[2] Except, briefly and indirectly, in Claude Traunecker, "Le Papyrus Spiegelberg et l'évolution des liturgies thébaines," in *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period*, ed. Sven P. Vleeming, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 192, to be discussed below.

The most important passage for reconstructing the role of the statue is the lament of Petubastis after the capture of Ankhhor. This is an important moment: Petubastis is now faced, for the first time, with the reality of his plan unraveling before his eyes.

> P. Spiegelberg 7.25-8.5
>
> *hm⸢y⸣ wn-nꜣ.w ḥḏ nb gꜣ ḫpr-jry* (7.26) (SPATIUM[3]) *pꜣ jw wn-nꜣ.w-j.jr pꜣ ẖl* (*n*) *wꜥb šny n-jm⸗y r.r⸗f* (8.1) *tw⸗y ṯꜣy⸗w s n*[*⸗f*] *bn-jw⸢⸗y⸣ dy.t ⸢n⸗f pꜣ⸣ ḫꜥ* ………..[4] (8.2) *pꜣy⸗f dmy* [*m*]*tw⸗f jr šmꜥꜣ n Njw.t* ……… [*tw⸗j*] (8.3) *jy r rs nw.t r ⸢dj.t⸣ ḥtp ⸢Mnṱ⸣*………[5] [*pꜣy⸗*]*f* (8.4) *qpe jw ⸢wn⸣-nꜣ.w j.jr⸗f ⸢dj.t⸣* [*šb*][6] *nꜣy⸗f*………[*ḫꜥ* [7] (*n*)] (8.5) *Jmn r ky dmy mtw*[*⸗w*] *dj.t r jr⸗f*
>
> “If it were silver, gold or other treasure that the young priest demanded of me, that (is something) I would have brought to him! But I will not give him the processional bark [of Amun]……[to bring back to?] his city, so that it becomes far from Thebes………[I] (8.3) have come to the south (to) Thebes to install Montu……… his (8.4) cover, while he (sc. the priest of Buto) was causing that his [shepherds[8]] divert………the processional bark] (8.5) (of) Amun to another city, and [they] cause that it be f[ar from Thebes.”]

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[3] There may be traces of erased text visible here.

[4] The gap at the ends of 8.1-5 is approximately 1/3rd of a line.

[5] *ADL* 111 proposes restoring “the great god, lord of Thebes.”

[6] The *TLA* (and not Spiegelberg) proposes *šb⸗w*, but there does not appear to be a suffix pronoun; furthermore, it is not clear what the antecedent would be since Petubastis is speaking about the processional bark.

[7] At the very end of l.4, the “l.p.h.” determinative can be discerned. In P. Spiegelberg, it is used after *pr-ꜥꜣ, ny-sw.t, ḥry* “lord,” *ḥry* “diadem,” and *ḫꜥy* “processional bark.” The last possibility makes the most sense in context, since it mirrors the demand of the priest in 7.23 (cf. also 2.22). No restoration is given in Spiegelberg or the *TLA*. *ADL* 111 and Martin Andreas Stadler, “Der Kampf um die Pfründe des Amun (Papyrus Spiegelberg),” in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments: neue Folge, vol. 8: Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Daniel Schwemer (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2015), 428 suggest restoring “the processional bark,” as here. For *ḫꜥy* written with the “l.p.h.” determinative in P. Spiegelberg, see 1.19, 2.22, etc.

[8] The lacuna following nꜣy⸗f in P. Spiegelberg 8.4 likely contains the word *ꜥꜣm.w*, given the parallel in P. Carlsberg 433 x+1.2 (with a different spelling): Petubastis is lamenting how the priest of Buto had his thirteen shepherds interrupt the festival.

One might expect Petubastis to say that securing the prebend for Ankhhor was the reason for the trip. Instead, reacting to the priest of Buto's demand that the processional bark of Amun be handed over to his party, Petubastis states unequivocally that installing a statue of Montu in Karnak was the original rationale. In mentioning the reason for the trip, Petubastis makes a sharp contrast between himself and the priest of Buto by appealing to their treatment of royal images or statues. A parallel to this lament can be found in the fragmentary P. Carlsberg 434,[9] preserving the very end of the speech:

> P. Carlsberg 434, x+1.1-2
>
> (x+1.1)]⸢*jy*⸣ *r-m-bw-nꜣy r-ḏbꜣ* ⸢*pꜣ k*⸣[*p*][10] *n Mnt nb Wꜣs*(*.t*) … [
> (x+1.2)] …[11] *r*…⸢*n*⸣[*ꜣ*] *jmꜣ.w r tj ṯꜣy*=*w* ⸢*s r*⸣… [
>
> (x+1.1) …came to this place[12] on account of the cov[er] of Montu, lord of Thebes…
> (x+1.2) …to…th[e] shepherds, to cause that it be taken[13] to…

Both copies of *Prebend* affirm that the statue of Montu as Petubastis's express purpose for traveling to Thebes.[14] Petubastis, worried that the Buto party will not merely disrupt the completion of the Festival of the Valley, but will steal the processional bark of Amun and bring it back to Buto, is incredulous (so he says) that his well-intentioned effort to return a statue of Montu is threatened by a foe who is intent on doing the opposite.

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[9] Tait, "P. Carlsberg 433 and 434," 63–68.

[10] For the restoration, cp. P. Carlsberg 433, y+1.1 (Tait, "P. Carlsberg 433 and 434," 67).

[11] Tait discerns traces of the geographical determinative before *r* (Tait, "P. Carlsberg 433 and 434," 66). "Thebes" is a likely candidate.

[12] P. Spiegelberg 8.3: "the south, (to) Thebes."

[13] P. Spiegelberg 8.4: "[his shepherds] divert (šb)." The verb šb ("change, alter") seems to refer to how the shepherds will "divert" the processional bark's path: instead of returning to Karnak, Petubastis fears it will instead proceed to Buto. The priest and shepherds have captured the processional barge and would likely load the processional bark onto it, just like was imminently going to happen in Thebes West in the story, and sail north.

[14] The formulation differs however: the Tebtunis fragment has Petbuastis travelling south "on account of" the statue of Montu, while P. Spiegelberg states that it is "to cause Montu to rest." The verb *dy.t ḥtp* may have been found in the lacunae after the final preserved word of x+1.1.

The statue of Montu was brought to Thebes from elsewhere, as shown its association with the word *qpe*, which I translate "cover." The word first appears in the preserved novella in A.11, albeit in a broken context that does not preserve the name of the god, towards the end of the scene relating the preparations of Petbuastis's fleet. The context suggests it refers to something loaded onto a ship, perhaps Petubastis's, since it occurs in the narrative after Ankhhor and Wertepamunniut's ships have been described. Thus, it is a kind of a portable enclosure or covering.[15] In P. Spiegelberg, the word is written with the stone determinative, but with a wood determinative in P. Carlsberg 433, y+1.1. It is different from the canopy or sail of byssos (*ḥte*) brought in to cover the processional bark of Amun on the dromos (6.5). It is also apparently distinct from the permanent shrines or naoi (*gꜣ.t*) in temples that house a cult image, found for example in the Ptolemaic synodal decrees,[16] as well as from processional shrines, such as those in *First Setne* whose inscriptions Naneferkaptah reads (3.10). Since the word *qpe* is not commonly associated with a statue or cult idol, it is possible that the object used by Petubastis was not an item of sacred furniture but something else used or constructed *ad hoc* to protect it and transport it.[17]

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[15] This word is usually translated "vault; roof," (E*G* 536), becoming Coptic кнпе, "vaulted place, cellar, canopy" (C*D* 114a), related to the verb *qp* "to hide," both words being attested in earlier Egyptian: *kꜣp* meaning "canopy," *Wb. 5*, 104.4-5; meaning "roof of a building," ibid., 104.6 (stone determinative); meaning "vault of heaven," ibid., 104.7 (from the Coffin Texts, in the phrase *kꜣp n pt*, written with the repeated pellet determinative often used for metals; cf. Rami van der Molen, *A Hireoglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Probleme Der Ägyptologie 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 667). The Coffin Texts usage led to the word *kꜣp.t* standing for "sky" or "heaven," as can be seen in Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions (*PL* 1097-1098). It is the same word found in *Second Setne* for the giant stone vault magically created over the pharaoh and threatening to crush him (6.17, 19, 20). In Middle Egyptian, a *kꜣp* is a name for a small hut (*Shipwrecked Sailor* 44) as well as a cloth jar covering (*Sinuhe* B.186).

[16] Raphia 16, 38; Rosetta 24, 25 (3x), 26 (2x), 27, 31. This word is also found in the *Lamb of Bocchoris* for the shrines of Egyptian gods found in Syria/Assyria (4.1).

Assuming that this is same *qpe* as the one associated with the statue of Montu, it appears that Petubastis and his entourage brought the statue to Thebes from elsewhere. This confirms what is suggested in Petubastis's speech: they traveled to Thebes to bring, that is, to return a statue of Montu that belonged in Karnak but they discovered elsewhere. The *qpe* covers and protects the statue of Montu: exposure of a divine image to the elements is to be avoided at all costs (cf. Pekrur's plea to Petechons concerning the exposure of Amun in 12.25-13.3).[18] Since is unlikely that it would be brought along if the statue were waiting in Karnak for an official ceremony of installation (the temple would certainly be equipped for that), the *qpe* must be intended to protect the statue on the journey. The text does not preserve where they found the statue or when they loaded it onto a ship, but it is possible that the *qpe* was loaded by itself and the statue was retrieved elsewhere on the journey to Thebes, a possibility we will return to below.

The second appearance of *qpe,* this time associated with Montu, is later on in the novella in the fragmentary col. D, which has Petubastis in Thebes meeting with the Amun priesthood, the statue of Montu is a topic of discussion in an address of the priests of Amun to Petubastis:

P. Spiegelberg D.2-7

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[17] A possible word corresponding to *qpe* in *Prebend* can be found on the healing statue of the priest Djedhor of Athribis (Cairo JE 46341, late 4th century BCE), containing an autobiographical narrative discussing his construction of a temple courtyard, where he installed a *gb.t* "roof" of pine in the porch in front of the entry to the sanctuary. See E. Jelínkova-Reymond, *Les Inscriptions de La Statue Guérisseuse de Djed-Ḥer-Le-Sauveur*, Bibliothèque d'étude 23 (Le Caire: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1956), 96, 98–99, who misread the word as *ns.t* "throne." S. Sauneron, "*gp.t* = 'plafond' (Djedḥer II, 19)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 60 (1960): 9–10 provides a corrected reading based on a re-collation of the statue. The base of a naophorous statue of Djedhor of Athribis with magical spells and autobiographical inscriptions can be found in the Oriental Institute Museum (OIM A10589; Elizabeth J. Sherman, "Djedḥor the Saviour Statue Base OI 10589," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 67 (1981): 82–102).

[18] For more discussion of the nature of this exposure, see p. 332 below.

> (D.2) *Pr-*⸢*ꜥꜣ pꜣ*⸣*y⸗n nb ꜥꜣ jw⸗f ḫ*[*pr jw*]⸢*⸗k tw*⸣ *ḥtp Mnṱ* …(D.3) *tꜣ wnw.t r pꜣ mšꜥ n Km*[*y*] *wꜥb r hrwṱ* [*ḫn tꜣ*] (D.4) *ḥw.t-nṯr n Njw.t jw⸗w jr nꜣ ḥ*[*b.w*…] *n qpe jw-ḏb*[*ꜣ*]… (D.5) ⸢*t*⸣*wy⸗s ssw ꜥšꜣy jw⸗w*…*n Kmy* … [*hꜣ*]*4* (D.6) *P*[*r-ꜥ*]*ꜣ.w ḥꜣt.ṱw j.jr ḫ*[*pr ḫ*]*n tꜣ mhw.t n* ⸢*ny-sw.t*(?)⸣ (D.7) …*⸗f r Njw.t n pꜣy⸗k hꜣ* … ⸢*ꜣm*⸣*y*(?)
>
> (D.2) “Pharaoh, our great lord! If you install Montu … (D.3) the hour for the army of Egypt,[19] purified for the festival [within the] (D.4) temple of Thebes. They will celebrate the festival…in/of the cover (*qpe*), on account…(D.5) Behold, for many days they[20]… in/of Egypt… [reign] (D.6) of former pharaohs. If it happens [with]in(?) the royal family…(D.7) he/him to Thebes in your reign…

With the proviso that the context is severely broken, some important information about the statue of Montu can be gleaned. The priests of Amun (cf. *pꜣy⸗n* “our,” D.2) are addressing Petubastis before the festival celebration has begun as well as before the statue of Montu has been installed (cf. the conditional in D.2). Petubastis must have just presented it to the priests, or at least informed them that he had it in his possession. It is unclear from the text if the installation is supposed to happen before or after the festival, or if the statue is part of the festival itself.[21] The reference to a “face of a falcon” in E.1 (Montu being a falcon-headed god) suggests the latter may be the case. Since the priests ask Petubastis to be the one to transport Amun across the Nile in the festival (D.8-10), it is possible that this honor was offered to him in gratitude for bringing the statue back. The priests describe either the beginning or end of the festival as a celebration taking place near the *qpe* (D.4). Since this word, again, does not appear to refer to a permanent shrine installation, but the means of transport and protection of the statue, its mention in the context of the festival celebrations suggests that its installation was to happen once the party returned to Thebes, and thus either the statue was “waiting” inside the *qpe* for this or, if involved in the festival itself, processed underneath it. When the priests refer to something happening “many days” in the past (D.5), it is unclear if they are speaking of the participation of a pharaoh in the festival of Amun, of the time that has elapsed between when the statue of Montu was absent and the present, or of something else. Are we to imagine that, in the story world, it was a regular occurrence in the past for a cult image of Montu to either “visit” Amun in the main temple of Karnak from his own precinct during a festival, like Hathor and Horus in the Beautiful Feast of the Behdet? Or, more in accordance with cult practice contemporary to when the novella was composed (discussed below), is there a regular celebration when Montu processes in Thebes West with Amun, which fell by the wayside and is now able to be re-inaugurated by Petubastis?

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[19] Hoffmann reads this as equivalent to the idiom *tꜣ wnw.t n*, “as soon as…,” but *n* (whether written or not) and not *r* is expected; cf. P. Spiegelberg 3.15; *Armor* 12.9; *First Setne* 3.20; *Second Setna* 3.3. If Hoffmann is right that *ntm* is found at the end of the previous line, the sentence could read, “The hour for the army of Egypt…will be sweet.”

[20] For this syntax, cf. P. Spiegelberg 17.20 and the letter P. Cairo JE 95206, 6 (John D. Ray, *Demotic Papyri and Ostraca from Qasr Ibrim*, Texts from Excavations 13 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2005), 15ff.): *twy⸗s hrw ꜥšꜣy jw⸗f sḫ* (*n*) *ḏr.ṱ⸗f*, “Behold, for many days he is struck on his hand.”

[21] Although no description of the installation of Montu is preserved later in col. D, there is ample room for it, since very little is preserved the further down the column one goes. It is impossible to tell based on Petubastis’s speech in col. 8 if the statue had been installed before the festival began, since he is speaking about the past and the purpose of his trip to Thebes.

3.2.2. The Nature of the Festival of Amun

The setting for the action starting (at least) in column F, and possibly earlier, and continuing until the end of the preserved scroll, is Thebes West, a term for the complex of temples, towns, and necropolises on the west bank of the Nile across from Thebes, Karnak, and Luxor.[22] The occasion is a festival involving Amun, and possibly Montu, which sees the cult images of the god(s) processing with priests and offering libations (water) to one or more tombs in the necropolis or temple areas (the number of tombs visited is not preserved). There are few descriptions or direct references to the festival in the text of *Prebend* that have survived. In 11.12-13, Petubastis calls it the *ḫꜥ Jmn*, “festival procession of Amun,” using the term *ḫꜥ* which is found throughout the novella to refer to the processional bark itself.[23] The aspects of the festival that are described show that it involved the ferrying of the cult image of Amun across the Nile to Thebes West; must of the novella’s action, starting at least in col. F and continuing until the text breaks off, occurs at the bank of the Nile across from Karnak before the processional bark of Amun was loaded back into the processional barge. Although nothing of the festival procession itself survives in the text beyond the moment when the priests carrying Amun return to the quay (2.9-10), we know the procession consisted of pouring water or making libations to one or more tombs in Thebes West. This is based on the priest of Buto’s constant reference in his theological exegesis of the processional barge[24] to Horus pouring water at Osiris’s tomb, using the verb *qbḥ* “to libate (lit. cool or make cool),” as well as a later, direct reference: when Petubastis asks the priest of Buto why he did not present his case earlier, he responds that Amun would have found out about his claim [*jw*] *bw jr⸗w tj⸗f qbḥ n jt⸗f Wsjr,* “before they [sc. the priests of Amun] caused that he [sc. Amun] libate to his father Osiris,” (2.21).[25] At the end of the priest’s response to Pharaoh, Amun’s libation to Osiris is referenced as *fait accompli* (3.1), a crucial part of the argument: given the theological interpretation of the bark, and the fact that

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[22] See K. Vandorpe, “City of Many a Gate, Harbour for Many a Rebel,” in *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period*, ed. Sven P. Vleeming, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 222–28.

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[23] The word literally means “appearance”; thus, the processional bark is the appearance of the (statue of) the god—otherwise hidden from public view—during a festival. For citations with a clear meaning of “procession,” see *CDD* ḫ, 32-33.

[24] For which, see p. 375.

[25] While the precedent of the priest’s speech about the bark could imply that the “he” who lustrates to Osiris is Horus, “he” is most likely Amun. Similarly, the “they” who cause that Amun lustrate must be the priests of Amun, the only plural subject in the speech of the priest so far (referenced in 2.19-20).

Amun *has* libated to Osiris, that is, the libation portion of the ritual has already been accomplished, the priest's claim to the prebend is secure. This suggests, but does not necessitate, that only one tomb was visited by Amun.

The festival and ritual picture is in general accordance with the Festival of the Valley which originated in the New Kingdom, following some Ptolemaic-era modifications. This is how Spiegelberg identified the festival in the *editio princeps*.[26] One of the most important yearly festivals in Egypt,[27] the Festival of the Valley (or "Beautiful Festival of the Valley" in its full, original name, *ḥb nfr n jn.t*), is attested as early as the 12th Dynasty pharaoh Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra.[28] Beginning on the first day of the 10th month (II Shemu),[29] the festival consisted of the transportation of a portable bark shrine bearing the cult image of Amun (in the later New Kingdom accompanied by Mut, Khonsu, and Amaunet) from its sanctuary in Karnak across the Nile, carried on a ceremonial barge when sailing, and on a litter when traveling across land, as depicted in *Prebend*.[30] Originally, the procession visited the mortuary temples of kings.[31] The portable bark would eventually return to its dedicated shrine in the temple.[32] New Kingdom reliefs in private tombs from the Theban necropolis show that this festival was an important occasion for family members to visit the tombs of deceased ancestors, and the tombs themselves were designed with the visit of the processional bark in mind.[33] The Festival of the Valley was important for the early Ptolemies: under the auspices of Phillip Arrhidaeus—Alexander's feeble half-brother and successor in name only[34]— a red granite bark shrine of Amun at Karnak was copied from, and replaced, a shrine built by Thutmosis III.[35] This is one of, if not the earliest major construction projects at Karnak in this period,[36] which shows the importance of traditional festivals involving the bark of Amun for the legitimacy of the Macedonian rulers.

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[26] While Spiegelberg was the first to make a connection to the Festival of the Valley, Traunecker's discussion ("Le Papyrus Spiegelberg et l'évolution des liturgies thébaines"), until recently, has been decisive for understanding the background of the festival depicted in *Prebend*. For a critique of Traunecker, see Lauren Dogaer, "The Beautiful Festival of the Valley in the Graeco-Roman Period: A Revised Perspective," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 106, no. 1–2 (2020): 205–14.

[27] Full studies can be found in Siegfried Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale: Festbräuche einer Totenstadt*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur (Mainz): Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1952 (11) (Mainz: Franz Steiner, 1953) and Georges Foucart, "Études Thébaines: la Belle Fête de la Vallée," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 24 (1924): 1–209. Cf. also Dogaer, "The Beautiful Festival of the Valley in the Graeco-Roman Period: A Revised Perspective". For an overview, see *LÄ* 5, 187-189. See also Silvia Wiebach, "Die Begegnung von Lebenden und Verstorbenen im Rahmen des thebanischen Talfestes," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 13 (1986): 263–91.

[28] Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale: Festbräuche einer Totenstadt*, 94.

[29] The later name for this month was "That of the Valley," *Pꜣ-n-jnt* (Coptic παωνι), showing its importance.

[30] There are many surviving depictions of this procession. For an example from Deir el-Medina from the reign of Ramesses II (Cairo 43591), see Barry Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 3rd ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 250, fig. 6.1.

[31] It is possible that the original destination was the tomb of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari opposite

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Karnak on the west bank of the Nile, although there may have been other specific destinations in the Deir el-Bahari area, which was a district sacred to Hathor, a goddess closely associated with the beginnings of the festival. See Manfred Bietak and Elfried Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), 19ff.; for the role of Hathor, see Manfred Bietak, "Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale: Kult zur Vereinigung mit den Toten in der Thebanischen Nekropole," in *Rituale - identitätsstiftende Handlungskomplexe: 2. Tagung des Zentrums Archäologie und Altertumswissenschaften an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2./3. November 2009* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012), 23–35. Evidence from the New Kingdom shows that the procession would stay the night in the mortuary temple of the reigning pharaoh (nearby are the temples of Hatshepsut, Seti I, and Ramesses II and III), before crossing back over the Nile the next day and returning to Karnak; see Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 269. See ibid. p.264, fig. 6.8 for a map of the New Kingdom processional route.

[32] The most famous bark chapel is one built by Hatshepsut and overtaken by Thutmosis III. See Pierre Lacau and Pierre Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo: Service des antiquités de l'Egypte avec la collaboration de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1977).

[33] *Richard Wilkinson, The Complete Temples of Ancient Egyp* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 95. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale: Festbräuche einer Totenstadt*, 86 points to the reign of Thutmosis III as the turning point of this "Verweltlichung" of the festival.

[34] After Alexander's death, Egypt was governed in actuality by Alexander's general Ptolemy (soon to become Ptolemy I). See Günther Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, trans. Tina Saavedra (London: Routledge, 2001), 13, 16–17.

[35] Inside the chapel, the processional bark rested on a pedestal, and scenes on the south exterior wall show the bark during the Feast of the Valley in procession, carried by priests, as well at rest, with labels describing the bark returning after its journey to the west bank. See PM II, 98-102 (pp. 99-101 for scenes relevant to the Festival of the Valley).

[36] Elizabeth Blythe, *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple* (London: Routledge, 2006), 225–26. Dieter Arnold argues that the reconstruction was originally begun by Nectanebo III (*Temples of the Last Pharaohs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 131–32).

Alongside the traditionalist depiction of the festival in the Arrhidaean bark shrine, the actual celebration and meaning of the festival evolved significantly in the Ptolemaic period. An important source for this is P. BM 10209.[37] Entitled “Extract from the ritual book of the Feast of the Valley,”[38] it was likely copied for a private celebration of the festival and contains excerpts of ritual texts used for it. Noteworthy in this texts’ description of the ritual is the frequent use of pouring water or libating at tombs,[39] a traditional Egyptian cultic act whose roots stretch back to the Pyramid Texts, and already there connected with the deceased Osiris and as an offering by his son Horus,[40] grew in prominence in mortuary cults during the Late and Ptolemaic period.[41] Combined with the traditional offering formula which also dates back to the Old Kingdom, pouring water is a primary component of ancestor worship. The prominence of pouring water in P. BM 10209 points to the Decade Festival, which involved the periodic celebration of different divine cults at Djeme/Thebes West.[42] In this festival, Amun, in his form of Amunopet, visited Medinet Habu (an important temple complex in Thebes West) in procession every ten days (hence the name) in order to pour water to Kamutef[43] and the Ogdoad,[44] two deities interred there.[45] This was accomplished by a type of priest called a choachyte (a Greek version of the Egyptian phrase *wꜣḥ mw*, “offering water”).[46] The assimilation of the Valley festival can also be seen in the identification of Kamutef with Osiris (the deceased god *par excellence*) and, thus, Amun with Horus.[47] In the festival, Amunopet merged with Kamutef and became revitalized.

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[37] This scroll was owned by a priest of Karnak named Sminis and was copied for him in the early 4th century BC. Fayza Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 14–15 (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1970), 1:16-19, 25–45; 2:7-48, 75–76; Jan Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2002), 499–544; Mark M. Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 178–92.

[38] Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 184; for discussion, see ibid, p. 180.

[39] Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 183. In the third text of the compilation, which is said to be an “extract from the ritual of the Festival of the Valley,” a prayer asks Osiris (that is, the deceased beneficiary of the ritual) to “accept this cool water (*qbḥ*) for yourself as a libation,” (Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 185–86). The fifth, seventh, ninth, and tenth spells on the scroll are also concerned with the pouring of water.

[40] Cf. PT 32, §436.

[41] A representative example of its importance can be found in the inscriptions of the tomb of Petosiris (late fourth/early third century BCE). Addressing priests who visit his tomb during a ritual like that of the Festival of the Valley (note however his tomb is in Tuna el-Gebel in Middle Egypt), Petosiris makes the request: “May you say for me, ‘An offering which the king gives’ may you pour out for me a libation of water (qbḥ⸗tn mw), read the writings, celebrate the rites for the sake of my name…” (no. 102, l.5-6; Gustave Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, vol. 3 vols. (Le Caire: Institut français d’Archéologie orientale, 1923), 1:184-185; 2:75). The close association of the purification of Osiris with libation in the private mortuary cult is seen on an inscribed bronze situla from the Late Period (Louvre N 908 C), which asks the deceased, called “Osiris” as is typical, to receive the libation; see Pierret 1874, 2:113-115. Jan Assmann argues that the centrality of libations in cultic practice is based on the ability of this act to serve as an “epitome” of rite “capable of embodying or representing a diversity of cultic acts in itself,” (Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 463).

There is not enough preserved to allow us to say what the festival was called and how it was conceived in *Prebend*, beyond the “procession of Amun” and the ritual activity of libation: its features and general context are reminiscent of both the Festival of the Valley and the Decade Festival. We must remember that *Prebend* is a work of historical fiction, and the festival is depicted as taking place in the Assyrian period, perhaps even for the first time after a long gap.

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[42] See Françoise de Cenival, *Les Associations Religieuses En Égypte d’après Les Documents Démotiques*, Bibliothèque d’étude 49 (Le Caire: Institut français d’Archéologie orientale, 1972), 103–5; Claude Traunecker, Françoise Le Saout, and Olivier Masson, *La chapelle d’Achôris à Karnak*, vol. 2 vols., Recherche sur les grandes civilisations, Synthèse 5, Mémoires du Centre Franco-Égyptien d’Étude des Temples de Karnak 2 (Paris: Éditions ADPF, 1981), 2:135–37; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 183–84. A ritual script for celebrating the Decade Festival, containing prayers said *in persona* Horus while pouring water to Osiris is P. Vienna 3865 (François René Herbin, “Une Liturgie des rites décadaires de Djemê: papyrus Vienne 3865,” *Revue d’égyptologie* 35 (1984): 105–26). See alo P. Vatican Inv. 38608 (HerbinFrançois René Herbin, “La renaissance d’Osiris au temple d’Ope,” *Revue d’égyptologie* 54 (2003): 66–127; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 193–99). In the Embalming Ritual of P. Boulaq 3, the deceased is promised to “receive a cool libation from the hand of Amenopet each decade,” (see Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 232).

[43] “Bull of His Mother,” i.e. self-begotten. Kamutef was originally an ithyphallic form of Amun (and also a form of Min) that related him to the Ogdoad.

[44] The eight primordial deities originally worshiped at Hermopolis.

[45] Traunecker, Le Saout, and Masson, *La chapelle d’Achôris à Karnak*, 2 vols.:2:135-137.

[46] For the prominence that the image of pouring water in cultic acts played in the Greek impression of Egyptian religion, see Diana Delia, “The Refreshing Water of Osiris,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29 (1992): 181–92.

[47] Traunecker, Le Saout, and Masson, *La chapelle d’Achôris à Karnak*, 2 vols.:2:136-137; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 184.

The author may have portrayed the festival specifically as the Festival of the Valley, and included anachronistic elements (perhaps out of ignorance), or he may have left the exact nature of the festival vague, trusting the audience to understand the general dynamics in play.

One aspect of the depiction of the festival that is not left vague is the location of the proceedings, a detail that further confirms that the author of *Prebend* meant the audience to visualize a festival along the lines of the Valley festival in its Ptolemaic form. The Decade festival was celebrated at the "Small Temple" of Amun (*Djeser-Set*) at Medinet Habu, on the west bank of the Nile across from Karnak and Luxor.[48] In Ptolemaic texts, the temple is referred to as the "mound of Djeme" (*jꜣ.t ḏꜣ-mw.t*), or simply "Djeme" alone, the mound referring to the burial place of Kamutef and the Ogdoad. Even with most of the festival portion of *Prebend* missing, there are indications that the author meant the audience to picture the action to take place here. Most importantly, the term for the general setting of the action which begins in col. F is the "dromos of Amun" (*ḫfṱḥ n Jmn*). It is first mentioned in 4.1 as the place Ankhhor enters to face the priest of Buto. Shortly afterwards, the priest of Buto enters the dromos as well (4.5), and the two begin to fight.[49] The designation "of Amun" tells us that it was a dromos attached to a temple dedicated to this god; Medinet Habu is the only temple that clearly fits the bill.[50] Another indication that Medinet Habu is meant is the idiosyncratic usage in *Prebend* of *Šmᶜ* and *tꜣ Šmᶜ*, literally "Upper Egypt" and "land of Upper Egypt," to refer to Thebes West, specially as the setting for the festival procession and the aftermath.[51] A full description of the area, found in 6.13 and 14.14, calls it *pꜣ ᶜt* ⸢*jmnṯ*⸣ *n* (*tꜣ*)[52] *Šmᶜ nt wbꜣ Njw.t*, "the west side of (the land of) Upper Egypt which is opposite Thebes."[53] Neither point to a specific temple area in Thebes West. While, in *Prebend*, *Šmᶜ* means the general Thebes area in these full designations, in accordance with Ptolemaic usage,[54] the word *Šmᶜ* is also used *by itself* in the novella for the destination of the procession of Amun by the priests of Amun (C.x+16, D.1, 9, 10), i.e. for Thebes West or a specific site therein.[55] *Šmꜥ* is thus used instead of the expected name Djeme (*Ṯꜣm.t*, *Ḏꜣm.t*),[56] used in Demotic sources to refer variously to the entire area of Thebes West (equivalent to Greek Μεμνόνεα), the settlement of Medinet Habu, its necropolis, and, finally, the temple of Medinet Habu itself.[57] The reason why Djeme is not used in *Prebend*, especially when referring to the temple, may be in order to avoid an overt anachronism, using the ancient term *Šmꜥ* in a way where its meaning will be clear (despite the, apparently, odd usage), in order to avoid the term Djeme which, though attested as early as the reign of Pinedjem I (1072-1030 BCE),[58] became the main term in the Ptolemaic period.[59] Nevertheless, using it for the specific site in Thebes West, or even for Thebes West in general, is odd. It is possible that the author was encouraged to calque on the word *Šmꜥ* to mean Djeme, i.e. both Thebes West and, very likely, Medinet Habu (*Djeser-Set*), because of the general phonetic similarity.

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[48] PM II, 460-475. The massive mortuary temple of Ramesses III had fallen out of use as a major site of worship, except for small-scale cults associated with Amun-Min/Kamutef and the bull of Montu (Vandorpe, "City of Many a Gate, Harbour for Many a Rebel," 225–26). The temple was renovated in the 30th Dynasty and throughout the Ptolemaic period (Christiane M. Zivie, "Recherches sur les textes ptolémaïques de Medinet Habou," in *L'Égyptologie en 1979: axes prioritaires de recherches* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1982), 105), especially under Ptolemy VIII (Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 198), who added the pylon, though the inscriptions on it bear the names of Ptolemy X Soter II and XIII. A large court was added in the Roman period. The Ptolemaic inscriptions from the temple have not yet received full publication. After initial copies by Champollion and Lepsius, the most in-depth textual study is still that of Kurt Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis: Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des Ägyptischen Götterkönigs* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1929) (see §113, 116, 146-147, 149, 154, and 173). For more recent discussion, see J. Brett McClain, "The Cosmogonical Inscriptions of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and the Cultic Evolution of the Temple of Djeser-Set," in Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2006, ed. Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 96 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011), 69–96. For the celebration of the Decade Festival here, cf. an architrave over the portal to the bark chapel of *Djeser-Set* refurbished by Ptolemy VIII refers to "Amunopet of Djeme" and the "pouring out of water every ten days"—the central rite of the Decade Fest (McClain, "The Cosmogonical Inscriptions of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and the Cultic Evolution of the Temple of Djeser-Set," 71–72).

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[49] A dromos is the long approach to the entrance to a temple used for processions, reaching from the pylon(s) of the temple to a quay on the water. See Alexander M. Badawy, "The Approach to the Egyptian Temple in the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods," *Zeitschrift Für Ägyptische Sprache Und Altertumskunde* 102 (1975): 79–90. In addition, it functioned as a public square, being the site for legal processes such as oaths, court hearings, notarization, and oracles; it was also where monumental decrees were erected. The dromos was also one of the few places where the public could witness and participate in festivals. It is a relatively common setting in Demotic literature, such as in *First Setne*, it serves as the backdrop to the first appearance of a character of romantic interest to the protagonist. This accords with the dromos' nature as public space. On the other hand, the dromos is not a scene of combat in any other text in the "Inaros Cycle" besides *Prebend*.

[50] It should be noted that the sole attestations of a "dromos of Amun" are here and in P. Rylands 9, 12.18, where an oath is sworn at the dromos of Amun at Karnak (not Thebes West). For a full list of dromoi attested with gods' names, see Vittmann 1998,Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9. Teil I: Text und Übersetzung. Teil II: Kommentare und Indizes*, 1:486.

[51] Upper Egypt, the setting for the majority of the novella, traditionally refers to the Nile Valley from Giza to Aswan. The word for Upper Egypt, *Šmᶜ*, is used in several, prominent ways in the novella. *Šmᶜ* in the traditional meaning is used only a few times. The priest of Buto uses *Šmᶜ* to refer to the wider region of Upper Egypt when describing how Horus travelled south from Lower Egypt to libate to Osiris (2.23; cf. also 2.1, with reference to Thoth in the myth). Near the end of the novella, Petechons and Paimi are said to arrive in "Upper Egypt"; they, too, traveled from the Delta.

[52] Found in 14.14 only.

[53] Also encountered are *pr jmnte n Šmᶜ nt wbꜣ Njw.t*, "the west (part) of Upper Egypt which is opposite Thebes" (9.22, 13.21, possibly 13.1) and the shorter *pr jmnṯ Šmᶜ*, "the west of Upper Egypt," (14.22).

[54] In the Ptolemaic period, the administrative district of southern Egypt containing Thebes was named after the city itself: *pꜣ tš n Njw.t* ("The nome of Thebes") or, in Greek, θηβαίς ("Thebaid"). See Vandorpe, "City of Many a Gate, Harbour for Many a Rebel," 210.

A final piece of evidence that suggests the author intended the audience to visualize Medinet Habu as the background to the action is the involvement of the cult image of Montu. Traunecker, noting the reference to Montu in 8.3 and E.23, already suggested that this god may have been the “dieu officiant” at the festival of Amun which involved a visitation to tombs on the west bank.[60] In light of what we have gleaned about Montu’s importance in *Prebend*, this suggestion was prescient. Following a revival of interest in the Kushite period, the cult of Montu rose in prominence in Ptolemaic Thebes, seen for example in the impressive pylon added to his precinct at Karnak[61] as well as in the increase of “complicated mythological and genealogical speculations” about his various divine aspects.[62] Montu, in fact, was identified with Kamutef in Ptolemaic-period inscriptions from Thebes,[63] the primordial god visited by Amun (as Amunope) at Medinet Habu during the Decade festival, which shows that the audience of *Prebend* would have considered it natural for Montu to participate in the procession of Amun to the tombs of Thebes West. Ptolemaic-era documentation supports this, listing a cult of Montu at Medinet Habu under the umbrella of the Decade festival in which choachytes (water pourers) participated.[64]

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[55] Once, it is used by Djedhor (3.5), but this is in his response to the priest of Buto’s challenge, who had just spoken of Horus’s trip to Upper Egypt (2.23). Djedhor may be drawing on the terminology used by the priests (which he would have experienced first hand during columns C and D) to counter what the priest is claiming, and so that he (Djedhor) can come across to the others as informed.

[56] See P. W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.): A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive*, Studia Demotica 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 430ff. For the hieroglyphic writing of Djeme, see Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire Des Noms Géographiques Contenus Dans Les Textes Hiéroglyphiques* (Cairo: L’Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale pour la Société royale de géographie d’Égypte, 1925), 6:65-66, 105–6.

[57] See Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 411–13.

[58] Vandorpe, “City of Many a Gate, Harbour for Many a Rebel,” 222.

[59] For the history of the term, see Eberhard Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaues*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens 16 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1952), 77–78.

Although, without more of the text of *Prebend* preserved, it is impossible to know exactly how the festival of Amun was depicted, and what the audience was meant to visualize in precise terms, there are enough clues to point to the cult image of Montu not only being returned to Thebes by Petubastis, but participating in the Amun festival, a possibility we suggested above.[65] In support of this is the general resemblance of the festival celebrated in *Prebend* to the Valley festival with strong features resembling its incorporation into the Decade festival in the period when *Prebend* was written. The likely setting of Medinet Habu supports this as well. The sole mention of Montu in the well-preserved part of the novella, when Petubastis laments that he came to Thebes to "install Montu" (see 7.25-8.5), while it does not directly refer to the presence of the cult image during the procession in Medinet Habu (something we would like to see), could in fact indicate its presence in the scene. We noted above how it appeared odd that Petubastis brought up the statue of Montu at that juncture, right when Ankhhor was captured. While bringing Montu to Thebes was, as we have reconstructed, part of the original plan, so to speak, and thus natural for Petubastis to think of while reflecting on his sorry position, the actual presence of the cult image in his (and the audiences') visual field would be an even better reason. We do not presently have any indicators of this in the preserved text, but it is possible that, before the priest of Buto arrived, Petubastis and his entourage were gathering at the quay of the dromos of Medinet Habu after accompanying Montu in procession. Whether or not Montu was involved in the festival celebration, the installation of the cult image at Thebes, and the clear relevance that it has for Petubastis's quest for legitimization, tells us that the pharaoh hoped to ingratiate himself to the Amun priesthood by restoring and re-inaugurating an important divine cult. For a novella with features of historical fiction, whose theme is a Delta pharaoh in search of respect and authority, a plot involving the return of a cult image of Montu to Thebes is highly appropriate. Whether or not Petubastis participated in the re-inauguration of that cult in the novella is presently unknown.

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[60] François Laroche and Claude Traunecker, “La chapelle adossée au temple de Khonsou,” *Cahiers de Karnak* 6 (1980): 192.

[61] Most notably the Bab el-`Abd, completed under Ptolemy IV; see Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 167–68. The falcon-headed god of war Montu was closely associated with Thebes and the surrounding area, and though overshadowed by Amun starting in the 12th Dynasty, he was an important part of the traditional pharaonic iconography of military valor.

[62] *LÄ* IV, 201-202. See also François Bisson de la Roque, “Notes sur le dieu Montou,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 40 (1941): 35ff.

[63] See *Urk.* VIII, 13o and 13b; Laroche and Traunecker, “La chapelle adossée au temple de Khonsou,” 190–92.

[64] See Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis: Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des Ägyptischen Götterkönigs*, §116-118; Laroche and Traunecker, “La chapelle adossée au temple de Khonsou,” 190; Traunecker, Le Saout, and Masson, *La chapelle d’Achôris à Karnak*, 2 vols.:117–19; Christiane M. Zivie-Coche, “Religion de l’Égypte ancienne,” *Annuaire, École Pratique des Hautes Études: Ve section - sciences religieuses* 121 (2013 2012): 79–80. For graffiti at Medinet Habu mentioning Montu, see Heinz-Josef Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu: Zeugnisse zu Tempel und Kult im Ptolemäischen Ägypten* (Sommerhausen: G. Zauzich Verlag, 1989), nos. 43.6, 53.3, and 234.14.

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[65] See p. 262.

3.2.3. The Alienation of Petechons and Pami

A decisive and dramatic aspect of the plot of the novella is how Petechons and Pami are offended by Petubastis, but end up being the ones who must save Petubastis from the Buto party. Exactly how the offense occurred has unfortunately been lost. Although the two sides are enemies based on the story of *Armor*, there are clear indications that Pami and Petechons are offended because of something that happens within the present novella.

The reconstructed column B offers important clues, containing part of the scene that has the fleet in Heliopolis, with Petubastis, Djedhor, and Pami having a heated discussion. Moreover, at the very beginning of the column (B.1), there is a reference to "leaving" someone "behind in Pisopde," which must refer in some way to Petechons. This can be taken to mean that the fleet stopped in Pisopde first, the city of Petechons, and angered him by not inviting him to Thebes.[66] Pami, then, is offended in the ensuing discussion preserved in part in col. B at not being invited as well. A question that has not been asked, however, is why the fleet of Petubastis would stop at both Pisopde and Heliopolis in the first place. They surely would not have stopped merely to inform the two warrior denizens that they were not invited! We know that the original intent was to not invite the two warriors, a crucial piece of evidence: later in the novella, Petubastis, exasperated that he has to ask Petechons and Pami to defeat the Buto party, laments that he did not invite them to the festival of Amun (11.12-13), and later blames Djedhor for doing this (11.18-21).

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[66] Hoffmann, "Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung," 45 (though Hoffmann says that the fleet "vorbeikommen" Pisopde, which could mean both that they stopped there and that they bypassed it, i.e. either "stopped by" Pisopde or "passed by" it). Col. B is not joined to col. A, which depicts the preparations of the fleet, and so it is possible that there was a waystop before Heliopolis.

It can, in fact, be ruled out that the fleet stopped in Pisopde. Based on Petechons' reaction to the letter sent to him by Pekrur later in the story, he seems to have only found out about Petubastis's expedition to Thebes in Pekrur's letter: upon reading it, he exclaims: "Whenever he goes to celebrate the festival of his gods, without battle and strife against him, he never sends for me!" (13.17-18).[67] This comes across as a realization leading to a complaint. Using a negative aorist in the third clause (*bw jr⸗f hb*), Petechons describes a general characteristic of Petubastis, showing his realization in the facts presented to him in Pekrur's letter that, to paraphrase, his not being invited to Thebes is "typical Petubastis." This strongly suggests that Petechons is not part of the story until this point. Petechons, in fact, was not deliberately alienated at all by the Petubastis and his party, but was only offended when he learned from Pekrur's letter that the trip to Thebes happened without him.

This still leaves the stop in Heliopolis, which we know to have happened in col. B, but the reason for which is still difficult to understand: why did the fleet stop at the city of Pami, a close associate of Petechons, if the original intent was to not invite Pami? Even with a close reading of the preserved text in col. B, a reason is not immediately forthcoming. What does become clear is the nature of Pami's anger as well as the reason why Djedhor convinced

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[67] *jw⸗f šm r nꜣ ḥb n nꜣy⸗f nṯr jw mn ꜣḥ mḫl wbꜣ⸗f bw jr⸗f hb m-sꜣ⸗j.*

Petubastis to not invite him: it is believed that Pami’s presence at Thebes would challenge Ankhhor’s standing. This has to be reconstructed based on the response of Djedhor to Petubastis, since the latter’s speech is just preserved in the few last words in B.1. Previously, in the broken part of the end of the column previous to B, Petubastis must have confronted Djedhor about not inviting Petechons and Paimi to Thebes: when he mentions how “we left [Petechons] behind us in Pisopde” (B.1), Petubastis is not referencing an actual stop in Pisopde, but to the decision to *not* stop there and invite Petechons and the resultant fact that he was left there. Petubastis confronted Djedhor about this verbally. Based on the wording of Djedhor’s reply to Petubastis in B.3ff., which introduces a quotation with the phrase *m-sꜣ ḫpr*, this confrontation took the form, in part, of a question that Petubastis raised to Djedhor, which went: “What is this on account of which they will not come south with us?” (B.3)—Djedhor repeats it *verbatim* back to Petubastis.[68] That Petubastis asked this question in the first place implies that he was not responsible for not inviting them. It also suggests that he did not know why Petechons and Pami were excluded from the expedition, and that he just found this out in this very scene, though it is possible that, earlier in the novella, Petubastis meekly accepted Djedhor’s plan, and only now has the gumption to question it. Regardless, Djedhor engineered this from the start.[69] This emerging picture supports Petubastis's plea in 11.18-21 that he had nothing to do with the exclusion of Pami and Petechons.

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[68] *jh̭ tꜣ nt jw bn-jw n≠w jy r rsy jrm≠n jw-ḏbꜣ.ṱ≠s.* In Demotic narrative literature, *jh̭* followed by the definite article asks for clarification about something described in the phrase following the article. This can refer to something that has previously happened (see *Armor* 1.16) or to a specific kind of information the speaker is after (see *First Setne* 3.23; 5.32). The odd use of *n≠w* in the place of the expected subject *≠w* after bn-*jw* is a peculiarity of Petubastis’ speech in the novella, found twice in 11.11 and 14 in a speech by Petubastis and concerning Paimi and Petechons not travelling south (but in reference to the need to send for them to defeat the shepherds). The prepositional phrase *n≠w* is oddly placed before the verb *jy* and not after it. Either *n≠w* is an emphatic ethical dative (which, however, should follow, not precede, the verb/infinitive; cf. Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg: C. Winters, 1925), §268) doing double duty for the subject, which should follow *bn-jw* but is not expressed, or it is a phonetic writing of what in Coptic would become ⲛⲛⲉⲩ. Spiegelberg (*Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 37, *ad* P. de Ricci I, 3-4) believes *n≠w* means “to be able to,” i.e. literally “It will be not be theirs to come south.” The usual Demotic idiom for “to be able to” uses *rẖ*. This suggestion has not been taken up by the contemporary translators (e.g. Hoffmann, “Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung,” 51; *ADL* 102; *TLG ad loc*), all translating it as a simple negative future without comment.

The exact details are unclear, but based on Djedhor's response, it appears that he kept Pami away because he believed that he would challenge Ankhhor's standing, something he raises as a reason for his actions in B.4-5: "If the son of Pharaoh does not take the boon of the crown in your time, who will take it?"[70] This suggests that Djedhor believes Pami may usurp Ankhhor's role in the proceedings at Thebes. The fragmentary remainder of Djedhor's speech consists of a comparison of what Petubastis should do for Pami instead (see B.5-6), probably in response to a demand of Pami's (based on his reference to Pami "wishing" that Petubastis gives him something in B.6), with Ankhhor assenting to the transaction (see B.11; this part of the speech is mostly lost).[71] It appears that Petubastis leaves Pami some of his father Inaros's possessions that were previously held by Ankhhor (cf. B.15-16).

The reason for Pami's anger is thus manifold. First of all, he has been belittled by Djedhor and not counted worthy of benefits that befit the pharaoh's circle—Pami, son of the deceased pharaoh Inaros! Although the text is unclear, it also seems that what Ankhhor was asked to leave for Pami is itself insulting. Finally, insult must have been added to injury when

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[69] "Djedhors Worte in B.2f legen nahe, daß er schon vorher in die Wege geleitet had, daß Paimi und Petechons nicht am Unternehmen nach Theben beteiligt werden," (Hoffmann, "Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung").

[70] *j.jr tm pꜣ šr n pr-ꜥꜣ ṯ pꜣ ꜥw n jr.t n tꜣ grp.t n pꜣy⸗k hꜣ nm pꜣ nt jw⸗f ṯ.ṱ⸗s*.

[71] This is seen with the use of *ꜥs-my* before each name, which can be translated "behold" or "behold, as for," i.e. as a presentative particle that introduces a discourse topic. Hoffmann ("Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung," 51n47), based on their coordination, translates them as "on the one hand…on the other hand."

Pami realized that the fleet intended to stop in Heliopolis (for a reason as yet unknown), but *still* not invite him to Thebes. The paltry possessions of Inaros are no consolation prize, and the fleet leaves for Thebes with Ankhhor happy (B.15-16) but Pami angry (B.15). None of this implies any reason for why the fleet stopped at Heliopolis.[72] In fact, it raises the bar: given that it was already decided to not allow Pami to come to Thebes, and that they are forced to give him possessions held by Ankhhor to try and appease him, there must have been an important reason to stop in Heliopolis and risk the fallout.

3.3. Towards a Synthesis: Why Stop in Heliopolis?

With no good reason for the fleet to stop in Heliopolis, it must have been absolutely necessary for the purpose of the voyage to Thebes. The only concrete reason that can be gleaned from what is preserved in the text is the cult image of Montu. Although, as discussed above, the (re)discovery of the statue and its whereabouts is not preserved, it is possible that it was not in Tanis but in Heliopolis, and that it had to be fetched on the way to Thebes. If this were the case, the *qpe* shrine noted in the embarkment scene was placed on a ship, probably Petubastis's, in anticipation of stopping in Heliopolis to take the statue and to shelter it for the ensuing voyage. Although we lack a direct reference, it is the simplest solution given the important role that the statue played in the story, coupled with the need to explain the stop in Heliopolis.

There is minimal, yet tantalizing textual support for this claim. In the highly fragmentary

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[72] It is possible that Pami found out about the expedition before they reached Heliopolis, and to try and smooth things out, the fleet stopped on their way south to try and make him happy. This seems like an unlikely complication.

P. Carlsberg 565+, which comes from near the novella's beginning,[73] a reference to gold (l.1) could be related to the cult image of Montu: perhaps it has just been discovered, or its existence made known to Petubastis or some of his men (such as Djedhor?). The name Pawahiset son of Wermaa is found in the next line (l.2), a name which Ryholt claims is found on an unpublished copy of *Prebend* from Tebtunis. The name Pawahiset is found nowhere else,[74] but the name Wermaa (Wermai) appears to be the same as a priestly title associated with the temple of Re at Heliopolis,[75] coincidentally the town of Pami. It is possible that this Pawahiset was a priest or resident of Heliopolis and traveled to Tanis, or sent word, to tell Petubastis about the discovery of a cult image of Montu that belonged in Karnak. Another cluster of words in the text relates to to the office of the pharaoh, a topic of discussion in col. B and D, when Petubastis negotiates the transfer of the prebend, a negotiation that likely involved the image of Montu in some form. The same phrase *jꜣw.t* (*n*) *ḥry* "superior office" from P. Carlsberg 565+, l. 4 is also found in P. Spiegelberg 10.21, when Petubastis asks Amun if the priest of Buto will wrest it from his hands. Thus, the main motivation for Petubastis's trip to Thebes is under discussion here, related in some form to an individual who is likely from Heliopolis. That the prebend of Amun and the trip to Thebes are also being discussed here is likely from the words *sẖqr* "adorn" (found in 3.4 with reference to Ankhhor being adorned with the garb of the Amun priesthood) and *šmꜥ* "south," referring to the direction of Thebes, or simply "Upper Egypt." Thus, it is tempting, in this small fragment, to see a glimpse of the decision to return and install the cult image of Montu to Karnak as a way to leverage Petubastis's demand that the prebend of Amun be transferred to his son Ankhhor. The discovery of the statue, again, may even have been the occasion that gave someone (again, likely Djedhor) this idea in the first place.[76]

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[73] Kim Ryholt, "A Fragment from the Beginning of Papyrus Spiegelberg (P. Carlsberg 565)," in A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: Studies in Honour of W. J. Tait, ed. A. M. Dodson, J. J. Johnson, and W. Monkhouse (London: Golden House, 2014), 271–78. See a translation with comments in Appendix B.

[74] Ryholt, "A Fragment from the Beginning of Papyrus Spiegelberg (P. Carlsberg 565)," 273.

[75] Noted by Ryholt, "A Fragment from the Beginning of Papyrus Spiegelberg (P. Carlsberg 565)," 273.

The second piece of evidence is the reference at the end of col. A to the "Lord of the Mansion of the *Benben,*" a probable reference to the temple of Re at Heliopolis. Though no immediate context to this is preserved, since the fleet is fully prepared and is about to set sail, the phrase suggests that Heliopolis is the destination of the fleet, specifically the temple of Re, a natural place to fetch a cult image of a god.[77]

It is difficult to see a natural connection between Heliopolis and a cult image of Montu; Montu is associated with Armant/Hermonthis, which is called "Upper Egyptian Heliopolis," a city 20 km south of Luxor on the west bank. "Upper Egyptian Heliopolis" (*Jwny šmꜥy*) as well as "Heliopolis of Montu" (*Jwnw Mnṯw*, whence "Hermonthis") are the most frequent names for Armant in the Ptolemaic period.[78] The association with the original Heliopolis of Lower Egypt, encouraged for phonetic reasons (Armant being *Jwny* and Heliopolis *Jwnw*),[79] is based on the association of Montu with Re (beginning in the Middle Kingdom), with Montu being an Upper

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[76] P. Carlsberg 565+ does not preserve the very first column of the novella: the upper margin is preserved, and none of the words of the first few lines are redolent of the kinds of ways we would expect a narrative to begin.

[77] The "Mansion of the *Benben*" is named for the *benben* stone or obelisk, a sacred fetish which originally stood for the mound of primeval earth that was the manifestation of Atum (see PT §1652), but later was identified with the obelisk or pyramidion associated with Re (cf. the verb *wbn* "to shine"); see Gauthier, *Dictionnaire Des Noms Géographiques Contenus Dans Les Textes Hiéroglyphiques*, 4.68; *LÄ* 1.694-695, 2.1111. The *Ḥw.t-Bnbn* at Heliopolis plays a prominent role in the Piye stele, ll.101-106; see Nicholas Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi('ankh)y au Musée du Caire, JE 48862 et 47086-47089*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 105 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1981), 130ff.; Ritner in *AEL*, 381.

[78] Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaues*, 86–92; Jacques Vandier, "Iousâas et (Hathor)-Nébet-Hétépet: troisième article," *Revue d'égyptologie* 18 (1966): 112ff.

[79] *LÄ* 1, 435.

Egyptian partner of Lower Egyptian Re, whose temple, again, was at Heliopolis.[80] It seems unlikely that there would have been a deliberate play on the names of these two cities, or even a confusion, by the author of *Prebend*, though it cannot be ruled out.[81] Since it does not seem natural for there to be a cult image of Montu at Heliopolis, except for the general association of Montu with Re, it might be some kind of a plot device: it was important for the seed of confrontation between Petubastis and Pami to be planted in a way that .

Regardless, we are left with the likelihood that a stop in Heliopolis on the way to Thebes was the first order of business, but still no textually evidenced way to connect it to a cult image of Montu.

3.4. Reconstruction of the Lost Portions of The Prebend of Amun

With the role of the cult image of Montu reasonably certain, and the possibility that it was fetched in Heliopolis on the way to Thebes the best way to solve the dramatic crux of the rationale for the stop in the first place, given our knowledge of the contents of P. Spiegelberg, I present here a tentative reconstruction of the events of the novella leading up to where narrative continuity begins in col. F. Before the fleet prepares to sail in col. A, the assumption is that, somehow, Petubastis learns of a cult image of Montu in Heliopolis that can be brought to Thebes, and decides to fetch it on his way to Thebes to celebrate the Festival of the Valley and negotiate the transfer of the prebend of Amun to his son Ankhhor.

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[80] Of course, the phonetic play may have been the source of this theological interpretation.

[81] Inscriptions of Ptolemy IV at Karnak names Montu, among other things, as “Lord of Lower Egyptian Heliopolis” (*ḥqꜣ Jwnw mḥy.t*) in addition to Armant; see Georges Legrain, “Notes sur le dieu Montou,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 12 (1916): 76, 81. The name “Lower Egyptian Heliopolis” likely gives this epithet away as a creative appropriation of Heliopolis to represent the ability of Montu to “unite the two lands,” as another epithet in the same tableau states, an epithet associated with the pharaoh, who was traditionally equated with Montu.

With col. A, we see the fleet of Petubastis, the lead taken by Ankhhor and the rear by Wertepamunniut, in preparation to sail from Tanis. Djedhor has a prominent role in the organization of the fleet, a role that we perhaps might expect Petubastis to take on. The *qpe*-cover is mentioned in A.11, right after the placement and décor of Ankhhor's and Wertapamunniut's ships are described, suggesting that the storyteller noted how it was present or loaded on a boat, possibly Petubastis's, although Djedhor's boat is a possibility as well.[82]

The next fragment, col. B discussed above, picks up in the middle of a debate in Heliopolis[83] about whether Pami should accompany the fleet to Thebes. The most logical and economical way to tie up the outstanding threads of the plot is to see the fleet traveling to Heliopolis to fetch the cult image of Montu and bring it to Thebes. Since there is no reason to assume that the fleet stopped in Pisopde first, and since several clues suggest Heliopolis was the fleet's first destination (whether or not we are correct in holding that the cult image of Montu was there), this city should be seen as the first, and probably only stop on the way to Thebes. While there, Pami gets wind of the fleet's arrival and learns of their intent. Djedhor makes it clear that Pami is not allowed to come to Thebes, the basic idea being that Pami would be a threat to the transfer of the prebend to Ankhhor. Pami, the son of Inaros, the deceased pharaoh, is upset, either because he feels entitled to this honor, or simply because Petubastis and his party tried to get away with not inviting him. Petubastis is confused and expresses regret that they did not stop in Pisopde to invite Petechons (possibly saying this as a way to mollify Pami, or to shift the blame to Djedhor). Djedhor appears to suggest that Ankhhor give Pami certain items (), some of which may have belonged to Inaros, as consolation. This may serve to further anger Pami. Pami is not mentioned again until the fallout with the priest of Buto. The fleet leaves (presumably) for Thebes, the cult image of Montu loaded (probably under the *qpe*), intended to be used somehow in the negotation for the transfer of the prebend.

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[82] It should be noted that the contested armor of Inaros was kept on Djedhor's boat throughout the second half of *Armor*.

[83] The word Heliopolis is not preserved in this column, but based on 14.1ff (and what we know about Pami from *Armor*), Heliopolis was his residence.

The next several columns are unfortunately very difficult to reconstruct. Missing entirely is the fleet's arrival at Thebes and initial encounter with the priesthood of Amun, presumably at Karnak. With col. C, we get glimpses of the negotiation between Petubastis and the High Priest of Amun (cf. C.x+12ff). Depicted is a meeting between Petubastis, Ankhhor, and the High Priest of Amun. The priest discusses the terms of transferring the prebend in C.x+12ff. This involves the descendants of Petubastis, Ankhhor, and Djedhor participating in the Festival of the Valley, specifically ensuring the safe voyage and return of the cult image of Amun to Thebes West and back. Although cols. C and D are not contiguous, the same topic seems to continue from C to D, raising the possibility that they followed each other. Montu is a subject in col. D, with the priest of Amun promising that there will be a celebration in Karnak at the successful completion of the festival.

While Hoffmann places col. C before D and E (the latter two being contiguous on the same papyrus fragment), it is possible that C followed E. First of all, the priests of Amun mention Montu at the beginning of D. This plausibly follows the appearance of Petubastis and his fleet at Thebes, and his announcement or proclamation that they were returning a cult image of that god. The priests are also discussing the festival in col. D, and invite Petubastis to participate in it by being the one to ferry Amun's ceremonial barge (D.8-10). This suggests either that Petubastis and his party were not aware that the festival was being celebrated (thus making the timing of their arrival a fortuitous coincidence), or that they timed the return of Montu's sacred image precisely to coincide with it. Montu does appear to participate in the festival, suggesting that the latter may be the correct view. Towards the end of col. D, the preparations to celebrate the festival are underway. Logically, based on the events in col. F and following, the party crosses the Nile and performs the oblations at the tombs in Thebes West. This maybe takes place in col. E, which is the most broken column of them all; it also may have taken place before col. F in a lost column. Not much can be reconstructed from the beginning of E, but midway through the return to Thebes is being discussed and, if Hoffmann's restoration is correct, the prebend of Amun as well (E.20). This is the first preserved mention of the prebend! The language of the second half of col. E suggests that the terms of the transfer of the prebend are laid out. We know from 2.17 that a written contract was involved in the process. The language in E.20ff. suggests that the transfer is contingent upon the celebration of the festival every year (E.22) by Petubastis and his descendants, with the cult image of Montu involved as well. The actual transfer seems to happen, if we order the columns D-E-C, in col. C, when Petubastis and Ankhhor are seen meeting with the current High Priest of Amun. This may be before the festival begins or the river crossed, or it could be during the festival; the presence of lector priests in col. C suggests that the festival is underway or is about to begin. The latter part of col. C continues the discussion of Petubastis's obligation to continue the celebration of the festival, which makes sense given the responsibilities attached to the priestly office which is changing hands.

The actual celebration of the festival is not preserved, or is only glimpsed in cols. D-E-C. With col. F, the first major dramatic turn of the novella has already taken place: the priest of Buto and the thirteen shepherds have appeared at the quay in Thebes West beside the ceremonial barge, which is docked and waiting to transport the cult statue of Amun (and Montu?) back to Karnak. Ankhhor, who later appears with full priestly garb, is likely already in possession of the office, which implies he is accompanying the processional bark of Amun.[84] It is virtually impossible to reconstruct the initial confrontation between the Buto party and the Petubastids, since only the leftmost part of each line in col. F is preserved. The priest of Buto must in some way discover that Ankhhor is now in possession of the prebend (cf. F.13-17), and that he and the other priests of Amun are visiting tombs in the necropolis.

Sometime in column F, the priest would begin stating or reciting his formal claim to his right to inherit the prebend of Amun in the form of a long speech which he later characterizes as a plea (*ḫrw*, 3.13). The climactic mythological description of the barge is the final piece of evidence offered by the priest; the details, and form, of the first part of the speech can only be glimpsed. At the beginning of column G, it appears that the priest begins narrating a series of events that took place in mythological time, beginning with “It happened that” (*ḫpr⸗f*). In G.1-8, the picture appears to be that of Horus crossing the Nile to Osiris’s tomb and libating to it “every year” (G.5). Amun is not mentioned in these first few lines, but several hints suggest his role was to help Horus cross safely.[85] The priest of Buto’s later dialogue with Petubastis confirms this:

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[84] The cult image of Amun was carried in a miniature boat or bark, itself borne like a palanquin on poles by the priests of Amun.

[85] A very enigmatic hint of hostility to Horus which threatens his ability to visit the tomb of Osiris can be

after he has finished his speech and momentarily hearkens back to the mythological precedent, he describes someone, probably Amun, …[*jw*] *jr⸗f ẖr pꜣ gy tj šm Ḥr sꜣ Js.t sꜣ Wsjr r Šmꜥ* [*r qb*]*ḥ n jt⸗f Wsjr*, "…being occupied with[86] causing Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, to proceed to Upper Egypt [to lustr]ate to his father Osiris." Supplying Amun as the antecedent of *jr⸗f* makes the most sense.[87]

More detail can be gleaned from the exegetical portion of the claim. Amun and Horus cross the river together,[88] and Amun provided Horus with the actual means of conveyance, either

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discerned in G.7, …[*jw*]-*tbꜣ* [*…nḥ*]*s tꜣ n šmꜥ pr-jnp sy…*, "on account of … Nubian of(?) the land of Upper Egypt, (of?) Perinep(?)." Four different identifications for Per-inep (*Pr-Inpw*, "House/District of Anubis) are given in Gauthier's *Dictionnaire des Noms Géographique*: 1. a temple of Anubis in Asyut (Upper Egypt); 2. a town in Lower Egypt, possibly to be identified with modern-day Menouf, in the 4th nome; 3. a temple of Anubis in Memphis; 4. an unknown location; see Gauthier, *Dictionnaire Des Noms Géographiques Contenus Dans Les Textes Hiéroglyphiques*, 2.56-57. References to a *pr-Jnp* in Demotic texts appear to point to a temple near Memphis (Stele Vienna 082, 13ff.; E. A. E. Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981), 118ff.) as well as near Asyut (P. BM 10591 ro., 8.7; see Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut: From Papyri in the British Museum, Including an Account of a Trial Before the Laocritae in the Year B.C. 170*, 9, 28). The latter temple is probably referenced in a record of a division of priestly property from Asyut (Cairo CG 50058, 2; see W. Erichsen, *Auswahl Frühdemotischer Texte Zum Gebrauch Im Akademischen Unterricht Sowie Zum Selbststudium Zusammengestellt* (Kopenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1950), 17–21). It is difficult to make any connections to P. Spiegelberg.

[86] For *ẖr pꜣ gy* meaning "to intend," see E*G*, 386.

[87] Note how, in the previous line (2.22), the priest explains how he came to take the diadem of Amun as security. On the contrary, Stadler notes that the antecedent of the pronoun is unclear ("Der Kampf um die Pfründe des Amun (Papyrus Spiegelberg)," 424n428).

[88] *pꜣ krr n pꜣ ḫt-ṯꜣw pꜣ-rꜥ pꜣy ḫpr jmn pꜣ nt fy ḥr pꜣ w(yꜣ) nt ẖr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t*, "The bolt of the mast is Pre, because Amun is the one who hastens (lit. "flies") upon the bark of Horus, son of Isis," (1.9-10). Following Hoffmann and Quack, who translate *fy* as "eilt" (*ADL* 106). Stadler translates it as "fährt" ("Der Kampf um die Pfründe des Amun (Papyrus Spiegelberg)," 423).

the wind[89] or the boat itself.[90] Amun also provides a kind of armed escort, or may even actively engage with enemies (cf. the "enemies who have left the path," G.18). One would expect this hostile party to be Sethian, but there are no references preserved.[91] The word *sr-qnqne*, "battle formation" (G.12) only appears here and in other texts from the Inaros Cycle about military combat, and suggests that some kind of naval combat was involved.[92] It is tempting to connect the mythological tableau with the routine of the pharaoh (standing for Amun?) ferrying the ceremonial bark of Amun (standing for Horus?) across the Nile during the Festival of the Valley, but there is not enough preserved to warrant any detailed speculation.[93]

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[89] "[The] sails of byssus [which] are on the mast, and the yards, the two ladders, (and) the four winds are the crown of Amun, because it is he who made the sky (and) the wind bear Horus, son of Isis," (1.5-7). Amun was associated with the wind in Ptolemaic and Roman religious literature from Egypt; see Mark M. Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, Carlsberg Papyri 5 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), 62–64, 203. The unetymological rendering of the name of Amenehmat in the (unpublished) *Inaros Epic* and other narrative literature suggests it was understood as *Jmn-mḥt*, "Amun of the north wind," (Ryholt, "The Assyrian Invasion of Egypt in Egyptian Literary Tradition," 234). The image of Horus crossing the Nile on a boat with a filled sail evokes a depiction of him on a small sailboat in the Triumph myth at Edfu (Edouard Naville, *Textes Relatifs au Mythe d'Horus Recueillis dans le Temple d'Edfou* (Genève: H. Georg, 1870), pl. VII).

[90] In G.5, the verb *ṯ yr*, "cross over" is found, naming an act done "every year" (G.6) like the Festival of the Valley. The subject could be Horus (cf. the previous clause: *jw⸗f jr ḥ*[*ry ẖn*] ⸢*pr-*⸣*wt.t*, "while he was lord in Buto," G.5; thus Hoffmann, "Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung," 34), but not necessarily. This verb appears in P. Spiegelberg in both transitive (7.16, 13.22) and intransitive (3.9) usages, raising the possibility that Horus is ferried or transported across the Nile. By G.6, the crossing is accomplished, since Horus is depicted as libating to Osiris.

[91] *nꜣ sꜣ*⸢*bꜣ*⸣*.w j.jr ẖꜣꜥ pꜣ myṱ*. The enemies are equated by the priest with the planks or wooden framework (*wg.w*) of the barge (Jones 1988, 160-161; Hoffmann 1995a, 36n48). By being placed underneath the feet of Horus, or even trampled upon by him (as the translation "planks" would imply), they are overcome; cf. Ritner 1993, 119-136.

[92] *Armor* 23.5, *Amazons* 3.45, 4.30, 11.x+13, and P. Vienna D6920-22, x+2.6 (see Friedhelm Hoffmann, "Der literarische demotische Papyrus Wien D6920-22," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 23 (1996): 184–85). As for whom the battle formation was against, note the lions that appear several times in the broken text (see G.12, 13-14, 15), animals that are frequently conjured in magical texts and can archetypically stand for Seth, Horus' ultimate foe. Lions feature as objects of conjuration in the New Kingdom Harris Magical Papyrus (see col. 11.2; H. O. Lange, *Der Magische Papyrus Harris* (København: A. F. Høst & søn, 1927), 92, 94). For the relationship between wild animals like lions and Seth, see Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1993), 128n583, 160n743. The lions are associated in this text with the adjective *nhr*, which resembles an epithet of Seth (*Wb*. 2, 286.12). On the other hand, since Amun is depicted by the priest of Buto as a king (cf. the diadem in 1.7), the lions, which are said to have *snte*, *šfꜥ*, and *nhr*, "fear," "respect," and "terror" (G.14), may be Amun's agents: these adjectives are classical epithets of the victorious pharaoh. The pharaoh is *nb snḏ ꜥꜣ šfy.t*, "possessor of fear and great of respect" on a Dynasty 13 or 14 stele from Abydos (Oxford QC 1109, l.5; see Paul C. Smither and Alec N. Dakin, "Stelae in the Queen's College, Oxford," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 25, no. 2 (1939): 158). For similar language, see the Dynasty 11 stele of Khety from Asasif (ll.7-8; Alan H. Gardiner, "The Tomb of a Much-Travelled Theban Official," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4, no. 1 (1917): 35). See also the Qadesh poem of Ramesses II, P. Chester Beatty III vo., 2.10 (K*RI* II, 8). These terms are also found in sequence on a description of the pharaoh's magnificence on the pylon of Edfu (Edfu VIII, 14.13-15.2). The pharaoh is frequently *ꜥꜣ šfy.t* at Edfu (IV, 25.17; VI, 237.7).. Finally, note that in the Poetical Stele of Thutmosis III, Amun-Re describes the pharaoh as a

At F.23, with the imperative “know” (*rḫ*), we appear to have the beginning of his presentation of the interpretation of the barge, continuing 2.5, thus lasting more than two columns of the scroll. In this passage, the priest identifies a dozen or so parts of the barge with an element of a mythological tableau depicting Horus crossing the Nile, with Amun’s help, to visit the tomb of his father Osiris and pour water or libate to him. We are missing the beginning of the claim, and so do not have all the requisite information to understand it in its details, but its essence can be gathered from the priest of Buto’s final statement: “I am the priest of Horus of Pe in Buto, son of Isis of Chemmis. This same prebend of my father belongs to me. As for the first prophet of Amun and the [priests of Amun], they do not have anything to do with it!” (2.3-5).

With the conclusion of the priest’s claim, P. Spiegelberg continues with very little damage unabated until col. 18, where the scroll breaks off. All that can be known of the ending has to be gleaned from clues in the text. Fortunately, the plot device of the oracle of Amun provides important information. Although the prebend of Amun rightfully belongs to the priest of Buto,

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lion (*Urk* IV, 617.2).

[93] The bark chapel at Dendera depicts the pharaoh rowing the bark towards the bow with Horus standing at the stern near the steering oars (Sylvie Cauville, “La chapelle de la barque à Dendera,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 93 (1993): 86–87). Depictions of the sacred barks during the Behdet festival show the barges containing the processional barks being towed by ships equipped with rowers (Edfu X, pls. cxxi-cxxii). Edfu is over 100 miles upstream from Dendera. On New Kingdom representations of the river barge of Amun during the Festival of the Valley, the magnificent scenes found in depictions of the Opet Festival that show a fleet of boats with sails towing the barge are lacking. See The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple, Volume 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, Oriental Institute Publications 112 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994), pls. 17-18, 28-30.

confirmed by the oracle (2.11-14), the oracle later tells Petubastis to not transfer the prebend to him (10.15-18), although there is some ambiguity in the answer since Petubastis (perhaps foolishly) asked two questions, whether the prebend should be transferred and whether he, perhaps referring to the priest, “will be far from Ankhhor...and Werepamunniut” (*iw⸗f wy r...*; 10.17-18). There is some difficulty and ambiguity in the second question. Since *wy* “to be far” is also a technical term in property transfer, used earlier in F.14,[94] it is possible that Petubastis is expounding upon the first question more, specifying whether he should transfer the prebend to the priest *which means* that it is “far” from Ankhhor. This, however, appears to be ruled out, since Wertepamunniut, also mentioned by Petubastis here, has nothing to do with the prebend, only Ankhhor. It is possible that the mention of Wertepamunniut was added erroneously by a scribe who, misunderstanding what *wy* referred to, thought that he was omitted. This would make the antecedent of *⸗f* the prebend.[95] Whatever the meaning, it is possible that the priest of Buto does not, in fact, receive the prebend at or near the end, but is defeated entirely by Pami and Petechons, something that we know will occur because of the oracle’s response (summarized, not reported directly) in 11.3-4 as well as in 10.23-25. It is possible that the priest will forfeit, or be forced to, possession of the prebend because of his actions, and that it will revert back to whoever originally possessed it; or, that he simply leaves Thebes and does not seek the prebend any longer. Another possibility, which would be a complete surprise, would be if Pami or Petechons received the prebend, but there is no indication about this in the story. It is also unknown if the previous High Priest of Amun was still alive, or if the office was vacant (which could explain why Petubastis decided to secure it for his son in the first place). Finally, it is unknown if Ankhhor will retain the prebend. Since Ankhhor is not the rightful owner, and since the rightful owner himself potentially gives it up, it is difficult to imagine that he will retain possession.

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[94] See p. 100.

[95] *ADL* 113n169 reads Petubastis’s second question to refer to the priest releasing Ankhhor and Wertepamunniut and believe that only this second question was answered by the oracle.

This leaves Petubastis. Besides the defeat of the Buto party at the hands of Pami and Wertepamunniut, Petubastis confirms that he will not lose control of the office of pharaoh (10.19-22), something which he asks twice just to make sure. When we put together the likelihood that the prebend of Amun is not kept by Ankhhor and that Petubastis is humiliated by Pami and Wertepamunniut, the novella seems destined to end with Petubastis returning back to Tanis empty-handed and in his original state of attempting to augment his authority over the Thebaid as well as over the Inarids.

3.5. Conclusion

The pursuit of three glaring questions left by the incomplete P. Spiegelberg, whose solutions are tantalizingly in reach when Hoffmann's cols. A-G are read in light of the intact eighteen columns, has led to several important revelations about the plot of *Prebend*. The cult image of Montu turns out to be a crucial part of the story. Ptolemaic-period conceptions of the Festival of the Valley and the Decade Festival leave ample room for Montu concelebrating the festival with Amun, which could suggest that Petubastis timed the trip to Thebes for this purpose. Even if my suggestion that the statue was discovered at Heliopolis and thus fetched from there on the way to Thebes, solving the crux of the reason why the fleet stopped at Pami's city in the first place, is untenable, or simply too under-evidenced to allow it to factor into continued interpretation of the novella, its role as the impetus for the trip to Thebes in the first place, perhaps as Petubastis's bargaining chip for negotiating the transfer of the prebend of Amun to his son, is likely. Finally, the reason why Pami and Petechons are offended has been shown not only to result from a deliberate offense taken by something instigated directly by Petubastis and his people (especially Djedhor), occurring at Heliopolis, but due to a sin of omission, as is the case with Petechons, who only hears about the Theban expedition from the desperate letter sent to him by Pekrur. Because of the manifest desire on the part of the Petubastids to not allow the Inarids to accompany them, it is tempting to connect the dots and ascribe Pami's offense not only to something said or done to him at Heliopolis, but more generally because it became apparent to him that he was not invited to Thebes, implying that he is not worthy of benefits that befit the pharaoh's circle, even though he is the son of the deceased pharaoh Inaros.

In terms of the fabula of the novella, Petubastis's quest for authority appears to be an all-encompassing motivation, whether or not there were other events which would be interpreted to be functions A/a besides the desire to obtain the prebend of Amun for Ankhhor. This specific quest would have sprung from a more fundamental desire by the pharaoh to assert his power. Ironically, since it appears that Djedhor played a major role both in initiating the trip to Thebes and in offending Pami, Petubastis's desire seems doomed from the start and attributable not just to external circumstance and bad luck, but faults in his own character. Given that the most all-encompassing conflict in *Prebend* is between the Petubastids and the Inarids, the major theme of *Armor*, and that Petubastis's unsure position of authority is the same in each novella.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE POETICS OF PLOT IN THE EGYPTIAN NOVELLAS

4.1. Introduction

The study of the poetics of plot of the Egyptian novellas faces many challenges that are not present in the Judean novellas. Most importantly, because of their fragmentary nature across the board, they cannot be studied as a corpus, like their Judean counterparts, in terms of the poetics of their beginnings, middles, and ends. For this reason, while I will utilize Kafalenos's functional analysis of fabula where appropriate, it seems irresponsible to attempt to diagram the fabulas of the Egyptian novella plots as a whole. For their density of plot, I will read the stories closely and argue for the general structure of their fabulas, appealing to the configurations discussed earlier in Chapter 1.[1] As I will show, even though the plots are characterized by coextensive fabula sequences (which themselves have nested sequences, many of which are concatenated), the different sides are brought together, much like in the Judean novellas, in concrete sequences of action. When it comes to their dynamics of plot, the most noteworthy features which are shared by all of the novellas are the use of multiple turning points and climaxes as well as the marked use of a modular method of composition, where blocks of the story are set apart from their surroundings. The two examples of modularity that I discern are emboxment (or the "story within a story" technique) and what I call *ekphrasis* (borrowing a term from Hellenistic literature and education), the use of extended description. Both of these techniques pause the flow of the story and thus are noteworthy dynamic features of the novellas. On the other hand, like the use of multiple primary and complex fabula sequences, as well as multiple turning points and climaxes, all of which cohere around decisive scenes or sequences of events, the modular components contribute in important ways to the story and are not truly extraneous. In sum, though complex in several respects, the plots of the Egyptian novellas are remarkably cohesive and economical despite their complexity.

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[1] See p. 40ff.

4.2. Structure and Density of Plot

4.2.1. Fabula Structure

A close reading of the plots of the Egyptian novellas, in their current, fragmentary state, elicits the co-existence of more than one complete fabula sequence that are not reducible into each other. Two of the novellas' plots can be broadly characterized as polemical: *The Armor of Inaros* and *The Prebend of Amun,* plots which feature, like those of *Jonah, Esther,* and *Judith*, coextensive, interacting fabula sequences in a back-and-forth relationship. Nevertheless, unlike the Judean examples, however, the fabula sequences in *Armor* and *Prebend* retain a measure of independence from each other. The two sides of the conflict in *Armor,* Petubastis and his allies versus Pami and the Inarids, are polemical in their relationship, but the primary protagonists in each are motivated for different reasons than the simple defeat of their opponent: while, for example, the motivation of Esther and Mordecai against Haman is initiated by the latter's actions, the motivation of Petubastis springs from his own concern to avoid strife, and may be caused by the gods, while that of Pami springs only indirectly from Petubastis, but still concerns him, because his ally Wertepamunniut stole the armor of Pami’s father, the deceased pharaoh Inaros, a conflict that was instigated directly by the gods. Furthermore, Pami does not desire the defeat of Petubastis, but to recapture the armor, while Petubastis tries to avoid all-out conflict as much as possible. *Prebend* is even more complex, consisting of a three-fold polemic plot, including a third fabula sequence—the conflict between the Petubastids and the Buto party—which is separate from the conflict between Petubastids and the Inarids (Pami and Petechons). The latter conflict, however, precedes the conflict between the Petubastids and the Buto party, intersects with it and replaces the Petubastids as the victors over the Buto party, and finally, it seems, outlasts it as well, with the last part of the novella likely concerned strictly with the Inarids settling the score with the Petubastids. Although the beginning of the novella is largely lost, as argued in Chapter 3,[2] the antagonism between the Petubastids and the Inarids likely does not derive solely from events that take place in the first part of *Prebend*, but is a motif in the Inaros Cycle, possibly even an allusion to *The Armor of Inaros*. The result of this motif being taken into *Prebend* as a structural component of its story is that the coextensive fabula sequences centered on Petubastis and on Pami and Petechons, though playing out concerns immanent to this novella, do not entirely overlap.

The two Setna novellas similarly evince more than one complete fabula sequence that appear to be primary, but not in a polemical configuration as in *Armor* and *Prebend*. Though their beginnings are lost, a close reading of the plot of each novella shows that, like with *Armor* and *Prebend*, these two sequences are irreducible into each other yet, at the same time, closely interwoven.

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[2] See the discussion in Chapter 2, §3.4. Reconstruction of the Lost Portions of The Prebend of Amun (pp. 281ff).

4.2.1.1. First Setna

First Setna appears to be divided into two primary fabula sequences: Setna's quest for the scroll of Thoth, and Naneferkaptah's quest to have Ihweret and Merib reburied with him in his tomb.

Setna and the scroll of Thoth. The loss of the beginning of the novella, which must have narrated the way in which Setna found out about the scroll, means the beginning of the first primary fabula will remain a bit murky. Consequently, the function A/a cannot be stated with certainty, but it generally concerns Setna's desire to possess the scroll of Thoth.[3] This could spring from a lack that Setna discerns, such as his desire to have magical powers without consequence. It may also have been a be purely (from his perspective) chance discovery (by hearsay or otherwise) that piqued his interest. Also missing from the beginning is a narration of Setna's function C/C' in pursuit of the scroll, which likely involved getting to the tomb of Naneferkaptah in some way, possibly by searching for it in the necropolis of Memphis (aided by an old priest, like Naneferkaptah was?[4]). Function H is when Setna steals the scroll from the tomb. Function I cannot be described definitively since function A is missing, but it occurs in the story when Setna possesses the scroll and its magical powers. These two functions do not lead to the ending of the plot, however, but only represent Setna temporarily prevailing: the plot continues with Naneferkaptah hexing Setna, causing him eventually to lose the scroll (being forced to return it to the tomb in shame), and to agree to rebury Ihweret and Merib with Naneferkaptah.

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[3] See Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 7–8.

[4] Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 7.

The reburial of Ihweret and Merib. The function A is the burial of Ihweret and Merib apart from Naneferkaptah, itself developing from the function I_{neg} of the fabula sequences of the emboxed story of Ihweret. This is established in Ihweret's story, a function A resulting from the death of the family and Naneferkaptah's burial in Memphis, not Coptos. It may have been narrated further in the lost, earlier part of the novella, perhaps when Setna encountered the ghost of Ihweret in the tomb for the first time. Chronologically, in the storyworld, function A abides for the entire time that Ihweret tells the story to Setna, and through the Tabubue episode, only to be picked up explicitly when Setna is commissioned by Naneferkaptah to find Ihweret and Merib and bury them in the tomb (6.3ff). Setna is the C-actant here, as before: function C/C' concerns his first step towards reuniting the family: assenting to the mission and asking for Pharaoh's assistence in locating them. Function H is his successful reburial of the two, and function I, the reversal of their original separation.

The missing beginning makes understanding the true extent in which the two portions of the fabula relate impossible. Nevertheless, it is arguable that Setna's quest for the scroll of Thoth should be closely connected to the second fabula sequence which concerns the reburial of Ihweret and Merib in the tomb of Naneferkaptah. This requires some justification, since in one reading of the novella, the reburial could be seen as part of the its denouement: Setna makes up for his theft of the scroll by repaying Naneferkaptah for his trouble. This would mean that Setna's quest for the scroll is the primary fabula sequence of the novella, and the reburial derivative as a fabula sequence. The happy ending experienced by Naneferkaptah, Ihweret, and Merib would balance out the overall negative experience of Setna due to the scroll.

There are several hints, however, that support ascribing to the reburial sequence a more prominent role in the novella than being merely part of the denouement. First of all, the title of the novella as given in the colophon, "The Narrative (*sḏy*) of Setna Khaemwas, Naneferkaptah, Ihweret his wife (and) Merib her son" (6.20) gives equal prominence to both of the component fabula sequences. The reburial itself is a complete fabula sequence with its own conflict and intrigue, and not a summarily-narrated series of events rounding out the story:

A	Setna has to rebury Ihweret and Merib
(C/C)	Setna and the priests search for three days and nights
(D)	The tomb is difficult to find in the necropolis
E_{neg}	Setna cannot find it
E	Setna asks an old man (Naneferkaptah in magical disguise)
F	Setna is told that they are buried under the troop captain's house (6.13)
F_{neg}	Setna is suspicious that the old man is trying to harm the troop captain (6.14)
G	The old man convinces Setna that he is not being deceitful, allowing Setna to find the tomb (6.14-16)
H	Setna removes the bodies and reburies them with Naneferkaptah (6.18-20)
(I)	Naneferkaptah, Ihweret, and Merib are together for eternity

There is more complication than indicated here. Naneferkaptah is forced (because of Setna's ineptitude?) to appear as an old man and lead Setna to the tomb, implying a (deeply embedded) function A which I have not represented here for simplicity's sake. Nor does it work easily: Setna at first does not trust the motives of the old man, thinking that he was trying to get the house demolished as payback for something the captain did (6.14). Once he does, and the tomb is located, Naneferkaptah "let Setna find out" (*tj…gm Stne pꜣ ḫpr*) about his disguise (6.18), without unfortunately reporting Setna's response.

A key indicator of the reburial sequence's importance vis-a-vis Setna's quest for the scroll is the reaction of Naneferkaptah and Ihweret to Setna returning it, suggesting that they already had in mind that Setna would rebury the bodies, as seen in in their excitement that the scroll has been brought back. After Setna returns it, the narrator states that Naneferkaptah and Ihweret "greeted" him "enthusiastically" (6.3).[5] "Greeting" here does not mean a salutation, since Naneferkaptah and Ihweret have already talked and interacted with Setna in the same scene. Rather, like the Coptic cognate ⲥⲙⲟⲩ, the verb here should be translated "bless" or "praise."[6] In response to this reception, Setna asks Naneferkaptah, "Is there anything that is a *šlf*?" (6.3). Vinson, comparing with a verb *šlf* which describes how hair and clothing can be disheveled, translates the noun here as "amiss";[7] similarly, Ritner renders it "a problem."[8] It seems more likely that Setna is not asking an almost careless question about if something is "a problem," but, having just returned the scroll which he was warned to not take, and having just gone through the truly harrowing experience with Tabubue for which Naneferkaptah was responsible (see below), is wondering why he was given such a warm, personal reception. By *šlf*, Setna seems to mean something that he was supposed to do which he neglected, the fact of which is suggested to him by the excitement of Naneferkaptah and Ihweret.[9] This behavior of Naneferkaptah and Ihweret suggests premeditation, meaning it is likely that Naneferkaptah and Ihweret knew that, when Setna returned, he would be obligated to rebury Ihweret and Merib; hence their excitement. It is even possible that they held out hope for reburial before Setna even took the scroll. This hope of theirs is not mentioned in the preserved novella (which begins in the middle of Ihweret's emboxed story, narrated to Setna) but would have factored into the story in a crucial way in the now-lost scene where Setna first discovers Naneferkaptah's tomb. One possibility for how this could have taken place is that Naneferkaptah asked Setna to rebury Ihweret and Merib before taking the scroll, possibly even asking him to use the scroll to help. Once Setna did not show any interest, but instead turned out to greedily desire to use the scroll for his own selfish interest, Ihweret tried to warn him about the dangers of misusing it. A similar request was made to Naneferkaptah by the old priest before the latter showed where to find the scroll, asking Setna to provide money for his burial (!) and to enroll his sons as priests without a charge (3.16). For the sake of speculation, it is even possible that the entire plight of Setna searching for the scroll, taking it, and being punished for it, was a ploy orchestrated by Naneferkaptah to have his family

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[5] *jr…sme…m-šs.*

[6] Cf. *Mythus* 5.28-29, where the cat, as in *First Setna*, laughs and "greets" the monkey *m-sš* in response to a paronomasia that he spoke concerning her name. The two had been talking, meaning this is not a salutation.

[7] See Steve Vinson, "With a Spike and Staff in His Hand, and a Fiery Brazier above His Head: 'First Setne' 4.35-4.36 yet Again," *Enchoria* 35 (2017 2016): 173.

[8] *AEL*, 467.

[9] Cf. the use of the word in the letter of P. Berlin 13566, where the letter-writer, writing about the delivery

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of garlands to the temple of Khnum at Elephantine, promises not to "cause *šrf*" before Khnum by neglecting their delivery (*bn-jw⸗j dj.t šrf mt pꜣ fj m-bꜣḥ ẖnm*; l.14); see Karl-Theodor Zauzich, *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine*, Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin 3 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1993). The verbal root *šlf* has the general meaning of "go wrong" in common parlance, such as in letters or petitions; cf. P. Rylands 9, 11.1; and frequently in the P. Loeb letter (see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb* (München: Beck, 1931)). It also has the connotation of something shameful or disgraceful (as translated by Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings. Volume III: The Late Period* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 136), the weightier implications of which are clear from a graffito in Thebes West that records a prayer to Osiris (called "Lord of Well-Being," *nb wḏꜣy*) asking for protection against *šrf*, which Jasnow translates "disgrace"; see Richard Jasnow, "Demotic Graffiti from Western Thebes," in *Grammata Demotika: Festschrift Für Erich Lüddeckens Zum 15. Juni 1983*, ed. Heinz-Josef Thissen and Karl-Theodor Zauzich (Würzburg: Gisela Zauzich, 1984), 94 In *Second Setna*, the suspicion of Pharaoh's courtiers when seeing his red buttocks that he has gone insane is described as "shameful" (4.27). The possibility that a god can directly cause someone's shame can be seen in the narrative of P. Dem. Saq. I no. 2, where someone prays that Isis not shame someone who desires to avenge someone's death (6.12); see Smith and Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri*, 95-96 (note λ). This latter example suggests that *šlf* is applicable to the instability resultant from a serious neglect of something that concerns the gods.

buried with him. Something similar occurs in the fragmentary Setna story of P. Carlsberg 207[10] which has many similarities to *First Setna*: Setna is sought out by a ghost who asks him to help recover and rebury his dead family.[11] Setna, thus, may have been led, or lured, to the tomb, perhaps using the scroll of Thoth as bait, with the hope that Setna would use the scroll altruistically to reunite the family, and not for his own gain—as he does immediately. He also may have been approached by the ghost of Naneferkaptah (in whatever form) while walking through the necropolis, and only learned about the scroll when he entered the tomb. The one who led Setna could have been Ihweret, not Naneferkaptah, since the latter appears to speak to Setna for the first time at 4.27, after Ihweret finished speaking. On the other hand, since Naneferkaptah is likely to have appeared in other guises in the novella,[12] so he may have encountered Setna in the form of an old man or a priest, and later played along by acting like he met Setna for the first time in the tomb. While it does appear that both Ihweret and Naneferkaptah do not want Setna to take the scroll, it cannot be ruled out that Naneferkaptah was using it as a trap and a lure: notice his confidence when Setna leaves with it, compared to Ihweret's despondence (4.34-36).

Another corroborating fact in the story that suggests the important role of the reburial sequence is Ihweret's strong reaction to Setna's theft of the scroll: as Setna magically flies out of the tomb, she exclaims: "Hail to you, O darkness! Horus be your protection, O light! Everything, without exception, that was within the tomb has gone away!” (4.34-35).[13] This makes much more sense if understood to imply a despondency that Setna has absconded with the scroll *before using it, or promising to use it to rebury her and her son*. Her mental state has not hitherto been convincingly explained in terms of the character’s motivation, but only in terms of the powerful nature of the scroll itself.[14] One has to ask why Ihweret would be so upset to see vanish *the scroll that caused her family to die and be separated for eternity*. Furthermore, she is only present in Naneferkaptah’s tomb in spirit, “through the craft of an excellent scribe” (6.4),[15] as Naneferkaptah tells (likely reminds) Setna after he returns the scroll. An explanation for her state would be that she hoped Setna would be the one who would rebury her and Merib, but, instead, he left with the scroll, presumably never to return.[16] This, in fact, is exactly how Naneferkaptah assuages her: “Do not be sad of heart! I will make him bring this scroll back here with a forked stick in his hand and a fiery brazier above his head!” (4.35-36)[17] What matters is not strictly the scroll, but Setna coming back with a new attitude; hence Naneferkaptah’s threat to make him return in fear of his magic (as argued by Vinson[18]).

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[10] Joachim F. Quack and Kim Ryholt, "Notes on the Setne Story P. Carlsberg 207," in The Carlsberg Papyri 3: A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies, ed. Paul John Frandsen and Kim Ryholt, Carlsberg Papyri 3 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2000), 141–63.

[11] As noted by Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 250. Unlike *First Setna*, in P. Carlsberg 207, Setna is asked to avenge the death of the ghost's family as well. See discussion in Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 249–50.

[12] Ritner, *AEL* 454.

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[13] *ꜣw.ṱ⸗k j pꜣ qqy Ḥr sw⸗k j pꜣ wyn šm n⸗w mt nb nt ẖn tꜣ ḥ.t ḏr⸗w*

[14] Piccione holds that the scroll is “imbued with the power or presence of Re” and thus is an actual “source of light,” which means taking Ihweret’s exclamation literally; Peter Piccione, “The Gaming Episode in the Tale of Setne Khamwas as Religious Metaphor,” in *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations 55 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994), 202. Cf. the ability of the possessor of the scroll to “behold Pre appearing in heaven.” This is confimred in 6.2: the tomb is filled with light again once Setna returns the scroll; cf. Ritner in *AEL* 467n41. Vinson, drawing on Piccione, notes how Ihweret’s lament is “one of the strongest outbursts of emotion in the tale,” and suggests that the tomb of Naneferkaptah “becomes an analog of the underworld; Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 157, 250 Vinson also remarks on the”hyperbolic synecdoche” of Ihweret referring to the scroll as “everything.”

[15] See Steve Vinson, “Ten Notes on the First Tale of Setne Khaemwas,” in *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, Griechisch-Römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 194 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 467–68 for a discussion of the syntax of this verse.

[16] Another, slightly different possibility with the same import on the story: Ihweret may have been upset that Setna took the scroll because she suspected Thoth, like he did with her husband, would destroy Setna, the same Setna whom she and her husband hoped could unite their bodies in the tomb.

[17] *m-jr tḥe n ḥꜣṱ jw⸗y (r) tj jn⸗f pꜣy ḏmꜥ r bw-nꜣy jw wn wꜥ.t šlt.t šbte n ḏr.ṱ⸗f jw wn wꜥ ꜥḫ n ste.t ḥr-ḏꜣḏꜣ⸗f.*

4.2.1.2. Second Setna

Similar to *First Setna*, there are two apparent primary fabula sequences in *Second Setna*:

Setna and Meheweshke wanting a male child. The beginning of the novella is lost, but col. 1 begins with Meheweshke, Setna's wife, in the midst of an incubation ritual in a temple (the identification of the temple is not preserved). This results in a dream telling her how she will conceive. Function A/a, then, is Setna and Meheweshke's desire to have a son, which must have been acute for some reason.[19] Meheweshke is the first identified C-actant, and the incubation ritual is function C/C'.[20] Setna is also involved inasmuch as he is told in his own dream vision to name the child Si-Osire ("Son of Osiris") and that, according to the restoration suggested by Griffiths which is still followed in translations today, he will do "many" wonderful things (6.7-8).[21] The birth of Si-Osire is function H, leading to function I, their state of having a son. Function I is reversed, however, at the end of the novella, when Si-Osire, after revealing himself, ends up not truly being Setna and Ihweret's son, but the reincarnation of Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf. As luck would have it, however, Meheweshke conceives another child that very night after the events in Pharaoh's court, and gives birth to a new son whom they name Usermaatre, spelling the common Graeco-Roman period personal name N*s-mn-r*ꜥ or S*mn-r*ꜥ semi-historically as *Wsy-mn-*

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[18] See p. 367ff.

[19] Were they advanced in age? Did their previous children die? Was there a concern of succession, since Setna is the crown prince of Usermaatre (i.e. Ramesses II)?

[20] It is possible that something else intervened between the establishment of their urgent need for a son, and the incubation.

[21] All that is preserved is a clause beginning with the adjective verb *nꜣ.w-ꜥšꜣ* "(to be) many." It is likely that Griffiths was thinking of Mt 1:20-21 (Joseph's dream about Jesus), but it certainly makes sense in context that Setna would be told about the kind of person Si-Osire would be.

Rʿ,[22] reflecting the throne name of Ramesses II.[23] This suggests that the need for Setna to produce a son who could succeed him was part of the original function A. In a more fundamental sense, however, based on Si-Osire/Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf's revelation near the end of the novella, Setna and Meheweshke's desire to have a son was coopted by Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf so that the Cushite sorcerer could be destroyed. Note, however, that Setna and Meheweshke's fabula sequence is not completely folded into Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf's: Setna and Meheweshke end up with a son, and he is the next pharaoh.

The defeat of Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman. The function A/a anchoring the second primary fabula is first observed in the text of the novella when Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf explains his earlier need to return to Egypt after the 1,500 years have passed since the defeat of Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman. Function A is the return of the latter. This is not known when it happens, however, but only retroactively, after the sequence comes to a conclusion with the defeat of the Cushite sorcerer. Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf is the C-actant, and function C/C' is when he asks Osiris for permission to leave the underworld and travel to Egypt (see 7.1). The destruction of Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman by incineration is function H, and function I is the successful reversal of the threat. Chronologically, in the storyworld, the sequence of Setna and Meheweshke's desire for a child comes after Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf's desire to defeat Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman. It could be argued that the former's conclusion after the end of the latter, which makes up for the temporary failure of the sequence in the loss of Setna and

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[22] See Ryholt, "Egyptian historical literature from the Greco-Roman Period," 235 and Ritner in *AEL* 489n46.

[23] This name was prominent in royal names in the Ramesside through Kushite period; as the source of the Greek name Ozymandias, it was closely associated with the pharaohs in the Ptolemaic and Roman period.

Meheweshke's son, is part of the denouement of the latter. This would not, however, do justice to the degree of tension inherent in the as-of-yet now-unfulfilled desire of Setna and Mehesweshke to have a child once Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf is successful.

The sorcerer's conflict ends up dominating the novella, perhaps implying that the role played by Setna and Meheweshke in giving birth to Si-Osire is merely instrumental. On the contrary, the latter two's desire to have a son should be given full accord as a primary fabula sequence along side the manifestly primary sequence of the sorceres' battle. Despite missing the beginning of the novella, the primary reason for making this distinction is the fact that, as far as we can tell from what is preserved, Setna does not know the way in which Meheweshkeke became pregnant (by ingesting the fruit of a persea tree[24]), meaning he thinks that Si-Osire is his own child, conceived naturally when he and Meheweshkeke had sex; he thinks this down until the dramatic revelation once Si-Osire is finished reading the scroll. This means that the reader knows that Si-Osire is not Setna's child. It may be that Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf was introduced at the beginning of the novella, which would give the reader even more knowledge. Regardless, there is a tension early on with the conception and birth of Si-Osire: the reader waits for Setna to discover his true relationship to his son. This tension helps prevent the sequence anchored on

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[24] A similar motif of pregnancy by persea tree occurs in the New Kingdom *Tale of Two Brothers*, when the queen became pregnant by ingesting a splinter from a Persea tree which contained the soul of Bata (18.4ff). The similarity between the two stories is another argument in favor of understanding the *bꜥe.t n šw* by which Meheweshkee becomes pregnant as a persea tree and not a melon (cf. Ritner in *AEL* 472n3), argued by Friedhelm Hoffmann, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Zweiten Setnegeschichte," *Enchoria* 19–20 (1993 1992): 11–12 In *Two Brothers*, the persea tree (a kind of laurel) is called a *šwb* (spelled in group writing as *šꜣ-wꜣ-bw*, possibly suggesting it was considered a rare word (by the scribe at least); see *Wb*. 4, 435.10-14 and Renate Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten*, Sonderschrift, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo 14 (Mainz: Zabern, 1985), 148ff), which is close to *šw* in *Second Setna*. Note, however, that the spelling *šwb* for persea tree is found in *Petese* 6.25, 26, and 28. The persea tree may have been chosen because its edible fruit produces a milky substance (see *LÄ* 4, 942), although, in *Two Brothers*, it is a splinter, and not the fruit, that impregnates the queen. It cannot be ruled out that the persea tree was chosen for the motif in *Second Setna* under the influence of *Two Brothers*, but this is of course impossible to prove.

Setna from collapsing into that of Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf: it retains the dramatic interest for the reader associated with a great unknown in the story. Once it becomes clear that Si-Osire is destined to defeat the Cushite sorcerer, even before the connection between the two components of the fabula is made (as explicitly as it can) by Si-Osire/Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf near the end of the novella—something that is likely evident as soon as Si-Osire/Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf begins to magically read the unrolled scroll—the ideal reader expects the outcome of the sorcerer's battle to also redound in some way on Setna and Meheweshke, and on their original (and perhaps originating, in terms of the sequential plot) desire to have a son.

The tension engendered by the reader's knowledge of Si-Osire's true origin can also help integrate the extended underworld episode into the plot as a whole, an episode which may appear to fit uneasily thereto.[25] The experience Setna and Si-Osire share further extends the tension by making Setna's ignorance about Si-Osire more pitiful: father and son undergo a rather harrowing experience hand-in-hand (2.24), and the episode ends with Setna proudly thinking about how "he is my son" (26). The reader knows that he in fact is not! With the conclusion of the ordeal at Pharaoh's court, Setna goes from being extremely proud of his wunderkind, believing him to be fulfilling his great destiny that was (probably) prophesied to him in a dream, to bereft of a son after Si-Osire, not having transformed physically into Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf, vanishes instantly without a trace. Setna's response to this is fitting: he "opened his mouth in a loud cry," a formulaic expression of great distress that, as Jay notes, "typically provides a catalyst for further action."[26] Thus, the defeat of Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman, happy as it is in its own right, does not itself make up for the extreme ups and downs just experienced by Setna. With Setna leaving the court for his home, “his heart being very grieved” (6.9), two options are possible: either the novella will end, perhaps tragically, with the (likely) original fabula sequence of the novella now left unfulfilled and Setna’s sorrow being, at best, a sacrifice for the good of Pharaoh, or it will end happily for Setna. The latter ends up being the case, although narrated in an incredibly brisk fashion. Meheweshkeke’s second pregnancy happens without any difficulty after her and Setna have sex *that very night*, it being said that “she did not hesitate: she gave birth to a male child.” (7.10) This strongly implies that the pregnancy miraculously lasted much less than nine months.[27] For these reasons, the conclusion of Setna and Meheweshke’s fabula sequence should not be reduced to the denouement of Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf’s; a new child being born to Setna is more than the resolution of a supporting portion of the story.

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[25] For discussion, see Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 251ff.

[26] Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 116.

4.2.1.3. The Armor of Inaros

Armor is a long and “durchaus komplexe und vielschichtige Erzählung.”[28] Nevertheless, the plot readily coalesces around two characters, Petubastis and Pami, specifically on the conflict between them and their allies around the possession of the armor of Pami’s father, the deceased king Inaros. The conflict over the armor is introduced three or more columns into P. Krall; before that, as far as can be discerned from the patchy manuscript evidence of the novella’s beginning, the novella begins with Petubastis doing something (inadvertently or not) to anger the gods, and them deciding to send two pairs of demons to earth to instill a desire to fight in the hearts of

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[27] *bn-pw≈s ꜣsq ms≈s wꜥ ḫ̂m-ẖl ḥwṱ̂*. For *isq* (the usual form of the verb) implying a shortening of time, cf. the *Demotic Chronicle* 4.8: *bn-pw≈w dj.t ꜣsq≈f jw≈f n ḥrj*, “He was not allowed to be long in being a ruler,” that is, more idiomatically, “to be a ruler for very long.”

[28] Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 37.

Wertepamunniut, an ally of Petubastis, and Pami, the son of Inaros. As the demons are sent, the first glimpse in the preserved text that we get of Petubastis is him strongly expressing his desire, in the midst of celebrating a festival, to avoid strife, either in the festival in particular or, more generally, in his reign. Unfortunately for him, the demons have already inspired Wertepamunniut (as we later learn) to steal the armor of Inaros, and incited Pami to seek its return by any means necessary. We can imagine the plot of *Armor* unfolding much like a Judean novella, with the initial situation of Petubastis seeking to avoid strife spiraling out of control because of the rising conflict over the armor of Inaros, the focus of the plot being the actions taken by Pami to take the armor back. Assuming he is successful, the result would be bad for Petubastis, and his sorry state could be represented in the denouement. As it stands, however, Petubastis's desire to avoid strife does not merely devolve into the conflict between Pami and Wertepamunniut, but abides through the entire plot. In a word, *Armor* is not merely about the armor of Inaros, but about the conflicting and interlaced goals of Pami and Petubastis.

Although the conflict between Pami and Wertepamunniut, which draws in Petubastis, is the focal point of the novella, Petubastis's struggle to maintain control over his reign both precedes this struggle and outlasts its conclusion. Some piecing together of the plot from fragments is required, supplementing P. Krall with the fragments of P. Carlsberg 456+ published by Ryholt.[29] Before the conflict between Pami and Wertepamunniut concerning the armor begins (although after Osiris sent the two pairs of demons to earth to possess these two), Petubastis is in the midst of a temple festival; according to the version of the novella preserved in P. Carlsberg 456+, this was the Khoiak festival of the navigation of Osiris.[30] Petubastis is then depicted wishing that there not be any “battle and strife” in the temple,[31] and that rituals are carried out correctly. This occurs at the same time when the scribe of the god’s book is caught peering illicitly into the divine council, and is killed for it by Anubis.[32] Much of the scene where Petubastis deals with the death of the scribe is lost, but it appears that he commanded that necromancy be used to allow the scribe to tell everyone what had happened.[33] As Ryholt argues, working from the Tebtunis version, Petubastis either has necromancy performed on the deceased pharaoh Inaros, or is encouraged to do so by, apparently, Djedhor (cf. P. Krall 1.22-31).[34] As the scene continues, it seems that it is the scribe of the god’s book who is actually brought back to life, at least according to the Tebtunis version; P. Krall is broken until Petubastis has the scribe buried.[35] Hoffmann believes that Petubastis’s response to the incident (which may or may not have included necromancy performed on Inaros as well as the scribe) is what incites the council of the gods against him.[36] It should be noted that the divine council, culminating in Osiris sending the demons to earth to instigate the conflict between Pami and Wertepamunniut, is narrated *before* the incident with the scribe, which is said to happen, again, while Petubastis was celebrating the festival and meeting with his men.[37] While it is possible that the reader is meant to observe the events in Memphis as an earthly counterpart to what happened in the divine council, the fact is the scribe of the god's book interacts with the council, which means we need to coordinate what is happening on earth and with the gods on a strict timeline. An easier solution, then, is to hold that the scribe got wind of the gods' machinations against Petubastis after the fact. When Petubastis brings him back to life, he then finds out that the strife that he was previously anxious about is, in fact, already underway.

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[29] Ryholt, "A Parallel to the Inaros Story of P. Krall"; Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, 73–88; Ryholt's synoptic presentation of the two versions confirms that they followed each other very closely in the beginning, although the additional fragments published in the latter publication in 2012 show that the ending was expanded; this can be said with certainty because P. Krall continuously preserves text (though heavily broken) down to a colophon (found in 26.x+9-12).

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[30] Line x+5-6 of frag. 2 (the first column, among the newer fragments of the scroll published by Ryholt in 2012) refer to the “navigation” (*ẖnny*) and to the 25th day of the month of Akhet, which is when this festival took place; see Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, 77–78.

[31] P. Carlsberg 456, x+2, 18 (following the numbering of Ryholt) preserves *ꜣḥ* [*ml*]*ḥ ẖn ḥw.t-nṯr*; P. Krall 1.19 preserves *mlẖ*, without noting the temple.

[32] According to P. Krall, the incident of the scribe, up through his death, happened “[while] Pharaoh had (*ẖpr r-wꜣḥ pꜣ pr-ꜥꜣ*)…“, followed by the report that he wished for there to be no strife in the festival (P. Krall 1.18). P. Carlsberg 456+ preserves the first part of the sentence, which employed a second tense, and can be reasonably restored, in combination with P. Krall 1.18, to read *j.jr nꜣy* [*ḏr⸗w ẖpr r wꜣḥ*] *pr-ꜥꜣ*… (x+2, 17; see Ryholt, “A Parallel to the Inaros Story of P. Krall (P. Carlsberg 456+P. CtYBR 4513),” 158). It seems that Petubastis is meeting with (dining with, like Pami later?) his entourage, as suggested by P. Carlsberg 545 (see *ibid.*, 165). The use of the pluperfect allows for simultaneity: the scene with Petubastis was happening while the scribe was caught and killed by Anubis, the two dovetailing when someone reported what happened to Petubastis (see P. Krall 1.20).

[33] Ryholt’s synoptic presentation of the P. Krall and P. Carlsberg 456+ portions of this scene can be consulted with profit in Ryholt, “A Parallel to the Inaros Story of P. Krall,” 165–66.

[34] Ryholt, “A Parallel to the Inaros Story of P. Krall,” 154. Unfortuantely, what exactly happened here, and why Petubastis would do such a thing, is lost; was the idea to get advice from a predecessor, much like Saul did with Samuel via necromancy in *1 Samuel* 27? Inaros is mentioned several times in the text before the scribe is killed, and since Petubastis seems to be engaging in the festival of the navigation of Osiris, his legitimacy as pharaoh may have been hanging in the air so to speak.

[35] See Ryholt, “A Parallel to the Inaros Story of P. Krall,” 166.

Thus, the scene in Memphis sets the stage for Petubastis's worry that he will have to deal with strife, and, arguably, narrates, by the almost lurid incident of the scribe and the following necromancy, Petubastis realizing that such strife has in fact arrived. Unfortunately, it is not known why the gods, prior to the Memphis scene, decided to instill strife between the Petubastids and Inarids, but it is tempting to ascribe it to something that Petubastis did with respect to the memory of Inaros during the navigation of Osiris during the Khoiak festival, the celebration of which is now lost. Ryholt, based on the more fully preserved (yet still quite fragmentary) beginning of the novella preserved in P. Carlsberg 456+, argues that Petubastis carried out the navigation improperly.[38] Ryholt compares the word *šll* "lamentation" in the first column, l.5[39] with the same word occurring in *Amasis and the Skipper* l.8, where those around the pharaoh "lament" that he is too hungover to carry out his responsibilities. Ryholt also compares the general motif of the damaging omission of a pharaoh with the plot of the *Dream of Nectanebo* (which he calls the *Prophecy of Petesis*), where Nectanebo II's neglect of completing the inscriptions for the temple of Onuris at Sebennytos causes the gods to stir up an invasion of Egypt.[40] What sets Petubastis apart from the Amasis and Nectanebo II of fiction is his apparent awareness that he is *risking* causing strife.

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[36] Hoffmann, Der Kampf Um Den Panzer Des Inaros: Studien Zum P. Krall Und Seiner Stellung Innerhalb Des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus, 45–46.

[37] The synoptic presentation of Ryholt, "A Parallel to the Inaros Story of P. Krall," 164ff is helpful for getting a sense of the events of the beginning of the novella.

The risk of strife occurring, then, plays the role of a function A in a primary fabula sequence centered on Petubastis, who is the C-actant. The first glimpse of Petubastis stepping into this role, implying function C and even C', may be the speech he gives to his men in 1.18-19, although he may have already done something in this regard in the lost earlier portion.[41] We can also understand a set of functions C and C' occurring when Petubastis, learning about Pami's demand, decides to try his best to avoid a conflict from spiraling out of control.[42] The majority of the novella after this consists of a series of tests (donor functions) which Petubastis endures as he attempts to quell Pami's anger. First, he first attempts to get Wertepamunniut to explain his actions, hoping that it is all a misunderstanding, but this leads to even more enmity between Pami and Wertepamunniut (6.14ff). Petubastis then promises to give Inaros a second, presumably more magnificent burial to make up for the indignity that Pami has faced (7.32-33), and even begins to plan it (8.7-8.10), but before it gets underway Pami (though initially acquiescing to Petubastis's plea to not cause war; 8.5-8.6) stands his ground and refuses to back down from his demand (see 8.19-20). Petubastis then tries to convince Wertepamunniut to hand over the armor, but he refuses (9.2-9.5). Once tensions rise even more with even the normally level-headed Paklul (who had previously tried to get Pami to acquiesce) promising war even if the armor is handed over to him (9.10-20), Petubastis, in one last ditch effort, asks for five more days to try and negotiate a truce (9.20-25), but is refused, leading to the plan for the parties to meet at Gazelle Lake and settle the matter. None of the tests (donor functions) end favorably for Petubastis, and once the period of combat begins, there is no definitive function H: Petubastis's surrender of the armor of Inaros to prevent Montubaal from inflicting further damage on his side, which seems to end the hostilities and could represent, is at best a return to normalcy, and a temporary end to the conflict, compromised with the appearance of Minnemmei. Much like Setna's never-realized desire to control magical power without consequence in *First Setna*, the primary sequence of Petubastis in *Armor* ends in failure, with no function I, only a final, ambiguous function I_{neg} at the novella's end: though the strife is over, Petubastis's side has lost several men (by Minnemmei), and not only the armor of Inaros, but the armor of Wertepamunniut's ancestor Horenacht.

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[38] Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, 80.

[39] Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, 74 and 77.

[40] Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, 81. Ryholt goes on to compare the disruption of the festival of Amun in *Prebend*, although this is different since it was not, it seems, caused by the neglect of Petubastis.

[41] There are no hints of what this could have been in P. Carlsberg 456+.

[42] The scene is quite damaged, but Petubastis was first informed about Pami's demand in 6.28ff.

The ending of the novella keeps the Petubastis side of the story separate from Pami's. The plot appears to be nearing its end once Petubastis convinces Montubaal to stop fighting, promising that the armor of Inaros will be given back to Pami (22.30-23.2). While this does appear to be humiliating for the pharaoh, in one sense it represents a success: as far as we can tell, Petubastis was not personally invested in the armor of Inaros. Moreover, even though he was forced to hand it over, he avoided any outright strife beyond what Montubaal caused. The sense of an ending after Petubastis's surrender to Montubaal continues in the dramatic way that the aftermath is portrayed. Both Pami and Petechons are on the verge of defeating their dueling partners, Weretepamunniut and Ankhhor. The narration is very exciting: Petubastis and Paklul reach the fighters just as the one is about to slay the other, the narration proceeding in slow motion (23.3-24.4).[43] While this makes for exciting reading, the successful prevention of the deaths of the pharaoh's two warriors, one of them being next in line to the throne, comes across also as Petubastis narrowly avoiding disaster.

This changes, however, with the surprise arrival of Minnemmei (24.12ff) who, like Montubaal earlier, tips the scale in favor of the Inarids with his apparently quite large force of allies.[44] At this stage, Pami's endeavor to recover the armor of Inaros has ended; but the surprise complication and devastation that Minnemmei brings, making Djedhor's men possibly the first and only deaths in the entire novella,[45] threatens Petubastis even more. Thus, the original problem of the novella which led to the central sequence of the armor of Inaros once again comes into play, but this time as the only remaining or outstanding tension: can Petubastis assert himself and maintain order? Despite the successful negotiation of the armor, he is about to lose control of the heightening crisis. His sense of his losing control is portrayed vividly in his prayer to Amun-Re (25.16-20). How this complication is resolved is relatively difficult to discern in details since the novella is fragmentary at the stage. However, it is clear that Petubastis himself is not able to rein in Minnemmei, having already given up his one bargaining chip, the armor of Inaros; this exposes his general ineptitude and lack of magnetism. Rather, it is Paklul who intervenes and convinces Minnemmei to stop fighting (25.20-25). Although, again, many details are lacking, one of the outcomes of Paklul's successful negotiation with Minnemmei is the surrender of the armor of a certain Horenacht to the Inarid side (25.24-25). Horenacht is the ancestor of Wertepamunniut, and thus plays an analogous role to Inaros. This means that Petubastis was not able to avoid humiliation: though fortunate to not incur major losses because of the armor, a circumstance beyond his control—the surprise appearance of Minnemmei—led to his further humiliation, as well as loss of life on his side.

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[43] See p. 349ff.

[44] Cf. 24.12-17; his fleet is so large that it takes up nearly the entire river.

[45] See 25.12: *ẖtb⸗f rmṯ s 4 n-jm⸗w*. While Montubaal inflicts "carnage and ruin" (*ḫꜥꜣ wty*, 22.11), it is not specified that he killed anyone.

The outcome of the conflict between Pami and Wertepamunniut, and its resolution in favor of the Inarid side, is recorded on a stele, though who ordered it, and where it was erected, is not preserved. This would appear to be an inversion of the traditional trope in royal inscriptions where the pharaoh commands the erection of an account and memorial of his action, such as at the end of the *Famine Stela*,[46] as well as in the synodal decrees.[47] As Hoffmann points out,[48] the story of *Inaros and the Griffin*, which is an extended episode in the *Inaros Epic*,[49] seems to end with Inaros commanding that his defeat of the griffin be recorded for posterity; the text, however, is still unpublished and cannot be compared.[50]

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[46] See Ritner in *AEL*, 391; cf. also Thutmosis III's discussion of the engraving of his accomplishments in year 25 of his annals, translated in *ARE*, 2.193 (§452).

[47] E.g. on the Rosetta Stone, l.32.

[48] Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 395n2514.

[49] Ryholt, "The Assyrian Invasion of Egypt in Egyptian Literary Tradition," 493–94.

Unlike Petubastis's attempt to avoid strife, Pami's quest ends in success. As far as can be discerned in the preserved text, the function A/a which Pami acts against is realized not only after, but possibly because of Petubastis's desire to avoid strife. The function a—lowercase because it concerns something that has already happened which is discovered by Pami—is that Wertepamunniut stole Inaros's armor. Pami, the C-actant, decides to travel to Mendes and confront him immediately after learning this (functions C C'), with the goal in mind to take it back by whatever means necessary (3.1ff), but, upon learning that he was not there, learns more from Wertepamunniut's servant.[51] Though this initial part of the sequence technically ends in failure for Pami, it immediately gives way to a new phase (and thus a second set of function C and C'), with Pami enlisting Paklul for help and deciding that confronting Petubastis about Wertepamunniut's behavior is the best way forward. Like Petubastis, Pami encounters several tests as he attempts to take the armor back, but unlike Petubastis, he comes out stronger each time: he refuses Petubastis's offer to celebrate Inaros, and does not back down when tension escalates. When the odds were against him at Gazelle Lake, meeting Wertepamunniut and his allies without any of his own allies having arrived yet for support, Pami (to the chagrin of his servant Tjaynefer) decides to fight anyway, and, coincidentally, his allies begin arriving immediately.[52] Thus, while Petubastis gets more desperate to avoid strife, Pami steels his resolve the more he is tested.

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[50] It is translated by Edda Bresciani, "La Corazza Di Inaro Era Fatta Con La Pelle Del Grifone Del Mar Rosso," Egitto e Vicino Oriente 13 (1990): 103–7; see p.107 for the passage, which Bresciani only summarizes without providing a translation.

[51] See Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 46 for a discussion of what is happening in this part of P. Krall.

[52] See p. 347.

The lack of an extended fabula sequence focusing on Wertepamunniut and not Petubastis is telling of the importance of the latter for the plot as a whole. Wertepamunniut may have stolen the armor of Inaros from Heliopolis (to which it is closely associated with throughout the novella, as the place where it will be returned) after being possessed by the demons. Narrated only in summary in 1.10-11, the demons are only said to “inspire revolt” (*tj.t ḫpr ẖnyny*) in him against Pami; the narrator saves the telling of the actual incident, it seems, for when the reader overhears the kalasiris Petehel inform Pami about it, assuming this is what the kalasiris described in that very broken scene. The sequence of Wertepamunniut stealing the armor likely amounts to just a subplot when compared to the two primary sequences.

In sum, *Armor* does not consist of two, neatly distinct fabula sequences like *First* and *Second Setna* which collide with each other, but a fabula containing two closely related sequences of events motivated by interlocking but distinct reasons (functions A/a) that are not reducible into each other. For this reason, the plot can be generally characterized as polemical. Unlike *Esther* and *Judith, Armor* does not involve conflict between a clear protagonist and antagonist or villain. Petubastis is more like Jonah, although he comes across more unfortunate than flawed. The polemical aspect exists also in a narrow level of the plot as a whole, in the conflict between Pami and Wertepamunniut.

4.2.1.4. The Prebend of Amun

Although working out the details has presented some difficulties because of the novella’s state of preservation, the fabula structure of *The Prebend of Amun* is quite similar to that of *The*

Armor of Inaros. Like the latter, *The Prebend of Amun* is a broadly polemical plot which treats a conflict between Petubastis and Pami, with *Prebend* involving several additional characters allied with these two, most importantly Ankhhor and Petechons. Unlike *Armor,* however, the polemical nature of *Prebend* is manifest on two levels: between Petubastis and Pami, and between Petubastis and the Buto party. The main dramatic interest of *Prebend* lies in how these two parts of the polemical plot coincide: they are not resolved in sequence (as far as the manuscript allows us to see), but in an interlocking fashion. Petubastis has to rely on Pami and Petechons to defeat the Buto party, but at the same time subjects himself to being confronted by Pami and Petechons for his mistreatment of them.

Petubastis's motivation is positive, not negative or preventative as in *Armor*: he seeks the prebend of Amun for Ankhhor. As argued throughout Chapter 3, it is uncertain how the function A of this fabula sequence, the need for Ankhhor to become the High Priest of Amun, develops, but the first steps towards accomplishing it (functions C C') appear to involve, for some reason, a stop in Heliopolis. Before the establishment of the direct conflict between Petubastis and Pami (and Petechons), the stop in Heliopolis likely suggests to the reader that Petubastis's attempt to secure the priesthood of Amun will in some way bring him into conflict with the Inarids. What the reader identified as functions C and C' of Petubastis's fabula sequence may have taken place in Thebes and been part of the negotiations with the Amun priesthood, or even something concerning the festival of Amun. Petubastis's quest is initially a success, with a tangible function H: Ankhhor appears as the High Priest of Amun during the celebration of the Amun festival.[53]

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[53] For the implication that the prebend of Amun has been transferred to Ankhhor somewhere in the lost part of the novella before col. G, see *Prebend* 3.4.

The challenge Petubastis raised by the priest of Buto, however, complicates things before a function I can be achieved, once it is revealed that the priest is in fact the rightful holder of the office. Since we cannot be sure of exactly how the reader would have begun to mark out a fabula sequence involving Pami and Petechons's conflict with Petubastis, it is possible that the advent of the Buto party marks the first outright complication to the plot; before this, the conflict between the Petubastids and Inarids which began in Heliopolis, relying on the reader's general familiarity with this motif in the Inaros Cycle, probably foreshadowed an impending conflict. While Petubastis appears to be willing to surrender the prebend to the priest of Buto, the verbal conflict between the Petubastids and the Buto party leads the former to commandeer the ship, which was about to take the cult image of Amun in his processional bark back to Karnak (on board the ceremonial barge) and brings the festival to a halt. While the Buto party will be defeated (only with the help of Pami and Petechons), as far as we can ascertain from P. Spiegelberg and its fragments, Petubastis loses the prebend for Ankhhor, and so returns to Tanis empty handed.[54]

The portion of the fabula concerning Pami and Petechons is motivated by the disrespect shown to them by the Petubastids, whether through Petubastis himself or, as seems likely, Djedhor his grandson, with initial stirrings towards the all-out conflict likely felt in the interaction between the Petubastids and Pami at Heliopolis, where it is made clear somehow that the latter is not invited to Thebes. This fact is directly referenced later by Petubastis as the reason for Pami being disgruntled (11.11-13), specifying shortly afterward that Djedhor is actually the one to blame (11.17-21), seeking to defend himself against Pekrur's accusations. This was likely a calculated move spearheaded by Djedhor to exclude the Inarids. Petechons's later response to Petubastis's plea for help to defeat the Buto party corroborates this. The sequence anchored on Pami and Petechons, then, is based on their desire to win respect back from the Petubastids. With more of the novella preserved the functions involved could be specified more. The first step that Pami and Petechons take to address Petubastis's disrespect (functions C C') is when they decide to answer Pekrur's plea on behalf of the pharaoh to rescue them from the Buto party. The Inarids, out of duty to Amun, struggle with and defeat the Buto party for the same pharaoh who spurned them earlier, something which is not preserved (beyond their arrival) in the novella but which the reader knows will happen because of the oracle of Amun. After this, presumably, their conflict with Petubastis continues to play out, and Pami and Petechons confront Petubastis, although it is unknown what happens. A further complication may develop out of Petubastis's response to Minnemmei's surprise arrival and his apparent ability to match the Buto party in fighting skill. The functions H and I of this sequence are unknown, but given the hapless portrayal of Petubastis throughout the novella, it is likely that Pami and Petechons end up having the upper hand and win respect back in some way.

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[54] For the end of *Prebend*, see p. 288ff.

The three distinct parts of the fabula of *Prebend* are related in a much more intricate way than the sequences of the other three novellas.[55] Thematically, the question of the respect accorded to Petubastis as pharaoh binds them together in general. Petubastis desires the respect that comes along with controlling the Amun priesthood, but the Buto party challenges that and mocks Petubastis's ability to exert the kind of authoritative and decisive control over Egypt that a pharaoh is supposed to have. For a different set of reasons, Pami and Petechons also challenge

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[55] See p. 331ff.

Petubastis's authority, but not in order to defeat him (so at least it seems), but to pay him back for the humiliation that he caused them. Initially attempting to gain respect by taking control of the priesthood of Amun, Petubasis's failure coupled with the offense taken by the Inarids creates, or better exposes, the risk that he will in fact *lose* respect. This has its ultimate basis in the larger plot and character arc of, at least, *Armor*, and perhaps the Inaros Cycle more broadly. In terms of how the three parts of the fabula unfold, they intersect (or, better, collide) in the struggle with the Buto party, making up an entire sequence in the plot of the novella, centered around the capture of the barge.

4.2.1.5. Structural Configuration of the Fabulas

In lieu of reconstructing entire fabulas for the Egyptian novellas, as with the Judean,[56] we can provide more schematic representations of the fabulas that reflect the reconstruction of the previous sections. Instead of a fine-grained approach representing each function of the fabula sequences, including the partial ones, the general structural configuration of the fabulas at large can be marked out instead (in Figures 4-7), still allowing us to summarize the and quantify the plot scale of the Egyptian novellas from the perspective of fabula density.[57]

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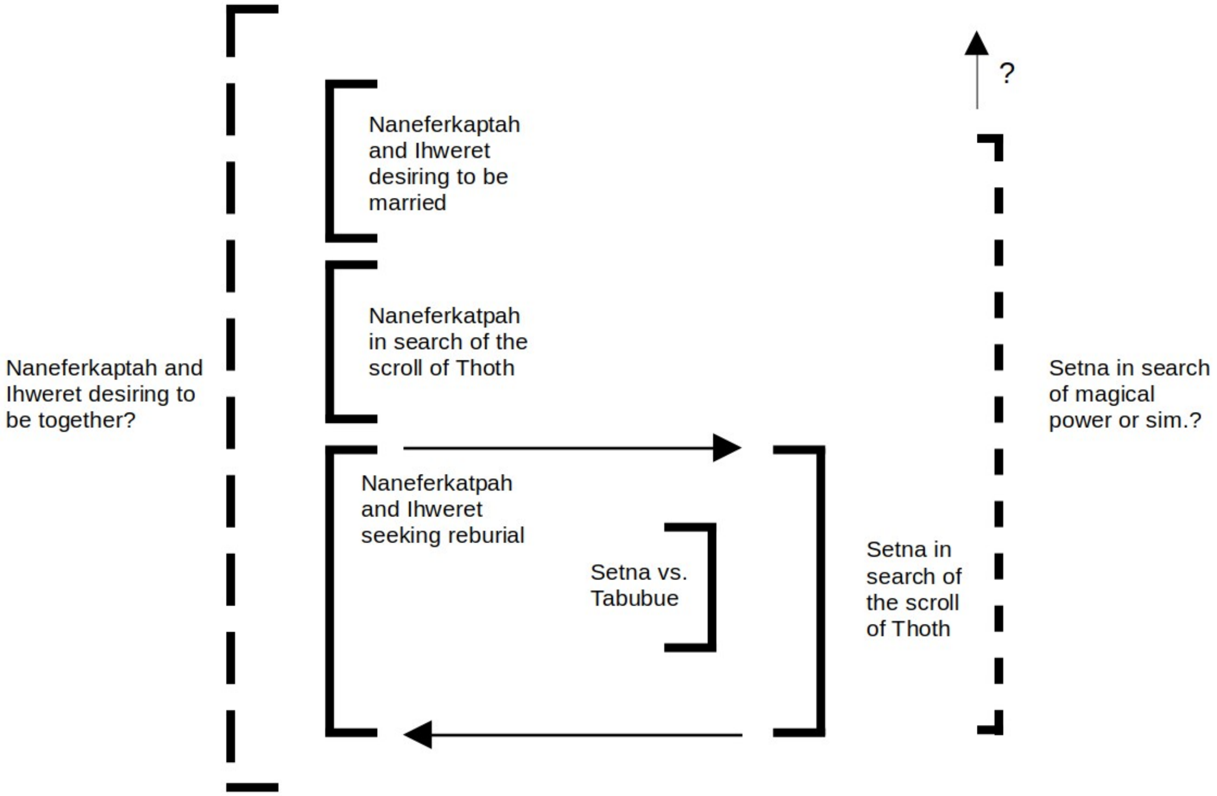
[56] For the complete charts, see Appendix A.

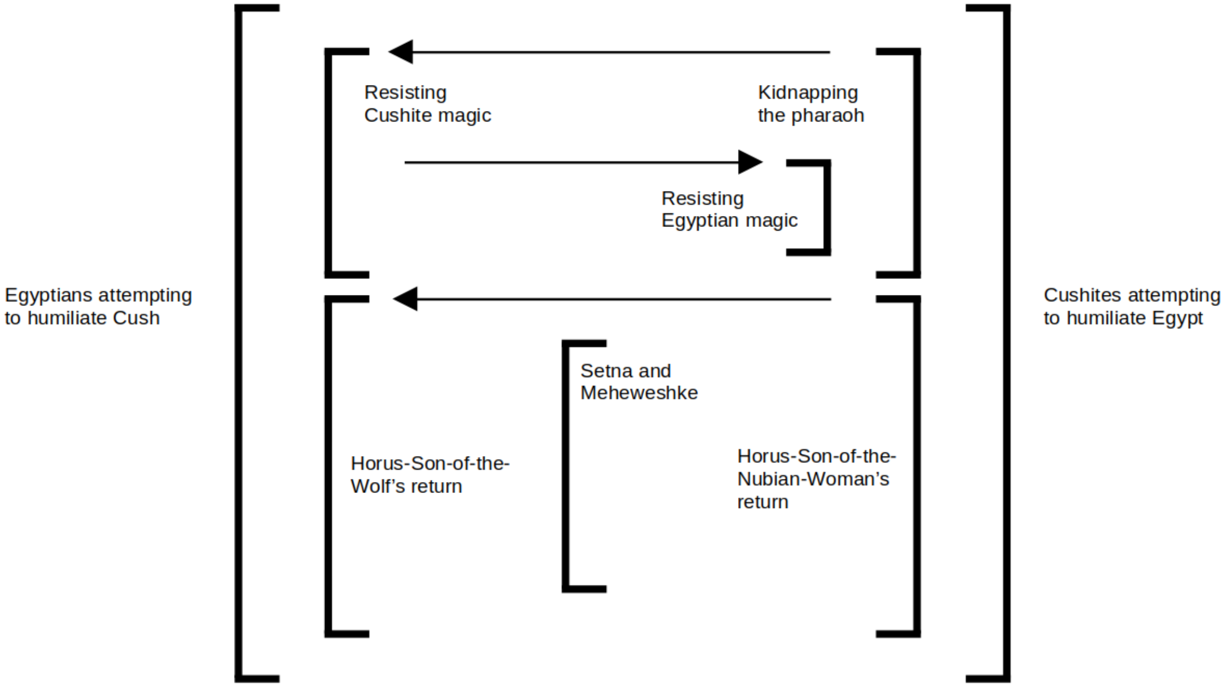
[57] For which, see §1.2.1. The Functional Analysis of Fabula.

Figure 4: The fabula of *First Setna* reconstructed


?
Naneferkaptah and Ihweret desiring to be married
Naneferkatpah in search of the scroll of Thoth
Naneferkaptah and Ihweret desiring to be together?
Setna in search of magical power or sim.?
Naneferkatpah and Ihweret seeking reburial
Setna vs. Tabubue
Setna in search of the scroll of Thoth

The fabula of *First Setna* as a whole (see Figure 4) potentially shows two coextensive fabulas at the highest level. The side of the plot concerning Naneferkaptah and Ihweret shows (as far as can be reconstructed) three concatenating fabula sequences: Naneferkaptah and Ihweret's desire to be married (the obstacle of which Ihweret speaks of at the beginning of the preserved text), Naneferkaptah's ill-fated quest for the scroll, and their ploy to get Setna to rebury them together. Since Ihweret's story begins with the difficulty that she and Naneferkaptah had in getting married, it is possible that the reader would understand their desire to be united in death to be the final sequence, following and resulting from the misadventure of Naneferkaptah in search of the scroll, to be the final expression of an all-encompassing function A/a which concerns their desire to be together; this is marked tentatively in Figure 4. The nature and extent of Setna’s motivation is unclear; this is represented by the uncertain vertical extent of the Setna sequence, showing that it is unknown exactly how it corresponds to Naneferkaptah’s. It is possible that Setna was motivated to seek out the scroll for his own reason, perhaps a general desire to attain magical power, or even ancient texts in general, as the depiction of Naneferkaptah (in Ihweret’s story) eagerly reading inscriptions could suggest. This could have presented an opportunity to Naneferkaptah to lure him into the tomb (as Naneferkaptah himself was by an old priest; see 3.10ff). For this reason, a broader Setna sequence is indicated hypothetically. Setna’s experience with Tabubue is nested in the sequence of his quest for the scroll, and once the former ends in disaster, the latter is over as well. Setna then becomes the C-actant to bring the Naneferkaptah and Ihweret sequence to a close by burning them together with Merib.

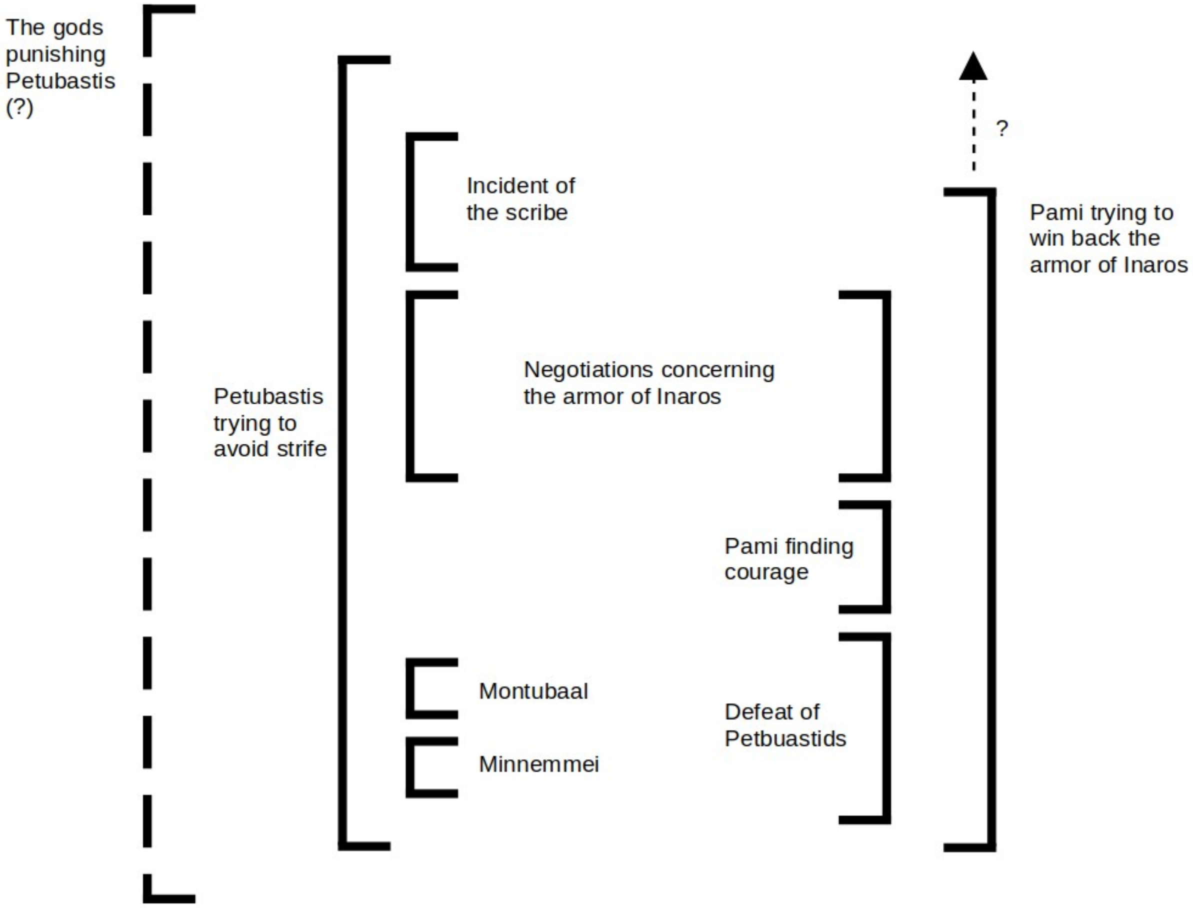
Figure 5: The fabula of *Second Setna* reconstructed


Resisting Cushite magic
Kidnapping the pharaoh
Resisting Egyptian magic
Egyptians attempting to humiliate Cush
Cushites attempting to humiliate Egypt
Setna and Meheweshke
Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf's return
Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman's return

With *Second Setna*, we are on slightly better footing regarding the structural configuration of the entire fabula (see Figure 5), the main uncertainty being exactly how Setna and Meheweshke's desire for a son stands independently of Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf's quest to defeat Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman. In Figure 5, Setna and Meheweshke's sequence is represented as nested within the other sequences, but it remains possible that it would have had a sharper degree of independence. Though retaining a marked measure of independence through the pathos-laden trip to the underworld (*katabasis*) and the miraculous birth of a new child to Setna and Meheweshke at the end, this sequence is practically speaking nested within the larger conflict. *Second Setna* as a whole consists of two coextensive sequences in a polemical relationship, which occurs first in the plot in the story contained on the scroll read magically by

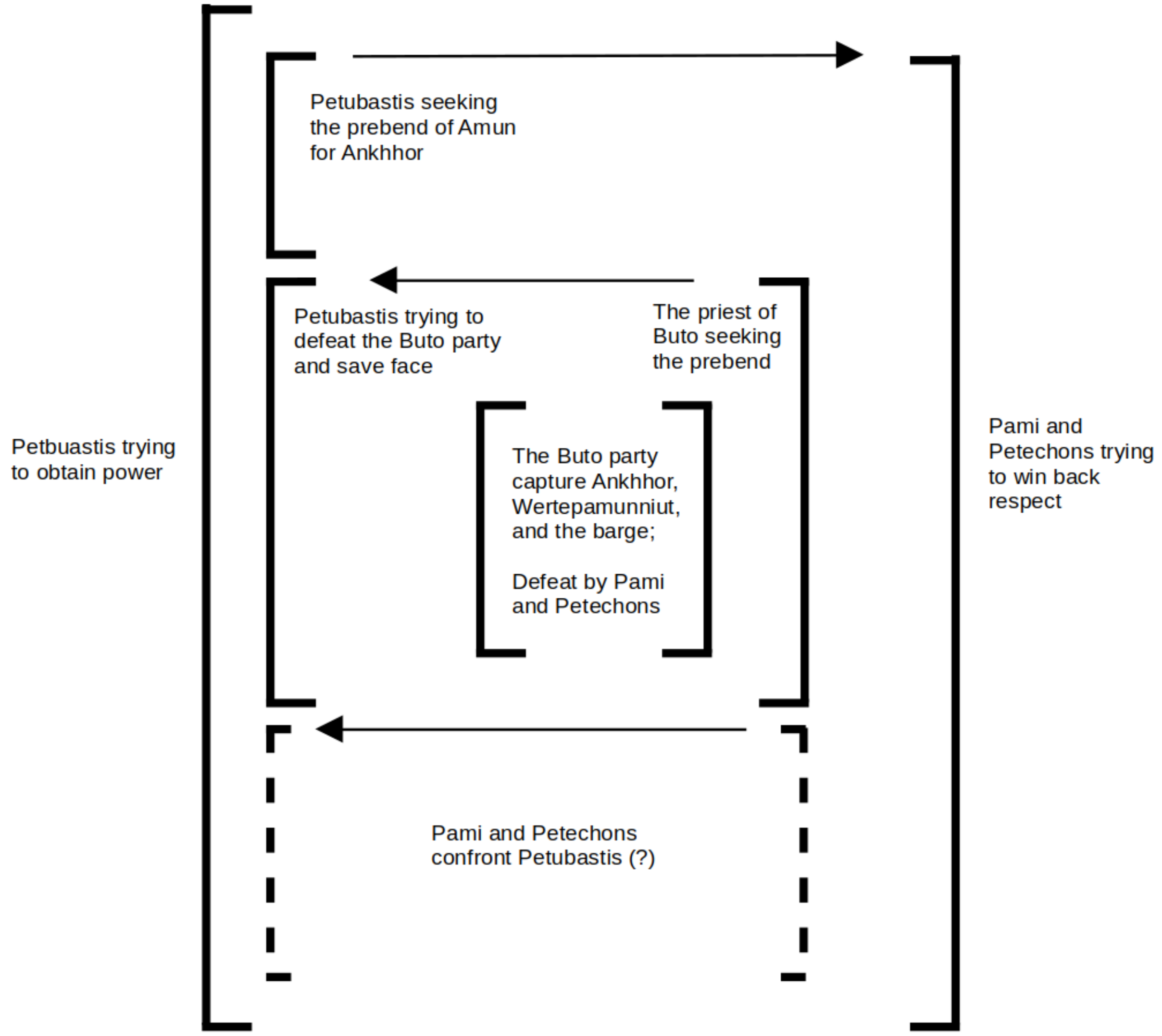
Si-Osire, depicting the contest between the Egyptian and Cushite sorcerers, who take turns humiliating the ruler of each country, instigated by the Cushites. Nested within the general Cushite sequence are two concatenated attempts to humiliate the Egyptians. The first concatenation ends in the retreat of Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman. Within it is a further nested sequence consisting of the retaliation of the Egyptian sorcerers. Only with the final defeat of Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman by the revenant Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf under the form of Si-Osire in the second concatenated Cushite sequence does the outer, nesting Cushite sequence come to an end.

Figure 6: The fabula of *The Armor of Inaros* reconstructed


The gods punishing Petubastis (?)
Incident of the scribe
?
Pami trying to win back the armor of Inaros
Negotiations concerning the armor of Inaros
Petubastis trying to avoid strife
Pami finding courage
Montubaal
Defeat of Petbuastids
Minnemmei

The Armor of Inaros, like *Second Setna*, is polemical (see Figure 6), although the exact way that the coextensive Petubastis and Pami sequences relate to each other is difficult to reconstruct. It seems likely that the gods respond to something done by Petubastis, and instigate the conflict between Pami and Wertepamunniut. If this is the case, the fabula of *Armor* as a whole resembles that of *Tobit*, with the majority of the sequences nested in one grand sequence anchored on divine interference in the world. It is likely that a reader of *Armor* would have constructed a full-fledged fabula sequence centered on Wertepamunniut, much of which was narrated in retrospect by the kalasiris who interrupted Pami's feast. This would yield a three-fold polemical plot much like *Prebend*. Once Petubastis and Pami begin to pursue their respective goals, their fabula sequences are related polemically and are nested with concatenating sequences: Petubastis attempts to negotiate with Pami; Pami tries successfully to overcome his fear of battle; and Pami finally defeats Wertepamunniut (fighting alongside Petechons). The interrelationship between the two parts of the plot towards the end is difficult to represent schematically here. The unexpected interference of Montubaal and Minnemmei present challenges to Petubastis and can be represented as its own concatenating group of nested sequences. At the same time, Pami's victory over Wertepamunniut ensures that he is alive to receive the armor that Petubastis agrees to surrender over, to quell Montubaal.

Figure 7: The fabula of *The Prebend of Amun* reconstructed


Petubastis seeking
the prebend of Amun
for Ankhhor
Petubastis trying to
defeat the Buto party
and save face
The priest of
Buto seeking
the prebend
Petbuastis trying
to obtain power
The Buto party
capture Ankhhor,
Wertepamunniut,
and the barge;
Defeat by Pami
and Petechons
Pami and
Petechons trying
to win back
respect
Pami and Petechons
confront Petubastis (?)

Finally, *The Prebend of Amun*, unsurprisingly, is much like *Armor* in its structural configuration (Figure 7). The polemical plot features coextensive sequences anchored by Petubastis versus Pami and Petechons who are attempting to win back respect after being wronged by the Petubastids. It is impossible to say how Petubastis's quest for the prebend of Amun is initiated; but since Petubastis ends up trying to save face when his authority is threatened by the Buto party and, (probably) finally, by the Inarids, it is likely that the reader would consider the fabula of the entire novella to be anchored on a general desire on his part to shore up his authority, not just over the Thebaid but likely over the rival Inarid clan. On Petubastis's side there are three concatenated sequences: the quest for the prebend of Amun, which is only temporarily successful, the struggle against the Buto party, which ends happily, but despite Petubastis's own efforts, and his ultimate conflict with the Inarids, of which there is nothing currently to say given the state of the manuscripts. It is possible that further complications in the fabula ensued. Finally, the schema in Figure 7 does not capture the unique, intricate relationship between, on the one hand, the Petubastids vs. the Buto party, and on the other, the Petubastids vs. the Inarids, which truly gives the polemic plot a threefold feel.

4.2.2. Interrelationships in the Fabula Structure

One possibility for how the component sequences of the fabulas in the Egyptian novellas can be brought together to form a unitary plot is by a single, underlying motivation. The most explicit example of this is in *Second Setna*, where, at the novella's end, Si-Osire reveals himself to be the ancient sorcerer Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf who featured in the story he just finished reading (6.34-7.3). This revelation connects the two primary fabula sequences by making Setna and Meheweshke's desire to have a male son—real and truly motivated as it is—Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf's (or perhaps Osiris's) means to an end to defeat the revenant Cushite sorcerer.[58] A consequence of Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf's scheme to return to earth and vanish once his mission is accomplished is that Setna and Meheweshke's desired end is no longer achieved (they lose their son), but this unhappy ending for the couple is itself overturned (quickly!) in the denouement with the miraculous birth of a second son, conceived the same day as the dramatic events in the court (7.8-11). This second son is implied to be the future pharaoh, a fact which serves to keep the two parts of the fabula from collapsing into each other: Setna and Meheweshke's desire for a son was real and seriously motivated, and its realization had an effect in the world beyond being a means to an end.

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[58] This revelation of Si-Osire should be compared in its scope to the revelation of Raphael at the end of *Tobit*.

The overarching unity of the primary fabula sequences of *Second Setna* is effected by means of a plot device given dramatic expression in Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf's revelation. This differs from the other three novellas, in which the integrating principle is based on the ways that readers would have connected the two primary fabula sequences to a deeper principle springing from or closely connected to the motivation of a character and the way it initiates and interacts with the motivation of another. This follows from how the coextensive, all-encompassing fabula sequences are structured polemically in the plot. This is not always completely evident and requires some informed (but ultimately speculative) reconstruction because of their state of preservation, especially in their beginnings. In my discussion of *First Setna* above, I proposed, based especially on Ihweret's response to Setna's theft of the scroll of Thoth, and in comparison with other Setna stories, that Naneferkaptah and Ihweret may have been responsible for Setna finding out about the scroll in the first place as a way to lure him into the tomb and agree to rebury the family together. This would mean that Setna's motivation for obtaining the scroll in the story, and the powers it would give him as a result, derives substantially from someone else, and is not his own. On the other hand, there is a weight to the fabula sequence of the quest for the scroll, not only in its reality (as opposed to the Tabubue incident) but in the general appropriateness of the character of Setna Khaemwas searching for a scroll, apparent in the general association of the legendary figure with magic and antiquarianism.[59]

Turning to both *Armor* and *Prebend*, a similar method of grounding of plot unity in well-known facts or tropes associated with a literary character can be seen in Petubastis. Thus, while the role of the divine council and the demons of Osiris in *Armor* is a clear unifying motivation for the two fabula sequences in *Armor*, Petubastis's relative weakness as a pharaoh is a basis as well, and probably led in some way to the decision of the divine council in the first place. This manifests itself in his stated wish to avoid strife in his reign, for whatever particular reason that may have been, as well as in his ultimate inability to promote peace among his people and the Inarids. Similarly, in *Prebend*, the difficulties that Petubastis finds himself in at Thebes and his alienation of the Inarids are both related to his general inability to exert control, leaving him at the mercy of actors like Djedhor, as well as more susceptible to the harm caused by bad luck. The convergence of both sides of the plot around the pitiable character of Petubastis is represented nicely in his lament after the capture of Ankhhor and the barge, where with great dismay he cries out, in so many words, how foolish he will look in Pami and Petechons's eyes (5.16ff).[60] Several dramatic moments in both of the Petubastis novellas revolve around Petubastis's emotional nature, such as his laments when his people are defeated in *Prebend*

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[59] The name "Setna," as is well known, is based on the word *sm*, a priestly title. For a thorough discussion of the typecast nature of Setna Khaemwas, and the possibility of other characters in Demotic literature who are not Setna Khaemwas but who are called "Setne" or "Setme," see Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 27–28, 35–40. See also Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 247–48.

[60] For more discussion of this important speech, see p. 354ff.

(5.17-21; 9.11-23) or his repeated appeals for calmness in *Armor* (e.g. 9.20-26; 17.7-20; 22.30-23.2). In these speeches, Petubastis draws attention to himself, and, in the latter example from *Prebend*, gives a humorous window into the thoughts of someone who is only just realizing the gravity of the situation.[61] The notoriety of Petubastis's flaws as a character is even mentioned by a character in *Prebend,* when Petechons complains how Petubastis never includes him in affairs of state (13.14ff). It is likely, then, that a reader of the Petubastis novellas would associate both sides of the plots together around the character of the pharaoh, just as they would in *First Setna*, cognizant of the themes associated with the character of Setna Khaemwas. To put it more generally, the coextensive fabula sequences in *Armor* and *Prebend* that relate polemically to Petubastis, though fully elaborated and of great interest as story, ultimately serve to create story *about* Petubastis.

Besides an all-encompassing motivation, the fabula sequences of the novella plots find a more concrete and experiential basis of unity in the way in which the primary sequences interact and bring the plots of the novellas to their end. Much like the Judean novellas, which culminate in the confrontation of a real, external threat, the Egyptian novellas, despite having extensive and relatively separate fabula sequences, see them finding their resolution (whether in success or failure) in a single chain of events based on protagonists acting in response to the most pressing function A/a, either in the form of a tangible threat or in order to obtain a desired object.

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[61] In his lament after the capture of Wertepamunniut (9.11-23), the final words Petubastis speaks do not comprise a complete sentence, stopping short of any predicate: *Jmn pꜣ nṯr-ꜥꜣ nt ḥr pr jmnṱ n šmꜥ nt wbꜣ Njw.t jw bn-pw⸗w dj.t jr⸗f ṯꜣy-jr r Njw.t*, "Amun the great god, who is in western Upper Egypt which is across from Thebes, not having been allowed to cross over to Thebes…" The *jw* before *bn-pw⸗w dj.t jr⸗f ṯꜣy-jr* (a negative past construction) is circumstantial. This usage can be translated "without having" (Janet H. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 38 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2004), 128; cf. *Setne 1*, 5.18 and *'Onchsheshonqy* 3.21-22), but is found following a main clause. The phrase *Jmn pꜣ nṯr-ꜥꜣ nt ḥr pr jmnṱ n šmꜥ nt wbꜣ Njw.t* is a mere nominal phrase. What this all means for Petubastis is left unstated by him (whether because he was unable to finish speaking, interrupted by Djedhor, or because he simply trailed off), but his awareness of the implications for his own position are clear. It is as if Petubastis is thinking out loud, or even realizing the gravity of the situation as he is speaking.

In *First Setna*, the encounter with Tabubue brings both primary fabula sequences to their conclusions. By hexing Setna and humiliating him, Naneferkaptah forces Setna to return the scroll in shame and to be willing to help him rebury his family; in other words, the failure of Setna's quest for the scroll leads to the success of Naneferkaptah's attempt to have his family buried with him.

In *Second Setna*, the triumph of Si-Osire/Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf and of Setna, which includes the lengthy narration of the story on the sealed scroll, takes place in a single scene at pharaoh's court. By using the device of emboxment (discussed below), a remarkable amount of storytelling ground—reaching back generations and, at its conclusion, casting the entire plot in a new light—is covered. The aftermath of Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf's dramatic revelation and vanishing after the conclusion of his quest (still in the same scene!) threatens to undo Setna and Meheweshke's desire for a son and makes up for it in quick succession. There is also significant pathos involved: earlier, Setna was elated when he brought his son to the court once he discovered he could read unrolled scrolls (3.23); but immediately after the deed is accomplished, Setna's earlier elation becomes profound sadness at the sudden loss of his beloved son (cf. 7.7, as well as, earlier, 2.25-26).

In *Armor*, the protracted build-up to the conflict between the two sides pays off in the dramatic scene where, after Petubastis surrenders the armor to satisfy Montubaal, the lives of both Wertepamunniut and Ankhhor his son are saved, thus simultaneously fulfilling Pami's desire to obtain the armor and, though not without some loss, allowing Petubastis to avoid total chaos and strife. Yet the need for Petubastis to compromise even more to stem the violence caused by Minnemmei, who appears right as Petubastis is giving thanks for the conflict's end, and to yield his authority to Paklul, leads to Petubastis not only losing men (those of Djedhor who are killed by Minnemmei and his men) and an emblem of his allies (the armor of Wertepamunniut's father), but to have the strife which he had hoped to avoid recorded for posterity on a stele, as the (unfortunately quite fragmentary) final lines attest (see 25.34ff).

Finally, *Prebend* presents a challenge, since the expected resolution of the tensions of the plot, and thus the collision of the two primary fabula sequences in the defeat of the Buto party, is not preserved.[62] The integrating function of the cult image of Amun and the interruption of the festival by the Buto party, however, is obvious. The promised rescue of Amun by Pami and Petechons (known to happen, it should be reminded, because of the oracle; see 10.22-11.6) is what brings the two primary fabula sequences together. If the barge is recaptured, that means both that Ankhhor and Wertepamunniut will have been rescued, and that Petubastis will have been "shown up" by Pami and Petechons. Also, it should be emphasized that the exposure of Amun caused by Petubastis's ineptitude, and the reason why the Inarids come to Thebes in the first place, is itself a major source of tension. Although Petubastis hopes to escape with as much dignity as possible, or, in one possible reading, to try against all odds (and contravening the oracle!) to use Minnemmei to try and save face and avoid being confronted by Pami and Petechons, he also has a concrete obstacle to overcome: the return of the cult image of Amun to Karnak. It is likely that he will compromise his authority—like he did at the end of *Armor*!—to ensure that this happens.

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[62] For a proposed reconstruction of the story, including its ending, see p. 281ff.

While the capture of the barge looms large, the ultimate risk is the exposure of the cult image of Amun to the elements: unable to return in a timely fashion, and under the proper ritual protocol and protection, to Karnak, the cult image is exposed to natural as well as cosmic damage. The concern about Amun's state is evident first of all in the sail of byssos used to cover the cult image while it (and the lector priests bearing the palanquin?) waits on the quay.[63] More telling is Pekrur's letter to Petechons, which focuses on the exposure of Amun to convince Petechons to fetch Pami and come to Thebes to help. The central importance in the plot of this risk is underscored in the slightly expanded version of Pekrur's letter found in a version of *Prebend* from Tebtunis, P. Carlsberg 433, y+1.21-24 (cf. P. Spiegelberg 12.23-13.4).[64] The Tebtunis version of the letter follows the basic structure of the one in P. Spiegelberg: after the address, Pekrur/Paklul urges Petechons to stop eating and hurry to Thebes along with Pami, only then explaining why, mentioning Pharaoh first, then Amun, then Ankhhor and Wertepamunniut. Both versions "bury the lede" by giving the reason why Pekrur/Pakul is writing only later; they also both end with a similarly worded plea. None of the components of the letter in P. Spiegelberg are missing; yet more specification is added in the later version, specification which emphasizes the gravity of exposing Amun.[65] Compared to P. Spiegelberg, Paklul paints a more vivid picture in P. Carlsberg 433 of the damage that will be incurred if Amun is not returned to Karnak. This is for rhetorical purposes: Paklul wants Petechons to fear the worst when it comes to what could happen to the bark. In P. Spiegelberg, Pekrur urges Petechons to hurry before the *ẖy* "light (of dawn)" and *yty* "dew" come. This alludes to the dew collecting on the processional bark of Amun if it were to be left in the open air overnight, despite it being under a canvas awning (cf. 6.9-11). Not merely a threat of cosmetic damage, dew was considered by the Egyptians to be a bearer of plague, associated with Sakhmet.[66] The version of P. Carlsberg 433 expands the threat: not only dew, but *gsm* "tempest," *ḥw n p*(*t*) "rainstorm," and *šft*, which could mean "terror"[67] (likely in *status constructus* with a following noun) or, continuing the meteorological theme, "swelling," referring plausibly to the flooding of the Nile.[68] Storms and rain, like dew, also can connote the manifestation of divine power (*bꜣ.w*).[69]

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[63] Petubastis asks Amun in an oracle if he should "bring a stand (*sḥtp*) for you to rest upon" and "set up a sail of byssos above you" (6.5), and Amun ("in a quick movement," *n wꜥt tks.t jw⸗s js*) nods "Yes!" It is odd that Petubastis had to ask permission to do this, and did not do so of his own accord.

[64] See Tait, "P. Carlsberg 433 and 434," 68–69.

[65] Some of these clarify the picture implied by the letter or make it make better sense. Paklul asks Petechons to read the letter after urging him to stop eating (y+1.18), which must refer to him reading it to his men or to Paimi. This comes before, or even replaces, Pekrur's urge in P. Spiegelberg (12.18-19) to cease drinking. There then follows an explicit request to "[come] south to Thebes" (y+1.19), something that does not occur until later in the later in P. Spiegelberg (12.22).

4.2.3. Subplots and Episodes

The Egyptian novellas, like the Judean novellas, appear to contain few obvious digressive features. There is not much evidence for subplots in a strict sense of the word, with fully elaborated fabula sequences, which give incidental background information about a main protagonist or are otherwise embedded in the plot.[70] The role of the statue of Montu in *Prebend* could conceivably be included in the beginning of the novella as a subplot, functioning ultimately as a device to give Petubastis a way, or excuse, to travel to Thebes and negotiate the transfer of the Prebend. It is possible that the discovery of the statue, or other incidents associated with it, where narrated in their own episode, leading to Petubastis being informed about its existence, and to the decision (perhaps instigated by Djedhor) to bring it back to Karnak. It is also possible that a subplot was created around the statue of Montu which consisted, as I suggested, of the need to stop in Heliopolis, a stop which, it turns out, is not digressive but which leads to one of the novella's central conflicts.

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[66] Sakhmet is called *Nb.t-jdw*, "Lady of plague" in *Eloquent Peasant* B1.150 and is associated with a "plague year" (*rnp.t jdw*) in *Sinuhe* B.44-45. For *idw* meaning "plague," a word clearly related to *jꜣd.t* "dew," see *Wb* I, 13-15; for Sakhmet, see Philippe Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, Aegyptiaca Helvetica 9 (Genève: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1981), 286–309. Cf. also Ritner, "Innovations and Adaptations in Ancient Egyptian Medicine," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 59, no. 2 (2000): 112, suggesting that instructions in medical texts (e.g. P. Ebers no. 399) to leave concoctions outside overnight in order for them to be bedewed was to harness energy to protect against plague. Ritner offers the translation "humid night air" for *jꜣd.t*. Cp. Hippocrates's description of fever-causing *miasma* in *Breaths* 6 (James Longrigg, *Greek Medicine from the Heroic to the Hellenistic Age: A Source Book* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 124–25). The word *jꜣd.t* meaning "pestilence, impurity, germs" is attested at Edfu (*PL* 39).

[67] *Wb.* 4, 457.2-459.7; *DG* 504.6.

[68] *Wb.* 4, 455.8-11; this use is attested at Edfu (*PL* 1002).

[69] See Robert K. Ritner and Nadine Moeller, "The Ahmose 'Tempest Stela', Thera and Comparative Chronology," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 73, no. 1 (2014): 7–8.

There are a few examples of distinct episodes that are not tightly integrated into the main plot. The use of digressive episodes should be distinguished from the overall modular structure or tendency that the plots of the novellas evince, which seems to be a principle of (circumscribed) complication and which I will discuss below. Examples of this modular structure include the frequent use of emboxment (i.e. stories-within-stories) as well as set pieces with distinct features that are naturally set apart from their surrounding. Aside from these special cases, there are but few strong candidates for distinct episodes with digressive features. Perhaps the example with the most potential is the incident with the scribe of the god's book in *Armor* (1.11ff). While digressive and separable in one sense, the effect of the episode on the plot as a whole—that is, on the reader's assessment of the plot—is nevertheless major. Its distinction from the main plot content-wise is clear: the scribe who is the protagonist of this episode does not appear elsewhere in the novella, and the incident contained therein is likely not mentioned again after Petubastis buries him. Much like the Vashti episode in *Esther*, the incident is found at or near the beginning of the novella and develops into, or contributes to, a main storyline. As argued above,[71] the incident itself does not cause the conflict Petubastis faces, but is a dramatic way for him to find out it is immanent. In this way, then, the episode of the scribe is not necessary for advancing the plot content-wise, but contributes to the narrator's origination of the tension building throughout the rest of the novella surrounding Petubastis's attempts to make peace. All of Petubastis's actions can be cast in light of the divine council that the scribe caught a forbidden glimpse of: strife is divinely destined, and the reader beholds the character Petubastis foolishly trying to avoid it while simultaneously knowing its origin. In many ways, the Petubastis of *Armor* is like the Petubastis of *Prebend* who seems to think that Minnemmei can save him, despite knowing that Amun decreed Pami and Petechons will.

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[70] It should be noted that subplots in the Judean novellas are by and large found in the beginnings, which are not well preserved for the Egyptian novellas.

4.3. Plot Dynamics

4.3.1. Turning Points and Climaxes

Recalling that one can speak of the climax of a plot both in terms of the fabula, where a sequence of events brings to its most decisive point, as well as in terms of narration or *sjuzhet*,[72] using different storytelling strategies to heighten expectation and convey the magnitude of an incident, a careful look at the Egyptian novellas show examples of both kinds, and not always coinciding. Furthermore, if with the Judean novellas a crucial part of the storytelling art was the use of anti- and false climaxes, a clear marker of the plots of the Egyptian novellas as a whole is the use of multiple climaxes as well as turning points in each novella. All have at least two, but one (*Prebend*), though only part of the turning points and climaxes are preserved, may have had more.

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[71] See p. 438ff.

[72] See p. 53ff.

4.3.1.1. First Setna

In *First Setna*, the first climax the reader encounters is Setna's daring escape from Naneferkaptah's tomb. This quickly follows a turning point, when Setna, buried up to his ears by Naneferkaptah after losing a third game in a row (4.30), sends Inaros for his amulets of Ptah and magical scrolls (4.31-32), likely what he believes to be his only way out. There are two major effects of the quick way that the turning point leads to the climax, yielding one of the most entertaining and exciting action scenes in all the novellas. First, Setna's position gets worse and worse without there being an apparent turning of the tide; although his ongoing defeat by Naneferkaptah is presented as comedy, he is still in dire straits without an apparent way out. As soon as the way out becomes a possibility, that is, at the turning point, Setna is successful; this is made possible by the narrator quickly and summarily recounting Inaros's mission, even though it involves traveling to the palace, filling in the pharaoh, and having him agree to allow Setna to use the amulets and scrolls (4.32-33). The second effect of the quick transition is the excitement that it lends the scene: as soon as Inaros returns and Setna holds the magical objects, he "flew up towards the sky that very moment”[73] and, at the same time, “reached out his hand for the scroll and grabbed it” (4.33).[74] The reader is perhaps surprised that Setna manages not only to escape by means of his magic, but to steal the scroll in one fell swoop.

The second turning point and climax in *First Setna* is found in the Ihweret episode, when Setna snaps out of his hallucination with a start as soon as he finally lays down with Tabubue to have sex (5.3). The climax is particularly marked, having been built up slowly since the moment that Setna is awestruck at the sight of her on the dromos (4.38-39), a moment that could rightfully be called a turning point, as it is the first step in a steady build towards what Setna thinks to be sex, but which the reader likely knows to be a trick by Naneferkaptah. As in the earlier climax in the tomb of Naneferkaptah, this climax takes place as the culmination of three immediate, distinct steps towards the goal: like the three games that Setna lost to Naneferkatpah, Setna assents three times to increasingly harsh terms in order to finally sleep with Ihweret. As the terms grow ever stringent, culminating eventually with him consigning his children to death (5.25-27)—presented as the ultimate guarantee for Tabubue that his descendants will not contest her ownership of the property that Setna agreed to hand over to her—the reader’s sense of the coming climax is heightened. It is reached and over as quickly as the previous, the narrator again relying on vivid and briskly-paced narration: “Just as she opened her mouth towards the ground in a loud scream, so did Setna awake in a heated state…” (5.29-30).[75] The narrator does not state overtly why Tabubue screams in this way. Vinson notes that Tabubue's scream is not, contrary to the normal use of the formula, one of dismay or shock, but is the "terrifying shriek of a ghost,"[76] implying that the purpose was to instill sheer terror in Setna, possibly even a fear of immanent death.[77] Another possibility, which would avoid having to ascribe a unique meaning to this stock phrase in Demotic literature, is to take Tabubue's scream as a horrified reaction to Setna touching her sexually, since she screams as soon he does this (5.29). Even before the narrator reports that Setna awoke with the entire encounter having been a hallucination, the climactic scream signifies that the long sequence building up to that moment was in fact a ruse, and that Tabubue was not as she seemed to Setna,[78] although, for the reader, it is likely that there was never any question that Setna would actually have sex with Tabubue.[79] This rather terrifying image starkly contrasts with the humorous depiction of Setna awaking naked and exposed in a public space[80] and in a compromising situation.[81]

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[73] *py⸗f r tꜣ p(.t) jn pꜣ nw n rn⸗f.*

[74] *tj štne šm ḏr.ṱ⸗f m-sꜣ pꜣ ḏmꜥ ṯ⸗f s*

[75] *r-r⸗s wn⸗s rꜣ⸗s r pꜣ {pꜣ} jtn n wꜥ sgpe ꜥꜣ r-ỉr stne nhse jw⸗f ẖn wꜥ.t s.t ḫrꜣ.t*. For the *Wechselsatz* in Demotic, see Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System*, 76 Note, however, that for *First Setna* 5.29-30, Johnson (ibid., 72) takes the sentence *r-ir stne nhs…* separately from the preceding as containing a standard emphatic construction, emphasizing the circumstantial clause *jw⸗f ẖn wꜥ.t s.t ḫrꜣ.t* etc. Although the prepositional phrase *r pꜣ jtn* in the first clause could be emphasized by the second tense verb *r-jr⸗s*, it seems more likely that the second tense would be used rather to coordinate these two events (Tabubue’s scream and Setna’s coming to) than to emphasize a prepositional

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phrase in a well-known narrative formula in Demotic narrative (see Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 181 for examples).

[76] Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 170.

[77] For the association of screaming with death, cf. the name *mw.t-m-ḥr⸗f-sbḥ-ḳ(ꜣ)* ("Death-in-his-face-screaming-loudly") given to a demon in the Edfu Horus myth (see Edfu VI, 78.1; A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II. C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies a Sacred Drama (Continued)," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 29 (1943): 17).

[78] As Vinson argues, Tabubue, whose name means "She of the shining one," likely evoked to the ideal reader of *First Setna* the "violent and punishing" aspect of the Distant Goddess (who is associated with the Eye of Re) as well as the "threatening and sexual" aspects of Isis (Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 254, 272), as opposed to Ihweret, who represents the creative, protecting, and maternal side of these goddesses. This leads Vinson to suggest that Tabubue could be an apparition of Ihweret, which accords very well with the different roles that Naneferkaptah seems to play in disguise (ibid., 272).

[79] For the clues that the Tabubue episode was not what it seems, and was bound to end in diaster for Setna, see p. 369ff.

[80] Setna has been hallucinating, although it is not said when this began; this is part of the narrative art of this scene: the story passes from reality to a dream-state without any notice. The setting of Setna's awaking is not described explicitly, but it must have been a public space and somewhere large enough for a royal procession (5.31). It is likely, then, that he had not moved from the place where he first saw (or thought he saw) Tabubue, on the dromos (see 4.38). This would add an entertaining and ironic level to Setna's lovestruck inability to "know the earth on which he was" (5.1) when seeing her for the first time.

[81] For the meaning of the *šḥyꜣ(.t)* (chamberpot?) that Setna's penis is inside, see Ritner in *AEL* 466n38 and

The climax with Tabubue is the last truly climactic narrative moment of the novella in the full sense. Nevertheless, the final outstanding tension has not yet been resolved: Ihweret and Merib still need to be reburied. Despite this, the ensuing narrative has the general feel of a denouement, initially being a period of decompression from, or processing, the events with Tabubue, discussing what happened with pharaoh (likely Naneferkaptah in disguise) and being reunited with his children. Setna never outright states that he intends to bring the scroll back, but his return to the tomb of Naneferkaptah in the same protective posture as promised[82] implies it. The return to the tomb, and the implicit willingness to cooperate with Naneferkaptah, comes across like a final turning point towards resolving the final outstanding tension of the plot. The laughter of Naneferkaptah (5.39-6.1) accentuates this. Even though there is a bit of complication in the final scene, with Setna unable to locate the tomb and requiring the help (unbeknownst to him) of Naneferkaptah disguised as an old man, and the interesting complication of the need to excavate out the tomb under the house of a chief of police, there is no palpable tension conveyed; moreover, the reburial itself (6.19-20) is narrated summarily, with no final look at the reunited family. In fact, the ending scene with the mummies of the reunited family is obscured completely by a *ḥsys* "mist" caused either by Naneferkaptah or by one of Pharaoh's magicians.[83] The conclusion of the novella and the climax associated with the completion of the primary fabula sequence concerning Naneferkaptah thus contrasts strongly with the earlier climaxes in the

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Vinson, "Ten Notes on the First Tale of Setne Khaemwas," 461–66, who argues in support of Ritner's reading (originally suggested by Maspero), in part, by comparing other depictions and references of pots used during sexual acts, especially in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*. Another attractive interpretation is that it is a "puddle of mud" (see Lorton, "The Expression Iri Hrw Nfr," 30n19, with further discussion in Vinson, "Ten Notes on the First Tale of Setne Khaemwas," 462n72).

[82] For the meaning of the forked stick and the fiery brazier, see p.367 with n.132.

[83] See Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 175.

novella, as well as, as I will show below, with the tangible excitement associated with climaxes in the other novellas.

These two vivid examples of climaxes contrast with the emboxed story told by Ihweret, which does not appear to have a climactic scene inflected as such. A potential candidate is Naneferkaptah's recovery of the scroll of Thoth after overcoming a series of arduous obstacles (3.29-3.35), when he had to divide the waters of the Nile, defeat a comically large amount of serpents, scorpions, and other creepy-crawlies[84] as well as an ouroborous-like Eternal Serpent (after three tries), and, finally, open a series of six nested chests of different materials (3.30-35). Yet, while these sound like exciting and dangerous feats and could make a fine climax to a story about the quest for a magical scroll, they are in fact narrated at a steady pace with little flair by Ihweret, moving quickly through these feats in long series of standard, initial *sḏm⸗f* narrative clauses.[85] Even the actual discovery of the scroll, after finally opening the sixth, golden chest, is narrated plainly, even anticlimactically, after the fashion of all the earlier clauses (3.35). While a string of *sḏm⸗f* clauses can be used for exciting, vivid narration, as in the first battle scene in *Prebend* (3.21-4.6), here, despite the theoretically exciting narrative prospect of Naneferkaptah's trials, they only combine to make a panoramic overview, unlike the battle scene in *Prebend*, which is narrated scenically. Nor does Ihweret infuse her narration with any stretches of vivid description or elaboration, the lack of which is almost jarring given the outrageous kinds of protection the scroll of Thoth is given, not in the least of which is the "*schoinos*" of dangerous creatures protecting it underwater. The defeat of the Eternal Serpent after three tries is narrated as perfunctorily as Naneferkaptah's opening (without any apparent struggle) of the six chests containing the scroll. Even though Ihweret embeds internally focalized stretches of narration,[86] the narration lacks the more vivid second tense, found, for example, at the end of her narration, when the people of Memphis see Naneferkaptah's body clinging to the boat's steering oar (4.23).[87] Finally, an overall routine feel to the narration is effected by the straightforward correspondence of the obstacles encountered by Naneferkaptah with the description of the same (though encountered in the reverse order) by the old priest (3.17-3.20), although Naneferkaptah is not told by the old priest *how* to obtain the scroll, just where it is and what obstacles await.

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[84] The scroll is protected by a "*schoinos*" (according to Ritner in *AEL* 457n8, approximately 10.5 km) of these creatures (3.30-31): a comical exaggeration.

[85] The series begins with a second tense construction marking when he sees the Eternal Serpent in 3.31, emphasizing that he found the snake "on the coffer in which the scroll was" (*n pꜣ ḳte n tꜣ tbe.t n rn⸗s*).

A good explanation for the neutral, even anticlimactic nature of Ihweret's narration of Naneferkaptah's discovery of the scroll does not lie in stylistic choice but in the necessity of plot: Naneferkaptah's discovery leads to a crisis, Thoth's discovery of his theft, the effects of which neither Naneferkaptah nor Ihweret can overcome.[88] Thoth's discovery leads to a new fabula sequence, his pursuit of and punishment of Naneferkaptah and family. The result is the establishment of the function A of the primary fabula sequence concerning the separation of Naneferkaptah's family, which precedes, as far as we can tell, the events of the novella's narrative present, assuming Naneferkaptah and Ihweret were introduced for the first time when Setna discovered, or set out in search for, the former's tomb. Thus, the events that happened to

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[86] Vinson describes this as double or sequential focalization: the narrator, first, presents the events from an external perspective, but then narrates the details focalizing internally from the character who is involved in the events; Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 229.

[87] See Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 252.

[88] This also explains why Nanerkaptah and Ihweret's first use of the scroll (3.35-4.3), following the scroll's anticlimactic discovery, is given the same, straightforward style of narration: it too leads to Thoth's discovery.

Nanefekaptah do not themselves climax in anyway, because they are a prerequisite for the exciting story to come.

4.3.1.2. Second Setna

Like *First Setna*, *Second Setna* has two climaxes (and turning points that lead to each), but differs in the way that one of the climaxes (the first) is found in an emboxed story. In the story written on the scroll that Si-Osire reads without unrolling (beginning in 3.31), the story climaxes in the defeat of Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman by Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf. After a back-and-forth of enchantments, the former attempted to vanish through magic, but the latter used magic to prevent this, revealing him before everyone in the form of an “evil” or perhaps “useless bird” (*jpt bn*;[89] 6.23-24):

> *ꜥš ḥr-sꜣ-pꜣ-nše sẖ r.r⸗f tw⸗f ḳdy tꜣ ꜣt.t r wn wꜥ grg ꜥḥꜥ n tꜣy⸗f ry.t-ḥry.t jw tꜣy⸗f sfy.t tks.t (n-)ḏr(.t).ḫ⸗f jw⸗f jn-nꜥ.k jw jr n⸗f btw*

Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf recited a spell against him. He made (his) back turn, with a

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[89] See Hoffmann, “Einige Bemerkungen Zur Zweiten Setnegeschichte,” 13–14, who argues that “bad” signifies a vermin-like animal that has no inherent usefulness in a ritual context, but merely dirties everything up. Hoffmann then takes this to mean that the Cushite sorcerer is described thus because of the evil he sought to do against the pharaoh; he notes that his mother, who also is turned into a bird, is not described as *bn*, suggesting it was because she did not herself take part in it. Taking another approach, and noting that Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf is responsible for Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman taking the form of a bird (as is clear in 6.22-23), we might translate *bn* here as “useless,” and suppose that the sorcerer was made to take that form because of the very uselessness of his magic, as had just been fully demonstrated. In other words, insult was added to injury. The use of the cognate phrase *ꜣpd bi҆n* for useless and unclean birds in the New Kingdom P. Lansing, cited by Hoffmann, supports this.

> fowler standing above him, a sharp knife[90] in his hand, about to execute him."[91]

Previously (6.21), the foe realized that his magic could not best Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf's, and consequently attempted to make himself invisible so that he could flee back to Cush—the turning point. This scene both presents the climax of the conflict between pharaoh and pharaohs sorcerers and the Cushites, a conflict that began at the very beginning of the story read aloud by Si-Osire, and also, in its denouement, prepares for a new phase: the reappearance of Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman.[92] Like the climax of Setna's awakening, the near-death and powerlessness of Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman is presented as a cumulative act (the long-hoped for copulation; the slaying of the sorcerer in the form of a bird) on the verge of happening. The narrator in *Second Setna* paints this vividly using three subordinate clauses describing the fowler and what he is about to do.[93] The climax rests on a striking image: a fowler, apparently in the flesh and blood and conjured out of nowhere, pinning the sorcerer (whom Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf turned into a bird) and about to kill it. Besides demonstrating Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf's mastery of magic and his creativity, the fowler on the verge of killing a bird would be rife with associations for the Egyptian audience: birds symbolized the chaotic aspect of the world that needs to be controlled, and thus could stand in for the enemies of the pharaoh[94] and of the revered deceased, with dead geese and ducks frequently offered (virtually or otherwise) at tombs.[95] Here at the (first) climax of *Second Setna*, it seems that a net, which would have been used to trap the bird in the first place, was not needed: the fowler is magically enabled to have immediate control over the bird, and is on the verge here of killing it, probably by cutting off its head. The implied author likely opted not to depict the trapping of the bird in favor of more dramatically representing the fowler about to kill it.

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[90] Cf. Ritner in *AEL* 487. *tks.t* is only attested here in Demotic, but cf. Coptic ⲧⲱⲕⲥ "be pierced" (*CD* 406b; see also *DG* 660, *Wb.* 5, 331, 2 and *PL* 1154). It appears to be a noun, just like *sfy.t*; Coptic has a noun ⲧⲁϩ from the same root which means "molar," i.e. something that pierces (*CD* 407a, although molars do not properly pierce, but grind). The nouns *sfy.t* and *tks.t* can be read in apposition; Wilhelm Spiegelberg, Demotische Grammatik (Heidelberg: C. Winters, 1925), §50 notes that the second noun in an appositive pair clarifies or specifies the first. Why name two kinds of knife? The possibility should be entertained that the phrase is a doublet. Could *sfy.t* have been added, even mistakenly through conflation, as a more common synonym of the rare word *tks.t* (which it is)? For doublets created by the conflation of a marginal comment with the main text at Qumran and in the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible, see Shemaryahu Talmon, Text and Canon of the Hebrew Bible: Collected Studies (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 217–67 and Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 225–26.

[91] Lit. "about to commit a crime," or perhaps "abomination"; the two words are related and are spelled similarly. This phrase is found also in 4.4 and 4.6. For *ir btw* as an idiom meaning "execute" or "inflict (capital) punishment," see Quack and Ryholt, "Notes on the Setne Story P. Carlsberg 207," 149, with parallels cited there; note esp. *First Setna* 5.27 and 6.15. Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 175 suggests that the idiom is based on an older formal vow (which can found in the Tomb Robbery Papyri) that swears punishment on oneself should one be proven wrong; this idiom is in fact used within a vow in *First Setna* 6.15.

[92] After the foe is effectively neutralized and on the verge of defeat and death, as his mother promised earlier, a series of "signs" (6.3) appear in Cush, beckoning her to come to her son's aid. When she appears in the pharaoh's court to rescue her son in the form of a goose, Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf notices and pins her down in the same way as he did Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman. She then pleads for her life in her own form, and after promising not to return to Egypt for 1,500 years, they are released, and the story ends.

[93] For the combination of a narrative past *sḏm⸗f* clause with circumstantial clauses of description used to narrate a important event, cf. Setna's escape from the tomb in *First Setna* 4.33-34 (discussed in Richard Jasnow,

The second climax of *Second Setna* follows quickly upon the first, although it should be noted that the audience did not know what would happen after Si-Osire stopped reading from the narrative scroll, perhaps expecting the story to continue for some time. Earlier, the Cushite

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"'Through Demotic Eyes': On Style and Description in Demotic Narratives," in *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor* (Le Caire: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Egypte, 2007), 435).

[94] See Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 160–61, citing this passage in *Second Setna*. At Edfu, the king is represented as hunting birds; see Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu*, 192–96. For the accompanying relief depicting the king capturing birds with a net, assisted by Horus, Chnum, and Thoth, and offering them to , see ibid., Taf. 62 (Edfu X, Taf. CXLV). The not only contains birds, but wild animals and bound prisoners, making quite clear the intended symbolism.

[95] Cf. the famous scene of decapitated geese in the tomb of Horemhab (TT 78; Annelies Brack and Artut Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab: Theben Nr. 78*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo 35 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1980), pl. 69) and the Old Kingdom limestone model knife with severed goose head in the Oriental Institute Museum (OIM E10644; Rozenn Bailleul-LeSeur, *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*, Oriental Institute Museum Publications 35 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2012), 208, no. 38). The knowledge of how to trap different kinds of birds is also envisioned as part of the soul's repertoire in the afterlife (see CT VI, 22a-23e; Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1973), 2:112-114), symbolizing their control over destructive agents of chaos.

sorcerer promised that he would “take the humiliation of Egypt to the land of Nubia”[96] if nobody could read the unrolled scroll. Initially coming across as a vague threat, although much is made clear in hindsight about the Cushite sorcerer’s plans, the reader likely expects there to be a lengthy confrontation between him and Si-Osire. Instead, Si-Osire dramatically reveals his identity and explains that he has come back to earth to defeat the returning sorcerer, just like was written in the story. Then, quickly afterward, the Cushite sorcerer is defeated without any resistance by him, burned alive by fire before everyone’s eyes (7.4); at the same moment, Si-Osire vanishes. The defeat of the Cushite sorcerer and the vanishing of Si-Osire represents not only the climax of the sorcerers’ conflict but of the entire novella, with its dual implications: Si-Osire’s identification with Horus-Son-of-the-Wolf also means that Setna and Meshwehet’s desire to have a son of their own is still unfulfilled. Despite its quick occurrence after the previous climax, and its short duration, this is presented as perhaps the most shocking or affecting climax in all of the Demotic novellas, enabled by a general focalization throughout the scene of the thunderous end to the conflict through the onlookers. The focalization is achieved by the repeated reference to the vision of Pharaoh, Setna, and the others[97] and by several references to their emotional state in the aftermath: the onlookers are “awestruck” at these events,[98] the pharaoh is said to be “shaken” (*n pꜣ sšme n ḥꜣty.ṱ*, 7.8[99]), and, finally, Setna, greatly disturbed at the loss of whom he thought was his son in an instant is said in the classic formula to “open his mouth in a loud scream when Si-Osire vanished as (or in?) a shadow” (7.7), echoing the language used earlier to describe the vanishing (7.5). The same formula is used in the second climax of *First Setna*. Another general factor adding to the dramatic presentation is the speediness with which the defeat of Horus-Son-of-the-Nubian-Woman happened: the defeat is quick and without any contest, and the narration of the aftermath lasts just as long.

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[96] *pꜣ ḏlḥ n kmy r pꜣ tꜣ n nḥs* (2.31). For the rare word *ḏlḥ*, cf Coptic ϫⲟⲗϩ “be smallest, least” (*CD* 769b), as well as its possible New Kingdom antecedent written in group writing, *ṯḥr*/*ṯrḥ*/*ṯlḥ* meaning something like “to mock, deride” (see James E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994),James E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), no. 553 For discussion, see Günter Vittmann, “Semitisches Sprachgut im Demotischen,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 86 (1996): 446–47 The phrase *ḏlḥn kmy* might better be translated “Egyptian humiliation,” that is, the sorcerer is alluding to something humiliating happening to Egypt.

[97] *i͗w pr-ꜥꜣ nw r.r⸗f i͗rm nꜣ ḥṯ̭.w i͗rm pꜣ mšꜥ n kmy…n.bn-pw⸗w nw r.r⸗f…i͗w bn-pw⸗f nw r.r⸗f* (“while Pharaoh, the nobles, and the throngs of Egypt watched him…with them not seeing him…with him (sc. Setna) not seeing him”).

[98] This is the same verbal construction, *jr myh(.t)*, used twice to describe Setna’s awestruck experience of

4.3.1.3. The Armor of Inaros

Discerning the turning points in *Armor* is complicated by the state of P. Krall. Nevertheless, a clear turning point and climax can be made out, followed by a second turning point that must lead to a second climax which, unfortunately, is not very well preserved. The first climax is the last-minute rescue of both Wertepamunniut and Ankhhor from defeat and, possibly, death, which follows closely upon the surrender of the armor of Inaros by Petubastis. The second climax, after the surprise turning point of Minnemmei’s arrival, theoretically occurs with the resolution of the slaughter caused by Minnemmei. Like *Second Setna*, these climaxes appear in relatively close succession.

Before the climax accompanying Petubastis’s surrender occurs, there is a near-climax in

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the underworld (2.9;, 26 cf. also 2.15).

[99] Ritner, *AEL* 489 renders it “faint-hearted.” Others render it “excited” (*ADL* 145, “in Herzenserregung”) or “angry” (Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 207). The word appears only here in Demotic, it seems, but has a clear Coptic cognate in the verb ⲥⲱϣⲙ, which can mean both “be hot” and “be faint, disheartened” (*CD* 377a). The idea here is that the pharaoh is disturbed by what he has seen; he would not be angry (his sorcerer won the contest and he avoided humiliation). Cf. earlier Eg. *šsm* (note the metathesis) denoting an ailment, perhaps soreness or redness, of the eyes (*Wb.* 4, 546.1; *WMT* 869). Griffith may have translated based on the earlier verb *sšmm* “to warm, heat” (cf. *WMT* 801).

the first battle between Pami and Wertepamunniut that sets the stage for what follows (beginning in 12.24). While this portion of the text is extremely fragmentary, enough can be reconstructed to get a good understanding of what is happening. A series of events that endangers Pami, which is he is able to overcome both by courage and by coincidence, and the possibility that Pami could win the armor of Inaros, incites the reader's expectation for an immanent climax:

1. Pami arrives to Gazelle Lake first, but Wertepamunniut and his allies arrive soon after. The latter challenges Pami before any of his own allies arrive. This distresses Pami and his servant Tjaynefer, who warn him to wait; Pami, however, finds the courage to accept Wertepamunniut's challenge, believing that the shame that his cowardice would bring upon him would be worse than death (12.22-24).
2. Once the battle between the two is immanent, Pami arms himself, described in a long and detailed scene (12.24-13.6(?)). The weight of the description rests on Pami's armor.
3. Pami and Wertepamunniut begin to fight somewhere in the first few lines of col. 14.[100] Much of the scene is broken, but it involved taunting (see 13.26-28). At some point, one of the fighters becomes desperate (see 14.1), apparently Pami, since he sends Tjaynefer his servant to watch for his allies at the river (14.2-4): it seems that he began to despair of making it out alive without help, even though, earlier, he had overcome his fears and went ahead with the duel anyway despite not having backup.
4. As soon as Tjaynefer reaches the Nile (14.4-5), a ship arrives. Its arrival is dramatically focalized through Tjaynefer (14.5ff) without he or the reader knowing who it is, stoking the hope that the Inarids have arrived. The ship and the massive fleet which it heads up is

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described in detail (14.5-11). It turns out, however, to be (as can be inferred from later, by necessity—the text is broekn) Ankhhor and his men; Pami is distraught as the duel continues, and seems to be on the verge of defeat (cf. 14.31).

5. Finally and miraculously, another ship arrives just afterwards, narrated in the same way as Ankhhor’s (14.32ff), and though the outcome is lost in the manuscript, it must have been Petechons, followed by the rest of the Inarids.[101]

While the ensuing narrative is extremely broken, by the end of col. 15 it appears that Pami has been inspired by Petechons’s arrival, leading to the tide turning in favor of him (see esp. 15.31-35). This may very well have been perceived to be a climax, but it is impossible to tell with the state of the manuscript. Nevertheless, something happens that causes the two agree to a truce (16.28).[102] It is possible that they realized that their combat skills were evenly matched.[103] Another factor is the growing conflict between Petechons and Ankhhor, who appear to be taunting each other and threatening to come to blows while Pami and Wertepamunniut begin to reach an agreement. Eventually, it appears to be mutually agreed upon to fetch Petubastis and to ensure that total chaos does not break out. Thus, instead of leading to a decisive moment when one of the main tensions of the plot (the possession of the armor of Inaros) would be resolved, or a final, definitive step in that direction taken, the crisis is postponed and the story shifts. While the matter of the armor still has not been resolved, Petubastis’s concern to avoid strife as much as

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[100] The lengthy scene where Pami arms ends midway through col. 13, followed by a much briefer arming scene of Wertepamunniut (13.18-23). The two meet at the battlefield (13.22-23) and begin to fight, where we read *jr⸗w ⌜qn⌝[qn n] pȝ s 2*, “The two men fought” (13.24).

[101] Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 47.

[102] *[t]i͗⸗w pꜣ wš n pꜣ [i͗]⌜n⌝nw i͗w⌜t⸗w⌝ n pꜣ s 2*, lit. “they put a pause of weapons between the both of them” (16.28). For this expression, cf. *Prebend* 16.10-11.

[103] Cf. Minnemei’s combat with the shepherd in *Prebend* 15.19-16.2.

he can takes center stage. Initially, he appears to be successful, meeting his first challenge of keeping Petechons from fighting with Ankhhor until the general terms of the contests are established (17.11-22). Paklul then arrives along with the rest of the Inarids, and the battle partners are then carefully assigned. A long description of the arriving Inarids and the assignment of battle partners, like earlier with the arming of Pami, heightens the expectation for when the battle will begin. It is also possible that the reader, knowing what is at stake for Petubastis, and seeing the careful balance of forces that he and Paklul ensured was the case, strongly suspects something to go awry for the pharaoh.

A series of climactic events happening in close succession, starting with Montubaal's entry into the battle through the exciting near-disastrous ends of Wertepamunniut and Ankhhor by all accounts seems to lead to the denouement of the novella. The turning point happens when Montubaal (a son of Inaros), who arrived unexpectedly, disobeys the order to stand watch at his ship with his men, lest he join the melee and tip the balance in favor of the Inarids. Unable to wait any longer because of a deep desire to take part in the action (see his prayer to Baal in 22.7-8), Montubaal enters the fray in a blaze of glory, causing enough damage that Petubastis and Paklul seek him out and beg him to stop. To convince him, Petubastis promises to have Inaros's armor returned to Heliopolis (21.30-22.2).[104] Immediately, the aftermath of the turning point of Montubaal's entry into the battle comes across rather anticlimactically: Pami's objective ends up being met without him actually being the one to make it happen. It turns out, however, that Pami was on the verge of defeating Wertepamunniut: Montubaal saves his life as he hurries to tell Pami that the armor has been surrendered, arriving as Pami “raised his hand, his sword intent on destroying” Wertepamunniut (23.8-9). This is a climactic event of the same kinetic nature as those of *First Setna* and *Second Setna*. Though Pami did not himself secure the return of the armor, had Montu not interrupted him, he would have vanquished Wertepamunniut and won the armor himself. The climactic scene continues with the rescue of Ankhhor from being killed by Petechons in a similar fashion amidst the shrieks of the bystanders (23.24-25). This time, Petubastis intervenes on behalf of his son. Afterwards, he prays in thanksgiving to Amun-Re 24.4-12). At this stage, though he was forced to surrender the armor, Petubastis appears to have avoided widespread strife and carnage.

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[104] Petubastis had offered this earlier, before the two armies assembled at Gazelle Lake, as a last-ditch effort to avoid strife; Wertepamunniut, however, refused, and Petubastis was not immediately willing to pressure Wertepamunniut (9.2-9.5), and even if he were Pami interjected right away and escalated the conflict, leading to the armed confrontation.

A denouement does not occur, however, before a surprise twist in the story that culminates in a second climax that challenges Petubastis, and thus brings into sharp focus the possibility that Petubastis’s desire to maintain peace, and save face, will be unsuccessful. Just as Petubastis completes his formal thanksgiving (*j.jr nꜣy ḏr⸗w ḫpr,* 24.12), Minnemmei, another Inarid, unexpectedly arrives with a massive fleet. While Minnemmei’s arrival is a clear turning point, the nature of the expected climax is difficult to discern, since P. Krall becomes very fragmentary towards the end. One can make out Petubastis praying dramatically to Amun-Re (whom he had just earlier thanked!) as well as Paklul stepping in to end the hostilities. A sense of climax is likely conveyed in the chaotic and action-packed scene depicting the slaughter perpetrated by Minnemmei and his men, made more detrimental by the reader’s knowledge that he is actually fighting for nought since the armor had already been surrendered.

4.3.1.4. The Prebend of Amun

The first turning point and climax of the novella is unique in comparison with what we see in the other novellas, in that, instead of leading to a decisive moment that hastens or brings about an ending, it represents a definitive undoing of a protagonist's (Petubastis) plans. It can thus be compared with the *peripeteia*-like downfall of the villain Haman in *Esther*,[105] although there the downfall is accompanied, and effected, by the protagonist hero of the novella and thus also represents her success. This is not the case in *Prebend*: no figure comes out ahead except the villain, in this case the priest of Buto. In this respect, the *peripeteia* of Petubastis's fortunes resembles those found in the typical Greek tragedy, whose plot is focused on the downfall of a figure.

The turning point is difficult to pinpoint with certainty, and may be lacking: it may be best to point to the (probably dramatic, exciting) arrival of the Buto party, but this is not preserved. When it comes to a moment in the story that represents a decisive turn towards a climax, the first oracle of Amun which confirms the priest of Buto's claim to the prebend (2.11-14) is the best candidate. This revelation nullifies Petubastis's desire to secure the prebend for Ankhhor. The conflict which follows is not instigated by Petubastis (who seems willing to transfer the prebend) but by the innate hostility of the priest of Buto and his plan, revealed just after the oracle, to capture the barge as collateral in his negotiation, as well as Djedhor and Ankhhors willingness to fight the intruders. Thus, the oracle and its aftermath raises the specter of a conflict over the barge, and thus gives Petubastis the choice of diplomatic resolution or outright conflict.

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[105] See p. 208ff.

The latter is what ends up happening, and the first period of conflict culminates in an exciting and entertaining scene. Tension is built through the taunting dialogue of Ankhhor and the priest (3.2-3.20), culminating in the challenge to a duel. Ankhhor's anger is vividly portrayed in a rare use of metaphorical language: he "raged like the sea" and "his gaze flamed in sparks" (3.16-17).[106] With this, the narrator portrays the arming of the two combatants solemnly, as if they are preparing for a ritual. Much like the final climax of *Second Setna*, where the narrator was careful to note the reactions of the onlookers, the fear and excitement felt by the members of Petubastis's army is noted several times (4.7-8, 19-13, 22-24). The actual fight is narrated with an exciting pace, the narrator describing in almost minute detail each step the priest of Buto takes to overpower and vanquish Ankhhor (4.23-5.5), followed by how the shepherds capture Ankhhor and the barge of Amun (5.5-16), culminating in a description of the ritual-like feasting of the Buto party on board the barge, with their prisoner beneath them under the deck. It is not out of the question to suggest that the audience would be left reeling after this scene. Its magnitude is then matched by Petubastis's lament as soon as it is over (5.16-20), a lament which, as noted earlier,[107] serves to bring together the two sides of the plot: the quest for the prebend (now, a failure) and the offense of the Inarids (now made more relevant).

As mentioned above, the climactic reversal of Petubastis's quest for the prebend of Amun is only the beginning of a protracted period of downfall for the character. Unfortunately, not enough of the novella is preserved for us to see the true climax(es) of the novella. Based on the direction of the story, it can be surmised that, like the other novellas, there would have been two corresponding to the two primary fabula sequences (the defeat of the Buto party and the humiliation of Petubastis), although it cannot be ruled out that these two aspects of the plot would culminate together in a single scene, and not in separate scenes as in the other novellas.

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[106] *jr⸗f h̭ꜥr ꜥnḫ-ḥr sj-nsw m-ḳdj pꜣ jm jr nꜣj⸗f nwe bhṱ n sty.t*

[107] See p. 328ff.

Fortunately, there is at least one clear turning point in the story preserved, following the capture of Ankhhor and the barge, which likely builds towards a climax: the revelation by the oracle of Amun that Pami and Petechons are the ones to defeat the Buto party (10.9ff). This revelation does double duty in setting up both the defeat of the party and the confrontation of Petubastis by Pami and Petechons. Though a true climax is yet to come, the context of the oracular consultation in the story, and the manner in which it is narrated, build the turning point of the revelation into an event with climactic weight itself. Though the revelation itself cannot be a climax, since it only reveals, however strong a degree of reliability (i.e. the reader believes Amun), a future direction, even near-certainty, of a certain climax to come, there are nevertheless several climactic aspects to its narration. The revelation is carefully prepared for in a way that strongly suggests a reader would, for various reasons, anticipate it coming, both in the immediate context of the story (it is the third time that Amun was consulted in an oracle[108]) and in the broader sweep of the plot: given the outstanding tension in the second primary fabula sequence concerning Pami and Petechons, the reader may suspect that a further consultation would put the two fabulas on a collision course, as it were. If not in this way, the suspicion is raised within the scene of the third consultation, as Petubastis gives every name he can think of before asking, probably reluctantly (although we are closed off from his thoughts here), about Pami and Petechons (10.25-11.4).

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[108] Cf. Vinson's discussion of triplets in *First Setna* and other Egyptian literature in *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 186–88. See Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, 74–75 Repetition, especially in threes, is one of Olrik's "epic laws of folk narrative"; see Axel Olrik, "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative," in *The Study of Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1985), 132–35.

Nevertheless, though climactic in some ways, the turning point of the revelation is given an overwhelmingly summary or panoramic, not scenic narration. The reader does not see Petubastis himself reciting the names aloud, nor his reaction to what the oracle says; and when he tells Pekrur what happened, no direct speech is reported until Petubastis responds with dismay to Pekrur's encouragement to ask Pami and Petechons to help. Though climactic to some degree in context and anticipation, in execution it is not.

The main result of the turning point is that Petubastis's humiliation is made explicit and unavoidable. Much like the second climax of *First Setna*, when Setna is dramatically revealed to be under the spell of Naneferkaptah, signaling the story's turn to the resolution of the outstanding tension in the story, the third oracle of Amun officially brings an end to Petubastis's attempt to assert control over Thebes, forcing him at the same time to confront Pami and Petechons, whom he offended by not inviting them to Thebes. It is likely that Petubastis was hopeful that securing the high priesthood of Amun for Ankhhor would be a political coup that would earn him respect in the eyes of the Inarids, to which his earlier outcry after the capture of the barge explicitly alludes:

> *ẖr jmn pꜣ nṯr-ꜥꜣ wꜣḥ tꜣ myḥ.t n Pꜣ-jmy.t šm n⸗s wꜣḥ* [*pꜣ*] *jb-ls n pꜣ-dj-ẖnsw lg mn mjḥ*[*.t*] *(n)*[109] *ḥꜣty.ṭ̭⸗j m-sꜣ nꜣy ꜥꜣm(.w) ỉ.ỉr šm r mr.t pꜣ w(yꜣ)-ỉmn ỉw⸗w mr n nꜣy⸗w lbše.w ỉw⸗w dy.t ỉr⸗f k*[*y*] *wꜥb*

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[109] There could have originally been an *n* before *ḥꜣty.ṭ̭⸗j*. While it is possible that *mn mjḥ*[*.t*] is its own clause (as read in *TLA*), it is preferable to include it with the following words (thus Stadler and Hoffmann & Quack), since otherwise one would be left with "my heart is after (*m-sꜣ*)," which does not make sense.

> By Amun, the great god! The wonder of Pami has left! The “heart-tongue” of Petechons has ceased! There is no wonder (in) my heart, but for these shepherds who have gone aboard the bark of Amun, girt in their armor, causing it to become another sanctuary![110] (5.17-21)

It is striking that Petubastis mentions Petechons and Pami at this juncture, when they have nothing to do with what is happening, and when Pami has not been present in any way in the story since (it appears) the fleet left Heliopolis.[111] The reference occurs at an important moment in the novella: Petubastis is lamenting that something is no longer the case because of what just happened to Ankhhor. This means that, if read correctly, we can ascertain what Petubastis thought he was going to accomplish by coming to Thebes. At the forefront of Petubastis’s mind when he laments that “the wonder of Pami” and the “‘heart-tongue’ of Petechons” are no more is the defeat and capture of his son who was nearly successfully installed as the High Priest of Amun, although it is also possible Petubastis is referring to the general events that have transpired, from the revelation that the priest of Buto, not Ankhhor, is the rightful holder of the prebend, to the risky exposure of the processional bark of Amun. Regardless, these events have humiliated him. The only reason to refer to Petechons and Pami, two warriors spurned by Petubastis (whether inadvertently or not), would be to mention something that could have resulted in *myḥ.t* and *i͗b-ls* with respect to them.

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[110] For *wꜥb* meaning “sanctuary,” cf. *’Onchsheshonqy* 8.18. The ceremonial barge of Amun has become an ersatz sanctuary because, as the previous scene describes, the priests have occupied it and celebrated their victory on board as if they were engaged in a religious festival (5.7-16).

[111] Spiegelberg speculated that he was lamenting the loss of an old type of valiant warrior, the only kind who could stand up to foes like the priest and shepherds; Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 20n8. Note Spiegelberg, who read Petechons as “Pes-nufer”, believes that Pekrur’s and Pami’s fathers are the ones mentioned by Petubastis.

Much relies on the meaning of *myḥ.t and i͗b-ls*, uncommon terms, and how they would relate to Petechons and Pami in Petubastis's mind. The meaning of the former as "wonder" is assured based on its attestations in *Second Setne*.[112] The latter, literally meaning "heart-tongue," is attested in P. Insinger 30.19-20 with the apparent meaning of "discernment."[113] This term evokes a traditional trope in Egyptian instructional literature that depicts the alignment of heart and the tongue as an emblem of the proper alignment of thought and speech. Thus, "heart-tongue" could refer to the quality of honesty and undistorted speech, or speech without malicious intent,[114] and name the virtue or situation of one's tongue being in line with one's heart, or, as *Ptahhotep* 4.13 has it, having one's heart "twisted around" one's tongue, in close control of it. Conversely, the notion that one's heart is in control of one's tongue could also imply *not* speaking, that is, knowing one's place and not attempting to assert oneself, maybe even a kind of "speechlessness."

Thus, the "wonder of Pami" must refer to Petubastis's imagined state of marvel that Pami would feel at what Petubastis would have done in his trip to Thebes. This means that the genitive relationship between the proper name and the noun is subjective: it is the wonder that Pami will feel when he learns about what Petubastis was able to accomplish. Now (Petubastis says) it is gone: there is no chance that Pami will be impressed at what Petubastis was able to accomplish; quite the opposite in fact, and Petubastis knows it! Assuming the *jb-ls* of Petechons plays roughly the same role in his thought process, it must refer to Petechons's response to Petubastis's success, if we are correct in connecting the term to honest speech or virtuous silence. Though Petechons has reason to not like Petubastis, he will not be able to help (so Petubastis thought) admiring what the pharaoh has done; or, he will be stunned into deferential silence. Petubastis believed that the trip to Thebes and the installation of Ankhhor as the High Priest of Amun was going to finally lead to him being respected by Petechons and Pami: in an almost childish fantasy, he imagined them being awestruck at what he was able to do. The association of Petubastis's lament here with Ankhhor's capture suggests that flaunting his authority over Petechons and Pami by installing his son in Thebes was part of Petubastis's plan from the beginning, and not simply a reaction to what happened at Heliopolis. It is possible that Petubastis only had this in mind after the fleet left Pami angrily behind at Heliopolis, but note that later, in a similar lamentation after the defeat of Wertepamunniut, Petubastis points to another reason why he came to Thebes: "to install Montu-Re" (8.3). A final reason to consider the desire to flaunt his authority over the two warriors as an original motivation is the ironic nature of the plot of *Prebend* as a whole: in very endeavor that Petubastis undertook to assert his authority, he was forced instead to save face by asking those most resistant to it for help.

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[112] E.g. *Second Setne* 2.15 and 2.9, a fuller phrase *mḥꜣ n pꜣ tꜣ* "wonders of the earth" which is also found in *Amazons* 6.x+18 and 27. The etymology of the word is difficult, although the meaning "wonder" can be assured based on Coptic ⲙⲟⲉⲓϩⲉ (C*D* 211b). It could be connected to the Aramaic root חוה "to see" (attested primarily in the D-stem meaning "to show"), as a derived noun with preformative *m* (cf. Osing 1976, 587; cf. Aramaic מחווא "indication, sign," *DTTBYML* 757). It is better to connect the word (as the *CDD* does) to the earlier Egyptian verb *mhy* "to be forgetful" (*Wb*. 2, 113.7-11). Although it may seem so in English, in Egyptian there would not be too far of a leap between "be forgetful" and "wonder": cf. the Demotic narrative formula of astonishment that presents one as forgetting where they are, "He/she did not know the place on earth where he/she was" (*First Setne* 4.26-27, *Amazons* 4.26).

[113] See Joachim F. Quack, "Korrekturvorschläge zu einigen demotischen literarischen Texten," *Enchoria* 21 (1994): 70.

[114] See *Amenemope* 13.17-14.2: "Do not sunder your heart from your tongue…God abhors distortion of speech."

The rightful ownership of the prebend by the priest of Buto now precludes the successful transfer of the prebend and its associated office to Ankhhor, as well as Petubastis gaining the upper hand against the Inarids; now, the capture of the barge risks Petubastis losing even more authority. With the oracle’s revelation, this seems even more inevitable, even if (as we expect) the Buto party is able to be defeated and Amun returned to Karnak, taking away some of Petubastis’s liability.

It is tempting to see the surprise arrival of Minnemmei as a second turning point: even though it is unknown how it plays out, Petubastis’s warm reception of him must effect the coming confrontation with the Inarids in some way. The difficulty with reading it this way is that a turn has already been made towards the double, or perhaps twofold climax of the novella. It may be that *Prebend* evinces a unique narrative art, apparently unparalleled in the other novellas (both Judean and Egyptian), where complication is added to complication or tension to tension, before things come to a head in a climax. Given what happens when Petubastis meets Minnemmei, it seems that the import of the turning point of Minnemmei’s surprise arrival is an important, further step in the characterization of the pharaoh. Petubastis’s response reveals something new about him: knowing what the oracle of Amun said, he is willing to bank on Minnemmei. Earlier, the turning point of the oracle’s revelation laid bare Petubastis’s powerlessness, even bad luck, in his undertaking, a fact reinforced by the manner in which Djedhor is, as far as can be reconstructed, the one truly responsible for the alienation; and if Petubastis was to be blamed for anything, it was for not exerting enough control over the affairs of his kingdom, so to speak. His reaction to the surprise arrival of Minnemmei, however, shows that he is in fact naive, if not senseless.

Even though P. Spiegelberg ends right as Pami and Petechons arrive, the import of the oracle of Amun (which, as far as we can tell, communicates true facts about the course of the plot) means that we can be sure that the Buto party is defeated by the Inarids. Based on the dramatic momentum of the plot, we can also be sure to a similar degree, though not in any specifics, that Pami and Petechons will confront Petubastis about what he had done. Thus, while it is possible that a single climactic scene brings the two parts of the plot to a resolution, given the levels of complication and the outstanding tension in the plot upon the arrival of Pami and Petechons, it seems more likely that the Inarid's address their grudge separately. The involvement of Minnemmei, who is friendly with Petubastis, is likely an important part of this complication. We can surmise that the defeat of the Buto party, the release of the prisoners, the freeing of the barge, and, eventually, the return to Amun (as part of the denouement?) would be a grand, climactic finale to the novella, but the current state of our knowledge means we are left without knowing how, and when, Pami and Petechons will deal with Petubastis.[115]

4.3.2. Modularity

Besides the general complexity inherent in their fabula structure, the Egyptian novellas employ a modular kind plot composition at crucial junctures of the unfolding plot, whose primary effect in terms of plot dynamics is an interruption of the generally linear and continually-moving narrative stream. Two examples are found throughout the novellas: story emboxment, also known as the "story within a story" technique, and *ekphrasis*, the use of extended, focused description.

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[115] According to Kim Ryholt and Joachim Quack (pers. comm.), at least one unpublished fragment of *Prebend* from Tebtunis contains more material from or near the end of the novella. It can only be hoped that this is made available in the near future.

4.3.2.1. Emboxment

By "emboxment," I mean the technique of embedding a story within a story, that is, story emboxment.[116] By its very nature creating complex, modular texts, an emboxed story is a special kind of embedded narrative text.[117] Much like episodes, which have been described as mini-stories themselves, emboxed stories are separable from the surrounding narrative, but to a higher degree, and are dramatized in some way as storytelling acts within the framing story. In one sense, the narrator proper of the emboxed story speaks on an intradiegetic level, that is, tells from a perspective inside the framing story (whose narrator is extradiegetic, in the case of the novellas); but since an emboxed story is qualitatively different in its integrity *as* a story, its narrative level can also be called, after Genette, "metadiegetic." Thus, Scheherazade speaks both on intradiegetic level (she is a character in *The Arabian Nights*) and, as a storyteller herself, who tells a story that she has nothing to do with, extradiegetic.[118] The emboxed story can be related to the outer, framing story purely though the fiction of the character narrator/storyteller, who utters the emboxed story as an event in the framing story (the classic example being Scheherazade's stories in *The Arabian Nights*); or, it can be closely related to the framing story in some way, either through the technique of *mise en abyme*, where the emboxed story closely mirrors the framing story in some respect (the classic example from Ancient Egypt being the snake's story in *The Shipwrecked Sailor*), or where the emboxed story is part of the framing story.[119] Still a storytelling event in the storyworld, as the first example, this kind of story emboxment emplots a fabula that is connected to or overlapping in some way with the framing fabula. It is this last type that is exclusively found in the Egyptian novellas under study. The phenomenon of story emboxment in Egyptian literature in general has been given brief treatment by W. John Tait.[120] It is particularly prominent in Demotic literature, as has been oft remarked, in story emboxment within larger, framing narratives,[121] hybrid genres such as instructional texts with narrative frames (*Onchsheshonqy*), and in religious literature (*Mythos*).[122]

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[116] I borrow the term from Patrick Olivelle, *Pañcatantra: The Book of India's Folk Wisdom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), xiv–xv. The term is useful to keep the phenomenon of story emboxment separate from the oft-used term "frame narrative," which is relevant to the former, but which is not only associated with the embedding of stories, but of other text-types and genres (e.g. *Job, Ahiqar*, *Onchsheshonqy*). Among Indologists, the word seems to have been popularized by Johannes Hertel (see Johannes Hertel, ed., *The Panchatantra: A Collection of Ancient Hindu Tales in the Recension, Called Panchakhyanaka*, Harvard Oriental Series 11 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1908), xxv), who (possibly) was familiar with the term in Goethe, which in German is *Einschachtelung*, who used it in his novella collection *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten* (see *Werke* 18, 158). Cf. *einschachteln* and *Einschachtelung* in the Grimms' *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (digital edition by the Wörterbuchnetz of the Trier Center for Digital Humanities, Version 01/21, https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB, accessed 12/13/21).

[117] See Bal, *Narratology*, 56–64. For story emboxment, or "stories within stories," see William Nelles, "Stories within Stories: Narrative Levels and Embedded Narrative," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 25, no. 1 (1992): 79–96. as well as the important theoretical discussion of the phenomenon of embedding and narrative levels in general in Genette, *Narrative Discourse Revisited*, 84–95.

[118] Genette, *Narrative Discourse Revisited*, 84–85.

Three examples of story emboxment survive in the Egyptian novellas: Ihweret's story in *First Setna*, the story on the scroll of the Cushite sorcerer in *Second Setna*, and the kalasiris Petehel's story in *Armor* (2.7ff). The last of these is far too fragmentary to study closely beyond its general configuration. As previously mentioned, all three emboxed stories are closely connected to the framing story, and contain fabulas which are part of the framing story's fabula. From the perspective of a first time reader, the emboxment found in *First Setna* and *Armor* utilizes the technique to allow a character to explain in detail something that happened in the past to another character (and, in the case of *First Setna*, themselves). In *First Setna*, Setna knows from the outset that Ihweret is a metadiegetic narrator, since she is telling a story about the past in which she is a character. The same seems to be the case in the kalasiris's story in *Armor*, since the storyteller appears to have taken part in the events being narrated, even though the story is more about Wertepamunniut (cf. 2.11, 16). Interestingly, this is also the case for the Cushite sorcerer's story (read or performed by Si-Osire) in *Second Setna*, but this only becomes clear at the end. While the reader may suspect this to be the case, this would only be on a second level of reflection, and not in terms of "playing along" while reading/listening.

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[119] For kinds of emboxment, cf. Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 232–33.

[120] Tait, "May Pharaoh Listen to the Story! Stories-within-Stories in Demotic Fictional Narrative"

[121] Besides the novellas to be discussed in this section, cf. also the Setna story of P. Carlsberg 207, the story of P. Dem. Saq. I, *The Swallow and the Sea*, and (though only in excerpt) *Amasis and the Skipper*.

[122] Tait, "Demotic Literature and Egyptian Society," 306; Tait, "Egyptian Fiction in Demotic and Greek," 211–13; Tait, "Demotic Literature: Forms and Genres," 183; Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 29.

Second Setna also stands apart from the others in the way in which it makes a conceit out of storytelling itself. Only here, like the story collections of, earlier, Papyrus Westcar, and, later *Petese* and *Mythos* (and not to mention *The Arabian Nights*) does storytelling itself feature as a fictional conceit of the emboxment; that is, the narrator portrays a storyteller (Si-Osire) telling the story *qua* story.[123] The physical, sealed scroll bearing the story that the Cushite sorcerer offers to pharaoh's court as a challenge is called *wḫꜣ* (making its first appearance in 2.28),[124] while the genre of the text contained in the *wḫꜣ*, what Si-Osire recites, is called a *sḏy* (3.31), usually translated "narrative," the same word found in the colophon of *First Setne* (6.20-21). In fact, the first words of the *sḏy* that Si-Osire reads ("A time occurred in the reign of Pharaoh Menkheperre

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[123] This might have been more emphasized in the lost part of *First Setna*, however, but unlikely at the level that is seen in *Second Setna*.

[124] The word *wḫꜣ*, then, must be a term for a written document that is unrolled and read aloud, a description equally applicable to letters as well as to book-scrolls containing narratives. The earlier Egyptian antecedent of the Demotic word (*Wb.* 1, 354.15-19) means "dispatch" as well as "decree." In the "Miscellanies" of P. Anastasi III and the "Satirical Letter" of P. Anastasi I, it is a term for messages with orders delivered to subordinates, such as garrison commanders in the Levant. It is also used for written messages in the Late Egyptian *Contendings of Horus and Seth* and *Tale of Wenamun*.

Si-Amon…", 3.32-4.1)[125] simulates the standard incipit found in no less than ten other Demotic narratives, including *Armor.*[126] Thus, the use of both *wḫꜣ* and *sḏy* to identify the story that Si-Osire reads (performs) makes it clear that the story emboxment follows the normal rules of storytelling and is represented as such.

Since all three novellas using story emboxment do so in order to convey information about the fabula, that is, as storytelling in line with the general storytelling act of the novella itself, with *Second Setna* making this a conceit not only of the fiction, but of the drama, the technique is not merely stylistic, but is concerned with the poetics of plot. This approach to story emboxment differs from previous studies of the phenomenon in Demotic literature. Tait has discussed story emboxment as reflecting, or derived from, certain oral, that is performative contexts of Demotic literature, suggesting that emboxment ("story-within-a-story") is a popular strategy in Demotic narrative literature because in helps in "keeping up the audience's interest in the outcome of the story."[127] Jacqueline Jay has made the most perspicacious suggestion concerning the performative value of story emboxment: as a technique of storytelling, it "works well in the context of oral performance, allowing the performer to assume the guise of a specific character or characters and address the audience directly."[128] For the purposes of the poetics of plot, I would like to consider story emboxment as part of a complicating impulse in creating novella plots.

In the most basic sense, apart from considerations of plot, story emboxment is a complicating factor in the reader's experience simply on an informational level. With emboxment, the reading activity and response associated with the extradiegetic narrator of the story as a whole must be transferred or imputed to a character. Fundamentally, it is an issue of voicing: the reader must keep track of the storytelling voice throughout the emboxed act of narration (as pointed out by Jay). While some storytelling genres or conventions may bridge the diegetic levels by blurring the lines, and disburden the reader for a certain period from needing to keep track of the voicing and the diegetic levels, it should not be assumed that this was the case in the novellas.[129] It should be noted that this kind of complication of voicing is not perhaps fully in operation in the kalasiris's story in *Armor,* which may very well (if we could but read the text more clearly) be more akin to a messenger's information than a true emboxed story—meaning there is not any shifting resonance between the kalasiris as storyteller or narrator versus as messenger. In the true emboxed stories of *First Setna* and *Second Setna*, however, the question raises itself. Here, even though the character-narrator speaks, in terms of style and dialect, just like the omniscient and anonymous narrator of the novella,[130] and assumes an omniscient perspective on the events themselves, there are constant reminders to the reader, and to the narratee(s) in the storyworld, about who is speaking: Ihweret frequently speaks about herself as an *erzähltes Ich*, and Si-Osire pauses his recitation twice, and the omniscient narrator steps in and reminds that "it was Si-Osire who was narrating" the story, briefly describing the rapt audience as well as the sullen Cushite sorcerer, who mournfully tells Si-Osire to keep reading. It seems then, that the fully intended, rich experience of these novellas involves keeping track of the voices.

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[125] See Ritner in *AEL* 479.

[126] These have been collected and discussed in Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, 181–86.

[127] See Tait, "The Sinews of Demotic Narrative," 397–410.

[128] Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 99.

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[129] To choose an analogous illustration based on a recent viewing experience of mine: a science fiction film first portrays a trial scene on a non-English speaking planet accurately, with the judge and prosecutor speaking in their native tongue, which both the English-speaking characters in the scene on trial, as well as the viewers of the film, do not know. Presumably because it would be overly burdensome to maintain complete verisimilitude, and detracting from a communication of the important points of the developing intrigue, the filmmaker, a minute or two in to the scene, has the judge and prosecutor begin to speak English; but this is signaled to the viewer as a (meta)fiction: we know they are not really speaking English. The English-speaking characters, however, keeping with the fictional conceit, continue to listen to the voice of a translator through an electronic hearing device held to their ears.

[130] Cf. Tait, "May Pharaoh Listen to the Story! Stories-within-Stories in Demotic Fictional Narrative," 398 and Jacqueline E. Jay, "Who Tells the Story? Objective Narration versus Subjective Discourse in Egyptian Narrative Literature," in *His Good Name: Essays on Identity and Self-Presentation in Ancient Egypt in Honor of Ronald J. Leprohon*, ed. Christina Geisen et al. (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2021), 83–92.

The complication of story emboxment also redounds to the plot proper. Already needing to be attuned to general phenomena of information structure to make sense of the story in particular phases (e.g., a period of exposition at the beginning), the audience of an emboxed story must be able to process the story information contained therein alongside an awareness of its place in the unfolding fabula. Thus, in terms of functional analysis, Ihweret's story, in addition to emplotting its own complete fabula, expresses a series of donor functions in the framing narrative: hearing the story, Setna is tempted[131] to not take the scroll (D), and responds to that temptation (E). While, from Setna's perspective, once he possesses the scroll, he is empowered by it (thus, function F is positive), the reader suspects that this is in fact not the case, and if not suspecting it then, will know it when the events with Tabubue unfold. Interestingly, the emboxed story in *Second Setna* is also a test, though framed more explicitly so, with the ability to tell the story (read from the unrolled scroll) an obstacle that the protagonist-hero must overcome.

The overall complicating effect on the plot associated with the emboxment in *First Setna* and *Armor* can be gleaned if we imagine how the stories would go without it. Thus, in *Armor*, the kalasiris would only briefly summarize, panoramically, the fact that Wertepamunniut took

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[131] Based on his immediate dismissal of Ihweret (4.26), it might be better to say "presented with the temptation," and not "tempted," since there is no evidence in his behavior that he was in any way of two minds about what he planned on doing!

Inaros's armor, and Ihweret would generally warn (or threaten?) Setna that something bad would happen to him if he took the scroll. Clearly, what would be missing in these alternative universe re-tellings of the story would be a great deal of richness and inherent interest, as well as the accompanying tension and dramatic potential. Emboxed stories activate the readerly instincts associated with the beginnings of stories, *in the middle* of a story: simply by definition, an emboxed story adds an additional layer to the readerly experience of a plot. What's more, when the tension that develops within the emboxed story and redounds to the framing story, or when, as in *Second Setna*, this is dramatically revealed to be the case, the effect on the reader, and the hold that the tension of the emboxed story has on them as they continue forward in the framing story, is stronger: in *First Setna*, the need for Ihweret and Merib to be reburied with Naneferkaptah; in *Armor*, the nefarious deed of Wertepamunniut that cries out for vengeance; and, as ultimately revealed with *Second Setna*, the fact that the ancient foe is imminently returning.

The emboxed stories of *First Setna* and *Second Setna* also serve to delay, and thus heighten the expectation of a coming climax. The strengthening occurs first of all because the reader's expectation was already engendered before the telling of the emboxed story: Setna would have been warned in general about the scroll, having expressed interest in it; Si-Osire's ability to defeat the Cushite sorcerer was already apparent when he revealed to Setna that he could read unrolled scrolls.

A more complex kind of strengthening can be found in *First Setna*, leading into the climax of the Tabubue episode. While considered simply on its own terms, the culmination of the episode is highly climactic, it is cast in a particular dramatic light coming quickly after the conclusion of Ihweret's story. This is due to a parallelism engendered by the emboxed story, which, though occurring in the story world generations before the narrative present, is juxtaposed in narration with Setna's encounter with Tabubue with hardly any interval. Generally, this parallelism is noticeable on a structural level, as discussed in detail by Steve Vinson. For example, Tabubue's three requests of Setna leading up to the hopeful sexual encounter reflects the three deaths in Ihweret's story. In the transition from the scene in the tomb and in the beginning of the Tabubue episode, several clues left by the narrator suggest that Setna is destined for disaster:

- Setna is warned about taking the scroll, and the consequence is predicted by both Naneferkaptah and Pharaoh in detail: he will return to Naneferkaptah's tomb with his tail between his legs, so to speak, "with a spike and staff (or "spiked staff") in his hand and a fiery brazier above him" (4.35-36). Spoken first by Naneferkaptah, this is more of a threat than a prediction. As Vinson argues in a recent reinterpretation of this rather odd (to the modern reader) image, carrying a forked stick or staff with a fiery brazier above his head (presumably borne aloft by the stick, which is why it is forked) is an apotropaic posture with parallels in ritual texts to protect the bearer from malevolent spirits.[132] Setna returns carrying the protective fire because, already experiencing Naneferkaptah's magic, he does not want to undergo any further harm.

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[132] Vinson, "With a Spike and Staff in His Hand, and a Fiery Brazier above His Head: 'First Setne' 4.35-4.36 yet Again." For earlier interpretations of this image, see Edmund Meltzer, "With a Forked Stick in His Hand and a Fiery Censer upon His Head," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 7 (1976): 10–11 and Ritner in *AEL*, 463n25. Today, someone in Setna's situation might be depicted holding a crucifix in front of himself while flicking holy water before him. This pitiful action of a ridiculous literary figure attempting to shield themselves from divine wrath is reminiscent of Prometheus shielding himself from the gods with an umbrella in Aristophanes, *Birds,* 1505.

- Fleeing from Naneferkaptah’s tomb, Setna took the scroll and “secured it behind him, just as it had been” (4.36), literally, “in its likeness.”[133] The narrator here directly references what Naneferkaptah did earlier, making the parallel ominous for Setna.
- When Setna first sees Tabubue, he is walking on the dromos in Memphis, a public gathering place, the narrator having just said that he was spending all of his time reading aloud from the scroll of Thoth to anyone who would listen (4.38). He is completely awestruck by her. Using the proverbial statement that he “did not know where on earth he was,” and describing Tabubue’s appearance as he watches her, the narrator focalizes through the lovestruck Setna, and states bluntly (and improbably) that there “no woman had ever existed with (such) radiance” (4.39).[134] This act of happenstance likely triggers the reader’s sense that something so improbable, coming just after Setna was threatened with consequences for taking the scroll, must be connected with Setna’s impending punishment. Robert Ritner has suggested that the use of the “not knowing where on earth he was” formula in the context of being struck by lovesickness would suggest to the reader that Setna has been put under a hex by a love charm.[135] While it is possible that the reader would consider Tabubue to be the one doing it, given the context, it is more likely that they would pick up the hint that Naneferkaptah is responsible.

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[133] *tj=f d̠r<=f> m-sꜣ⸗f r-h̠(.t) pꜣy=s smte*. This is the reading of Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 158. *ADL* 155 read similarly. Ritner (*AEL* 463) translates literally: “in its proper fashion.” Vinson, ibid. draws attention to the similar formulation in Ihweret’s story in 4.20.

[134] *jw bn sḥm.t ẖpr n pꜣy=s ⸢jn⸣-nw*. See Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 159 for this reading and interpretation.

[135] *AEL* 463n26.

A final aspect of the Tabubue scene to consider is the way that Tabubue's invitations to Setna evoke a disastrous aspect of Ihweret's story. Twice, Tabubue euphemistically encourages Setna to "sail...on up" to her (5.14, 5.28).[136] As Vinson notes, the same metaphor is used in the (roughly) contemporary instructional text of P. Louvre 2414 to describe the folly of a man attempting to be with a married woman, saying that "he is sailing towards death."[137] Vinson also compares Setna physically sailing to the Bubasteion where Tabubue lives from the dromos of the temple of Ptah to a festival procession or pilgrimage.[138] Setna does indeed travel to Tabubue's house by boat (5.11), but Tabubue's invitation for him to "sail…on up" is first given while he stands at the base of her stairs (5.14), and once again, right at the culmination of the scene when Setna thinks that he is finally going to have sex with her (5.28). The *double entendre* of sex and death in this scene is not only based on the metaphorical meaning Vinson argues for, but on a sly reference to the fate of Naneferkaptah's family when sailing back to Memphis with the scroll of Thoth. The disastrous journey of Naneferkaptah back to Memphis from Coptos, which led to Ihweret's, Merib's, and, finally, his own drowning, was directly caused by Thoth as a punishment for stealing the scroll; now, Setna illicit removal and use of the scroll seems to be leading him to the same direction. As it happens, of course, Setna is not killed, but still undergoes a terrifying and humiliating experience. Once Setna returns back to Naneferkaptah's tomb with the scroll in the protective posture that was predicted, his own pursuit of the scroll, and its unhappy consequences, appear in comparison to be "a clear reduction or parody of the corresponding step in Naneferkaptah's quests."[139]

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[136] Ominous also is her promise that he will soon "arrive" at his "house" (5.19, 5.23), which is reminiscent of the term ꜥ.*wy* (*n*) *rmṯ* "tomb."

[137] *jw⸗f sgr (r) pꜣ mw.t* (Aksel Volten, "Die moralischen Lehren des demotischen Pap. Louvre 2414," in *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte (4 giugno 1843 - 4 giugno 1943)*, vol. 2 (Pisa: Lischi, 1955), 269–80). See Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 166 Vinson also compares this passage with the prominence of sailing to visit one's lover in Ramesside love poetry (*ibid.*, 259-260).

[138] Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 263, comparing Herodotus's description of the festival of Bastet (2.60), which involved processions by boat and displays of "Drunken revelry and unrestrained sexuality" (ibid.).

4.3.2.2. Ekphrasis

A second kind of modular composition seen in the plots of the novellas can be called *ekphrasis*, meaning "description" in Greek, a technical term for a rhetorical technique of rich description in Graeco-Roman literature as well as a distinct exercise and writerly habit found in Hellenistic education.[140] While *ekphrasis* as a technique of narration is removed from the strict consideration of plot, when the poetics of plot is considered from the perspective of "reading for the plot," its relative prominence in Egyptian novellas means it is worth considering as a compositional strategy.[141] Going beyond the norm of the relatively parsimonious description in Demotic narrative literature, highly and hyper-focused prose description does not contribute to the development of the plot by instantiating the fabula.

Like story emboxment, *ekphrasis* has the innate potential to disrupt in order to heighten anticipation, for example by delaying expected events in certain ways. This can be seen in the two examples of *ekphrasis* found in *Armor* which are closely related: the arming of Pami (12.24-13.16(?)), and the catalog of the warriors and their ships who are allied with Pami as they arrive and prepare for battle (17.22-18.19). Both occur at Gazelle Lake in the lead-in to the conflict between the two sides. While arming scenes are found in *Prebend* as well as *Egyptians and Amazons*, which Jay has argued to have the features of a type-scene analogous to arming scenes in Homeric epic,[142] the arming scene of Pami in *Armor*,[143] unlike other arming scenes in the Inaros literature, shows an "extreme delight in detail,"[144] and is naturally comparable to the famous description of Achilles's shield in *Iliad* 18. Critics of Demotic literature have argued for (with different nuanced views of the time, manner, and extent of reception)[145] and against[146] Homeric influence in general, often focusing on this scene in particular.[147]

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[139] Vinson, *The Craft of a Good Scribe*, 202.

[140] For a definition and overview, see Niels Koopman, *Ancient Greek Ekphrasis: Between Description and Narration: Five Linguistic and Narratological Case Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 2–14. For Hellenistic educational texts that include *ekphrasis*, see George A Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*, Writings from the Graeco-Roman World 10 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003). The term can be found in Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 185 in her discussion fo the arming scene of Pami (to be discussed below). My use of the term here does not imply that the technique has been borrowed, consciously or not, from Hellenistic literature and letters, although that is a distinct possibility that should be given due consideration elsewhere (cf. Jay, ibid., 185). Egyptian knowledge of *ekphrasis* as a technique of Greek composition could have been filtered through individual Egyptians going through Hellenistic education.

[141] *Ekphrasis* is not prominent in the Judean novellas, with the possible exception of the feast in *Esther* ch. 1.

In terms of the poetics of plot, the basic effect of both of these examples of *ekphrasis* is the suspense engendered by postponement. As discussed above, the first encounter between Pami and Wertepamunniut is carefully built up, but does not pay off immediately in a climax. The elaborately described arming of Pami, followed by the much abbreviated arming of Wertepamunniut, happens early on in this build. Yet, instead of paying off immediately in a decisive fight, which the detailed description of Pami's armor would lead the audience to anticipate—which, it should be noted, would bring the novella to a conclusion!—Pami and

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[142] Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 166ff.

[143] Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 183ff.

[144] Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 185.

[145] Thissen, "Homerischer Einfluss Im Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus?"; Joachim F. Quack, "Gibt es eine ägyptische Homer-Rezeption?," in *Odyssee-Rezeptionen*, ed. Andreas Luther (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Antike, 2005), 55–72; Volten, "Der demotische Petubastisroman und seine Beziehung zur griechischen Literatur".

[146] Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 61–62.

[147] For a discussion of the two *ekphraseis* in *Armor* from the perspective of oral-formulaic theory and performance theory, see Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 186–90.

Wertepamunniut are unable to settle their differences (for whatever reason). The plot then develops further: all of Pami’s allies arrive, and now the responsibility falls in Petubastis’s lap (with Paklul’s assistance) to ensure that things do not get completely out of control. As soon as Petubastis is able to convince Petechons to wait until the rest of Pami’s allies arrive, they do so (17.22), their arrival setting of an extended sequence of *ekphrasis* in several distinct stages. First, the landing of the ships of Paklul, Petechons, and other allies is narrated in list-like fashion (17.23-18.3). It should be noted that there was no similar *ekphrasis* of the arrival of ships of the Petubastids who come to support Wertepamunniut earlier.[148] Then, after a brief interjection by the narrator remarking directly to the narratee how incredible of a sight the arrival of the warriors is, comparing to a massive flock of birds alighting in a marsh and a sea full of fish (18.3-7), the narrator describes (in rote fashion, like the arrival) the way that Petubastis and his allies took their places on top of grandstands (*bk.w*; 18.8-18), signaling, it seems, that they were intent on watching Pami and Wertepamunniut duel for the armor and not fight themselves—yet.[149] Paklul approaches Petubastis, and the narrator describes his elaborate armor, much more briefly than Pami’s earlier arming, but still in significant detail (18.22-28). Paklul then addresses all of the warriors gathered and apportions out pairs to fight in hand-to-hand combat, listing each pair in a formulaic way (18.30-19.10). The *ekphrasis,* then, passes from a mode of the narrator to that of a character. With this, Montubaal’s surprise arrival is narrated, and once he is convinced to remain at his ship (there are no battle partners for him), the extensive dueling begins.

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[148] See 12.4ff, as well as Tjaynefer’s description of the number of warriors who have already arrived in support of Wertepamuniut in 12.15ff.

[149] Described in 18.8 as *ꜣlꜣl* “high.” While the cognate word *bꜣk* is found in the Piye Stele (ll. 32, 91) to refer to siege platforms used by archers (noted by Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros*, 332n1928; see Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(‘ankh)y au Musée du Caire, JE 48862 et 47086-47089*, 61n134), they are likely more akin to the platforms seen in *The Petition of Petiese* (11.9; 13.17, 20; 18.15) on which stelae were erected for all to see.

This elaborate scene filled with *ekphrasis,* which lasts for nearly two columns of text, takes place between the initial duel between Pami and Wertepamunniut and the sequence of events that leads to the ending of the novella, beginning with the general melee followed by the entry of Montubaal into the combat. The *ekphrasis* plays an exposition-like role in framing the scenes that follow, but in a way more vivid than is normal with exposition (which typically consists of summary or panoramic narration). At the same time, coming after the first conflict between Pami and Wertepamunniut, and after the elaborate arming scene of Pami, the *ekphrasis* of the warriors arriving and being apportioned for battle plays the role of an interval or *entr'acte* before the action of the latter part of the novella begins which leads to the ending. For the reader who is invested in Pami's success, it provides a moment of relief, indulging in the description of the wide array of allies who come in support of him, something that was earlier threatened to not take place.

The mode of *ekphrasis* in *Second Setna* is shared by both narrator and character (Si-Osire), unlike that of *Armor* which, except for Paklul's apportioning of the combat pairs, is spoken by the narrator. Before Setna is alerted to the crisis in the royal court, he is preparing to take Si-Osire to the court during a festival to present him to Pharaoh and show off his miraculous knowledge (1.12-14). Si-Osire takes his father on a tour of the underworld after Setna laments how a poor person was being unmourned during his funeral, unlike a wealthy man in a funeral procession at the same time. On this tour (1.24-2.25), Si-Osire shows Setna in detail how those who led a wicked life are punished. This episode is characterized by *ekphrasis* in the amount of detail given about what the two are seeing, reaching its height when the two reach the seventh hall where Osiris sits on his throne and judges the dead. This tableau-like scene is drawn directly from the classic vignette depicting the judgment of the dead in the Book of the Dead, complete with a description of the weighing of the heart (2.4-9). Some aspects of the presentation may be derived from Greek myth, such as the Ocnus- and Tantalus-like torment of some of the denizens of the underworld.[150] While the *katabasis* motif in general is prominent in Graeco-Roman literature, whose "narrative prototype" is the *nekuia* of *Odyssey* 11,[151] it is also attested in earlier Egyptian literature (P. Vandier). Its appearance in the Rhampsinitus story in Herodotus 2.122, which may have Egyptian roots,[152] also argues in favor of an Egyptian background.

Like the scenes of *ekphrasis* in *Armor*, the *katabasis* comes at a crucial time in the plot. From Setna and Meheweshke's perspective, the primary sequence concerning their desire to have a male son has been a great success, although the reader knows that this may be only illusorily so, since they know Meheweshke may have conceived *through* drinking the natural remedy, and not through Setna but aided by the remedy. It is very likely that the underworld scene stokes, or even confirms the reader's suspicions that Si-Osire is not Setna's son but some kind of otherworldly figure, perhaps a god or demon in disguise; Setna, even after the *katabasis* experience, only knows that Si-Osire is unique, as he was told in a dream. Once the scene is over and Setna basks in his good fortune to have such a unique son, the reader strongly suspects that Setna is in for a rude awakening. The mode of *ekphrasis* in the context of the underworld (perhaps supplemented by Greek-style *quid pro quo* punishments) is appropriate for revealing this kind of supernatural knowledge and ability: the reader is able to visualize very well what Si-Osire is describing, since it is based on a canonical scene in Egyptian culture. As Tait notices, a major feature of this scene is the way in which Si-Osire "anticipates any queries from his father."[153] This itself anticipates the way in which Si-Osire will be able to read an unrolled scroll, the most decisive event of the novella. The question-answer format of the *ekphrasis* is a further adaptation of the technique into an Egyptian mode, resembling the rite-of-passage language and display of knowledge seen, for example, in Book of the Dead spell 125.

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[150] Ritner, *AEL* 471; Jasnow, "'Through Demotic Eyes': On Style and Description in Demotic Narratives," 444n32.

[151] See Fritz Graf and Rudolf Brändle, "Katabasis," in *Brill's New Pauly*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, 2021. Note, however, that in *Odyssey* 11, Odysseus does not enter the underworld itself, only travels to an isolated shore and speaks with spirits of the dead who are summoned.

[152] See Jose M. Serrano Delgado, "Rhampsinitus, Setne Khamwas and the Descent to the Netherworld: Some Remarks on Herodotus II, 122, 1," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 11 (2011): 94–108 and Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*, 264–65.

The final example of *ekphrasis* in novellas to consider, like that of *Second Setna*, also evidences an adaptation of Egyptian modes, but in this case, it is of a technical speech genre for the purposes of parody. This dazzling example of *ekphrasis*, the priest of Buto's soliloquy about the barge of Amun in *Prebend*, has not been identified or discussed as such.

Starting in G.9[154] and continuing for more than two columns is found a series of at least 11 different connections made by the priest between a part of the ceremonial barge of Amun and an aspect of a mythological story of Horus crossing the Nile to libate at Osiris's tomb.[155] Each connection links a specific component, such as the planks, mast, and sails of the barge with a mythological aspect (Horus's enemies, Shu, the crown of Amun, in these examples) by means of an "A B *pꜣy/tꜣy/nꜣy*" nominal sentence. Many, but not all of the identifications are followed by a refrain (in the form of a circumstantial first present clause) "when he (sc. Horus) is on his way to libate to his father Osiris." This nominal sentence pattern continues for at least ten more preserved examples through 2.2. When taken together, this portion of the priest of Buto's speech incorporates into the conventional narrative prose of Prebend a markedly different discourse register, resulting in a "virtuosic display of theological knowledge."[156]

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[153] Tait, "May Pharaoh Listen to the Story! Stories-within-Stories in Demotic Fictional Narrative," 399.

[154] I take the beginning of this section to be *twy=s pA nt xpr*, "Behold, that which happened," followed by a lacuna (the rest of l.9 and the beginning of l.10), and then in l.10 with [*pA*] *aHa rt.wy.V n nA nTr.w pAy* ("…is the station of the gods"),

[155] This section is notoriously difficult to translate. Fortunately, details of interpretation are not crucial for my purposes in this section. Cf., however, my translation of *Prebend* in Appendix B and the numerous notes attached to this scene.

Claude Traunecker's influential interpretation of this passage is that it is a hymn to the barge of Amun, recognizable through its general parallelism, strophic structure, and use of a refrain.[157] Traunecker compares it with Coffin Text 398, a spell in which the owner identifies 51 parts of the boat which carries him through the underworld with different gods and goddesses.[158] Though this is a striking parallel, Traunecker points out that the two differ significantly: CT 398 uses a different syntactical structure and lacks a refrain. Furthermore, there is only one part of the boat that is shared verbatim between the two, *mḏb(ꜣ).t* "bailer."[159] With good reason, then,

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[156] Jasnow, "'Through Demotic Eyes': On Style and Description in Demotic Narratives," 443.

[157] Traunecker, "Le Papyrus Spiegelberg et l'évolution des liturgies thébaines," 184–88. Traunecker's contribution to the study of *Prebend* is important because it is was first to appear in the wake of Hoffmann's publication of cols. A-G (appearing in fact in the same volume). To this day, it remains the only substantial scholarly interpretation of the text. The passage is referred to as a hymn in Escolano-Poveda, *The Egyptian Priests of the Graeco-Roman Period: An Analysis on the Basis of the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman Literary and Paraliterary Sources*, 13. On the other hand, Quack, though citing Traunecker approvingly, calls the priest's speech "theologischen Vorstellungen," (Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III: Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur*, 70). Note Traunecker lists the first equivalence as "the planks" (G.17; ibid., 187). Traunecker was working with the text as restored in Hoffmann, "Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung", but Hoffmann would shortly thereafter publish more fragments (Hoffmann, "Neue Fragmente zu den drei großen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten") which greatly expanded our knowledge of cols. F-G, and which serve as the basis my translation in Appendix B.

[158] CT V, 120-160.

[159] See CT V, 138 and P. Spiegelberg 1.2.

Traunecker calls this scene in *Prebend* a hymn which is "une composition originale et spécifique."[160] While it is possible that the author intended this passage to evoke texts like CT 398 or (perhaps more likely) its re-worked form in BD 99,[161] Traunecker's designation of the priest's speech as a hymn misses the immediate relevance of the central part of the speech. First of all, the exegetical passage plays a crucial role in the priest's claim to the prebend, a role for which it would be difficult to understand a hymn playing. The exegetical statements make connections from the real world to historically accurate information (though mythological in nature) that supports the priest's claim to the prebend. The veracity of these facts, and their implications for the priest's claim to the prebend, are affirmed by the priests of Amun (2.7-9) and by Amun himself through an oracle (2.13-14): the priest is right!

Calling this passage in *Prebend* a hymn has also led to a neglect of its main formal features and their implications. While listing names and identifications is a traditional means of expression found in magico-religious texts and practice,[162] it is also found in scholarly texts and discourse in a way that closely matches the language here. The priest's description of the ceremonial barge of Amun is not merely a listing of names, but is an item-by-item mythological exegesis of a number of its parts which resonates with a specific form of speech which would have been known and produced in the same circles as the novellas. We can connect it to the Egyptian word *wḥꜥ* (Demotic *wꜣḥ),* which is best translated "interpretation," "elucidation," or "exegesis."[163] The classical Egyptian word *wḥꜥ* has a basic meaning of "to loosen," but it was applied to the act of translation and interpretation[164] as early as *Ptahhotep,*[165] and receives wider currency with the sense of "translate" in the later Middle Kingdom and First Intermediate Period.[166] In the New Kingdom, the verb is used with a more specific meaning of "interpret."[167]

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[160] Traunecker, "Le Papyrus Spiegelberg et l'évolution des liturgies thébaines," 188.

[161] Richard Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem Hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig: G. Wigang, 1842), XXXV–XXXVII; Thomas G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago*, Oriental Institute Publications 82 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1960), 171–75. Note BD 99 is further removed from Traunecker's "strophic" structure of CT 398, which consisted of a series of nominal sentences which made identifications. In BD 99, this part of CT 398 has been transformed more thoroughly into a question-answer dialogue (which was present only in the beginning and later parts of CT 398), which can also be found in BD 125.

[162] As Assmann summarizes, "[i]nstead of supplying definitions, Egyptian would state names, that is, the sacred and secret names of things and actions that the priests had to know to exercise the radiant power of the words" (Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 92). Naming something in all of its parts shows that it is known in its totality, and knowing something's correct name implies mastery, based on the belief that names and their writings had essential connections to the things themselves. See Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 22; Erik Hornung, *The One and the Many: Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 88–89. Within mortuary literature this can be found for obstacles that one has to overcome in the afterlife, such as in CT 474, which has the owner of the spell list the names of the parts of a great net that traps souls like birds; see CT VI, 22a-23e. In BD 125, one recites the names of 42 gods (corresponding to the 42 nomes of Egypt, i.e. signifying the totality of the realm of the underworld), then claims: "I know you! I know your names! I shall not fall to your slaughter!" (see Ritner, *AEL* 270-273). Note that this idea

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found expression in the spoken idiom, where referring to thing "in its name" identifies it as an inherent, essential aspect (*LÄ* V, 320-321).

[163] *CDD* w, 14; *PL* 251. This word survives in Coptic in the word ⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲉϩⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩ "dream interpreter" (*CD* 302b).

[164] For the semantic development from "loosen" to "interpret," cf. Greek ἐπιλύω "solve, explain" (from λύω) and Latin *persolvere* "unravel, solve, explain" (*solvere*). English "solve" (with a slightly different nuance than "interpret") is ultimately derived from Latin *solvere.* The exact same transition, from "loosen" to "interpret" occurs with the Semitic root **pšr* in Akkadian (see *pašāru*, *CAD* P, 236b) and Aramaic פשר (*HALOT* 5, 1960).

[165] The meaning "to understand" appears in *Ptahhotep* in the context of praising a way of public speaking that understandable. The word is best translated "make understandable" or even "be articulate" based on the context. In maxim 24, *mdy⸗k rḫ.n⸗k wḥꜥ⸗k*, "You should speak knowing that you are making understandable" (11.10), and *qsn md.t r kꜣ.t nb.t jn wḥꜥ s djdj s r-ḫt*, "Speaking is more difficult than any occupation! It is the one who makes understandable who is in command of it" (lit. "places it under authority"; 11.11). This derivation is perhaps spurred on by the common epithet in Middle Kingdom autobiographical inscriptions where one brags that they were an official who "untied what was knotted" (*wḥꜥ ṯss.t*). Cf. the Stele of Wepwawetaa, l.10 (Kurt Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924), 72–73). Note the related word *ṯs.w* is used as a term for verbal expressions possibly of a poetic or artistic nature, called by Blumenthal a "stilistische...Einheit" (Elke Blumenthal, "Die literarische Verarbeitung der Übergangszeit zwischen Altem und Mittlerem Reich," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. Antonio Loprieno, Probleme der Ägyptologie 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 125; see also Redford, "Scribe and Speaker," 209–10).

[166] Cf. the stele of Hepetrekhu (13th Dynasty): *wḥꜥ mdw ḫꜣs.t nb.t*, "he who understands the speech of every foreign land" (CGC 20765, l. x+2; see Sabine Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit: Biographische Inschriften der 13.-17. Dynastie*, Sonderschrift Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo 34 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 306–9).

[167] In the New Kingdom satirical letter of P. Anastasi I, the letter writer states *wḥꜥ⸗j n⸗k qꜣj n mhjr* (= מהיר), "Let me explain to you the nature of a *mahīr*" (18.6). The verb is also used parallel with *mtr* "instruct" and *dj rḫ* "teach," lit. "cause to know" (P. Anastasi I, 22.7-8). A similar expression is found in the Late Egyptian Miscellanies (P. BM EA 9994, 5.7-8; Alan H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7 (Bruxelles:

In Graeco-Roman texts, *wḥꜥ* refers to the elucidation of non-superficial, theological meaning embedded in texts.[168] Often, this meaning is secret and kept that way.[169] As a verb, *wḥꜥ/wꜣḥ* denoted "a broader practice that involved the explanation of complex or ambiguous passages."[170] Thus, unsurprisingly, w*ḥꜥ/wꜣḥ* as a noun frequently introduces glosses in technical texts.[171] The prevalence of *wḥꜥ/wꜣḥ* in religious texts of the Graeco-Roman period "suggest[s] that the production" of it "was a persistent intellectual pursuit of the well-educated temple scribes."[172] This is readily apparent in *The Book of Thoth,*[173] which treats *wḥꜥ/wꜣḥ* as a named skill that the pupil should learn. In a list of important books for the use of a scholar, one is a "Book of

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Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1937), 104–6).

[168] See Jens Jørgensen, "Egyptian Mythological Manuals: Mythological Structures and Interpretative Techniques in the Tebtunis Mythological Manual, the Manual of the Delta and Related Texts" (PhD dissertation, University of Copenhagen, 2014), 187–89 and Emily Cole, "Interpretation and Authority: The Social Functions of Translation in Ancient Egypt" (PhD dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 2015), 71–83.

[169] For example, in a handbook for a priest of Sakhmet from Tebtunis (P. Florence PSI inv. I 73 + P. Carlsberg 463; Jürgen Ösing and G. Rosati, *Papiri Geroglifici e Ieratici Da Tebtynis* (Firenze: Istituto papirologico "G. Vitelli," 1998)), after an explanation of an ailment of the eyes by appeal to the mythological precedent of Seth blinding Horus, the practitioner is warned: *jr wḥꜥ nn sštꜣ pw nt rdj wꜥb*, "As for the elucidation of these things, it is a secret which a priest gives" (frag. F.7). The "secrets" revealed by the *wḥꜥ* which are known by the priest are to be kept as such, and are kept written in the document "for their eyes only." For priests of Sakhmet were true medical practitioners, associated with Sakhmet, the goddess of plague and disease, see Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 53; Heinz Engelmann and Jochem Hallof, "Der Sachmetpriester: Ein Früher Repräsentant der Hygiene und des Seuchenschutzes," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 23 (1996): 103–46.

[170] Cole, "Interpretation and Authority: The Social Functions of Translation in Ancient Egypt," 71–72.

[171] Two texts provide clear examples of this. In the Demotic Drama of Horus and Seth, wꜣḥ is found within exegetical sections that explain a character's speech in terms of its deeper meaning and relevance for the myth of Horus, often following explicit equations of nouns in the character's speech with alternate or deeper meanings. See François Gaudard, "The Demotic Drama of Horus and Seth" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2005), 92–93, 134. The sentences which follow *wꜣḥ* read like disambiguating translations of the enigmatic statements by actors in the drama. There is also a gloss in the *Myth of the Sun's Eye* (P. Leiden I 384, 7.1) introduced by *pꜣy⸗f wꜣḥ*, "its interpretation."

[172] Suggested by Cole, "Interpretation and Authority: The Social Functions of Translation in Ancient Egypt," 74.

[173] Joachim F. Quack, "Ein ägyptischer Dialog über die Schreibkunst und das arkane Wissen," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 9 (2007): 270; Jørgensen, "Egyptian Mythological Manuals: Mythological Structures and Interpretative Techniques in the Tebtunis Mythological Manual, the Manual of the Delta and Related Texts," 196.

Interpretation."[174] This may not be an actual book, but one symbolizing the importance of the skill of *wḥꜥ/wꜣḥ* as a discrete technique and form of knowledge. The skill is closely associated with difficult parts of "praises" (*twꜣ.w*),[175] a genre of hymn which typically contains lists of names and epithets that are themselves a rich repository of deeper meanings that the scholar learns to elicit in their training as an "apprentice of the servant of Thoth."[176] The technique of *wḥꜥ/wꜣḥ* worked its way into scholarly texts themselves and can be seen in extended passages, not just isolated glosses, which became a component of the text (or, more accurately, book) itself, for the discretionary use of a scholar.[177]

While the word *wḥꜥ/wꜣḥ* is not used in (what survives of) the priest of Buto's speech in *Prebend*, the speech can be securely identified as an exemplar of this practice because of the clear formal similarities with examples of the practice. Two features in particular allow us to make this identification: the nominal sentence with copula and the introduction of an explanatory circumstantial clause with the conjunction *ḫpr* ("causal *ḫpr*").

The use of nominal sentences is ubiquitous in examples of *wḥꜥ/wꜣḥ*, suggesting it is a *sine qua non* for the form. In the priest's speech, each portion of the bark is equated with a god or goddess, or with an item associated with them, by the priest. This equation is done using the nominal sentence with copula, following the standard Demotic practice of having the subject and predicate both precede the copula in the pattern “A B *pꜣy*/*tꜣy*/*nꜣy*.”[178] Sentences of the type “A B *pꜣy*/*tꜣy*/*nꜣy*” are found in passages of *wḥꜥ*/*wꜣḥ* in the (Demotic language) *Book of Thoth*[179] (most notably in the “Vulture Text”[180]) as well as in (the classical Egyptian language) P. Jumilhac.[181]

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[174] B02, 3.13; Richard Jasnow and Karl-Theodor Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth: A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 1:191, 193.

[175] B02, 3.15 = L01, 2.9 (Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth: A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica*, 1:191, 193); V01, 3.16 (ibid., 153-154); B04, 7.21 (ibid., 283). Note in the latter example the editors connect *wꜣḥ* with the meaning "to loosen," i.e. to "recite" hymns, but the parallel with B02, 3.13 suggests that "interpret" is the right meaning.

[176] *ḥry-rt n ḥm n Ḏḥwty*; B02, 3.15 (Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth: A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica*, 1:191, 193).

[177] The Late Ptolemaic magical text Papyrus Jumilhac names the technique of *wḥꜥ/wꜣḥ* three times (III.t.b., 19; VII.23; XVI, 21). The usage in VII.23 is illustrative of all three. Following a listing of 31 toponymns found in the 18th nome of Upper Egypt (*dwn-ꜥn.wy*, "Dunanui") in VII.13-22, there follows a lengthy elucidation of mysteries of these names (VII.23-X.2) that is named as such (*wḥꜥ jtn.w n rn.w*, VII.23). In III.t.b.19 and XVI.21, the user of the book is commanded to "know" (*rḫ*) the elucidation.

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[178] Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, 203-205 (§455-58).

[179] Appropriately for the topic of the composition, this construction can be found when the master elucidates the meaning of the scribal toolkit and other objects associated with the art of writing. For example, in B02, 4/13 = L01, 2/23 (Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth: A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica*, 203–4): *ym pꜣy sẖ ꜥt nꜣ.w nꜣy⸗f ꜥt.w*, “Writing is a sea. Its reeds are a shore.” Note the word *ꜥt* “reed” is not in Erichsen’s *Glossar*; but see *CDD* ꜥ, 156. On the other hand, it is attested in Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions as *ꜥḏ* written with a plant determinative, as here (see *Wb* I, 239, 7; *PL* 188). While *ꜥt* means “edge,” such as of the desert or a cultivated field (E*G*, 174; *CDD*, ꜥ, 153-154 = *Wb*. 1, 239, 6), it must be translated as “shore” when describing the edge of the sea. The same meaning of *ꜥt* can be found in B06, 6/16 (Jasnow and Zauzich, ibid., 313-314). As suggested by Jasnow and Zauzich, “writing” here could refer to the surface of a scroll (ibid., 104). The implement for writing can be equated with the shore of a sea linguistically (the two words are homonyms) as well as visually: reeds would grow wild on the shore of a body of water.

A second example can be found in L01, 3/8 (Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth: A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica*, 214–15): *pꜣ ḥs nfr nt n pꜣ ꜥ.wy n jr pꜣy⸗f rn n mtr pꜣy pꜣ gst*, “The beautiful praise which is (in) the arm of Ir, (in) his true name, is the scribal palette.” Ir is either a name for Thoth or Thoth’s assistant who would furnish the palette (ibid., 219). The connection made to the scribal palette (*gst*) relies on familiarity with the term ꜥ *n jr* “arm of Ir” as well as ꜥ alone as a name for the palette. The equation also makes reference to the ritual of Handing Over the Scribal Palette to Thoth; see Jasnow and Zauzich, ibid., 219; Hermann Junker, Erich Winter, and Otto Daum, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Wien: Kommissionsverlag H. Böhlaus Nachf, 1965), 34–35, 176–77. Both of these identifications make connections in multiple intelligible ways, drawing on linguistic similarities as well as general cultural knowledge.

[180] In this section, found at the end of the book, the disciple recites a list of the nomes of Egypt (traditionally numbering 42, apparently only 39 are named here; see Leitz 2012, 138). For each nome, he identifies its name with a vulture in an emblematic pose or activity. A typical example is as follows: “A vulture biting a dog while her nestling grabs hold of it is Sako,” (L01, x+2/17). The sentences follow the typical Demotic “A B copula” pattern. For a discussion of the Vulture Text, see Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth: A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica*, 7–8, 53; Christian Leitz, “Die Geierweibchen des Thothbuches in den 42 Gauen Ägypten,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 63 (2012): 137–86; Joachim F. Quack, “Geographie als Struktur in Literatur und Religion,” in *Altägyptische Weltsichten: Akten des Symposiums zur historischen Topographie und Toponymie Altägyptens vom 12.-14. Mai 2006 in München*, ed. F. Adrom, K. Schlüter, and A. Schlüter, Ägypten und Altes Testament 68 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 131–57.

[181] The structure of each specific elucidation in VII.13-22 is as follows: after introducing each name (with the preposition *jr*), the equivalent name is given in a nominal sentence using the copula *pw* (occasionally omitted), and then an explanation or elaboration follows in a circumstantial clause. For example: *jr Dwn-ꜥn.wy jr bjk dnḥ.wy⸗f p*(*s*)*š Šw ꜥpy bꜣ⸗f r pt* … (VII.23-24), “As for Dunanui, as for the falcon whose wings are spread: it is Shu, his *ba* flying to heaven…” Except for the introduction of each with *jr*, the structure is identical to P. Spiegelberg G.1-2.2. Other sections in P. Jumilhac have the same structure, but are not called *wḥꜥ*, introduced instead with “know (*rḫ*) X,”

Clause-initial *ḫpr* is used as a sentence initial adverb or conjunction to introduce an explanatory subordinate clause.[182] In our sequence from *Prebend, ḫpr* immediately follows the main nominal sentence after the copula and introduces a clause which is not marked beyond *ḫpr* itself (see e.g. 1.7 [§x+y+7]), meaning *ḫpr* alone is sufficient to make the connection, i.e. it functions as a conjunction. The final sentence (see 1.22-23 [§x+y+11]) has the fuller expression *jw-ḏbꜣ-ḫpr* (i.e. *r-ḏbꜣ-ḫpr*) instead, used with cumulative effect, confirming this interpretation.[183] The conjunction allows an embellishment of the basic interpretation found in the nominal sentence. Causal *ḫpr* can be found in direct speech in literary texts, including narrative,[184] suggesting that it may be part of the spoken idiom. It also occurs several times in the Ptolemaic priestly decrees.[185] The most relevant parallels, however, are drawn from written usage for the purpose of exegesis in scholarly texts. Relevant examples are found in the *Myth of the Sun's*

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followed by individual elucidations of the same general structure; e.g. V, 1ff.; VI, 17ff.; X, 3ff.; XI, 16ff. In XII, 8ff.; XII, 11ff.; XV, 8ff. there follow mere lists of names. In XII, 22 *rḫ sštꜣ* ("know the mystery") introduces a narrative, followed by other versions of the same (designated *ky zp*). In XV, 9ff., a long description is introduced by *rḫ ḫpr.w* ("know the manifestations"), each explanation following the general structure of nominal clause with copula followed by circumstantial clauses, but more elaborate.

[182] It is not possible to understand this usage as a *sḏm⸗f* with unexpressed subject, a usage found at the beginning of clauses (see *CDD* ḫ, 53-54). When functioning as an adverb introducing a subordinate clause, causal *ḫpr* is functionally a shortened version of *r-ḏbꜣ ḫpr jw*. Simpson notes that "[i]t is not possible to analyse this *ḫpr* as a verb-form within the terms of the demotic verbal system; it functions in effect as a conjunction similar to *ḏ*," (Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees*, 131).

[183] The next words are lost (beginning of 1.23), so it is unknown if an jw followed as is found elsewhere with this construction (see *DG*, 356, 621).

[184] *r-jr⸗y sby* ***ḫpr*** *jw⸗k ꜥš n hyn.w sḫ.w…*, "That I am laughing is **because** you are reciting some writings…" (*First Setne* 3.11); *j.jr⸗y rmy* ***ḫpr*** *⸢bn*(*-pw*)*⸣⸗y wꜣy mtw⸗k* (i.e. *m-dj⸗k*), "It is **because** I am far from you that I am weeping (P. Dem. Saq. I.1, 9.21); in an encomium for Ptolemy VI from the Archive of Ḥor: *bw-jr⸗s wy r⸗k wnwt nbt ḏ mr⸗s s* ***ḫpr*** *ntk pꜣ šr* (*n*) *pꜣy⸗s šr*, "She is not far from you at any time, since you love her **because** you are the son of her son (no. 3, ro.11-12; John D. Ray, *The Archive of Ḥor*, Texts from Excavations 2 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976), 21, 25).

[185] E.g. in the Memphis Decree (Rosetta Stone): *mtw pꜣ sḫnt ḫpr* (*n*) *tꜣ mte.t* (*n*) *nꜣ sḥn.w* ***ḫpr*** *mtw⸗f r-ḫꜥ pr-ꜥꜣ n-jm⸗f*, "…and the double crown is to be in the middle of the diadems **because** it is the one with which Pharaoh was crowned" (l.26). For other examples, see Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees*, 131.

Eye[186] and the *Demotic Chronicle.*[187]

Thus, the use of nominal sentences and of causal *ḫpr i*n the priest of Buto’s exegesis of the barge are characteristic of a formal kind of scholarly commentary called *wḥꜥ/wꜣḥ*, which is a way to interpret difficult words or phrases; in short, a kind of formal interpretation or exegesis, not merely a genre of speech, but a specific technique learned by scholars. The exegesis of the bark would have been instantly recognizable to the audience of the novella in its formal features as well as in its mythological frame of reference: it is not a hymn, but an act of exegetical interpretation that mirrors the scholarly expertise of an ideal reader of the novella. This genre of discourse is embedded naturally into the narrative of *Prebend*: unlike other literary works, like *Mythus*, or magico-religious scripts and handbooks that deploy *wḥꜥ/wꜣḥ*, *Prebend* embeds this professional form of speaking in the speech of a character. This preserves the integrity of the storytelling voice, which narrates the action and reports character speech and consciousness, and creates a compelling verisimilitude in the character of the priest of Buto. Nevertheless, the immediate setting of the exegesis, a public legal claim concerning property ownership, is uncustomary, making it likely that the *wḥꜥ* is deployed for the purposes of parody.

As far as the ideal reader of *Prebend* is concerned, it is difficult to imagine the exegetical portion of the claim being taken seriously on its own: rather, there are numerous clues that the individual parts of the exegesis are meant to be humorous, tongue-in-cheek, or even deliberately confusing.[188] Some items contain a one-to-one correspondence (e.g. the mast = Shu, §x+y+6 [1.4-5]), but others are more complex, most notably the four objects related to the mast equated to Amun's crown (§x+y+7, 1.5-7). While some correspondences make general sense, others make little sense, and indeed do not appear to elucidate anything. In §x+y+8 (1.9-10), the bolt (*krr*) of the mast is equated to Pre, "because it is Amun who hastens on the bark." The mooring post (*ꜥmṱꜣ.t*) and hawser (*ḫrpe.t*), two concrete objects associated with the process of docking, are equated to "the armbands of the goddesses...who throw their armbands into the bark of Amun, when it comes to the quay" (§x+y+9, 1.11-13): the goddesses are not named, and the mysterious act of throwing armbands from the shore onto the docking boat is itself mysterious and the kind of action that, in a normal ritual setting, would itself be elucidated! In item §x+y+5 (1.2-4), the "bailer" (*mḏb.t*)[189] is Bastet the "scooper of care" (*pnq rwš*), because she "scoops the cares (*pnq rwš*) of the gods and goddesses." There is no verbal pun here, but a straightforwardly literal interpretation of the act of bailing which compares it to the comfort (? the exact meaning is unclear) that Bastet offers.[190] While we are likely missing much of the connotation of this difficult passage, it seems that the author intended this speech to be an entertaining caricature or even send-up of *wḥꜥ/wḥꜣ*.

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[186] A long mythological composition that survives on eleven manuscripts dating as early as the 2nd century CE, *Myth* is in many ways a story-collection of animal fables, but can be more accurately described as a religious text consisting of theological interpretations and speculations surrounding a mythological plot (*ADL* 207). Accordingly, in the Leiden papyrus, it is full of glosses on archaic words as well as other interpolations. Six examples of causal *ḫpr* in exegetical glosses can be found in the span of a single column (P. Leiden I 384, 6.18; 7.1, 15, 16, 19, 22). These are not spoken by characters in the story but are paratextual. Note that they are not found throughout the papyrus, but are concentrated in one section which the scribe must have deemed enigmatic enough to include an interpretive strand alongside the main text. This supports the idea that *wḥꜥ/wꜣḥ* was an exegetical tool that could be applied as such.

[187] The *Chronicle*, an enigmatic composition which includes deliberately obscure interpretations of history, contains many glosses introduced by *ḏ* (lit. “saying”) followed five times by *ḫpr* (2.9, 10; 4.12, 18; 5.10), thus a gloss on a gloss.

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[188] For the meaning of individual words discussed here, cf. the footnotes to the translation of Appendix B.

[189] See comment on the word in the translation in Appendix B (*ad loc*).

[190] There may also be a reference to the Horus myth: in the *Triumph of Horus* at Edfu, Isis describes the bailer of Horus's bark made of lapis lazuli as "scooping water" (*pnq mw*); see A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II.C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies: A Sacred Drama (Concluded)," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 30 (1944): 7.

There is a further level of parody in the priest of Buto's claim: the use of a technique associated with the generation of knowledge in the context of theological arcana may be incommensurable with a formal plea for rightful ownership, but it is more than appropriate for the context of a religious festival, which is the nature of the larger scene in the novella that the priest of Buto interrupted. The technique of *wḥᶜ/wḥȝ* itself is attested as part of the celebration of a rite in the Ptolemaic festival of The Beautiful Feast of Behdet at Edfu.[191] Apotropaic rites feature prominently, namely the slaughtering of a red ox and goat as well as the destruction of a hippopotamus made of red wax standing for Seth.[192] Texts from this ritual are inscribed on the walls of the large interior court of the temple. Adjacent to the description of an apotropaic rite of trampling fish underfoot,[193] there is a *wḥᶜ* of the meaning of the actions which is to be "done," i.e. read out loud, either during or after the trampling:[194]

Edfu V, 134.2-9
jr pȝ tk$^{134.3}$*tk*[195] *rm.w jn ḥm.w-nṯr jt.w-nṯr sš-mḏȝ.t-nṯr ḫnd ptpt n sbj jn n.y-sw.t ḥw m* $^{134.4}$ *sf r-*

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[191] During the festival, celebrated in the month of Epiphi, there was a procession of the cult statue of Horus, carried in a bark shrine by priests, outside of the temple enclosure to meet the cult state of Hathor, brought from Dendara, and celebrations afterward. See H. W. Fairman, "Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 37, no. 1 (1954): 196–99. For the festival texts, see Maurice Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, Bibliothèque d'étude, 20(1) (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1949), 442–560; Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu*, 156–79.

[192] For the color red, which stood for demonic entities like Seth, see Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 147–48.

[193] The full version of this ritual is recorded at Esna; see Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 209n969 for discussion and references.

[194] For a translation, see Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, 2:524-526 and Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu*, 171. For reading aloud from a scroll during the celebration of a rite, cp. the reading of the "Book of Overthrowing Apophis" during the celebration of the same trampling rite at Esna (Ritner, ibid., 209n969).

[195] Cp. *dgdg, Wb.* 5, 501, 11-13.

ḏd šꜥd≠tn dm≠tn jwf≠tn smꜣ wꜥ sn.nw≠f jm≠tn mꜣꜥ-ḫrw Rꜥ r sbj.w≠f sp 4 134.5 *mꜣꜥ-ḫrw Ḥr...*[196] *nṯr ꜥꜣ nb pt r ḏw nb sp 4*

rḫ p(ꜣ) ***wḥꜥ*** *n p(ꜣ) tktk rm.w sbj nty n p(ꜣ)* 134.6 *mw nꜣ(y) jr nꜣ bn(n)w nꜣ ẖꜣt(.w) ntp*[197] *nꜣ(y) jr nꜣ ꜣkb.w* 134.7 *pꜣy≠w smn.w*[198] *m nꜣy≠w ḏbꜣ bꜣ.w ḫftj.w pꜣy jr nꜣ bhꜣy.w n* 134.8 *mꜣmꜣ.w nꜣ šn.w nꜣ(y)*

ḫr-jr-ḥr-sꜣ jr pꜣ ***wḥꜥ*** *sjw m-bꜣḥ ntr pn m tr n* 134.9 *rwhꜣ jr sdr.t nfr.t m st tn*

As for the trampling of the fish, it is the priests, the god's fathers, (and) the scribe of the god's book who trample (and) tread upon the enemy. It is the king who strikes with a knife, saying, "Cut (pl.)! Slice (pl.) his flesh!"—Four times—"Let Horus...the great god, triumph over all evil!"—Four times.

Know the **interpretation** of the trampling: The fish are the enemy who are in the water. As for the balls,[199] they are the corpses of Napata. As for the lamenting[200] of their geese in their cages,[201] it is the *bas* of the enemies. As for the dom palm fans, they are the hair.

Now, after the **interpretation** is done, drink before this god in evening time! Spend a happy night in this place!

There are several striking features of this extract. First, the wording of the *wḥꜥ* portion resembles what is found in P. Jumilhac III.t.b.19 and XVI.21, which introduces a *wḥꜥ* section with the command to "know" (*rḫ*) the elucidation, telling us that the Edfu inscription is likely copying a ritual scroll which includes both the directions for the rite itself (note the repeated command to perform the act "four times") as well as its interpretation. Second, the language of the actual interpretive statements in the Edfu text is not the typical Neo-Middle Egyptian, but is a mixture of the classical dialect and Demotic, written with the hieroglyphic orthography of Graeo-Roman temples. The nominal sentences themselves follow the A B *pꜣy*/*tꜣy*/*nꜣy* structure typical of Demotic (and the sentences in *Prebend*),[202] with the second, third, and fourth using the classical preposition *jr* (which normally is used to introduce an extraposed noun) to mark the A member of each sentence, a non-Demotic feature probably added to help divide the sentences. Such diglossia is found in P. Jumilhac as well, suggesting that the Demotic-language *wḥꜥ* was found in the ritual book which was the source of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

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[196] I am not able to make sense of the epithet that follows Horus.

[197] Reading *npt* for *ntp* following Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, 525.

[198] Reading the following *n* as a phonetic complement. This makes the plural strokes after the goose hieroglyph extraneous, but it is difficult to interpret a reading of *nw* as a separate word.

[199] Cf. *WMT* 1.251 (s.v. *bnn*). See Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 210n971 for the apotropaic balls and for references.

[200] Reading *ꜣkb.w* (written *ꜣgb.w*) as related to Demotic *ꜣqm* "to be sad, mourn" (see *CDD* ꜣ, 89-90; the variant with *b* is found in Demotic as well).

[201] For this word which normally translates "shrine," see *PL* 1231-32.

Returning to *Prebend*, making an oral recitation of a *wḥꜥ* the culmination of the priest of Buto's claim signals to the audience not only the caricature of a scholarly technique, but a parody of its role in ritual, for, as the Edfu rite shows, the interpretation of cultic objects and acts can take place *during the rite itself*. In *Prebend*, a ritual has been interrupted by the one performing the *wḥꜥ*, and although the *wḥꜥ* itself is part of the legal argumentation of a claim, it still follows after the ritual signifiers (the crossing of the Nile, the pouring of the water, etc.) have occurred, and interprets them. As an example of *ekphrasis*, the exegesis or elucidation of the barge goes further than the adaptive example in *Second Setna* by completely subsuming a highly descriptive act to an example of a native Egyptian mode of speaking, for the purposes of parody. As a modular technique of composition that, by definition, delays the unfolding of the fabula, the priest's exegesis of the barge could be used for the building of suspense, but without knowing more details about what was happening in the narrative before the arrival of the Buto party, especially regarding the timing of the festival as it pertained to the transfer of the prebend to

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[202] Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, 2:252 (but not Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu*, 171) misses this and translates the series as Neo-Middle Egyptian, leading to some difficulties.

Ankhhor, it is impossible to exactly how for sure. As a thorough Egyptianization of a technique used in other novellas, and possibly enacted in conscious dialogue with Greek literature and rhetoric, the *ekphrasis* of *Prebend* is remarkable as a rare example of highly wrought, non-narrative prose in the novellas which have been composed purely for the delight.

4.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I applied the approach of Chapter 2 to the poetics of plot to the Egyptian novellas, having to modify the scope of analysis, however, in order to account for the significantly different status of the corpus: since none of the Egyptian novellas are preserved intact, I was unable to conduct as far-reaching and comprehensive a study of the poetics of their plots as I was with the Judean novellas. Nevertheless, enough is preserved of all four under study to not only get a reliable sense of the scale of their plots in general, but to isolate a number of specific features shared by them to yield a clear set of family resemblances. In terms of the scale of their plot, the four Egyptian novellas all evince complex fabulas. In *First Setna* and *Second Setna*, we see two distinct yet closely interrelated portions connected to characters motivated by their own quests. In the case of *The Armor of Inaros* and *The Prebend of Amun*, we see intricate plots revolving around the conflict among two or three distinct parties which center on the acquisition of a single prize (the armor of Inaros, the high priesthood of Amun) but which, at the same time, serves to portray the futile attempts of a profoundly flawed pharaoh, Petubastis, to maintain control and to avoid humiliation, which he is not able to do. Despite the diversity of motivation and conflict, all four novellas see the different strands of their plots coincide and reach their climaxes within concrete sequences of events that have wide-scale implications, as in the Judean novellas. If the Judean novellas are marked generally by a preponderance of false or anti-climax, the four Egyptian novellas all include multiple turning points and climaxes. Finally, another characteristic of the plots of the Egyptian novellas is the use of modular strategies of composition at crucial junctures of their plots, whose primary effect in terms of plot dynamics is to interrupt the otherwise linear narrative stream but, at the same time, to not have a truly discontinuous effect. Two specific kinds of modularity were discerned: emboxment (or the "story within a story" technique) and *ekphrasis*, the use of extended, focused description.

Like the Judean novellas, the Egyptian novellas are of a complex scale, containing dense plots which consist at the highest level of, as far as can be discerned, coextensive sequences (usually two, except for *Prebend*, which has three) that, except for *First Setna*, are configured polemically. Within these primary sequences can be found further nested and concatenated sequences. Certain effects of the dynamics of their plot go beyond what is found in the Judean novellas. First of all, the Egyptian novellas are, as a whole, longer, especially the two Inaros novellas. They also contain more scenes that can be identified as turning points and climaxes, which seem to occur near the ends of the novellas. A unique kind of complexity associated with their dynamic of plot is the modular phenomenon of emboxment and *ekphrasis*, two techniques in which the narrator departs from expressing the developing fabula in continuous, synchronous narration of the fabula in the plot (in the case of emboxment) and stepping into an extensive descriptive mode (in *ekphrasis*) for extended sequences. Both of these techniques engender the different effects of sheer delay: the fabula ceases developing towards a climax, and the coming climax is either given extra weight by expectation as well as by the (as the emboxment in *First Setna* especially shows, occurring in close proximity to the Tabubue episode). Finally, despite these different complex components and effects, the scale of the Egyptian novella is still remarkably cohesive as well as economical, reinforced especially by the all-encompassing primary fabula sequences, expressing the conflict or interaction between two or three individuals or parties. With few observable extraneous components, the Egyptian novellas are also thoroughly cohesive despite the complexity of their fabulas, an effect which can be ascribed above all to the centrality of a scene or sequence of scenes to the plot, leading to the resolution of the major outstanding tensions in the story and leading to the endings.

CONCLUSION:

THE POETICS OF PLOT OF THE NOVELLA

In this dissertation, I have undertaken a comparative study of a genre of prose fiction written in Egyptian and Judean literary circles in the Achaemenian and Hellenistic periods which I call novellas, by analogy to the prominent genre of European prose fiction. I identified them as such based on a constellation of shared features: besides being fictional narrative literature which is composed in prose and framed as the speech of a heterodiegetic, anonymous narrator, the novellas are of neither extreme brevity nor length, and were authored, read, and preserved as independent, non-anthologized literature. They are also distinguished from both short stories and novels, as well as other lengthy fictional narratives written in prose, by being longer and more complex than the first kind, as well as shorter and more focused than the latter two. A corpus of nine novellas has been preserved extensively enough for study and certain identification as such: from Egyptian literature, *First Setna*, *Second Setna*, *The Armor of Inaros*, and *The Prebend of Amun*, and from Judean literature, *Jonah*, *Ruth*, *Esther*, *Tobit*, and *Judith*. The four Egyptian novellas were all written in Demotic, a phase of the Ancient Egyptian language and script that developed in the Saite Period (664-525 BCE) but is first attested as a language of literature in the Late Achaemenian and early Ptolemaic. The five Judean novellas were written in Hebrew (*Jonah*, *Ruth,* and *Esther*), Aramaic (*Tobit*), and Greek (*Judith*).

The dissertation was based on a claim followed by two full scale arguments to substantiate it. The claim was that these works of prose fiction make up a genre of literature that would have been recognized as such by the ancients: that the above list of distinctions marks out a group of real texts that were experienced differently than others. The arguments of the dissertation substantiated this basic claim in two steps. The first argument (found in Chapter 1) was literary-historical, justifying the use of the term novella and describing the distinctness of the Egyptian and Judean novella as a form of literature in both historical and formal terms. The second argument (found in Chapters 2-4) was from poetics, with the general goal of eliciting a set of family resemblances to substantiate the claim to the genre, and focusing on the aspect of plot, a feature of storytelling with a particular weight when it comes to genre given its closeness to the primary way that works of fiction are experienced as verbal art. These two arguments, though separate, were closely connected and reinforced each other. The literary-historical argument justified calling this group of texts a genre of prose fiction, and novellas at that, in order to ground an investigation of their poetics, guaranteeing that the features discerned in the texts stemmed in fact from a historical reality. On the other hand, the argument from poetics, by quantifying the experience of these texts and deriving a coherent portrait of their plot type based on a narrow set of features that they all share, made it more likely that the Egyptian and Judean novella is not a chimera of scholarly imagination but a real ancient genre of prose fiction.

In Chapter 1 (“The Egyptian and Judean Novella: Approaches and Definitions”), after outlining my theoretical approach to plot, I laid out the dissertation’s first argument concerning the distinctness of the novella from a literary-historical perspective, taking three approaches to recognizing and defining the genre. First, as a genre of prose fiction, the novella stands apart from other contemporary genres in its relatively dense storytelling which nevertheless is conveyed with focused (as opposed to sprawling) effect, a factor which is evident even before taking a closer look at its poetics (the topic of Chapters 2 and 4). Second, the novella is a particular historical form of prose fiction in Egyptian and Judean literature: while narrative literature in general is attested in multiple eras in these cultures, the novellas have a particularly strong association with the eras after the Iron Age, especially the Hellenistic. Third and finally, the novella's distinction as a genre of prose fiction can be seen in its unique footprint in reading or book culture, preserved almost universally in non-anthologized form and in a one-to-one configuration of composition to volume.

To capture these three distinct implications of the word "novella," I deployed an analogy for each to try and capture the multivalence of the term in a way that is not evident in its basic meaning. As literature, "novella" can be used not only as a universal genre term (like "novel" or "drama") but as a specific kind of that universal genre with particular features that distinguish it further (like "*Bildungsroman* novel" or "melodrama"). As a historical genre, the special association of "novella" with the Achaemenian and Hellenistic Periods means the word is used like "Greek tragedy," a particular form of a universal genre which pertains narrowly to works produced in a specific time and place (5th century Athens). Finally, since the novellas show a distinct embodiment as literature in Egyptian and Judean book culture where they are overwhelmingly preserved in a one-to-one configuration of composition to physical volume, "novella" also names a kind of book, much like "novel" and "novella" do today. These three senses of the word novella, literary, historical, and bibliographical overlap in a close way which is all the more remarkable given that we are dealing with two parallel literary phenomena produced simultaneously and independently.

In Chapter 2 (“The Poetics of Plot in the Judean Novella”), I examined closely the poetics of plot in the five surviving Judean novellas, and was able to characterize the Judean novella plot type in general with a significantly fine level of grain. In its scale of plot, the Judean novella is complex in its texture as well as focused, centered on the acts of a protagonist that take place in a crowded web of agency that accomplishes the reversal of an external threat. In each plot, the reading experience of the stories in their entirety takes on definite shapes according to beginnings, middles, and ends, and how these phases of story correspond to the development of the fabula. With their beginnings that taper into their middles, their narrow or focused central sections, and their expansive endings, the plots can be described generally as hyperboloid-shaped, like an hourglass. More specifically, the significant number of features shared by all of the plots yields a clear set of family resemblances that can identify a Judean novella plot as such. In terms of the sequential structure of the plot, these are: beginnings characterized by a displacement of the primary crisis that motivates the plot, the delay of the protagonist(s)’s action in response, the preponderance of falsely or anti-climactic climaxes in the middles, and dynamic gestures towards their beginnings in their endings. In addition, several other common features were identified: a marked use of foreshadowing, and a wide-ranging, general complexity, with most novellas containing subplots, and all containing multiple interacting fabula sequences.

The same endeavor was carried out for the Egyptian novellas in Chapter 4 (“The Poetics of Plot in the Egyptian Novella”), after the short Chapter 3 (“Reconstructing the Plot of *The Prebend of Amun*”), in which I reconstructed several aspects of the plot of the fragmentary *The*

Prebend of Amun, attempting to further the general state of knowledge of this novella by carefully considering what the (relatively) newly published fragments of the primary manuscript of the novella have to offer. In Chapter 4, I applied the approach of Chapter 2 to the poetics of plot to the Egyptian novellas, having to modify the scope of analysis, however, in order to account for the significantly different status of the corpus: since none of the Egyptian novellas are preserved intact, I was unable to conduct as far-reaching and comprehensive a study of the poetics of their plots as I was with the Judean novellas. Nevertheless, enough is preserved of all four under study to not only get a reliable sense of the scale of their plots in general, but to isolate a number of specific features shared by them to yield a clear set of family resemblances. In terms of the scale of their plot, the four Egyptian novellas all evince complex fabulas. In *First Setna* and *Second Setna*, we see two distinct yet closely interrelated portions connected to characters motivated by their own quests. In the case of *The Armor of Inaros* and *The Prebend of Amun*, we see intricate plots revolving around the conflict among two or three distinct parties which center on the acquisition of a single prize (the armor of Inaros, the high priesthood of Amun). Despite the diversity of motivation and conflict, all four novellas see the different strands of their plots coincide and reach their climaxes within concrete sequences of events that have wide-scale implications, as in the Judean novellas. If the Judean novellas are marked generally by a preponderance of false or anti-climax, the four Egyptian novellas all include multiple turning points and climaxes. Finally, another characteristic of the plots of the Egyptian novellas is the use of modular strategies of composition at crucial junctures of their plots, whose primary effect in terms of plot dynamics is to interrupt the otherwise linear narrative stream but, at the same time, to not have a truly discontinuous effect. Two specific kinds of modularity were discerned: emboxment (or the “story within a story” technique) and *ekphrasis*, the use of extended, focused description.

In Chapter 1, I described “scale” as a quantifiable aspect of the way that a certain plot or plot type is experienced, an umbrella concept that is able to explain together the general trends that become apparent through a poetics-oriented analysis of plot.[1] As the analysis of the Judean and Egyptian novellas has shown, the novellas as a whole all share a broad plot type with a similar scale: they are complex stories of short to medium length in which many things happen, conveyed in plots that are not prone to digression or episodizing, but instead are almost relentlessly focused. The scale of the novella plot is remarkably cohesive and economical despite its complexity. In distinction from other narrative genres that are also complex, like epics and novels, the novellas attain their complexity through a dense yet focused fabula as well as a continually building plot, and not through multiple concurrent plot-lines, or loosely structured plot-lines with major, discrete phases. One of the most striking aspects of the economy of the novellas is the use of single sequences of events, usually in a single scene but occasionally stretching over two scenes that happen one after another (in *First Setna* and *The Armor of Inaros*), to resolve the central, driving issue of the story (function A/a). Besides these, there are no separate strands (plot-lines, subplots) to get resolved separately and at different times. The weight accorded to these scenes is responsible for a large share of the plots’ unitary effect. For an overview of the central scenes of each novella, see Table 6.

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[1] See p. 62.

Table 6: The central sequences of the novellas

	Central sequence	**Direct result**
Jonah	Nineveh receiving Jonah's message and successfully seeking mercy (3:1-10)	The depiciton of Jonah's true self
Ruth	Boaz obtains the right to marry Ruth (4:1-12)	The marriage of Ruth
Esther	Esther tells Ahasuerus about Haman (7:1-8)	The downfall of Haman
Tobit	Tobias obtains the fish entrails (6:1-9)	The healing of Tobit
Judith	Judith beheads Holofernes (13:1-11)	The rout of the Assyrians
First Setna	Setna is humiliated by Naneferkaptah through Tabubue (5.11-32)	Ihweret and Merib are buried with Naneferkaptah
Second Setna	Si-Osire defeats the Cushite sorcerer (6.34-7.4)	Si-Osire vanishes, but a new child is born to Setna and Meheweshke
Armor	Petubastis surrenders the armor to placate Montubaal, and then must also concede further to Minnemmei (22.22-25.25)	The armor is surrendered and Petubastis is humiliated
Prebend	(The Buto party is defeated(?))[2]	(Petubastis is humiliated(?))

The scale of the novella can be compared with that of the short story. Short stories will have fewer events of great impact and typically a single one which occurs during or follows the climax and leads to the end, while the novellas, as we have seen, have several of significant impact occurring alongside the most consequential one. This can be briefly illustrated using one of the short stories in the Daniel collection in the Hebrew Bible, the story of Nebuchadnezzar's statue and the three Judeans in Dan 3:1-30.[3] For a representation of the complete fabula of the story, see Figure 8. The story consists of a primary function A/a (A^1 in Figure 8), the requirement of the Judeans to worship the statue of Nebuchadnezzar and culminates in their miraculous deliverance from capital punishment in the flames of the furnace, an act which not merely preserves their life but convinces Nebuchadnezzar to forgo requiring the Judeans to worship his statue and, instead, promote the three Judeans in his court. In order to best understand the plot as it unfolds, however, a secondary function A/a (a^2 in Figure 8) is marked by the reader: Nebuchadnezzar's need to deal with the recalcitrant Judeans, motivating his response. The story, then, unfolds like that of *Jonah, Esther, Judith, Armor*, and *Prebend*, as a polemical plot consisting of the back-and-forth action of a protagonist (in Dan 3, a group of three acting as one) and an antagonist. Unlike the polemical novella plots, however, the plot of Dan 3 builds steadily towards the surprise of the miracle that then leads directly to the ending. The fabula sequence centering on the motivation of the antagonist does not truly end in a defeat or reversal (as does Haman's and Holofernes's), but it folds into the primary sequence centered on the Judeans: Nebuchadnezzar is the one who instigates the function H by exempting the Judeans from worshiping his statue. Unlike the novellas, the primary function A is established immediately after the period of exposition, with the middle of the story hastening towards the climactic event which leads to its resolution. Though complex in its relatively rich fabula density, the only major event in the story concerns the furnace. Finally, although there are two chains of motivation that make up the fabula, there is no significant dynamism between them.

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[2] Unfortunately, the central sequence is not preserved in *The Prebend of Amun*, but given the way the different aspects of the plot (the contest over the prebend, the commandeering of the barge, and the conflict between the Inarids and Petubastids) relate, as well as the oracle of Amun's statement that the shepherds *will* be defeated, but only by Pami and Petechons (11.3-4).

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[3] Dan 3:31-33 is the beginning of the next story in the collection. These verses were separated from the rest of Dan 4 by the chapter divisions of the Latin Vulgate. They begin a new story which continues through the end of ch. 4. Note that the Masoretic Text has a *parashah* after 3:30. See John J. Collins, *Daniel*, Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible 27 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 221.

Figure 8: The fabula of Dan 3:1-30

	Nebuchadnezzar desiring worship			The Judeans attempting to stay faithful to Yahweh
			A^1	The Judeans are required to worship the king's statue
			(C)	The Judeans decide to remain faithful
a^2	Nebuchadnezzar learns of the their disobedience	◀—	C'	The Judeans refuse to worship the statue
B	The Chaldeans inform him about the Judeans			
C/C'	Nebuchadnezzar confronts the Judeans	—▶	D	The Judeans are threatened with death if they still refuse
H^2_{neg}	Nebuchadnezzar is unable to convince them	=	E	The Judeans are steadfast
C/C'	Nebuchadnezzar orders the Judeans executed	—▶	D	The Judeans are executed by fiery furnace
			E	The Judeans survive the flames by a miracle
G_{neg}	Nebuchadnezzar is overmatched by Yahweh	◀—	(F)	The Judeans are living testimony of Yahweh's greatness
H^2_{neg}	Nebuchadnezzar forgoes enforcing the decree on the Judeans	—▶	H^2	Nebuchadnezzar decrees them exempt and promotes them
			I^2	The Judeans are faithful to Yahweh and successful

The small scale of the short story of Dan 3 accords with 20th century short story theory. For example, in his study of the essence of the short story (what "makes it short"), Norman Friedman argued that it is not length but kind of action: the action of short stories is intrinsically small or at least reduced in its extent, and not markedly dynamic, preferring a small number (usually one) of highly consequential changes.[4] Similarly, B. M. Éjxenbaum (Eichenbaum) speaks of the "fundamental, elementary...form" of the short story, focusing on the effect that the action of a short story has on a reader: short stories are resolutely focused on where the plot is going, leading to an event that happens like "a bomb dropped from an airplane" which "must speed downwards so as to strike with its war-head full-force on a target."[5]

Although of a larger scale, the plots of the novellas are nevertheless coherent and focused like short stories. In spite of their complexity, their plots, like those of short stories, can be divided in a straightforward way into a a period of growing tension that culminates in a climactic moment, followed by the aftermath and unraveling of that tension leading towards the end (Aristotle’s *desis* and *lusis*);[6] for an overview of the *desis* and *lusis* of the novellas, see Table 7. This holds for the novellas despite their complexity, especially their fabula density, and the persistent use of other dynamic approaches to plot besides the straightforward turning point and climax, i.e. foreshadowing, delay, false climax, anti-climax, and multiple turning points and climaxes. In fact, none of the plots build in a linear way towards a single climax which then leads to the ending. Yet despite this non-linearity, each novella features a recognizable phase of *desis* followed by *lusis* which frames the central, concrete task which, once overcome, leads to the ending. Thus, the novella is characterized by a unique combination of simplicity and complexity.[7]

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[4] Norman Friedman, *Form and Meaning in Fiction* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1975), 167–86.

[5] B. M. Éjxenbaum, "O. Henry and the Theory of the Short Story," in *The New Short Story Theories*, ed. Charles E. May (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1994), 81.

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[6] See p. 58.

[7] This simple-yet-complex nature of the novella is similar to Judith Leibowitz’s definition of the European novella in distinction to the short story: “Whereas the short story limits material and the novel extends it, the novella does both in such a way that a special kind of narrative structure results, one which produces a generically distinct effect: the double effect of intensity and expansion” (Leibowitz, *Narrative Purpose in the Novella*, 16).

Table 7: The *desis* and *lusis* of the novellas

	Desis	***Lusis***
Jonah	Jonah avoiding the mission to Nineveh and eventually relenting, then delivering the message	Jonah's reaction to Yahweh's decision to not destroy Nineveh
Ruth	The expectation that Boaz will take Ruth as his wife, culminating in Boaz securing the right from the kinsman	Boaz marrying Ruth, taking Naomi into their home, and Ruth giving birth to Obed
Esther	The need to confront Ahasuerus about Haman to save the Judeans and Mordecai, whose life becomes even more at risk, until Esther finally speaks with the king	The downfall of Haman and the reversal of the anti-Judean decree
Tobit	Tobit's need to provide for his family, and for Sarah to marry, as well as Yahweh's desire to test Tobit's piety	Tobias's acquisition of the fish's entrails, obtaining the money, marrying Sarah, curing Tobit's blindness
Judith	The need to stop the Assyrian invasion as the siege becomes more dire, and to avert Israel's apostasy, causing Judith to take matters into her own hands	Judith's beheading of Holofernes and the easy rout of the Assyrian army
First Setna	Setna attempting to get away with the scroll, but his entrapment by Naneferkaptah through Tabubue	Setna's acquiescence to Naneferkaptah and his reburial of Ihweret and Merib
Second Setna	Setna and Meheweshke's desire to have a son, which allows Si-Osire to return to earth and confront the Cushite sorcerer	Si-Osire's defeat of the sorcerer and the birth of Setna and Meheweshke's new son and the future pharaoh
Armor	Pami's attempt to seize the armor of Inaros, and Petubastis's attempt to placate him and maintain order, resulting in armed conflict	Pami's success and Petubastis's failure
Prebend	Petubastis's attempt to secure the prebend thwarted by the Buto party, and the need to have recourse to the Inarids to defeat them	The return of the cult image of Amun to Karnak and Petubastis's return to Tanis empty-handed and, once again, humiliated by the Inarids (?)

Though of an order of complexity akin to novels and epics, the scale of novellas differs from lengthy narrative genres in that they are not prone to episodizing as the latter types are. While there is a small number of episodes or episode-like sequences in the novellas,[8] they are closely integrated into the progression of the story. Works that are prone to episodizing as a compositional principle of plot at large, using a higher number of discrete scenes with a much lower level of integration, have a substantially different effect on a reader in being more concatenating and less integrated in terms of plot. While the plots of novellas, in all their complexity, rely on a tightly integrated plot and the effect of the concrete, central sequence to foster their unity, narratives prone to episodizing tend to rely on other dimensions like theme and, especially, character. This applies also to story-collections, with each short story functioning like an episode. In works like these, the reader keys each story or episode with others and create a thread of coherence.[9] For example, adventure stories like the picaresque *Golden Ass* or the first half of the *Odyssey* contain a series of episodes where "adventures, each an incident, which might be an independent tale, are connected by the figure of" the main character.[10] For works like this, the character's experience, and the way that it changes as a result of a chain of experiences, grounds the complexity of the narrative. Epics and novels of significant length can represent the gradual change of characters (as in the *Odyssey*, or *Don Quixote*), while those of shorter length (like *Gilgamesh*) can do so in fewer broad strokes. In stories like these, their plots take the shape of story arcs and not tightly integrated plots as in the novellas. A narrative whose plot is a story arc has a high degree of disjointedness, with individual episodes that can go their own way and be self-contained, but, when considered as a whole, have a general tendency that can signal a process of change and development from an initial situation to a later one.

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[8] For discussion, see p. 229 (Judean) and p. 359 (Egyptian).

[9] Shklovsky speaks of "threading" as a kind of plot composition, where motifs (not only events, but events and their meanings) are connected across stories which feature the same protagonists. See Viktor Shklovsky, *Theory of Prose*, trans. Benjamin Sher (Elmwood Park, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 1990), 68–71. For a contemporary translation of his article "Art as Device," which is quoted here and below in its anthologized form in *Theory of Prose*, see Viktor Shklovsky, "Art, as Device," trans. Alexandra Berlina, *Poetics Today* 36, no. 3 (n.d.): 151–74.

[10] Wellek and Warren, *Theory of Literature*, 222.

When considering the main characters of the novellas, there seems to be a correlation between their non-episodic, highly integrated plots and their protagonists that do not develop or change in their essential features, at least not in significant ways that are given emphasis. Novellas which appear to feature significant changes to the characters are the exception. One is Pami in *The Armor of Inaros*, who must overcome his own lack of courage as part of fighting for the armor of Inaros.[11] Another is Esther, whom Michael V. Fox and others argue undergoes a general change from passivity to activity to authority.[12] Nevertheless, the novellas are not *about* these changes. These examples aside, as a rule the protagonists of the novellas react in characteristic ways to their changing circumstances and do not themselves change over the course of the events. For some, this is evident in their enduring traits: Ruth remains deferential, Tobit and Judith, pious; the Setna of *Second Setna*, hopeful and perhaps naive; Petubastis of *Armor* and *Prebend* (although we can only speculate), marginalized and lacking charismatic authority. There are no indications that any of the characters who failed in their attempts were changed in any way by them. Instead, the events of the plot eventually bring them back to where they started: Setna returns home without the scroll, Petbuastis (in both novellas) remains a pharaoh without the requisite respect. Jonah in many ways is the most typical of all the protagonists in his abiding, even if the novella itself is in many ways the most atypical: few characters have the range of experiences that Jonah does, yet Jonah remains relentlessly the same, a fact which is given the novella's most prominent exposition.

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[11] See p. 346.

[12] Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 196–205; cf. p. 196: “The distinctive feature in the portrayal of Esther is change”; see also Grossman, *Esther*, 111–23. For a detailed analysis of the character of Esther which compares the different versions of the novella, see Linda Day, *Three Faces of a Queen: Characterization in the Books of Esther*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 186 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995); for the development of the character, see esp. pp. 170-176.

The non-arcing nature of the novella plot is particularly clear in the Judean novellas, which I argued to metaphorically take the shape of a hyperboloid or hourglass.[13] Here, the continual and gradually-changing contours correspond to the cohesive, non-episodizing plot, while the tapering effect towards and away from the "thin" middles points to the central sequence where the threat is overcome. The other two popular geometric metaphors for plot types, those of Freytag's pyramid and Northrop Frye's U-shape, are readily applied to arced plots as an ideal way to connect the discrete parts of the plots and derive a general trajectory which takes place in distinct phases, reliant on connections made by readers (exposition of a theme, general change undergone by a character, etc.) to impart a shape to the whole. The hourglass shape, on the contrary, is not meant to reflect the general trajectory of the events of the plot, but to represent iconically the real way that the story progresses and is experienced.[14]

The missing beginnings, and in some cases endings as well, of the Egyptian novellas mean we cannot devise a global metaphor to describe the experience of their plots. Nevertheless, they share the "thin" middles of the Judean novellas. The unifying effect of the central sequences in their middles is perhaps felt even more strongly given the generally longer length of the Egyptian novellas, as well as the marked modularity in their plot structure which, while not episodizing in the manner of epic, nevertheless leads to a more discontinuous effect than is seen in the Judean novellas. Despite the presence of large, modular components as well as a longer periods of build in their middles, especially when it comes to *The Armor of Inaros* and *The Prebend of Amun*, the Egyptian novellas neither digress nor include story material that is not carefully integrated: to hearken back to the geometric metaphor, the progression of their plots could be iconically represented by a contour line, and not by an ideal shape imputed by a reader. Even the modular portions (emboxed sequences and periods of *ekphrasis*) exist for the purposes of furthering the plot. An exception to this is the *katabasis* scene in *Second Setna*, which only advances the plot inasmuch as it confirms the reader's suspicions regarding Si-Osire's preternatural origin, and augments a feeling of *pathos* for Setna, who does not seem to be aware that his son is not his own.[15]

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[13] See p. 247ff. (2.5. Conclusion: The Hyperboloid ("Hourglass") Plot of the Judean Novella).

[14] For icons, which are signs that have a likeness to the signified (like a schematically drawn cigarette on a "no smoking" sign), see Charles S. Peirce, *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings, Volume 2 (1893-1913)* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 5–6 and Tony Jappy, *Introduction to Peircean Visual Semiotics* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 82–84.

Genre relies on the competency of an audience to understand how to read and assimilate a complete and coherent stretch of discourse (speaking specifically of textual, verbal art), and also relies on the legibility of the cues (textual and paratextual) that indicate what kind of competence will be required in the first place.[16] The novellas taken as a whole rely on numerous forms of knowledge, starting with the ability to read and comprehend, or hear and understand, a literary dialect. Besides the different conventional and poetic forms that the novellas include that are shared with Egyptian and Judean literature in general, the novellas in particular truck in a wide variety of cultural and technical forms with their accompanying discourse genres and terminologies: prayers, oracles, prophetic commissions and proclamations, legal transactions, testaments, annals, and others. Some of these are parodic in their inflection, implying not only competence but a certain willingness to stand at a distance from these forms which, in other contexts coexisting with the reading culture of novellas, were encountered and used as originally intended. While the ability of the novella to reflect a multitude of forms and genres, as well as the nature of the requisite competence and the implied contexts of reading and reception associated with it, deserve serious study on their own in further research, competence in *storytelling* and ingrained habits of reading for the plot of a work of fiction is a *sine qua non* for experiencing the novellas as fully intended. This is what the dissertation has laid bare. Judging by the perspective on plot presented in Chapter 1, as well as by the empirical makeup of the plots of the novellas seen in Chapters 2-4, there is an "automatic" (after Shklovsky[17]) or baseline plot experience that anchors the reading or hearing any work of fiction: in terms of fabula, the unfolding of functions A-I, and in terms of plot dynamism, the process of exposition, problem, build towards a climax and resolution, and denouement or ending, and any effects or tropes that complicate these. This baseline overlaps neatly with the experience of reading a short story, as well as of episodes in larger narratives, which are tantamount to short stories themselves. The same baseline applies to entire, complex works of fiction as well, such as epics, novels, story-collections, and novellas, but once the baseline is modified and surpassed in its details, the phenomenon of defamiliarization comes into play.[18] By modifying the relatively direct path in its larger-scale plot ideally represented by the baseline, the novella engages in "the removal" of the act of reading for the plot "from the sphere of automatized perception":[19] exposition does not lead directly to the problem; the first problem is not the most consequential; the path to the climax is not direct, but proceeds via different devices (foreshadowing, delay); a climax is often not climactic, nor the only one. Most importantly, the signposts that anchor the unfolding fabula in the path of representation do not merely take place in a single order, but in multiple, often non-linear phases, with some crucial parts of the fabula only becoming apparent in retrospect. In sum, these fundamental features shared by the plots of all of the novellas under study presume competence in storytelling forms based on familiarity with how plots work, in actually-existing short works of fiction as well as longer, complex ones that conglomerate the basic form. While all complex genres of fiction read by Egyptians and Judeans in this period relied on such competence, only the novella follows up the process of defamiliarization with a turn towards the integration of the entire plot, despite its complexity.

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[15] For discussion, see p. 373.

[16] According to Jonathan Culler, the "function of genre conventions is essentially to establish a contract between writer and reader so as to make certain relevant expectations operative and thus to permit both compliance with and deviation from accepted modes of intelligibility" (*Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics, and the Study of Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), 147).

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[17] Shklovsky, *Theory of Prose*, 6.

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[18] The concept of defamiliarization is usually invoked to describe the essence of literature as verbal art in its overt deviance from normal modes of perception and speech: see e.g. Michael Payne and Jessica Rae Barbera, eds., *A Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory*, 2nd ed. (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 183-184 (s.v. "defamiliarization"); David Gorman, "Russian Formalism," in *A Companion to Literary Theory*, ed. David H. Richter (West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2018), 44–45. As memorably put by Shklovsky (introducing the concept in his article "Art as a Device" (1917): "[I]n order to return sensation to our limbs, in order to make us feel objects, to make a stone feel stony, main has been given the tool of art...By 'estranging' objects and complicating form, the device of art makes perception long and 'laborious' (*Theory of Prose*, 6). Shklovsky provides Tolstoy's tendency to not use commonly accepted names for things, but to describe them as if they are being seen or experienced for the first time, as a specific example of defamiliarization (see ibid., 6-9). As this shows, the concept in its originally intended use can be used to account for a certain experience of reading fiction.

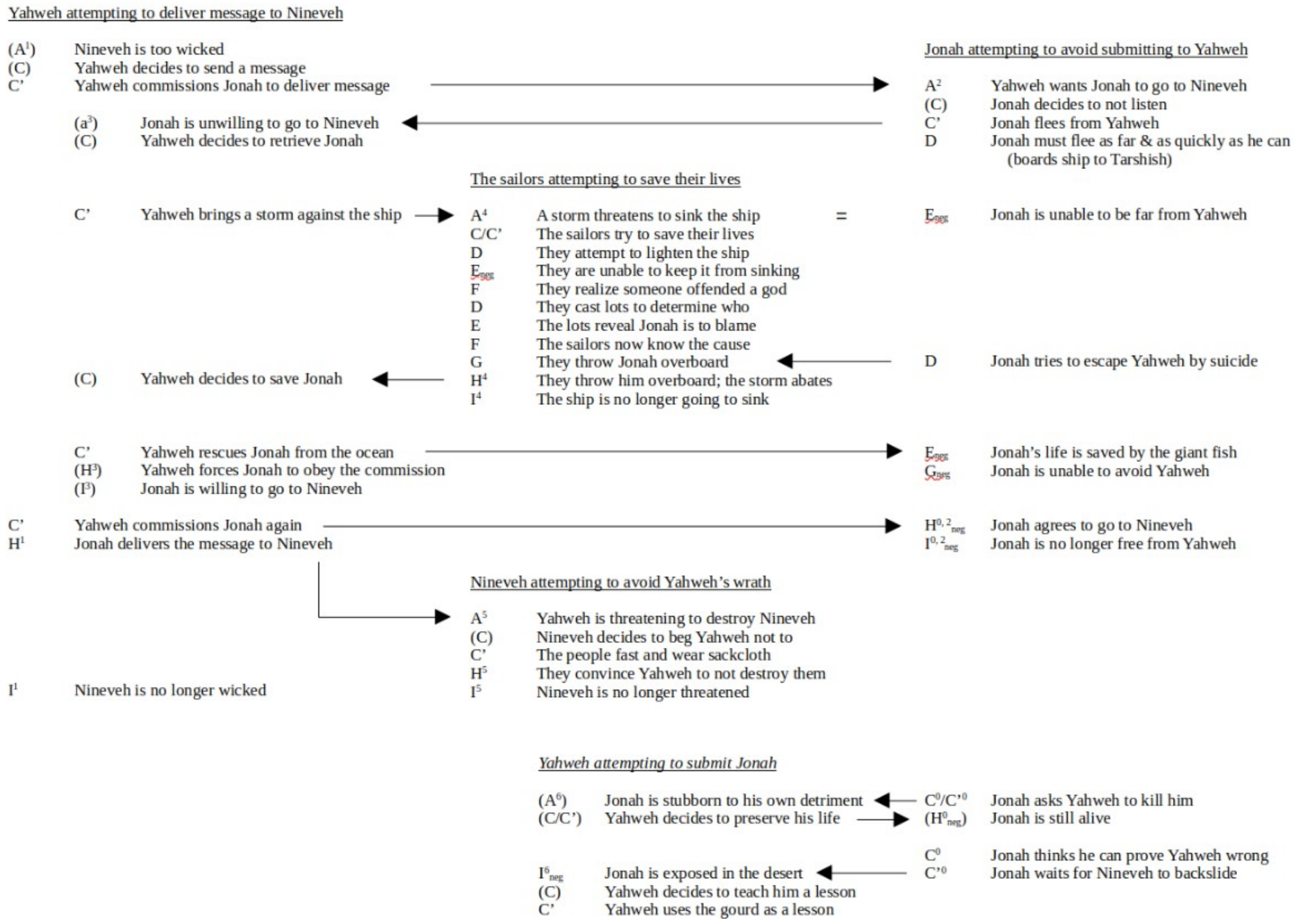
[19] Shklovsky, *Theory of Prose*, 6.

APPENDIX A:

CHARTS FOR THE FABULAS OF THE JUDEAN NOVELLAS

Complete charts for the fabulas of the five Judean novellas follow, in this order: *Jonah, Ruth, Esther, Tobit,* and *Judith*.

The Fabula of *Jonah*



Yahweh attempting to deliver message to Nineveh

(A^1) Nineveh is too wicked
(C) Yahweh decides to send a message
C’ Yahweh commissions Jonah to deliver message

(a^3) Jonah is unwilling to go to Nineveh
(C) Yahweh decides to retrieve Jonah

C’ Yahweh brings a storm against the ship

(C) Yahweh decides to save Jonah

C’ Yahweh rescues Jonah from the ocean
(H^3) Yahweh forces Jonah to obey the commission
(I^3) Jonah is willing to go to Nineveh

C’ Yahweh commissions Jonah again
H^1 Jonah delivers the message to Nineveh

I^1 Nineveh is no longer wicked

Jonah attempting to avoid submitting to Yahweh

A^2 Yahweh wants Jonah to go to Nineveh
(C) Jonah decides to not listen
C’ Jonah flees from Yahweh
D Jonah must flee as far & as quickly as he can (boards ship to Tarshish)

E_{neg} Jonah is unable to be far from Yahweh

D Jonah tries to escape Yahweh by suicide

E_{neg} Jonah’s life is saved by the giant fish
G_{neg} Jonah is unable to avoid Yahweh

$H^{0,2}{}_{neg}$ Jonah agrees to go to Nineveh
$I^{0,2}{}_{neg}$ Jonah is no longer free from Yahweh

The sailors attempting to save their lives

A^4 A storm threatens to sink the ship =
C/C’ The sailors try to save their lives
D They attempt to lighten the ship
E_{neg} They are unable to keep it from sinking
F They realize someone offended a god
D They cast lots to determine who
E The lots reveal Jonah is to blame
F The sailors now know the cause
G They throw Jonah overboard
H^4 They throw him overboard; the storm abates
I^4 The ship is no longer going to sink

Nineveh attempting to avoid Yahweh’s wrath

A^5 Yahweh is threatening to destroy Nineveh
(C) Nineveh decides to beg Yahweh not to
C’ The people fast and wear sackcloth
H^5 They convince Yahweh to not destroy them
I^5 Nineveh is no longer threatened

Yahweh attempting to submit Jonah

(A^6) Jonah is stubborn to his own detriment
(C/C’) Yahweh decides to preserve his life

$I^6{}_{neg}$ Jonah is exposed in the desert
(C) Yahweh decides to teach him a lesson
C’ Yahweh uses the gourd as a lesson

C^0/C'^0 Jonah asks Yahweh to kill him
$(H^0{}_{neg})$ Jonah is still alive

C^0 Jonah thinks he can prove Yahweh wrong
C'^0 Jonah waits for Nineveh to backslide

The Fabula of *Ruth*

A^1 Famine means the future of Elimelech’s family is at risk
C C’ Elimelech moves his family to Moab
G Elimelech’s family is poised to flourish
H^1_{neg} Elimelech and his sons die
I^1_{neg} Elimelech’s family is at risk of dying out

- A^2 Naomi is an old widow — A^3 Ruth and Orpah are young widows
- (C) Naomi decides to return to Judah
- C’ Naomi leaves for Judah → B Naomi sends Ruth and Orpah home to remarry

    - a^4 Ruth is faced with separation from Naomi
    - (C) Ruth decides to stay with Naomi
    - C’ Ruth attempts to convince Naomi to let her
    - D Naomi begs Ruth to turn back to Moab
    - E Ruth tries to convince Naomi to let her stay
    - H^4 Naomi allows Ruth to stay with her
    - I^4 Ruth is not separated from Naomi

I^3_{neg} Ruth is now a widow in a worse situation

A^5 Naomi and Ruth are without support
C/C’ Ruth gleans to support her and Naomi
F Ruth is given abundant grain and support by Boaz
(H^5_{neg}) Gleaning is only a temporary means of support

- (a^6) Boaz has yet to offer to marry Ruth
- (B) Naomi realizes that a^4 is the case and instructs Ruth how to convince him
- C Ruth listens to Naomi
- C’ Ruth goes to meet Boaz at night
- H^6 Ruth convinces Boaz to be willing to marry her
- I^6 Boaz is willing to marry Ruth

    - a^7 Boaz is not legally allowed to marry Ruth yet
    - C Boaz decides to obtain the legal right
    - C’ Boaz arranges a hearing with the closer kinsman
    - D Boaz discusses redemption with the closer kinsman
    - E Boaz convinces the kinsman not to marry Ruth
    - F/G Boaz is granted the right to marry Ruth by the elders
    - H^5 Boaz and Ruth are legally able to marry
    - I^7 Boaz takes Ruth as his wife

$H^{2,3,5}$ Naomi and Ruth taken into Boaz’s house

I^1 Ruth bears a child to Boaz, continuing Elimelech’s line

The Fabula of *Esther*

A^1 Vashti offends Ahasuerus by not coming to the feast
B Ahasuerus's advisers suggest that a decree should be issued
C Ahasuerus decides that their advice is good
C' Ahasuerus propagates a decree that deposes Vashti
H^1 Vashti is deposed as queen
I^1 Vashti can no longer offend Ahasuerus

a^2 Ahasuerus is in need of a new queen
B Ahasuerus's advisers suggest conducting a search for a new queen
C Ahasuerus decides that their advice is good
C' Ahasuerus entrusts the vetting process to Hegai
D Hegai presents Ahasuerus with Esther

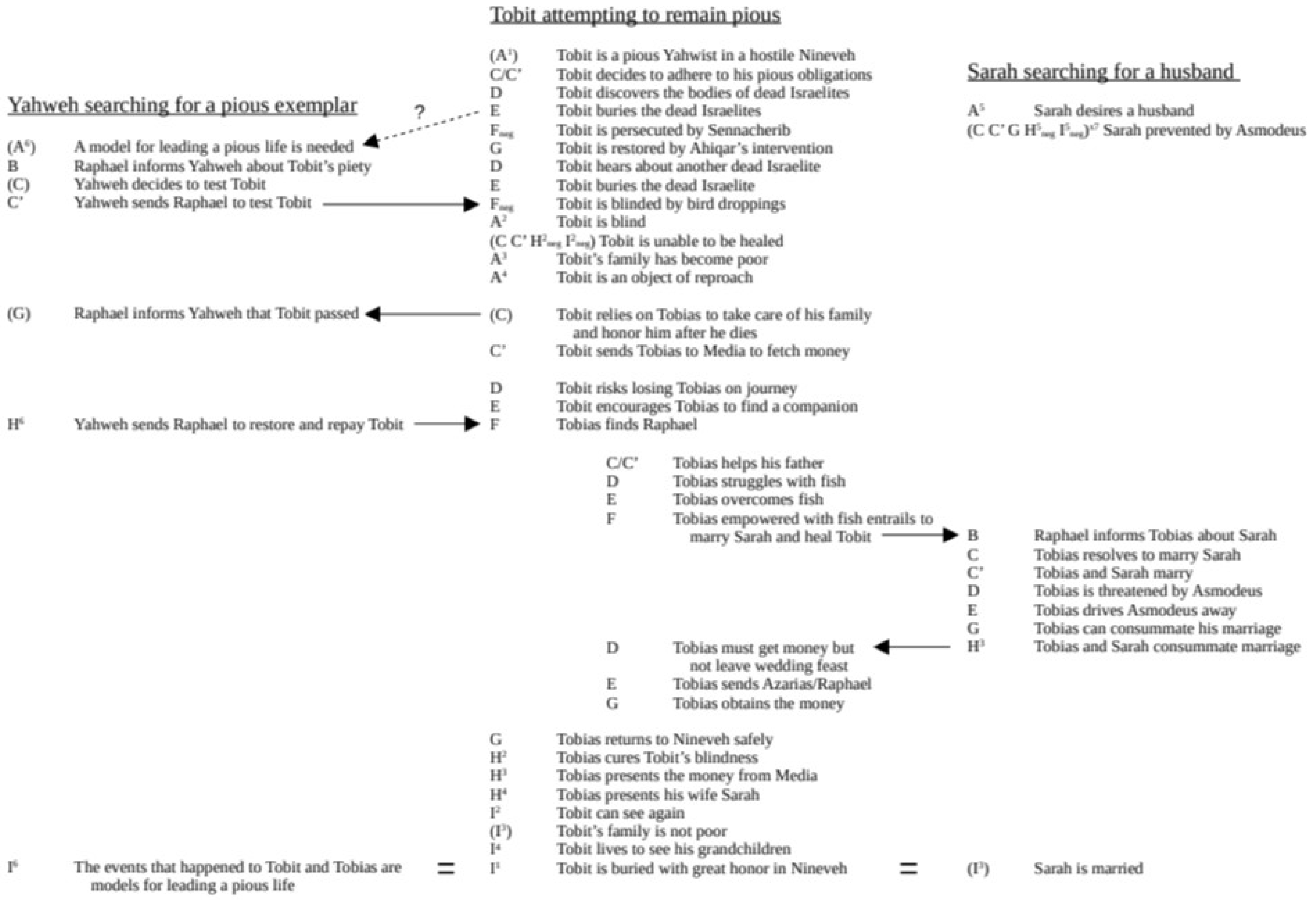
[D Esther is taken into the court's harem
E Esther keeps her ethnicity a secret
F Esther is admired by all]

G Ahasuerus loves Esther most of all
H^2 Ahasuerus makes Esther his queen
I^2 Ahasuerus has a new queen

A^3 Ahasuerus is the subject of an attempted assassination plot
B Mordecai learns of the plot (somehow)
C/C' Mordecai decides to report it to Esther
C/C' Esther reports the plot to Ahasuerus
H^3 The perpetrators are arrested
I^3 The plot is foiled

	Haman attempting to kill Mordecai			Esther and Mordecai attempting to save the Judeans
A^4	Haman wants to get rid of Mordecai			
C	Haman decides to have all Judeans killed			
C'	Haman promulgates a decree in Ahasuerus's name	→	A^5	All Judean lives are threatened
			B	Mordecai tells Esther she has to risk convincing Ahasuerus
			C	Esther decides to approach Ahasuerus
			C'	Esther enters the court
			D	Esther risks her life approaching Ahasuerus uninvited
			E	Ahasuerus receives Esther and will grant her any wish she has
	(Haman sees Mordecai again leaving Esther's feast)	←	F_{neg}	Esther does not ask for him to save the Judeans, but invites him and Haman to a feast the next day
B	Haman's wife and friends encourage him to have Mordecai hanged the next morning			
C	Haman is pleased with their advice			
C'	Haman erects gallows for hanging Mordecai			
	(Ahasuerus reads Mordecai's name in annals that night)			
G_{neg}	Haman is forced to honor instead of hang Mordecai	→	E	At the next day's feast, Ahasuerus again will grant Esther any wish she has
	(Ahasuerus believes he catches Haman attempting to rape Esther)	←	F	Esther asks Ahasuerus to spare the Judeans
H^3_{neg}	Haman is hanged (instead of Mordecai)	→	G	Ahasuerus gives Haman's property to Esther and his office to Mordecai
I^3_{neg}	Haman is dead		H^5	Mordecai revokes Haman's edict
			I^5	The Judeans lives are saved

The Fabula of *Tobit*



Yahweh searching for a pious exemplar

(A^6) A model for leading a pious life is needed
B Raphael informs Yahweh about Tobit's piety
(C) Yahweh decides to test Tobit
C' Yahweh sends Raphael to test Tobit

(G) Raphael informs Yahweh that Tobit passed

H^6 Yahweh sends Raphael to restore and repay Tobit

I^6 The events that happened to Tobit and Tobias are models for leading a pious life

Tobit attempting to remain pious

(A^1) Tobit is a pious Yahwist in a hostile Nineveh
C/C' Tobit decides to adhere to his pious obligations
D Tobit discovers the bodies of dead Israelites
E Tobit buries the dead Israelites
F_{neg} Tobit is persecuted by Sennacherib
G Tobit is restored by Ahiqar's intervention
D Tobit hears about another dead Israelite
E Tobit buries the dead Israelite
F_{neg} Tobit is blinded by bird droppings
A^2 Tobit is blind
$(C\ C'\ H^2_{neg}\ I^2_{neg})$ Tobit is unable to be healed
A^3 Tobit's family has become poor
A^4 Tobit is an object of reproach

(C) Tobit relies on Tobias to take care of his family and honor him after he dies
C' Tobit sends Tobias to Media to fetch money

D Tobit risks losing Tobias on journey
E Tobit encourages Tobias to find a companion
F Tobias finds Raphael

C/C' Tobias helps his father
D Tobias struggles with fish
E Tobias overcomes fish
F Tobias empowered with fish entrails to marry Sarah and heal Tobit

D Tobias must get money but not leave wedding feast
E Tobias sends Azarias/Raphael
G Tobias obtains the money

G Tobias returns to Nineveh safely
H^2 Tobias cures Tobit's blindness
H^3 Tobias presents the money from Media
H^4 Tobias presents his wife Sarah
I^2 Tobit can see again
(I^3) Tobit's family is not poor
I^4 Tobit lives to see his grandchildren
I^1 Tobit is buried with great honor in Nineveh

Sarah searching for a husband

A^5 Sarah desires a husband
$(C\ C'\ G\ H^5_{neg}\ I^5_{neg})^{\times 7}$ Sarah prevented by Asmodeus

B Raphael informs Tobias about Sarah
C Tobias resolves to marry Sarah
C' Tobias and Sarah marry
D Tobias is threatened by Asmodeus
E Tobias drives Asmodeus away
G Tobias can consummate his marriage
H^5 Tobias and Sarah consummate marriage

(I^5) Sarah is married

The Fabula of *Judith*

A^1 Media (esp. Ecbatana) poses a formidable risk to the Assyrian army
C/C’ Nebuchadnezzar enlists his vassals to help
F_{neg} The western vassals do not join in
H^1 Nebuchadnezzar defeats Ecbatana
I^1 Media is no longer a threat

Holofernes attempting to punish Israel

A^2 The western vassals of Nebuchadnezzar are rebellious
B Nebuchadnezzar’s ministers encourage him to destroy them
C Nebuchadnezzar decides to send Holofernes ahead
C’ Holofernes marches towards Syro-Palestine →

D Holofernes’s access to Israel is blocked ←
E Holofernes decides to instigate famine against Bethulia →

F The approach is successful, bringing Bethulia to the brink =

G_{neg} The Assyrians are unwilling to continue without Holofernes ←
H^2_{neg} The Assyrians flee from Israel →

I^2_{neg} The Israelites are not punished for being rebellious

Israel attempting to avoid destruction by Assyria

A^3 The Assyrians are about to conquer Israel
C Joakim and the senate decide to mount an armed resistance
C’ Joakim orders that Bethulia and Betomesthaim fortify the mountain passes
C C’ The Israelites pray to Yahweh for deliverance as well
D The Bethulians are overwhelmed by the size of the Assyrian forces
E The Bethulians nevertheless hold their ground
F The Bethulians avoid direct conflict with the Assyrians in the mountain passes
G The Israelites protect themselves from direct invasion
H^3_{neg} The Assyrians find another approach

A^4 Bethulia is suffering from famine
A^5 Bethulia is growing closer to apostasy
C Judith decides to murder Holofernes by deception
C' Judith infiltrates the Assyrian camp and gains the trust of Holofernes
D Judith must make the Assyrians receptive and trusting of her
E Judith makes herself attractive
D Judith must convince the Assyrians to let her leave the camp at night
E Judith convinces the Assyrians that she needs to pray outside the camp
D Judith must be able to carry a large bag without suspicion
E Judith convinces the Assyrians that she must eat her own food
F Judith is trusted by the Assyrians
(Holofernes invites Judith to a banquet)
G Judith is able to kill Holofernes and escape unnoticed
$H^{4,5}$ Judith beheads Holofernes and escapes
$H^{4,5}$ The Israelites rout and plunder the Assyrians
(I^4) The siege of Bethulia is over
I^5 The Bethulians keep their faith in Yahweh

I^3 The Assyrians are no longer going to invade Israel

APPENDIX B: TRANSLATION OF THE PREBEND OF AMUN

Unless otherwise noted, the translations reflect the readings of the editions of the manuscripts.[1]

P. Carlsberg 565+[2]

(1)][3] gold in the presence before him[4] [

(2)]………[5] Pawahiset, son of Wer[maa[6]

(3)]…….. “⸢By⸣ [Amun!][7] [SUBJECT] used to say ⸢to them⸣[8] [

(4)] …………..………superior [of]fice[9] (*jꜣw.t*) [

(5)]………………...…reign (*hꜣ*) of Pharaoh [

(6)] ……………..……if it happens that [

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[1] For P. Carlsberg 565+, Ryholt, “A Fragment from the Beginning of Papyrus Spiegelberg (P. Carlsberg 565)”; for P. Spiegelberg, cols. A-G, Hoffmann, “Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung” and Hoffmann, “Neue Fragmente zu den drei großen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten,” 30–38 (further fragments of cols. F and G); for the rest of P. Spiegelberg, Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*.

[2] This column fragment consists of P. Carlsberg 565, found among a box of unsorted material in Copenhagen by Ryholt and the fragment “Sobhy BII” (see G. P. G. Sobhy, “Miscellanea,” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16, no. 1–2 (1930): 3–5) from Cairo, joined by the Carlsberg fragment by Ryholt; see Ryholt, “A Fragment from the Beginning of Papyrus Spiegelberg (P. Carlsberg 565)”. No margins are preserved.

[3] A trace either of *ṱ* or of *ẖr* can be discerned (Ryholt, “A Fragment from the Beginning of Papyrus Spiegelberg (P. Carlsberg 565),” 273).

[4] A trace either of *st* “they” or *ꜥḥꜥ* may be discerned (Ryholt, ibid.)

[5] The flesh determinative can be read before the name (Ryholt, ibid.).

[6] Ryholt (ibid.) identifies this name with a *Wr-mꜣꜣ*, high priest of Re of Heliopolis, based on the occurrence of the name in an unpublished fragment of a version of *Prebend* from Tebtunis (P. Carlsberg 483).

[7] Only the divine determinative is preserved. The space suggests Amun (Ryholt, ibid.).

[8] Visible as a horizontal stroke extending from the (lost) left of *ḏd*, above it (Ryholt, ibid).

[9] Cf. P. Spiegelberg 10.21; Ryholt, “A Fragment from the Beginning of Papyrus Spiegelberg (P. Carlsberg 565),” 274; *ADL* 379bj.

(7)] ……………….……⌜crow⌝n[10] (*grp*) which [

(8)] ………………….⌜I/me,⌝[11] another [

(9)] ………………….….Pharaoh [(VERB)] to me [

(10)] …………………he/it before [

(11)] …………...…….adorn (*sḥqr*) [

(12)] ……………...… Upper [Egypt

(13)] …………………………[

…[12]

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(A.1)[13] the fleet of Phar[aoh] and the ar[my] of Egypt…….……………………………..

(A.2) ⌜wi⌝th them knowing that you are the oar of Egy[pt………….[It was done according to]

(A.3) ⌜al⌝l the words which General Djedh[or] had commanded……………………...

(A.4) The ...[14] was made to call out among those of the fleet of [Phara]⌜oh⌝:

(A.5) “Southwards, to Thebes!” ⌜The⌝ army of Egypt boarded their [sh]ips, while the

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[10] Ryholt reads *grp* here based on the preserved uraeus determinative and the preserved *p*, comparing with the writing of the word in P. Spiegelebrg (Ryholt, ibid.).

[11] The ⌜*ꞽj*⌝ may (less likely) read ⌜*pꜣ*⌝ (Ryholt, ibid).

[12] Assuming P. Carlsberg 565+ comes before col. A, but unsure of what intervened.

[13] Col. A is comprised of Sobhy’s fragment BI and P. Ricci 17. Edited in Hoffmann, “Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung,” 50–51 The top margin is visible. The right margin is preserved throughout, and though the left is only relatively visible in ll.11-13, the restorations based on a close parallel to this passage in 9.12-17, and the space of the lacunae, allows us to reconstruct the entire extent for most of the lines.

[14] The word is quite effaced. ꜥ and possibly the wind determinative can be made out (Hoffmann, “Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung,” 50n26). Based on the direct speech that follows, a word for herald or crier must have been originally present.

(A.6)[15] horses were on the shore ⸢oppo⸣site them, the ship of Pr[ince] Ankhhor

(A.7) [sai]ling south, taking (*ẖr*) the lead of the fleet of Pharaoh. [A shield]

(A.8) ⸢of gold⸣ was raised[16] in the middle of his ship which said "I am [the]

(A.9) ⸢first⸣ [shield] of E[gypt], while the ship of We[rtepamunniut sailed]

(A.10) at the en⸢d⸣ [of the] ⸢flee⸣t of Pha[raoh,] saying, "⸢I a⸣m [the]

(A.11) [great] rud[der]………………...the ship…Egypt, while the cover (*qpe*)

(A.12) …………….[fl]ee[t]……………………...[s]hip (at?) the head of those of

(A.13) ………………..of ………………………..Lord of the Mansion of the *Benben*[17]

(A.14) ………………….before him, while the great………[18] [Pharaoh said,

"…………………………………………………………….………….

(B.1)[19]….he/him….whom we left behind us in Pisopde." Djedhor, (son of) Ankhhor, said, "May your face live,

(B.2) ⸢m⸣y great lord! I have not commanded them to come south with us

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[15] Much of the following lines can be restored based on the parallel in 9.12-17.

[16] *sꜥsꜥ*. Translated as the qualitative of a verb, following Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 51* (no. 346), who argued based on a (rare) Coptic word "to lift up" (ⲥⲟⲥⲓ, Jaroslav Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 358a). W. John Tait, *Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek (P. Tebt. Tait)*, Texts from Excavations 3 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1977), 19h discusses this word's occurrence on a fragment from the end of version of *Prebend* at Tebtunis (now called P. Carlsberg 433, col. z+2, 19). Here, Tait reads *n sꜥsꜥ*, which would make reading this word as a verb difficult. Nevertheless, P. Carlsberg 433 (and 434) show significant lexical innovation; the clearly rare verb *sꜥsꜥ* may no longer have been known. These, and the parallel at P. Spiegelberg 9.14, are the only occurrences of the word.

[17] *Ḥ.t-Bnbn.* The "House of the Obelisk" is a sanctuary of Re in Heliopolis (see *LÄ* I, 694-695; Mark M. Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1993), 65), the town of Pami, suggesting that Heliopolis was the first stop of the fleet.

[18] Cols. A and B are not joined. Since col. B is preserved from the beginning, there must have been at least one column intervening. Starting in the lost potion of col. A, the fleet sailed to Heliopolis, landed, conducted their business, and met with Pami in some fashion. As I have argued (see p. 274ff), the fleet did not travel to Pisopde.

[19] Col. B is comprised of P. Ricci 1 and 2. The top margin is visible. The right margin is preserved in ll..3-7 and 16, with ll.2, 8, 15, and 17-18 likely preserving text at the margin. The left margin is preserved in l.2-8, with l.1 likely ending at the margin as well.

(B.3) in the journey which we are on. But as for, ‘What is this? Why will they not come south

(B.4) with us?’:[20] if the son of Pharaoh does not assume the boon[21]

(B.5) of the crown in your time,[22] who will assume it? Behold,

(B.6) as for[23] Pami the youth, son of Inaros, about whom you have spoken: that which he wishes,

(B.7) you should do it for him! ⸢You should give⸣ [him] a (piece of) the wrapping[24] of Tahor, the offering bread of Osiris King Inaros,

(B.8) his fa[ther….] his mortgage/endowment (*ḏsf.t*),[25] and his free things of his house

(B.9)…[they pertain to(?)][26] him. It does not pertain to him to do the journey of Pharaoh…

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[20] As discussed on p. 276, Djedhor is repeating something Petubastis said to him in the lost portion of the speech he finished in B.1.

[21] *ꜥw-n-jr.t*, lit “wideness of eye.” In the *Swallow and the Sea*, the swallow returns to her nest with *jr.t⸗s ꜥy*, “her eye wide,” signifying that she is feeling fortunate to have food in her possession for feeding her (alas, she discovers, drowned) young; see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Texte auf Krügen*, Demotische Studien 5 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912), 37 no. 75; Ritner in *AEL* 495n5. The noun *ꜥw-n-jr.t* is based on this idiom. Djedhor speaks of the crown, the tangible representation of the power of the pharaoh, as a fortunate thing to be in possession of, hence “boon.”

[22] *ṯ...grp.t*. The verb *ṯ* “take, seize” can have the connotation of “accept (something that is offered)” as well as “possess” (see *CDD ṯ*, 1-2). The meaning here is not that that Ankhhor literally takes the crown, i.e. becomes king, but that he receive the full benefit of his relation to the crown (as the heir apparent).

[23] See Hoffmann, “Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung,” 51n47 for the meaning of *ꜥn-my*, which can be translated “behold” or “behold, as for,” i.e. as a presentative particle that introduces a discourse topic. Hoffmann translates “on the one hand...on the other” (cf. B.11) because of their coordination, but since much of the speech is lost, I have opted for the literal translation.

[24] Spiegelberg and Hoffmann have no suggestions for the meaning of this word. *CDD h*, 94 lists a word *hl⸢t⸣* as a type of cloth associated with an embalming ritual (P. Teb. Tait 21, 1.4), comparing *Wb*. 2, 501.10 (*hrt*). The association with burial and offering to the dead is appropriate in context here.

[25] Hoffmann, “Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung,” 52; *ADL* 102. Cf. P. Insinger 10.2, 15.8, 24.15; *CDD ḏ*, 86. In Cairo CG 50027, l.7 (see Sven Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short Texts in the Demotic Script Found on Various Objects and Gathered from Many Publications*, Studia Demotica 5 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), no. 175), *ḏsf.t* refers more abstractly to the construction of a part of a temple, matching the usage of the word in the Coptic idiom ϫⲓ ϫⲁⲥϥⲉ “to repair” (*CD* 790b). The word appears to come from the Egyptian verb *sḏfꜣ* “to endow,” which yields the noun “foundation, endowment” (*Wb.* 4, 383.14-22).

[26] This restoration is one possibility of situating syntactically the objects listen in B.7-8. An alternative would be to restore “You should give him...” in the previous lacuna. The present suggestion is based on the next sentence. If this restoration is correct, the items listed in B.7-8 would be fronted subjects corresponding to the “they”of the restored part.

(B.10)…………………….. [to the place] to which you came, until you wish [him against]

(B.11)……………………[your misfortune.] On the other hand, Ankhhor, the son of the king…

(B.12)…………………………………….[….of Phara]oh, to whom he came on account of…

(B.13)……………………………………...it happened against/opposite (*wbꜣ*) the crown…..

(B.14)………………………………………...the first [shield] of Egypt gave [his consent…]

(B.15) [and one] caused that it is left for [them. As for Paimi,] he became angry. The heart [of Ankhhor]

(B.16) the son of the king (B.15) was satisfied (B.16)…of Amun. He repaid it. [He] made…

(B.17) the fleet [of Pharaoh………………………………………………………………..

(B.18) Egypt……………………………………………………………………………..

(C.x+1) t…………………………………………………………………………..

(C.x+2) Amun in him/it…………………………………………………………

(C.x+3) the same, the………………………………………………………[One caused[27]]

(C.x+4) that the lector priest come……………………………………….[Petubastis,]

(C.x+5) Anchhor, and the lector priest……………………….[came to the place in which the]

(C.x+6) first prophet of Amun was. [They] spoke [to him]………………………………….

(C.x+7) Pharaoh. He said to them: “Has [he] not………………………………………….

(C.x+8) Pharaoh [heard/received[28]]……………………………..…..pr[iest]………

(C.x+9) Pharaoh, while it happened………………………………………..in the fami[ly]…

(C.x+10) …A[nkhh]or, the son of the King, yo[ur son]……………………………………

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[27] A formula similar to when a character commands something to happen long distance.

[28] Hoffmann, “Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung,” 52 notes that the determinative of this word, preserved in part after the lacuna, could be that of *sḏm* or of *šp*.

(C.x+11) They [com]manded to prevent…the hand of the first prophet of Amun…..[He said to them,]……

(C.x+12) “If I transfer (*ḫꜣꜥ*)[29] the same [prebend]…..to [Anchor,]……………………………

(C.x+13) the son of the king, your son, an[d…..] after me…………………………………

(C.x+14) before the pharaohs….Pharaoh………………………………………………………

(C.x+15) their children, the ones who(m)….[the first proph]et of Amun………………………

(C.x+16) while you c[ame] in order to fer[ry Amun[30]] to Upper Egypt……………………….

(C.x+17) [Djedhor,] son of Anchhor…..on accou[nt of]……………………………………

(C.x+18) these [two] parties……[E]gypt………………………………………………………

(C.x+19) strong in…..[Pha]raoh…………………………………………………………………

(C.x+20) which he had commanded….[fo]ot……………………………………………………

(C.x+21) while Amun is transported……………………………………………………………

(C.x+22) Pharaoh…………………………………………………………………………………

(C.x+23) Djedhor[, son of Ankhhor,] was………………………………………………………

(C.x+24) [wh]ile they caused the accomplishing of the matter………………………………

(C.x+25) the same, to……………………………………………………………………………

(C.x+26) his sight to the…………………………………………………………………………

(D.1) before [the causing of the] crossing of Am[un]Upper Egypt after him[31]…. [They said,[32]]

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[29] See 10.16-17.

[30] For the restoration, cf. D.1, 9-10, 14.

[31] *m-sꜣ⸗f* could refer to Ankhhor acting as the high priest or to the statue of Montu.

[32] Cf. the end of D.1, which may show traces of the *ḏd*, but does not leave enough room for anything beyond the verb and suffix). Cf. also next note.

(D.2) “Pharaoh, our great lord![33] If it ha[ppens, that] you install Montu….

(D.3) at the moment when the army of Egy[pt] is purified for the festival [inside the]

(D.4) temple of Thebes, the festi[vals] will be celebrated….in/on the shrine (*qpe*), because of….

(D.5) Behold, many days which have……….in/of Egypt……….[the time of]

(D.6) earlier Pha[raohs]. If it hap[pens] in the royal family

(D.7)….he/him….to Thebes in your time….character. May he[34] set …[35] upon (*ḫꜣꜥ ḥr*)

(D.8)……the ram(?) (*srṱ*) of the *rms*-boat…(of) the people of Tanis, and you

(D.9) [transport] Amun to Upper Egypt. [May] it happen that Pharaoh [transport]

(D.10) Amun to Upper Egypt! He will celebrate this very festival before

(D.11)…Do not hesi[tate beyo]nd the hour! Make them carry out

(D.12) [the pre]paration of Theb[es!…........the ba]rge of Amenope[36]…..

(D.13) ….strike/obstruct/pertain (*sḫ*)………….....happens the procession of [Amun],

(D.14) [my] god, the [great] god……………….[tran]sport Amun to Upper Egy[pt]….

(D.15)…all [wor]ds……………………………………...…………....They made...

(D.16) Pharaoh……………………….…...….[fire and drin]k offering before Amun...

(D.17) was beautiful……………..………..…...………...while the army of Egypt

(D.18) upon t[he…………………………...………….. They [car]ried (*fy*)

(D.19) the great God…………………..……………………….[the] fleet….

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[33] This phrase belongs at the beginning of a reply to the pharaoh.

[34] Ankhhor?

[35] Probably the processional bark of Amun.

[36] *Jmn Jpy*, “Amun of Luxor.” Hoffmann, “Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung,” 56 reads *my* “Come!” instead of *Jpy* “Luxor,” the latter being the original reading of Spiegelberg in the *editio princeps* (see his P. Ricci 5a+b, 12; *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 37, 81*).

(D.20) among…………………….……………………...[A]mun. [Pharaoh] raised

(D.21) his face to……………………..………………...of Amun……...royal

(D22) linen, while he [

(D.23) ……………………………………………………….…………….…

(D.24) May…………………………………………….…………..he/him[37]

(D.25) …...to [

(D.26) Phar[aoh……………………………………………………..to] him

(E.1)[38] while there was a face of a falcon[39] [

(E.2) He was not able to go [

(E.3) the lector priest, he said [

(E.4) I did not ask [

(E.5) it is far [

(E.6) happened formerly. Behold, the [

(E.7) today. Behold, the [

(E.8) There is not changing in him [

(E.9) in Egypt…………………………………………………………..[the High]

(E.10) [Priest] of Amun, leave/left [

(E.11)Ankhhor, son of [the king]

(E.12) for/in Amun of Karnak [

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[37] *m*⌜*y*⌝…[⸗]⌜*f*⌝

[38] Col. E is joined to D.

[39] Sometimes thought to be a hint of the priest of Buto's appearance, this more likely describes the cult image of Montu, which would have participated in the festival.

(E.13) and he should/so that he return to Thebes [

(E.14) the kings who…………………………………………………………….[Pharaoh]

(E.15) Petubas[tis]…………………………………………………………...[Ankhhor]

(E.16) son of the king [

(E.17) the same [

(E.18) while he took [

(E.19) my great lord [

(E.20) the first prophet [of Amun transfers/transferred the v]ery [prebend][40] of An[khhor]

(E.21) son of the king……..before [

(E.22) [Amun] every ye[ar ...

(E.23) Montu, lord of [

(E.24) while he was in the……………………………………………......Thebes, lord…

(E.25) Thebes, a(n)……………………………………………..that which rests [

(E.26) in……………………………………...[Ankhhor] son of the king [

...[41]

(F.1) …………………………………………………………………..hear……

(F.2) ………………………………………..……[(*flesh determinative*)] his…….

(F.3) ………………………………………………………..…WRITE[42] in the letter

(F.4) ……………………………………………………………………..…dis]pute

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[40] Following Hoffmann's restoration, who notes that it is uncertain ("Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung," 58).

[41] Column E and F are not joined.

[42] Either following *jw⸗j* ("I write") or *pꜣ* ("the writing"); Hoffmann, "Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung," 31n20.

(F.5) …………………………………………………………………….…set foot

(F.6) ……………………………appearance of Amun. Pharaoh said to him, "The foot

(F.7) ……………………………..…………first prophet of Amun. The…gave….

(F.8) ………………………..……………………..………..st]ele of hard stone[43]

(F.9) ……………………………………………..…this foot against them again

(F.10) ……………………………………………..……I/me.[44] Take control(?)…

(F.11) ………………………………………………………..I am the one….this…

(F.12) ……………………………………..…[yo]ur father again……..sweet, man[y]

(F.13) ………………………...the priests of Amun." The young priest[45] [said to] him

(F.14)…………………………………………………Buto….[Ho]rus of Pe in

(F.15) [Buto…………………….……..Phar]aoh [said,] "What is this…..far are the priests[46]

(F.16) ……………………………………………....in Thebes the very prebend

(F.17) ………………………………Pharaoh…"..................................The young

(F.18) [priest said, "]……………………………. Priests (and) the first prophet of

(F.19) [Amun]……………………………………………..……transport

(F.20) [Amun]……………………………………………[A]mun and the priests

(F.21) ………………………………………………………..to them, saying

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[43] *w*]*yṱ j*⸢*n*⸣*y ḏr*. This phrase is found in *Amazons* 4.25 and also on the Rosetta Stone (l.32).

[44] Hoffmann, "Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung," 32n26 notes a determinative like that of *šp*. Assuming this is a noun

[45] Buto

[46] Since "far" (*wy*) is used below as a technical term meaning "have no authority over," Petubastis may be quoting the young priest, who stated (possibly just earlier, in F.13ff.) that the priesthood of Amun is, in fact, "far" from the prebend. Compare *jḥ̭ pꜣ*, "what (is) this" here with *jḥ̭ tꜣ* in B.3, where Djedhor repeats Petubastis's question *verbatim* back to him. Can we restore *ḫrw* "plea" after the *pꜣ* (cf. 2.20, 3.13)?

(F.22)…………………………………………………………..…very th[ings]

(F.23) ………………………………….………The young priest said,] "Know it

(F.24) …………………………………………………………..[m]y great lord

(F.25) ………………………………………………………..…..[tran]sport

(F.26) ………………………………………………………………………

(G.1)[47] … It happened that Amun, ⸢t⸣he great God, who [

(G.2) [Horus, son of Osi]ris, to whom the [great] Isis had ⸢given birth⸣ [

(G.3) while he drinks….[in Bu]to, while he repeats (*wḥm*) [

(G.4) born….Akhmim,[48] while he was in [the(?)] power of(?) [

(G.5) while he is lo[rd in] ⸢Bu⸣to. It is every year that he crossed/ferried [

(G.6) …………while] ⸢he⸣ was libating, [while] ⸢he⸣ was pouring water to ⸢Osiris⸣ [his father]

(G.7) [on ac]count of…[Nub]ian of the land of Upper Egypt, Perinep(?)[49] [

(G.8) ….Abydos, in which Osiris alone rests…………………………………….……

$^{G.9}$….[up]on him. Behold, that which happened……………………………………...$^{G.10}$ is [the] station (*ꜥḥꜥ rt.wy*) of the gods. The kind……..…………………………$^{G.11}$ ……..…[the] gods, what their type is, while they give/cause…………………….………………$^{G.12}$……………..the bark of the lions, the battle formation[50] ……………………….……………$^{G.13}$…….his…

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[47] The additional fragments of F and G published by Hoffmann, "Der Anfang des P. Spiegelberg—ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung" show that G is joined with F.

[48] For reading Akhmim here instead of Chemmis (as Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis,* 84*), see Hoffmann, "Neue Fragmente zu den drei großen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten," 34n38.

[49] The word *sy* can be read here; see Hoffmann, "Neue Fragmente zu den drei großen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten," 34n40.

[50] G.12 reads … *pꜣ wtn n nꜣ mꜣy.w pꜣ sr-qnqne* …, "… the bark, to/for the lions, the battle formation…." It seems unlikely that *pꜣ sr-qnqne* is related to *nꜣ mꜣy.w* as a direct genitive, which suggests that the copula *pꜣy/tꜣy/nꜣy* would have followed soon after *sr-qnqne* (thus, "… the bark, to/for the lions, [is] the battle formation …).

which Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris earlier had made, while the lions….[G.14] gave…[th]eir fear, their reputation and their terror…………………………[G.15]…………….Osiris, his father, while they were taken instead of (*ẖr*) the lions…..….[G.16]……………..…destruction, mischief before Horus, son of Isis…………………...……[G.17] son [of Osiris, when he comes to lustra]te to Osiris his father.[51] The planks of G.18 [the barque of Amun] are the enemies, who have left the path, while [G.19] ⸢Horus⸣……..….them, while he rushes[52] upon their bodies, while he comes [G.20] [in order to lustrate to his father Osiris. The skip]pers and the rowers of the bark of Amun: [G.21]……………...royal,[53] because it is they who [G.22] ⸢took⸣…[Horus, son of] Isis, son of Osiris, when he comes in order to [G.23] [lustrate to his father Osiris. The………..…o]f the barque of Amun: [G.24] is….]bec[ause it is………………………………[G.25]……………………………….. …..…………………[G.26]…………………………………………………………………

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[51] There must have been other exegetical statements before this, but there is not enough preserved in the text (especially copulas) that allows us to know exactly how many.

[52] Taking *tktk* as a reduplicated form of *tkr* “to hurry”; cf. *ADL* 377j, contra Stadler, who connects *tktk* to hieroglyphic *tktk* “to attack” (*Wb* V, 336.13), which is certainly possible (and would not change the overall meaning too much). The Demotic word is written with the walking legs determinative here (as can *tktk* “to attack,” though the striking arm appears to be more common).

[53] This translation of the word *ḥry* follows Vittmann, *TLA* ad loc.; cf. *CDD*, ḥ, 221. The word “crown” (*sḥn*) appears just below at 1.7, which suggests that something different is meant here. It is possible that *ḥry* was connected to a (now lost) noun as an indirect genitive with *n*, functioning quasi-adjectivally (for this construction in Demotic, see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, §72-73; for Coptic, see Walter C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1955), §114-119, 122; Bentley Layton, *A Coptic Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary: Sahidic Dialect*, 3rd revised ed., Porta Linguarum Orientalium, n. s., 20 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), §96-99; for the Late Egyptian antecedent, see Adolf Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, 2nd revised and augmented ed. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1979), §225; for the Earlier Egyptian origin, see Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), §94g). Thus, we can translate it “a royal [something].” This is arguably how the word functions in 10.21-22 in the phrase *jꜣw.t-n-ḥry*, which can be translated “royal office.” While the phrase is traditionally translated “office of the ruler,” an adjectival analysis fits equally well (e.g. in the Canopus and Memphis Decrees where it is parallel with βασιλεία, occurring alongside *jꜣw.t* (*n*) *pr-ꜥꜣ* “office of the Pharaoh”; Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Der demotische Text der Priesterdekrete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana)* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1922), 97–98).

[1.1]…………..born, until…………….…strong…………..….[1.2]…......lordship of Osiris, his father.[54] The bailing scoop[55] of [1.3] the bark (is)[56] Bastet the scooper of care. Because she is the one who [1.4] “scoops” cares for the gods and goddesses.[57] [The] mast of the bar[k] [1.5] is Shu, the son of Re, the exalted[58] champion[59] of the gods. The sails [1.6] of byssos (which) are on the mast, and the *gbjw* (yards?)[60] and the two ladders[61] [1.7] and the four winds are the crown (ḫꜥ) of Amun. For it is he who makes heaven and air [1.8] go under Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, when he is on the way to libate for [his] father Osiris. [1.9] The bolt[62] of the mast is Pre. Because it is Amun who hastens [1.10] on the bark which carries Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, while comes in order to libate [1.11] to his father Osiris. The mooring post[63] (and) the hawser[64] of the bark are [the] armbands 1.12 of the goddesses. Because they are the goddesses, who threw their armbands 1.13 into the bark of Amun, when it comes to the quay while they anchor it. 1.14…..the foot of Horus, son of Isis, when he has come to libate to 1.15 [his father.] The stopping peg[65] of the boat is Uto 1.16….Because it is she who grasped the armbands 1.17…Because she is the mistress of the armbands of the gods. 1.18….in the Lotus Sea. Uto and Nechbet 1.19…the appearance of Amun, the great God, between them. Because 1.20…[Isis] of Chemmis, while they drive to Buto 1.21 [to Horus, son of Osiris,] when he has come to libate to his father. 1.22 [The rudder(?)[66] of] the bark of Amun is Thoth, the great God.

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[54] It is very likely that at least one exegetical statement intervened between G.24 and 1.1 (hence the awkward numbering “x+y+4”).

[55] *mḏb.t*. Spiegelberg’s restoration of this word here (*Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 28*) has gone unchallenged. The word would only be attested here in Demotic. Spiegelberg based his restoration on the classical word *mḏbꜣ.t* “bailing scoop” (*Wb* 2, 118.13-14; in 189.1, the same word, but with the wood determinative, is defined as “a part of a boat”). Except for one Old Kingdom attestation (Hermann Junker, *Giza IV: Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Gîza: Die Mastaba des Kai-em-anch* (Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A.G., 1900), 75), the word is found exclusively in the Coffin Texts (CT V, 72a, 109j, etc.) and in the Book of the Dead.

[56] The copula is omitted.

[57] Cp. the elucidation of the *mḏb.t* by Isis in the Myth of Horus: *jw mḏb.t ḫsdb mꜣꜥ ḥr pnq mw m tp (n) mḏt (n) qn*, “The bailing scoop of real lapis lazuli is scooping water as the finest unguent of utmost quality” (Edfu IV, 80.9; Blackman and Fairman, “The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II.C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies: A Sacred Drama (Concluded),” 7, with note m). The verb *pnk/pnq* is shared between these texts.

[58] The adjective *ḫy* means “high, exalted.” In the expression *ḫy n ḥr* it can be translated “haughty” (lit. “high of face”; see P. Insinger 27.17). Paired with the word “champion,” the word appears to be a pun on Shu’s lofty place in the cosmos (often depicted as holding up the sky goddess Nut over the earth).

[59] Following B. H. Stricker, “De strijd om de praebende van Amon,” *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* 29 (1948): 71–83. The basic meaning of *ḥwṱ* is “male.” For the meaning “warrior,” cf. the classical Eg. word from which it developed (*ꜥḥꜣwty*, see *Wb.* 1, 217.8), used as to gloss *ḥwt* in P. Louvre E3329 (Janet H. Johnson, “Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 55–102).

[60] Lit. “arms,” with the wood determinative. Unclear; this term has not been translated previously.

[61] Also unclear, this being the translation given by Spiegelberg; cf. Coptic ⲙⲟⲩⲕⲓ (*CD*, 161b).

[62] *krr.* This word, which is spelled *qr*⸢*r*⸣ in Mythos (P. Lille A, 35) is taken as a variant of Demotic *qlꜣ.t* “bolt” (E*G*, 545); cf. Coptic ⲕⲗⲗⲉ (C*D*, 103b). A similar word *qry.w* can be found in P. Dem. Saq. I 2, 6.2. Spiegelberg, who first translated it in this way (1910. 61), connects it to the Earlier Egyptian predecessor *qꜣr.t* (*Wb.* 5, 12.2) without apparently knowing of *qlꜣ.t*

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[63] *ꜥmṯ̭ꜣ.t*. Cf. 7.16, where the priest of Buto states that he will *šsp tꜣ ꜥmṯ̭.t n pꜣ w(yꜣ) jw⸗j (r?) ṯꜣy-yr n jmn r nw.t*, “take out the *ꜥmṯ̭.t* of the bark and ferry Amun across to Thebes.” *ꜥmṯ̭ꜣ.t* is written with the silver determinative, suggesting it is made of metal. The classical word for the mooring post is *mnj.t*, e.g. in the beginning of *Shipwrecked Sailor*. The Demotic word may be a development of Late Egyptian *ꜥmdy* (*Wb.* 1, 187.9; Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, 70–71), which Brugsch first identified as a loan from a Semitic word of the root *עמד “to stand” (see G. Jéquier, “Materiaux pour servir à l’établissement d’un dictionnaire d’archeologie égyptienne,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 19 (1922): 16–17). In P. Anastasi IV, a chariot is said to have an *ꜥmdy* that is “made of gold” (*bꜣk m nbw*, 16.8). Jéquier argues that the word refers to the vertical beams that are based on the chassis of the chariot and frame the cab. Since in the present context we are dealing with parts of the ship that contribute to docking, the *ꜥmṯ̭ꜣ.t* could be something on the boat itself to which the hawser is tied, or a post on the shore for the same purpose.

[64] *ẖrpe.t*. Cf. the hieroglyphic word *šrp.t* from the Edfu Horus myths designating a mooring rope for anchoring a ship and, tellingly, written with the coil of rope determinative (Edfu VI,80.10; Blackman and Fairman, “The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II. C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies a Sacred Drama (Continued),” 7, 7nj). This word resembles the Earlier Eg. *ẖrpw* “mallet” (*Wb.* 3, 326.7), written with the wood determinative, which was used to drive in the mooring poist of a ship. The Demotic word is likely derived from it. It cannot be ruled out that *ẖrpe.t* is the mallet, but since it is equated to something tossed on board the ship while it is docking (1.12-13; wouldn’t the mallet already be on the ship?), we should picture the hawser which is tied to the post (*ꜥmṯ̭e.t*) on the shore and tossed to a deck hand on board the bark. This scene is also a descriptive elucidation of parts that pertain to a boat, not of its tools.

[65] Reading *nꜣy.t* as a metathesized variant of *nꜥy.t*; cf. E*G*, 208; *Wb.* 2, 207.17; cf. Coptic ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲱ; for this variant, see *CDD*, n, 26-27. For an illustration of such a post, see New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1985.328.15, an Amarna relief fragment of the moored royal boat of Akhenaten, with two mooring ropes tied to large pegs on the shore; viewable at https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544682.

[66] Suggested restoration of Stadler, “Der Kampf um die Pfründe des Amun (Papyrus Spiegelberg),” 423. There is good precedent for connecting the steering oar of a boat to Thoth: in the Stele of Iykhernofret, we read: *dj.n⸗j sqdy dp.t nṯr Ḏḥwty ḥr mꜣꜥ*, “I have made the boat sail with Thoth leading the way,” (l.21; Heinrich Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostris III. nach dem Denkstein des Oberschatzmeisters I-cher-nofret im Berliner Museum*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens, 4 (2) (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904), 26). Hoffmann and Quack (*ADL* 377o) agree but note that the word is not long enough to fill the space missing at the beginning of l.21. Although the copula is singular, meaning there cannot be more than one noun

Because ….[67] [1.23] [it is] the gods and the people while he gave a thing/speech in his…..[1.24]…. [Horus] son of Isis, son of Osiris, has come to libate to his father Osiris. [2.1] [while Thoth, the great] God was on the way to Upper Egypt, while Horus, son of [Isis,] son of Osiris, [prevailed over Egypt] [2.2] and the gods worked for him. Is there any person who has authority over this same prebend [2.3] from him (sc. Amun?), besides me? I am the prophet of Horus of Pe of Buto, born [2.4] of Isis in Chemmis. This same prebend of my father belongs to me. [2.5] As for the first prophet of Amun and the [priests of Amun,] they do not have anything to do with it."

[2.6] Pharaoh looked at the priests, saying, "Did you not hear what [2.7] the young priest said?" The priests spoke to Pharaoh: "Our great lord, l.p.h.! [2.8] About these matters, we have never heard them before this day and, moreover, we have never known [2.9] them (to be) in a scroll." Just as the young priest was speaking these words, Amun the great god had appeared [2.10] while he was listening to his voice. The lector priest said, "If it is pleasing before Pharaoh, [2.11] let Pharaoh ask before Amun the great god, 'Is the young priest the one [2.12] who has authority over this very prebend?'" Pharaoh said, "What you say [2.13] is right." Pharaoh asked before Amun, saying, "Is the young priest the one who has disposal over [2.14] this very prebend?" Amun came forward in a step in a hurry, saying, "It is he." [2.15] Pharaoh said, "Young priest! Since it is the case that this was known in your heart, [2.16] why did you not come yesterday and raise your voice about these

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in the "A slot" of the sentence, there may be a prepositional phrase modifying the noun, such as "of the bark" (cf. 1.2, 1.4). In the *Triumph of Edfu*, the *ḥmy nfr* of Horus's bark *wḏb ḥr qrjw⸗s mj Ḥr ḥr mꜣs.ty Jst*, "turns on its bolt like Horus on the knees of Isis" (Edfu VI, 80.1), the *qrjw* being the post or stanchion on which the steering oar is mounted, possibly a kind of tiller, allowing it to swivel and be controlled by the skipper. Thus, another possible restoration is *pꜣ ḥmy ḥr qrj⸗f* or sim.

[67] Hoffmann and Quack (*ADL* 377o) suggest that *mtw⸗f pꜣy jr ty sbꜥ.t* is missing here. Visible are what appears to be the man with hand to mouth determinative and possibly the book roll determinative, followed by plural strokes; cf. *sbꜥ.t* in P. Spiegelberg 16.2. Another possibility would be *mt.w*; cf. *ty.t md.t* later in the same line.

very things [2.17] before I wrote about this to the first prophet of Amun? I would have arranged [2.18] for Ankhhor the son of the king to assign the same prebend to you." The young priest spoke [2.19] [befo]re Pharaoh: "My great lord! "If I had come before Pharaoh, [my great(?)] [2.20] [lord(?)] to put my plea before the priests of Amun, then Amun, the great God, would have found these [things[68]] [2.21] […[69]] before they caused that he libate to his father Osiris. It was [2.22] [for the sake of] taking the processional bark of Amun the great god as pledge (2.21) that I have come [here] [2.22] … [2.23] … he (sc. Amun?) intended (*jr ẖr pꜣ gy*) to cause Horus son of Isis, son of Osiris to proceed to Upper Egypt [2.24] [to lib]ate to his father, Osiris. I have made a complaint [before him] [3.1] after the libating while he did it for his father Osiris……………………………..content."

[3.2] Djedhor, son of Ankhhor, said: "Since you had not come yesterday to cry out to him [3.3], do not come back today! Do not spread a bad odor [3.4] of Ankhhor, son of the king, for he had adorned himself before[70] the processional bark of Amun, [3.5] the great god, while it was on the way to Upper Egypt.[71] Let one (try to) stop him today:[72] [3.6] he will return to Thebes!" The young priest said, "Silence your mouth, Djedhor, [3.7] son of Ankhhor! If you are asked about the affairs of the army commander which are in your possession, [3.8] take care of them! As for the prebends of the temple, where have you found them? [3.9] As Horus of Pe in Buto, my god, lives, Amun will not set out [3.10] to Thebes on this journey in which he is, until Ankhhor, son of the king [3.11] gives me the prebend which he is in possession of!”

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[68] Referring to the content of the priest's claim, i.e. the *mt.w* (*n*) *rn⸗w* of 2.16, which may be restored here.

[69] "Horus" may have been found here, since the "he" of the next clause clearly refers to him.

[70] *ḥr-tꜣ-ḥ(ꜣ).t n* is a compound preposition (*TLG* lemma no. 4817; cf. E*G* 287 & 387) meaning "before," meaning in this context that Ankhhor donned the outward appearance of the High Priest of Amun while standing in front of the processional bark.

[71] I.e. it was undergoing preparations to cross the Nile.

[72] Both Hoffman and Quack (*ADL* 107, 337 note w) and Stadler ("Der Kampf um die Pfründe des Amun (Papyrus Spiegelberg)," 423) suggest a modal meaning to this sentence. Djedhor is saying that, no matter what, the procession will return to Thebes, even if it is halted. The meaning of *m-qd*[*y*] *hrw*, which literally translates as "around a day," must be something like "for the day" or "in the space of a day," i.e. the halting will only last a short period.

Prince Ankhhor said to him: “Have you come [3.12] to take this prebend lawfully, or have you come to [3.13] take it in battle?” The young priest said, “If my plea is heard, [3.14] I will cause that he takes it lawfully. If one does not listen to my plea, I will cause that he takes it in [3.15] battle!” As soon as he said this, Prince Anchor [3.16] raged like the sea. His gaze flamed in [3.17] sparks. His heart bore for him dust like [3.18] the eastern mountain. He said, “As Amun-Re, lord of Karnak, my god, lives! As for the prebend [3.19] about which you complain, over which you should not have power: [3.20] I will cause it to revert to the High Priest of Amun [in whose possession it was] formerly.” [3.21] Prince Ankhhor turned his face to the [kios]k. He threw [3.22] the byssos which had been on him [onto the gr]ound [3.23] with the golden jewelry with which he had been adorned. [He had] brought [3.24] to him his armor. He donned[73] the amulets [of the] battle. [4.1] He came to the dromos of Amun, tu[rning his face][74] to the young priest, to the kiosk[75] [4.2] itself. Behold, a young servant was opposite him, hidden among [4.3] the army, with a new, exquisitely ornamented piece of armor in [4.4] his hand. The young priest approached him. He took the piece of armor from him. [4.5] He girded himself with it. He came to the dromos of Amun. He faced Ankhhor [4.6] son of the king. He struck out. He fought with him. Djedhor, son [4.7] of Anchhor opened his mouth with a loud warrior’s cry before [4.8] the army, saying, “Are you standing in the area around of Amun while a shepherd battles [4.9] with the child of Pharaoh, without having put your weapons at his disposal?”

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[73] Lit. “entered into.”

[74] Following the restoration of Stadler, “Der Kampf um die Pfründe des Amun (Papyrus Spiegelberg),” 425. The top of the *s* in *sṯꜣ* can be seen above the damaged section. Compare the writing of the verb at the beginning of 3.21 (note the traces on the far right of the word are not copied by Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 56*, no.387).

[75] *twtwe*. This is on or near the dromos, and is where the priest of Buto stood for the entirety of the scene leading up to the battle with Ankhhor. Previously considered to be a chamber inside the temple (Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 65* [no. 456]), Hoffmann has shown that the word *twtwe* in *Prebend* must refer to a free-standing, roofed structure, related to hieroglyphic *ḏꜣḏꜣ*, denoting a building in front of a temple as well as a processional stopping point (“Das Gebäude *t(w)t(we)*,” *Enchoria* 18 (1991): 187–89; see *Wb.* 5, 532.6-7; further discussion in Patricia Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1984), 130–33). He proposes that it means “bark station,” but this seems to be too specific a rendering for every

[4.10] The army of Egypt was excited on all sides. Those of Tanis, [4.11] those of Mendes, those of Natho, those of Sebennytos, the army [4.12] of the four harsh nomes of Egypt, they came. They marched their feet [4.13] to the place of action (*ꜥš-sḥn*) to protect Prince Anchhor. The thirteen shepherds of Per-djuf marched [4.14] down among the army [4.15] girt with their armor, their bull helmets on [4.16] their heads, their shields held by their arms, their hands wielding [4.17] their

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usage of this word. In *Armor*, *twtwe* (spelled *ttw*) is used frequently to denote a meeting place at a temple quay, without any cultic implication (e.g. 10.25, 11.23). Sauneron suggested that the hieroglyphic *ḏꜣḏꜣ* meant “kiosk” based on its usage at Esna, a meaning that fits the usage in both *Prebend* and *Armor* (see Esna V, 343-344). The *ḏꜣḏꜣ* is specified to be outside of the main temple and *tp n Nnw*, “above Nun,” i.e. higher than the water of the lake or canal. At Esna 197.18 (Esna III, 11; cf. V, 341), the populace of the surrounding town is explicitly forbidden to enter the *ḏꜣḏꜣ* during the festival on the 13th day of Epiphi, pointing to a close proximity to the dromos. This prohibition suggests that the kiosk was typically not off limits, which accords with its frequent occurrence as a meeting place *Armor*. The Demotic word for kiosk according to Badawy is *hꜣy.t* (Badawy, “The Approach to the Egyptian Temple in the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods,” 87), but this is itself a generic word for a columned structure with a roof, such as a porch or portico. See Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study*, 155–61 for an overview. In Ptolemaic inscriptions, the word *hꜣy.t* means “roof, ceiling” as well as “gateway” or “portico,” the latter which can be written with a depiction of a columned building or portico; see François Daumas, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d’époque gréco-romaine* (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche - Université de Montpellier, 1988), 527 (no. 1265); W*PL* 598-599. Another special application of *hꜣy.t* is the term “brewery” (*Codex Hermopolis*, x+III.11, 12).

In Prebend, the *twtwe* is not used as a bark station, though there likely would have been a place to rest the processional bark inside or near the structure. The exact location of the kiosk in the novella depends upon where the priest of Buto stood during his claim: in 4.1-2, Ankhhor is said to look towards (r) the young priest and towards (r) the kiosk. This suggests that the priest was standing at the kiosk. Based on layouts at other temples (e.g. Dendera; Badawy, “The Approach to the Egyptian Temple in the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods,” 87), it is reasonable to assume that the kiosk stood at the end of the dromos before the quay.

scimitars. They came from the left and right to the young $^{4.18}$ priest, their voices raised, saying: $^{4.19}$ “Before Amun, the great god, who has appeared (lph!) here today, we will bind ourselves here! Nobody at all among you $^{4..20}$ shall cause that the priest of Horus of Pe of Buto hear a word which $^{4.21}$ he despises, without us watering the ground with his $^{4.22}$ blood and the glint of his strength!”

The fear of the thirteen $^{4.23}$ shepherds entered the heart of Pharaoh and the army. No one at all was able $^{4.24}$ to open his voice to speak. The young priest rose up against $^{5.1}$ Prince Ankhhor like a lion would $^{5.2}$ against a mountain, like a nurse would $^{5.3}$ [against] her fledgling child. He grasped the inside of his $^{5.4}$ armor, threw him to the ground, bound him, $^{5.5}$ and tossed him onto the path before him. The thirteen shepherds $^{5.6}$ rushed to the path behind him. No person at all was able to attack them $^{5.7}$ because of their awfulness. They turned their faces to the barge of Amun. They went on board. They threw their weapons to the deck. They made $^{5.9}$ Prince Ankhhor go into the belly of the $^{5.9\text{-}10}$ barge of Amun $^{5.10}$, bound with a tow line.[76] They closed $^{5.11}$ the hatch over him. The sailors and the rowers went to the $^{5.12}$ quay.[77] They put their shields beside themselves. They washed themselves for $^{5.13}$ the festival. They brought the bread, the meat, the wine, which was on

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[76] See Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 342 s.v. ϭⲁϭⲓⲧⲱⲛ(ⲉ).

[77] *krwꜣ*. In *Prebend*, the word *qrwꜣ* is differentiated from *ꜥt*, meaning “side,” or “bank” when on a body of water. The quay is where the barge of Amun docks at Thebes West, in order for the processional bark to disembark and continue the festival procession. It is also where the barge is waiting for the end of the procession, to ferry the processional bark back across the Nile. Before the bark is loaded onboard, there may have been a final ritual conducted by the priests on the quay; cf. Étienne Drioton, *Leçon Inaugurale Faite Le Mardi 3 Décembre 1957*, Leçon Inaugurale – Collège de France 27 (Paris: Collège de France, 1957), 16–18. The quay area must have been large enough not only for the ceremonial barge but for the other boats which accompanied it and towed or ferried it across the Nile; cf. the depictions of numerous boats used to tow and accompany the bark of Hathor during the Festival of the Beautiful Meeting at Edfu (Edfu XIII, pl. CCCCLV-XI, CCCCLXX-XXI). There likely was a canal leading from the Nile to the temple, which I argue in Ch. 3 is *Djeser-Set*, the “Small Temple” of Amun at Medinet Habu (see p. 269ff). A possibility is the the “canal of Djeme” mentioned in a Demotic document (P. Brux. Dem. 4.3; cited by Eddy Lanciers, “The Isis Cult in Western Thebes in the Graeco-Roman Period (Part I),” *Chronique d’Égypte* 90 (2015): 395). See Agnès Cabrol, *Les Voies Processionnelles de Thèbes*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 97 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 653–54 for a discussion, drawing on P. Spiegelberg as evidence.

[5.14] board. They brought it before themselves. They drank. They celebrated [5.15] while their sights were set towards the quay (and) to the processional bark of Amun the great god, [5.16] sacrificing and incensing before him.

Pharaoh opened [5.17] his mouth in a loud cry, saying, “By Amun the great God! The wonder [5.18] of Pami has passed away! The ‘heart-tongue’[78] of Petechons has disappeared! There is no wonder! My heart is after these shepherds [5.20] who went on board the bark of Amun, girded with their [5.21] weapons, causing that he becomes another priest.” Djedhor, son of Ankhhor, said: [5.22] “My great lord! Amon the great God has appeared! May Pharaoh ask [5.23] before him, saying, ‘Is it good counsel that I cause my army of Egypt to arm [5.24] against these shepherds, that they save Ankhhor from their hands?” Pharaoh asked the prophets of Amun: “Is it good counsel that I cause my army of Egypt to arm against these shepherds, that they save Ankhhor from their hands?” Amun gave the lean, [6.4] “No!” he said, “My great God, lph! O Amun, great God! Is it good counsel [6.5] that I bring a stand[79] for you to rest upon, and that I set up a sail of byssos above you, that you stay here with us, until the things between us and the shepherds stop?” Amun came [6.9] forward in a violent movement, saying, “Cause that they bring it!” Pharaoh [6.10] caused that they bring the litter. Amun was rested upon it. [6.11] They hoisted a sail of byssos above him.

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[78] For this expression, see p. 438ff

[79] *sḥtp*. The term *sḥtp* has previously been taken to refer to the litter carried by priests that bears the bark (Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 55* [no. 376]), but this does not match what happens in the story. Nor is it equivalent to the ubiquitous stations seen in depictions of processional barks (cf. e.g. Edfu XIII, pl. CCCCLXXIV-V), which were permanent structures erected on processional ways (*wꜣḥ.y*; cf. *LÄ* V, 1258-1260). The stand in Prebend is mobile (Petubastis has one “brought,” 6.5) and is near where Petubastis is staying (*jrm⸗n*, 6.7). It is apparently used only here with this meaning in Demotic, though compare *Wb* 4, 223.7 “offering table.” The word may be derived from the causative verb *sḥtp,* thus meaning “something to cause rest,” or it may be short for *s.t-ḥtp,* “a place of rest,” as Spiegelberg suggested (ibid). A bark stand, called a *wꜣhy.t*, is depicted in two scenes from the south outer wall of the bark chapel of Philip Arrhidaeus at Karnak (PM II^2, 100 [290, II]). A photo of this scene from the *Description de l’Égypte* is viewable from the New York Public Library Digital Collections, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e0-100d-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99.

[6.12] After these things, Pharaoh Petubastis pitched camp on [6.13] the west side of Upper Egypt, opposite Thebes, while Amun, the great God, rested under a sail of byssos, while the army of Egypt was equipped with their weapons, while the thirteen [6.16] shepherds were on board the bark of Amun, while Prince Ankhhor was bound by them in the belly of the bark of Amun, while there was no fear of Pharaoh [6.19] (or) fear of the crown[80] in their hearts.

Pharaoh raised [6.20] his face upwards. He looked at them upon the bark of Amun. [6.21] Pharaoh said, “Pekrur, son of Petechons! What is that which will [6.22] happen with us concerning these shepherds aboard the bark of Amun, causing trouble and strife before Amun for the sake of the prebend of the First Prophet which is in the possession of Ankhhor [7.2] the prince? Come and say to the young priest, ‘Come! Decorate yourself and don byssos, apply the amulets of gold [7.4] and become the first prophet of Amun when he comes to Thebes.’”

Pekrur did not hesitate to the place across from the bark of Amun. He met with the shepherds. He said to them everything which Pharaoh had said to him. [7.7] The young priest said to him: “Speak to Pharaoh as follows: ‘Did you not say, Go to the quay and don byssos on your back? Cause that your hand be far from weapons of war! I will cause that the army of Egypt turn against you! I want to give you that they certainly cast you into ruin(?). If Pharaoh wishes for me (to have) [7.12] the prebend, cause that the band of byssos be brought [7.13] along with the amulets of god to this place, to the bark of Amun. I will apply them. [7.14] I will lay down my combat weapons to the ground and you will have brought to me the processional bark of Amun on board, so that I may grasp the rudder of the bark, with me taking [7.17] Amun to Thebes, with me on the bark with him with the thirteen shepherds [7.18] who are here with me, while we do not allow any one at all to come aboard [7.19] with us."

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[80] *grpꜣ.t* (see *EG* 584; *CDD* g, 39-40). Speigelberg translates this word “diadem,” but it should not be confused with *ḫꜥ*, which (contra Spiegelberg) does not have that meaning anywhere in the novella. This refers to the crown of Petubastis.

Pekrur came to the place where Pharaoh was. [7.20] He informed him about the things which the young priest had told him. [7.21] Pharaoh [7.20] said, [7.21] "By Amun! That which the young priest said, [7.22] that 'I have captured Prince Anchor your child. Have the processional bark of Amun brought to me. Let me cause that they go up onboard with them both. [7.24] Let me sail downstream to the north with them, that I might take them to Buto [7.25] my city.' If it were silver, gold or other treasure that the young priest demanded of me, that I would have brought to him! But I will not give him the processional bark of Amun to bring to his city Buto and it becomes far from Thebes…. [8.3] [I] came to the south (to) Thebes ⸢to in⸣stall ⸢Montu-Re⸣ ……………………….his [8.4] shrine (*qpe*), while he ⸢was causing⸣[81] his (pl.)…to ⸢change(?)⸣[82] [so that they ta]ke [the ⸢processional bark⸣[83] [8.5] of Amun to another city and they and [they] cause that it be f[ar from Thebes."]

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[81] *jw ⸢wn⸣-nꜣ.w j.jr dj.t*

[82] Reading *šb*, following *TLA*.

[83] The writing of "l.p.h." is visible at the end of l.4 (cf. *ḫꜥy* in 1.19, 2.22, etc).

Pharaoh [8.6] ended his speech while General Wertepamunniut stood [8.7] directly opposite. He said, "My great lord! As for the [amulets, sen]d me [8.8] after them![84] As for the shepherds, I will make your heart glad with what will happen to them because of them. [8.9] It is not because of the share of the prophet of Amun that they have come here. [8.10] They wish to make quarrels between themselves and Pharaoh." [8.11] Pharaoh greeted General Wertepamunniut. He dismissed him. [8.312] He girded himself with his armor. He went to the position of [8.13] the bark of Amun. He spoke in the direction of the ship's deck to the young priest, saying, "Do you not think [8.14] of the bad things that have happened to you and your people, who have gone [8.15] aboard the bark of Amun, girded with your armor, [8.16] to make the bark of Amun another sanctuary? If you will [8.17] come here because of the share of the prophet of Amun, come to the quay [8.18] (and) take it! If you come here to fight, [8.19] come to the quay! I want to satisfy you already!"

The young priest spoke to him: [8.20] "I know you, General Wertepamunniut! You are a person of [8.21] the Delta land with us. Your name has reached (us) many times because of your many words of [8.22] which you speak. I will send one of the shepherds to the quay with you. [8.23] Have a discussion with him!" [8.24] The young priest [8.23] looked [8.24] at one of the thirteen shepherds who were on board [8.25] with him. He rose up. He girded himself with his armor. He came to the quay. [9.1] He faced (*jr⸗f mtre*) General [Wertepamunniut] ….he/him…He made/did….[like] [9.2] that which a nurse ⸢does with⸣ [her du]⸢mb⸣ [child.] ⸢He⸣ ⸢fl⸣e[w] [9.3] to General Wertepamunniut.

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[84] Restoration following Stadler, "Der Kampf um die Pfründe des Amun (Papyrus Spiegelberg)," 428. For amulets associated with arming for battle, see 4.1; 7.4, 13. Hoffmann and Quack (*ADL* 379bc) read the *nꜣ* as part of the "l.p.h.!" determinative after *ꜥꜣ* (e.g. in 6.4 and 9.24), though it is written clearly as a *nꜣ*, and traces of the far right side of the writing of *sꜣ* can be seen (cf. Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 51* [no. 344]).

[He] ⸢grasped⸣ [the inside] of his armor. [9.4] He threw him to the ground. [He] brought himself [before him,[85] while] he was surrounded, his arm (or sword) [being] [9.5] on his limb(?).[86] [He] bound [him.] He caused [that he go beneath his] foot. He brought him on [9.6] board the bark of Amun. He [caused that he] ⸢go⸣ [into the be]⸢ll⸣y (of the ship) [9.7] inside of which [9.6] Ankhhor [9.7] son of the king [9.6] [wa]s. [9.7] He had the [hatch] go [over him. He] put/caused…⸢the⸣ barge with [9.8] his armor. He purified himself for the festi[val with] his companions. [9.9] They caused [9.8] the beginning of a wine offering to proceed.[87] They drank. They cele[brated] before [9.10] Amun, while Pharaoh looked at them, [while the] ⸢army⸣ of Egypt filled their eyes.

Pharaoh opened his mouth with a loud cry and said, “I sailed south, while the *rhops*-boat of prince Ankhhor sailed with the army of Egypt at the head of the fleet of Pharaoh, with a gold shield on the heart of the mast of his *rhops*-boat reading, “I am the first shield of Egypt,” while the *rhops*-boat of Wertepamunniut lead at the end of the fleet of Pharaoh, saying, I am the great steering rudder of Egypt. Behold, a young shepherd has come south, he has captured the first shield of Egypt with the great steering rudder of Egypt. He has shaken Egypt like a sinking ship that no skipper steers. He is stronger than these all. As for Amun, the great god, who is in the west of Upper Egypt opposite Thebes, he has not been allowed to be transported 9.23 to Thebes!"

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[85] The line reads *jn….⸗f*. Cp. P. Krall 23.21-22 and 23.6-7, which read *jn-s* [SUBJ.] *r-ḥr⸗f*. See *ADL* 379bh.

[86] Reading [*jw*]*⸗f jnḥ* [*jw*] *ḫpš⸗f m ꜥty⸗f*. Following *ADL* 379bh, I understand *jnḥ* not as “eyebrow” (as in Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 25; Stadler, “Der Kampf um die Pfründe des Amun (Papyrus Spiegelberg),” 429; *TLA*) but as the verb “to surround,” written with the flesh determinative by mistake (a reading noted in E*G* 35). It is difficult to picture what *ꜥty⸗f* represents here. Could it be a mishearing of *ꜥt* “back”? If so, the text could originally have depicted Wertepamunniut in the posture of a bound captive (a common and potent visual motif; see Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 113–19). In support of this, the parallel to this passage in P. Carlsberg 433, x+1.17 reads—in a highly broken context—*m-sꜣ ꜣt*[*.ṱ⸗f*], “behind his back” (Tait, “P. Carlsberg 433 and 434,” 64–65).

The use of the archaic preposition *m*, which is usually found in fixed phrases and archaic religious texts (Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, §269), instead of *n* is odd. It appears that the scribe originally wrote *n-m*, but then erased *n*, leaving traces on the papyrus; it also might have been rubbed away (although the preservation on this part of the scroll is quite good). On the other hand, what looks like an effaced *n* could also be a dark spot on the papyrus, seen occasionally on the same fibre further down on the surface. We do find *n-m* used in compound prepositional phrases (see *CDD* m, 4-5), however, and it is sporadically attested in other texts (Mark M. Smith, “Remarks on the Orthography of Some Archaisms in Demotic Religious Texts,” *Enchoria* 8, no. 2 (1978): 22). Is there a compound preposition *n-m-ꜥty*, of parallel construction to *n-m-ḫnṱ* “within” or *n-m-sꜣ* “behind, after”? The use of *m*, *n*, or *n-m* is a matter of orthography, not of pronunciation, so the scribe may have been confused

[87] Following the reading of Hoffmann (noted in the *TLA*), …[*jrm*] *nꜣy⸗f jry*(*.w*) [*tw⸗w*] *šm tꜣ ḥt.t n wꜥ jrp n wdn*.

Djedhor, son of Ankhhor, said, "By your face, 9.24 my great lord! If the army of Egypt does not arm against these shepherds and put them to an end in the way they are, they will wrest away Pharaoh's reign!" The [great one of the west Pe]krur ans[wered him:] "Is what you are doing frenzy? Or is….to take revenge on the shepherds who captured Prince Ankhhor and General Wertepamunniut? The army will not be able to withstand any of them. Do you say, 'The army of Egypt may prepare against them!' that the shepherds cause a great bloodbath among them?" And further, Amun, the great god, is here with us. [It is] not [appropriate[88]] that we do anything without Amun. Let Pharaoh ask before him! If he commands us to fight, we will fight. If it happens to be something different that Amun will command, we will 10.10 act accordingly."

Pharaoh spoke: "Good is this council, which comes from 10.11 the Great of the East, Pekrur." Pharaoh commanded that Amun be made to appear. 10.12 Pharaoh came before him. (These are) the prayers and supplications which he made 10.13, saying:[89] "My great lord! O Amun, great god!

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[88] Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 24 and *TLA* suggest restoring *ẖpr* in the gap. The traces do not suggest it, however. We might restore *pḥ* based on the traces as well as the parallel in P. Carlsberg 433, x+1.8.

[89] As written, this is not a complete sentence, but a nominal phrase with a past relative followed by a circumstantial first present.

Is it the beautiful command that I will cause [10.14] the army of Egypt to arm against these shepherds, in order that they may fight with them?" [10.15] <Amun> gave a denial: "Do not!" He said, "My great lord! O Amun, great god! Is it [10.16] the beautiful command that I transfer the prebend of the share of prophet of Amun to [10.17] the young priest? Will he be far from Prince Ankhhor [10.18] and Wertepamunniut?" Amun gave the denial, "It will not!" Pharaoh said, [10.19] "My great lord! O Amun, great god! These shepherds, will they take Egypt [10.20] out of my hand in this campaign in which they are?" Amun gave the denial, "They will not!" [10.21] He said, "My great lord! Will the shepherds have control over the [10.22] superior [10.21] office?"[90] [10.22] Amun gave a denial, "They will not!" He said, "My great lord! [10.23] Will you grant me victory against the shepherds in order to cause that they abandon [10.24] the bark of Amun?" Amun came forward in a quick motion, [10.25] "I will!" Pharaoh spoke out loud the names of the leaders, the commanders, [11.1] [the pr]inc[es]……[the] colonels (*ḥry.w-mšs*) of the soldiers, the generals (*wr.w-mšs*) of [the soldiers]..…[11.2] (and) the great mean [of] ⸢Egy⸣[pt before] Amun, the great god. He did not agree with any [of] them. [11.3] Amun did nod [to] Prin[ce Pete]⸢chons⸣ and General Pami, [saying that] [11.4] "it is [they] who [will] come south and drive out the shepherds [who are hindering] the bark of Amun, and who will come to the king's son Ankhhor's and the general Wertepamunniut's aid, [11.6] and transport Amun to Thebes." Pharaoh commanded that Amun receive the [offering gift]. Pharaoh took the Great of the East Pekrur in his hand. He narrated before him the interrogations that he had made before Amun.

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[90] Spiegelberg did not recognize *jꜣw.t* (cf. *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, 71*, no. 498); see *ADL* 379bj

The great one of the west Pekrur said, “If it pleases Pharaoh, may one send for the youths, that they come to the south! Everything that Pharaoh will want, they will do.” Pharaoh spoke, “By Amun! [11.11] If I send [south?] after them, they will not come because of the insult I did to them [11.12] when I was traveling south to Thebes without inviting them to the procession[91] [11.13] of Amun the Great God. My father, Great of the East Pekrur! It is up to you to send for them. If anyone else sends for them, they will not come south on my command.” The Great of the [11.15] East Pekrur said: “The insults you do to [11.16] the young ones are millions, one after another. You never think of the fighters [11.17] until you desire them regarding your misfortune!” Pharaoh spoke: “By [11.18] Amun, the great God! It is not I who insult them: the evil confusions of [11.19] Djedhor, son of Ankhhor, are they. It is he who caused me to leave them behind without [11.20] having brought them south with me, saying, ‘They do not cause fighting and strife to be far [11.21] from the army of Egypt.’ As for the one who performs his magic, they go into him.[92] He who digs a bad pit falls into it! Who sharpens a sword, in the neck is it! Behold, the brothers of Djedhor, son of Ankhhor, are bound by the shepherds, without any fighter to find them. But do not say a word against his other! Great of the East Pekrur, send for the youths! As follows: ‘May they come to the south according to your greatness and your strength, [and may they be] under the army of Egypt on account of it.” The Great of the East spoke: “Have called for me Higa, sons of Minnemmei, my letter writer!” They ran. They came. They brought him right away. The Great of the East Pekrur said to him: “Make a letter! Let it be brought to Pisopde, to the place where Prince Petechons is! This is its wording:

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[91] *ḫꜥ*, the word elsewhere referring specifically to the processional bark.

[92] Following the translation of Ritner in *AEL* 20.

> ‘The Great of the East, Pekrur, son of Petechons, the Father of the Bulls of Egypt, the Good Shepherd of the warriors, greets the prince Petechons, his son, the Powerful Bull of Pisopde, the Lion of the East, the Wall of Copper that Isis gave me, the Great Iron Stake that the mistress of the two countries gave me, the Good Rudder of Egypt on which the heart of the army of Egypt is based. It would be good if you did it, my son Petechons! If this letter reaches you, if you are eating, put the bread to the ground! If you drink, put aside the pitcher of drunkenness! Hasten, hasten, quick, quick! May they come on board with your brothers, your eighty-six people of the east and your brother Paimi, son of Inaros, and his forty men from the Isle of Stars and his four priestly companions! Come to me in the south to Thebes, [12.23] because some shepherds from Per-djuf, who are here in Thebes, [12.24] are fighting daily with Pharaoh! [12.25] They did not allow him to transport Amun to Thebes! [13.1] As for Amun, he rests [on the west side] of the land of Upper Egypt under a canopy of byssos! May the army of Egypt strike terror before the light (of dawn) and the dew(fall)! [Behold, Prince Ankhhor,] the child of Pharaoh [Petubastis], and the general [Wertepamun]niut are captives of the shepherds. They are aboard the bark of Amun. Come south! Make battle! May the army of Egypt know your [13.7] fear and your terror!’

The letter is concluded.”

[13.8] It was sealed with the seal of the Great of the East Pekrur. One put it into the hand of a courier. [13.9] He hastened north by day and also by night. It was a few days which happened. He reached Pisopde. He immediately went to the place where Prince Petechons was. He gave him the letter. [13.12] He read it. He heard everything which was contained in it. He raged [13.13] like the sea, he roared like incense, [13.14] saying: "The canal fish fisherman of a man from Tanis, the *wrs*-scrub fall-trap [13.15] of a man from Dep, Petubastis, son of Ankhhor, whom I did not call king! [13.16] He honors me only when he needs me because of his [13.17] misfortune. When he begins to celebrate the feasts of his gods without war and [13.18] strife against him, he never sends for me. I swear [13.19] here in the name of Sopdu, the Great of the East, my god, as follows: had [13.20] the Great of the East, my father Pakrur, not written to me in this letter, [13.21] "Amun, the great god in the west of Upper Egypt, which is opposite Thebes, [13.22] has not been transported to Thebes," I would never fight [13.23] for the children of Tahor, daughter of Patjenef. Besides, [13.24] I do not want to become acquainted with Amun's abomination before me. My brothers and my eighty-six men of the east, [14.1] my eight priest colleagues, climb on board! Let them make their equipment after the south (to) Thebes! Get the "shrew" of Sopdu, prebend-servant! Get yourself immediately to Heliopolis! Say to Pami, son of Inaros: 'Ready your equipment with your forty men from the Isle of Stars and with your four priestly comrades! My meeting place with you is your….in Pernebhetep. The ship has landed in Heliopolis.'"

The prebend boy did not delay to Heliopolis. He stood in the place of Pami. He told him everything which Petechons had said. He acted according to them all. Petechons made his equipment with his 56 men of the east and his eight priest comrades. He climbed aboard. He took himself immediately to Pernebhetep. There he found Pami before him, as he was on his ship with his twenty men of Star Isle and his four priest colleagues. They sailed 14.13 south to Thebes.

Then Pharaoh Petubastis camped 14.14 on the west side of the land (of) Upper Egypt which is opposite Thebes, while the army of 14.15 Egypt was adorned with its weapons, while he daily walked by 14.16 in the place above the bark of Amun, his eye 14.17 "loosened"[93] for the prince Petechons and Pami, son of Inaros. 14.18

It was an hour that it happened. 14.19 It was after a new ship of cedar sailing downstream 14.18 that Pharaoh looked. 14.19 It landed 14.20 at the quay of Amun of Thebes. A warrior hurried up to 14.21 it, adorned with his weapons. He crossed over 14.22 towards him (sc. Petubastis) to the west of Upper Egypt. He docked south of the ship 14.23 of Pharaoh. The warrior came to the shore being armed 14.24 with combat weapons from head to 14.25 toe, like a bull equipped 14.26 with horns. He hurried up to a place above 14.27 the bark of Amun, without going to the place where Pharaoh was. 15.1 He spoke [to the shepherds:] "O that Pshai give that they live! [Do you] 15.2 know the iniquity in which you are walking on the bark of Amun, 15.3 being gird in your armor and playing the role of another 15.4 priest?" The prophet of Horus of Pe said to him: "What [kind] of man are you, 15.5 that you speak thus? Are you a man of Tanis, or [15.6] are you a man of Mendes?” The warrior said to him, [15.7] “I was not born in the north, of which you speak. [15.8] I am Minnemmei, son of Inaros, the prince of Elephantine, the overseer of Upper Egypt of Egypt.” The shepherd said to him: “If it is that you are no man of the north, why should he summon you for the bark of Amun? Come aboard with us! Celebrate a good day with Amun! Whatever will happen [to us,] that should happen to you!” Minnemmei said to him: “By Khnum [the great], the lord of Elephantine, my god! You cannot gauge the sacrilege you commit! I could come on board and celebrate a good day with you. If it is a charge of violence which has happened by Pharaohs, it says that I cause that he does it for you. Release the way of Amun! Let him be [15.18] transported to Thebes! Do you not want to do it? I will cause you to do it under force as a thing you hate.”

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[93] This word is written like the word *bnr*/*bl* "outside," but this meaning does not make sense here. Petubastis is anxiously awaiting the arrival of Petechons and Paimi while pacing in front of the ceremonial barge. *ADL* 117 as well as Vittmann (*TLA* ad loc.) tentatively render it as "looked out for." If we momentarily assume that the vocalization was /bol/ but that the writing was erroneous, we are left with several possibilities: the verb *bl*(*ꜣ*) "to loosen" (*EG* 120) or a verb based on the noun *bl*(*ꜣ*) "blind." The former, which is very rare in Demotic (the only sure attestation in the *Demotic Chronicle*, 6.4), is nevertheless equivalent to the common Coptic verb ⲃⲱⲗ. Or is something like "blind" meant, i.e. Petubastis could not bear to watch the bank because he was so anxious about them confronting him (note, however, that he notices Minnemmei's ship)?

[15.20] One of the 13 shepherds [15.19] rose up [15.20] saying: “I come to you, you Nubian, [15.21] Kushite, resin-eaters of Elephantine-Man!” He girded [15.22] himself with his armor. He jumped onto the quay. He struck out. [15.23] He fought with Minnemmei in front of [15.24] the barge of Amun from the first hour [15.25] of the morning until the 8th hour of the evening, [16.1] with Pharaoh [watching], with the army [of Egypt full] of eyes, [16.2] while one struck the other with the art of war. One did not know how to take the other. [16.3] Pharaoh said to the Great of the East Pekrur and Djedhor son of Ankhhor: “By [16.4] Amun! The foot(place) of this fighter is firm in the battlefield. [16.5] But I do not recognize him among those for whom our benefit [16.6] was.”

The time of the 10th evening came. The shepherd spoke [16.7] to Minnemmei: “Today have we made his (our) battle. Let us end [16.8] the strife and fighting between us! Let us make a truce [16.9] between us both! As for whoever does not come here tomorrow, making a punishment for it is what which he makes!" Minnemmei heard the [words] which he spoke. They set a truce [16.11] between each other. They withdrew from the battlefield. [16.12] The shepherd then left aboard the bark [of Amun. Afterwards,] Minnemmei [16.13] went aboard his ship.

Pharaoh came to meet him with [16.14] the Great of the East Pekrur and Djedhor, son of Ankhhor. They said to him: [16.15] "Is a man going to the battlefield and does he return again? [16.16] And does not he go to the place where Pharaoh is to give the reward for [16.17] his fighting?" The kalasiris returned to the place where the Pharaoh was. [16.18] He took off his helmet from his head. He bowed to the ground. [16.19] He threw himself to the ground. He filled his mouth with dust of the earth. Pharaoh became [16.20] aware of him: he recognized him! Pharaoh went to the place [16.21] where he was. He spread out his arms. He opened his mouth in [16.22] his mouth. He hopped around for hours like a [16.22] man [16.21] greeting [16.22] his beloved. Pharaoh spoke to him: "Hail to you, hail to you, Minnemmei, [16.24] son of Inaros, chief of the south of Egypt! That was what I have always requested [16.25] before Amun, the great God: to see you again, without there being any harm to [16.26] good destiny and well-being. By Amun, the great god! [17.1] Since I saw you on the battlefield, [17.2] I say it: no [warrior?] will fight for me except [17.3] a bull, son of a bull, and a lion, son of a lion." [17.4] Pekrur son of Pete[chons] and Djedhor (son of) Anchor and [17.5] the leaders of Egypt took him by the hand and honored him. [17.6] Pharaoh "gave face with him" under the canopy of his tent. [17.7] Then Minnemmei went on board his [17.8] ship. Pharoah caused incense and gifts to be offered in

[17.9] large [17.8] quantities [17.9] to him. The leaders of Egypt brought him all kinds of gifts.

[17.10] Minnemmei spent a further three days of combat, a total of [17.11] four days of battle on the battlefield, [17.12] going out and fighting with the shepherds [17.13] and ending up safe,[94] it being impossible to take [17.14] anything on earth from him, all the while the army of Egypt speaking [17.15] to each other: “There is no [17.16] warrior [17.15] family [17.16] in Egypt like the family [17.17] of Osiris King Inaros! Behold, [17.18] Prince [17.17] Ankhhor [17.18] and the general Wertepamunniut [17.19] were not able to last[95] a single day of battle against [17.20] the shepherds! Behold: four days long Minnemmei [17.21] went to the battlefield daily. [17.22] They could not take a thing from the world from him!”

When [17.23] all this [17.22] happened, [17.23] Petechons and [17.24] Pami arrived in Upper Egypt. They gave landing places to their *rms*-boats south of the ship of Pharaoh. [17.26] They jumped to quay, girding their armor.

[18.1] It was reported to the [Pharaoh and the Great of the East ...
[18.2] Pekrur and Djedhor, son of [Ankhhor ...
[18.3] Pharaoh [went out?] to meet him [
[18.4] [in the hand] of prince Petechons [
[18.5] on the ground on account of [
[18.6] the straps (?) of the sling [

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[94] Lit., “coming outside being safe,” *mtw⸗f* [*jy*(?)] *r-bl jw⸗f wḏꜣ*.

[95] Lit. “make” (*jr*).

[18.7] the outside of Egypt. The holding peg(?) [

[18.8] put great protection on them [

[18.9] the message, the equipment [

(18.10ff. are too broken to restore)

[18.13] Petechons, before the Pharaoh [

[18.14] which destroyed him with the shining [

[18.15] cause that … rest [

[18.16] the color(?) [

[18.17] he caused that he fight [

[18.18] priest, while he fought for [

[18.19] his lord. But ……………………………... [Ankhhor,

[18.20] son of the king, the children [

[18.21] the upper part of [bark of Amun …

[18.22] horses upon the [west] bank [of Upper Egypt which is across from]

[18.23] Thebes, on account of what?” [

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