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EXPLORING PAIN IN ANCIENT EGYPT

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For my grandma

Affliction lasts but a short time, while peace is forever…
Abba Moses the Ethiopian

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List of Abbreviations

BM   British Museum

CG   Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire

G*EG*   Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar

K*RI*   Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions

LÄ   Lexikon der Ägyptologie

LES   Late Egyptian Stories

OIP   Oriental Institute Publications

PM   Porter, Bertha and Rosalind Moss. Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian
            Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings

SAOC   Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization

TLA   Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae

TT   Theban Tomb

Urk   Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums

Wb.   Wörterbuch der ägyptische Sprache

Transliteration and Translation Conventions

[…]   Lost; restored

(...)   Words supplied to make sense clear

<...>   Words or signs omitted by the ancient scribe

{…}   Superfluous signs

Abstract

This dissertation explores the meanings of pain in ancient Egypt by attending to various ways in which ancient Egyptian texts frame, articulate, problematize, and explain pain. This dissertation takes as its starting point the view that pain is a deeply cultural and historical phenomenon, and that a particular culture's ideas and practices surrounding pain are intimately connected to that culture's understanding of the human person (what man is, what man ought to be, what man's place is in the world, etc.). As the most salient concepts or categories that are used to theorize about the human person in ancient Egypt are *maat* and the human heart, this study seeks to articulate Egyptian understanding of pain in these terms as well. More specifically, this study argues that the Egyptian notion of pain–which is far more expansive than English "pain" and encompasses the notions of illness, anguish, suffering and evil–can be best conceived of as a rupture in *maat*, and submits that for the Egyptians, it is the human heart that serves as the locus of the immanent reality of pain.

The central argument is fleshed out by the means of a careful reading of the ancient Egyptian texts. After compiling the list of relevant vocabulary, I looked into the magico-medical texts, literary narrative texts and non-narrative literary texts. While sharing in broad orientation, these texts frame pain differently. Pain in magico-medical texts is understood as an object of empirical observation and performative action. In the literary narratives, pain serves to foreground the interpersonal relationships and elicits audience empathy. In the non-narrative literary texts, pain is an essential component of longing.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Pain as a Topic of Egyptological Research

Pain is a universal part of the human condition. Notwithstanding the enormous advances made in modern medicine to understand and overcome it, pain remains just as inescapable a mystery today as it was in ancient times. In a world where almost everything is explained in scientific and positivist terms, it is tempting to equate pain with a neurophysiological mechanism, and to equate understanding pain with acquiring a precise knowledge of that mechanism. But *prima facie*, a person is not a machine, and a person suffering pain is not a machine with electric signals. Pain simply cannot be abstracted from the person suffering pain.[1]

One of the key the aspects constitutive of personhood is culture. In recent years, there has been a number of studies that examine the construction of different meanings of pain in different cultures and epochs.[2] The current dissertation participates in this trend by focusing on ancient Egypt. More specifically, it investigates different modes of cultural expression in which pain was framed, problematized, explained and given meaning in the ancient Egyptian texts. The vast historical and cultural gap between the ancient Egyptian and the twenty-first century societies surely poses a daunting challenge, but it is precisely these challenges that offer an opportunity to rethink some contemporary assumptions and beliefs regarding pain. This dissertation, therefore, addresses contemporary ways of thinking about pain as much as it seeks to shed light on ancient Egyptian pain.

I should also stress that while this dissertation's topic of inquiry for maybe new to

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[1] In keeping with this principle, the contemporary medical community is increasingly opting for a humanities-oriented approach in updating the heuristic model of pain. According to the current biopsychosocial model, the ways in which individuals experience and respond to pain are formed out of a complex web of interactions among biological, psychological, and sociocultural factors. For a widely cited overview of the model, see Gatchel et al. 2007, 581–624; for an accessible introductory account of the contemporary development of the different models of pain, Kugelman 2017.

[2] See 1.2 Previous Scholarship below.

Egyptological scholarship, the principal ways through which the inquiry is carried out remain firmly grounded in traditional Egyptological methods with a heavy emphasis on philology; I have simply chosen pain as a lens through which to interpret the Egyptian texts. It is my hope that by combining a careful reading of the ancient Egyptian texts with interdisciplinary approaches to pain, this project will contribute to ongoing cultural and historical discourse on pain while adding to the discipline of Egyptology an interesting and thoughtful exercise.

1.1 Pain: Problems of Language and Definition

Before proceeding, it would seem desirable to establish a definition of pain, one that would serve as a reference point for the rest of this dissertation. The problem is that for something seemingly straightforward and self-evident, pain is notoriously elusive and difficult to define, and no single definition seems capable of perfectly capturing the "essence" or meaning of pain.[3] In this section, I would like to examine in brief some conceptual challenges involved in defining pain. The goal here is to step back from the "obviousness" of the given category and reflect on fundamental problems that the very topic of pain is known to pose.

The most oft-discussed challenge stems from the seemingly paradoxical nature of pain.[4] On the one hand, pain seems to consist of objective conditions, often identifiable with physical damage to our body parts or with the neurophysiological mechanism underlying the sensation of such damage.[5] Pain conceived as such is observable and shareable. It can also be objectively measured and quantified, if given the right kinds of procedures and instruments. On the other

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[3] For instance, Thomas Lewis, a prominent researcher of pain, writes in the preface to his book *Pain* saying (1942, v): "I am so far from being able satisfactorily to define pain … that the attempt could serve no useful purpose." Lewis Degenaar, a philosopher, writes (1979, 29): "I thought I knew what pain was until I was asked to say what the word "pain" means."

[4] Most recent studies cited in this dissertation include a discussion on the paradoxical nature of pain. For an in-depth philosophical account that specifically deals with the paradox, see Hill 2005; Aydede 2009.

[5] For the history of theories of pain mechanisms, see, e.g. Melzack and Wall 2008; Moayedi and Davis 2013.

hand, pain is thought to be an immediate and subjective experience. When you feel pain, what you feel is not the tissue being damaged or the C-fibers being fired: you just feel pain. And this pain is anything but observable or shareable. Its existence, intensity, or nature is something that only the person undergoing the experience has an access to, and as such, it resists external assessment or verification.

The subjective aspect of pain often gets tied up with the mental (or psychological or emotional) aspect of pain, which further complicates our understanding of pain. It is quite customary to speak of two different kinds of pain–physical and mental–as though there exist two ontologically distinct categories of pain.[6] But positing two kinds of pain invites an array of questions associated with the perennial dilemma of mind-body dualism: If physical pain refers to the body being in pain, what is "being in pain" in the case of mental pain? Or, if physical pain refers to the body causing the pain, what causes mental pain? If the answer is "the mind," what is mind? If mind is that which is not the body, then how can something that is not the body be in pain or cause the body to be in pain? If mind is just another name for neurophysiological processes, then how is mental pain any different from physical pain, which, too, can be explained in terms of neurophysiological processes?[7] This is not the place to discuss dualism at length.[8] For our purposes, it suffices to say that however "natural" it may seem to think of pain in dualistic terms, scholars suggest that, to a great extent, doing so is an acquired habit that arises from a

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[6] Cf. Morris (1991, 9ff) who refers to the phenomenon as the "Myth of Two Pains."
[7] Hence the amusing joke cited in Bourke 2014, 10: "What happens when a neurologist has a stomachache? He makes an appointment with a gastroenterologist who asks him, 'where does it hurt?' The neurologist replies, 'In my head, of course!'"
[8] Broadly speaking, there are two different types of dualism. The kind associated with Descartes is called substance dualism, according to which mind and body are composed of two fundamentally different kinds of substances. The second kind is called property dualism: mind and body represent two different kinds of properties of a single substance. In addition to these two, there are many other varieties of "–ism" that have spawned based on different interpretations of the manner by which the interaction between mind and body is thought to take place. For an overview with bibliography, see Robinson 2020.

historically contingent development in the relatively recent past. Often, the root of this conception of pain is traced back to the 17th century, to Descartes's proposition that mind and body are independent entities with distinctive functions. A feature of this dualistic outlook is that the body works like a machine, and from this resulted the famous mechanical model of pain.[9] This model gained wide acceptance as modern scientific medicine started to take shape in the subsequent centuries, and eventually came to influence the popular conception of pain today.[10]

Another conceptual issue surrounding pain involves the problem of language. An article in the journal *Pain* reads, "Pain…is difficult to convey to others, and relies significantly on language to be communicated. The language used to describe pain is therefore an important aspect of understanding and assessing another's pain."[11] In a clinical context, this view is common, for obvious reasons: How can a physician know about the pain a patient is experiencing, other than through the patient's own description? Outside of a clinical context, however, the exact role of language in relation to pain has been subject to extensive critical discussion. Some see pain as so utterly private that any attempt to express pain accurately using language, which is inherently social, is simply not possible.[12] For others, pain is not only expressible, but also capable of expanding the pre-existing language repertoire.[13] Still others

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[9] Morris 1991, 4ff; Rey 1995, 72–77; Boddice 2017, 27; Kugelman 2017, 55. Scholars often cite from Descartes' *Treatise of Man* (1662) the diagram of a kneeling man with a nerve pathway stretching from his foot to his brain. The actual account that Descartes proposed was, however, a little more nuanced than modern scholars often make it out to be. Duncan 2000. For a short history of development of pain concepts since the 17th century, Zimmermann 2006, 1–19.

[10] One could say that the contemporary efforts towards a more unified or holistic conceptualization of pain by humanities-oriented medicine are meant to "emancipate" the medicine from undue influence of Cartesian principles. For instance, the main reason the IASP definition is more widely accepted than others (see below) is the inclusion of emotion as integral to the pain experience, which has been perceived as a long-awaited departure from the dualistic approach to pain.

[11] Strong et al. 2009, 86.

[12] This view is most famously associated Scarry 1985, which I review below.

[13] See, for instance, Bending 1997; Bacchini 2012.

would say that a person cannot make sense of her own pain if not for the cognitive structure laid down by language.[14]

Today, the most oft-cited definition of pain is the one offered by The International Association for the Study of Pain (IASP). It defines pain as "an unpleasant sensory and emotional experience associated with, or resembling that associated with, actual or potential tissue damage."[15] The definition takes into account the conceptual challenges discussed above and attempts at capturing both the folk and clinical/scientific usage of the term "pain."[16] Having been formulated by the world's experts and adopted by official organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO), the IASP definition certainly carries a high degree of authoritativeness. It is however interesting to observe that in 2020, some revisions were made to its original 1979 formulation.[17] The revisions were prompted by the advances in understanding of pain made by the scientific and clinical communities over the last forty years, the IASP explains.[18] This attests to the historical contingency of the modern discourse of pain. The updated IASP definition may qualify as a "universal" characterization of the human experience of pain today, but within another 40 years (or even less), it may require another revision so as to keep up with advances in science and changing needs of the concerned community. Quite naturally, there arises a question regarding the relevance and applicability of a definition of pain

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[14] This view is associated with Wittgenstein's famous argument against private language (*Philosophical Investigations* §§243–315), which has been adopted in a few humanities pain studies, such as in Bourke 2014 and Ablow 2017.

[15] Raja et al. 2020.

[16] Aydede 2019.

[17] The original 1979 formulation defined pain as "an unpleasant sensory and emotional experience associated with actual or potential tissue damage or described in terms of such damage." Merskey et al. 1979. On the background and history of the IASP definition of pain, Cohen et al. 2018. The word "described" in the phrase "or described in terms of such damage" in the original definition implied that verbal communication was required for pain to exist. The new definition's wording does not require any verbal description. In addition to the change in wording of the definition, revisions have been made to the Notes accompanying the definition. Finally, the etymology of the word "pain" has been added, "to raise awareness among readers of its transactional, punitive meaning in contrast to other archaic words that emphasized the location of pain or its negative effect upon mood." Raja et al. 2020.

[18] Raja et al. 2020.

such as the one by IASP for the purpose of this study. What may be sufficient in the contemporary clinical context of pain assessment and management, may not be sufficient to be used as a reference point or framework for studying pain at a broader cultural level in a distant society such as ancient Egypt, from which we are separated by a few millennia.

Finally, it is also worth noting that any definition of "pain" is inevitably shot through the prism of modern English. Some crucial considerations in this regard are the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural variations in encoding the word for pain.[19] Not all languages have words exactly corresponding to "pain."[20] Adopting a definition of pain centered on the English term "pain" may appear commonsensical because of English's status as the *lingua franca* in contemporary scientific and academic discourses. Nevertheless, given the particular etymology and semantic scope of "pain," it seems rather problematic to use it as a reference point for all pain.[21]

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[19] On this issue, see Fabrega and Tyma 1976; Diller 1980; Wierzbicka 2012; Kim et al. 2016.

[20] For instance, a common word for pain in Korean is *kotong*, which is formed from Sino-Korean letters *ko* (苦 "bitter," "distressed") and *tong* (痛 "pain," "ache") whose meaning encompasses "pain," "sorrow," "torment," and "hardship" among others. Another common word for pain is *apeuda* which can mean "to feel/be pain" as well as "to be ill." I should stress that it is not the case these words have several different meanings, for instance, for *kotong*, one corresponding to "pain", another "agony," another "hardship," etc. Rather, "pain" is one of the many instances that *kotong* could be used to translate, and non-"pain" instances far outweigh "pain" instances, with the result that when an ordinary native speaker of Korean hears the word *kotong*, what she thinks of is not identical to what an ordinary native English speaker would think of upon hearing the word "pain." Hence, while both *kotong* and *apeuda* can mean "pain," it is difficult to see "pain" as their primary meaning. Cf. Goddard and Wierzbicka (2014, 127) aruge that "different ways of thinking about pain, linked with different languages and cultures, colour the way people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds and express their pain."

[21] According to OED, the English word "pain" derives from Anglo-French *peine*, from Latin *poena*, from Greek *poinē* meaning "payment," or "penalty." While the original meaning has weakened over the centuries, the word still retains the connotation of punishment, as in "on pain of death." The problem of taking the English word "pain" as the point of reference is addressed by Anna Wierzbicka, a prominent linguist known for her theories of semantics. According to her (2012, 316):

> The English word pain is not one of those which "cut nature at its joints." Its meaning is a conceptual construct, perhaps not uniquely English, but not truly universal either. It is natural, and reasonable, for English-speaking students of what they think of as "pain" to continue thinking about the phenomena in question as "pain," and to continue using the English word pain as a convenient shorthand. When it comes, however, to identifying the universal aspect of the human condition which Anglophone psychology and medicine associate with the word pain, it is also desirable to try to understand it—at some point—from a universal human perspective. And it is important to note that from such a perspective we can't even say that "different languages reflect different conceptualizations of pain"—as if "pain" were a preexisting ontological category independent of the English language.

In view of these problems, I would like to proceed by acknowledging that what we mean by pain is a conglomeration of many different experiences and situations that go far beyond what any single definition can adequately capture.[22] At the same time, I would like to draw attention to the fact that however heterogeneous conceptualizations of pain may be from culture to culture, or even among individuals within the same culture, people still manage to talk about pain. What is that which makes communication of pain possible? At this point, it will be worthwhile to review the existing research on the cultural history of pain, which will help establish the basic contours of the subsequent analysis and discussion.

1.2 Prior Scholarship: Cultural History of Pain

Elaine Scarry's *The Body in Pain* (1985) is considered to be the definitive work which influenced all the subsequent literary and cultural studies on pain.[23] Scarry takes the problem of representation as her central problematic. According to Scarry, pain "resists objectification in language,"[24] because there is simply no "object" of reference in the world corresponding to pain: all there is the body that feels pain. She continues:

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[22] In this respect, I follow the view of Fabrega and Tyma (1976) who suggested that pain need not be defined too rigorously in a linguistic or cultural approach to pain. Cf. Wittgenstein's notion of family, which resemblance can provide a helpful model of understanding here. Wittgenstein draws attention to how one and the same concept can be applied to a variety of situations not because these situations share a set of necessary and sufficient properties but because they share "a complicated network of similarities overlapping and crisscrossing similarities in the large and in the small." *Philosophical Investigations* §66. He refers to these similarities as "family resemblances." We can think of different kinds of pain as sharing family resemblances.

[23] Scarry 1985. On the influences of Scarry's work on modern scholarship on pain, see van Ommen, Cromby & Yen 2016.

[24] Scarry 1985, 5. In addition, Scarry argues that this pre-linguistic state is universal in nature, and such a view has rightly been criticized by many for underplaying the sociocultural and historical specificity of pain. At times, Scarry acknowledges the role of culture in construction of pain, but ultimately, she argues that such "cultural differences, taken collectively, would themselves constitute only a very narrow margin of variation and would thus in the end work to expose and confirm the universal sameness of the central problem." Ibid., 5. For criticisms of Scarry on the ground of her universalizing rhetoric, see Bourke 2011. Norridge (2013, 9) specifically points out that linguistic and cultural biases are inherent in Scarry's selection of sources. In addition to her universalizing account of pain, Scarry's work has been criticized for, among others, "a blithe disregard for the ordinary canons of argument" and "a zany academicism more outré than the most frigid theorist's." Harpham 2001. According to Norridge (2013, 7), Scarry wrote the book out of an intellectual climate heavily influenced by poststructuralist psychoanalysis and

> Physical pain does not simply resist language but actively destroys it, bringing about an immediate reversion to a state anterior to language, to the sounds and cries a human being makes before language is learned.[25]

That pain resists linguistic representation means that pain cannot be adequately expressed or communicated among people. In the second half of the book, however, Scarry proceeds to show how this otherwise unrepresentable pain gets represented in the realm of literature and art, owing to the faculty of human imagination: "While pain is a state remarkable for being wholly without objects, the imagination is remarkable for being the only state that is wholly its objects."[26] In other words, the imagination makes it possible to represent pain by supplying it with the missing object. While her arguments have not always been met without resistance, her work has been of central significance in pain scholarship as it raises questions about the constitutive relationships between subjectivity, language and the body.

David Morris' *The Culture of Pain* (1991), is another key literary theoretical work on pain.[27] Morris' central premise is that the modern scientific worldview has robbed pain of its rich meanings. He is highly critical of the medical approach to pain that reduces pain to tissue damage or nerve impulses. He argues that this approach, grounded in the mechanistic ontology of the human body, is inadequate to deal with pain because pain is not only physiological but also psychological, social, and cultural. Throughout the work, Morris strives to demythologize the widespread cultural assumptions about pain and to recover pain's lost meanings. He notes that, in many ancient societies, doctors were also priests, because treating pain required mediating between the physical and spiritual worlds. In other words, ancient doctor-priests not

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deconstruction, as well as the post second world war sentiment epitomized in Adorno's dictum, "to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric."

[25] Scarry 1985, 4.

[26] Scarry 1985, 162.

[27] The same author also discusses at length the literary approach to the topic of suffering. See Morris 1996.

only treated pain by interpreting different omens and signs, they provided an explanation for

pain. This is an interesting remark that is worth examining more in depth.[28] The book explores a

wide array of representations of pain in the western literary canon, from Homer and Virgil

through Dante and Shakespeare to Joyce and Beckett, to name just a few. In the final chapter,

"Future of Pain," the readers are exhorted to dispose of the mechanistic understanding of pain

and to learn to think for themselves about pain.

In *The History of Pain* (1995), the French historian Roselyne Rey takes a long view and

presents evolving medical accounts of pain from classical antiquity to the 1950s. Unlike Morris,

who is very critical of the dualistic account of pain, Rey sees it as inevitable and asks, "Isn't an

in-depth analysis of pain also a means of probing the relationship between mind and body, and of

examining the dualism that somehow underlies our various ways of thinking?"[29] For Rey, pain

is, first and foremost, based on an anatomical and physiological foundation, and it is the

advances in medical and scientific understanding of pain mechanisms that serve as the reference

point for writing the history of pain. The importance of individual, social and cultural

characteristics of pain is not entirely dismissed, but they are treated as background information.

As the focus is laid on the biomedical, rather than the philosophical-religious, the history of the

Middle Ages, during which no significant scientific discovery was thought to be made, is not

dealt with in depth, while nearly one-third of the book is devoted to the 19th century.

Lucy Bending's *The Representation of Bodily Pain in Late Nineteenth-Century English

Culture* (1997) explores the cultural constructedness of pain specific to the late Victorian era.[30]

She is among the first scholars to raise explicit objections against Scarry's claim that pain utterly

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[28] I will discuss the Egyptain example in Chpater 3.
[29] Rey 1995, 2.
[30] Albow 2017 is another work on pain during the Victorian era.

resists language on the grounds of "a range of representational tactics" employed by the writers.[31] The first two chapters present the Christian and medical understandings of pain and examine the ways in which the tension between these two dominant discourses shaped the late Victorian understanding of bodily pain. In chapter 3, the relationship of pain to language is discussed, and Scarry's thesis of the inexpressibility of pain is denounced as unsound. The rest of the book is devoted to the analysis of the rhetorical strategies of Victorian writers such as Robert Louis Stevenson and Oscar Wilde, who creatively exploited the literary and social conventions of their time and turned pain into a shared experience.

Esther Cohen's *The Modulated Scream* (2010) is a pioneering work on medieval scholarship about pain. Cohen holds that though the immediate quality of pain can never be known to anyone other than the person in pain, it is also a social construction that is shared, discussed and transmitted in a variety of forms.[32] She turns to scholastic, legal, medical and biographical texts in order to tease out late medieval Christian European attitudes towards pain. The central observation she makes is that despite the differences in the vocabulary of pain among different professional discourses, there was an overall coherence centered on the teleological view of pain, that pain is a salvific instrument of God. Accordingly, pain was accepted as a given reality and even valorized for moral, legal, or social purposes.[33]

Pain: A Cultural History (2012) by historian Javier Moscoso covers the period of 500 years from the Renaissance to the present. The focus is laid on pain as a cultural and historical phenomenon, but the author explicitly distances himself from other historians with a disclaimer

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[31] Bending 1997, 83, 86–9,
[32] Cohen 2010, 3.
[33] According to the author, the general acceptance of pain went hand in hand with the physicians' efforts for pain management and alleviation. The popular perception of "the medieval man" who ignored or deliberately exacerbated pain for pain's sake, according to the author, is "the brainchild of historians…" and results from "a tendentious selection of evidence." Ibid., 90–91.

that his book is more "a book on the historical epistemology of (a certain type) of experience, on the rhetoric and persuasive means historically employed to generate conviction about the reality of pain."[34] In other words, the author is more interested in unraveling the mechanisms by which the raw data of pain are transformed into something publicly recognizable and meaningful than producing "a mere accumulation of cases" of what a certain people of a certain culture in this or that period felt or thought about pain. Significantly, Moscoso describes the object of his study as a "social drama":

> … its historical variations share some common elements; it implies recognizing that, independently of its cultural expressions, there is a constant traveling down the path of suffering and facing harmful experience. Pain's drama appears in a sequential form; it displays a dynamic structure that includes a moment of rupture that demands reparation.[35]

The book is organized according to 8 *topoi*—representation, imitation, sympathy, correspondence, trust, normativity, coherence and reiterations—which also correspond to the titles of each chapter. It is not always clear how the content of the chapters—the objects and their analyses—is connected to the titles. Overall, the ways in which the author interweaves the analyses of the particular objects (paintings, plays, scientific discoveries, etc.) with the broader historical developments and issues allows him to present different meanings of pain as a cultural and social phenomenon.

The Story of Pain by Joanna Bourke (2014) is another history of pain that emphasizes the socially and historically determined experience of pain. The author demonstrates the historical shifts from the 18th century to the present day in the ways people in the English-speaking world communicate and experience pain by drawing on a wide range of sources from poems and letters to medical journals and archival records. Similar themes explored in Scarry are taken up again,

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[34] Moscoso 2012, 2.
[35] Moscoso 2012, 6.

but from a manifestly different philosophical perspective. According to Bourke, Scarry commits "an ontological fallacy" when she treats the metaphoric ways of conceiving pain as descriptions of an independent entity and gives agency to this reified pain rather than to the person in pain. Such an approach can easily become solipsistic and therefore is unfit for doing the proper history of pain which takes place in the social milieu, she argues. Bourke opts for a more intersubjective approach. Drawing on Wittgenstein, she regards pain as neither fully subjective nor private as it is always mediated by the conceptual structure of language, in addition to social and environmental interactions and bodily comportment. She suggests that pain should be viewed a "type of event" instead of as a feeling, or sensation itself; pain functions more like an adverb than a noun in that it describes "the way we experience something, not what is experienced."[36]

When it comes to the history of pain as it relates to the classical period, there have been a number of studies discussing aspects of pain in relation to medicine, poetry, drama and philosophy.[37] *Experiencing Pain in Imperial Greek Culture* (2018) by Daniel King is a recent publication that is specifically devoted to the study of pain in antiquity. He notes that thus far, the study of pain in antiquity has only been approached from either the perspective that privileges the scientific understanding of pain or from the perspective that emphasizes the cultural meaning. King's aim is to reconcile these two perspectives by attending to "embodied pain experience."[38] He begins his discussion with the analysis of the medical treatises and identifies the model of physiological pain extant in medical diagnosis and therapeutic treatment of patients in pain. Medical practitioners during the Imperial period possessed extensive

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[36] Bourke 2014, 7.
[37] For pain in ancient medicine, especially Hippocratic material, King 1988 and Horden 2008. For Homer, Holmes 2007. For other Archaic poetry, Allen 2009. For tragedy, Budelmann 2007. In relation to emotions, Konstan 2006 and 2018.
[38] Describing an experience as "embodied" (or "lived") has become quite common in scholarly parlance across different discplines these days, including Egyptology. Cf. Excursus A at the end of Chapter 2.

anatomical understanding of the body and were very proficient in communicating this. He then

expands on this by drawing on the emotional and social implications of pain from various

philosophical, novelistic, and rhetorical texts. Writers like Plutarch and Lucian, the author

observes, contributed to expanding the medical conception of pain into broader terms including

hardship and trial by drawing on different literary and generic traditions. The author also

explores the ways the Imperial writers helped construct different kinds of "gazes" toward the

pained body and the different kinds of responses they elicited from the viewer. Synthesizing his

analysis, King argues that embodied pain experience during the Imperial period was underpinned

by the emergence of a particular understanding of the physical body (what he terms the

anatomico-aesthetic model of the body), which in turn was closely connected to the alleged

degeneracy and cultural decline of classical antiquity.

Another work in the field of Classics is the edited volume titled *Pain and Pleasure in*

Classical Times (2018). David Konstan's "On Grief and Pain" explores the concept of grief

(*lupê*, which also designated physical pain) as treated by Aristotle. According to Konstan,

Aristotle did not include *lupê* under the label *pathôs* (emotion) because Aristotle considered *lupê*

as more elementary than other emotions (anger, pity, shame, etc.). For Aristotle, for something to

count as emotions, it has to involve moral evaluations of human behavior. Grief, however, is

aroused and is shared by irrational animals.

In Egyptology, there is not much work dedicated to the topic of pain. In this respect, the

paper "Everybody Hurts: Understanding and Visualizing Pain in Ancient Egypt" by Tara

Prakash is a welcome contribution.[39] She starts by providing a brief overview of modern trends

in pain research. She notes that the emotional aspect of pain and cultural specificity of pain are

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[39] Prakash 2021, 103–125.

among the topics that scholars have become increasingly interested in and presents her own

investigation of the Egyptian visualization of pain as contributing to this broader ongoing

discourse on pain. Prakash examines three types of depictions of pain from the Old Kingdom

tombs: spanking scenes, scenes of landowners or herdsman being forced to pay taxes and

mourning scenes. According to her, pain is visualized in these scenes with specific contextual

cues, such as connections among figures, poses, activities and captions. Subtler cues are also

employed such as physical contact, overlapping bodies, and raised arms about to strike. Prakash

notes that the Egyptians frequently visualized other emotions with contextual cues as well. She

then suggests that the boundary between physical pain and emotional suffering was fluid, and

that the Egyptians viewed physical pain and emotional suffering to be related and perhaps

corresponding phenomena. In order to lend further weight to her argument, she also considers the

semantic scope and usage of the Egyptian word *mr*. She cites a few passages from different texts

where *mr* seems to be indicating something other than physical illness or injuries.[40] She also

adduces the results of other lexical studies on *mr*.[41]

1.3. Meanings of Pain beyond the Definition of Pain

The time periods and cultures covered in the works reviewed above are vast and varied.

Yet, there are several points of convergence. First, they emphasize how pain tends to obscure the

traditional border between mind and body, objective and subjective, or culture and nature, a

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[40] Specifically, she cites two spells from the Pyramid Text, a passage from the *Eloquent Peasant*, and another passage from the *Man's discourse with his Ba*.

[41] Unfortunately, the sources she cites are not publicly available. Marie-Lys Arnette, "Des mots pour les maux: enquête préliminaire sur l'expression de la douleur dans la littérature égyptienne" (lecture, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, Egypt, November 9, 2017) and Marie-Lys Arnette, "Douleur et emotion: des mots pour des maux, suite des investigations" (lecture, Université Paris-Sorbonne, Paris, France, September 8, 2018).

point already made in 1.1.[42] There seems to exist a consensus among these scholars that the biomedical paradigm falls short in its ability to explain or provide an adequate framework for understanding pain; as important as genetic factors and physiology are, these do not fully determine the way people experience and respond to pain.

Secondly, and more significantly, the works reviewed above all draw attention to how, before the scientific worldview of biomedicine became the dominant paradigm, fields such as religion, philosophy, art and literature played an important role in enabling people to make different meanings out of pain. Examination of the representations and discourses of pain in these areas reveals that meanings imbued to pain are closely related to a society's worldview, especially to an understanding of human nature, i.e., what a human being is and ought to be. In what follows, I would like to provide a brief sketch of some of the well-known instances that offer glimpses into different dimensions of pain's meaning. While not exhaustive, these accounts shall be sufficient to demonstrate that pain can accrue special meanings outside the realm of medicine

One aspect that is frequently left out of contemporary discourse on pain but has been central to the conceptualization of pain across many different cultures through the ages, is the question of how pain affects people's ability to attribute meaning to their lives. This question stems from the common human desire to structure our lives not just around quotidian events, but also around something bigger: a certain purpose, a happy and meaningful life. Faced with pain, people's day-to-day life is disrupted, and the prospect of lasting happiness seems unattainable. People then often ask: Why me? Why now? What is the meaning of all this? When satisfactory answers are not available, even greater distress and pain can result. Attempts to transcend or

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[42] In addition to the works reviewed above, refer to the interdisplinary collection of essays contained in Coakley and Shelemay 2007.

reconcile with the apparent meaninglessness of pain frequently find expression in philosophical and religious discourses. For instance, in Christianity, there exists an understanding that Christ redeemed the world through his pain. Simply acknowledging this comprises a form of divine knowledge, since one is accepting as true what has been revealed by God himself (as Christ is traditionally believed to be God incarnate). Even more divine is to imitate this God incarnate, that is, to participate in the redemption by suffering pain. For those who accept this account, e.g., the martyrs and saints, pain presents an opportunity and means to become God-like. Pain is also central to the path to knowledge in Buddhist tradition. The Four Noble Truths, which comprise the foundation of Buddhist philosophy, are organized around the very notion of pain.[43] Pain is the true nature of all existence. Birth, aging, illness, and death are all pain, and by coming to see and acknowledge this, one takes the very step (the first noble truth) towards the ultimate knowledge, which is liberation from pain. In this view, the more you are familiar with pain, the better, since it gives you greater desire and motivation for embarking on the path.

Pain can also figure prominently in moral discourse, as something intimately related to the notions of empathy or compassion that are essential for inculcating moral virtues and promoting social harmony. While in Western moral discourse, it is only in the last century or so that empathy as a concept has started gaining currency,[44] a moral tradition in the Far East has long accorded central importance to one's receptivity or responsiveness to others' pain. The virtue of *ren* (仁 "humaneness", "benevolence") in Confucian moral thought forms the

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[43] Translators have pointed out the Pali word *dukkha* (Sanskrit: *dukha*) does not adequately translate into either "pain" nor "suffering." This may be true, but it also seems to be the case that over time, a word can gain different meanings owing to the translated usage. For instance, the same word *kotong* in Korean is used both for the Latin word *dolor* in the Catholic usage and for the Buddhist *dukkha*.

[44] There has been some substantial discussion and research in recent times on the empathy concept (which often includes the distinction between empathy, sympathy, pity, compassion, etc). For a broad yet balanced survey that discusses both historical and philosophical aspects of the empathy concept, see Stueber 2019.

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foundation for individual moral excellence as well as for the proper governance of the state and family. According to Mencius, a Confucian sage as revered as Confucius himself, *ren* begins from the commiserating heart, i.e., the heart that cannot bear to see the suffering of another, or which is susceptible to be pained by another's pain.[45] As *ren* is not an abstract principle, but something that underlies concrete moral actions in the interpersonal realm, connecting individual to individual, and individual to society,[46] it is not surprising that *ren*'s root should be explicated in immanent and experiential terms that foreground the affective dimension of pain. That one can be pained by other's pain is a first tangible proof that human nature is capable of undoing the barriers between the self and the other. When people cultivate and effectively embody *ren*, they understand how to act—and in fact do act in all circumstances—in a way that diminishes pain and promotes well-being. With valorization of a virtue such as *ren,* then, pain can take on an immensely moral and collective dimension of meaning.

Pain is also frequently linked with the notion of beauty. For instance, in the classical Greco-Roman tradition, as attested in both literature (e.g., Sophocles' *Philoctetes*) and in visual arts (e.g., the statue of Laocoön), the display of excruciating pain is thought to arouse a sense of aesthetic pleasure in the audience. For the German Romantics, tragedy represented the sublime, the apex of human creativity. There is also a tradition that has valorized the link between pain and beauty from the opposite direction. Something beautiful, such as the spectacle of falling of cherry blossoms, is thought to evoke a very subtle kind of pain.

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[45] The famous example used to illustrate the point reads: "if anyone sees a child about to fall into a well, he will immediately feel alarmed and distressed. He feels thus, not because he intends to gain the favor of the child's parents, to gain the praise of his neighbors and friends, or because he cannot stand the sound of the child's cries." (1 *Gongsun Chou* 6), cited in and translated from Lee 2004, 62.

[46] According to the standard interpretation, the character for *ren* (仁) represents a combination of the characters for person (人) and two (二), embodying its inherently interpersonal dimension.

In each of these cases, pain is not treated as an independent object or phenomenon to be scrutinized in itself but as a reality woven into the very fabric of human existence. What is more, pain is not perceived as something entirely negative, but as a window to achieving more meaningful lives. Be it religious knowledge, moral virtue or aesthetic sensibility, these discourses share in common a fundamental orientation towards what is good and worth pursuing. It is this shared understanding of substantive values, i.e., beliefs and practices that people are motivated to promote and preserve, that pain becomes representable and imbued with more durable and collective meanings. To inquire into pain in these discourses is therefore to inquire of the vision each discourse takes to be ultimate reality and humanity's relation to it. One of the fundamental objectives of this dissertation shall be articulating the meanings of pain in relation to enduring Egyptian values.

1.4 Methodological Approaches

I have thus far introduced pain as the topic of research in very broad terms and sketched out the perspective taken in the dissertation. The remainder of this introductory chapter is devoted to explicating the methodological framework informing the contextualizing strategies pursued in this dissertation. While this dissertation is informed by other works of cultural histories of pain in its theoretical orientation, it adopts a different methodological approach in order to execute its professed objective. This is because ancient Egyptian sources are far patchier compared to modern, medieval or even classical records, and also, without a continuing tradition of transmission and reception from antiquity to modern era, the cultural milieu in which ancient Egyptian texts are written is not as readily accessible.[47] Overall, I suggest a rigorous way of

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[47] Cf. Baines 2021b: "[e]ven the vast record from Deir el-Medina is far more fragmentary and difficult to order than the Inquisition report underlying Montaillou."

reading the texts, which proceeds from lexical-level analysis to philological and literary analysis, then to a discussion of textual genres and higher-level context analysis. In this way, I demonstrate how the significance of pain does not depend solely on particular words, phrases or formula, but rather emerges from the varying levels of context. I draw on insights from such various fields as semiotics, linguistics, anthropology and various strands of literary theory. As it is very frequent in the field of Egyptology to import a concept without much theoretical reflection, which results in quick reification and mutation of the concept that becomes incomprehensible to those outside Egyptology, I take some time to explicate the concepts and theories, even at the expense of drawing attention away from the immediate topic of pain. Where possible, I try to connect them with pre-existing terminology and concepts already current in the Egyptological scholarship. The chapter closes with outlines of the remaining chapters of the dissertation.

1.4.1 Lexicography and Linguistics

The obvious first step consists of compiling a list of pain-related words and providing the description of their meanings. The identification of the meanings of words for dead languages is not a straightforward process in general, and it is especially so with words relating to pain. In so far as lexicography is concerned, I rely on existing compilations of reference works and translations. All the major dictionaries and lexicons are consulted,[48] and the meanings are cross-referenced with each other and checked against the known attestations in the primary sources.

1.4.2 Philology and Poetics

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[48] For the list of the dictionaries and lexicons consulted, see 2.1.1.

The vast bulk of my dissertation is devoted to analyzing and interpreting the key passages that feature pain, selected from different "genres" of texts.[49] Instead of a comprehensive catalogue of terms, I focus on a selection of passages that shed light on the range of dynamic ways pain figures in the texts and organizes the discourse. For each passage, I provide philological analysis, which consists of transliteration, translation and grammatical notes. This is followed by a detailed analysis of various literary devices such as repetition, parallelism, framing stories and emplotment. The analysis of literary forms can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of Egyptian conceptualization of pain. Consider the following example of parallelism from *Sinuhe* (B 131-135):

a   *ḥȝty nb mȝḫ.(w) n≠i*
b   *ḥmwt ṯȝyw ḥr "*
c   *ib nb mr.(w) n≠i ḏd≠sn*
d   *in iw wn ky nḫt ꜥḥȝ r≠f*

        every heart burning for me,
                women and men wailing;
        every mind being in pain for me, saying:
                is there another strongman who can fight for him?

The lines a and c convey a similar idea but in two different ways. Based on the fact that *ḥȝty* and *ib* are similar in meaning,[50] and that *nb* and *n≠i* are repeated, it can reasonably be expected that their predicates, *mȝḫ.(w)* and *mr.(w)*, would share some meaning in common. From this, one may conclude the experience of pain for the Egyptians had some affinity to the experience of fire. While this is one of the ways literary analysis can shed light on Egyptian understanding of pain, what I am more interested in is the ways in which these verbal forms can activate the aesthetic experience of pain, which I shall henceforth refer to as the poetics of pain.

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[49] See below 1.4.3 for the discussion on genres.
[50] The distinction between *ib* and *ḥȝty* is more pronounced in medical texts. See Walker 1996, 147–186. For the idioms and metaphors concerning heart, see Toro Rueda 2003.

The term poetics may require some explication. It is widely used across the fields of cultural and literary studies, and in its most expansive usage, it refers to the patterns of a cluster of literary forms centered on a theme: the poetics of pain, the poetics of war, the poetics of exile, etc. In its more restricted meaning, poetics refers to the study of literary forms or theory of literature, whose central question can be summed up as, "What makes a work of art a work of art?" While a concern with poetics in the Western literary tradition traces back to Aristotle's *Poetics*, the point of departure for this dissertation is the poetic function formulated by Roman Jakobson, a linguist of the Prague School and central figure in Russian Formalism. In his seminal paper, "Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics," Jakobson outlines six language factors and the corresponding six language functions that constitute any act of verbal communication.[51] Posited as one of these six functions, the poetic function focuses on the message factor, i.e., the linguistic form, rather than the referent or the content.[52] Jakobson then provides a structural definition of the mechanism by which the poetic function accomplishes what it accomplishes: "the poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination."[53] This formulation is of great theoretical import and is worth unpacking.

The basic concept underlying this formulation is the distinction between two types of relations that exist between signs—syntagmatic and paradigmatic—as conceived by structural linguistics. The signs along the axis of selection are said to be in paradigmatic or equivalent relations to one another, in that they can all potentially occupy the same slot in a sequence; the signs form a group *in absentia*. along the axis of combination are in syntagmatic or contiguous

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[51] Jakobson 1960, 350–377.

[52] The oft-cited definition reads, "the set (*Einstellung*) toward the message as such, focus on the message for its own sake." Jakobson 1960, 356. In another classical article of his, "What is Poetry?" Jakobson writes: "poeticity is present when the word is felt as a word and not as a mere representation of the object being named or an outburst of emotion: when words and their composition, their meaning, their external and internal form acquire a weight and value of their own instead of referring indifferently to reality." Jakobson 1987 [1933], 378.

[53] Jakobson 1960, 358.

relations in that they are combined for a sequence; it is a relation *in praesentia*. For instance, in the sentence "a big cat is on a rug," the word "big" has been selected among the words such as "large," "fat" or "small," etc., with which it forms a paradigmatic set, and is combined with words like "a," "cat," "is," "rug," etc., to yield an intelligible sequence of meaning. In ordinary speech, where the other functions of language (referential function, in particular) are dominant, the two axes are kept distinct. In the above sentence, the way "big" or "rug" has been selected from their respective paradigmatic sets is indifferent to their relation to "cat" as long as the formed sentence is grammatical and (frequently, though not necessarily) accurately refers to the extra-linguistic fact of there really being a big cat on a mat. In contrast, in an utterance where the poetic function is dominant, the axes collide. In the sentence "a fat cat sat on a mat", the words "fat," "sat" and "mat," are selected in a way that echoes the sound of "cat," which means, these signs, in addition to forming a syntagm, also form a paradigm with the phonetic element /æt/ in common. Put differently, there is equivalence among the elements forming the sentence, and Jakobson saw this kind of projected equivalence as the fundamental principle underlying any poetic or literary utterances. The perceived beauty of an utterance is an effect of this equivalence. [54] Beautifulness, however, is only one of the effects of poetics, and in subsequent chapters I will frequently talk about other effects that may arise.[55]

There are many different kinds of similarity relations that can be exploited to construct a sequence at different levels. In the above example, similarity is expressed in the consecutive repetition of the same phonemes for a short sequence of one sentence. It could also be created through an arrangement in patterns of syllable stress that can be repeated over a sequence of

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[54] Building upon Jakobson's framework, some scholars are now exploring the psychological and neural mechanism underlying the aesthetic appreciation, with the help of technological advances in neuroscience. Tsur 2008.
[55] For a more thorough theoretical explication and significance of Jakobson's poetic function, see among others, Maslov 2018.

fourteen lines to construct a sonnet. Or, it could be any kind of parallelism or repetition set into larger thematic structures.[56] By far the most common instance of manifestation of poetic function in Egyptian texts is the kind exemplified by the *Sinuhe* passage above, where ab and cd not only comprise a sequence but also—as indicated by their syntactic parallelism and semantic parallelism—a set.[57] The reason we can infer the meaning of *mȝḥ*, a hapax, is precisely because of the device of parallelism. Observing the equivalence between *mȝḥ* and *mr* is, of course, important. But it is also important to recognize the rhythm of these words. Repetition of units of similar length with similar syntactic patterns sets up a bodily rhythm of a sort,[58] which, when mapped onto a chain of ideas, establishes a corresponding rhythm in thought. In my view, this rhythm, too, contributes to the meaning of pain in this passage. To focus only on the semantic equivalence between *mȝḥ* and *mr* at a lexical level is to sever pain from its poetics, and in the subsequent chapters, I will be particularly attentive to analyses that reach beyond the level of lexemes and semantics.

Poetic function is also at play in the ordering of narratives, i.e., in plot construction. Taking Genette's succinct definition of a narrative as "the representation of an event or of a sequence of events,"[59] these events can be sequenced so as to echo one another, as in a ring composition where the events are arranged chiastically (ABBA, ABCB'A', etc.). In Egyptian literary works, the poetic function is also frequently manifest in different layers of embedding or

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[56] Jakobson & Pomorska 1983 [1980], 107: "the parallelism of units connected by similarity, contrast, or contiguity actively influences the composition of the plot, the characterization of the subjects and objects of the action, and the sequence of themes in the narrative." Cf. Chatman 1978, 127 where character is taken as a paradigm, "the set of traits, metaphorically, as a vertical assemblage intersecting the syntagmatic chain of events that comprise the plot."
[57] Egyptologists use the term "thought couplet" (Foster 1975) to refer to parallelism. A thought couplet consists of two lines, in which the second line complements, expands on, or contrasts with the first.
[58] Whether there can be a rhythm in the absence of a meter is debated. Dobbs-Allsopp makes a convincing case for Hebrew poetry that poetic rhythm can be present without meter. 2015, 99ff.
[59] Genette 1982, 127. Though influential, this definition is not by any means unanimous. For different definitions of narratives with bibliography, see Ryan 2007, 22–35.

framing. We can think of different levels of frame stories or the presence of multiple registers or

genres as constitutive of a sequence in which the principle of equivalence is at work. To use

Sinuhe as an example, within the overarching autobiographic frame, different genres of texts are

concatenated, and they form a sequence that runs parallel to the ongoing plot. The differences

between the genres are still palpable (analogous to <u>f</u>at, <u>c</u>at, <u>s</u>at), but they are each treated as a unit

equivalent to one another, together making up the plot. For texts like *Sinuhe*, then, the analysis of

the poetics of pain includes not just attending to the language at the level of line or couplet, but

also to the macro structure, at the level of plot or narrative discourse. I will return to the

significance of the above passage in Chapter 4, where I discuss the poetics of pain in the literary

narratives.

1.4.3 Genres

Another level of contextualizing the meaning of pain consists of the consideration of the

textual tradition, or the genre, in which individual texts are participating. Closely related to the

word *genus* used for biological classification, genre essentially describes the practice of

classifying texts.[60] The question of genre brings into focus an important interpretive principle

that a lexical survey or literary analysis alone cannot address. There have been extended

discussions on genres within Egyptology.[61] In terms of genre classification systems (such as

what falls into literary and non-literary) and labels used for designating specific texts groups

(narratives, teachings, laments, etc.), I follow the practices current today in Egyptological

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[60] Literature on genre is extensive. On genre in general, Williams 1977; Fowler 1982. On genre in linguistic anthropology/sociolinguistics: Hanks 1987; Briggs and Bauman 1992; Bauman 1999.

[61] For an overview of the history of "genre theory" in Egyptology, see Schenkel 1996, 21–38; Moers 1999, 43–46; Vinson 2004, 38–46; Lepper and Enmarch 2013, 2–3. Also valuable is Gumbrecht 1996, 31–8 which contextualizes the developments in literary debates in Egyptology against the developments in literary studies at large. In general, there has been a shift in orientation from the formalist to anthropological perspectives.

scholarship.[62] These will be introduced as the chapters progress. My primary concern in this introductory chapter is to draw attention to certain conceptual aspects of genre formation that are congruent with my overarching aim of examining historical and cultural horizons of pain's meaning. In this and the following sections, I explain how the generic perspective can enhance understanding of the meanings of pain in the Egyptian texts by mediating the poetics of pain on one hand, and enduring cultural values on the other. To this end, I start by turning to a strand of genre theory that has been influential in other disciplines but has not received as much attention in Egyptology: the theory of speech genre by Mikhail Bakhtin.

A Russian literary critic of the twentieth century, Bakhtin wrote extensively on theories of literature and on the closely related topic of theories of language. Reacting against Saussure's approach which privileged *langue* (system) over *parole* (use), Bakhtin emphasizes the communicative aspect of language and takes utterance as the primary locus of analysis.[63] In his essay "The Problem of Speech Genres," Bakhtin writes:

> These utterances reflect the specific conditions and goals of each such area not only through their content (thematic) and linguistic style, that is, the selection of the lexical, phraseological, and grammatical resources of the language, but above all through their compositional structure. All three of these aspects—thematic content, style, and compositional structure—are inseparably linked to the whole of the utterance and are equally *determined by the specific nature of the particular sphere of communication*. Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops its own *relatively stable types* of these utterances. These we may call *speech genres*.[64]

Bakhtin's approach to genre is particularly compelling in that it not only considers formal and

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[62] In addition to the essays included in the edited volumes 1996 (ed. Loprieno) 1999 (ed. Moers), the most extensive treatment on genres is found in Parkinson's 2002 monograph. See especially Parkinson 2002, 22–36 for the summary of his perspective on genre. An edited volume of a more relatively recent date (2013, eds. Enmarch and Lepper) includes a few essays that touch on the question of genre, but none provides a thorough theoretical discussion.

[63] To be sure, although Bakhtin's utterance overlaps with Saussure's *parole*, it is not the direct equivalent. Holquist 1983, 310.

[64] Bakhtin 1986, 60. Emphasis mine.

functional contexts as inseparably joined, but also highlights the reflexive relation between the two: a particular sphere of communication creates its own speech genre; it is by the particular speech that the sphere of communication is defined. Bakhtin then goes on to make distinctions between the so-called primary genre and the secondary genre. The two differ in the nature of the relationship between the sphere of communication and the utterances. Primary genres refer to everyday speaking styles that are immediately determined by social situations. Secondary genres, to which all kinds of artistic and scientific discourses belong (usually in written forms), have more complex and mediated communicative situations. Bakhtin explains the nature of secondary genres in relation to primary genres as follows:

> During the process of their (secondary) formation, they *absorb and digest* various primary genres that have taken form in unmediated speech communication. These primary genres are altered and assume a special character when they enter into complex ones. They *lose their immediate relation to actual reality and to the real utterances of others*. For example, rejoinders of everyday dialogue or letters found in a novel retain their form and their everyday significance only on the plane of the novel as a whole, that is, as a literary-artistic event and not as everyday life. The novel as a whole is an utterance just as rejoinders in everyday dialogue or private letters are...but unlike these, the novel is a secondary utterance.[65]

That secondary genres are not determined by immediate social situations is an important insight, and it pushes back against the tendency among those who distinguish genres in socio-functional terms to assimilate genres to a specific occasion (*Sitz im Leben*), which results in a proliferation of genres.[66] The extent to which secondary genres "absorb and digest" the characteristics of primary genres can vary. The mentioned example of everyday dialogue or letters in a novel can be seen as an extreme case, adduced to illustrate the point that even utterances that cannot formally be distinguished from primary utterances, once appropriated into the frame of a secondary genre, "lose their immediate relation to actual reality." We can use this insight from

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[65] Bakhtin 1986, 62. Emphasis mine.
[66] This tendency is mentioned in Parkinson 2002, 35.

Bakhtin to think about the mediated nature of the representation of pain in the Egyptian texts. The Egyptian texts that are examined in this dissertation all belong to secondary genres, which include not just the literary genres, but also non-literary genres like the medico-magical texts. Though the language employed may have derived certain elements from everyday language at one point (this, of course, can only be speculated), overall, it is far removed from everyday language. Their compositional structure and content are not a direct transposition of everyday experience. This means that the language and representation of pain in these texts, too, are not directly determined by the immediate contact with pain, i.e., by any specific instance or individual experience of pain. While this may sound like common sense, stating it explicitly can help dispel the bias of treating pain references in medico-magical texts as more "real" and closer to everyday experience of pain than those found in literary texts.

The most salient aspect of Bakthin's theory of speech genre is its potential for providing a conceptual framework that registers both the intersubjective and historical dimensions of pain. Embedded in the Bakhtinian generic perspective is the idea of dialogicity, that all utterances are responses to prior utterances.[67] Bakhtin saw that secondary genres, unlike primary genres, undergo "the process of historical formation."[68] This is to say, metaphorically speaking, secondary genre is the product of texts entering a prolonged dialogue with other texts. This observation emphasizes the interconnectedness of the texts as well as to the interconnectedness of people. It also resists treating genre as a set of abstract rules that are unilaterally imposed on

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[67] Bakthin 1986, 91: "Each utterance is filled with echoes and reverberations of other utterances to which it is related by the communality of the sphere of speech communication. Every utterance must be regarded primarily as a response to preceding utterances of the given sphere (we understand the "response" here in the broadest sense). Each utterance refutes, affirms, supplements, and relies on the others, presupposes them to be known, and somehow takes them into account." It is worth mentioning the concept of "intertextuality," another concept that has been frequently invoked in discussion on Egyptian literature, results from Kristeva's 1980, 64–91translation and interpretation of Bakhtin's notion of dialogism.
[68] Bakhtin 1986, 62.

individual texts. Genres do not exist outside the individual texts, but emerge as texts choose to adhere to (or transform) the form and content of prior texts. In this view, the occurrence of the same formulae, devices, etc., across the texts are not mere repetitions; rather, each constitutes an active response to a prior instance.

Now, what would constitute the sphere of communication for Egyptian texts? What I have in mind here is not the social function or the performative context, but the communicative situation borne out of their status as written artifacts. All the texts that are examined in the subsequent chapters are written on papyrus (with a few exceptions of those found on ostraca), which have survived the vagaries of time only because they had been carefully stored. In my view, even without active production of texts, simply preserving the texts is akin to participation in the dialogical process. Sometimes we see texts claiming their content had been handed down from older texts.[69] Although these statements cannot be taken at face value, at the very least, they inform us of the Egyptian concern for "maintaining the dialogue." Each generation becomes a potential participant, and the dialogue can span centuries. And like in face-to-face dialogue, the content of what is communicated is not limited to what is explicitly said, but rather includes the entire package of assumptions, beliefs, values, attitudes, etc. Bakhtin notes that

> the utterance is filled with dialogic overtones [...]. After all, our thought itself—philosophical, scientific, and artistic—is born and shaped in the process of interaction and struggle with others' thought, and this cannot but be reflected in the forms that verbally express our thought as well.[70]

It is within such dialogical context that I would like to situate the poetics and cultural meanings of pain. Insofar as textual genres serve as the medium of participation for shared knowledge and traditions, the poetics of pain does not remain an autonomous aesthetic entity, but its meaning

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[69] Further discussed in 3.3.
[70] Bakhtin 1986, 92.

becomes enlivened by shared ways of thinking and feeling about pain, transferable across a vast span of time and space.

1.5 Chapter Organization

The remainder of the dissertation is organized as follows. In Chapter 2, pain is examined at lexical, syntactic, and phraseological levels. I compile the words and phrases related to pain and examine their semantic and grammatical properties. The primary goal within the scope of this chapter is to lay a lexicographical foundation for more thematic in-depth textual analysis in the later chapters.

Chapters 3 through 5 constitute the main body chapters. The corpus examined in the dissertation is broadly divided into two categories: non-literary (or functional) and literary. The texts examined in Chapter 3 belong to the first category. The literary genre is further divided into narrative and non-narrative texts, which are examined in chapters 4 and 5, respectively. Texts examined in each chapter differ in content, form and purpose; each has its distinct epistemological underpinning and distinct ways of justifying references to pain. I therefore tailor my contextualizing strategies accordingly and modulate the internal organization of the discussions from chapter to chapter. I achieve overall coherence among the chapters not by imposing a unifying framework but by revisiting in each chapter the following questions:

a. Did the Egyptians distinguish different kinds of pain, comparable to the way physical pain is distinguished from emotional pain in modern Western society? What is the role of the heart in ancient Egyptian thought in relation to pain? Can a better understanding of the role of the heart in ancient Egyptian thought clarify the conceptual ambiguities involved in pain?

b. What is the role of language vis-à-vis pain in Egyptian texts? Are there any significant differences among the textual genres the way language is used in framing and explaining pain?

c. What meaning(s), if any, did ancient Egyptians give to pain? What is the ethical significance of pain and suffering in ancient Egyptian thought? How did they understand pain in relation to their core values and beliefs?

With these questions in mind, in Chapter 3, I turn to *Papyrus Edwin Smith* and *Papyrus Ebers*, the two best preserved medical texts from ancient Egypt, and examine pain from the perspective of ancient Egyptian medicine and healing practices. In the first part of the chapter, I trace and unpack the textual references to pain in the records of medical diagnosis and treatment. I show that overall, pain is primarily understood in reference to a disruptive processes/state or elements involved therein rather than in reference to painful sensation felt by patients. However, whereas pain is framed as a physiological problem, subject to empirical observation and measurement during the examination and diagnosis, in the treatment stage, pain is viewed as a reality or force to be contended with. In the second part of the chapter, I delineate the context within which the Egyptian understandings of and responses to pain examined in the first part operated as a part of coherent discourse. The role the pharaonic kingship played in the development and flourishing of medical practices cannot be over exaggerated, especially the aspect of the pharaoh as the guarantor of *maat*. By interweaving various strands of evidence, I suggest that the Egyptian medical accounts of pain are likely to be closely associated with the pharaonic kingship and *maat*.

Chapter 4 examines a wide range of texts grouped under the label of literary narratives, which include *Sinuhe*, the *Shipwrecked Sailor,* and the *Eloquent Peasant* from the Middle Kingdom; the *Two Brothers* and *Horus and Seth* from the Ramesside period; and the *Misfortunes of Wenamun* and the *Tale of Woe* from the Third Intermediate Period. Informed by narratological theories, I consider pain in terms of plot by paying close attention to the ways which the formal features of the narratives such as parallelism and repetition, framing devices, patterns of

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indexical expressions, etc. give shape to pain undergone by the characters in the narratives. I also consider how representation of pain elicits affective response from the audience.

In Chapter 5, I turn to two groups of poetic texts that are known for their particularly effusive emotions: the so-called literary laments (alternatively known as pessimistic discourses) and the Ramesside love songs. The primary concern in this chapter is to address the relationship between aesthetics, emotions and pain. The select passages from these genres are subject to poetic analysis that centers on the sense of "movement," and pain is explored as an aspect of longing on the part of both the speakers and audience.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation. Here I bring together the various strands of analysis and findings of each chapter into a unified whole and use this account as a vehicle for a final reflection on ancient Egyptian meanings of pain. I end by exploring the theoretical and methodological implications of this dissertation and making some suggestions for future research avenues.

CHAPTER 2

Lexicography of Pain

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a lexicographical survey of pain in ancient Egyptian. It goes without saying that, for a dead language like ancient Egyptian, the procedures for identification of the meanings of words are far from straightforward.[1] Moreover, the inherent ambiguity and multifaceted nature of pain creates additional challenges for both data collection and analysis. An exhaustive lexicography of pain in ancient Egyptian therefore would require a monograph length study. Within the confines of one chapter, I will focus on compiling the common words for pain in ancient Egyptian and on explicating their basic meanings, which can be used as a reference tool for in-depth analysis in the subsequent chapters.

2.2 Data Collection

2.2.1 Egyptian Words for Pain

The pressing question is: how does one go about looking for the expressions for pain? I began with compiling the list of the Egyptian words that have been translated as pain[2] and looking at their textual attestations. To this end, I consulted the various Egyptological resources available—dictionaries, text editions and commentaries. More specifically, my initial word list was compiled using the *Digitalisierte Zettelarchiv* (DZA), the digitized card catalogue used to assemble the of the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprach* (*Wb.*), and the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (TLA). Using the reverse translation function of the DZA and TLA, I searched for the

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[1] On methodological challenges for lexicography of dead languages, see Ashdowne 2015, 350-366. See also the seminal articles by Gunn 1941 and Gardiner 1948 that describe the various challenges specific to ancient Egyptian lexicography.

[2] This entails that the meaning(s) of the Egyptian pain words already reflects the modern scholars' understanding of the meaning of pain.

Egyptian words for *Schmerz* and *schmerzen.* Because *Leiden* and *Krankenheit* are frequently

listed with *Schmerz* in the definitions of word like *mn* and *mr,* I also used *Leiden* and

Krankenheit (as well as their verb counterparts) for the next round of the search. The Egyptian

words from these searches were then re-searched in other dictionaries such as Hannig's

Handwörterbuch (HWb), Meeks' *Anne lexicographique*, Faulkner's *Concise Middle Egyptian*

Dictionary (FCD), Lesko's *Late Egyptian dictionary* and *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*

(MedWb); I also tried to recall the Egyptian texts that deal with pain and went back to those texts

to see if any explicit reference to pain is made, and if so, added these expressions to the list.

Finally, I consulted the individual text editions, philological commentaries and scholarly articles

on specific words on the list if available. The list of the words thus compiled is summarized in

Table 1.

Table 1. Egyptian Pain Words

Lexeme		Hieroglyphic spellings	Translations	Wörterbuch	Others	Period[a]	Texts[b]
ꜣḥ/iḥ	ꜣḥ		vb.[2-lit]: to be miserable; to make miserable.	I, 12.2–3		NK	BD Lit
	ꜣḥw/ iḥ		subst.: suffering, pain, grief, misery; pain; injury; illness.	I, 12.4–6	MedWb 9 FCD 3	MK SIP NK TIP	Med Lit BD
ind/inḏ			vb.[3-lit]: to be vexed; to be sad; to be sick.	I, 102.16	FCD 24	OK? NK	Lit Mag
ꜣḥm(t) iḥm hꜣm			vb.[3-lit]: to suffer subst.: suffering, pain, lament, woe.	I, 12.8 I, 118.20–22 II, 481.3	FCD 28 MedWb 562 Lesko I, 49	MK NK TIP	Lit Med

Table 1. (continued)
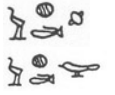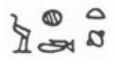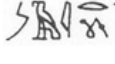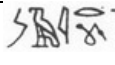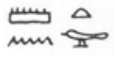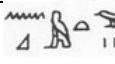
wḥd	*wḥd*	(hieroglyphs)	vb.[3-lit]: 1. to suffer 2. to endure	I, 356.1–6	FCD 68 MedWb 215	MK NK	Doc Bio Lit BD
	wḥdw	(hieroglyphs)	subst.: pain, inflammations, pain substance, etc.	I, 356.9–12	FCD 68 MedWb 207ff Lesko 127	SIP NK	Med
	wḥdt	(hieroglyphs)	subst.: suffering, pain	I, 356.13–14	FCD 68 MedWb 215	SIP NK	Med Lit
mꜣir	*mꜣir*	(hieroglyphs)	subst.: misery, woe, sorrow	II, 30.4	FCD 103	MK NK	Bio Lit
	mꜣir	(hieroglyphs)	subst.: miserable person	II, 30.2–3	FCD 103 Lesko 207	OK MK NK	Med Mag BD
mn	*mn*	(hieroglyphs)	vb.[2-lit]: be ill, suffer; be ill of, suffer from	II, 66.18–67.4	MedWb 365–367	MK NK	PT Lit Med BD
	mnt	(hieroglyphs)	subst.: malady; suffering	II, 67.6-18	FCD 107 MedWb367–368	MK NK	Lit Med BD
mr	*mr*	(hieroglyphs)	1. vb.[2-lit]: be sick, be in pain, to suffer 2. adj.: be painful	II, 95.1–15	FCD 110 MedWb 278 ff	OK–TIP	Lit Med Mag Doc
	mrt	(hieroglyphs)	subst.: illness; evil	II, 96.6–12	MedWb 378 ff	OK–NK	Doc LD PT Med Mag
nqm	*nqm*	(hieroglyphs)	vb.[3-lit]: to suffer, to be afflicted	II, 344.4–5	FCD 141 Lesko II, 36	OK MK NK	PT LD
	nqmt	(hieroglyphs)	subst.: affliction, sadness	II, 344.6		MK NK	
ḫꜣyt		(hieroglyphs)	subst.: illness, suffering fig. pain	III, 224.6–11	FCD 183 MedWb 646 Lesko II, 156	MK NK	Lit Med
swn	*snw* *swn*	(hieroglyphs)	vb.:to perish; to suffer	III, 428.1-3 IV, 68.14	FCD 217 HWb 26733	OK NK	PT Lit

Table 1. (continued)

	swnyt		subst.: pain	IV, 68.15	FCD 217 HWb 26736	NK	Mag
	sswn		vb.: to punish, to destroy; to cause pain (?)	IV, 273.6 IV, 273.7–15	FCD 245	OK MK NK TIP	PT Lit Med Mag
snnỉ/snnw			vb.:to suffer mentally, to be in a gloomy mood.	III, 461. 1	FCD 232 HWb 28616	MK NK	Lit BD
šnỉ	*šnỉ*		vb.[3-inf]: to suffer pain, to suffer from something	IV, 494.15–18	FCD 268 MedWb 856	SIP NK	Lit Med Mag LD BD
	šnw/ šnn		subst.: illness, grief, troubles, need	IV, 495.1–7 IV, 515.3–9		MK	Lit
qsn	*qsn*		1. vb.[3-lit.]: to be bad, painful, difficult 2. adj.: painful, difficult	V, 69.7–70.16	FCD 281	OK –TIP	Bio Lit Med BD
	qsnt		subst.: trouble, hardship (specifically famine).	V, 70–71.4		FIP MK NK	

[a] Late Period and Graeco-Roman Period are not included.

[b] Abbrievations used: PT=Pyramid texts; BD=Book of the Dead; Med=medical texts; Mag=magical texts; Doc=documentary texts (including letters); Bio=biographical inscriptions; LD=letters to the dead; Lit=literary texts (including hymns)

The translations of the Egyptian pain words given in Table 1 are abridged English translations from *Wörterbuch*; they are only meant for a quick reference. Table 2 below provides the English, French and translations from Faulkner, Meeks and the *Wörterbuch*, respectively.

Table 2. English, French and German Translations of Egyptian Pain Words

Egyptian		English (Faulkner)	French (Meeks)	German (*Wb.*)
	ỉh			traurig sein; in elendem Zustand sein
	ỉhw/ỉh	Misery, trouble; pain; injury; illness	souffrance; le misérable, le malheureux	1. Korperliches Leiden, Schmerz; 2. Kummer, Traurigkeit

Table 2. (continued)

ı̓nd/ı̓nḏ		Be afflicted	être affligé, affliction	1. betrubt sein, trauring sein 2. die Trauer, das Trauern (ob eigtl. "krank" und mit ı̓nḏ identisch?)
ꜣhm(t)/ı̓hm/hꜣm		sorrow		Leid trauern; das Trauern
wḫd	wḫd	be painful; suffer, endure; be patient with s'one.	souffrir, endure, supporter	1. ohne object: seelisch leiden, dulden, geduldig tragen; es ist schmerzlich 2. mit object: jemanden dulden
	wḫdw	pain	souffrance ; inflammation pour designer la cause generals des maladies:	Korperliche Schmerzen, Entzundungen; Lokalisirt oder hin- und her- ziehend; an allem moglichen Korperteilen auch als genetivischer Zusatz zu anderen Leiden
	wḫdt	pain		seelischen Leid, Kummer; Schmerzen aller art
	mꜣı̓r	misery	mꜣr:l'indigent	das Elend, die Not des einzelnen menschen
	mꜣı̓r	Wretched man, pauper		der Hilfsbedurftige, der Elende
mn	mn	be ill, suffer; be ill off, suffer from; suffer in part of body; be troubled about.	être malade, souffrant; mn ḫꜥw: la douleur physique	A. Eigentlich 1. von Personen zurneist mit objekt a) des Leidens b) des kranken Korperteils 2. von Korperteilen B. Bildlich (selten) a) vom Nil der nicht krank ist fur den Konig sa dass er nicht kommt b) in der Verbindung argerlich sein fur…
	mnt	malady; what is harmful; suffering mnw: pain	peine, souffrance partie douloureuse (du corps du malade) ı̓rı̓ mnt: faire le mal snı̓ mnt: passer un mauvais moment	A. Eigentlich 1. das Leiden, die Krankheit 2. die kranke Körperstelle B. Übertragen 1. Böses 2. seelisches Leiden, Kummer 3. Schaden
mr	mr	sick, ill, diseased; painful	être malade, souffrant; être penible, difficile	A. korperlich krank sein, leiden B. schmerzhaft, schlimm 1. korperlich von einem 2. seelisch 3. von Gefahrlichem C. Verschiedenes 1. vom Herzen; mitleid haben 2. von traurigen Worten

Table 2. (continued)

	mr	(under the same entry as above) pain, ailment	souffrance, affliction	1. eigentlich von einer korperlichen Krankheit 2. Schlimmes 3. Trauer
	mrt	pains	maladie, douleur	1. eigentlich: krankhaftes, krankheit jemds., eines Körperteils, in einem Korperteil. 2. Böses, Schlimmes
nqm	nqm	suffer, be afflicted		trauring sein
	nqmt	affliction		Traurigkeit
ḫȝyt		disease	la maladie	1. allgemein: Krankheit, Leiden 2. von der Krankheit eines bestimmten Korperteils, auch als bestimmtes Symptom 3. in der Verbindung: ein schmerzhaftes Leiden 4. bildlich: Schmerz, Jammer
swn	swn	perish; n. affliction		leiden
	swnyt	pain		das Leiden
	sswn	destroy; n. destruction	punir	bestrafen
snnỉ/snnw		suffer, be distressed		seelisch leiden; trübe gestimmt sein
šni	šni	suffer in oneself ; suffer from s'thing.	souffrir, etre malade	Schmerz empfinden, leiden
	šnw/šnn	troubles, need.	souffrance, douleur, affliction. ỉrỉ šnw: provoquer la detresse	Krankheit, Kummer, Not, Boses
qsn	qsn	painful, painfully ; irksome ; troubled ; difficult ; dangerous ; wretched.	être difficile, dangereux, penible	A. als adjectiv I. korperlich schmerzhaft, von einem schlag II. schmerzen haben, leiden III. seelisch von Herzen: bekummert, besturzt IV. in der Verbindung, schlimm im Zorn V. schwer u.a. von Arbeiten, Lasten VI. von Ortlichkeiten, von Wegen VII. von schlechten Zeiten B. unpersonlich gebraucht
	qsnt	trouble, misforture also: pain, troubling by foes	misère tȝ n qsnt: le pays de la misère	I. schlimmes, schwierigkeit II. (med.) auch von korperlichen Leiden

2.2.2 Textual References

The great advantage of the TLA is that it allows you to access the text examples and their bibliographic references with the convenience of a few clicks. This can initially save a lot of time compared to using the *Belegstellen* volumes of the *Wörterbuch*. [3] The downside of TLA, however, is that it only provides the transliteration and translation of the texts and no hieroglyphic transcription. What is more, sometimes the TLA's transliteration and translation would differ from those provided in other publications, and it is difficult to judge for oneself which makes better sense unless you have a reliable copy of the hieroglyph transcription or the photograph of the original texts. Hence, even though one could start collecting examples using TLA, eventually the examples have to be cross-referenced from the more "conventional" sources. Also, the textual references cited in the TLA are not exhaustive. Sometimes, much less exhaustive dictionaries such as Faulkner or Lesko would cite examples that are not cited in the TLA; sometimes I would simply fall upon examples that are not listed in any of the lexicons. All in all, the collection of the textual references was aided by TLA, but it still had to be significantly complemented by non-digital resources.

2.3 Clausal and Sentential Analysis

In this section, I examine each word from 2.2.1 at clausal and sentential levels, using the textual references collected based on the method outlined in 2.2.2.[4] The examples come from a wide range of texts, from monumental inscriptions to literary texts and private letters, and from a vast time range, from the Old Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period. Where the peculiarity

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[3] For instance, for *ꜣḥ* (*Wb*. I, 12.2-3), the *Belegstellen* gives "2. Theb Grab Nr 110 (Dehuti) <2360> 3. Petersb Weish 91 (vom Wasser); Apoph 26, 13 (vom Herzen); Festges 4, 6 (vom Namen)." Each of these references have to be looked up separately from their respective publications.

[4] Examples are representative but are not exhaustive. Not every single example is cited in the discussion, as many of them are repetitive (either verbatim repetition or very similar usage).

of the chronological or generic context has significant effect on the grammar and meaning of the word being examined, it will be discussed either in the paragraph or the footnotes.

I have placed relatively less weight on finding the perfect translational choices for individual words than on making plain the syntactic environment in which the words appear for the following two reasons. First, while all the words in the list more or less signify pain, in many of these examples, they sound awkward when translated into English as "pain." This should not be understood as having to do with the Egyptian words themselves, but more to do with the constraint imposed by the syntax and semantics of the English word "pain." Most significantly, "pain" is a noun, and in order to translate Egyptian pain verbs, it has to be rendered "to suffer pain," "to have pain," "to be in pain," etc. While this may suffice to convey the general meaning, it does not do justice to the original syntax.

Secondly, there is the problem of the language barrier I face as a non-native English speaker. Even if I were to come to develop a keen knowledge of the various shades of the Egyptian words discussed in this chapter, I am not confident that that understanding would be directly reflected in the English translational choices I make. Only in-depth literary analysis would allow me to delineate sufficiently the meanings of the Egyptian words and how they signify pain in their contexts, and these tasks are reserved for the next three chapters.

These two limitations on translation can be partially offset by rigorous syntactic analysis. Whether certain Egyptian words might be better translated as "pain", "suffering" or "grief" can vary from a person to person based on a number of factors; whether Egyptian words in particular instances be analyzed as adjectival or verbal, transitive or intransitive, varies much less. Syntactic analysis is especially helpful for words like *mn* and *mr* which appear interchangeable in many translations but differ significantly in their syntactic behavior.

The basic grammatical framework and terminology used in this chapter (and for the rest of the dissertation) are based on Gardiner[5] and Hoch.[6] In addition to the traditional grammatical categories such as subject, direct object and indirect object, I also consider the argument structure.[7] Argument structure refers to formalization of the relation between the predicate and the argument (participant integral to the event or state expressed by the predicate) it selects. In essence, argument structure is concerned with how semantic features of verbs are associated with grammatical patterns.

Depending on the semantic properties of a predicate, arguments can be assigned different semantic roles.[8] While there is a frequent correspondence with grammatical categories and semantic roles (for instance, the role of agent usually corresponds to the subject of a transitive verb, while the role of patient/theme corresponds to the object of a verb), this is not always the case. For a common example, when a sentence in active voice turned to passive voice, the subject and the agent no longer correspond. In Gardiner and Hoch, terms such as logical subject and logical object are used to distinguish the semantic relation between the predicate and the argument from that of the purely grammatical one, in special cases such as the suffix pronoun of the infinitive or passive participles.[9] The basic idea underlying semantic roles is similar, although labeling an argument by its semantic role has a benefit of being more intuitive and less abstract.

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[5] Gardiner 1973.

[6] Hoch 1997.

[7] In Egyptology, Vernus (2012) and Winand (2016) have applied the framework of argument structure for gaining a more fine-grained understanding of the meaning of the Egyptian lexemes.

[8] There exist several different terms for a similar concept, among which are: participant roles, deep semantic cases, thematic roles and theta (θ)-roles. The standard set of semantic roles also vary from author to author. The roles listed in Table 3 represent the most commonly identified ones.

[9] G*EG* §126; Hoch 1997, §57.

Table 3. Semantic Roles

Agent	initiator of action, capable of acting with volition.	*The boy* kicked the ball.
Patient	the entity undergoing the effect of an action, undergoes change of state.	The boy kicked *the ball*.
Goal	the ending point towards which something moves.	John went *home*.
Source	the starting point from which something moves.	She ran *from the angry dog*.
Theme	the entity moved by action or whose location is described.	*The book* is on the table.
Experiencer	the entity which is aware of the action or state but is not in control	*John* has a headache.
Instrument	the means by which an action is performed or something comes about.	Bill opened the door *with a key*.
Beneficiary	the entity for whose benefit the action is performed.	Fred baked *his mother* a cake.
Stimulus	the entity which is perceived or experienced.	Mary smelled *the flower*.

In linguistics literature, pain is classified as a subtype of experiential situations.[10] The domain of experience as understood in linguistics literature encompasses sensual perception, bodily sensations and feelings, cognitive processes, and emotional reactions.[11] Experiential situations are characterized by low transitivity.[12] Figure 1 below represents the components of a basic experiential situation.[13] Expertum is the content of what is being experienced and is generally expressed by the predicate. Experiencer refers the main participant of the situation, one

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[10] The account given here is based on the information and references provided in Verhoeven 2007, Fedriani 2014 and Luraghi 2021, all of which take a functional, typological approach to language. Verhoeven 2007 draws on various function-based approaches (e.g.,Van Valin and LaPolla 1997) and provides a comprehensive semantic-syntactic study of experiential expressions in Yucatan Mayan. It also provides an accessible overview of the relevant linguistics theories and terminology. Particularly useful is Chpater 3 where she discusses, among others, the previous approaches to experiential constructions, the question of universality vs. culture-specificity of concepts in the domain of experience, the distinction between bodily sensation and bodily state, etc. Both Ferdriani 2014 and Luraghi 2021 draw on Verhoeven 2007 and examine experiential constructions in ancient languages—Latin and Homeric Greek, respectively.

[11] In linguistics literature, pain is primarily identified as a bodily sensation, and secondarily, as an emotion by metaphorical/metonymic association. Halliday 1998; Lascaratou 2007; Kövecses 2008.

[12] Luraghi 2021, 21. In addition, according to the transitivity hierarchy of different types experiential predicates proposed by Tsunoda (1985), perception (verbs of sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell) ranks the highest, followed by cognition (thinking and knowing), emotion, and sensation. For Egyptologists with linguistics background, this topic would provide a rich avenue for future inquiry.

[13] The diagram is from Verhoeven 2007, 52, which is also reproduced in Luraghi 2021, 2. Cf. Fedriani 2014, 19.

who experiences.[14] Stimulus is the second participant, which represents the cause that triggers the experience, or that to which the experience is directed. These two participants, experiencer and stimulus (indicated bold in Table 3), are the first and second arguments of experiential predicates.[15] Treating Egyptian pain predicates as encoding an experiential situation, my analysis below will delineate their semantics in reference to the semantic roles of experiencer and stimulus.

Figure 1. Components of an Experiential Situation (from Verhoeven 2007)

2.3.1 ꜣḥ/iḥ
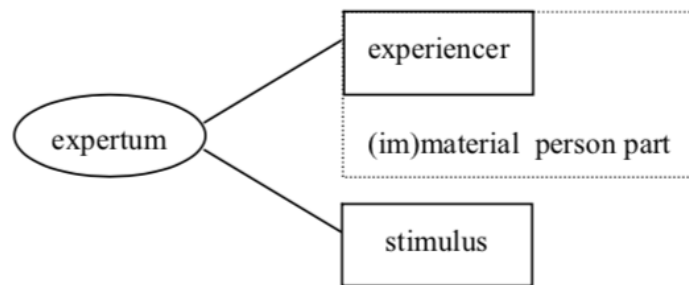
As a predicate, ꜣḥ can be translated as "to suffer" or "to be miserable." It picks out a single argument of experiencer, which is encoded as the subject.

(1)   ꜣm≠ꜣ ꜣḥ{≠ꜣ} n ꜣwꜣw

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[14] The neither agent- nor patient-like status of the experiencer is often understood as what accounts for a great diversity in the ways in which experiential situations are encoded. Different linguists have expressed the difficulty of defining the experiencer role. For an overview, see Fedriani 2014, 20ff. Verhoeven (2007, 52) additionally notes that "the experiencer participates through its physicalness and intellectuality in the situation which may be linguistically rendered by the use of material or immaterial body or person part nouns. (Im)material person parts are involved in the situation as parts of the experiencer. They are thus thought of as being on a secondary level; their participation being given by the experiencer."

[15] Fedriani 2014, 15: "the Experiencer and the Stimulus are particularly intriguing semantic roles to explore phenomena at the syntax-semantics interface, since their conceptual characterization is complex in different respects and can have a number of consequences at the level of linguistic coding. A relational comparison on the ontological axis identifies Experiencers as human by definition, whereas Stimuli can, but need not, be animate. This makes Experiencers good candidates for attaining syntactic and pragmatic primacy over Stimuli. Stimuli, in turn, can be interpreted as Source- or Cause-like and are therefore entitled to be expressed as subject as well, due to their status as initiators of events." Further on characterization of these two roles, refer to Chapter 2 of the same volume.

"I should not **suffer** because of/from shiplessness." (BD 67 = pNu 4)[16]

(2)   *ḥr wn ib[≠f] fꜣk.w*[17] *ḥr≠f ꜣḥ.w ḥr iri ib≠f r≠f*
"So his heart becomes shorn, while his face **miserable**, because his heart acts against him." (*Ptahhotep* 4, 8–9)[18]

In (1), *ꜣḥ* is a negatival complement of the prospective form of the negative verb *imi*. The 1cs suffix pronoun represents the subject experiencer. The prepositional phrase *n iwiw* can be taken as an adjunct or possibly a dative object (in which case, it represents the semantic role of stimulus, a second argument). In (2), the stative *ꜣḥ.w,* though not a predicate per se (i.e., it is not a predicate of a main clause), is still in a predicative relationship with its antecedent *ḥr≠f*. Here, the 3ms suffix pronoun *≠f* is the experiencer.

In both cases, *ꜣḥ* seems to connote a situation suffering related to a lack of some sort.[19] In (1), *ꜣḥ* is related to the state of not having a ship (the solar barque that the deceased needs ride on to join Re's journey); in (2), though it is not about an actual lack, *ꜣḥ.w* parallels the stative *fꜣk.w* "to be shorn" (=lacks hair), and it seems *ꜣḥ.w*, with its connotation of lack, was chosen for a rhetorical purpose of extending the metaphor.

The substantive form of *ꜣḥ* is attested as *ꜣḥw* and in its later variant *iḥ*.[20] There are instances that seem to indicate suffering specifically related to a lack of something, comparable to the usage in (1) and (2). *ꜣḥw* in (3) refers to a suffering related to lack of food, in light of the sentence that immediately follows. The sentence in (4) is preceded by an exhortation not to brag

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[16] Lapp 1997.

[17] TLA (lemma-no. 305) has *ꜣk.w* as simply a verb relating to heart. Cf. *Wb.* I, 22.4. Here, I follow Allen's interpretation (2015, 188) of a possible scribal omission of the suffix pronoun after *ib*. While *ꜣk.w* is not attested anywhere else, *fꜣk.w* is (e.g., Kamose Stele). The word in question seems most certainly connected to *fk*, "be ruined, wasted." *Wb.* I, 579.16f.

[18] This example is from BM 10409 (L2), following the column and line number assigned by Zaba 1956. Other citations of *Ptahhotep* in the chapter, unless indicated, follows the sequential numbers assigned by Devaud's edition of pPrisse.

[19] Cf. Meeks 1977 77.0060 lists the idiomatic expression *ꜣḥ m* "manquer de" under *ꜣḥ* "souffrir." See also *Merikare* E91 in example (183).

[20] Cf. Breasted 1930, 138.

to those who are childless (*ỉwty msw≠f*),[21] and is supposed to show how one's life success cannot be gauged by the number of children one has. Here, we can perhaps understand *ꜣhw*'s connotation of lack as heightening the paradox: people who are not lacking in children are not necessarily better off than who lack children. In (5), too, *ꜣhw* brings out the paradox, as a play on the contrast with *mḥ*, "to be full."

(3)   *nn ꜣhw n dd{n}≠ỉ <n>≠f ỉw psš≠ỉ wr n ỉwf n ḥmsw r-gs≠ỉ*
        "There is no **suffering** for him to whom I give. I allot a lot of meat to those who sit by my side." (Stela of Montuser 9–10)[22]

(4)   *ỉw wn wr ỉt m ꜣhw mwt mst ḥtp kt r≠s*
        "There are many a father who is in **distress**, and a mother who has given birth, (yet) another being more content than she." (*Ptahhotep* D171)

(5)   *ỉw mḥ-ỉb r ꜣhw*
        "He who trusts (lit. one with a full heart) is towards (prone to) a lack/s**uffering**." (*Merikare* E39)[23]

In other instances, *ꜣhw/ỉh* does not seem to be associated with a state of lack (or at least, the association is not as salient) but refers to pain, distress or sorrow in a general sense, especially in the literary laments.

(6)   *bꜣ≠ỉ wḫꜣ r sdḥ ꜣh*
        "My ba is too foolish to suppress **pain**." (*Man and Ba* 18)

(7)   *shrr m ỉr ꜣhw*
        "The pacifier a **distress**-maker." (*Peasant* B1 280)

(8)   *ỉp≠k wỉ mk wỉ m ꜣhw*
        "Reckon me, I am in **distress**." (*Peasant* R 26, 6)

(9)   *ỉh pw wšb n ḥm*
        "Responding to the ignorant is **pain**." (*Khakhperreseneb* vso. 4–5)

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[21] *Ptahhotep* D169.

[22] Hayes 1953.

[23] For *Merikare*, the line numbers are according to P St-Petersburg 1116A, which is the most complete surviving manuscript. For the edition, Quack 1992.

In (6), *ꜣḥ* is the object of the verb *sdḥ*, which is in infinitive form after the preposition *r*. (7) consists of two participles and *m* of predication inserted between the two. Syntactically, *ꜣḥw* is in the bound construction with the participle of the verb *ìrì*, but in terms of semantics, its relationship with the verb, namely, the semantic role of theme, is still retained. In (8) *ꜣḥw* is the object of proposition *m*, and the prepositional phrase as a whole serves as an adverbial predicate of an independent clause. The subject experiencer is represented by the 1cs dependent pronoun *wì*, after the initial particle *mk*. In example (9), *ìh* is first member in the tripartite A *pw* B sentence.

In magico-medical texts, *ꜣḥw/ìh* refers to an injury or physical ailment. It frequently occurs as an object of preposition followed by a suffix pronoun or demonstrative. In Edwin Smith, where it occurs 12 times, it refers to a specific injury or wound, i.e., the localized physiological damage.[24] In Ebers, where it occurs in the context of stomach related problems and a magical incantation, it seems to refer to an entity underlying the ailment.

(10)   *r swꜣ ꜥt **ìh**≠f*
        "until the period of his **injury** passes by." (pEdwin Smith [1,23]; 2,7; 2,16; 7,19; 10,8; 17,13)

(11)   *dgs≠f ḥry **ìh** pn*
        "the side of him having this **injury**." (pEdwin Smith 4,16)

(12)   *r nḏm gbꜣ šw m **ìh***
        "until the arm becomes well, free of **pain**." (pEbers 37, 15)

(13)   *ìw **ꜣḥ** pn hꜣy r qꜣb mꜣꜥ r pḥyt…*
        "this pain has gone down to rectum and to anus." (pEbers 37, 16)[25]

(14)   *ìw ìn.n≠ì nn rd(w) m st nn ḏbꜣ **ꜣḥ** ꜣdw…*
        "I have brought this and given in place of this, replacing the **pain** that is raging…" (pEbers 57, 21)

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[24] See Breasted 1930, 135 for the discussion.

[25] Notice that though (12) and (13) come from the same text, same column, and indeed the same recipe, the spellings differ. It is also worth mentioning that although the content of the latter half of the column 37 is repeated in the latter half of the column 38, in 38, 16, instead of *ꜣḥ* like 37, 16, *ìh* is used.

It also occurs in the BD where it parallels the word *mr* and is the (semantic role of) theme of *dr*.

(15) *dr≠sn **ỉh** mr mn≠f dr wsỉr **ỉh**≠f*
      "may they drive off **pain** and illness he suffers; may Osiris drive off his **pain**." (BD 130 = pNu 15)

2.3.2 *ỉnd/ỉnḏ*

Like *ꜣh*, *ỉnd/ỉnḏ* is a one-place predicate that selects a subject experiencer. The known attestations are predominantly in stative constructions, which are customarily translated as "to be afflicted." In (16)–(18), *ỉy nb*, *≠f* and *st* serve as the respective antecedents, which express the role of the experiencer. In (19), *ỉnd* is a negatival complement of the negative imperative *m*, and the 3ms suffix *≠f* is the experiencer.

(16) *wn≠ỉ m mnꜥt ḥr ꜣty n ỉy nb **ỉnḏ.w***
      "I was a nurse taking care of all who arrived **afflicted**." (*Hatnub* 16, 9–10)[26]

(17) *spr≠f r pr≠f **ỉnd.w** mḏd.n sw šmt*
      "He arrives at his house **afflicted**, the journey having pressed him hard." (*Khety* 13, 6)[27]

(18) *nn ỉw ỉs pw n mꜣỉr nn sbḥ ỉs pw n st **ỉnd.tỉ***
      "Isn't that a wailing of a miserable person? Isn't that a crying of an **afflicted** woman?" (BM EA 9997 3, 17–18)[28]

(19) *m **ỉnd**.t≠f m **ỉnd**.t≠f m ỉr mw ḥwꜣ.w m ỉr mw ḥḏ m ỉr fnṯ*
      "Do not let him be afflicted, do not let him be **afflicted**, do not make foul water, do not make white water, do not make maggots"! (pLeiden I 348, spell 36)[29]

It is only with the knowledge of the generic context (or the situations implied by the genre) that the word's meaning can be further specified in each passage. In (16), the fact that it comes from a graffiti at the major expedition site as well as the verb of motion *ỉy* suggest that *ỉnḏ.w* here refers to the fatigue or exhaustion that commonly accompanies a long journey. In (17), too,

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[26] Anthes 1928.
[27] Repeated in 16, 3. Column and line numbers for *Khety* follow Jäger 2004. The cited variant is from tLouvre N 693 rto. 8.
[28] Leitz 1999.
[29] Borghouts 1971.

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words like *spr* and *šmt* suggest that *ind.w* has to do with the fatigue from a long journey. The passage comes from the *Teaching of Khety* or the so-called the "Satire on the Trades" where all professions but that of scribe are negative portrayed in highly exaggerated language, and *ind.w* is meant to highlight the hardship of *ꜣḥwty*, "field workers."[30] (18) comes from a healing incantation,[31] and two things are relevant to for grasping the meaning of *ind* here. First, parallelism enabled by the repetition of *nn…is pw n…* suggests that *st ind.ti* is complentary in meaning to *mꜣir*, "miserable person." Second, the woman here refers to none other than Isis, who is crying over Horus'condition. Isis' anguish over the well-being of her son is a trope that is frequently featured in medico-magical spells. (19), too, comes from a healing incantation. As the negative command with *ind* is followed by three more negative commands with specific symptoms, *ind* is to be understood as meaning a state or expereince that is caused by those symptoms.

2.3.3 *ihm*

The word *ihm* has several different spellings, such as *ꜣhm(t)* or even *hꜣm*. It is not widely attested, being only attested from the New Kingdom and onwards. It mainly occurs in the Ramesside royal hymns in the context of praising the protection and wise governance by the king. As a verb, it is translated as "to suffer." As a noun, it has been variously translated as "affliction," "woe," or "lament."[32]

(20) *nn sḏr im≠tn **ihm**≠f n gꜣw*
      "There is no sleeper among you one who **suffers** from a lack (i.e., none of you go to
      sleep at night, lacking anything)." (K*RI* II, 340f = CG 34504)[33]

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[30] *Wb*. I, 214.7-9.
[31] This is a particular type of spell called historiola (lit. "little story"), in which mythical precedents serve as a model for healing. Historiola is further discussed in the next chapter.
[32] In addition to the cited examples, there is a possible attestation in Cairo JE 44065 (= stela of Padisobek from Hawara), where the deceased narrates his illness and impotence that he suffered in his lifetime. The reading is, however, extremely uncertain, and no reliable hand-copy exists. Lichtheim 1992, 191.
[33] Ramses II, year 8 stela from Heliopolis.

(21) *pꜣ tꜣ ḥr qꜣ n ꜣtꜣf nn **ỉhm***
"The land is on the height of its back without **affliction**…" (K*RI* V, 26, 11)[34]

(22) *rwỉ⸗ỉ nꜣyꜣtn **ỉhm** nty m ỉbꜣtn*
"I dispel your **woes** that are in your heart." (K*RI* V, 41, 11)[35]

(23) *nn ddy.tw ḏrt ḥr mꜣꜥ nn šdỉ.tw **ỉhm***
"There is no one who places hand on the temple,[36] no one who recites **lament**…" (oOIM 25346, vso. 4)[37]

2.3.4 *wḫd*

wḫd occurs in several different forms and constructions. As a one-place predicate, it selects a subject experiencer and can be translated as "to suffer" in a general sense. In (24), the subjunctive form of *wḫd* is used as the object of *rḫ* 'to know,' to form a "that" clause (alternatively it can be analyzed as the nominal form to mean "how much you suffer" instead of "that you suffer"). The experiencer is expressed by the 2ms suffix pronoun, whose referent is Osiris.

(24) *rḫ.kwỉ **wḫd**⸗k n ꜣqꜣs m-ḫt tꜣ-mrt*
"I know that you (Osiris) suffer from its (*maat*) perishing from the beloved land." (Great Abydos Stela of Ramses IV, 14 = K*RI* VI, 23)

As a two-place predicate, which selects a second argument of theme, *wḫd* has a meaning and usage comparable to English "to endure", "to tolerate," or to "bear."

(25) *(ỉ)n-ỉw ḥm wꜥ ỉm⸗tn r **wḫd** srḫ.w n⸗f ḥmt⸗f ỉḫ **wḫd**⸗ỉ*
"Furthermore, will any of you **tolerate** having his wife denounced to him? Then, I would **tolerate** (it, too)."[38] (Heqanakht II rto. 42–43)[39]

(26) *ỉwty{w} ꜥwn-ỉb⸗f **wḫdw** sfnw*

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[34] Medinet Habu the first Libyan war (year 5), line 67 SAOC 12:33; OIP 8, pl.28.
[35] Medinet Habu the Sea People war (year 8), line 28 SAOC 12:56; OIP 8, pl.46.
[36] *Wb*. II, 24. 9-16; Cf. *smꜣ* in (95). According to Fisher-Elfert (1999, 74-75), the expression indicates a gesture of complaint, comparable to *ḏrt ḥr tp/ḏꜣḏꜣ*, "a hand on the head."
[37] The example comes from a hymn of Ramses IV, on the occasion of the king returning to Thebes for renewal or regeneration. The section in which this particular phrase occurs sings of all the evils no longer endured under the current reign of peace. Foster 1994, 96.
[38] A similar instance of a *ỉn-ỉw* rhetorical question followed by *ỉḫ* + subjunctive is also found in *Peasant* B1 148-150.
[39] Allen 2002.

"One who is without greed, who **endures** irritation…" (Louvre C 167, 9)[40]

(27)   *n wḫd.n≠f ḥbsw ꜥšꜣ*
        "He cannot **bear** many clothes." (pBerlin 3038 13, 4)[41]

(28)   *ḫꜣ n≠i ib m rḫ wḫd*
        "Would that I had a heart able to **endure**." (*Khakhperreseneb* rto. 13–14)

(29)   *n wḫd.tw smi n mdt*
        "The reply to a speech is not **tolerated**." (*Khakhperreseneb* vso. 5)

In (25), the first *wḫd* is an infinitive after *r* of futurity, where *wꜥ im≠tn* expresses the subject experiencer and *srḫ.w n≠f ḥmt≠f,* the object theme.[42] As for the second *wḫd,* only the first argument (the subject experiencer, *≠i*) is explicitly expressed, while the second argument is implied: the same *srḫ.w n≠f ḥmt≠f* from the preceding sentence is the object theme of the second *wḫd* as well. In (26), *wḫdw* is an active participle in bound construction with *sfnw,* which, like in (7), retains the semantic relationship as the theme. In (27), *wḫd* is in a nominal *sḏm.n≠f* after negative *n,* indicating inability. The 3ms suffix pronoun expresses the subject experiencer, and the following NP *ḥbsw ꜥšꜣ* is the direct object theme. In (28), *wḫd* is the object of *rḫ* (here indicating ability). The first argument is *ib,* and the second argument is only implied by the context: in the section preceding the cited passage, the speaker has been lamenting how his own heart is unresponsive to the great suffering he is under. What is implied as the object theme of *wḫd* here is therefore the suffering the speaker is under. In (29), *wḫd* is passive with an impersonal pronoun *tw.* The NP *smi n mdt* is the single argument (theme) of the predicate, but had this been in active voice, it would be a second argument, expressing the object theme.

The noun *wḫdw* occurs very frequently in the medical texts. It is followed by the pustule

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[40] Landgráfová 2011.
[41] For pBerlin 3038, Grapow 1958.
[42] Following Allen 2002, 47, *srḫ.w n≠f ḥmt≠f* is taken as a prospective passive, instead of a circumstantial passive *sḏm≠f* with final *w*. If taken as a circumstantial passive, this would decrease the valency of *wḫd* to a one-place predicate.

determinative (Aa2).[43] There are conflicting views on exactly what *wḥdw* refers to, whether it refers to an inflammatory process, pathogenic substance, principle of putrefaction, or pain itself.[44] A variety of verbs take *wḥdw* as an argument. (30)–(36) come from the rubric of the recipes from pEbers, where *wḥdw* is the object patient of different verbs of healing. In (37)–(40), *wḥdw* occurs as a single argument of a few different one-place predicates, especially of verbs of motion.[45]

(30) *kt nt dr wḥdw*
"Another for driving out **pain**." (pEbers 27, 5)

(31) *kt nt smꜣ wḥdw*
"Another for slaying **pain**." (pEbers 24, 12)

(32) *kt nt sd wḥdw*
"Another for breaking *pain*." (pEbers 30, 3)

(33) *kt nt ḫsf wḥdw m ḫt*
"Another for subduing **pain** in the belly." (pEbers 23, 4)

(34) *kt nt dr wḥꜣw šdt wḥdw*
"Another for driving out **pain** and taking *out pain*." (pEbers 26, 20)

(35) *kt nt srwḫ ḥꜣty srwy wḥdw*
"Another for treating the heart and removing **pain**." (pEbers 45, 18)

(36) *kt nt tp mr≠f ssꜣt wḥdw*
"Another for head that is ill, discarding **pain**." (pEbers 48, 7–8)

(37) *kt nt ssnb wbnw wḥdw ḫpr*
"Another for healing the wound when **pain** occurs." (pEbers 30, 4)

(38) *wḥdw pw thꜣ ḥr psd≠f*
"It is **pain** which trespassed on his back." (pEbers 40, 6)

(39) *ḫr wḥdw ḥr ḥꜣty≠f*
"**Pain** falls on his heart…" (pEbers 101, 10)

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[43] Interpretation of this determinative varies. Gardiner (1950, 539) describes it as a pustule or gland. Brunner (1967, 78) describes it as *schlechtes Paket* ("bad pocket"?). Pezin and Janot (1995, 361–365) see it as two fingers on an open wound.
[44] A thorough discussion on *wḥdw* with bibliography is given in Tessenow Kolta 2000.
[45] The movement of *wḥdw* is referred to as *hbhb wḥdw* (pEbers 103, 1), *ht wḥdw* (pBerlin 3038 15, 1).

(40)   *ḫd-ḫnty* **wḥdw**
        "**Pain** move back and forth." (pBerlin 3038 14, 6–7)

Interestingly, *wḥdw* frequently occurs in the incantations where different harmful supernatural

forces or evil entities are enumerated.

(41)   *r dr st-ʿ nṯr st-ʿ nṯrt st-ʿ* **wḥdw** *st-ʿ* **wḥdt** *st-ʿ mwt st-ʿ mwtt…*
        "to drive out the influence of god, of goddess, male **pain**, female **pain**, the male dead,
        female dead…" (pEbers 30, 9–10)

(42)   *dr≠s ꜥꜥ≠k mtwt ≠k nkn ≠k iwtw≠k gꜣwt ≠k isft ≠k mr≠k* **wḥdw≠k** *nqmt≠k šmm ḫt iḫt nbt ḏwt
        ḏdt.n≠k mn≠f sy…*
        "…it will drive away your semen, your poison, your injury, your putrefaction, your lack,
        your injustice, your illness, your **pain**, your affliction, the fire will burn up everything
        bad thing that you said he would suffer…" (pLeiden I 348 6, 6–8)

For feminine *wḥdt*, it is frequently listed as a feminine counterpart to *wḥd* in medical incantations

as in (41).[46] Additionally, *Wb*. gives "mental suffering (*seelischer leiden*)" and "grief

(Kummer)", but its only attestation seems limited to the following example from Ipuwer.[47]

(43)   *ḥꜣ rf ir.n≠i ḫrw≠i m tꜣ ꜣt nḥm≠f wi m-ʿ* **wḥdt≠i** *irrw im≠st*
        "If only I raised my voice at the moment, so that it could/would save me from my
        suffering which is made therein(?)" (*Ipuwer* 6, 5)

2.3.5 *mꜣr/ mꜣir*

        mꜣr/mꜣir is only attested as a substantive, often translated as "misery." It is often written

with plural strokes. Its attestations are concentrated in the autobiographical inscriptions and the

literary laments. The generic context and the range of predicates with which it is frequently

collocated seems to indicate that its meaning partially overlaps with *ꜣhw/ih*, and *ihm*.

(44)   *hnn ib r ḏd.t≠f* **mꜣr** *w≠f r sk.t≠f ḫrt nt ḫt≠f sḏm mdw≠f dr* **mꜣr≠f**
        "Incline the heart to him who tells his **misery**, to him who empties the things of his belly;
        Listen to his speech, dispel his misery." (Stela of Mentuhotep 12)[48]

(45)   **mꜣir≠i** *ḏr ḫft-ḥr≠k*

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[46] Also in pEbers 46, 15; 47, 5; 60, 21; pLondon (BM 10059) 5, 2.
[47] According to Enmarch (2008, 115), even in this example, a masculine *wḥd* is more likely.
[48] Goedicke 1962. Cf. *Ptahhotep* D264-269.

"My **misery** is over (complete) before you." (*Peasant* B1 32)

(46)   *iw≠i ꜣtp.kwi ẖr **mꜣir** n gꜣw ꜥq-ib*
      "I am heavily burdened with **misery**, from lack of someone to trust." (*Man and Ba* 128)

(47)   *ꜣtpw≠i sw m mdt nt **mꜣir***
      "I would load it with words of **misery**." (*Khakhperreseneb* rto.14)

(48)   *ḥꜣ dp≠k m nhy n **mꜣir** iry*
      "Would that you could taste a little of the **misery** thereof!" (*Ipuwer* 13, 5–6)

(49)   *... nty nb ꜣtp m **mꜣir**≠f hr.w*
      "anyone burdened with his **misery** was contented." (*Urk.* IV, 1076, 10)

With a seated man determinative (A1), *mꜣr/mꜣir* means one who is miserable, a wretched man or
a pauper. We have already seen in (18) above, where it is paralleled by *ind*. Usually, it
constitutes a part of the common stock phrases in autobiography from the OK and onwards,
referring to those living on the margins of society, whom the elites are responsible to provide
protection from the powerful and strong.

(50)   *wḏꜥ.n≠(i) mdw **mꜣr** ḫft nḫt r bw-mꜣꜥ*
      "I judged the **miserable** before the strong according to righteousness." (OK: Tomb of
      Sechemanchptah, offering chapel, west wall, false door 2, 1)[49]

(51)   *nḥm.n≠(i) **mꜣr** m-ꜥ wsr r≠f*
      "I rescued the **miserable** from those stronger than him." (OK: Tomb of Neferseschemre,
      Room 4, West wall, false door)[50]

(52)   *nn-wn **mꜣr** n hꜣw≠i*
      "There was no **miserable person** one in my surrounding." (MK: Biography of
      Amenemhat, Beni Hasan Tomb 2, 19 = *Urk.* VII, 16, 6)

(53)   *sm **mꜣr** dr[p] šrr*
      "…who helped the **miserable** and fed the lads." (SIP: Hildesheim 4589, 13)[51]

(54)   *wp **mꜣir** ḥnꜥ wsr*
      "he who judged the **miserable** and the strong…" (NK: Biography of Rekhmire = *Urk.*
      IV, 1161, 12)

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[49] Badawi 1976.
[50] Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 1998.
[51] Kubisch 2008.

The word occurs frequently in the laments, especially in the *Eloquent Peasant*, in the context of

the peasant's diatribe against the elites who are failing to fulfil the expected social

responsibility.[52]

(55)   *nḥ.wy **mꜣir** sky≠k*
        "How lamentable is the **miserable** person you destroy." (*Peasant* B1 148–149)

(56)   *ḫsf ꜥwꜣi ndḥr **mꜣir***
        "Punisher of the robber, protector of the **miserable**…" (*Peasant* B1 174–175)

(57)   *rdi.n.t(w)≠k r dnyt n **mꜣir***
        "You were appointed as a dam for the **miserable**." (*Peasant* B1 268–269)

(58)   *nn pḥty n **mꜣir** <nḥ>m{r}≠f m-ꜥ wsr r≠f*
        "…without the strength for the **miserable** so that he may save him/ or he be saved from
        the one stronger than him." (*Khakhperreseneb* vso.4)

The vocabulary becomes incorporated into the NK magico-medical texts and the Book of the

Dead.[53] In (59), an allusion is made to the myth of Horus (miserable) and Seth (strong) as an

analog to the efficacy of a medicine warring against a disease (or demon). In (60) and (61), *mꜣir*

occurs as part of the epithets of different deities (or the likes), to whom is the credited the role of

a righteous judge.

(59)   *ḏd.tw m ḥkꜣ.w iti.t **mꜣir** in nḫt t(ꜣ)s-pḫr in ḥm **mꜣir** ḥwy≠f nḫt*
        "To be said as magic. Seizing of the **miserable** by the strong and vice versa. It is,
        however, the **miserable**, who strikes the strong." (BM 10059 10, 3)[54]

(60)   (addressed to the 4 baboons guarding the lake of fire) *sꜥrw mꜣꜥt n nb-r-ḏr wppw **mꜣir** ḥnꜥ
        wsr sḥtpw ntrw m hh n rw≠sn*
        "…who raise *maat* to the lord of all, who judge the **miserable** with the powerful, who
        please the gods with the fire of their mouths…" (BD 126 = pNu 3–4)

(61)   *ink ḏḥwty nb- mꜣꜥt…smꜣꜥ-ḥrw ḥbi ḥrw≠f ip ḥr **mꜣir**…*
        "I am Thoth, the lord of maat… who justifies the disadvantaged, who takes into account
        the **miserable**…" (BD 182 = pVatican 63, 201–202)[55]

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[52] See Parkinon's note on the word in 2012, 126.
[53] Cf. Example (15), where it refers to Isis.
[54] London Medical Papyrus. Leitz 1999.
[55] Gasse 1993.

2.3.6 *mn*

As a one-place predicate, *mn* is customarily translated as "to suffer" or "be in pain" in a general sense. In (62), *mn.n≠k* is a nominal *sḏm.n≠f* after negative *n*, expressing the negation of the present. The experiencer is expressed by the 2ms suffix pronoun, which encodes the grammatical subject as well.

(62)   *n sf.n≠k n **mn**.n≠k n sksk.n≠k*
         "you do not pity, you do not **suffer**, you do not destroy." (*Peasant* B1 348)

In the magico-medical texts, *mn* frequently occurs as a two-place predicate that selects a body part or illness localized in a body part as the second argument.

(63)   *ir ḫꜣi≠k s ḥr **mn** r-ib≠f*
         "If you examine a man who **suffering** in his stomach…" (pEbers 37, 10)

(64)   *ir ḫꜣi≠k s ḥr **mn** šnʿ m r-ib≠f*
         "If you examine a man **suffering** the blockage in his abdomen…" (pEbers 39, 21)

(65)   *mi s ḥr **mn** tꜣw nw pḥwyt*
         "…like a man who is **suffering** the heat of the anus." (pEbers 36, 7)

(66)   *wnn.in wsir ḥr **mn** ḏꜣḏꜣ≠f m-ʿ tꜣw n ꜣtf nty m ḏꜣḏꜣ≠f*
         "Thereupon Osiris was **suffering** in his head from the heat of his atef crown, which sits on his head …" (BD 175 = pCha, 44)[56]

(67)   *isṯ ꜣst ḥr **mn{t}** pḥwy≠s m iwrt mḥ ꜣbd≠s r-rḫt m iwrt*
          "Now Isis is **suffering** in her rear as a pregnant woman, her months being completed according to the number of pregnancy…" (pLeiden I 348 vso. 11, 4)

(68)   *mnd pw nn **mn**.n ꜣst m ꜣḫ-bit m mst≠s šw ḥnʿ tfnt*
         "These are the breasts which Isis **had pain** in in Chemmis during her bearing of Shu and Tefnut" (pEbers 95, 7–8)

In (63)-(65), *s* (referring to the patient) is the subject experiencer of the pseudo verbal *ḥr+mn* progressive circumstantial predicate. In (63), the body part *r-ib≠f* is expressed as an independent argument, corresponding to the direct object and patient of the predicate.[57] In (64) and (65), the

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[56] Schiaparelli 1927.
[57] For the list of different body parts that occur as the direct object of *mn* in the medical texts, see MedWb 366–367.

body parts *r-ib≠f* and *pḥwyt*, are not themselves independent arguments. The second arguments in these examples are rather the sources of pain (or diseases), *šnꜥ* and *tꜣw*, respectively,[58] and the more appropriate semantic role would be the stimulus rather than the patient. The body parts are only obliquely encoded. In (64), the body part is realized as locative phrase and in (65), as an indirect genitive. (66), which is part a of spell from the Book of Dead, features the same construction as (63), where the experiencer is realized as the subject, and the body part *ḏꜣḏꜣ≠f* is realized as the direct object. Here, the stimulus is introduced by the preposition *m-ꜥ*. Both (67) and (68) refer to Isis' pain experiences related to her pregnancy. (67) is interesting for the choice of *pḥwy*[59] as the body part involved in birth pain, and for the clause starting with *m* of predication,[60] which, instead of directly expressing the stimulus,[61]provides the background information on the experiencer. In (68), instead of the *ḥr* + *mn* + body part construction, A *pw* B construction is used to encode the similar information, where *mn* is a relative *sḏm.n≠f*.

While having a body part as (a part of) the second argument is very common, this does not seem necessary.

(69)   *nḥm.n≠i nṯr pwy m-ꜥ nw n iri* **mn**≠*f mr ipn*
          "I saved that god from those who made him **suffer** this illness/pain" (BD 102 = pJuja, 827)[62]

(70)   *qs* **mn**.*n≠f iꜣw*
          "(the) bone, it has **suffered** old age." (*Ptahhotep* D17)

(71)   *ib≠i pw* **mn**.*n≠f gꜣw≠t*
          "It is my heart that has **suffered** your absence." (pMoskau 167, Frg. II, 2)[63]

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[58] For the list of different diseases or medical conditions that occur as the direct object of *mn* in the medical texts, see MedWb 365–366.

[59] *Wb*. I, 535.14–537.1; Cf. pKahun 1, 8: *šsꜣw st ḥr* **mn** *pḥwy≠sy kns≠s wꜣbw n mnty≠sy,* "examination of a woman aching in her rear, her front, and the calves of her thighs."

[60] The first *iwrt* is followed by the additional female person determinative (B1), in addition to the pregnant woman determinative (B2). The second *iwrt* only has B2.

[61] Compare with (72) and (158) where *mss≠s* is used.

[62] Munro 1994.

[63] See pMoskau o.Nr. + pMoskau 167, mythologische Geschichte, edited by Popko.

(72)   *ḥnw.t≠ì mtn st pw ntt ḥr **mn≠s** qsn mss≠s*
"My ladies, look, it is the woman who is **suffering**, her giving birth being painful."
(pWestcar 10, 4)

In (69), the second argument is simply *mr ìpn*, "this illness," without any reference to a specific

body part. In (70) and (71), the second argument is realized by *ì'w* and *g'w≠t*, which are rather

abstract negative conditions. In (72), the 3fs suffix pronoun *≠s* is the logical direct object of *mn*,

but its referent coincides with the referent of the subject, the relative *ntt*, which refers back to *st*.

In other words, *mn* here is used reflexively, and both the subject and direct object encode the

experiencer. While the circumstantial clause *qsn mss≠s* explains the cause of the pain, it lies

outside of the argument structure of the predicate *ḥr mn*, so it can't be considered as its

argument.

A substantive *mnt* (frequently written without *t*), too, is widely attested. In the magico-

medical texts, it refers to an injury, illness or pain felt by the patient.

(73)   (the list of ingredients…) *ìr m ḫt w'.t wt **mnt** ḥr≠s*
"make (all the ingredients) into one and bandage the **injury** with it." (pEbers 46, 19)[64]

(74)   *ìr nḏ≠k **mnt≠f** ḥr≠f*
"If you (physician) inquire (about) his **pain** from him (patient)" (pEdwin Smith 8, 1)

(75)   *ptr sw tp ìr **mnt** ìm≠f*
"Look, it is the head that causes **suffering** in him. " (pLeiden I 348, spell 17, 10, 6)

Outside the medical texts, the term is used as a general term for something evil that involves

suffering or pain that is not related to the physical injury or illness. In (76)–(78), *mnt* is the object

of verb *ìrì*. In (79), the opposition in meaning between *mnt* and *'ḫt* parallels the contrast between

ḥm and *rḫ*. Examples (80)–(82) all come from the same text of *Khakhperreseneb*, and *mnt*

figures as the argument of different verbs (*sḫḏ, sšr, dr*) and of adjectival predicates (*'w, wdn*).

(76)   *stwt m ìr **mnt***

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[64] *mnt* as the object of verb *wt*: pEbers 46, 14; 46, 21;47, ;47, 4;76, 13-14;76, 15;76, 16;80, 1-2. As the object of verb *gs* "anoint": pEbers 80, 7.

"one who is supposed to balance is being a doer of **evil**." (*Peasant* B1 281)[65]

(77) *ỉm≠k ỉr **mnt** nbt r r≠ỉ*
"you shall not do any **evil** against my saying…" (*Merikare* E138)

(78) *n ỉr≠ỉ **mnt** ḥr nb*
"I didn't do any **evil** on anyone." (BD 125 = pNu 11)

(79) *mȝ≠f rḫ m ḫm ȝḫt m **mnt***
"he sees knowledge as ignorance, what is excellence as **evil**." (*Ptahhotep* D577-578)

(80) *sḥḏ≠ỉ n≠f r **mn(t)≠ỉ**…sšr≠ỉ n≠f **mnt**≠ỉ m-ʿ≠f*
"I would enlighten him (my heart) about my **pain**…and I would express to him my suffering (caused) by him." (*Khakhperreseneb* rto. 8)

(81) *dr≠ỉ n≠f **mn(t)≠ỉ***
"I would cast off my **pain** to him." (*Khakhperreseneb* rto. 14)

(82) *ȝw.w(y) wdn **mn(t)≠ỉ***
"How long and heavy is my **pain**!" (*Khakhperreseneb* vso. 4)

There is a compound expression, *sn-mnt*, with meaning "distress" or "calamity."[66] This expression occurs in the context of describing the disruption of the world order. The expression will be dealt in greater depth in chapter 5.

(83) *bgȝw m pt ỉʿnw m dwȝt **sn-mnt** m…*
"Shouting is in the heaven, woes in the underworld, **distress** in…." (pBerlin 3027 9, 5)[67]

(84) *wnn tȝ <m> **sn{t} -mn(t)***
"The land is in **calamity**." (*Khakhperreseneb* rto.11)

(85) *dỉ≠ỉ n≠k tȝ pn m **sn-mn(t)***
"I shall show to you the land in **calamity**." (*Neferti* 38)[68]

(86) *wnn tȝ m **sn-mnt***
"The land was in calamity." (Restoration Stela 8)

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[65] This line parallels the example (4). Parkinson 2012, 224 for the commentary of this line.
[66] Gardiner 1909, 103.
[67] For pBerlin 3027 (Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind), see now Yamazaki 2003.
[68] Cf. *Neferti* 54.

2.4.7 *mr*[69]

Among all the words in this list, *mr* is most widely attested, not simply in terms of the number of attestations, but also in terms of the generic and chronological range of the texts in which it is attested. When translated into English, the semantic range of *mr* seems to overlap with that of *mn*, for *mr* too covers the meaning of "to be ill", "to be in pain" or "to suffer." But unlike *mn*, *mr* is an adjective verb (verb of quality), so its syntactic behavior differs from that of *mn*. As expected of its adjectival root, its use as an attributive adjective and predicate adjective is common.

(87)　*kt nt dr ḥs mr m ẖt nt s*
　　　"Another to expel **painful** excrement from the belly of a man." (pEbers 10, 9)

(88)　*ẖꜣt pw mrt nt btw*
　　　"It is a **painful** disease of the *btw* serpent." (*Ptahhotep* 301)

(89)　*ršwy sḏd dpt.n≠f sn ẖt mr*
　　　"How happy is he who relates what he has experienced when something **painful** passes."
　　　(*ShS* 123–125).

(90)　*mr nfy r nṯr.w*
　　　"Wrongdoing is **painful** to the gods." (Qaw Bowl, 6)

(91)　*mr.wy r≠i nb≠i tm mꜣꜣ ḥr≠k*
　　　"How **painful** it is to me, my lord, to not see your face." (BD 175 = pCha, 14)

In (87)–(89), *mr* is used as an attributive adjective, following the noun it modifies. As can be seen, the nouns modified are not sentient and cannot be the experiencer. They themselves are not in the state of *mr* but have the quality of *mr*. And having the quality of *mr*, they can potentially be experienced by the sentient subject as causing pain (stimulus). In (90)–(91), *mr* is used as predicative adjective. In both cases, the subject (or the subject element?) expresses the stimulus; the oblique with the preposition *r* expresses the experiencer.

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[69] There is an ongoing debate on whether the chisel grapheme is to be read *mr* or *mḥr*. See now Schweitzer 2011, 142–144 with previous literature. Throughout this dissertation, I follow the conventional reading *mr*.

In the following examples, the stative of *mr* is used as the adverbial predicate (stative) of the relative clause headed by the relative adjective *nty/ntt*. Notice that here, the antecedents are sentient (or body part of the sentient being) and represent the experiencer.

(92)   *rdì r ḥry ḫt nt s nty **mr***
         "place (it) against lower belly of the man who is **ill**." (pEbers 35, 10)

(93)   *ḏd mdw ḫft wꜣḥ pḫr.t ḥr ꜥt nbt nt s ntt **mr.ti***[70]
         "recitation when applying the recipe on every limb of a man that is **ill**." (pEbers 1, 11)

(94)   *ìr tꜣ bꜣk.t ìmw ntt **mr.t***
         "as for this female servant Imw who is **ill**…" (Cairo Bowl, 2–3)

It is also used as a verbal predicate (including relative or nominalized relative).

(95)   *psg ppy nfr-kꜣ-raw smꜣꜥk wsìr n rḏì�=f **mr≠f***
         "Pepi Neferkare will spit on your temple,[71] Osiris, and he will not let it be **painful**…" (PT 684)

(96)   *kt pḫrt ny tp **mr≠f***
         "Another recipe for a head which is **ill**." (pEbers 48, 5–6)

(97)   *kt nt ssnb pḥwyt **mr≠s***
         "Another for healing an anus which is **ill**." (pEbers 33, 14)

(98)   *snb.ḫr≠f ḥr-ꜥwy mì nty n **mr≠f***
         "He will be healthy immediately like someone who was not **ill**." (pEbers 47,17–18)

(99)   *ìw **mr** rmm≠s ṯw*
         "That she cries for you is **painful**." (*Kemit* = tCarnarvon III, 12)

(100)   *kꜣ **mr≠<ì>** n ꜥḏꜣ*
         "I will be **sick** falsely" (pHarris 500 2, 10)

In (95), *mr≠f* is a subjunctive *sḏm≠f* serving as the object of the verb *rḏì*. The 3ms suffix pronoun refers back to *smꜣꜥk*, "your temple," a body part, rather than the whole person of the experiencer (Osiris). In (96) and (97), *mr* is a circumstantial *sḏm≠f* used as a virtual relative. The suffix

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[70] The later variant (pHearst 6, 10) has an adjectival predicate (…*ꜥt nbt nty mr sy*) but relativazation of adjectival sentences by means of *nt-* or *wn/wnn* is thought to be ungrammatical. See Loprieno, Muller and Uljas 2019, 718.
[71] Spitting is a practice associated with preventing or removing injuries. Allen 2015, 307 n. 94.

pronouns *≠f* and *≠s* refer back to the body parts *tp* and *pḥwyt* respectively. These three examples

show that *mr* in verbal constructions do not require the subject to be the experiencer, unlike *mn*.

In (98), *mr≠f* is a past (indicative) *sḏm≠f* following the negative *n*. In (99), the verbal status of *mr*

is indicated by the presence of *ỉw*, which cannot precede an adjectival sentence. The whole

clause of *rmm≠s ṯw* serves as the grammatical subject and theme of the predicate.[72] In (100), the

mr with the omitted 1cs subject is a prospective *sḏm≠f* preceded by the particle *kȝ*. The

prepositional phrase *n ꜥḏȝ* can be thought of as an adjunct, or part of a predicate forming an

idiomatic expression for *mr… n ꜥḏȝ* , "to malinger."

      A body part that *mr* is frequently collocated with is the heart. In the magico-medical

texts, recipes such as *kt nt dr mrt ỉb*[73] or *pẖrt nt dr mr ỉb*[74] are listed among the recipes for

ailments of other internal organs. Outside the magico-medical texts, *mr* is used frequently used in

the construction that features a dative second argument, which the *Wörterbuch* gives an

idiomatic translation *Mitleid haben*, "to sympathize, to pity."

(101)   **mr** *ỉb≠s n≠f ḏỉ≠s n≠f mnḏ≠s snq≠f sw*
      "Her heart will **be pained** for him, she will give him her breast so that he may suck it."
      (PT 508)

(102)   *ỉrr≠f mỉ-ḫt r smnḫ pḥwy n sfn.n≠f ỉb≠f* **mr** *n dqr.n≠f r ꜥnḫ ḥr ḫȝst*
      "Would he act[75] in such a way to rectify the end for whom he has tormented, his heart
      being pained for whom he had fixed to live in a foreign country?" (*Sinuhe* 162)

(103)   *ỉw ḥȝty≠sn* **mr** *n≠f r-ỉqr sp-sn*
      "And their (gods) hearts **were pained** for him (Bata) greatly." (*LES* 19, 6)

(104)   *ỉw ḥȝty n pr-ꜥȝ ꜥ.w.s* **mr** *n≠f r-ỉqr sp sn*
      "And the heart of the Pharaoh lph **was pained** for him (Bata) greatly." (*LES* 26, 6)

(105)   *wn.ỉn≠sn* **mr** *ḥr ỉb n ḥm≠f*

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[72] Alternatively it can be analyzed as *ỉw≠ø mr(.w) rmm≠s ṯw,* "it is painful, the way she mourns you." Vernus 2014, 277.
[73] pEbers 44, 5
[74] pHearst 4, 2.
[75] The verb form here is, indicated by the germination, an emphatic *sḏm≠f*

"They were **painful** onto his majesty's heart." (Kamose stela = tCarnarvon I rto. 7)[76]

In the first four examples, the heart is the subject, and the possessor of the heart is the experiencer; the dative expresses the stimulus.[77] In (101), *mr* is in prospective form in parallel with *ḏi≠s* in the subsequent clause. The context suggests that *mr* here expresses something quite tender and intimate, suggestive of maternal love: the (dead) king (=stimulus) has just arrived to the abode of the gods, and to the mother goddess (=experiencer),[78] he is like a premature baby,[79] and she wants to make sure that he gets fed. In (102), *mr* is stative with *ib≠f* as the subject. (103) and (104) come from a Late Egyptian story, where *ḥȝty* instead of *ib* is used, but *mr* occurs in the same stative form, like in (102). These examples will be considered further in Chapter 4. (105) is a bit of anomaly. If we were to translate strictly based on the grammar, taking *mr* as stative with *≠sn* as the antecedent, it would yield, "they were in the state of pain on account of his majesty's heart." But the narrative context requires that *≠sn* be the stimulus and *ḥm≠f*, the experiencer. In "proper" Middle Egyptian, what is expected following the auxiliary verb *wn.in* is an adjectival *nfr sw* construction.[80]

Some of the later attestations of *mr* occur in syntactic environments that are characteristic of the Late Egyptian. In (106), *mr* is the adjectival predicate of the clause preceded by a non-enclitic particle *pȝ-wn*.[81] In (107), the stative of *mr* is used as the complement of the auxiliary

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[76] There are two Kamose stelae. The text on the Carnarvon tablet contains parallel lines from Kamose stela I. For transcription of Kamose texts, Helck 1983, 82–97.

[77] In addition to the examples considered here, refer to the attestations in the CT as cited in Nyord 2009, 92 n. 526.

[78] Variously referred to as "the lady of Dep," "Bastet," or "she of the midst of Nekheb" is the same spell.

[79] Suggested by the verse immediate following it, which says: *sȝ≠i i.ti m n≠k mnḏ≠i pn snq≠k sw i.ti m-ḏr iwt iy i.n≠k is ir ṯnw hrw≠k*, "'my son,' she says, 'take my this breast and suck it,' she says, 'since you have not come to the (full) number of your days.'"

[80] E.g., *wn. in nfr st hr ib≠f r…* "it was more beautiful upon his heart than…" attested in *Peasant* B2 131–132 and *Kagemni* II, 6–7.

[81] Usually, *pȝ-wn* is followed by the subject + adverbial (first present) construction. Junge 2005, 87.

verb *ḫpr*, stacked after another stative *sḏr.k[wỉ]*.[82] In (108) (a), *mr* is adverbial predicate with *sw*

as its subject experiencer. Note this *sw* is not the 3ms dependent pronoun, but the 3ms proclitic

pronoun of the First Present,[83] which, in a different manuscript of the same text has the variant

ỉw≠f, as seen in (b). In (109), *mr* seems to be analyzed by the scribe as an infinitive of

ḥr+infinitive construction. That *mr* is not elsewhere attested in *ḥr* + infinitive construction makes

it likely that this is an instance of hypercorrection, which was rather common in Late Egyptian.[84]

In (110), *mr* is an adverbial predicate of a circumstantial clause, and its subject, suffix pronoun

≠w, refers to the whole clause serving as the object of *m-ḏr*.

(106)   *p₃-wn* **mr** *p₃ ỉrt w'w*
        "…because the career of a soldier is **painful**." (pChester Beatty V rto. 5, 9–14)

(107)   *ỉr wn≠ỉ ḥr b₃k m t₃ šnw.t m₃'t ỉw≠ỉ ḥr ḫpr sḏr.k[wỉ]* **mr.kwỉ**
        "When I was working in the Maat barn, I became bedridden, being **ill**." (*HO* pl. XLVII (2), 1–2)

(108)   (a) …*wnm sw t₃ k₃k₃* **sw mr** *t̠₃ỉ sw t₃ sḏrt*
        "…the Kaka worm has eaten him; he **is ill**, the bedridden-ness has seized him."
        (pAnastasi III rto. 6, 1= *LEM* 26, 14–15)

        (b) …*wnm sw t₃ ỉnr* **ỉw≠f mr** *t̠₃ỉ sw t₃ sḏrt*
        "…the Inr worm has eaten him; and he is **ill**, the bedridden-ness has seized him."
        (pAnastasi IV rto. 9, 11= *LEM* 45, 1–2)

(109)   *ḫr-ỉr tw<≠t>* **ḥr mr** *m p₃ mr ỉ.ỉr≠t*
        "When you were **ill** with the illness which you suffered…" (pLeiden 371, 27–28)

(110)   *ỉw p₃ wr ḫpr rmỉ m-ḏr n₃ [mdt] ỉ.ḏd≠w n≠f* **ỉw≠w mr**
        "Then the prince began to cry because of the words that were told to him, they being
        painful."(*Wenamun* 2, 67–8)

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[82] For the pseudoverbal constructions following auxiliary verbs, see Junge 2005, 83–84. The stacking of the stative of *sḏr* and *mr* is attested also in the *Two Brothers* 4, 8 (=*LES* 13, 14–15).
[83] Junge 2005, 112–113. In Loprieno et al. 2019, they are referred to as pronominal "preformatives."
[84] Junge 2005, 112. On the nature of the quality of writing of the particular text from which this example is drawn, see Gardiner 1928, 8–9. Gardiner does not single out this example, he makes a general note of "the extreme inaccuracy of the text, its superfluous additions and its unaccountable omissions."

Two points regarding the ways in diachronic changes in syntax may affect the meaning of *mr*. First, in earlier Egyptian, the status of *mr* as either adjectival or verbal (including stative) readily decides the semantic role of the argument, as either experiencer or stimulus/theme. In Late Egyptian, however, where everything becomes adverbial, the semantic role has to be decided from the context. Second, while the change of syntax in itself does not affect the meaning of the word directly, the attestations of *mr* in the texts written in lower registers (genres other than literary texts and monumental inscriptions) allow us to witness the pain situations that are not attested in the earlier texts (or the textds written in higher registers whose syntax, more or less, adheres to that of the Middle Egyptian). This in turn has the effect of "broadening" the semantic range of *mr*.

The substantive *mr* is written the same way as the predicative *mr*. In magico-medical texts, especially in medical verdicts, *mr* stands for a specific medical condition in question, be it a trauma, a gastric disease, a tumor, etc.[85] Outside magico-medical text, it is used as a general term for pain as in (114).[86]

(111) ***mr*** *iry≠i*
         "**Pain/illness** I will treat." (pEdwin Smith 1, 2)

(112) ***mr*** *ꜥḥꜥ≠i*
         "**Pain/illness** I will contend." (pEdwin Smith 2, 6)

(113) ***mr*** *n irw ny*
         "**Pain/illness** not to be treated." (pEdwin Smith 2, 15)

(114) *wn.in sḫty pn ḥr rmyt ꜥw wrt n **mr** n iryt r≠f*
         "Then the peasant wept very greatly because of the **pain** of what was done against him."
         (*Peasant* B55–56)

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[85] See Breasted 1930, 45–47; MedWb 380.
[86] The distinction between pain and illness seems not so meaningful in Egyptian context. MedWb 378 gives *Krankheit* and qualifies by adding a note saying "Wohl stets mit dem Begriff 'schmerzend' verbunden zu denken."

The feminine *mrt* also designates pain, illness and disease in magico-medical texts, and to an

extent, *mrt* seems interchangeable with *mr*.[87] Outside the medical verdict formula, *mrt* is far

more common than *mr*.

(115) *kt nt **mrt** m gs-tp*
"Another for **pain** of half-head (=migraine)." (pEbers 47, 14)

(116) *dr **mrt** ḫprt m-ꜥ pnd*
"Driving away a **disease/pain** which is caused by a worm." (pEbers 20, 23–21, 1)

(117) *kt 6 nwt ỉrt.n ꜣst ḥr rꜥ ḏs≠{s} <f> r dr **mrt** ỉmyt tp≠f*
"Another: the 6th of that which Isis made for Re himself to drive out the **pain** in his head." (pEbers 47, 5–6)

In the PT, it is specifically used to refer to Seth's aggression and is customarily translated as

"evil." In a private letter dating from the late Old Kingdom, no Sethian aggression per se is

mentioned, but the word is determined by the Seth determinative.[88]

(118) *swt nḥm sn m-ꜥ **mrt** nb(t) ỉrt.n stš r≠sn*
"It is he who saved them from every **evil** that Seth did against them." (PT 587)

(119) *ỉyỉ n≠n ỉry **mrt** r≠f ỉn sn≠f stš*
"Come to us, he against whom **evil** was done by his brother Seth…" (PT 606)

(120) *ỉn ỉw **mrt** r ỉwt r bꜣt im ḥnꜥ bꜣkt tn snnwt*
"Shall **misfortune**[89] overcome (your) humble servant and this my fellow servant?" (pBoulaq 8, 6)

2.3.8 *nqm*

The word *nqm* appears almost exclusively in the "magical" context. As a one-place

predicate, it has meaning, "to be afflicted."[90]

(121) *(psg ppy nfr-kꜣ-rꜥw smꜣ≠k wsir n rḏỉ≠f mr≠f) n rḏỉ nfr-kꜣ-rꜥw **nqm**≠f n r rꜥ n ppy nfr-kꜣ-rꜥ...*
"…and Neferkare will not let it be **afflicted** by virtue of the mouth of Pepi Neferkare…"

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[87] Hence, MedWb treats them in a single entry; pEbers 247 and pHearst 75 are identical recipes, yet what is *mrt* in the former (pEbers 47,9) is *mr* (pHearst 6,1) in the latter.

[88] Cf. Baer 1966, 2 n.3. The Seth determinative for *mr* is also known from a letter to the dead (Qaw Bowl, 3), a coffin (Outer coffin of Sepi, ll.119.311), and Anthes 1928, 31.

[89] Following Baer 1966, n. n who specifically notes that the literal meaning of "pain, sickness" does not suit the context.

[90] In Metternich stela (l. 6), *nqm* is contrasted with *ršw*, "rejoice." Gardiner 1930, 21.

(PT 684)

(122) *ir wnnt wnt im nn ḏi (≠i)* **nqm≠f** *n* **nqmt** *nbt*
"As for everything that is and was there - I will not allow him **be afflicted** of any **affliction**…" (Chicago Letter to the Dead OIM 13945, 2)

(123) *mk grt ipty bȝkty rdyt* **nqm** *sni…*
"look also, these two maidservants who make Seni **afflicted**…"
(Chicago Letter to the Dead OIM 13945, 5)

(124) *nn ḫpr≠k* **nqm≠k** *sḏriw≠k nn nḥs≠k*
"you will not exist, you will be **afflicted**, should you go to sleep, you will not awaken."
(Bremner Rhind 30, 26)

(125) *šp≠k mwt* **nqm** *m ȝˁ šn irt sgnn gs… m* **nqm** *m m ȝˁ n mn ms.n mnt m ˁšn irty=fy…*

"You shall flow out, undead, one who **afflicts** the temple, one who shuts the eye, one who enfeebles the side (of the body) …do not **afflict** the temple of the NN born of NN, do not shut his two eyes…" (pBudapest 51.1961, Spell 3)[91]

In (121)–(123) the subjunctive form of *nqm* is used as the object of the verb *rdi*. In (121), which is the continuation of the same PT spell in (95),[92] *nqm≠f* is to be understood as parallel in meaning to *mr≠f,* hence, the referent of *≠f* appears to be the same *smȝ≠k.* (122) and (123) both come from the Chicago letter to the dead,[93] where *nqm* is determined by the Seth determinative (C7), instead of the usual evil bird.[94] Notice in (122), the cognate substantive *nqmt* is added for intensification.[95] In (123), *nqm* is in bound construction with both a perfective active participle *rdyt*[96] and proper noun *sni.* And it is the latter which expresses the subject of the subjunctive and

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[91] Kákosy 1981.
[92] The determinative used here is the hair determinative. In addition to the determinative, because the word frequently occurs in association with the body part *smȝ*, "temple," it is frequently translated as "to be bald." Nevertheless, *nqm* here parallels with *mr* and unless there is further positive evidence to link *nqm* with baldness, it seems more reasonable to take the meaning of the word as roughly synonymous with *mr*. Cf. Gardiner 1930, 21.
[93] Gardiner 1930, 19–22; Wente 1990, 213.
[94] See Gardiner 1930, 21 and plate X, photo I&II.
[95] Cf. Loprieno 1995, 89.
[96] Gardiner (1930, 22) notes that writing out *y* in the perfective active participle is unusual, and in this case, it might have to do here with the dual.

the experiencer of the predicate. (124) is an incantation uttered against a hostile entity; *nqm≠k* is a

prospective *sḏm≠f* where *≠k* is the subject experiencer.

The substantive *nqmt*, "affliction," is not widely attested. In addition to (42) and (122), it

occurs once more in the same Chicago letter do the dead seen in (126). Notice how *nqmt* serves

as the object of the verb *dr*, "to drive away."

(126)　*i.dr n(≠i)* **nqmt** *nbt ntt r ḥmt (≠i)*
　　　"Drive away for me all **affliction** which is against my wife…" (Chicago Letter to the
　　　Dead OIM 13945, 6)

2.3.9 ḫꜣyt

The lexeme *ḫꜣyt* been already encountered in examples (21) and (87). For determinatives,

it frequently has G37 stacked with Aa2,[97] although sometimes only Aa2 is used. It is similar to

mr/mrt and *ih* in that it is used as a general term for disease or illness, and that it is attested

across various genres of texts. But unlike the other terms, it is not attested as a verb.

(127)　*kt wḫꜣ ẖt dr* **ḫꜣyt** *m ẖt nt s*
　　　"Another for emptying out the belly and driving out the **disease** in the belly of a man."
　　　(pEbers 8, 12-13)

(128)　*gmm≠k* **ḫꜣyt≠f** *iptn mn.ti mi imyt-ḥꜣt*
　　　"What you find is that this **illness** of his stayed like before…" (pEbers 41, 1)

(129)　*sḏr r sšp šw m* **ḫꜣyt** *nn kḥkḥt-nt-sryt*
　　　"…who sleeps through the night until dawn, free from **illness** and without hacking
　　　cough." (pWestcar 7, 18–19)

(130)　**ḫꜣyt** *pw gr r sḏmt*
　　　"It is a **disease**, namely, the silence against what has been heard." (*Khakhperreseneb*
　　　vso.4)

(131)　*ẖry* **ḫꜣyt** *{nn} ḥr ꜥš n≠k*
　　　"Those under **illness** call for you." (pChester Beatty IV = pBM EA 10684; Hymn for
　　　Amun-Re 8, 2)[98]

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[97] The pustule determinative. See above in the section on *wḫdw*.
[98] Gardiner 1935.

(132) *dἰ≠f t̠ᶜy n≠ἰ ḫᵌyt*
      "He causes the **illness** to take over me." (pChester Beatty I, C 1, 8)

(133) *ᶜqᶜq.n≠{ἰ} ḫᵌyt ἰm≠ἰ…bw wd̠ᶜ t̠ᵌy≠ἰ ḫᵌyt*
      "An **illness** has entered me…my **illness** cannot be diagnosed." (pChester Beatty I, C 4, 7–8)

2.3.10 *swn, snw, sswn*

The lexeme *swn*/*snw* presents a challenge. The *Wb.* has two separate entries, *swn* (with a *wn* hare; IV, 68.14) and *snw* (with a *nw* pot; III, 428.1-3), which is cross-referenced to the former. For both, it gives leiden, "to suffer" as definition. Faulkner treats the two under one entry where *snw* is given as a variation of *swn*. Unlike the *Wb.*, Faulkner gives "to perish" as the definition. The attestations of *snw* are all in the Pyramid Text. While both "to suffer" and "to perish" seem possible, in light of the fact that its negation is paralleled by *n ḥtm* "not be destroyed" in (136) or *nḫḫ* "endure" in (137), "to perish" sounds like a more fitting choice.

(134) *ἰᶜb.n n≠k ḥr ᶜt≠k n rd̠i.n≠f snw≠k*
      "Horus has gathered all your limbs for you, for he could not let you **suffer/perish**." (PT 364)

(135) *n rd̠i.n ḥrw snw≠k*
      "Horus cannot let you **suffer/perish**." (PT 368)

(136) *n ḥtm qs≠k n snw ἰwf≠k NN n ḥrἰ ᶜt≠k ἰr≠k n twt ἰs wᶜ m nt̠r.*
      "Your bones will not be destroyed, your flesh will not **suffer/perish**, NN, your limbs will not be far from you, for you are one of the gods." (PT 412)

(137) *nḫḫ NN pn nḫḫ.t n swnw ppy pn d̠t*
      "This NN will last perpetually. This Pepi will not **suffer/perish** ever." (PT 469)

Outside the PT, only *swn* is attested. In CT, it occurs without a determinative, in a very obscure context.

(138) *iw rri sn in swn≠sn sk wi swn.k(w)ἰ*
      "The pig has passed by. Is it when I **suffer** that they will **suffer**?" (CT II 118, c-e).

It is also known from *Ipuwer* where it occurs in the *ḥr*+infinitive construction. Here, too, both

"perish" and "suffer" seem to work.

(139)   *iw ms srw ḥqrw **ḥr swn***
        "Oh, the starved officials are **perishing/suffering**." (*Ipuwer* 5, 2)

(140)   *nḏs pri.yw iwi{.ti} **ḥr swn***
        "commoners who come and go[99] are **perishing/suffering**." (*Ipuwer* 5, 4)

Additionally, Fisher-Elfert has suggested that *swn* in Ipuwer is more appropriately translated as

"to be homeless," based on the following passage where the substantive *swny* is contrasted with

nb dmi "the owner of domains." [100]

(141)   *iw≠f di≠f mni šwi m mni **swny** m nb dmi*
        "He causes him to land, one had no (successful) landing; one who was **homeless(?)** is
        (now) the owner of domains." (*Man for Son* 4, 8)

Substantive *swnyt* is attested once, in a medical incantation, where it is paralleled by *mrt*. It was

first translated by Ermans as das Leiden,[101] and it is possible that all the subsequent translations

of *swn* as "to suffer" could have originated from here.

(142)   *dr≠i mrt imt ḥ'w≠k **swnyt** imt 't≠k*
        "I will drive off the illness which is your body, **pain** which is in your limbs." (pBerlin
        3027 3, 2)

When we turn to what seems to be the s-causative, *sswn*, the *Wb* again gives two entries. The

first *sswn,* which is written with a *wn* flower with no determinative, is simply glossed as a verb in

relation to the water of eye, whose sole attestation is the PT spell below.

(143)   *(w)sir NN m irt-ḥr **sswn**.t.n≠f mw im≠s*
        "Osiris NN, take the eye of Horus, the waters of which he (Seth) has **caused to suffer**."
        (PT 144)

The second *sswn* is written with a *wn* bunny and determined by the evil bird. The *Wb.* gives the

translation bestrafen, "to punish,"[102] but TLA additionally gives zerstören, "to destroy" and

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[99] On the use of this phrase, Enmarch 2008, 112.
[100] Enmarch (2008, 104) suggests a possible pun in *Ipuwer* 5, 2 with the root *swn*, "to exchange, sell."
[101] Erman 1901, 19. He has a question mark next to it though.
[102] Cf. Gardiner 1909, 41, who sees the term employed in "chastisement" of enemies.

leiden lassen, "to let suffer." If we recall that that the English word "pain" originally meant payment or penalty, i.e., suffering inflicted as punishment for an offense, the association between "to punish" and "to let suffer" seems quite plausible. Below are some examples.

(144) *r dr st-ʿ nṯr nṯrt…r **sswn** srḫy ḥry sʿqiw ḫnn m iwf≠i pn…*
"to drive out the influence of the god, gods…to **destroy/punish/let suffer** the enemy (i.e. the disease-causing demon), the chief of those who cause disturbances to enter into this my flesh…" (pEbers 1, 3–6)

(145) *r **sswn** ḫꜣꜥi ḫt ḫꜣswt r dr bs n ʿ ḫꜣst*
"**to destroy/punish/let suffer** the rebellion throughout the foreign lands, to drive out the influence from the foreign region." (*Urk.* IV 8, 5–6)

(146) *ptpt.n≠f dmiw nw gs≠fy **sswn**(.w) m ḫt r nḥḥ*
"He trampled the towns on its two sides that they were **destroyed** by fire[103] forever." (RB 64, 15 = Armant Stela 8)

(147) *ḫpr mi-m m mšʿw **sswn** rf ir≠f nḏꜣ ḫḫ≠sn*
"Like what becomes of the travelers who are made to **suffer** from it, as it parches their" throats…" (Kanais Inscription Text B, 3)

In the literary texts, the meaning is made more obscure. It is attested once in *Ptahhotep*, in a genitive construction with *rswt* "dream," which has been subject to many different interpretations.[104] A compound expression *sswn ib* occurs twice in *Ipuwer*, which has been suggested as conveying "emotional suffering."[105]

(148) *mk **sswn** rswt pw ḥbs.ṯ(w) ḥr≠s*
"Look, it is a **destruction of dream**. It ought to be covered over." (*Ptahhotep* D359–360; pPrisse 11, 8)[106]

(149) *irt st pw m nf **sswn ib** pw*
"It is doing it wrongly; it is **destruction of heart**." (*Ipuwer* 11, 5)

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[103] *sswn* sometimes is followed by the fire determinative. For instance, *ꜣḫt≠i imt tp≠k sswn≠s st* "my uraeus which is on you, it destroys them." (*Urk* IV, 613, 15 = Poetic Stela 9)
[104] For instance, Parkinson (1997, 258) renders it "look, gossip is a self-destructive dream, at which one covers the face," while Allen (2015, 199) gives "look, it is a nightmare (lit. a dream's causing pain) that ought to be covered over."
[105] Enmarch 2008, 175.
[106] Version L1 (f, 2–4) has *iw mski mi [sp] n rswt sswn≠s pw ʿḫꜣ t[w] ḥr≠s* "Gossip is like a case of dream; it means it dissolves. Beware of it." Version L2 (6, 3–4) *iw mski mi sp n [rswt] sswn is pw ʿḫꜣ tw ḥr≠s*

(150) *n ỉ‘š.n.tw n≠{ỉ}≠<k>*[107] *m šw ỉd{yw} r≠s s[swn] ỉb pw*
      "one does not call to you, free of aggression against it, it is **destruction of heart**."
      (*Ipuwer* 12, 6–7)

2.3.11 *snnỉ*

The next item *snnỉ* does not have many attestations. As a one-place predicate which selects a subject experiencer, it seems to mean "to suffer." The *Wörterbuch* cross-references it to *swn*, and its occurrence in a CT spell is indeed reminiscent *snw* in the PT.

(151) *n ḥtmt ‘wt≠ṯ n snnw[…]≠ṯ*
      "your limbs haven't perished, your […] have not suffered." (CT I 81, l)

Other known occurrences are from the literary laments. The construction in (152) is rather unusual.[108] Whether the 1cs dependent pronoun is analyzed as a subject or object, it expresses the experiencer. And in this particular example, *ỉb≠ỉ* is not simply a body part of the experiencer, but the entity responsible for pain. In (153), *n≠sn* is ethical dative, which doesn't count as a core argument; *špswt*, the subject experiencer, is the only argument. In (154), *snnỉ* is stative, and its antecedent, *≠f*, is the experiencer.

(152) ***snnỉ*** *wỉ ḥr ỉb≠ỉ wḫdw sw ḥꜣp ẖt≠ỉ ḥr≠f*
      "I'm **suffering** because of my heart. It is painful to hide my innermost because of it."
      (*Khakhperreseneb* rto. 13)

(153) ***snnỉ*** *n≠sn špswt mỉ bꜣkwt*
      "Noble ladies **suffer** like maidservants." (*Ipuwer* 4, 12)

(154) *ỉtḥw.tw wꜣt ‘ḥ‘≠f **snnỉ***
      "The road is netted, while he stands **suffering**." (*Ipuwer* 13, 5)

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[107] For the emendation, Enmarch 2008, 186.

[108] Gardiner (1909, 104) notes that *wỉ* must be the subject, just as *sw* is the subject of *wḫdw*. Cf. Vernus 1994, 329–32. Being followed by a dependent pronoun, it may seem like a participle used as an adjectival predicate, but the morphology here suggests that it's an imperfective participle. Only perfective participles are known to function as adjectival predicates. *GEG* §374; Allen 2010, 336; Loprieno et al. 2019, 651. Also, only the second and third-person dependent pronouns are known to be used as a subject, for the adjectival predicative use of participle, at least in Middle Egyptian. Allen 2010, 71. In the first person, the nominal sentence with the independent pronoun *ỉnk* is mostly used. Loprieno et al. 2019, 654–655.

2.3.12 *šnꜣ*

The word *šnꜣ* is often determined by the evil bird, but sometimes by the man striking with

stick (A24) or the hand to mouth determinative (A2). The use of the latter could be a result of the

confusion with its homonyms *šnꜣ* "to inquire"[109] or "to conjure"[110] which are also determined by

A2.[111]

As a two-place predicate, *šnꜣ* selects the body part as the second argument (patient),

similar to *mn*. In (155), *šnꜣ* is used in the *ḥr* + infinitive construction, followed by the body part.

(155)   *ḥnr [bn] tw≠i **ḥr šnt**[112] rd.wy≠ꜣ ꜣw≠ꜣ ḥr šmt r pwy.t m-dꜣ≠tn*
        "Had I not been **suffering** in my feet, I would go to jump with you." (*LES* 4, 9–10)

To an extent, *šnꜣ* overlaps in meaning with *mn*. What we saw in (72) with *mn* in reference to

Redjedet's labor pain, elsewhere in the same text, *šnꜣ* is used.

(156)   *wꜥ m nn hrw ḫpr wn.ꜣn rd-ḏdt **ḥr šnt≠s** qsn mss≠s*
        "One of these days, it happened that Redjedet was **suffering**, her giving birth being
        difficult." (pWestcar 9, 21-22)

To cite a few more attestations of *šnꜣ* in reference to labor pain,[113] (157) comes from

Hatsheptsut's divine birth cycle at Deir el-Bahri. (158) and (159) are part of spells for a woman

in labor. Whereas in (158), the stative form is used, (159) uses the *ḥr* + infinitive form like (156).

(157)   (title of the queen Ahmes) *ꜣwrt ḥr ꜥwy m-ḫt nn wnt **šnn≠s** mswt*
        "…conceiving immediately this; **suffering** birth (pain)…" (*Urk* IV, 226, 4)

(158)   *ḏd-mdw sp 4 ḥr nmꜣ n sꜣn wꜣḥ ḥr wpt nt st-ḥmt nty ḥr ms(.t) **šn.tꜣ***
        "Recited 4 times over a dwarf of clay, which is placed on the vertex of a woman giving
        birth, while **suffering**." (pLeiden I 348 vso. 12, 6)

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[109] *Wb.* IV, 495.8-17; TLA lemma-no. 155490.
[110] *Wb.* IV, 496.2-6; TLA lemma-no. 155500.
[111] Actually, these cases are ambiguous. In pEbers 48, 3 & 59, 11, for instance, *šnꜣ* could mean "to inquire," rather than "to suffer." Also, a case in the doomed prince, it has been suggested the word could mean "to conjure" instead of "to suffer."
[112] Here, instead of the usual G37, A2 is used for the determinative.
[113] Cf. The pain of childbirth (*mr msw*) is an ailment mentioned in the Oracular Amuletic Decree (Edwards 1960, rt. 116), where the gods promise: *ꜣw≠n šdꜣ≠s tr m(w)t nb r mr nb msw*, "we shall keep her safe from any death and any pain in giving birth."

(159)   *ḏd.tw rʾ pn sp [...] ḥr gꜣb.w n [...] wꜣḥ ḥr tp n st-ḥmt nty ḥr šnt≠s*
        "This saying be recited [...] times over leaves of the [...] tree, placed on the head of the woman who is suffering." (pLeiden I 348, vso. 12, 9)

The heart, *ḥꜣty*, is the body part that is most frequently collocated with *šni*. Literally, "to suffer in heart", it is comparable to *mr + ib/ ḥꜣty*. It is often translated idiomatically as "to have pity" or "to be saddened."[114]

(160)   *bw-pw≠i ḫꜣꜥ bw-pw≠i dit šnt≠t ḥꜣty≠t*
        "I did not abandon. I did not cause you to **suffer in you heart**." (pLeiden 371, 9–10)

(161)   *iw pꜣy≠f sn ꜥꜣ ḥr šnt ḥꜣty≠f r-iqr sp sn*
        "And his big brother **suffered pain in his heart** greatly." (*LES* 17, 4)

(162)   *wn.in≠s ḥr šnt ḥꜣty≠st n≠f r-iqr sp sn*
        "Then she **suffered pain in her heart** greatly." (*LES* 49, 8)

šni can also select a generic illness or pain as the second argument.

(163)   *bw-pw≠i dit šnt[≠t] mr i.ir≠i nbt m-di≠t m sḫr n nb*
        "I did not cause you to **suffer pain** (from) anything I did with you in the manner of a master." (pLeiden 371, 18-19)

In addition, something more abstract, such as speech, can be selected as the second argument.

(164)   *iw tw ḥr šnt n pꜣ in≠s r-iqr sp sn*
        "And one (pharaoh) suffered very much at what she said, the heart of pharaoh, lph." (*LES* 26, 6)

(165)   *ꜥḥꜥ.n pꜣ-rꜥ-ḥr-ꜣḫty (ḥr) šn{n}[t] tꜣ wšb.yt i.ḏd.yt n≠f*
        "Then Pre-horakhty **suffered** on the account of the reply that was said to him." (*LES* 3, 10)

(166)   *mk sḫr≠i mi wnn m šnw ḥꜥw≠i nb stp*
        "Look my condition is like someone who is in **pain**, all my limbs being dismembered…" (Sphinx stela of Thutmose IV = *Urk* IV, 1543,7)[115]

2.3.13 *qsn*

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[114] Sahidic ϣⲉⲛϨⲧⲏ≠ "to be grieved for" "pity". Crum 716b-717a. See also the note on the passage (161) in Gardiner and Sethe 1927, 23–24.

[115] Cf. an incantation for an amulet for migraine from the magico-medical papyrus dated to the Third Intermediate Period (pBoulaq 6, 3 and 8): *ky r <n> mḏꜣt nt šnn ḏꜣḏꜣ gs-mꜣꜥ*, "another spell for an amulet for pain of the head (in) the half of the temple."

Like *mr*, *qsn* is a lexeme with an adjectival root and is used in a wide range of contexts to describe a quality of an action or situation. It is customarily translated as "to be difficult, painful, arduous" etc. In (167)–(170), *qsn* occurs in *ỉw* + ø + stative + *r≠f* construction,[116] where the experiencer is expressed by the dative.

(167)   *sfḫ wrt nr p(w) ỉw qsn r≠s*
        "This herdsman delivers greatly (well?); it is **painful f**or her." (Tomb of Watetkhethor, Room B1, West Wall, third register)[117]

(168)   *ỉw qsn r≠ỉ ḥr-qd ḥr-ntt dns tw r≠ỉ*
        "It is entirely **difficult for** me, because you are heavier than I." (pKahun VI.12 x+2, 5)[118]

(169)   *n ḫpr.n n≠f dgt n ḫt≠f ỉw qsn r≠f*
        "It doesn't occur for him looking at his belly; it's **painful for** him." (pEbers 51, 21-22)

(170)   *ỉw qsn r≠f wn r≠f*
        "It is **painful for** him to open his mouth…" (pEdwin Smith 3, 3)[119]

(171)   *ỉw qsn r ỉrt nn wˁ.k(wỉ) wrt*
        "It is **difficult to** do this while I am completely alone." (Tomb of Ankhmahor, East Wall, middle Register)[120]

As the subject is not expressed, in cases like (167) and (168), the stimulus has to be supplied by the context. (168) is a caption to the Old Kingdom tomb painting of a cow delivering a calf, so whatever the cow is experiencing is the stimulus; (169) is Horus' grievance when subjected to a sexual aggression by Seth, so whatever Horus had experienced is the stimulus. In the instruction for making medical diagnosis, such as in (170) and (171), the movement that produces pain in the patient is specified in the accompanying clauses. (172) is different from the rest. The

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[116] Omission of subject is particularly frequent with adjective verbs. See Vernus 2014, 288–290.
[117] Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008.
[118] Collier and Quirke 2004.
[119] Identical or similar phrases occur in 6, 5–6; 7, 3–4; 7, 16; 8, 7–8.
[120] Kanawati and Hassan 1997.

experiencer in this case is encoded as a part of the stative, in its 1cs ending. What comes after *r*,

ỉrt nn, is the theme.

Far less commonly, *qsn* occurs in a finite *sḏm≠f* construction. We have already seen in the

examples (72) and (156) where *qsn* serves as a verbal predicate of the nominal *mss≠s*.[121] The

following examples display the same pattern, where *ỉrrt* and *mȝȝ* serve as the subject.

(172) *mt **qsn** ỉrrt m ẖnw r ẖt nbt*
       "Look, what is being done in the Residence is more **painful** than anything."
       (pUCL 32200, 5–7)

(173) *ḏd≠k n≠f dgȝ n qʿḥ≠k ḥnʿ qʿbt≠k ỉrr≠f **qsn** mȝȝ ẖpr m-ʿ≠f*
       "You shall tell him, 'look at your shoulders and your breast.' When he does, looking
       done by him[122] is **painful**." (pEdwin Smith 10, 10)

It is also used as adjectives as in the example below.[123]

(174) **qsn.wy** *wȝt ỉwty mw≠s*
       "how **painful** is the road without water!" (Kanais Inscription Text B, 2)

(175) *kt ỉrrt r mrt **qsnt***
       "another treatment against the **painful** illness." (pEbers 95,19)

(176) *pẖrt n s m mr **qsn***
       "a recipe for a man in a **painfu**l illness." (pBerlin 3038 167)

The exclamatory use of *qsn* in (174) is comparable to that of *mr* in (91). As will be examined

shortly below, a road is one of the most common entities to which the quality of *qsn* is attributed.

In (175) and (176), *qsn* is attributed to the substantive *mr* or *mrt*. Whether there is any semantic

difference, for instance, with *ḥȝyt mrt* (pBerlin 3038 172), cannot be decided here. To an extent,

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[121] It should be noted, however, that verbal constructions of adjective verbs are not clearly distinguishable from adjectival sentences unless the latter employ pronominal subjects (dependent pronouns) or the dual, exclamatory – *wy* ending. For instance, TLA analyzes *qsn* in (72) and (156) as an adjective while Loprieno et al. (2019, 663) analyzes as a *sḏm≠f*.

[122] For the translation of the phrase *ẖpr m-ʿ≠f*, see Breasted 1930, 320. Breasted's translation makes a more sense than the one in Loprieno et al. 2019, 731, where *ẖpr* is analyzed as a subjunctive and translated as "it is difficult to see whether (anything) happens as a result."

[123] Loprieno et al. 2019, 663–664.

however, the meaning of *qsn* seems to be interchangeable with *mr*. For instance, one manuscript

of Ptahhotep uses *qsn* in place of *mr* for the same verse encountered in example (21).

(177) *ḫꜣyt pw* **qsnt** *nt btꜣw*
       "it is a **painful** disease of the *btw* serpent." (*Ptahhotep* D301)

The quality of *qsn* is frequently contrasted with *nḏm* "pleasant, sweet." For instance, similar to

the diagnostic tests seen in (169) or (173), another diagnostic test in pEdwin Smith uses *n nḏm*

instead of *qsn*.

(178) *n nḏm.n n≠f dgꜣ≠f n qꜣbt≠f*
       "It is not pleasant for him to look at his breast." (pEdwin Smith 1,26)

In Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom autobiographical texts, the phrase *snḏm qsnt* (or similar)

occurs in a chain of self-laudatory epithets of the deceased. (179) is one such example among

many.[124] In view of the fact that this particular example occurs in the section specifically devoted

to the deceased's way with speech (*mdt, ṯꜣs, ḫrw*), the epithet seems to be referring to an ability

to defuse tension or relieve a difficult situation with eloquence.[125]

(179) *sꜥr mdt r ḫnw kꜣr gmi ṯꜣs* *snḏm* **qsnt** *ꜥḥꜥ.w nb≠f ḥr ḫrw≠[f]*
       "one who lifted up the word to the interior of the shrine, who found (the right) phrase,
       who made pleasant **what is painful**, whose voice his lord attended…" (Stela of
       Montuhotep = CG 20539, II.b.4-5)

In case one is wondering what reliving pain with eloquence looks like, a passage from a Middle

Kingdom literary text gives an idea. In (180), the participle *snḏm* refers to the ba, who, by posing

a rhetorical question with the expected answer of "no," tries to cajole their owner into thinking

death is not painful.

(180) *snḏm n≠i imnt in iw* **qsnt** *pw*
       "Who sweetens the West for me (by saying) 'is it something **painful**?'" (*Man and Ba* 19–
       2)

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[124] Cf. Stela of Sehetepibre = CG 20538 rto. 10–11; Tomb of Djefaihapi (Siut I), Great hall, east wall, south half,
248; The autobiography of Rekhmire, *Urk* IV, 1082, 1. Also, a similar phrase *ink ṯs wꜣs snḏm iḥꜣw,* "I am one who
raised the fallen, who made pleasant (for) sufferer," in a Ramesside stela of Bak-aa (K*RI* II, 386, 388).
[125] Mentuhotep's inscription is particularly rich in the epithets relating to eloquence. See Doxey 1998.

As seen in (174), the condition of a road is frequently attributed with the quality of *qsn.* In (181),

which comes from the same inscription as (174), Seti I presents himself the *snḏm par excellence*:

having excavating a well, he has managed to *snḏm* the road that had been *qsn* since time

immemorial. In (182), the same theme is picked up by Seti's successor. The narrative of Ramses

II's excavation of the well is made all the more dramatic when the condition of the road is given

a heavy emphasis. (183) and (184) relate the mountainous terrain characteristic of Syro-Palestine

geography. In addition to the lack of water, it is the vulnerability to ambush attacks that made the

roads in these regions *qsn* for the Egyptians.[126]

(181)   *ḏr nṯr wꜣt **qsn.tì** sndm.tì ḫft nswyt≠ì*
        "since the gods (= primeval times) the road was **painful**, (but) is made pleasant during
        my reign." (Kanais Inscrirption Text B, 7)[127]

(182)   *ìw wn nbw ꜥšꜣ ḥr ḫꜣst ì-kꜣy-tꜣ ḥr wꜣt≠s **qsn.tì** ḥr mw r-ìqr… ìw≠s m pꜣì sḫr **qsn.tì** ḥr mw ḏr rk
        nṯr*
        "There is a lot of gold in the foreign country of Iket, but her way is very **painful** because
        of (lack of) water….it has been in this **painful** condition because of water since the time
        of the gods." (Quban stela of Ramses II, year 3, line 9&20)[128]

(183)   *bw nty≠f ìm ꜣh.w <m> mw štꜣ.w m ḫt ꜥšꜣ wꜣt ìry **qsn** m-ꜥ ḏww*
        "…the place where he is lacks in water, is hidden in the trees, and many are its roads
        made **painful** by the mountains." (*Merikare* E91–92)

(184)   *sš≠sn ḏw ꜥšꜣ gꜣ-wꜣy **qsn.t***
        "They crossed many mountains and **painful** bottlenecks." (First Hittite Marriage
        Inscription, Abu Simbel, 34)[129]

Another feature worth mentioning is *qsn*'s collocation with *ìb.* In (185), *qsn* is used as an

attributive adjective modifying *sp*, and together, they serve as the subject of *ḥr ìb nṯr*; the whole

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[126] Cf. A passage from a Ramesside literary text reads: *tꜣ gꜣwt-wꜣt nḥꜣ.tì m šꜣsw kꜣp.w ẖry nꜣ bꜣt,* "the bottleneck is
endangered by Shasu Bedouins hidden under the bushes."
[127] K*RI* I, 65–67
[128] K*RI* II, 353–360.
[129] K*RI* II, 233–256. Corresponding lines: Amara-West stela line x+13–14; Karnak wall stela line 27.

clause in turn serves as the second member of the bipartite nominal sentence. In (186), *qsn* is a

predicative adjective with *nn* as its subject, which refers forward to *sḥqr smsm≠ỉ.*

As with other pain words that are collocated with the heart words, the possessor of the heart

corresponds to the experiencer. The focus, however, is laid on the thing causing the pain

(stimulus) than on the experiencer, comparable to usage of *mr* in (105).

(185)   *ḫr ỉr nsw nb nty r ḫpr sḫnn.t≠f sḥrw≠ỉ nb…sp **qsn** ḥr ỉb nṯr*
"as for any future king who will destroy all my plans…a deed **painful** on the heart of the
gods." (Kanais Inscription Text C, 11–12)

(186)   *ꜥnḫ≠ỉ…**qsn.w(y)** nn ḥr ỉb≠ỉ sḥqr smsm≠ỉ r bt̠ꜣ nb ỉri.n≠k*
"As long as I live…this is more **painful** on my heart, (namely) starving of my horses,
than any crime you committed." (Piye stela 65–66)

Substantive *qsnt* occurs frequently in the Upper Egyptian autobiographical stele dated to the First

Intermediate Period. References to famine are common in these inscriptions,[130] and among the

deeds the deceased boasts is how he staved off famine during the years of *qsnt*.

(187)   *ỉw sꜥnḫ.n≠(ỉ) ỉnrty(?)[131] **rnpwt qsnt***
"I kept Gebelein alive in the **years of hardship**…" (Stela of Iti of Gebelein, 2–3)

(188)   *ỉw ḏꜣỉ.n≠(ỉ) pr ỉmn **rnpt qsnt**…*
"I supplied the house of Amun during the **years of hardship**..." (Stela of Rehui of
Qurna, 3)[132]

(189)   *ỉw ḫꜣ.n≠(ỉ) šmꜥ n sꜥnḫ n nỉwt tn mỉ qd m sbḫt nt ḥꜣty-ꜥ ỉmy-r ḥm nṯr ḏfỉ m **rnpwt qsnt**…*
"I measured out Upper Egyptian barley as sustenance (keeping-alive) for this whole town
in the gateway of the Count and Chief Priest Djefi, in the **years of hardship**…" (Stela of
Senni, 2–5)[133]

It seems that the word *qsnt* acquired a specific association with the shortage of food from this

widespread of use in the First Intermediate Period inscriptions.[134] The First Intermediate Period

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[130] Vandier 1936; Bell 1971. The famine during the First Intermediate Period is most vividly described in the
inscriptions of Ankhtify from Mo'alla. See Vandier 1950.
[131] Written *ỉw-mỉ-ỉtrw*.
[132] Landgráfová 2011.
[133] Cf. CG20502 and CG 20503.
[134] Vandier 1936, 61.

is often referred to as the "dark age," during which Egypt is thought to have suffered from famines and low floods.[135] The memory of the First Intermediate Period is thought to have played a significant role in shaping the patterns of cultural representation throughout the rest of the pharaonic history.[136] In a passage from *Neferti*, the text that was long regarded by Egyptologists as being inspired by the disorder of the First Intermediate Period, but is now thought to be of much later production (the Second Intermediate Period or early 18th dynasty),[137] *qsnt* is attributed to the foraging of the Syrians.[138] In a royal inscription from the Ramesside period, *qsnt* occurs in reference to a drought in the land of Hatti.

(190) *bw-nfr nb rwwꞽ ptḫ.w m tꜣ n **qsnt** m-ꜥ nfꜣ n ḏfꜣw sṯ.tꞽw ḫt-ꞽw-tꜣ*
"All good things are gone, thrown down to the ground because of the **famine** (caused) by those foraging of the Syrians who roam the land." (*Neferti* 32)

(191) *ḥr-ꞽr m-ḫt mꜣꜣ.t≠st tꜣ≠st m sḫr pn **qsnt** …ꜥḥ ꜥ.n ḏd pꜣ wr ꜥꜣ n ḥt…nb≠n swtḫ šp.w m-ꜥ≠n n{n}*[139] *di.n pt mw m-ꜥ q≠n…*
"After this, they realized their land is in this condition of **famine**…The great chief of Hatti said…'our lord Seth is angry with us; the heaven does not give water to us…'" (First Hittite Marriage Inscription, Abu Simbel, 30–31)

2.4 Summary and Discussion

2.4.1 Determinatives

The Egyptian pain words are predominantly determined by the bad bird determinative, G37. The range of words determined by G37 is very wide—from something seemingly value-neutral words such as *šr* "to be small," or *sgnn* "to anoint, to soften" to words signifying evil such as *bꞽn*, *ḏw*, *ꞽsft*. Supposing we accept Goldwasser's classifier theory and see G37 as

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[135] Cf. Hassan 1997 & 2007.
[136] Cf. Assmann 2002 [1996], 81–114. See also E. Morris 2020.
[137] See Chapter 5.
[138] See also *Neferti* 18–19 where the disruption in agricultural activities by the Asiatics is described.
[139] The grammar is rather erratic in these inscriptions. The Amarat-West and Karnak versions of the same passage, for instance, has only one *n* for the negative.

representing a conceptual category,[140] what kind of conceptual relations can be posed between the pain words and other words that are determined by G37?

Arlett David's 2000 work is a lexicographic study of the G37, influenced by Goldwasser's classifier theory.[141] She broadly categorizes all the terms determined by G37 collected from *Wörterbuch* and Faulkner into two distinct semantic conceptual categories.[142] Under the first category, the words associated with the concept of "inferiority" are placed. The words in this category are further divided into various subcategories, such as the concept of pain and suffering,[143] concept of smallness and youth, concept of death, concept of stupidity, etc.[144] The second category represents the concept of "perturbation." Again, the words are divided to subcategory. The biggest subcategory is that of the concept of evil, under which 29 words are included. Other subcotegories are smaller, with no more than nine words, and about half of them only have one word.[145]

David posits the words *nḏs* and *bỉn* as the most prototypical members of each group. For David, that words in these two categories share the same determinative is contingent on the accidents of history.[146] Her argument is based on the evidence from the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. G37 is first attested in the Fourth dynasty, as a logogram for *nḏs* "be small" in the sense of "young" or with diminutive meaning; later during the Old Kingdom, by the process of metaphorical association, G37 came to represent an abstract category of inferiority.

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[140] On the classifer theory, see below in the Excursus A.
[141] See, for instance, Goldwasser's preface to the work in David 2000, vii–ix; 32–33; 56–57; 75–76.
[142] David 2000, 3. Additionally, she posits a third group, where the terms can potentially evoke positive ideas.
[143] This constitute the biggest subgroup ("douleur, souffrance, blessure") with 19 lexemes total: *ỉhw, ỉnd(w), wgg, mꜣỉr, mn(t/w), mr(t), nkn, ḫks(t), swnyt, snnw, šnỉ, qsn, tmsw*. As expected, some of the words in this subgroup appears in other subgroups. Under "maladie" reappears *ỉhw, mn(t)* and *mr*; under "misère, besoin" appears *mꜣr, snw* and *šnw*, which are related to (inflection-wise?) *mꜣỉr, snnw* and *šnỉ*.
[144] David 2000, 6–7, table 1.
[145] David 2000, 7–8, table 2.
[146] David 2000, 17–18; 31; 39ff.

The words determined by G37 at this stage are better thought of as the marked counterpart of the unmarked concept of the same category (small, negative, plural vs. big, positive, singular). Differently put, the concept of inferiority that G37 carried during this time was relational and was not associated with the notion of absolute bad. It is only in the course of the First Intermediate Period, the concept of evil (*bꞽn*) emerged, as a *type* of inferiority—moral inferiority, in particular. From this period and onward, words associated with this extended sense started being determined by G37.

As David subsumes pain under the first category instead of the second category, one of the implications made is that in the Egyptian system of thought, pain has more to do with the concept of inferiority than the concept of perturbation (it is closer to *nḏs* than to *bꞽn*). Many of the examples seen in this chapter, however, indicate that pain is closely related to the notion of perturbation as well. As early as in the PT, references to pain occur in the context of Seth's aggression, the epitome of wrongdoing. Not only that, some of the pain words are occasionally determined by the Seth animal C7+S12, the determinative intimately associated the idea of the disruption of the normal order, i.e., perturbation.[147] While I am not advocating here that the pain words should be moved to the second category, it is still worth pointing out that David's study does not provide any positive Egyptian evidence that justifies categorizing pain concept and pain words under the first group rather than the second.

Winand points out, "[w]hen entering into the detail of verbal semantics, the system of classifiers does not actually add much to the information, but it can nevertheless help to confirm some results."[148] I subscribe to a similar view. Looking at the system of determinatives does not

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[147] For instance, *ꞽh* is once attested with the Seth animal determinative in pEdiwn Smith (17, 13). Words like *ꞽnḏ*, *mr*, *nqm* and *ḫꞽyt,* too, can be followed by the Seth animal determinative. See te Velde 1967, 22–23.
[148] Winand 2016, 136.

lead to a fine-grained understanding of the meaning of the pain words. One takeaway from David's study is the insight the words determined by G37 as having historically constructed relations. Instead of saying G37 represents a cognitive category, we could think of in terms of how the long tradition of using the same G37 for pain words and for words like *nḏs* and *bἰn* would have created a tendency in the users to more readily associate pain with *nḏs* and *bἰn* than with words determined by other determinatives.

2.4.2 Physical Pain and Emotional Suffering

Previous studies had already suggested that the Egyptian language does not sharply differentiate between physical pain and emotional suffering, one study even raising the possibility that the Egyptians viewed emotional pain and grief as a variant of physical pain.[149] The lexicographical survey in this chapter indeed showed that several key pain words (ih, mn, mr and qsn) in the Egyptian lexicon can be used both for different kind of pain situations across different genres of texts. What can we infer from this apparent lexical distintion between physical pain and emotional suffering?

Before we can say anything conclusive, it is perhaps worth asking to ourselves: how is that we are able to distinguish these instances in the first place, if there is no lexical distinction in Egyptian? The answer lies in our ability to draw inferences from the context. For instance, when a formula such as *s ḥr mn* + body part (or condition), "a man who is pained in/suffers from…" occurs in the magico-medical texts, we understand it as referring to physical pain. When an expression such as *ἰb/ḥꜣty* + pain + dative occurs in literary texts, since *ἰb* and *ḥꜣty* are be

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[149] See Excursus A below.

translated into English as heart/mind, the common tendency is to conceive of the expereince in terms of emotional suffering.[150]

Now, interpreting different instances of pain according to our own categories is not altogether wrong; to a great extent, it is inevitable, since the scholarly descriptive language very much depends on these categories.[151] Having said that, it is still important for scholars to strive to elucidate the meanings in a way that is consistent with the Egyptian worldview and cultural practices. The subsequent chapters will serve precisely that purpose.

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[150] According to Luraghi 2021, the majority of experiential verbs in Homeric Greek selects subject experiencer as the first argument (hence, nominative alignment). The second argument (the stimulus) of these verbs, however, can be expressed in different cases of accusative, dative or genitive. Luraghi argues that construction variation is far from random. More specifically, she observes that NomAcc construction is connected with sight, volition, consciousness, awareness and attention, while the NomGen construction is connected with bodily needs and sensations, low awareness, and uncontrolled craving. The NomDat construction is restricted to the field of emotions and encodes interactive situations, in which not only the experiencer, but often also the stimulus is a human being. It might be possible to think of *ib/ḥ³ty* + pain + dative in terms of this last NomDat construction in Homeric Greek.

[151] Cf. Neumann and Thompson 2022, 2: "Unfortunately, while a mind–body dualism is not applicable to all cultures, it is hard for modern scholars, particularly those who developed their disciplinary knowledge in Western contexts, to jettison it from our own descriptive language: we frequently refer to bodies, ideas, sensing versus perception. It is a dualism that much of our own written language structures and reinforces."

Excursus A: Lexicography of Pain and Emotions in Ancient Egyptian

Lexicography has been central to Egyptology since the beginning of the field,[152] and recent times, there has been a few works specifically devoted to theoreies and methods of lexicography.[153] Even so, in light of the fact that research into a domain like pain is fairly new, it would be worthwhile to review some of the recent studies in lexicographical studies in pain and the related field of emotions so as to get a general sense of, among others, how the particular challenges arising from the nature of these topics (subjectivity, cross-cultural variability, etc.) are currently being handled in the field.

On the topic of pain, there has not yet been a comprehensive lexicographical study. Arnette's ongoing study on ancient Egyptian pain terminology and metaphors is mentioned by Prakash,[154] where she is reported to have suggested an absence of a sharp distinction between physical and emotional pain in the ancient Egyptian lexicon. As it has not been published separately, not much can be said on it.

O'Dell, in her PhD dissertation (2008) that surveys representations of various emotions in hieratic and demotic narrative and poetic papyri, devotes a few brief sections to the words relating to pain.[155] She, too, argues for the lack of distinction between physical and emotional pain, but goes a step further by suggesting that the Egyptians viewed "emotional pain, such as sorrow and grief as a variant of physical pain." She states that the absence of a clear boundary between physical and emotional pain in the Egyptian lexicon is comparable to the situation in archaic and classical Greek. She cites David Konstan who works on ancient Greek materials to

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[152] For the history of Ancient Egyptian lexicography, see Erman and Grapow 1953; Schenkel 1995; Reineke 1999; Dils 2010; Stauder-Porchet 2020.
[153] Eg. Grossman and Polis (eds.) 2012.
[154] Prakash 2020, 110. See Chapter 1, n.34.
[155] O'Dell 2008, 14–15, 88-90 and 196–199.

support her claim. According to Konstan's reading of Aristotle, Aristotle did not include the concept of grief (*lupê*, which also designated physical pain) under the label *pathôs* (emotion) because Aristotle considered *lupê* as more elementary than other emotions (anger, pity, shame, etc.).[156] Based on this, Konstan suggests that the lack of lexical distinction between physical and emotional pain in ancient Greek "may have been motivated by something more than a lexical accident… may itself be informative about the Greek view of sorrow as a sentiment."[157] As O'Dell's work is one of the first works to broach the topic of pain in relations to emotions, her observation remains valuable.

An article "Pain Infliction, Inflictors and Healers in Egyptian Religious, Magical and Literary Perceptions" by Joseph Amgad (2019) also needs to be mentioned. The ways in which the author divides various textual attestations first into the categories of psychological, physical, religious, and social, then further into the categories of pain feelings, inflictions, and healing, are confusing, as the author does not provide neither an explanation nor justification for them. Nevertheless, the number of examples that are collected are commendable and are useful for doing further research.

There have been a few lexicographical studies on Egyptian emotions. The study of emotions in Egyptology has almost exclusively been associated with the so-called classifier studies inaugurated by Goldwasser.[158] Goldwasser argues that classifiers (i.e., determinatives) constitute a system of categories, which not only helps us understand the meaning of lexical units and phrases, but also Egyptian categories of thought. One of the categories she posits is a superordinate category of [SENSES AND EMOTIONS] represented by the hand to mouth

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[156] For Aristotle, for something to count as an emotion, it has to involve moral evaluations of human behavior. But as grief is shared by irrational animals, it did not occur to Aristotle that it is on par with other emotions.
[157] Konstan 2006, 246 as quoted in O'Dell 2008, 198.
[158] See, for instance, Goldwasser 2002 & 2005.

determinative (A2). According to her, all the words determined by A2 are based on the non-linguistic, image-like notion[159] that things are put in/come out from the body through the mouth. Emotions such as anger, jealousy and love are categorized into the same category as eating and drinking because in Egyptain thought, emotions are conceptualized as something that resides in the container-like body, similar to the way eating and drinking is conceptualized as putting something into the container-like body. The existence of this cognitive-semantic category, then, is what has come to serve as the starting point for the Egyptological lexicography of emotions.[160]

Natalie Beaux's "Écriture des émotions en égyptien" (2017) draws on Goldwasser and proceeds from the understanding that the figurative nature of hieroglyphic writing makes it possible to get to more fine-grained understanding of emotions as the Egyptians themselves conceived of them. She isolates the determinatives that are used to determine the Egyptian words for emotions of joy, sadness, fear and anger. She then categorizes all the known Egyptian words for each emotion by the determinatives. For each of these four emotions, she makes a distinction between the words that *express* an emotion vs words that describe how an emotion *is felt*. It is not entirely clear the criteria by which such a distinction is made, but there appears to be a certain pattern, as the expressions that involve the heart are consistently categorized under "how it is felt". Of the findings she presents, the emotion of joy displays greatest lexical richness,

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[159] This is called an image-schema according to cognitive linguistics, from which Goldwasser draws. Cognitive linguistics is explained further below.

[160] Additionally, the said lexicographical studies on emotions are framed as lexical semantics. In brief, lexical semantics approaches the meaning of a word by looking at the various relations that the word is caught in. It differs from compositional semantics in that instead of seeking an essential attribute of the thing that the word refers to, it seeks to go beyond individual words by referring to the ways in which words are related to syntactic structure. It is worth noting that lexical semantics itself is not a unified field and draws on different sub-branches of linguistics. See Geeraerts 2010 for an overview with an extensive bibliography of the main historical and contemporary trends of research in lexical semantics. On the relevance of lexical semantics to lexicography, see Geeraerts 2016.

(twice as many lexemes compared to other emotions), and this leads her to conclude that the Egyptians undoubtedly had a culture of joy.[161]

Goldwasser's theory draws heavily on cognitive linguistics,[162] and many lexicographical studies on emotions too draw heavily on cognitive linguistics, especially on what is called the conceptual metaphor theory (henceforth CMT).[163] The central postulate of cognitive linguistics is that cognition is embodied,[164] and the instances of metaphors wherein abstract concepts are expressed in terms of bodily experience is one of the tangible evidence for this postulate.[165] Ines Köhler's "Rage like an Egyptian" (2016) is a lexicographical study that specifically focuses on the emotion of anger.[166] She provides a thorough overview of cognitive linguistics and the previous Egyptological studies inspired by cognitive linguistics. She then proceeds to show the ways in which Egyptian conceptualization of anger derives from conceptual metaphors grounded in embodied experience. More specifically, she identifies 14 main words belonging to the lexical field [ANGER], and organizes the passages (usually very short) into 10 conceptual metaphors, where anger is spoken in terms of or relation to a body part (heart), the color red, animals, a disease, etc. Finally, she presents the Egyptian worldviews relevant to each metaphor.

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[161] Beaux 2017, 238.

[162] For an overview of application of cognitive linguistics in Egyptology, Nyord 2015.

[163] On cognitivist approach to lexical semantics, Dingfang 2009; Geeraerts 2010, 182–272. For its application in Egyptology, Nyord 2012, 141–174.

[164] I.e., all abstract concepts ultimately derive from our immediate experience of physical action and perception.

[165] According to CMT, metaphors are not just a linguistic phenomenon or a rhetorical device but a fundamental cognitive mechanism whereby the conceptual structure of one domain of experience (usually a more concrete, tangible, physical, or familiar one, the source domain) is transferred to another conceptual domain (usually an abstract, intangible, or complex one), the target domain. For instance, for the conceptual metaphor of ARGUMENT IS WAR, the concrete experience of war (source) is applied to the abstract concepts of argument (target). Lakoff and Johnson 1980. It is common practice to write conceptual metaphors in small caps and the linguistic expressions in italics.

[166] There are two different publications with the same title. The 2011 publication is an article in English; the 2016 publication is a monograph in German.

Sven Eicke's "History of Horror: A Diachronic Overview of Fear(s) in Ancient Egyptian Texts" (2020) is another study that adopts CMT.[167] In addition to CMT, Eicke adopts something called *emotionology*, formulated by Carol and Peter Stearns in order to consider emotions as culture-specific phenomena from a social constructivist perspective.[168] After a brief overview of the theoretical framework, he provides a list of fear-words and provides examples from a variety of texts ranging from the Old Kingdom to Greco-Roman times from different genres. Certain Egyptian fear words are considered more classical or prototypical than others, not based on their distribution across different genres or the number of known attestations, etc., but because they simply *are*.[169] He constantly uses phrases like "real emotion", "emotion in the true sense," without explicating what is meant by "real" or "true." For instance, in regards to the emotions represented in the Egyptian texts, he says that they are far from being "real" because they were subject to the rules of decorum.[170] Without addressing these problems, he then proceeds to identify the global conceptual metaphor that underlies the expressions.

Camilla Di Biase-Dyson and Gaëlle Chantrain's "Metaphors of Sensory Experience in Ancient Egyptian Texts" (2021) is another lexical semantics study that draws on CMT. Unlike

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[167] Eicke 2020, 25–51.

[168] Emotionlogy is thought to be distinct from emotion in that it represents "the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expressions; ways that institutions reflect and encourage these attitudes in human contact." Cited by the author from Stearns and Stearns 1985, 813.

[169] In the introduction, he provides a working definition of fear as "a phenomenon that is a physical and/or psychological reaction, usually but not always to a previous perceived stimulus, which can be of various kinds; it is basically uncomfortable and can vary in its intensity and duration." Eicke 2020, 17. After he lists the Egyptian fear words with their dictionary meanings, he then says: "on the basis of the entries in these three dictionaries alone, it can be seen that some words appear—apparently—to be "more" fearful than others, while in some lexemes the question arises as to whether there is any kind of fear at all. For example, one gets the impression that *nrw* is a "classic" word for fear, at least more prototypical than *šfyt*, which seems more like an expression of a respectful honor." Ibid., 31.One would then expect that he proceeds in a way that shows his impression is correct after all. But instead, he uses his impression as the premise for making particular translational choices he makes and makes certain claims about metaphors.

[170] Ibid., 29. His assumption is that only everyday utility texts that are not subject to decorum can express "real" feelings. This is something that needs to be proven before it could be used as a premise for argument.

the previous two works that focus on one specific emotion, this study sets out to study something broader. According to them, it is a phenomenon well-attested across languages that emotions are metaphorically described in terms of sensory experiences (smell, touch, sight, sounds, etc.),[171] and such expressions are said to carry a greater affective load than other comparable expressions in that they can evoke an affective response in the brain and lead to physical reactions evoking the source domain.[172] For their approach to emotions, they draw on definitional framework by Klaus Scherer, who distinguishes emotion from feeling on one hand and from temperant ("affect disposition") on the other.[173] Their goal is to demonstrate that Egyptian examples fit into the model. They list many Egyptian words that can be taken as sensory words when translated into English, and they provide the examples where these sense words are used metaphorically to describe emotions.

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[171] I.e., metaphors of emotions use a type of sensory perception as their source domain.

[172] For instance, one line of research has shown that expressions involving taste metaphors (like "sweet") activate primary and secondary gustatory areas more than literal language (like "kind"). Biase-Dyson and Chantrain 2021, 604. The cited study is by Francesca Citron and Adele Goldberg 2014.

[173] Apart from the brief mention, there is little explication/discussion on the definitional framework, and the authors themselves seem to be switching back and forth in what is meant by emotions. Sometimes emotions are bodily, sometimes emotions are concepts, sometimes simply "a temporary state of mind."

CHAPTER 3

Pain in Egyptian Magico-Medical Texts

3.1 Introduction

Pain and medicine are intimately related. Situations of pain may arise in any area of life, but they are more concentrated in the area of medicine, for medicine is specifically about diagnosing and treating pain. It is therefore not surprising that modern pain studies are carried out in clinical settings, or that the history of pain becomes intertwined with the history of medicine.

As is well known, ancient Egyptian civilization was known for its long-established intellectual traditions surrounding medicine, which frequently captured the Greek imagination and curiosity.[1] References to pain and medicine are not uncommon in Homer,[2] and the following characterization of Egyptian medicine, however fictitious and idealized, is worth citing so as to get us start thinking about pain in the context of Egyptian medicine. In the *Odyssey*, Helen serves her guests with the wine mixed with a special drug from Egypt:

> …a drug (*pharmaka*) to quiet all pain and strife, and bring forgetfulness of every ill …
> Such cunning drugs had the daughter of Zeus, drugs of healing, which Polydamna, the
> wife of Thon, had given her, a woman of Egypt, for there the earth, the giver of grain,
> bears greatest store of drugs, many that are healing when mixed, and many that are
> baneful; there every man is a physician, wise above human kind; for they are of the race
> of Paeon.[3]

This chapter explores Egyptian understandings of and approaches to pain in magico-medical texts. In the first part of the chapter, I trace and unpack the textual references to pain in the

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[1] Von Staden 1989, 1–3; Jouanna 2012, 3–20 (English translation of a 2004 article published in French).
[2] For pain and medicine in Homer, see Holmes 2007.
[3] *Odyssey* 4, 219–32, translation by Murray 1919. According to Lang (2012, 174), "the reputation of Egypt for both the power of its ingredients and the expertise of its inhabitants in producing *pharmaka* was a standard trope of Greek discourse for centuries." Aristophanes *Peace* 1253; Aelius Aristides *Oration* 36, 124. Theophrastes *Enquiry into Plants* 15.1, citing the *Odyssey* passage.

records of medical diagnosis and treatment. It was already shown in the previous chapter was that words like *mn*, *mr*, *iḥ* and *qsn* in the magico-medical texts have their meaning specified to bodily pain (as opposed to moral suffering, for instance); it was also suggested that often it sounds more natural to translate them into English using words such as illness or ailment, among others, than pain. This chapter suggests that this translation difficulty has to do, in part, with the fact that in Egyptian magico-medical texts, pain is better understood in reference to disruptive processes/state or elements involved therein than in reference to painful sensations. During the examination and diagnosis, pain is framed as a physiological problem, subject to empirical observation and measurement. In the treatment stage, pain is viewed as reality or a force to be contended with. Either way, pain is conceived as having a concrete, objective reality.

The chapter also uses pain as an opportunity to think about Egyptian medicine and pharaonic values. From a modern perspective, that pain can be framed both as a physiological problem and a force to be contended with may appear contradictory. For one thing, the former does not seem to require the notion of agency, while the latter does. When a natural phenomenon is assigned agency of its own, though people would no longer use the word "primitive", a host of labels are summoned, from religion and spirituality to psychology and metaphor, i.e., labels that are used for something that goes beyond the immediate reality or beyond what can be ascertained by science, and therefore considered (albeit implicitly) less "real." Applying these terms are not all together inappropriate, but doing so can hinder us from seeing Egyptian medicine and Egyptian understandings of pain on their own terms. The second part of the chapter is devoted to delineating the context within which the Egyptian understandings and responses to pain operated as a part of coherent discourse. By interweaving a selection of primary sources from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic era, I show how Egyptian medicine is intimately connected with the

institution of pharaonic kingship and the notion of *maat*. Based on this account, I then suggest that Egyptian medical understanding of pain, too, is closely related with the pharaonic kingship and *maat*.

3.2 Pain in Magico-Medical Texts[4]

Before I delve into textual analysis, a brief note on the corpus is in order. The primary texts examined in this chapter are papyrus Ebers and papyrus Edwin Smith. Both are paleographically dated to the Second Intermediate Period to early New Kingdom and represent the largest and best preserved among the extant medical papyri. Papyrus Ebers, now housed at the library of the University of Leipzig, measures approximately 18 m in length and 30 cm in height. The papyrus covers a broad range of topics.[5] In total, the collection consists of 110 columns[6] or 877 paragraphs,[7] and covers various medical ailments (stomach problems to burns, eye disease, cardiovascular problems, and such) to gynecological and cosmetic concerns.

Papyrus Edwin Smith, housed in the New York Academy of Medicine, is only second in size to Ebers. It measures 4.7 m in length and 32 cm in height, consisting of 17 pages on the recto and 5 pages on the verso.[8] It is commonly referred to as the Surgical Papyrus or *Wundbuch*

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[4] For a comprehensive overview of Egyptian magico-medical texts, see Westendorf 1999, 4–79. Nunn's general introduction (1996, 24–41) is also good in that it includes various interesting trivia that are not usually treated in the scholarly overviews. See also Nyord 2020 for up-to-date bibliography.

[5] It was originally purchased by Edwin Smith in Luxor 1862, but G. Ebers, an Egyptologist, purchased it from Smith in the early 1870s and re-named it with his own surname. The first publication is by Ebers in 1875. There is a hieroglyphic transcription by Wreszinsky in 1913; the definitive translation is the one in German by von Deines, Grapow and Westendorf (1958), which Ghaliounghui translated into English in 1987.

[6] Actually, Ebers consists of 108 columns total, but the scribe made a mistake in numbering them. The last column is assigned the number 110 and columns 28 and 29 have been dropped out. Ghalioungui 1987, 3.

[7] There are two numbering systems in use. The first method is by column and line, the second, the paragraph numbering system. This chapter cites Ebers using both numbering systems. The same applies to citation of passages from Edwin Smith.

[8] It was first purchased in Luxor in 1862 by the American Edwin Smith (collector, adventurer, money lender, antiquities dealer, and possibly a consultant and practitioner of the forgery of antiquities). The original provenance is unknown, thought it mostly likely to have come from the Theban region, either from a temple library or a tomb. The Rhind mathematical papyrus may have come from the same tomb. Nunn 1996, 26. For a detailed history of the papyrus after its discovery, Breasted 1930, 20–5.

("book of wounds") in German, and has been highly regarded for its "scientific" nature.[9] More

specifically, the 48 cases on the recto provide detailed descriptions of various traumatic injuries

that are organized according to the same order followed in *Gray's Anatomy*.[10]

All the cases in the recto of Smith and some portions of Ebers are presented in *šsꜣw*

(instruction manual) format.[11] Following a fixed structure of protases and apodoses, the *šsꜣw*

shows a formal and logical approach to medical examination and diagnosis.[12] More specifically,

after a title, they start with a string of conditionals of the form, "if you examine a man

who…(suffering from symptom a, b and c)," followed by in the form of apodosis, "then you

shall say…(the name or cause of the illness)," and "then you shall do…(treatment procedures)."

Earlier scholars understood this format as the direct reconstruction of the actual medical

encounter.[13] Although *šsꜣw* texts make up only 7–20% of all the medical texts,[14] the casuistic

concreteness and the systematic approach to organizing knowledge provide insight into the

nature of the problems the Egyptian physicians faced and the concepts and the tools that guided

their choices. As such, in the absence of explicit formulation of pain aetiology in the Egyptian

corpus,[15] *šsꜣw* texts serve as important clues from which we can infer Egyptian ideas about the

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[9] Breasted 1930, 15

[10] Nunn 1996, 29.

[11] The exact meaning of the word *šsꜣw* has been disputed. It derives from the verb *šsꜣ*, "to be experienced," "knowledgeable" (*Wb*. IV, 543.7–544.7), attested since the Old Kingdom. Scholars have variously translated the term as "instructions," "indicators," and "diagnosis." The noun *šsꜣw*, "experience, skill," is known outside magico-medical texts since the Middle Kingdom. For further discussion, see Breasted 1930, 79–80; Westendorf 1998, 82086; Sanchez and Meltzer 2012, 33–34; Pommerening 2014, 9. For the semantic analysis of *šsꜣ*, Winand 2016, 124–125.

[12] Nunn, who was a physician himself, notes that *šsꜣw* texts "visualize the ancient Egyptian doctor's examination of the patient, and we can gain considerable insight into the processes by which he arrived at diagnosis." Nunn 1996, 27.

[13] Breasted 1930, 6–8; Nunn 1996, 113–114.

[14] Pommerening 2014, 10.

[15] Cf. Lang 2013, 103: "Explicit references to physiological and pathological ideas are present but rare, and theory is not discussed in detail in any extant work. Many of the terms used—whether for disease, disease causes, bodily organs, symptoms, or ingredient in remies—do not occur outside the medical texts and are of uncertain and possibly multiple meanings that depended heavily on contextual understanding, one that we have great difficulty recovering."

concept and the causes of pain. Accordingly, the analysis provided in the first three subsections (3.2.1–3.2.3) are exclusively from the *šsꜣw* texts.

3.2.1 "If You Examine a Man Pained in…"

A typical *šsꜣw* text begins with the phrase *ir ḫꜣiꜥk s*, "If you examine a man who..." The word *ḫꜣi* is of interest because it characterizes medical conditions as objective and measurable.[16] As indicated by the determinative with forearm carrying a measuring rod (D40),[17] the primary meaning of *ḫꜣi* is is to make an assessment of an object with reference to a given unit of measurement. The same idea is at work in medical examination, too, but the question arises: what exactly is the physician measuring, and with reference to what? Aside from the gloss to Case 1 of Smith, which will be discussed below, the methods of examination are not explicitly discussed in Egyptian medical texts. It is only by tracing the language used to list the symptoms that we gain some ideas about the object and procedures of medical examination. As we shall see, the focus is laid on observing and describing the symptoms of pain during the examination, which takes into account complex physiological processes in the body.

It is worth noting that the verb *ḫꜣi* in medical examination seldom takes a direct object other than *s*.[18] Taking the phrase *ir ḫꜣiꜥk s* literally, what Egyptian physician examines is a man. Of course, the man examined is not just any man, but a man in pain, and not just a man in general pain, but a man pained in a specific body part. The phrase *ir ḫꜣiꜥk s* is frequently followed by *ḥr mn* + body part (stomach, head, etc.).[19] From this introductory formula, we learn that pain

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[16] For *ḫꜣi*, see *Wb*. III 223.2–3 and TLA lemma-no. 113400, as well as MedWb 644–646. See also Winand 2016, 133–134 for the semantic analysis.

[17] Less commonly, a man carrying a measuring rod (A24).

[18] For the cases that take a direct object other *s*, see MedWb 654–646.

[19] Eg. Eb §188 (36, 17); Eb §191 (37, 10); Eb §192 (37, 17); Eb §197 (39, 7); Eb §199 (39, 21); Eb §200 (40, 5); Eb §203 (40, 18–19); Eb §205 (41, 13). The examples from Ebers come from the so-called "book of the stomach," which forms a group of 20 individual texts. In Smith, *ḥr mn* + body is less frequently attested (but see Sm §1 (1, 3);

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is not itself the object of examination, but the patient is the object of examination, and the pain is an event pertaining to the direct object *s*, the patient.[20]

After this introductory formula, symptoms are listed. The clauses are of several different types, but all serve to connect the different symptoms to the primary site of pain. In Ebers, the clauses starting with *ỉw* can be seen:

Ebers §191 (37, 10–11)
ỉr ḫꜣỉ≠k s ḥr mn r-ỉb≠f
ỉw≠f mn≠f gbꜣ≠f mnd≠f gs n r-ỉb≠f…

If you examine a man who has pain in his stomach,
he has pain in his arm, his chest, the side of his stomach…[21]

Ebers §192 (37, 17)
ỉr ḫꜣỉ≠k s ḥr mn r-ỉb≠f
ỉw≠f qꜣs≠f ꜥšꜣ…

If you examine a man who has pain in his stomach,
he vomits a lot…

Normally in Middle Egyptian, *ỉw≠f sḏm≠f* is taken as an independent clause, and having an independent clause in the middle of a conditional is difficult to explain.[22] Perhaps the *ỉw* clauses can be taken as syntactically independent, but semantically subordinate to the main *ỉr* clause.[23] As such, we can perhaps understand these *ỉw* clauses as providing the general conditions the patient is under at the time of examination.

Sm §42 (14, 17)). As Smith is mainly concenered with external wounds and injuries, words for specific types of wounds and injuries are used in the place *mn* in the forumula.

[20] Note the contrast with another common introductory formula where the verb *wpỉ* is used instead of *ḫꜣỉ*, which takes the disease or the condition as the direct object. Refer to MedWb 182–183 for the attestations of *wpỉ*.

[21] Magico-medical texts pose special lexicographical and philological problems that are not easily resolved. Transliterations and translations provided here are based on several different sources, the most important of which is the Grundriss, as well as Wreszinski's (1913) transcription and Ghalioungui's (1987) English translation of German in Grundriss for Ebers, and Breasted (1930) and Sanchez and Meltzer (2012) for Edwin Smith. For the anatomical terminology, in addition to Grapow (1954), Walker (1996) have been consulted.

[22] Refer to Westendorf 1962, §§ 232–235.

[23] For more on conditional clauses, see, among others, Satzinger 1993; Kruchten 1994; Allen 2002, 91–93.

Clause types other than *ı͗w* clauses also occur and frequently with the verb *gm*, either *gmm≠k* or *ı͗r gm≠k*.[24] These clauses are better thought of as the continuation of the examination formula, which provide a more specific indication of the type of examination.[25] For *gmm≠k* clauses, gemination of *m* in *gmı͗* indicates that the adverbials are to receive the emphasis.[26]

> **Ebers §199 (39, 21–40, 1)**
> *ı͗r ḫꜣı͗≠k s ḥr mn šnꜥ m r-ı͗b≠f*
> *gmm≠k sw šm≠f ı͗w≠f ḥr ḏbꜥ.w≠k mı͗ mrḥt m-ẖnw ẖnt*
>
> If you examine a man who has obstruction in his stomach,
> you find that it moves under your fingers like grease inside the hide.

> **Ebers §205 (41, 13–14)**
> *ı͗r ḫꜣı͗≠k s ḥr mn r-ı͗b≠f*
> *ı͗r gm≠k sw ḏꜣ.n≠f mr ı͗w≠f mn≠f šwty≠fy…*
>
> If you examine a man who has pain in his stomach,
> if you find it having crossed the canal, while he has pain on his both sides…

The object or the content of these clauses consists of the descriptions of findings expected at the moment of the examination. As opposed to the cases with the *ı͗w* clauses, *gm* clauses interrupt the description of symptoms to bring to light the agency of the physician in the process of examination and gives weight to the power of observation.

Frequently, the *gm* clauses are preceded by a special verb form with infix *ı͗n* or *ḥr,* which are used to express an action that is consequent on the preceding action.[27] These clauses do not describe the symptoms, but denote the physician's action as a part of examination that will allow him to observe otherwise unnoticeable symptoms:

> **Ebers §188 (36, 4–8)**
> *ı͗r ḫꜣı͗≠k s ḥr šnꜥ r-ı͗b≠f*
> …
> *mꜣꜣ.ḥr≠k sw sṯsy*

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[24] Hoch 1994, §138.
[25] MedWb 918.
[26] On nominalization, see Hoch 1994, §148.
[27] Allen 2000, 308–309.

gmm≠k ḫt≠f t꜂…

If you examine a man constipated in his stomach
…
then you are to look at him lying stretched out,
you find that his inside is burning…

Ebers §203 (40, 18–19)
ìr ḫ꜂i≠k s ḥr mn r-ìb≠f
rd.ìn≠k ḏr.t≠k ḥr≠f
ìr gm≠k ṯs.n≠f ḥr gs≠f ìmny…

If you examine a man who has pain in his stomach,
you are to place your hand on him,
if you find that he has become constricted on his left side…

In the first example, *m꜂꜂.ḥr≠k sw sṯsy* indicates that the physician is to have the patient take a posture different from the usual examination. The following *gmm≠k* clause gives the detail that the physician will be able to notice. In the second example, *rd.ìn≠k ḏr.t≠k* indicates placing a hand on the patient in order to learn the processes inside the body. This will be discussed in greater detail below.

Moving on to Smith, the same *ìr ḫ꜂i≠k* s formula is used, but it is followed by the type of wound, most frequently *wbnw*, not by *ḥr mn.*[28] In Smith, *gmm≠k* is frequently employed to incorporate the extensive descriptive details of the symptoms that are based on sensory perception, such as sight and smell.[29] In the example below, *gmm≠k* is followed by a chain of 7 adverbials:

Smith §7 (3, 10–12)
gmm≠k
mḫnt≠f b꜂y m fdt
mtw nw nḥbt≠f dwn.y
ḥr≠f tms

---

[28] *wbnw* occurs 142 times in Smith. The word specifically designates an injury to fleshy tissue. Breasted 1930, 81–83. Other types of wounds dealt in Smith are *sd* "smash," *pšn* "split," *thm* "perforation," and *sḥm* "crushing."
[29] For the full list of the cases in Smith that incorporate these sensory faculties, see Breasted 1930, 40-41.

nḥdt≠f psd≠f [-][30]
sṯy hn n tp≠f mì bkn n ʿwt
rꜣ≠f mr
ìnḥwy≠fy sdy
ìw ḥr≠f mì ḫt rm≠f[31]

You find that
his forehead clammy with sweat,
the ligaments of his neck tense,
his face ruddy, his teeth and his back [-],
the odor of the chest of his head like the urine of sheep,
his mouth bound, his eye brows quivering.
His face is like as if he wept.

The level of descriptive details given here illustrates rigorous observation and precision in communication in medical diagnosis. Presumably, communicating precisely the result of such rigorous observation is difficult. The descriptive terms draw on many aspects of daily experience, from nature to the mechanical arts. Breasted notes that the language of Smith "convey[s] the impression of a man actually involved in the process of building up a terminology in a field of observation not yet possessing a fund of current terms."[32]

Comparing the appearance of the brain surface to molten copper provides another example of the use of vivid description of the wound. [33] Although identifying an ancient Egyptian anatomical term is usually laden with a great difficulty, the description given here is so spot on that it leaves little doubt as to what the term must be referring to:[34]

Smith §6 (2, 18–21)
ìr ḫꜣì≠k s n wbnw-n-kft m tp≠f ʿr n qs sd ḏnnt≠f ngy ꜣs n ḏnnt≠f
ḏʿr.ḥr≠k wbnw≠f
gmm≠k sd pf nty m ḏnnt≠f [mi] wrmw ìpn ḫprw m ḥmt n ʿnḏt ḫt ìm nhdhd npꜣpꜣ ḥr ḏbʿw≠k
mì ʿḥt wḥnn n ḫrd

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[30] Notice that *nḥdt≠f psd≠f*, "his teeth and his back" is not followed by any description. According to Breasted (1930, 182), this is likely to be a scribal omission.

[31] This final clause is headed by *ìw*, which renders this clause independent, unlike the preceding adverbials.

[32] Breasted 1930, 10.

[33] Presumably, what we have here is the earliest reference to the brain anywhere in human records. Breasted 1930, 166.

[34] See Visual Index Vc in Sanchez and Meltzer 2012, 25 for the picture of the copper compound that is very similar in appearance to the copper slag.

> If you examine a man of a gaping wound in his head, which penetrates to the bone, smashing his skull, and rending open the brain of his skull:
> You shall palpate his wound.
> What you find in that smash which is in his skull is [like] those ripples which occur in molten copper, a thing in it throbbing and fluttering under your fingers, like the weak place of an infant's crown…

In addition to detailing what the brain *looks* like, the passage also describes how it is supposed to *feel*. Notice that the molten copper passage is preceded by the directive to touch or palpate the wound.[35] In fact, what the *gmm≠k* is mainly interested in conveying is the detail the physician will find specifically by palpating the wound, that is, by what he feels under his fingers (*ẖr ḏbꜥw.k*). The words *nhdhd* and *npꜣpꜣ* are unknown outside this text. [36] They seem to have been formed by reduplication of a biconsonantal with a prefixed *n*, which occurs mostly with verbs of motion, signifying the repetition or intensity of the type of motion conveyed in the root.[37] Morphologically and contextually, then, we expect these words to convey some kind of motion, subject to tactile perception.

At this point, it is worth turning to the vital piece of information that comes from Smith's commentary section. One of the unique features of Smith is that many phrases and terms are provided with the special glosses.[38] One such obscure phrases glossed is *ẖꜣi≠k s*.[39]

Smith §1 (1, 3–6)
ir ẖꜣi≠k s ip mn [pw … mi i]pt ẖt m ipt
ẖꜣt [mi ip].tw ẖt mnt m ipt ip mnt m ḏbꜥw r [rḫ …]
in ẖꜣt ẖt m ipt […]ip mnt im mitt ẖꜣt mnt s r rḫ šmt ẖꜣty

As for "you examine a man," [it means] counting someone … [like the cou]nting of things by an *oipe*-measure. Examination is like when one counts certain thing by an *oipe-*

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[35] Cf. Sm §4 (2, 3) and §5 (2, 12).
[36] *nhdhd* and *npꜣpꜣ* always occur together: Sm §6 (2, 20–21), Sm §8 (4, 10–11). The word *nhd* and *nḏhḏh* occur in Eb §855 i (100, 21) to predicate *mtw nw ẖꜣty*, "the vessels of the heart." *nḥbḥb* or *nḏhḏh nḥbḥb*: Sm §13 (6, 4–5); Sm §17 (7, 2); Sm §24 (8, 23); Sm §37 (12, 16); Sm §44 (15, 7–8).
[37] Breasted 1930, 168–169; *GEG* §276.
[38] For the full list of the terms and phrases glossed, see Breasted 1930, 69–71.
[39] See Breasted 1930, 105ff for a more detailed commentary on this gloss. As for the form of medical glossary in general, ibid., 61–62.

measure, or counting of something by the fingers, in order to [learn…]. It is measuring things with the *oipe*-measure which […][40] pain is counted likewise, (and) the examination of pain of a man, in order to learn the movement of the heart.

The lacunae in the text make it difficult to understand its meaning. One obvious point is that the medical examination of a man consists in making a quantitative assessment of a sort. In this passage, references are made to two different kinds of measurement, derived from daily life. The first kind of measurement uses the oipe-measure.[41] The oipe-measure is used to measure the volume of objects, such as grains, that cannot easily be counted. It essentially consists in dividing the whole.[42] The second kind of measurement is numerical counting. Using your fingers, you can add up the total of individual objects in a set or group to measure their number. Medical examination resembles both measurement by oipe-measure and by numerical calculation, but the purpose of measurement in a medical examination is to learn the "going" or the "movement" of the heart. The text continues by defining the movement of the heart:

Smith §1 (1, 6–8)
ỉw mtw ỉm=f n ꜥt [nbt]
[ỉr] nw dd.w wꜥbw sḫmt swnw nb ḏrty=f ḏbꜥw=f [ḥr tp ḥr mḥꜣ]ḥr ḏrty ḥr st-ỉb ḥr wꜣrty ḫ[ꜣꜣ=f] [43] *ḫꜣty nt pw mtw=f m-ḫꜣ tp m st-ỉb nt pw [mdw=f ḫnt] mt nb n ꜥt nbt*

There are vessels[44] from it in [every] limb. [As for] these, whenever any priest of Sakhmet or any physician places his hands and his fingers [upon the head, upon the occiput], upon the place of heart, upon the two legs: he is ex[amining] the heart. This is

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[40] For the lacuna, Ritner suggests "is what is like" as a possible restoration. Ritner 2006, 102 n.18.

[41] On *oipe*-measure, Pommerening 2010, 132–137.

[42] There are other Egyptian measurement units, but the oipe-measure is singled out probably to reinforce the meaning of *ỉp*, "counting." Also, it seems that the *oipe*-measure had a particular significance in the medical context because of its association with the eye of Horus. Cf. Hearst 14, 2–4: **"**As for this *oipe*-measure, it was the eye of Horus that was measured and examined. Isis brought it to her son Horus to open up the inside of his body and to bring down the evil things that were inside his body."

[43] The verb form of *ḫꜣ* here is of interest. The Smith has a lacuna, so based on the parallel in Ebers, Breasted restores *ḫꜣꜣ*. In Ebers, because the *ḫꜣ* clause is followed by the adverbial *ḥr-ntt*, having the germinated form makes sense. The Smith passage, however, has that *ḥr-ntt* replaced by *nt pw*, which is sentence initial. On the nominals, see *GEG* §190, 2; Loprieno, Muller & Uljas 2019, 377–378.

[44] To be more precise, *mtw* does not refer only to blood vessels but to anything long and thin such as ducts, nerves, tendons, and muscles. A network of *mtw* does not squarely correspond to any one "system" known in modern medicine such as nervous system, circulatory system or respiratory system. For more on *mtw* see Breasted 1930, 108; Nunn 1996, 44–49; Bardinet 1995, 63–68.

(means) that its (the heart's) vessels are at the back of the head from the place of heart. This means that it speaks out of every vessel of every limb.

The passage here has an almost exact parallel in Ebers.[45] There, the same passage serves as an introduction to the so-called "vessel book," a treatise on the mtw-vessels and the heart.[46] Here in Smith, it is cited to expound on the phrase ḫꜣi≠k s, specifically in order to develop further the idea that was already introduced in the previous lines (ls.3–6).[47] The verb ḫꜣi now takes ḥꜣty as the direct object, not s as in the previous lines. This serves to clarify that when one is said to examine a man it is really the ḥꜣty that is being examined. But why ḥꜣty? The following nt pw clauses explain why:[48] because it connects all the limbs of the body through the vessels, and because from these vessels, the heart speaks (mdw≠f). The gloss does not stop here but continues to explain what it is that the heart can tell the physician:

Smith §1 (1, 8–9)

ḏd≠f[49] ḫꜣt r [dit≠f ḏrt][50] ≠f ḥr mtw n tp≠f n mkḥꜣ≠f n rdwy≠f […][51]ḥꜣty≠f r rḫ šsꜣw ḫpr im m-ḏd ḫꜣt s r rḫ ḫpryt im

He says "measuring" regarding [the placing of] his [hands] on the vessels of head, of his occiput, of his two feet, […][51] his heart in order to learn the indications that occur therein, that is to say, "measuring a man" in order to know that which has occurred therein.

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[45] Eb §854a (99, 2–5). See Breasted 1930, 107 for a line-by-line comparison. The one significant difference is that in the Ebers version, instead of nt pw mtw≠f mḥꜣ m st-ib, it has ḥr-ntt mtw≠f n ꜥt≠f nb. This difference may be attributed to the fact that the Smith version was specifically adjusted to serve as a gloss to the case of head injury, in contrast to the Ebers version, which was meant to lay down more fundamental principles common to all cases.

[46] Eb §§854 -855 (99, 1–102, 16).

[47] The previous section ended with the clause r rḫ šmt ḥꜣty. Note that the parallel passage in Ebers bears the title of sštꜣ n swnw rḫ šmt ḥꜣty rḫ ḥꜣty, "the secrets of the physician, knowing the movements of the heart, knowing the heart."

[48] On the function of nt pw, Loprieno, Muller & Uljas 2019, 377–378.

[49] Who or what this 3ms pronoun must be referring to is not clear. It could refer to an authoritative figure or source that anyone reading a medical treatise would recognize. It is also possible, in view of the fact that the beginning of the text is broken, the identity of the figure or the source was already mentioned in a gloss to the previous case(s). In any case, the phrase ḏd≠f… r is one of several phrases that is commonly employed throughout Smith for glossing.

[50] Judging by the context, dit≠f ḏrt seems a more appropriate restoration (several editions restored it this way) than what is suggested by Breasted, wbn, "wound."

[51] Possibly, "measuring the vessels of" following the restoration in Grundriss.

Here, the purpose clause *r rḫ* from the first section and *ḫꜣt ḥꜣty* from the second section are combined to introduce something new, namely *šsꜣw ḫpr im*. To examine a man in pain means to examine the movement of the heart; the reason the action of the heart is measured is because it tells you what has occurred in the body parts. Breasted notes that for the Egyptian physician, "the heart is a gauge by means of which the patient's condition may be appraised."[52] In Ebers, knowledge of the movement of the heart is referred to as *sštꜣ n swnw*, "the secrets of the physician." A physician who possesses these secrets is able to decipher the heart's movements as intelligible indicators of the deeper changes in the patient's constitution. To him, a patient's heart is like an informant, who reports the unseen processes deep beneath the surface. Even though the physician himself does not undergo pain, this knowledge allows him to understand the nature of the patient's pain.

With this gloss in mind, the directive *ḏꜥr.ḥr≠k wbnw* in Smith can be understood, specifically, to take note of the heart's speech in order to gain further access into the interior processes of the body. In Ebers, we already saw the directive *rd.in≠k ḏrt≠k*. Even when the directive is not explicitly given, based on references to the movement of heart that occur in the middle of the descriptions of the symptoms of the patient, we can infer that the practice would have been a part of the physician's examination by default:[53]

> **Ebers §188 (36, 4–9)**
> *ir ḫꜣi≠k s ḥr šnꜥ n r-ib≠f dns≠f r wnmt*
> *iw ẖt≠f ḥns.ti ib≠f ḫs≠f r šmt mi s ḥr mr tꜣw nw pḥt*
>
> If you examine a man who has obstruction in his stomach, heavy for food,
> his body is constricted, his heart is weak to move like a man sick with the heat of anus…

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[52] Breasted 1930, 109.

[53] The following passage from an autobiographical stela belonging to a physician named Nufer from the early 18th dynasty seems to indicate that this skill is something that is associated with an ideal physician: *ink sš wn mꜣꜥt s(w)nw ꜣḫ ḏbꜥwt nb šsꜣw ꜥšꜣw iryw ḏꜥr ḫꜣyt ny ẖt,* "I am a truly excellent scribe and a phyisician effective of fingers, who owns many medical manuals and probed diseases of the body." Edwards 1965, 25–26, pl. XI.2, l. x+9.

Ebers §207 (42, 8–10)
ir ḫꜣiꜥk s ẖr šnꜥ iw ib≠f ꜥwꜥ≠f iw ḥr≠f ꜥd iw ib≠f dbdb

If you examine a man with an obstruction, his heart flutters, his face is pale, and his heart thumps…

Given the centrality of this practice to medical examination, it would have been important to convey accurately the information about the specific movement of the heart to understand the conditions of the heart under consideration.[54] In these two examples, using the reduplicated verb, the heart's movement is explicated by comparing it to cases that produce a similar movement (the weak place of an infant's crown; a man sick with the heat of anus). Still, the ambiguity in meaning seems almost inevitable, and it is not surprising that the vessel book in Ebers includes many glosses concerning the movement and speech of the heart:

Ebers §855e (100, 14–16)
ir ꜥmd ib tm mdt ḥꜣty pw mtw r-pw n ḥꜣty inbꜣ
n wnt šsꜣw≠sy ẖr ḏr.ty≠ky ḫpr tꜥw mḥ im≠sn

As for "the heart is faint," it means the heart doesn't speak, or the vessels of the heart are mute. Their indications do not exist under your hands, as the air fills them.[55]

Ebers §855 (101, 2–5)
ir nḏḥḏḥ ib ḫtꜣ ib pw m ḥꜣty
ky ḏd ḥꜣḥꜣ ib m ḥꜣty pr hꜣ≠f pḥ.n≠f šꜣt≠f ib≠f ẖr wiꜣt

As for "the heart trembles (?)," it means the ib-heart *ḫtꜣ* in the *ḥꜣty*-heart.
Another statement: the *ib* heart *ḥꜣḥꜣ* in the *ḥꜣty* heart. He came out and went down, having reached the throat area (?), his heart is under the condition of *wiꜣt*.

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[54] This brings us to the question of the method of the measurement. The analogy with the *oipe*-measure would seem to point to some sort of quantitative information. Breasted (1930, 105–106) thinks of this in terms of counting the number of pulses per a given measure of time. But this would require not only a portable time-measuring device, but an array of other features that we do not have any evidence for. Bardinet (1995, 86) therefore rejects Breasted's view and suggests that what is being measured is simply the degree of illness in the affected body part. Somewhere between the two is a view (by Dominique Spaeth, cited in Halioua 2005, 25) that the Egyptian physicians examined the pulse qualitatively (in terms of strength and rhythm) and semi-qualitatively (slow or accelerated). In Traditional Chinese Medicine, no time measuring device is required for pulse diagnosis.
[55] Because the heart's movement is so frequently described in terms of speech, sometimes it can be confusing whether it the verb is referring to the heart's speech or actual speech. For instance, Sm §7 (3, 3) reads *iw qsn r≠f wn rꜣ≠f wrḏ ib≠f r mdt*, "it is painful for him to open his mouth, and his heart is feeble to speak." Here, it's not clear whether it's *mdt* is referring to the heart's movement or the patient's ability to talk.

So far, I have focused on the ways in which physicians use his sensorial perception and knowledge and thus notice the abnormal conditions manifest in the patient. Remarkably in Smith, the patient's physiological sensation of pain becomes incorporated into the examination process as well. In the example below, the physician instructs the patient to attempt certain movement, and the pain the patient feels as the result of the movement is listed with other symptoms.

Smith §19 (7, 15–17)
ỉr ḫꜣỉ≠k s <n> thm <m> gmꜣ≠f wbnw ḥr≠f
mꜣꜣ.ḥr≠k wbnw≠f ḏd≠k n≠f dgꜣ n qꜥḥwy≠k
ỉw qsn ỉrt≠f šrr pḫr.n≠f nḥbt≠f
ỉw ỉrt≠f šsm.ti im gs≠f ḥry sqr pf...

If you examine a man in his temple, a wound being upon it:
You should inspect his wound, saying to him, "look at your two shoulders."
His doing so is painful, his neck turns around only little.
His eye on his side with that injury is blood-shot…

Sometimes, the pain produced by the motion is the only symptom. This is the case for the condition referred to as *nrwt*, "sprain":

Smith §30 (10, 9–10)
ỉr ḫꜣỉ≠k s n nrwt m ṯs n nḥbt≠f
ḏd.in≠k n≠f dgꜣ n qꜥḥwy≠k ḥnꜥ qꜣbt≠k
ỉrr≠f qsn mꜣꜣ ḫpr m-ꜥ≠f

If you examine me a man for a sprain in a vertebra of his neck:
You should say to him. "Look at your two shoulders and your chest."
When he does, the seeing which happens to him is painful.

Smith §48 (17, 15–18)
ỉr ḫꜣỉ≠k nrwt m ṯs n psd≠f
ḏd.in≠k n≠f mꜣꜥ mꜥ wꜥrty≠ky qrf sy
mꜣꜥ.ḥr≠f sy qrf.ḥr≠f sy ḥr-ꜥwy n qsn ỉrr≠f m ṯs psd≠f mny≠f

If you examine [a man for] a sprain in a vertebra of his back,
you should say to him: Extend now your legs. Contract them.
He shall extend them and contract them immediately because of the pain he makes in the vertebra of his back in which he suffers.

Also, as seen in the example below, we see pain being used as the deciding factor for making the

diagnosis after the process of elimination:

> **Smith §42 (14, 17–18)**
> *ir ẖꜣi≥k mn≠f ḥnw nw qꜣbt≠f*
> *n wnt wnḫ*
> *n ḥsb≠f*
> *isk s pf mn≠f sw inr r≠f⁵⁶ wr*
>
> If you examine [a man for a sprain in the ribs of his chest], and he suffers in the ribs of his chest,
> there being no dislocation,
> it not having been broken,
> while that man keeps suffering in it, and shudders greatly.

The presence, or absence of pain would have been made known to the physician by the patient's

report. Hence, the patient's ability to communicate with the physician is important throughout

the examination process. However, even when the patient is unable to do so, the physician takes

note of the patient's inability and incorporates this into his observation:

> **Smith §20 (8, 1-3)**
> *ir nd≥k mnt≠f ḥr≠f*
> *n mdw.n≠f n≥k*
> *rmt ꜥꜣt hꜣt m irty≠fy*
> *it.ḥr≠f ꜥf r ḥr≠f sin≠f irty≠fy m sꜣ n ḏrt≠f mi irrt ẖrd n rḫ≠f irrt≠f*
>
> If you inquire of him his injury,
> he is not able to speak to you,
> lots of tears falling from his eyes and he has to take his hand to his face so as to wipe his eyes with the back of his palm like what a child does, and he does not know what he does.
>
> **Smith §22 (8, 12)**
> *ir nis{.n?} ≥k n≠f iw≠f dgmy n mdw.n≠f*
>
> If you call him, he is dazed and is not able to speak.

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⁵⁶ Breasted 1930, 143–144.

In the context of Egyptian medical examination, then, pain can be understood as various symptoms that patients display that a physician can discern by his various senses.

3.2.2 "You Then Shall Say…Pain I Will Treat!"

In a clinical encounter, examination is followed by diagnosis. As the etymology of the word suggests (from *diagignṓskein*, "distinguish, discern," from *dia* "through, apart", + *gignṓskein* "perceive, know"), [57] diagnosis implies an act of discerning or knowing one thing apart from others. In modern clinical terminology, a symptom refers to a mere phenomenon of abnormality. Only when a physician takes the symptom and interprets it does the symptom become intelligible and meaningful, which constitutes the first step in leading to a diagnosis. One can say that pain is given an explanation and/or a name through diagnosis.

In *šsꜣw* text, too, we see the examination being followed by the diagnosis. Diagnosis section begins with the formula is *ḏd.ḫr≠k* or *ḏd.ìn≠k*, "you then shall say". The grammatical form, the narrative contingent tense of *sḏm.ḫr≠f*[58] or *sḏm.ìn≠f*[59] indicates that the clause is to serve as an apodosis of the *ìr ḫꜣì≠k* clause regarding the examination, which, in turn sets up the expectation that the content of this clause would function as something corresponding to diagnosis. Whatever the physician is to *say*, it will some sort of an explanatory account of the symptoms he has observed during the examination.

In many cases, however, the content of the diagnosis does not immediately meet the expectation set up by the grammatical and logical forms. More specifically, instead of providing an interpretation of the observed details, in many cases diagnoses offer a trivial, almost verbatim,

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[57] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*.
[58] Westendorf 1962, §§270–275.
[59] Westendorf 1962, §§280–283.

repetition or summary of the examination section. This is most pronounced in Smith. The two

examples below suffice to illustrate this repetitive nature:

> **Smith §12 (5, 16–17)**
> *šsꜣw ḥsb m štyt nt fnd≠f*
> *ỉr ḫꜣỉ≠k s n ḥsb m štyt nt fnd≠f*
> *gmm≠k fnd≠f…*
> *ḏd.ỉn≠k r≠f ḥry ḥsb m štyt nt fnd≠f mr ỉry≠ỉ*
>
> Indications of <u>a fracture in the vault of his nose</u>
> If you examine a man for <u>a fracture in the vault of his nose</u>
> What you find is that his nose…
> You then shall say concerning him, "one who has <u>a fracture in the vault of his nose</u>, an ailment I will treat."
>
> **Smith §17 (7, 1–5)**
> *šsꜣw sd m mndt≠f*
> *ỉr ḫꜣỉ≠k s n sd m mndt≠f …*
> *ỉsk sw dỉ≠f snf m šrt≠f m msdr≠f m gs≠f ḥry sqr pf*
> *ỉsk sw ḥm dỉ≠f snf m rꜣ≠f*
> *ỉw qsn wn rꜣ≠f ḥr=s*
> *ḏd.ỉn≠k r≠f ḥry sd m mndt≠f dỉ≠f snf m šrt≠f m msdr≠f m rꜣ≠f dgmy mr n ỉrw.ny*
>
> Indications of <u>a smash in his cheek</u>
> If you examine a man for <u>a smash in his cheek</u> …
> while <u>he discharges blood from his nostril, from his ear</u> on the side that has that injury,
> while he, at the same time, <u>discharges blood from his mouth,</u>
> while it is painful when he opens his mouth because of it,
> You then shall say concerning him, "one having <u>a smash in his check, while he discharges blood from his nostril, from his ear, from his mouth</u>, and speechless, an ailment not to be treated."

The repetitive tendency seems related to the very nature of the medical conditions that Smith

specializes in. Even today, when you go to see a physician after breaking your nose, the kind of

explanation that a physician can provide appears quite limited. A physician may take a CT scan

or an X-ray, but this does not amount to explaining the cause of the broken nose, or of the pain of

the broken nose. In Smith, the primary concern seems to be in adhering to the established format

of the genre. The step of making a formal pronouncement would have been perceived as

constitutive of the proper *šsꜣw*, something that had to be included, even when the content did not add anything new.[60]

Notice that in the three examples cited from Smith, the diagnoses all end with the statements which Breasted refer to as the "verdicts."[61] The three variants differ according to the treatability of the conditions. The positive variants, *mr iry≠i,* "illness/pain I will treat" and *mr ꜥḥꜥ≠i ḥ nꜥ,* "pain/illness I will contend with" are attested in other texts, but the negative variant, *mr n irw.ny,* "pain/illness which is not to be treated" is unique to Smith.[62] According to Breasted, it is the verdict that is the focal point of the diagnosis in Smith.[63] The repetitive portion is for formality; it does not identify the cause of the condition or explain pain. The primary concern is expressing the course of his procedure.

Ebers, having been compiled from a wide range of sources and covering a wide range of medical issues, contains several different types of diagnoses.[64] The most common kind diagnostic statement uses an A *pw* bipartite nominal construction.[65] While *pw* is easily mistaken as a copula, however, it is, strictly speaking, a subject element.[66] Moreover, since pw retains its original deictic feature,[67] its meaning must be determined from its context. In the medical

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[60] Taking note of this "underdeveloped" aspect of the diagnoses found in Smith, Breasted adds (1930, 7): "…the development of a full diagnosis is a relatively recent matter. Even in European medicine it was customary to describe only the conspicuous symptoms in a diagnosis until the advances made by Sydenham in the Seventeenth Century. In view of the fact that the elaborate diagnosis of the present day was so recently preceded by a simple description of the more noticeable symptoms, we may not expect the surgeon of nearly five thousand years ago to have gone very far in this direction." There are, however, a number of unusual cases in Smith where diagnoses do not repeat the findings of the examination but state conclusions reached through an inductive process. There are twelve such cases in total, and according to Breasted (1930, 49), they constitute "the most important body of materials in the whole treatise… the earliest existent evidences of an inductive process in the history of the human mind." See Breasted 1930, 49–51 for the description of these cases.

[61] Breasted 1930, 46. See the previous chapter.

[62] Cf. Breasted 1930, 47. See Westendorf 1962, §245 for the grammatical note.

[63] Breasted 1930, 48. In some cases (e.g., §§6, 8, and 34), the verdict constitutes the entire diagnosis.

[64] For typology of different types, see Radestock 2015 and 2020.

[65] The initial element, A, serves as the predicate of *pw*. Allen 81; Loprieno, Muller & Uljas 2019, 373.

[66] It derives from the Old Egyptian masculine singular distance neutral demonstrative adjective. Jenni 2009.

[67] Loprieno, Muller & Uljas 2019, 368

diagnoses, *pw* seems to refer to the conditions just described (the observed symptoms from the

examination). Below are a few examples:

Ebers §188 (36, 8–9)
ḏd.ḥr≠k r≠f spw pw n mỉst

You then shall say regarding it: it is the case of liver.

Ebers §191 (37, 12)
ḏd.ḥr≠k r≠s ʿqt-m-r pw mwt pw ẖns.n≠f[68]

You then shall say regarding it: it is "that which enters by the mouth"; this is death which
he has traveled.

Ebers §192 (37, 19)
ḏd.ḥr≠k r≠f sḥwꜣ pw nw stt≠f n hꜣ.n(≠sn) r npḥw≠f

You then shall say regarding it: it is the rotten products of his phlegm, which are not able
to descend to his groin.

Ebers §193 (38, 5–6)
ḏd.ḥr≠k r≠f sḥn pw n ḥs n ṯst≠f

You then shall say regarding it: it is a gathering of feces that has not yet settled down.

Ebers §198 (39, 14)
ḏd.ḥr≠k r≠f snf pw sš n ṯs.t(w) ≠f

You then shall say regarding it: it is blood of swamp, which is not bound.

Ebers §197 (39, 9–10)
ḏd.ḥr≠k r≠f nhꜣ pw n pr≠k

You then shall say regarding it: it is unevenness[69] of your house.

Ebers §831 (96, 17–18)
ḏd.ḥr≠k r≠s ꜣḫʿt pw ḥr ḥmt≠s

You shall say regarding it: it is a scratch on her uterus.

Ebers §832 (96, 20–21)

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[68] That *ʿqt m r* is not split by *pw* (into *ʿqt pw m r*) suggests that *ʿqt-m-r* is a bound construction (an indivisible lexicalised block?).
[69] *Wb*. II, 291.3; MedWb 471; TLA lemma-no. 85980. Originally means "unevenness," but when used of the heart, a pathological condition. Lloyd 1975, 63–65; Grundriss IV/2, 86 n. 4; Westendorf 1999, 581.

ḏd.ḥr≠k r≠s tm mȝw≠s pw in ḥsmn≠s

You shall say regarding it: it is that she is not regular in her menstruation.

Ebers §833 (97, 3–4)
ḏd.ḥr≠k r≠s ꜥḥt pw nt snf ḥr ḥmt≠s ḫft šnt≠s

You shall say regarding it: it is a congestion of blood in her uterus.

In view of the fact that the common use of the A *pw* construction is to name or explain (conventionally translated into English as "it is A," or "it means A"), the use of the nominal bipartite construction seems to fit well with that the expected function of a diagnosis.[70] It is, however, not all that clear at what level these diagnoses are meant to name or explain the symptoms, for instance whether they are meant to provide an account of underlying physiological/pathological process or a causal/ etiological explanation. In her detailed typological study of medical diagnoses in Egyptian medical treatises, Radestock identifies five different types and refers to the type of diagnoses just cited as "paraphrases of states of suffering."[71] According to her, the paraphrase group constitutes the biggest group among the five types and can be further divided into seven subgroups.[72] I myself am not able to see such fine distinctions between all the different types of diagnoses, though. It suffices to say that the criteria by, or the levels at, which diagnoses are made are not uniform. Sometimes the diagnoses are

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[70] The subject element *pw* is *explanandum*; A is *explanans*, to use the Latin terminology.
[71] I am mainly referring to the materials from her 2020 article published in English. More detailed analysis and discussion can be found in her dissertation published in 2015 in German.
[72] Radestock 2020, 110–111.

made by referring to a bodily organ[73] sometimes they are made by identifying a pathological

entity[74] or pathological condition.[75]

Some of the diagnoses in Ebers do not contain any A *pw* construction and consist of

independent verbal clauses. Unlike an A *pw* construction, which is unmarked for mood or tense,

the verbal constructions have a temporal reference and/or convey modal meaning. They impart

information sequentially to the physician's understanding of the underlying physiological

process. In the first example below, the prospective form expresses what will happen once the

treatment is administered to the patient. In the second example, the *ỉw sḏm.n≠f* form expresses the

physician's appraisal of what must have happened prior to the current state.

> **Ebers §199 (40, 2)**
> *ḏd.ḥr≠k r≠s hꜣy≠f m r≠f m ḥsꜣ*
>
> You then shall say regarding it: it shall come down from his mouth as mucus.
>
> **Ebers §204 (41, 6)**
> *ḏd.ḥr≠k r≠f ỉw ỉr.n≠f wḏb ṯs.n≠f šꜥyt*
>
> You then shall say regarding it: It made a shore, it having gathered sand.

The following example combines A *pw* sentence and *ỉw sḏm.n≠f* construction, which results in a

more comprehensive diagnosis. It identifies the cause of the condition and describes the

development of the disease.

> **Ebers §196 (39, 4–6)**
> *ḥnwt pw nt ṯsw n sṯs.n.tw≠f n wꜣḥ ỉb ḥr sp ḥwrw*
> *ỉw ỉr.n≠f ḥsd ỉw sḥwꜣ ryt ỉw mḏd.n ḫꜣyt*

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[73] E.g., §188, §831, §833. As for §188, I am following the editors of the *Grudriss*, who translate *spw* in this passage as *Fall von*, "the case of." See MedWb 733. Alternatively, *spw* here can be understood as what is translated into German as *Mittel*, "remedy." If understood as the latter, the diagnosis here is being made in reference to the treatment. The nuance of the two interpretations differs. *Grundriss* acknowledges that making distinctions between the two meanings is difficult. MedWb 740, §1. Although I am opting for the first interpretation, the latter interpretation is also quite plausible, especially when it is taken into account the fact that the treatment in this case requires a *sp n sštꜣ n smyt ỉrrw swnw*, "a secret remedy of herbs which a physician has prepared" that has to be drunk by the patient multiple times in order to *pḫꜣ*, "cleanse," and *nḏꜣḏꜣ*, "hydrate," the liver.

[74] E.g., §192.

[75] E.g., §193, §832.

It is a congestion of a heap, which cannot be lifted. The heart does not endure a bad case of illness. It has formed a tumor. The pus rots. The damage struck.

Finally, some diagnoses feature a participial statement introduced by the particle *in*. They are found among the instructions on diagnosing different kinds of tumors and swellings.[76] In the examples below, the A *pw* sentences first identify the specific type of tumor/swelling responsible for the symptoms. The participial statements then go a step further and identify the more fundamental entity or process (relating to the vessels) responsible for the particular tumor/swelling just identified. As indicated by the germination of *r* in the participle *irr*, the action of this latter entity on the antecedent is understood not as one-time event but generic or habitual.[77]

> **Ebers §864 (106, 10–12)**
> *ḏd.in⸗k r⸗s ꜥt pw nt ḥbs nw ẖt⸗f mr iry⸗i*
> *in tꜣw ḥr šptyt ḫnt m ẖt⸗f **irr sw***
>
> You shall say regarding it: this is a tumor of the coverings of his belly. An illness I will treat. It is heat in the bladder in front of his belly that makes it.

> **Ebers §872 (108, 6–13)**
> *ḏd.in⸗k r⸗s ꜥt pw nt mtw mr iry⸗i*
> *in mtw **irr st** iw⸗s grt ḫpr⸗s m (i)ꜥtw ḥr mt*
>
> You shall say regarding it: this is a vascular tumor. An illness I will treat.
> It is vessels that make it, while it also arises from injuries on a vessel.

> **Ebers §876 (109, 13–14)**
> *ḏd.in⸗k sft pw nt mt*
> *in sqr n mt **irr st***
>
> You shall say: this is a sft-appearance of the vessel. It is the smack on a vessel that makes it.

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[76] Eb §§857-62 (103, 19–106, 2) are concerned with ulcers (ḥnḥnt); §§863–75 (106, 2–109, 11) are concerned with tumors (ꜥt); §§876–77 (109, 11–110, 9) are concerned with additional swellings.
[77] Allen 2010, 338–339 on the difference between perfective and imperfective participles in participial statements.

Note that in the first two examples the participial statements come after the verdict, which, as we saw in Smith, usually come at the end of diagnoses. It is likely that these participial statements are later additions. Moreover, in view of the fact that this treatise is placed right after the vessel book, in which such participial statements are a regular feature, it is possible that the diagnoses here represent the efforts to integrate knowledge of the heart and vessels into the pre-existing tradition(s) on the diagnoses of the tumors and swellings. Here we may be witnessing the process by which the Egyptian medical diagnoses grew more elaborate over time with the broadening of the explanatory framework.

Overall, while lacking a unified frame of reference, or nomenclature,[78] Egyptian medical diagnoses reflect endeavors to understand more fundamental processes underlying various painful conditions.

Before moving on, I want briefly to consider the question of demons and similar hostile volitional agents as the purported cause of pain. As we shall see shortly, in the treatment stage, references to such entities are common.[79] Yet, it is rare to see them mentioned in the diagnoses. Only in some glosses do we come across them, and they betray efforts to figure out where these "supernatural" forces fit into the whole picture.[80] To illustrate, a case in Smith mentions how a

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[78] In this regard, it is worth taking note of the fact that even in modern medicine, where the diagnostic criteria are fairly standardized, some conditions are diagnosed based on the causes, some are based on the underlying mechanism, and some are determined by grouping a range of relevant symptoms (syndrome, disorder). Cf. Ghalioungui (1966, 127): "there is no concept more abstract or more elusive than that of disease. To primitive man, disease was a symptom. All archaic medical treatises are symptomatic pharmacopoeias. But as soon as the primitive mind started to work, it started to theorize, and nothing could then stop it in its accelerated course. The earliest grouping of symptoms to clearly defined syndromes, re-appearing with reasonable faithfulness to type, may have been a contribution of the Egyptian physicians who described, under the names of aaa, spn, skwt, tmit, etc., certain symptom associations, although it is not clear from their writings whether these names defined the symptom-complex or the external agent to which disease was then attributed."

[79] See the spells from Ebers cited below. References to demons are also very common in the later New Kingdom materials. Refer to Lucarelli 2010 for the demons and diseases.

[80] Cf. Eb §855u (102, 4–5): *ir ꜣq ib mꜥht ib in ṯꜣw n rꜣ-ꜥ ḫry-ḥb irr st ꜥqꜣf smꜣ m spw prr ib th ḫr≈s*, "as for the fading of the heart and forgetfulness of the heart, it is the breath of the activity of a lector priest that does this. It enters the lung several times, and the heart goes forth distracted because of this."

swelling caused by a closed skull fracture is to be distinguished from that which is caused by *ꜥqt m rwty*, "that which enters from outside" (4, 7–8). The phrase *ꜥqt m rwty* is then glossed as:

Smith §8 (4, 16–17)
ỉr ꜥqt m rwty ṯꜣw pw n nṯr n rwty mt r-pw ỉn sꜥqt.n qmꜣt ḥꜥw≠f

As for that which enters from outside, it means the breath of an outside god or a dead being. It is that which the product of his flesh has caused to enter.

Some grammatical ambiguity exists. Breasted interprets *ỉn* as a rarer form of negation and translates the phrase as "not the intrusion of something which his flesh engenders."[81] Alternatively, it could be understood in light of the aforementioned examples of diagnosis from Ebers that feature a participial statement with pattern A *pw + in* B [*ỉrr sw*]. Regardless of how one resolves the ambiguity, the gloss shows that a certain distinction is made between something that enters the body on its own and something that has been led to enter by the body. This once again reveals the depth of Egyptian medical thought.

3.2.3 Treating Pain

Once the patient has been examined and diagnosed, he is to be treated for his pain. As a logical next step, treatment follows the diagnosis in *šsꜣw* texts. The section is marked by the phrase *ỉr.ḫr≠k*, "you shall do/make," which is connected to the verb sequence in the examination and the diagnosis (*ỉr ḫꜣỉ≠k…ḏd.ỉn≠k…*).[82] It then gives instructions on how the patient is to be treated. In Ebers, the treatment usually consists of pharmacological prescriptions, with the list of the ingredients and the instructions on how to make and use them. For treating traumatic injuries,

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[81] Breasted 1930, 212 & 214. MedWb 55 n. 1, however, points out Breasted's interpretation is far from being satisfactory. Others have taken *ỉn* as a non-enclitic particle, while *n* before *qmꜣt* as negation. For instance, Bardinet (1995, 500) gives the translation, "si (?) c'est quelque chose qu'on fait entrer, ce n'est pas quelque chose que produit le corps." Similarly, Westendorf (1998, 720) translates it as "also/fürwahr etwas, das zum Eindringen veranlaßt ist. Nicht ist es etwas, das sein Körper hervorbringt." This interpretation, however, does not explain the presence of *t* in *qmꜣt*.
[82] On the significance of the pairing and sequentiality of *ḏd* and *ỉrỉ* in *šsꜣw* texts, see Fischer-Elfert 2021.

such as those recorded in Smith, surgical operations such as the use of stitches, the application of

an adhesive plaster, the realignment of dislocated bones, and so on, are prescribed. However,

these mechanical aspects of the treatment are often included in the examination section instead of

the treatment section. [83] According to Breasted, such placement likely reflects the Egyptian view

that the mechanical processes do not constitute a real treatment. It is only that which involves the

characteristic agency of the physician—the preparation and application of medicaments and

recipes—that constituted real treatment from the Egyptian perspective.

Outside the *šsꜣw* texts, treatments are introduced by the simple titles such as *irrt*, "what is

to be done,"[84] *pḫrt*, "recipe,"[85] or just *kt*, "another." Frequently, titles of treatment are followed

by a verb of elimination (*dr, smꜣ, ḫsf,* etc.) + sickness/cause of pain,[86] or by a verb of healing

(*ssnb, snḏm, srwḫ* and *sqbb*) + body part/wound.[87] In the previous chapter, we saw that *ḥr mn*

can take either the body part or sickness as direct object. In treatment titles, we see that body part

and sickness are treated very differently. That which is causing the body the pain needs to be

aggressively countered and driven out; the body itself is meant to be cared for.

The word *pḫrt* is of key interest. According to MedWb, it refers to a finished mixed drug

that can be administered in various ways.[88] It also corresponds to the modern notion of

prescription, which not only describes the actual medication, but also its individual components,

its preparation and the instructions for applying it.[89] Here we are reminded of the passage cited at

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[83] E.g., the stitching of flesh wound in case 10 or the applying adhesive plater to draw together a wound in case 47. For other examples, see Breasted 1930, 42.
[84] Sometimes, *irrt* is used as a substitute for *ir.ḫr⸗k.* MedWb, 83.
[85] *Wb*. I, 549.1–12
[86] Cf. in the previous chapter with *wekhedu* as the object of elimination.
[87] MedWb 284ff.
[88] MebWb 289ff. See MedWb 290 for different ways of administration.
[89] As indicated by a label such as *ḥꜣt-ꜥ m dmdt nt pḫrt* … "the beginning of the scroll of recipes for…" or *ḥꜣt-ꜥ m pḫrt nt…* "the beginning of the recipes for…," it seems to constitute the very core of what Egyptian medicine is about. Another common, similar word is *sp*. However, *sp* is a broader term. Also, whereas *pḫrt* is predominantly used in prescription headings, *sp* is mainly used in diagnoses. MedWb 740-741.

the beginning of this chapter where Helen mixes into wine a drug that quiets all pain and strife.[90]

The Greek word used here for drug is *pharmakon*,[91] and indeed, *pḫrt* survives into Coptic and is

sometimes translated into Greek φαρμακεία.[92]

It should be noted that verb *pḫr,* "to go around, to encircle" from which *pḫrt* derives, has

a strong ritualistic association.[93] From early on, many rituals and ceremonies involved walking

around a place or object of interest for the purpose of purification and protection. The word also

evokes cosmological significance, as it is associated with the sun god's cosmic circuit.[94] It is

likely that the original etymological associations were mostly not evoked in ordinary uses of the

word, similar to the way we do not usually think about the etymology of words that we use

frequently. For a heuristic purpose, however, it is worth dwelling on these associations,

especially because they seem to illuminate the fundamental idea that undergirds the Egyptian

understanding of the body and pain. Whether it is drunk or applied topically, *pḫrt* affects the

body of the person who uses it.[95] The human body which *pḫrt* affects can be conceived as a kind

of place, analogous to a temple space that is being walked around or the cosmic circuit that the

sun god travels. More specifically, just as the temple area or cosmic space, prior to encircling, is

a place that has the potential to be disrupted, so an ailing body can also be conceived of as a

place that has the potential to be disrupted. With encircling, the temple and the world become

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[90] A *pharmakon* which is *nêpenthes* (νηπενθές, something like "un-griefed" = without grief / pain / sorrow; νη + πένθος), *acholos* (ἄχολος, without anger), which makes a forgetfulness (all in the adjective ἐπίληθον, epilêthon -- ἐπί + λήθη (lêthê means "forgetfulness")) of all evils. I thank Emily Austin for breaking down the Greek terms in this passage for me.

[91] It is a well-known word in the context quite relevant to Egyptology. In Plato's *Phaedrus* (275a) and Derrida's *Plato's Pharmacy*, Thoth gives to Egyptian people script as a *pharmakon*. For the notion of pharmakon in ancient Greek, see Artelt 1968; Lloyd 1979, 44.

[92] Ritner 1993, 54–55.

[93] Ritner 1993, 57ff. Ritner notes that the magical ritual of "encircling" for purification is almost coeval with Egyptian civilization itself. See also Johnson and Ritner 1990 for a discussion of the meaning of *pḫrt* in Demotic.

[94] Ritner 1993, 62 n. 285.

[95] It does not necessarily have to be a living body, though, since the embalming materials are frequently referred to as *pḫrt*.

cleansed of the elements causing the disruption and a state of order is restored. Similarly, *pẖrt*

removes disruptive elements from the body and restores health. From here, we can proceed to

make a finer distinction. Pain can be understood either as 1) a disruptive process or state in a

place, or 2) elements or agents underlying or causing such a process or state. The verbal uses of

the pain words in the magico-medical texts seem to refer to the first kind; the nominal uses, the

latter.

    This serves as a steppingstone to consider the "magical" aspect involved in treating pain,

which is frequently overlooked when all the emphasis is laid on empirical observation and

reasoning process.[96] The contrast between science and magic becomes entangled over the

presence and absence of pain, and its removal, in the human body. Because magic is often

thought to be dealing with immaterial forces, such demons and various spirits, it becomes readily

associated with the mental aspect of pain, while science, dealing with the observable and

material world, becomes associated with bodily pain. Perhaps related, the efficacy of magical

treatment is often described in terms of the underlying psychology. The view is not without

merit. For the purpose of this dissertation, however, I would like to steer away from that path.

Instead, I would like focus on an aspect that is more readily intelligible, namely, the dramatic

aspect that seems to inhere in Egyptian way of encountering with pain.[97]

    When we try to visualize the process of driving out disruptive elements from the body,

we can see all the ingredients for a drama.[98] There is a spatial dimension (place) as well as a

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[96] Scholars have been divided over whether medicine and magic constitute two separate branches of thought and practices. For an overview, see, among others, Ghalioungui 1973; Ritner 1993; Pinch 2006, 133–46.

[97] Here, I am taking the cue from Moscoso's approach, briefly introduced in Chapter 1. The Egyptian model of driving out the disruptive elements in order to restore health can be thought of as a type of "moment of rupture that demands reparation." Moscoso 2012, 6.

[98] Cf. Moscoso 2012, 6: "As concerns its dramatic nature, pain mobilizes all the elements of theatrical representation. The experience of harm has its actors, plot, stage, costumes, props, scenography, and of course, its audience."

temporal (implied by the sequence of events; before and after) dimension. There is also an

antagonist (the disruptive elements). One element that is missing is the protagonist who will

carry out the action. The physician steps in to play that role. The physician does not, however,

enact this role *de novo*. In Egyptian tradition, various stories involving Horus, Re, Isis, Thoth,

and others provide the template according to which physician can enact the drama against pain.

As such, in a very general way of speaking, the physician's activity can be thought of as

continued action here-and-now following the exemplary model embedded in those stories.

Let me illustrate with specific examples. Cited below are three spells at the very

beginning of Ebers. The placement of these spells at the beginning is significant. It suggests that

even without further specification, they are to accompany all subsequent prescriptions.[99] This

means that even if the actual mechanism by which the chosen method of treatment be non-

magical, it is already placed within a magical framework, a form of encircling. These spells can

also be viewed as an introductory note or a commentary of sort that sets the scene for the drama

that is about to unfold:

> **Ebers §1 (1, 1–11)**
> *ḥꜣt-ꜥ m r n wꜣḥ pẖrt ḥr ꜥt nbt nt s*
> *pr.n≠i m iwnw ḥnꜥ wrw nw ḥwt ꜥt nbw mkt ḥqꜣw ḥḥ*
> *nḥmn pr.n≠i m sꜣw ḥnꜥ mt nṯrw rd.n≠sn n≠i mkwt≠sn*
> *iw ṯsw n≠i ir.n nb-r-ḏr*
>> *r dr st-ꜥ nṯr nṯrt mt mtt ḥmt-r nty m tp≠i pn m nḥbt≠i iptn ꜥqḥw≠i ipn m iwf≠i*
>>> *pn m ꜥwt≠i iptn*
>> *r sswn srḥy ḥr sꜥqyw ḥnn m iwf≠i pn bibi m ꜥwt≠i iptn m ꜥqt m iwf≠i pn m*
>>> *tp≠i pn m ꜥqḥw≠i ipn m ꜥhw≠i m ꜥwt≠i iptn*
> *ni wi rꜥ ḏd.n≠f*
>> *ink nḏ sw m-ꜥ ḫftyw≠f*
>>> *smtw≠f pw ḏḥwty iw≠f*
>>>> *ḏ≠f mdt drf*
>>>> *ir≠f dmdwt*
>>>> *ḏ≠f ꜣḥ n rḫw-ḥwt n swnww imyw ḫt≠f*
>> *r wḥꜥ mrrw nṯr sꜥnḫ≠f sw*

ỉnk pw mrrw nṯr s'nḫ≠f wỉ
ḏd-mdw ḫft w'ḥ pḥrt ḥr 't nbt nt s ntt mr.tỉ šs-mꜣ' ḥḥ n sp

The beginning of an utterance for the application of a remedy on any limb of a man:
I came forth from Heliopolis with the great ones of the great estate, the lords of protection, the rulers of eternity. Surely, I came forth from Sais with the mother of the gods, they having given me their protection. With me are formulae that the lord of all made in order to drive out the influence[100] of a god, a goddess, a male dead, a female dead, etc., which are in this head of mine, in this neck of mine, in these shoulders of mine, in these flesh of mine, in these limbs of my body, in order to destroy[101] the accuser, [102] the chief of those who cause to enter[103] a disturbance in this flesh of mine, a dullness into these limbs of my body, as something that enters in my flesh of mine, in this head of mine, in these shoulders of mine, in (this) body of mine, in these limbs of mine. I belong to Ra, he having said: It is I who protect him from his enemies. Thoth is his leader, who causes the script to speak, makes the collection of recipes, and grants the power to the learned men and to the physicians who follow him - in order to release whom god wishes him to keep alive. I am the one whom god wishes him to keep alive.
To be said when applying a remedy on any limb of a man that is ill/pained. A successful method, a million times.

Ebers §2 (1, 12–2, 1)
ky r n wḥ' wt nb
wḥ' sp sn in ꜣst wḥ' ḥr in ꜣst ḏwwt ỉryt r≠f in sn≠f stḫ m smꜣ≠f ỉt≠f wsỉr
ỉ ꜣst wrt ḥkꜣw
  wḥ'≠t wỉ sfḫ≠t wỉ m ḫt nbt bỉnt ḏwt dšrt m-' st-'nṯr st-'nṯrt m-'mt mtt, m-'
    ḏꜣyw ḏꜣywt ḏꜣ.t(y) ≠fy sw ỉm≠ỉ
  mỉ wḥ'≠t mỉ sfḫ≠t sꜣ≠t ḥr
ḥr-ntt 'q.n≠ỉ m ḫt pr.n≠ỉ m mw nn hꜣ≠ỉ r ỉꜣbtt nt hrw pn
ḏd.n≠ỉ ḫ.kwỉ ḫꜣ.kwỉ
  ỉ r' mdw ḥr ḏt≠k wsỉr sbḫ ḥr prr ỉm≠k
  mdw r' ḥr ḏt≠f sbḫ wsỉr ḥr prr ỉw≠f
ỉsk nḥm.n≠k wỉ m-'ḫt nbt bỉnt ḏwt dšrt m-' st-'nṯr st-'nṯrt m-'mt mtt ḥmt-r
šs-mꜣ' ḥḥ n sp

Another saying for releasing any bandage:
Be released, be released (said) by Isis. Horus is released by Isis from the evil that was done against him by his brother[104] Seth when he killed his father Osiris. O Isis, great in magic, may you release me, may you loosen me from every bad, evil, red thing, from the influence of a god, the influence of a goddess, from the male dead and the female dead, from a male opponent and a female opponent, who will oppose him in me, like you released, like you loosened your son Horus. Because I have entered into the fire and I

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[100] The word has been variously translated as affliction, stroke, or working. Interestingly, Lefebvre 1956, 10 translates it as "the pain."
[101] See the discussion in the previous chapter on *sswn*.
[102] Sethe (1928, 47:8) notes that this is comparable to Greek *diabolos* as a description of a disease-causing demon. The word derives from participle of the s-causative of *rḫ*, the one who makes known > accuses.
[103] See the discussion on Smith §8 (4, 16–17) above.
[104] Or uncle.

have come out of the water,[105] and I will not descend to a trap(?) of this day, I having said, being a child and young, O Ra, speak concerning your own, Osiris cry out concerning that which comes out of you. Ra speaks concerning his own, Osiris cries out concerning what comes out of him. And you have saved me from every bad, evil, red thing, from the influence of a god, the influence of a goddess, from the male dead and the female dead, etc.

A legitimate method, (worked) a million times.

Ebers §3 (2, 1–6)
r n swi pḫrt
iy pḫrt iy drt ḫt m ib≠i pn ʿwt≠i iptn
nḫt ḥkꜣw ḥr pḫrt ts-pḫr
in-iw tr sḫꜣ.n≠k it.tw ḥr ḥnʿ stḫ r ist ꜣt nt iwnw m nḏ.tw ḫrwy stḫ ḥnʿ <irt>ḥr
wn.ḫr≠f wꜣḏ mi wnn tp tꜣ
iw≠f ir≠f mrt≠f nbt mi nw n nṯrw nty im
ḏd mdw ḫft swi pḫrt šs-mꜣʿ ḥḥ n sp

The spell for drinking a remedy
A remedy comes, that which drives out the thing from this heart of mine and these limbs of mine comes. May magic be strong on the remedy, and vice versa.[106] Do you remember that Horus and Seth were taken to the great palace of Heliopolis, when the two testicles of Seth were negotiated with <the eyes of> Horus? Then he became fresh like he who is on earth. He does everything he wants, like these gods who are there.

To be said when drinking a remedy. A legitimate method, (worked) a million times.

If the language of the examination and diagnosis is focused on describing or referring after the facts, the language of the spells is performative. Close reading of the content of the spells reveals that they are primarily about protecting and/or enhancing the efficacy of the physician's art.[107] Each spell is to serve a specific purpose. The first one is for topical *pḫrt*, the second one is for bandaging, and the third one is for drinking *pḫrt*. Each draw on mythic episodes and divine utterances that are deemed relevant to the respective purpose. Notice that features such as the vocatives,[108] rhetorical question,[109] and various forms of repetition and parallelism,[110] which are

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[105] On what the fire and water represent, see Westendorf 1970, 145–151. He suggests that this is an abbreviation for "I entered the fire, I came out of the fire; I entered the water, I came out of the water." Effects of certain pain are described in terms of fire and water. For instance, in the legend of Isis and Re, Re describes his pain saying, "it is not fire, it is not water, though I feel colder than water and hotter than fire." See below.

[106] Westendorf 1955, 383–402.

[107] Bardinet 1995, 39. See also Fischer-Elfert 2005.

[108] E.g., *i ꜣst*, "O, Isis" or *i rʿ*, "O, Re"

[109] E.g., *in-iw tr sḫꜣ.n≠k*, "do you remember…"

[110] For the first and second spells, I have indicated them by indenting.

absent in the examination and diagnosis or in the description of the recipes, are pervasive in these spells. These formal features are important clues to understanding the mechanism by which the physician enacts the drama of healing.

A type of analogical reasoning is at play here, which merits further explication. [111] In an analogical mode of thought, relationship between events is explained in term of formal similarity rather than causality: A and A' are related to one another, not because A *caused* A', but because A' *resembles* A. The cited spells exploit the formal similarity between the mythic and the current events. For instance, as for the second spell, the event of Horus's suffering evil serves as the archetypal event (A) to which the particular event of the patient's suffering evil (A') can be likened. Once the mythic parallel is located, the patient's situation is no longer understood as an isolated incident, but as a part of a meaningful pattern, embedded in a more universal, cosmic narrative.[112] This in turn helps "knowing" the unknown, the outcome of the current suffering:[113] when the patient's suffering (A') is interpreted in light of Horus' suffering (A), then the outcome of the patient's suffering (B') can be interpreted in light of the outcome of Horus' suffering (B), which means, the patient will be released from suffering.[114]

These mythical precedents are commonly referred to as *historiolae*, and they become ubiquitous in the healing spells of later times across the Mediterranean.[115] As its literal meaning

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[111] The discussion here is informed by Tambiah's account of persuasive analogy in ritual performance. See Tambiah 1968, 175–208; Tambiah 1973, 199–229.

[112] Cf. Theodor Ludwig 1987, 195 as cited in Frankfurtur 1995, 473: "fit the specific human circumstance into the larger pattern of sacred existence and power as known in the religion of the people."

[113] Cf. Frankfurtur (1995, 466) notes that spells "link between a human dimension where action is open-ended and a mythic dimension where actions are completed and tensions have been resolved."

[114] What this shows is that while this type of knowledge is not based on sense perception or empirical verification, it is not devoid of logic.

[115] Faraone 1988, 284 provides a succinct yet lucid formulation of *historiola* as short mythological stories that provide a paradigm for a desired magical action. Cf. Faraone 2018, 229–236. Frankfurter 1995, 455–476 is the most widely cited article for any subsequent scholarly discussion on the topic of *historiola*. The definition provided by Fritz Graf in Brill's *New Pauly* (2006) reads thus:

('Little story'). Modern term describing brief tales built into magic formulas, providing a mythic precedence for a magically effective treatment. … historiolas should not be understood as abridgments of

"little story" suggests, the story elements are usually kept short. Surviving from the Ramesside period, however, is a much longer example of *historiola* with a significantly developed narrative structure. Though not included in Ebers or Smith, this Ramesside anti-venom incantation is worth examining, as it fleshes out the experience of pain in an unprecedented way. The text is commonly known as the *Legend of Isis and Re*,[116] and it reads like a folktale, sharing features in common with literary narratives from the same period.[117] Isis, wanting to know the secret name of Re, sets up a ruse to pressure Re to reveal the name himself.[118] She fashions a scorpion out of clay, mixed with the spittle Re dribbled. Isis then strategically places the scorpion on the path Re routinely takes. When bitten, only Isis will be able to provide the cure.[119] Indeed, the scorpion bites Re when he sets out for his daily solar journey the next day. The sun god's immediate response to the event is described thus:

Isis and Re = P. Turin 1993 rto 3, 6–8
nṯr ꜥꜣ wḏ≠f r≠f /ḫrw ḥm≠f ꜥnḫ wḏꜣ snb pḥ.n≠f r pt/ psḏt≠f ḥr m pw sp sn/ nṯrw≠f ḥr ptrì sp sn/ nn gm.n≠f r≠f r wšb ḥr≠f/ ìr spty≠fy ḥr ftft/ ꜥwt≠f nb ìsdd/ mtwt ìṯ.n≠s m ìwf≠f/ mì ìṯ ḥꜥpy m-ḫt≠f

The great god opened his mouth, the cry of his majesty, l.p.h. reached up to heaven.
His ennead said "what is it? what is it?" his gods said, "what! what!"
(but) he could not find his speech to answer concerning it.
His lips were quivering, all his limbs were trembling,

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well-known myths or as ad hoc inventions, rather the narrator understands them as proof of an all-embracing order into which he integrates his rite.
In Vedic studies, the term *Legendenzauber* has been used to refer to the similar concept. West 2008, 336–339.

[116] Papyrus Turin 1993. Now housed at the Museo Egizio with the catalogue number CGT 54501. A facsimile of the papyrus was first published in Pleyte and Rossi 1869-76, pls. CXXXI: 12-CXXXIII: 14, and LXXVII + XXI: 1–5. Transliteration here is based on the hieroglyphic transcription in Roccati 2011, 68–72. The text is punctuated with the red dots indicating pauses, as well as the arm sign, marking the strophe (or paragraph).

[117] For instance, with the *Contendings of Horus and Seth,* a text which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

[118] Names held great significance in Egyptian thought in general, as to know the name of someone or something signified to know the true nature of, thereby having a control over the possessor. Names of deities were associated with source of power and knowledge and the topic of the hidden and ineffable name of the sun-god (Re and various syncretized versions of Re) was prevalent in Egyptian religious literature.

[119] Spells against scorpion sting are common. For a useful collection of scorpion spells, see Borghouts 1978, 51–85 (nos. 84–123); for scorpion stings amongst the community of workmen from Deir el-Medina (the same place P. Turin 1993 comes from), see Collier 2016, 100–112.

The poison[120] having seized upon his flesh, like the inundation seizing after him.

It is an instance like this where the situation surrounding pain is spelled out in non-technical

language that allows us to recognize pain more readily. Somebody screaming from pain and

causing a great commotion is a scene familiar to us from everyday life. Notice, however, that the

language describing Re's symptoms is reminiscent of that of the *šsꜣw* texts. A physician would

catch symptoms such as quivering lips and trembling limbs during an examination. The last

sentence is like a diagnosis in that it first names the pathogenic entity and describes its action in a

sḏm.n≠f clause and compares it to a natural phenomenon using *mỉ*.

Re's dramatic speech follows. There is a high concentration of the pain words, *mn* and

mr, as well as of verbs of perception such as *mꜣꜣ*, *rḫ* and *dp* in the passage:

Isis and Re = P. Turin 1993 rto 3, 8–10; 13–14
*dm.n.tw ḫt **mr**/ <nn> **rḫ** st ỉb≠ỉ / nn **mꜣꜣ** sw ỉrt≠ỉ/ nn ỉr≠s drt≠ ỉ/ nn **rḫ** st m ỉr.n≠ỉ nbt/ nn **dp**.n≠ỉ **mn** mỉtt≠s/ nn **mr** r≠s/ […] m ḏdm ḫt nn rḫ≠ỉ/ nn ḫt ỉs pw/ nn mw ỉs pw/ ỉb≠ỉ ḥr tꜣw/ ḥꜥw ỉsdd/ ꜥt nbt ḫr msw ḥsyw*

Something **painful** has stabbed me. My heart does not know it. My eyes did not see it.
My hand did not make it. [I] cannot recognize it among any of the things that I have
made. I have not tasted a **suffering** like it. There is nothing more **painful** than it.
[…] something I do not know bit me. It is not fire; it is not water. My heart is on fire,
(my) body is shaking, all (my) limbs are giving birth to a chill. [121]

In the texts examined so far, we did not get to hear first-person account of pain. Here, through

the voice of Re, the experience of pain is described from the perspective of the one who is

suffering pain. Representation of god's pain in such an explicit manner is not all that common in

earlier Egyptian texts. Even in highly religious texts such as Pyramid Texts or Coffin Texts,

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[120] The word *mtwt* refers to any poisonous fluid. Notably, it refers to the poisonous semen of Seth in the mythic narrative of Horus and Seth, where Seth rapes Horus. Te Velde 1967, 37–39 and 45.
[121] The account is repeated once more in rto 4, 4–5 with slight variations and more details: *ḫwn n≠ỉ m ḏdft nn mꜣꜣ st nn ḫt ỉs pw nn mw ỉs pw qbb.kwỉ r mw šmm.kwỉ r ḫt ḥꜥw≠ỉ nbt ḫr wnft tw≠ỉ ỉsdd ỉrt≠ỉ nn smn nn gmḥ≠ỉ pt ḫw ḥr ḥr≠ỉ m tr n šmw*, "I was bitten by a snake, unseen. It is not fire, it is not water, though I feel colder than water and hotter than fire, my entire body in sweat. I am shaking, my eye unstable. I cannot see as heaven beats down rain on my face in the time of summer."

incidents of violence and pain are presupposed and alluded to, rather than being reenacted.

Finding his pain insufferable, Re finally reveals his true name to Isis. Only then, does Isis recite her spell for cure. The story concludes with the spell proper. It is noteworthy that the event of Re's healing following th is not incorporated into the narrative. Instead, the text switches to giving an instruction on the attendant ritual act and pharmacological recipe—all written in red ink—along with a vignette of the image required for the ritual:

> **Isis and Re = P. Turin 1993 rto. 4, 14–5, 5**
> *nṯr ꜥꜣ wṯs.n≠f ḥr rn≠f/n ꜣst wrt ḥkꜣw/*
>   *špt wḥꜥw pr m rꜥ…*
>   *….*
>   *mk wṯs.n nṯr ꜥꜣ rn≠f*
>   *rꜥ ꜥnḫ≠f mtwt mwt.tꜣ*
>   *mn ms n mnt ꜥnḫ mtwt mwt.tꜣ*
>   *m ḏd n ꜣst wr ḥnwt nṯrw rꜥ rn≠f ḏs≠f*
> *ḏd-mdw ḥr[122] twt n ꜣtm ḥr ḥknw rpyt ꜣst twt n ḥr*
> *sš ḥr drt n ḥry ds nsb ꜣn s*
> *ꜣrw m mꜣtt ḥr šsp n pꜥqt dꜣw n ḥry ds r ḫḫy≠f*
> *smw pw smw wḥꜥ nd ḥr ḥnqt ꜣrp r-pw swrꜣ ꜣn ḥry ds nt ḏꜣnry*
> *šs mꜣꜥ ḥḥ n sp*
>
> The great god announced his name to Isis, the Great One of Magic.
> "Flow out, scorpions! Come forth from Re…Behold, the great god has announced his name. Re lives; the poison is dead. NN, born of NN, lives; the poison is dead, through the speech of Isis the Great, the Mistress of the Gods, who knowsRe by his own name." Words to be recited over an image of Atum and of Horus-of-Praise, a figure of Isis, and an image of Horus. Drawn (on) the hand of the who is bitten, and licked off[123] by the man; Done likewise on a strip of fine linen, and placed on the bitten patient at his throat. (As for the remedy by) the plant is scorpion plant, ground with beer or wine, to be drunk by the one who has a scorpion sting. A legitimate method, (worked) a million times.

I would like to suggest that a crude yet intuitive way of describing the effect of having an extended narrative such as this would be comparing it to the sense of "being transported" people often experience when reading a story or watching a drama. Like a drawing or a statue, a narrative is a form of representation (*mimesis*), and just as there always exists an inherent gap

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[122] The names of the deities are not written in red ink.
[123] On the significance of licking, Ritner 1993, 93.

between the thing being drawn and the drawn thing, so there is between the world being narrated and the narrated world. One could imagine how the greater the degree of resemblance between the two worlds would result in the readier experience of being transported.[124] The narrative representation of Re's experience of pain facilitates the transportation, because the patient is already undergoing the pain of the scorpion sting, just like Re. In fact, with Re's account of pain in first-person, it could even appear as though the god's pain and my pain are one and the same. By the time Isis recites her spell, then, the two worlds have merged so seamlessly that it is as though Isis is no longer reciting the spell for Re, but for the patient. That the event of Re's healing is not incorporated into the narrative makes much sense in this light. It is the event of patient's own healing that serves as the conclusion proper to the narrative. Pain's relation with narrative will be considered in depth in the next chapter.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

So far in this chapter, I have examined the ways in which pain is framed in magico-medical texts. Overall, there is no particular focus on painful sensations in various medical situations as recorded in Ebers and Smith. Be it in illness or injury, pain is primarily conceived of as an objectively assessable state; only occassionaly does pain as felt by the patients receive attention. From the language of the *šsꜣw* texts, especially the texts regarding examination and diagnosis in particular, we see that pain is being understood in terms of physiological processes or pathological conditions susceptible to empirical observation and explanatory generalization. The language employed in medical examination and diagnosis is largely drawn from daily life and natural phenomena (measuring grains, molten copper, urine of sheep, and so on). The degree of knowledge concerning human physiology and pathology, of course, is not advanced judging

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[124] Cf. the so-called suspension of disbelief.

by the modern standard, but the fundamental principles do not seem all that different from those employed in modern medicine.

The ways pain is approached in the treatment stage, however, seem to diverge from our own. It is not uncommon to see pain being identified with "supernatural" forces such as demons and malevolent spirits. Through the agency of the physician, remedies and incantations alike become charged with a force that can drive out these forces. Here we see that Egyptians regard situations surrounding pain as a type of reality that can be actively negotiated or manipulated. The language employed in treatment is reminiscent of that employed in the political and religious spheres. For instance, similar sets of vocabulary are used for describing pharaoh's dealings with foreigners and for a physician's dealings with pain.

3.3 Pain in the Context of Pharaonic Medicine

The kind of understandings of, or attitudes toward, pain examined in the first section resist being neatly captured into a coherent framework that is readily available to us. This in large part has to do with the fact that the way Egyptians conceive of medicine (assumptions, beliefs, ideas that undergird medical knowledge and practices) is very different from the way we today conceive of medicine. For instance, there is an idea deeply ingrained in the modern mind that science and magic do not—or should not—go hand-in-hand. Ancient Egyptians, in contrast, did not seem to have viewed science and magic as mutually exclusive, but complementary.[125]

On a related note, medical anthropologists have pointed out that there are two fundamental assumptions on which modern Western medicine rests—the autonomy of nature and the autonomy of individual—that are not shared by other medical and healing systems around the world:

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[125] Cf. Ritner 2001.

In Western medicine, nature (biology to practitioners) is opposed to spirit; it is autonomous from human consciousness (subjective experience); each of its parts is atomistic, independent from the whole; and it stands not only independent from culture but prior to it. Furthermore, *nature is a realm separate from morality and society*. Nature, so isolated is regarded as universal. It is not dependent on the parameters of space and time. Nature-biology is the basis for truth itself… The individual is a sovereign being, a distinct unit, prior to society and culture and autonomous from them...Individual orientation is as much part of biomedicine as it is of western culture. Sickness is resident in the individual, in physiology, and diagnosis and therapy focuses exclusive gaze on the individual body. *Suffering is the private response of the subject*, and as long as that subject is competent, *the moral responsibility of the physician is limited to the individual sufferer*.[126]

In light of this, the discussion of the current chapter would benefit greatly if provided with an account of Egyptian medicine: the context in which magico-medical texts were compiled and transmitted, and in which the understandings of pain examined above were embedded and operated as a part of coherent medical discourse. Given the limitation of space and scope, it is not feasible to provide a comprehensive history of Egyptian medicine. I will rather attempt at a succinct account that is specifically tailored to show with evidence a distinct orientation of Egyptian medicine. At the end, I will return to discuss how the provided account contributes to the understandings of pain in Egyptian medicine.

3.3.1 Magico-medical Texts and Centralization of Knowledge

In the later Old Kingdom, the Egyptian bureaucratic and administrative system becomes more complex and better described through increasing use of titles, including those of physicians. This suggests that physicians functioned as part of a highly organized bureaucratic and administrative system. The titles of various high-ranking physicians with elaborate tombs in the Memphite region are known from the 5th Dynasty.[127] The Old Kingdom biographical

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[126] Kleinman et al. 1992, 8–9. Italics mine. The original passage has many in-text citations, but they have been omitted here.
[127] Ghalioungui 1983, 64.

inscription of Weshptah provides a glimpse into this trend.[128] A vizier and chief architect to

Nefarikare (5th Dynasty), Weshptah is visited by the king and his retinue (among whom include

the lector priests and physicians) at the construction site he has been overseeing. Suddenly, he

suffers a stroke and falls unconscious. The king has a chest of old writings searched for a cure

for Weshptah's condition. When the efforts fail, the deeply saddened king prays on behalf of

Washptah and makes all arrangements for Weshptah's burial:

> His majesty had the royal children, the companions, lector priests (*ḫry-ḥb*) and physicians
> (*wr swnw*) come along … Then his majesty had the chest of writings brought …
> illness(?)…They said to his majesty that he had lost consciousness… then the heart of his
> majesty felt very bad more than anything…[then his majesty] prayed to Re….[129]

As for why medicine was centralized so early on in Egypt, one is tempted to posit the practical

reality of the pharaoh needing people to attend to his health: high-ranking physicians in the court

are like the pharaoh's private physicians. But it also can be understood on cultural (or

ideological) grounds, in line with the broader trend that developed toward the late Old Kingdom,

when great efforts were made to compile massive bodies of knowledge by the pharaonic office.

The reference to the "chest of writings" in Weshptah's inscription is valuable, as it represents the

earliest historical reference to medical literature.[130] Medical texts that are dated to thousand years

after the incident narrated above would often include references to old chests of writings as

claims of great antiquity.[131] Not that this passage warrants taking those later claims at face value,

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[128] A mastaba tomb at Saqqara. A discussion of this text is found in Ghalioungui 1983, 73–74.

[129] *Urk* I, 42, 6–17. For translation of the text, Strudwick 2005, 318–319.

[130] Breasted 1928.

[131] For instance, a passage in Berlin Medical Papyrus 3038 15, 1 refers to the chest of writings dating from the First
Dynasty: *gmyt m sšw iswtw m hʾnw ḫry ʿw ḫry rdwy inpw m Ḫm m hʾw ḥm ni-swt-bity Spʾt(y),* "...found as old
writings in a chest containing documents under the feet of Inpw in Ḫm, in the time of the Majesty of the King of
Upper and Lower Egypt Spʾt(y)…" Wreszinski 1909, 33. A very similar passage is found in Ebers 103, 1-2: *m gmyt
m sšw ḫr rdwy inpw m Ḫm in.tw≠s n ḥm n nì-swt-bity Spʾty mʾ-ḫrw,* "…among that which was found in writing under
the feet of Inpw in Ḫm. It was brought to the Majesty of King of Upper and Lower Egypt Spʾty." Wreszinski 1913,
213. Spʾty was the New Kingdom spelling of one of the names of King Dn of the First Dynasty. Hainline 2020, 190
n. 34 & 197 n. 49.

but the passage serves as an incidental witness of the way the royal court deemed medical

knowledge as worth of being collected and preserved. The collection of medical texts was not an

isolated phenomenon. The pyramid texts are attested for the first time in the late 5th Dynasty.

Pyramid texts are a collection of mortuary spells of diverse origins.[132] Also dating roughly from

the same period is the Palermo stone, the earliest extant royal annals.[133] Starting from the 1st

Dynasty and down to the 5th Dynasty, it provides year by year accounts of important events.

Putting things that had been scattered in various places into one place is a form of

imparting order.[134] Scholars speak of centralization of knowledge during the late Old Kingdom

as having established "a model of order" that was emulated in the centuries to come.[135] The

notion of order is important for the discussion of this chapter (as well as for the discussion in the

following chapters). It may sound abstract at this point, but it is in reference to the notion of

order – *maat* – that Egyptian understanding of pain can be best explained or accounted

for.[136]Pain exists where there is a rupture in *maat*. It is what a person in pain lacks and therefore

strives after.

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[132] Hainline 2020.

[133] Schäfer 1902; O'Mara 1979; Wilkinson 2000; Hsu 2010, 68–89.

[134] Not just symbolically but also practically. Compare, for instance, how much easier it is to study for the exams or do the taxes when all the notes or receipts are in one place instead of scattered all over the places. Having a strong centralized kingship which takes keen interest in collecting medical recipes would have been very advantageous for the development of medicine, because this amounts to building a huge central database that would remain relatively stable through the ages, making it easier to be accessed and transmitted.

[135] Kemp 2006, 62. Cf. Assmann 1996, 63f.

[136] Much ink has been spilled on the topic of *maat*. Baines (1995, 12) has summarized *maat* as "both the harmonious cooperation which was projected as a social ideal and the constant struggle to maintain the cosmos against the forces which threatened it." The following description by Morenz (1973 [1960], 113) conveys the similar idea, but more comrephensively:

> *Maat* is right order in nature and society, as established by the act of creation, and hence means, according to the context, what is right, what is correct, law order, justice and truth. This state of righteousness needs to be preserved or established, in great matters as in small. *Maat* is therefore not only right order but also the object of human activity. *Maat* is both the task which man sets himself and also as righteousness, the promise and reward which await him on fulfilling it.

Further on *maat*, see Assmann 1990; Lichtheim 1992; Quirke 1994, 219–231; Teeter 1997 & 2001.

3.3.2 Egyptian Medicine as a Pharaonic Institution

In Egyptian thought, pharaoh is the fulcrum of the social and cosmic order. He is the prime recipient of gifts from the gods as well as the prime donor and patron to humanity and to the gods.[137] This role or duty of the sacred kingship is enacted through various activities such construction of temples, providing provisions for the dead (evident in the *ḥtp dἰ nἰswt* formula), conducting military campaigns, and so forth. My claim is that medicine needs to be understood in similar terms, as one of the various ways in which pharaonic duty of maintaining *maat* was concretized.

A relief on an entrance pillar in the White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak as seen in Figure 1 below illustrates the point.[138] The relief shows a statue of the king placed before an image of the *Imiut*[139] in the form of a *sḫm* scepter, within a kiosk.[140] Outside the kiosk are three figures, each identified by the associated deity or the title of the office. The top two are *ἰwn-mwt≠f*, "pillar of his mother,"[141] and *nb ḫwmw*, "lord of Hermopolis."[142] The pair represents two specific and complementary ritual competencies in domains in which *sm* priest and lector priest serve as ritual agents. [143] The third figure at the bottom bears the title *wr swnw*, "great

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[137] Baines 2021, 82. Literature on Egyptian kingship is vast. Some standard works include: Moret 1902; Frankfort 1948; Posener 1960; O'Connor and Silverman 1995. For a summary of previous scholarship with bibliography, see Winnerman 2018, 7–13.

[138] The White Chapel is a small limestone bark shrine (6.8m x 6.5m x 3.8m), known for an exceptionally high quality of relief works. Its sixteen pillars (four interior pillars surrounded by a peristyle of twelve pillars) are decorated with raised reliefs on all four sides. The scene under question is carved on the south side of the pillar that is standing on the left (north) side of the western entrance. See Lecau and Chevrier 1956–1969, pls. 1a and 13.

[139] Literally, he who is in his wrappings (*ἰmy-wt*). For a brief overview on *Imiut*, see DuQuesne, 2012. For a more thorough treatment, refer to Rössler-Köhler 1975.

[140] Further discussion of the scene can be found in Lecau and Chevrier 1956–1969, 61–68 for. Cf. Baines 2021.

[141] A deity associated with an aspect of Horus as "loving son." It serves as the prototype of the eldest son carrying out funerary rituals as a part of his filial duties for the deceased. Te Velde 1978; Rummel 2010.

[142] Thoth.

[143] The pairing of Iunmutef and Thoth is first attested in the 12th dynasty and becomes more common afterwards. Rummel 2010.

physician," signifying the domain of medicine. This last domain therefore seems to be conceived

as distinct from, yet on par with, the other two domains.[144]

Figure 2. Entrance Pillar of White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak
(from Lecau and Chevrier 1956–1969, pl. 13)[145]

The feature most relevant to the point I want to make concerns the orientation of these figures.

Both the king and the three figures face away from the scepter, which means—if we recall that

this is on the entrance pillar— they face away from the interior of the chapel and toward the

outside. This means that the knowledge and the benefits thereof are not being brought in to be

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[144] This does not mean, however, one and the same person cannot become proficient in several different domains. Dating from the similar period (12th Dynasty) is the graiffito at Hantnub left by Heryshefnakht who bears the titles of *wr swnw*, *wꜥb* priest of Sekhmet and *ỉmy-r ḥkꜣw*, "overseer of magicians." Anthes 1928.
[145] A high-resolution photo of the scene can be found in Arnaudies et al. 2015.

offered to the gods, but are issuing forth from the gods to the world, through the king, through

the officials, for the benefit of the humankind.[146] Not least significant is the fact that this

particular chapel is associated with the sed-festival of the king. With the king's rejuvenation,

humankind experiences renewal of the benefits as well.

Related to the foregoing is a passage from *Merikare*, the text that offers a deep reflection

on the meaning of kingship during the time of chaotic circumstances.[147] The passage occurs

toward the end of the text and has been often cited in discussion on the place of magic and

kingship in Egyptian society, which are described as the gods' gifts to mankind:

> For their hearts, he shines; to see them he sails.
> He has raised for Himself a shrine around them,
>   they weep and he is listening.
> He has made for them rulers from birth,
>   commanders to sustain the back of the weak.
> He has made for them magic,
>   as a weapon to resist the events that happen,
>   watching over them, both night and day.
> He has killed the malcontents amongst them,
>   like a man striking his son for the sake of his brother.
> God knows every name.[148]

The section is a continuation of the previous section, which has described the creation of

humankind as the flock of god: mankind is intimately cared for by the creator god and provided

with all the things necessary to flourish in life. If the previous section is focused on the things

belonging to the natural world,[149] the current section is about the installment of "cultural"

institutions. The language is full of affects and portrays these institutions in highly personal and

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[146] Cf. Bardinet 1995, 35–36: "Auprès du roi d'Égypte, donc dans un contexte palatin au sens strict, était rassemblé un cortège de grands médecins dont le rôle était de répandre à travers le pays les bienfaits attendus de l'Art médical. Ils agissaient au nom du roi, délégué des dieuax sur terre et seul garant, selon le dogme, de la santé de ses sujets. Le roi devait assurer à ceux-ci la permanence du souffle de vie, ce bienfait des dieux qui animait les corps. La santé est donc avant tout un don du roi."

[147] *Merikare* E135–137. Parkinson notes (1997, 212) that text portrays the king as a "troubled shepherd struggling to uphold order."

[148] Translation here is based on Parkinson 1997.

[149] I.e., heaven, earth, winds, plants and animals.

relational terms. The shrine is for people to come and weep; hereditary kingship is for protecting

the weak; magic is to carry people through whatever vicissitudes life brings.[150] While no direct

reference to medicine is made, in light of medicine's close relationship with both kingship and

heka, and in conjunction with the kind of portrayal that medicine receives in the relief discussed

above, the passage invites us to reflect on the perception of medicine in classical Egyptian

thought.

    As a part of *pharaonic* institution and practice, therefore, it was probably inevitable that

Egyptian medicine's rise and fall be tied to the rise and fall of pharaonic kingship. The

autobiographical inscription of Udjahorresnet provides an illuminating witness.[151]

Udjahorresnet's career spans over the late 26th Saite dynasty and the first Persian period.[152] The

inscription recounts his deeds under Cambyses and Darius I, which in essence, were to ensure

the continued interaction between humanity and the gods with the foreign rulers in the office.

The greater portion of the inscription is devoted to recounting his career during the reign of

Cambyses. Among the many titles he bears is *wr swnw*, the title conferred to him by

Cambyses.[153] The passage relevant to current discussion comes from the portion where

Udjahorresnet's recounts the restoration of the "House of Life" commissioned by Darius I:

> His Majesty King Darius commanded me to return to Egypt….in order to restore the
> departments of […] the Houses of Life (*pr-ꜥnḫ*) after they had fallen into ruins. I placed

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[150] The relationship between kingship and magic is reinforced by parallelism:
    ỉr.n≠f n≠sn ḥqꜣw [m] st
        tsw r tst m [p]s[d] <n> sꜣ-ꜥ
    ỉr.n≠f n≠sn ḥkꜣw
        r ꜥẖꜣw r ḫsf ꜥ n ḫpryt rswt [ḥr] ≠s grḥ mỉ hrw

[151] Known as the Vatican Naophorous; Vatican Museum cat. 22690. Transcription, translation and commentary of the full text is found in Posener 1936, 1–29. Partial translation and commentary in Gardiner 1938; Further discussion and bibliography of the inscription in Lloyd 1982 and Baines 1996.

[152] The inscription therefore provides important historical source for understanding the dynamics between the Persian rule and the Egyptian traditions. The Greek sources (Herodotus 3:16, 25, 27–38; Diodorus Siculus 1:46; Strabo 17:27; Plutarch, On Isis and Osiris 44c) portray Persian rule in Egypt as oppressive. The Udjahorresnet inscription is one of few sources which suggest that things were not exactly the way the Greek sources portrayed.

[153] Throughout the text, *wr swnw* is the most frequently evoked title, and unlike other titles, the event of being granted of the office of this title is specifically narrated in the biographical section.

them in the charge of every learned man in order to teach them all their crafts. His Majesty commanded that they be given every good thing in order that they might fulfil their assignments. I equipped them with all their ability and all their equipment which was on record, in accordance with their former condition. His Majesty did this precisely because he understood the effectiveness (ꜣḫt) of this art, to revive all those who are under sickness, to commemorate the name(s) of all the gods, their temples, their offerings and the conduct forever.[154]

Typically, the "House of Life" is understood as referring to the temple scriptorium, the institution for scribal learning.[155] In this specific passage, because of Udjahorresnet's title as *wr swnw*, scholars have tended toward interpreting it as an institution specifically related to his office, a medical school of a sort.[156] The wording of the last sentence of the passage merits closer analysis as it features Udjahorresnet's own characterization of the institution:

ỉr.n ḥm≠f nn ḥr rḫ≠f ꜣḫt nw ḥmt tn
    r sꜥnḫ ẖry ẖꜣyt nb
    r smn rn n nṯrw nb r-pr≠sn ḥtp-nṯr≠sn sšm ḥꜣb≠sn ḏt

The function of the of art (*ḥmt tn*) associated with the institution is spelled out in two parallel *r* + s-causative clauses: to attend to the sick; to perpetuate the names and worship of the gods.[157] The parallel relationship between the two clauses reveals that the restoration of *pr-ꜥnḫ* is not exclusively for promoting medicine. In fact, given that the second clause is much longer and has *ḏt* in it, the non-medical function appears to be what Udjahorresnet is more intent on foregrounding. The wording of the main clause in which these two clauses are embedded needs to be considered as well, for it allows us to see the continuity in the entire narrative where the restoration of *pr-ꜥnḫ* is meant to be seen as but one in the series of restoration of other institutions

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[154] Posener 1933, 21–25.
[155] For the *pr-ꜥnḫ*, "house of life," refer to bibliography in Lazaridis 2010, 8–9. Refer also to Monkhouse 2008, 23–57, especially its Table 1, which lists all the known attestations for the *pr-ꜥnḫ*.
[156] For instance, Gardiner (1938, 158) fills in the lacuna (represented by the square brackets in the excerpt) with "the department(s) of the Houses of life dealing with medicine (lit. acting as a physician)." That there survives a famous episode of Darius' dealing with Egyptian physicians in Herodotus has led some scholars to link this passage to the contemporary history.
[157] Cf. Posener's comment *p* in 1936, 24.

that do not have much to do with medicine. If we are to take the nominal *sḏm.n≠f* seriously here, the reason why Darius I made this restoration is precisely because he understood the effectiveness[158] of the art associated with this institution.[159] The wording here contrasts with *ìr.n ḥm≠f nn ḥr rd.n≠ì sìꜣ≠f,* "his majesty did this precisely because I had caused him to perceive…" that constantly punctuates the account of the restorations made under Cambyses.[160] The difference in wording could be explained by several different factors,[161] but the general impression borne here is that unlike Cambyses, who constantly had to be "nagged" to do the right things,[162]Darius was somehow capable of doing the right thing on his own. Despite the contrast, the repetition of *ìr.n ḥm≠f nn ḥr* is enough to impart the sense of continuity over the different episodes in the inscription. Let us reconstruct the story arc. Elsewhere in the same inscription references to a *nšn*, "turmoil" are made.[163] During the time of the turmoil, Udjahorresnet acts virtuously toward his neighbors, typifying the model of an ideal Egyptian.[164] He climbs up the ladder in the new administration and, with great persistence and patience, initiates the ignorant foreign ruler into Egyptian customs and beliefs. At Udjahorresnet's bidding, the cult center of Neith at Sais[165] is restored: the foreigners are driven off from the temple area,

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[158] On the meaning of *ꜣḫ* word(s) throughout the text, see Lloyd 1982, 169 n.10. Lloyd translates this *ꜣḫt* in this line as "usefulness." He translates *ꜣḫw* in other lines as "beneficial powers," deviating from the scholars who had translated the word as "splendor." It is worth noting that the root of *ꜣḫ* has a strong association with magic. Sometimes *ꜣḫw* is more appropriately translated as "magical spells." See Ritner 1993, 30–35.

[159] According to Diodorus Siculus (I, 95.5), Darius I is said to have studied theology with Egyptian priests. Klotz 2015.

[160] In lines 23, 26 and 30, following the line numbers first assigned by Posener.

[161] For instance, it could be a reflection of changes in Persian policy. References in both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus reflect a tradition hostile to the rule of Cambyses II in Egypt.

[162] As such, this serves as a precursor to the relationship between native priests and Ptolemaic kings in later times. Cf. Mendes stele (CGC 22181; Schäfer 2011, 250) reflects efforts made by the native priests to explain *maat* and rituals to Ptolemy II.

[163] Posener (1936, 19 and 169) understands it as referring to a political disorder. Lloyd (1982, 177) specifically understands it as "the Persian invasion as an eruption into Egypt of the chaotic forces which were believed to pose a constant threat to the preservation of the ordered universe, and which it was one of Pharaoh's prime tasks to keep in check."

[164] Cf. the discussions on *mꜣìr* and *qsnt* in Chapter 2.

[165] Cf. the first spell of Ebers above.

the sanctuary is cleansed and re-staffed, and rituals are reinstalled. As Baines notes, the deeds described can be seen as Udjahorresnet embodying the essentially royal role of setting order in place of disorder.[166] Once the temple is restored, then comes the restoration the temple scriptorium, one of whose functions included attending to the sick. The restoration of *pr-ʿnḫ* is meaningful, at least from Udjahorresnet's perspective, not primarily because it allows to attend to the sick, but because it signifies the restoration of the order, one of the consequences of which is restoration of health to the sick.

Dating from the roughly same period as Udjahorresnet is the famed ethnography of Egypt by Herodotus.[167] Herodotus' enthusiasm and high esteem for Egyptian medicine (and for Egyptian culture in general) notwithstanding, he does not seem to grasp wherein the *ꜣḫt,* "effectiveness," of Egyptian medicine lies. His account of Egyptian medicine is that of an essentially "etic" kind.[168] Diodorus Siculus a few centuries later similarly understands Egyptian medicine from the contemporary Greek perspective:

> For the physicians draw their support from public funds and administer their treatments in accordance with a written law which was composed in ancient times by many famous physicians. If they follow the rules of this law as they read them in the sacred book and yet are unable to save their patient, they are absolved and go unpunished; but if they go contrary to the law's prescriptions in any respect, they must submit to a trial with death as the penalty, the lawgiver holding that but few physicians would ever show themselves wiser than the mode of treatment which had been closely followed for a long period and had been originally prescribed by the ablest physicians.[169]

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[166] Baines 1996, 92. In particular, the general thrust is remarkably reminiscent of the restoration stela of Tutankhamun.

[167] See, among others, Lloyd 2002, 413–435.

[168] Herodotus' comments on the Egyptian practice of purgation and the high degree of specialization among Egyptian doctors are found in *Histories* II, 78 and 85. It is interesting that while Herodotus himself does not make explicit connection between Egyptian medical practices with other ritualistic practices, these accounts are nevertheless found near each other. For instance, II, 78 talks about the number and antiquity of written records in Egypt; II, 83-84 talks about calendar and divination, and from II, 86 and onwards on burial practices. Herodotus' etic account of Babylonian medicine is also interesting. *Histories*, I, 197: "Having no use for physicians they [the Babylonians] carry the sick into the marketplace; then those who have been afflicted themselves by the same illness as the sick man's, or seen others in like case, come near and advise him about his disease and comfort him, telling him by what means they have themselves recovered of it or seen others recover." This, in turn, offers an indirect glimpse into the institutional context of Egyptian medicine at the time Herodotus was writing.

[169] Diodorus of Sicily1.82.3 as cited in Ritner 2000, 107.

To be sure, Diodorus is not explicitly criticizing Egyptian medicine,[170] but the passage has nonetheless been cited in the past for decrying the conservative nature of Egyptian medicine compared to more forward-looking and scientific Greek medicine.[171] Setting the issue of historical accuracy of the account aside,[172] it makes one ponder why this particular practice of Egyptian medicine caught Diodorus' attention. He seems to think it odd that punishment for medical "malpractice" is decided based on whether physicians followed the old rules, regardless of the mortality of the patients. That this would appear odd to him, I would like to suggest, could be indicative of the difference between the ways in which the Greeks and Egyptians conceived of their respective medicine.[173] It is possible that for the Greeks, medicine was defined primarily in terms of its instrumental use for saving individual lives.[174] For the Egyptians, however, in light of Egyptian medicine's long history as a pharaonic endeavor for maintaining *maat*, it is possible

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[170] In fact, Bourke (2012, 12) sees this passage as an implicit approval:

> Diodorus displays a certain degree of objectivity in his presentation of Egyptian medicine, describing the organisation of this medicine rather than judging it. However, we note an implicit approval of this public and traditional medicine. The remuneration of doctors from public funds serves the interest of the patient, since he is treated for free when he is away from home. The need to respect the written tradition when applying treatment is justified by the wisdom of the lawmaker, who balances the result of a long tradition established by the best doctors and the unpredictable individual competence of each doctor.

Aristotle in the fourth century also mentions the Egyptian doctors' obligation to conform to the law: "In Egypt, doctors have the right to alter their prescription only after four days; and if one of them alters it earlier, he does so at his own risk." Aristotle, *Politics* 3.15, 1286a 12–14 as cited in Bourke 2012, 12.

[171] For instance, Von Staden (1989, 4) explains the reasons for such conservatism:

> The amalgam of magic, law, and empiricism that characterizes the medicine of the Pharaohs might partially account for the extraordinary stability and inertia of Egyptian medicine… as late as the second century A.D., Egyptian pharmacology is still associated with magic spells and incantations, which indeed are richly represented in Pharaonic medical papyri. When medical theories and practices are supported and sanctioned by ritual, by belief in magic, and by priesthood, they can become relatively immune to the revisionary processes that tend to be associated with scientific growth. When, in addition, medical practices are frozen and protected through codification and punitive legal sanctions, as they were in Egypt (e.g., by means of death penalty for physicians who violated codified therapeutic prescriptions, according to Diodorus), the odds against significant change rise considerably.

A thorough critique of von Staden's view is provided by Ritner 1989.

[172] For reliability of Diodorus' accounts of Egypt, see Africa 1963, 254–258.

[173] Of course, there were different schools of medicine among the Greeks, each with its own principles and methodologies. By "Greek conception of medicine," I therefore do not want to imply that there was only one kind of medicine among the Greeks nor every Greek thought about medicine the same way.

[174] In addition to highly effective empiricism, figures like Plato stressed the need for medicine to be supplemented by a a logical method grounded on "true reason." See Nutton 2004, 57.

that even down to the Ptolemaic period, the physicians viewed their task of attending to the sick

individuals as a part of pursuing the collective, or cosmological good, *maat*. By and large, the

vitality and efficacy of Egyptian medicine was powerfully and intimately linked to the past.

3.3.3 Medicine, *Maat* and Pain

In the two preceding sections, I have tried to show how Egyptian medicine, having been

institutionalized by the central kingship from early on, did not operate as an independent body of

knowledge and practice, but in tandem with other bodies of knowledge and practices—be it

ancestral worship, religious festivals, mortuary rituals, etc.—that were considered integral for the

pharaoh's maintenance of order in the world. It then seems reasonable that, in order to arrive at a

cohesive understanding of the Egyptian conceptualizations of pain as articulated in the first part

of the current chapter (3.2), we keep Egyptian medicine's orientation towards the pharaoh and

maat at the forefront. In this section, I would like to provide a brief account of how this distinct

orientation of Egyptiann medicine towards *maat* and the kingship is intimately related to the

Egyptian cosmology, and delineate the role of the physician as an enactor of *maat*.

It should be born in mind that *maat* signifies the pattern for the orderly working in *all*

aspects of existence (cosmological, ecological, moral, political, etc).[175] It is significant that

Egyptians did not think the world to have always existed, or as something that came about on its

own. In Egyptian thought, the world came about from a deliberate act of an agent: creation by

the god(s).[176] In the Egyptian creation account, *maat* refers to "the pattern of existence that was

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[175] See n.136 above.

[176] The Egyptian account(s) of creation is diverse and complex. Refer to, inter alia, to Allen 1988 for further. Broadly speaking, three strands of accounts can be identified, based on the place of origin. The first, most widely known is the Heliopolitan account that describes the process of creation in terms of the "genealogical relationships" among the Enneads. Here, it is Atum, often syncretized with Re in both the PT and CT, that serves as the principal creator. The second account is referred to as the Memphite Theology, because in this account, it is the Memphite god Ptah that serves as the creator god. According to this account, Ptah creates the world via speech, and for this reason, it has been frequently compared to the biblical account of creation (as outlined in the book of Genesis and

both established and first enacted" in the beginning (*sp tpy*).[177] Regularity can be observed in the ways in which sun rises and sets, the Nile floods and recedes or the seeds sprout and grow, because they are imprinted with *maat*.[178] Since it was based on this regularity as an expression of *maat* that allowed the Egyptians to make calculations and predictions, we could say that *maat* was what made "natural science" possible in ancient Egypt.[179] In light of the fact that Egyptian medicine works within (or according to) *maat*, and that *maat* includes the knowledge of nature, it should not be surprising if Egyptian medicine's approach to pain includes the knowledge of nature as well as a form of inductive reasoning based on empirical knowledge. From individual to individual, certain regularity (physiology and anatomy) would have been observed. Against this regularity, it was possible for irregularity to be studied, and this is what the physicians seem to be doing during the examination when they take note of patient's symptoms.

Now, although *maat* includes the knowledge of nature, it is not fully contained/limited by it. From this follows, Egyptian medicine is not limited by the knowledge of nature either. In Egyptian account, *maat* is something that has to be constantly enacted. Although religion, magic, rituals, etc., are often conceived of as the domains of knowledge and practice that oppose natural knowledge in modern thought, in Egyptian view, they are vital to humanity's proper and effective engagement with natural knowledge as they provide the means to enact *maat*. On this

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the Gospel of John). Finally, the third, Theban account features Amun ("he who is hidden") as the principal deity responsible for creation. According to Allen (1988, 60–61), the Theban account seves as

> an answer to the question of ultimate causality…Amun is the Egyptian conceptualization of the First Principle, the ultimate cause of creation…the Egyptian concept of Amun is that of a transcendental creator: the ultimate cause who existed before, and independent of, his creation.

It should be noted that in Egyptian thought, these accounts are not mutually exclusive of one another, but complementary.

[177] Allen 1988, 57.

[178] The regularity could of course be disturbed from time to time, but occasional disturbances do not mean that the order does not exist. In fact, one cannot even conceive of the thought that something is disturbed or irregular, unless one first has an idea of what it is like for things to be not disturbed or regular.

[179] Here, by "natural" or "nature," I simply mean that which is subject to empirical observation and verification.

note, it is noteworthy that the Egyptian creation account accords central significance to *heka*, the

force or power by which the creator god "animates, compels and protects" the creation.[180] In

Egyptian view, the body suffering from pain and illness, as an instance of a rupture in *maat*, very

much calls for *heka* by a capable and legitimate agent.

The agentive role of the physician who enacts the drama of treating pain was already

mentioned in 3.2.4 above. It has been also mentioned that the phraoh serves as the principal

enactor of *maat* in 3.3.2. The pharaoh's role as enactor of *maat* took on dramatized forms of

display imitating after the gods, especially Horus's contending against Seth. Owing to this

connection, Bardinet proposes to interpret the myth of Horus and Seth as an "explanatory

schema" for the physicians' engagement with the patient's pain and illness:

> Nous avons proposé de retrouver dans le mythe transmis par le papyrus Chester Beatty l, un schéma explicatif pouvant rendre compte du rôle du pharaon, chargé, tel Horus combattant Seth et la maladie, de rétablir l'ordre, et assisté pour cela du «Grand des médecins», chargé quant à lui de définir les moyens pratiques de la lutte, et représenté par Thot, le dieu technicien. C'est au même Horus qu'est assimilé le médecin de tous les jours… De même que dans le culte, le dogme veut que ce soit le roi qui traite avec la divinité (le prêtre joue le rôle du roi dans tous les temples égyptiens), dans l'activité médicale, c'est toujours le roi qui combat les forces dangereuses. Cet aspect ritualisé de l'activité médicale ne laisse aucune place à un auteur indépendant.[181]

According to Bardinet's account, as treating pain involves dealing with dangerous forces, the

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[180] Ritner 2005. See also Ritner 1993, 17–18 and 23, especially n.23 where he says "…magic in Egypt is viewed as a force (like "life" or "strength") which is consumed and permeates the body but never as a tangible, material substance." I wonder if the notion of *heka* as understood by Ritner has some overlap with the notion of *qi* (which is often rendered into English as "energy" or "vital force"; it is a central principle that underlies the eastern Asian medicine as well as martial arts) in eastern Asian thought and practices. In any case, it maybe helpful to think of *heka* as a sort of battery and relationship between *heka* and *maat* using the following analogy. A watch with a fully charged battery works in the way it is supposed to, as an accurate indicator of time (i.e., according to *maat*). Eventually, when the battry runs out, the watch stops working properly (i.e., rupture in *maat*); in order to make the watch work properly again, the battery has to be recharged. As the watch does not charge itself, an external agent equipped with the proper knowledge and power needs to step in to charge the battery (i.e., restoration of *maat*). Cf. Te Velde 1970, 84–85, where the relationship between *maat* and *heka* is also discussed.

[181] Bardinet 1995, 44. Cf. ibid., 37: "Il s'agit d'un mythe de civilisation. Il permet d'expliquer comment, depuis la cour du pharaon, celui-ci représentant Horus, et sous sa direction, un groupe particulier de médecins lettrés pouvait être chargé de définir les moyens techniques du combat contre les maladies, de façon à faire connaître ceux-ci dans tout le pays."

physician has to to rely on, not just bureaucratically, but also symbolically and substantively on the pharaoh, who, in Egyptian account, is the archetypal enactor of *maat.* Put differently, physician themselves are not themselves independent agents of healing; it is only the king who serves as the "true" agent.[182]

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter considered pain in the context of ancient Egyptian medicine. Overall, pain is understood in reference to a disruptive processes/state or elements involved therein instead of in terms of painful sensation. The first part of this chapter examined pain in magico-medical texts. At different stages of the medical encounter, different kind of attitudes towards pain by the physicians and healers could be observed based on types of language used. The language in medical examination and diagnosis is non-exclamatory and descriptive, largely drawn from daily life and natural phenomena. In this stage, pain figures as an object of empirical observation and explanatory generalization. The language employed in treatment is reminiscent of that employed in the political and religious spheres. Here, pain figures as an object of negotiation and manipulation.

That the Egyptians would view pain as a physiological process (object of science) and a force to be contended with (object of ritual/magic) does not readily make sense from the modern perspective. In the second part of the chapter, I delineated the institutional and cultural matrices

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[182] To be sure, Bardinet qualifies the statement by adding:
"Bien entendu, cet aspect théorique ne doit pas masquer la réalité. Si les médecins comme auteurs ne pouvaient apparaître, les différents traités des papyrus médicaux ont bien été rédigés par des médecins et probablement de grand renom à leur époque. Au cours des temps, on a reproduit leurs écrits dans les recueils de remèdes et leur savoir médical ne fut jamais oublié. Enfin, le retrait des principaux acteurs de la vie sociale égyptienne, et à tous les niveaux, est une constante retrouvée par ailleurs."
But the at the end, he also adds :"Il semble toutefois que l'activité médicale, puisqu'elle s'occupe très directement de la survie des êtres humains, eut une importance particulière et que l'intérêt que lui portait le roi n'était pas uniquement formel." Bardinet 1995, 44.

in which Egyptian medicine is embedded so as to show that the Egyptian medical discourse and

practice regarding pain are actually highly coherent. In light of Egyptian medicine's distinct

orientation towards the pharaoh and maat, I suggested that Egyptian medical understanding of

pain could be viewed in terms of a rupture of maat (or resulting from a rupture in maat) and

Egyptian practice of treating pain in terms of doing *maat*. While it is difficult to find a

conclusive systematic formulation that spells out the relationship among all the elements that

underlie the Egyptian medicine, it is still possible to see that Egyptian medicine had an

epistemological and institutional underpinning that is quite distinct from the way medicine is

commonly conceived of today.

CHAPTER 4

Pain in Egyptian Literary Narratives

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the relationship between narrative and pain in Egyptian thought by turning to the selection of Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian literary narratives.[1] The perspective taken for this chapter is, as befitting of the narrative genre, narratological, and I start my analysis by examining the ways in which pain as an event is integrated to the plot.[2] Studying pain at many removes can make one prone to reify pain and treat it as an abstract concept. Considered pain as a part of a plot, however, pain can be approached more concretely, as the purpose/function of literary narrative is to simulate an event in such a way that the audience can experience it. My goal in this chapter is precisely to bring to the fore the experientiality of pain.

The relevant concept in my critical readings of the narratives in this chapter is Mikhail Bakhtin's chronotope. Literally meaning "time-space," it refers to "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature."[3] The chronotope materializes otherwise intangible and abstract categories, temporal and spatial, by means of linguistic representation, thus conjuring an image that can be observed in the mind's eye.[4] We

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[1] For the distinction between literary and non-literary, Quirke 1996; Jay 2008, 2–7.

[2] For the definition of narrative, I here adopt the one by Genette, "the representation of an event or a series of events," because this definition, however minimalistic, brings out the core distinction between story (event) and discourse (representation). Explicitly positing discourse as a separate category allows to tease out various elements that mediate the presentation and perception of the story (temporality, mood, etc.), which facilitate formal analysis of narratives. For an overview of the other definitions with bibliography, see Ryan 2007, 22–35. Simply put, the story is what is told (*histoire*), and the discourse is how the story is told (*récit*). The distinction was first forth by the French narratologist Todorov 1980 [1966] and and was later widely adopted by others, such as Chatman (1978) and Genette (1980). The story-discourse distinction grew out of the structuralist tradition but closely related to the Russian Formalist tradition as well. Cf. Shklovsky's *fabula* and *sjuzhet*. See Pier 2003, 73–97 for an overview. Note that the Aristotelian distinction (as adopted and explicated by Forster 1927) between story and plot (*muthos*) only partially overlaps with the structuralist distinction. For an overview of the dichronic affinities among the ancient and modern theories of narratives, Liveley 2019.

[3] Bakhtin 1981, 84.

[4] Bakhtin 1981, 250: "The chronotope makes narrative events concrete, makes them take on flesh, causes blood to flow in their veins. An event can be communicated, it becomes information."

tend to think of the world represented in the story as quite independent of the world inhabited by the audience: this is the function of fictionality, after all; the fictional world is not as real as the world I live in. Bakhtin's notion of chronotope, however, challenges the distinction between the worlds inside the text and the world outside the text. For Bakhtin, the chronotopes are interpermeable, and he attributes this interpermeablity to the faculty of creative human agency:

> [t]he work and the world represented in it enter the real world and enrich it, and the real world enters the work and its world as part of the process of its creation, as well as part of its subsequent life, in a continual renewing of the work through the *creative perception of listeners and readers*. Of course, this process of exchange is itself chronotopic. [5]

In our discussion of *Isis and Re* in the previous chapter, we saw how the narrative mediates the way between the mythical world and the patient's world, so that they would even appear to converge. The convergence depends on establishing some kind of sameness (analogous relationship). I suggested that it is like the patient being transported into the world of the myth, and Re's pain and the patient's pain serve as the point of contact that facilitates this movement. In the literary narratives, too, pain serves as the point of contact between the story world and the reader's world. The difference, however, is the directionality. Unlike in healing incantations— where the patient is already in pain, and the story of the pained deity is conjured up to "match" the pain of the patient—in literary narratives, the audience has to come to match the character's pain.[6] Various literary devices—different forms of parallelism and repetition, framing devices, and patterns of indexicals—are employed to facilitate such transportation/chronotopic exchange and my analysis in this chapter shall focus on the interplay of these devices. After I present my textual analysis, I will return at the end of the chapter to present some implications of the patterns emerging from the representation of pain in the Egyptian literary narratives.

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[5] Bakthin1981, 254. Emphasis mine.
[6] The phenomenon is also known as narrative empathy. On narrative empathy, see Keen 2006, 207–236; Hammond and Kim 2014, 1–18.

4.2 Pain in Middle Egyptian Literary Narrative Texts

Three Middle Kingdom literary narratives—*The Eloquent Peasant*, *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, and *Sinuhe*—are among the best known and most studied texts.[7] They have a roughly similar plot structure in which the protagonist leaves home and faces an obstacle that causes pain in one way or another. But the painful experiences also serve as opportunities to explore new roles, such that at the end of the narrative the protagonist returns home, having undergone some (presumably positive) changes. Though sharing in this rather simple and straightforward plot structure, they differ from one another in terms of narrative strategies they employ,[8] which affect the way pain is fleshed out in each text.

4.2.1 The Eloquent Peasant

The story of the *Eloquent Peasant* is set in the Herakleopolitan period, but the text is generally accepted to have been composed in the early to mid-12th dynasty. The fact that this classic of Middle Egyptian literature survives in multiple manuscripts, which is rare for Egyptian literary materials, suggests that the text must have enjoyed a great popularity and was extensively circulated.[9]

The *Eloquent Peasant* shares many features with the so-called literary laments.[10] What distinguishes the *Peasant* from the other laments is the frame story within which the main

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[7] On Middle Egyptian narratives, refer to, among others: for a diachronic account of the development of Egyptian literature in relation to literacy, Baines 1983, 572–599 and Baines 1999, 17–41. On different types of Middle Kingdom literary genres, Parkinson 1996, 297–312. For a socio-historical account of Middle Kingdom literature with the special emphasis on the performative context, see Parkinson 1999, 63–82. Parkinson's 2002 volume provides a comprehensive survey of the theoretical issues. For the history of specifically the Egyptian narrative literature, Jay 2016, 19ff.

[8] Comprehensive study of the grammatical forms and narrative frames of these three texts are found in Jay 2008. My analysis is builds upon that work.

[9] Parkinson 2012, 1.

[10] For this reason, sometimes the *Eloquent Peasant* is grouped together with other laments under the category of Wisdom literature. Since the laments be dealt in the next chapter, in this chapter, I will mainly focus on the narrative features of the text.

speaker's speeches are embedded. The frame story of the *Peasant* presents the journey and

travail of the main speaker in a straightforward and sequential fashion, using a simple,

impersonal language. To briefly summarize the main plot: a peasant is robbed by a provincial

officer on the way to the capital of Egypt and tries to seek justice by petitioning the higher

official with his eloquent speeches. His case is deliberately left unanswered, however, because

the impressed pharaoh and high official want to hear more of the peasant's eloquent words. A

total of nine petitions ensue, which make up the bulk of the text. Unlike the simple narrative

hitherto, the embedded petitions employ a higher stylistic register characterized by specialized

vocabulary and rhetorical devices and expound on a single theme—the nature of *maat*—in an

episodic and cyclical manner. Also, being a mixture of accusations, charges, laments, demands,

and reflections,[11] they are charged with "the urgent pragmatic passion," which prevents the text

from "being a listing of rhetorical tropes but instead provides a passionate meditation on

appearance and reality." [12] If the frame story narrates the peasant's pain, the embedded petitions

enact the peasant's pain. At the end of the ninth petition, the frame story returns, where the

peasant's case is finally heard and answered.

The juxtaposition of the simple frame narrative and the high rhetoric of the embedded

petitions imparts a distinct flavor to the stylistics of the text as a whole; it also adds depth to the

experience of the peasant's pain.[13] Let me elaborate. Pain occurs toward the end of the first

bookend of the frame story. According to Parkinson, the transition from the frame story to the

petitions "is carefully staged in the gradually evolving dialogue between the peasant and the

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[11] Blumenthal 2004, 2–7.
[12] Parkinson 2012, 8
[13] The juxtaposition of the two gives the text a remarkably similar feel to the Hebrew Book of Job.

villain."[14] What disrupts this otherwise smoothly staged transition is the swift sequencing and

phrasing of the events directly leading to the peasant's pain:

> **Peasant B1 53–56; R 11.2–11.5**
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n ṯ.n⸗f n⸗f iꜣꜣt nt isr wꜣḏ r⸗f*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n ꜣg.n⸗f ꜥt⸗f nb im⸗s*
>   *nḥm ꜣw⸗f sꜥq r spꜣt⸗f*
> *wn.in sḫty pn ḥr rmyt ꜣw wrt n mr n iryt r⸗f*
>
> Then he (Nemtinakht) took for himself/on his own behalf a branch of green tamarisk
> against him. Then he pummeled his (the peasant's) every limb with it,
> his donkeys having been seized and taken into his (Nemtinakht's) estate. So, this peasant
> wept[15] very greatly, because of the pain of what was done to him.

Note the first two main clauses with the *ꜥḥꜥ.n + sḏm.n⸗f* construction. The use of *ꜥḥꜥ.n + sḏm.n⸗f* in

Middle Egyptian narratives functions to set the plot in motion.[16] In the *Peasant*, the relative

scarcity of this construction makes this usage stand out and signals the particular relevance for

the development of the plot.[17] That the construction is used twice in a row without anything

intervening between them (like a parallel circumstantial *sḏm.n⸗f*) creates a swift tempo, which

contrasts with the relatively slower tempo hitherto. It also serves to separate the two actions

(taking the tamarisk branch *and* pummeling the peasant with it) instead of characterizing the

second action as a direct result of the first. The action expressed in the second *ꜥḥꜥ.n* clause

(pummeling) is instead linked with the action expressed in the following parallel circumstantial

clause (seizing of the donkey).[18] As Collier notes, "the separation of the two components of the

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[14] Parkinson 2012, 4. Cf. Ibid., at 44, where he says the dialogue between the peasant and Nemtinakht preceding the beating scene "prepares the audience for the subsequent discourses." Note, Parkinson's use of "narrative" and "discourse" is different from Genette' usage mentioned in n. 2. By "narrative," Parkinson means the frame story and by "discourse," the petitions.

[15] Parkinson (2012, 54) notes that weeping is the usual fate of a spurned petitioner, citing an example from Neferkare and Sasenet. A petitioner (*sprw*) from Memphis goes to court to present his complaint but is unable to do so because of loud music. As a result, he leaves *ḥr rmyt r ꜣ wrt*, "weeping very loudly." x+2, x+14. The transcription and translation of this text is found in Posener 1957, 125-131.

[16] Jay 2008, 30-31.

[17] Ibid., 32.

[18] Technically, *nḥm ꜣw⸗f sꜥq r spꜣt⸗f* can be taken as two parallel circumstantial clauses (*nḥm ꜣw⸗f* and *sꜥq r spꜣt⸗f*). Here, I am considering them as one, because *sꜥq r spꜣt⸗f* is not directly parallel to the previous *ꜥḥꜥ.n* clause, but only indirectly by virtue of being parallel to (or the result of) *nḥm ꜣw⸗f*. Also, unlike *nḥm ꜣw⸗f*, which is passive but still

beating gives dramatic effect and constitutes the highlight of this section of the text with the seizure of the donkeys treated as a further element of the punishment."[19]

The *wn.ìn* clause that follows tells of the peasant's pain and weeping. Unlike the *ꜥḥꜤ.n* construction, which is marked for narrativity, the construction used here—the *sḏm.ìn≠f* construction—expresses past-tense action in a more neutral way.[20] The phrase *n mr n ìryt r≠f,* "because of the pain of what was done to him," is significant. This prepositional phrase here relates back to the events just narrated (the perfective passive participle sums up the beating and the confiscation of the donkey), and with *n*, creates a causal link between those events and the peasant's behavior (i.e., it answers the question: why did the peasant cry greatly?). More significantly, the clause as a whole anticipates and stages the rest of the texts.

The use of the word *mr* here is worth further consideration. Prakash mentions this particular passage and argues that the word *mr* encompasses both physical pain and emotional suffering.[21] While this may be correct, I suggest that what is more fundamental to the peasant's pain here is the experience of evil and injustice, which cannot be reduced to either the physical or the emotional level. Moreover, it is not only the peasant—the character of the story—who is subject to the experience of evil, but the audience is also subject to the experience of evil. Although the audience does not immediately share in the physical or emotional aspect of the peasant's pain, owing to the privileged vantage point available to the them (unlike the peasant for whom the beating and the seizing of his donkeys happened out of nowhere, the audience "saw it coming" as they have been following the development of the plot; they are also informed by their

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conveys an action, *sꜤq r spꜣt≠f* does not convey an action but a state resulting from the action from the previous clause. So together, it counts as one action.

[19] Collier 1996, 535.

[20] Jay 2008, 35.

[21] Prakash 2020, 109: "Because he has just been beaten, on one level, the *mr* of the peasant certainly seems to include his physical pain from his injuries. But he was also deceived, and his donkeys were stolen. Thus, his pain may be more than simply physical. It could also encompass a degree of emotional anguish and distress."

own experiences in the real world where the similar kind of injustice is not uncommon), they can

still "participate" in the peasant's pain.

In order to demonstrate the foregoing point, it is necessary to look more closely to the

development of the plot and see what kind of information has been made available to the

audience at this point in the story. Approximately halfway between the beginning of the frame

story and the scene of the peasant's beating, Nemtinakht is introduced. Until this point, the story

has been detailing the peasant's trip from Wadi Natrun to Herakleopolis. The introduction is

brief, simply identifying his name, his father's name, and his boss's name. Without further ado,

the story continues:

> **Peasant B1 20–24; Bt 22–27; R 6.7–7.3**
> *ḏd.in nmti.nḫt pn m³³≠f ꜥw n sḫtỉ pn ꜥbyw ḥr ỉb≠f*
> *ḏd≠f ḫ³ n≠ỉ šsp nb mnḫ ꜥw³≠ỉ ḥnw n sḫtỉ pn ỉm≠f*
>
> And this Nemtinakht said when he saw the donkeys of this peasant that are pleasant to his heart, saying "would that I had any effective image/amulet so that I may steal the belongings of the peasant with it!"

These brief lines suffice to portray Nemtinakht as evil, laying bare his motivation,[22] which lies at

the nexus of cognition and emotion: first he sees the donkeys; he finds them desirable[23]; he gives

his passion a more intentional form by contemplating the means to fulfil his desire.[24] In the

ensuing narrative, Nemtinakht puts into public action what is in his heart.[25] He traps the innocent

peasant on *w³t nt rmṯ nbt*, "a public road (lit. "the road of every man")."[26] Insofar as the legal

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[22] Several Middle Egyptian texts elaborate on the theme of unknowability of what is in the heart. See Parkinson 2012, 229 for the list of examples and discussion. It is through the literary artifice of juxtaposition of a narrative statement and an inner speech that the audience is able to know what is in Nemtinakht's heart.

[23] The word *ꜥbyw*, a stative form used as the predicate of the virtual relative clause modifying the peasant's donkeys; is not well attested and its meaning is a little ambiguous. Traditionally translated as "pleasant" and "desirable" but it can also mean "selfish," which suggests that the usage here may have a negative connotation.

[24] The heart as the potential source of evil recurs throughout the poem. Parkinson 2012, 40.

[25] Cf. *Man and Ba* 105–106: *ꜥwn ỉbws nb ḥr ỉṯỉ.t ḫwt sn-nw≠f,* "hearts are greedy; everyone seizing his fellow's things."

[26] According to Parkinson (2012, 44), the reference here suggests that the peasant is an everyman and is a first indication of empathy between him and the audience. In order not to step on the sheet, the peasant

technicality is concerned, Nemtinakht's act is warranted,[27] but given his evil intention, his action is unambiguously evil. The dialogue exchanged between the two further reveals the viciousness of Nemtinakht (B1 32-52). Parkinson notes that the mood in this exchange, while amusing, "trembles on the brink not only of seriousness but of great sorrow."[28] On one hand, it is amusing because it is at this point that the peasant starts displaying his skillfulness in fine rhetoric, utterly inconceivable in Egyptian society at this time. On the other hand, it is serious and sorrowful because the injustice suffered by the weak and the innocent is indicative of a world out of balance. By the time the peasant is beaten, robbed, and weeping from great pain, the audience, too, has become a witness to the evil.

Taken against the text as a whole, the passage where the peasant's pain is mentioned occurs towards the very beginning. But in terms of the plot of the frame story, it is already at the climax, and everything from here on is ordered toward the resolution. The driving force of this resolution is *mdt nfrt*, "the good/beautiful speech."[29] The importance of fine rhetorical skills in overcoming pain is hinted at in the dialogue immediately following the peasant's beating and weeping:

> **Peasant B1 57–61; R 11.6–12.3**
> *ḏd.ìn nmtì-nḫt pn*
> *m qꜣ ḫrw≠k sḫty mk.tw r dmì n nb sgr*
> *ḏd.ìn sḫty pn*
> *ḥw≠k wì ꜥwꜣ≠k ḥnw≠ì nḥm≠k rf nḫwt m rꜣ≠ì*
> *nb sgr dì≠k rk n≠ì ḫt≠ì ìḫ tm≠ì sbḥ nr≠k*

---

[27] The path the peasant and his donkeys are passing by is very narrow. B1 25-27: *ḫns pw n wsḫ ìs pw qn.n≠f r sḫw n dꜣìw ìw wꜣt≠f wꜥt ḥr mw kty≠f wꜣt ḥr šmꜥ*, "it was a narrow one, it was not a broad one. Only to the width of a skirt, did it extend. Its one path was under water, while its other path was under barley." Nemtinakht has his servant fetch a sheet from his house and spreads it over the path. In order not to step on the sheet, the peasant walks his donkeys close to barley field, and as a result, *ꜥḥꜥ.n mḥ.n wꜥ m nꜣn ꜣw rꜣ≠f m bꜣt nt šmꜥ*, "one the donkeys filled his mouth with a clump of barley." B1 40-41. Nemtinakht seizes the donkey as the price for the barley.

[28] Parkinson 2009, 55.

[29] Cf. Parkinson 2012, 8. According to Uljas (2013, 2), *mdt nfrt* refers to any skillful use of language in general, perhaps having the connotation of "acculturated" communication. Its negative counterpart is *mdt bìnt* "bad/evil speech" or *mdt ḫst* "wretched speech."

So, Nemtinakht said, "Don't raise your voice, peasant. Look, you are (going) to the harbor of the Lord of Silence." So, the peasant said, "Will you beat me, will you rob my property, will you even seize the complaint from my mouth? O Lord of Silence, may you give me back my things, then I will not cry and alarm you."

To the weeping peasant, Nemtinakht responds with a threat of death,[30] but the peasant retorts ironically.[31] The verb form of *nḥm* is a subjunctive or an emphatic nominal, posing a rhetorical question. Unlike the beating and seizing of the donkeys, which has been done to him against his will, he cannot or will not be deprived of his speech. The Lord of Silence whom Nemtinakht evokes to allude to death, is used by the peasant to address Nemtinakht and to express his determination not to budge (i.e., the only circumstance in which I will be silent is when I get my things back). Since Nemtinakht does not return the peasant his goods, the peasant does not remain silent, and goes on to make his petitions.

Since the rhetoric of the laments with which the embedded petitions share many features, will be considered in the next chapter, here I will only briefly look at them, mainly in terms of the effect created by juxtaposition with the frame narrative. Before each petition, a narrative statement is inserted to indicate the following is an nth petition by the peasant. If the frame story narrates the peasant's pain in an objective way, the embedded petitions enact it in a personal manner. We saw a similar kind of juxtaposition in *Isis and Re* in the previous chapter. From the bottom of his heart, the peasant cries out that he is suffering and is in need of help:

Peasant B1 100–102; R 16.5–16.8 (at the end of the first petition)
dr sꜣir mk wi ꜣtp.kwi
ip wi mk wi m nhw[32]

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[30] On the frequent association of silence and death, see Assmann 1984, 199 n. 38; Brunner-Traut 1984, 759. On the different connotations of silence employed in this line, Parkinson 2012, 55–56. Parkinson notes that the sense of irony is added here because this last thing is something that cannot be taken away.

[31] This line is loosely cited centuries later in the *Letter of Menna* (oChicago OIC 12074 + oIFAO Inv. 2188, vso. 6–7; Foster 1984): *tw≠k m tꜣ smwyt n pꜣ nty ḥr ḏd/ ḥdb≠k <wi> iṯi ꜥ{t}≠i/ nḥm imw m r'≠i*, "you are in the situation of the man who says "you kill <me>, my donkeys being taken away, and lament being robbed from my mouth.'" Gardiner 1923, 25.

[32] R has *ꜣhw* instead of *nhw*.

Repel need, look I am burdened.
Take account of me. Look, I am in loss.

Peasant B1 167–170; R. 26.3–26.8[33] (at the end of the second petition)
dr sꜣir-n-mw nb mk wi ḫr mtnw iw
min mḥ nb šd bgꜣw ḫdr.kwi m hꜣw ir-ḏr≠k

He who repels the need[34] of all on water, look I am under the way of boatlessness.
Anchor of all who drown, rescue the shipwrecked, for I am anguished at your very side!

Even in these brief lines, instances of the poetic ingenuity—which exemplifies the said *mdt nfrt* of the peasant—abound. As can be seen, repetition and parallelism operate not only between proximate lines, but over larger chunks. B1 100-102 at the end of the first petition is paralleled by B1 167-170 at the end of the second petition. For instance, though *dr sꜣir* is repeated, in the first instance it is used as an imperative; in the latter, it is used as a part of an epithet with the following genitive phrase: *sꜣir-n-mw*. Or, consider *ꜣtp.kwi* and *ḫr mtnw iw*. These do not seem to be directly parallel to one another at first besides carrying the general meaning of hardship and helplessness. Visually, however, the determinative of *ꜣtp* shows a man *under* a load or *bearing* a load; *ḫr* as a preposition means *under* but is often used to mean carrying or possessing. The association of the two words is frequently employed in royal inscriptions when describing foreigners bringing tributes to Egypt.[35] The more immediately relevant example is found in *Man and his Ba*: *iw≠i ꜣtp.kwi ḫr mꜣir n-gꜣw ꜥq-ib*, "I am burdened under the need for want of an intimate friend (lit. "he who enters the heart")."[36] Together with the repetition of the narrative statements, poetic parallelism like this establishes an additional link between the petitions,

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[33] In R, the parallel is more obvious: *dr sꜣir [≈i] mk wi ꜣtp.kwi [(m?)] iꜥnw mk wi m ꜥk ip≠k wi mk wi m ꜣhw šd bgw šd [wi] m hꜣw ḏ[r]≈k*, "Drive off [my] need, look I am burdened [with] woe. Look, I am in your hand, that you may judge me. Look, I am in suffering, recuscer of the weary, rescue [me] in the vicinity of your side. Parkinson 2012, 144.
[34] Cf. *mꜣir* in Chapter 2.
[35] E.g., Karnak inscription of Seti I: *ḫr ḫt≈sn nb [ꜣtp] ḫr psḏ≈sn,* "bearing all their goods, loaded on their backs." OIP 107, Pl. 32, 15–16.
[36] *Man and Ba* 127-128.

imparting unity and coherence to the text as a whole. As a result, the pain and suffering of the peasant is reinforced and intensified.

As the petitions progress, the themes grow increasingly broader and deeper. From one particular incidence of suffering that befell the peasant, a universal implication is drawn. It becomes clearer that this is not just about the peasant's pain—physical and/or emotional—alone. The peasant's speech ultimately targets at the fundamental cause of his pain: disruption of *maat* brought about by the abuse of power by those in authority. In addition to giving a vivid and poignant description of the reality of disruption of *maat*, the peasant uses his speech to pour out his heart:

> **Peasant B1 306–309; B2 32–36**
> *ìw grt ḫt≠ì mḥ.t(ì) ìb≠ì ꜣtp(.w)*
> *pr ìs m ḫt≠ì n ʿ ìry*
> *ngt pw m dnìt mw≠s ꜣsw*
> *wn rꜣ≠ì r mdt*
>
> Now my belly is full, and my heart is laden,
> coming out of my belly due to its state,
> it is the breach of a dam, whose waters have flown out,
> when my mouth opens to speak.

In addition, through speech, the peasant intends to move Rensi, the direct recipient of the petitions, to action:

> **Peasant B1 347–353; B2 81–87**
> *n sf.n≠k n mn.n≠k n sksk.n≠k*
> *n rdì.n≠k n≠ì dbꜣw n mdt tn nfrt prrt m rꜣ n rʿ ḏs≠f*
> *ḏd mꜣʿt ìr mꜣʿt ḏr-ntt wr sy ꜣ sy wꜣḥ sy*
> *gmw.tw kft≠s sbw≠s r ìmꜣḫ*
>
> You do not pity, nor suffer, nor yet destroy.
> You do not repay me for this perfect speech which comes from the mouth of Re himself.
> So speak *maat*, do *maat* for it is mighty, great, enduring.
> As its revelation is found good, it attains the blessedness.

Notice how the peasant's speech is likened to the word of god (*mdt tn nfrt prrt m rꜣ n rʿ ḏs≠f*). The

peasant makes it clear that he is more than complaining about of his individual pain: he is

speaking *maat* by presenting his case as empirical evidence, so to speak, for the threat that

Egyptian society is under when those who are supposed to uphold *maat* fail to do so. Elsewhere,

the expected Egyptian norm is that one remains calm, "free of heat"[37]; being agitated by

someone else's words is seen as a vice. But here, failure to heed and act upon the peasant's

speech would be equivalent to another failure to uphold *maat*.[38] Rensi, if he is intent on

upholding *maat* at all, *must* respond.

At the end of the ninth petition, the text returns to its frame narrative. Rensi finally takes

action, passing the peasant's petitions on to the pharaoh. The pharaoh is deeply moved by the

peasant's words. It is said of the peasant's words: *wn.ìn nfr st [ḥr ìb≠f] r ḫt nbt ntt m tꜣ pn r ḏr≠f*,

"they are more beautiful [on his heart] than anything in this entire land" (B2 131-132).[39] The

conclusion to the story—Nemtinakht is punished and the peasant is rewarded— affirms the

validity of *maat*.

4.2.2 The Shipwrecked Sailor

Featuring the motif of shipwreck, *The Shipwrecked Sailor* is one of the earliest examples

of its genre in the history of literature.[40] The tale is simple in style and tone, making it look more

"oral" than other Middle Egyptian literary texts.[41] Scholars have noted that the text derives from

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[37] Cf. the related ideal of the silent man, *grw*.
[38] Cf. Assmann 2002 [1996], 118 notes the significance of eloquence and the "downward responsibility" of the ruler:
      The assertion of political was no longer a matter of apodictic self-glorification, but was accomplished via a
      'rhetoric of motives' that justified political measures in terms of responsibility. This rhetoric was by no
      means purely formulaic or symbolic. The ruler being aware of his 'downward' responsibility and
      accountability; he reigned not by force but by the power of the word.
[39] A parallel is found in *Kagemni* 2, 6–7. Gardiner 1946, 32, pl. xiv. For more examples of this expression with comments, see Parkinson 2012, 311.
[40] See Morrison 2014 which presents the comparative study of literary shipwrecks from Homer and Shakespeare to modern novels. The Egyptian Shipwrecked sailor is briefly discussed in his chapter 3.
[41] Baines 1990, 57. It has been described as folktale-like, containing allusion to esoteric religious knowledge. Derchain-Urtel 1974.

the expedition texts.[42] It is difficult to reconstruct the exact process by which the expedition

reports become incorporated into the part of *belles lettres*.[43] The experience of travel readily

lends itself to the quest structure, onto which various aspects of human life, including pain, can

be superimposed.[44] As can be observed in Greek epics or biblical patriarchal narratives, for

instance, leaving home creates a disruption in the normal course of life. [45] Away from home, the

self is called into question and it must contend with forces bigger than itself, such as fate, gods,

and community, among others. The homecoming at the end of the story completes the quest

structure. In the Egyptian context, coming home and being buried on Egyptian soil is a *sine qua*

non for a happy life. Hence, a story of an Egyptian protagonist who leaves Egypt, suffers much

abroad, and comes back to Egypt gives a concrete form to the quintessential Egyptian value of

social order, *maat*.[46]

The quest structure is dynamically embodied in *The Shipwrecked Sailor* with its intricate

story within a story within a story structure. It can be represented as ABCDC'B'A'.[47] A and A'

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[42] Enmarch 2011, 97–121. Large-scale practice of state-sponsored expeditions were a major feature of state activity from the Early Dynastic Period, and the inscriptions that were left on rock faces and stelae at various sites outside the Nile Valley, such as Sinai, the Red Sea Coast, the Eastern Desert, and Nubia, reveal diverse activities ranging from mining and trading to military campaigns.

[43] According to Parkinson (2002, 60–64), during the Middle Kingdom, there's a comparatively high degree of intertextual permeability between literary and monumental texts. According to Enmarch (2011, 99), "it is reasonable to assume that a significant proportion of the country's administrative elite, not to mention a large number of peasants, would have had at least some experience of expeditionary life." Baines (1999, 34) suggests that there is a special value attached to narrating the experience of travel and adventures. This is as reflected in the Middle Kingdom appeals to the living: *m mrr≠tn ḥs≠tn nṯrw≠tn nìwtìw…pḥ≠tn m ḥtp sḏdw≠tn mšꜥw≠tn n ḥmwt≠tn*… "inasmuch as you desire that your local gods favor you…reach (home) in peace and tell your expeditions to your wives…" Sethe 1928, 88.21–23.

[44] On the underlying quest-structure of travel narratives, Moers 1999, 52ff. For the criticisms, see Quack 2003, 152–153; Fischer-Elfert 2004, 414; Schipper 2005, 294–296.

[45] For theorists like Todorov, an element of disruption that challenges the status quo comprises the minimal requirement for a complete plot: "L'intrigue minimale complète consiste dans le passage d'un équilibre à un autre. Un récit idéal commence par une situation stable qu'une force quelconque vient perturber. Il en résulte un état de déséquilibre; par l'action d'une force dirigée en sens inverse, l'équilibre est rétabli; le second équilibre est semblable au premier mais les deux ne sont jamais identiques." Todorov 1968, 96.

[46] Cf. Moers 1999, 51&53: the motifs of travelling and border-crossing in travel narratives serve as the metaphors for the transgression of Egyptian cultural norms.

[47] Baines 1990, 67. On the different narrative levels (using Genette's terminology), see Suhr 1999, 99–100, & the diagram in 2016, 89; Vinson 2015, 417–482.

represents the return of a sailor and his captain from a failed expedition, consisting mostly of the direct speech of the sailor. B and B' are the first-person narrative account of the sailor's departure and return from the expedition that had taken place at some time in the past. C and C' continue the first-person narrative of the sailor but features the sailor's time on the island and the encounter with the snake. Finally, D is the first-person narrative of the snake. This D, which literally constitutes the core of the text, is the story of pain.

> **Shipwrecked Sailor 126–132**
> *wn≠i im≠f ḥnꜥ snw≠i ẖrdw m qꜣbsn*
> *km.n≠n hfꜣw 75 m msw≠i ḥnꜥ snw≠i*
> *nn sẖꜣ≠i n≠k sꜣt ktt int.n≠i m sšꜣ*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n sbꜣ hꜣw pr.n nꜣ m ẖt m-ꜥ≠f ḫpr.n r≠s nn wi ḥnꜥ ꜣm.ny nn wi m ḥr ib≠sn*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n≠i mt.kwi n≠sn gm.n≠i st m ẖꜣyt wꜥt*
>
> I was with my brothers, children among them. We totaled 75 snakes, consisting of my offspring and my siblings, without I bringing to mind to you the little girl whom I brought by prayer. Then a star fell down, and those went up in fire because of it, and it happened while I was not with (them), (they) burned up, while I was not in their midst. Then I died for them, I having found them as one pile of corpses.

Finding your close kinsmen in a pile of corpses sounds horrifying. The snake says he "died" for them, which may be metaphorically taken as meaning extreme *sorrow* (obviously it is not literal, seeing that he is very much alive at the time of telling the story). But the word the snake himself uses to describe his experience is *mr*, "pain," as evident from the lines immediately preceding the story (at the point of the transition from C to D):

> **Shipwrecked Sailor 124–125**[48]
> *ršwy sḏd dpt.n≠f sn*[49] *ẖt mr*
> *sḏd≠i rf n≠k mitt iry ḫprw m iw pn*
>
> How happy is he who relates what he has tasted, something painful having passed.
> Let me then tell you something similar that happened in this island.

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[48] Note that at this point in the papyrus, the scribe switches from columns of text to horizontal lines. Allen 2015, 34. The reason is not fully known, but it may be related to the visualization of the framing of the stories. Note also that the text switches back to vertical columns at 177, two columns before the transition from B' to A.'

[49] The form of *sni* can also be interpreted as the prospective: "so that the painful experience passes." Cf. Parkinson 2002, 190 n.59.

In addition to characterizing the experience as something painful, these lines serve as the thematic principle structuring the entire text. On the level of discourse (event of telling the story), the utterance of these lines precedes the telling of the painful event. On the level of the story (content of the story), however, it is an afterthought in which the snake is bearing witness to his past suffering. The snake's utterance of these lines is paralleled by the sailor's utterance of similar lines at the point of transition from A to B, where the sailor says:

> **Shipwrecked Sailor 21–23**
> *sḏd≠ì rf n≠k mìtt ìry ḫprw m-ꜥ≠ì ḏs≠ì*
> *šm.kwì r bìꜣ n ìtì…*
>
> Let me tell you something similar that happened to me myself.
> I went down to the mining region of the sovereign…

The repetition here is not simply for the sake of repetition. The repetition of the same form that is used to recount the two disparate events establishes a link between the two events. Not only does form of the sailor's storytelling resemble that of the snake's, but the stories told in each are similar to each other (*mìtt ìry*) as well. To see how they are alike, we turn to the event of the shipwreck, which is narrated twice by the sailor, first in B, and then repeated almost verbatim in C:

> **Shipwrecked Sailor 32–39 (&101–107)**
> *ḏꜥ pr ìw≠n m wꜣḏ-wr tp-ꜥ sꜣḥ≠n tꜣ*
> *fꜣt ṯꜥw ìr≠f wḥmyt nwyt ìm≠f nt mḥ 8*
> *ìn ḫt ḥḥ n≠ì s*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n dpt mt nt ìw ìm≠s n sp wꜥ ìm*[50]
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n≠ ì rd ì.kw ì r ìw*[51] *ìn wꜣw n wꜣḏ-wr*
>
> A gale came up while we were at sea, before our reaching the land.
> The wind rose repeatedly, the water therein of 8 cubits.
> It was the mast which broke it for me.
> Then the boat died, those in it, not one of them survived
> Then I was put on an island by a wave of the sea.

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[50] The C version adds *ḥr ḫw≠ì mk w ì r gs≠k.*
[51] The C version has *ꜥḥꜥ.n(≠ì) ìn.kw r ìw pn* instead.

The penultimate line, *ꜥḥꜥ.n dpt **mt** ntjw im≠s n sp w ꜥ jm*, "then the boat died, those in it, not one of

them survived," echoes the final line of the snake's story, *ꜥḥꜥ.n≠j **mt.kw**j n≠sn gm.n≠j st m ẖꜣyt **w ꜥt**,*

"then I died for them, I having found them as one pile of corpses." The meanings of two lines

are not exactly parallel. But, once again, the poetic function is at work: it is the formal similarity

that carries over, which in turns forges a similarity in meaning. The repetition of the sense of

"death" and "one" conveys the grief and loneliness resulting from the loss of the loved ones. The

sailor, just like the snake, lost (or, at least he thought he lost) his peers. He is left alone, an

experience like death. The likeness of the two events is further reinforced in the account of the

sailor's first few days on the island:

> **Shipwrecked sailor 41–45**
> *jr.n≠j hrw 3 w ꜥ.kw jb≠j m snnw≠j*
> *sḏr.kw m ẖnw n kꜣp n ẖt qnj.n≠j šwyt*
>
> I spent three days alone, my heart being my only friend,
> lying inside the wooden cover, having embraced the shadow.

Here, the imagery of death-like experience and solitude is intensified. Washed ashore on the

island, the sailor survived, but only barely, like the snake. Parkinson suggests the expression

"embracing the shadow" probably refers to the state of unconsciousness.[52] He is utterly alone

(*w ꜥ*) and the only companion (*snnw*, lit. "second one") he has is his own heart. This, too, mirrors

the snake's solitude, who had had no one but himself since the holocaust. Although the sailor's

experience is never explicitly described as painful, by virtue of its being likened to the snake's

experience, it is understood as painful.

The pain constitutes the core of the story, but it does not exhaust the meaning of the

story. The story would not have been told if it focused only on the painful experience itself. The

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[52] Parkinson 1997, 98 n.7.

story has come about only because the snake and the sailor chose to *sḏd dpt.n≠f,* "tell what he has tasted." As in *Peasant*, where the role of *nfr mdt* is foregrounded, here the emphasis is laid on the act of *sḏd*-ing in the face of pain, rather than on the final product. Pain may be inevitable in life, but you face it bravely by telling the story about it. There is even some joy (*ršwy*) in this, when you see pain passing by. Parkinson notes:

> …the thrust of the poem is that, since the whole cosmos – even the divine – is prey to disaster, all that one can do is to bear it bravely, attain a degree of self-realization and self-control, and 'view' one's experience without despair (there is much play with 'seeing'). The serpent's survival offers the audience some hope, which is embodied in the sailor's survival…In this survival, art has a role: the telling and retelling of misfortune enable people to overcome or to endure it.[53]

The appropriate response expected from the audience of *sḏd*-ing is seeing and listening.

Although less obvious, another parallel to lines 124-125 occurs at the point of transitioning back from B' to A,' after the sailor has finished narrating his story to the captain:

Shipwrecked Sailor 179–81
m³ wỉ r-s³ s³ḥ≠ỉ t³
     r-s³ m³≠ỉ dpt.n≠ỉ
sḏm r≠k […]
     mk nfr sḏm n rmṯ

See me, after I reached land,[54]
     after I saw what I have tasted.
Listen […][55],
     Look, to listen is good for a man.

The use of repetitions internal to the unit attests to the cleverness of the poetic architecture. The first couplet makes use of the nexus of the verb *m³³* "to see" + first-person pronoun twice. It first occurs in the main clause in the form of the imperative followed by the first-person dependent pronoun as its direct object. The nexus is followed by the compound preposition *r-s³*. The second

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[53] Parkinson 1997, 90.
[54] Allen (2015, 50) notes the sense of *m³≠ỉ* is "see how I have turned out," and the sense of *r-s³ s³ḥ≠ỉ t³* as "after returning from my ordeal."
[55] Allen 2015, 50 reconstructs the lacuna *ḥ³ty-ˁ*; Baines 1990, 60, suggests [to me] or [to my speech].

instance occurs in the subordinate clause as the object of the compound preposition *r-sꜣ*, in the infinitive form with the suffix pronoun. The second couplet uses of the verb *sḏm*, which, as in the first couplet, appears in the imperative and the infinitive. Externally, the relative *dpt.n≠i* echoes line 124 in the snake's speech. The verb of which this relative phrase serves as object is *mꜣꜣ* "to see," which may not be seen as directly parallel (neither synonymous nor antonymous) to the verb *sḏd* "to tell." But when taken together with the verb *sḏm*, "to listen," in the next column, the complementary association becomes clearer: pain is something one experiences (*dp*), the story of which one can then recount (*sḏd*) so that others can see (*mꜣꜣ*) and listen (*sḏm*).[56]

The repetitive structuring leaves the text open-ended, which allows for more cycle(s). The audience who sees and listens to the story of pain can potentially be the teller of their own pain, which in turn invites yet others to see and listen, and so on. It is comparable to *mise en abyme*[57] in that it motivates further reflexive duplication, but the potential of its actualization lies outside the text, in the future.

Before moving on, I would like to point out how the mechanism of this tale bears a remarkable resemblance to that of historiola such as the *Isis and Re* discussed in the previous chapter. The serpent in the story represents a deity.[58] That the serpent's experience of pain is a *mitt iry* to the sailor's experience of pain, which is then expected to serve as a *mitt iry* to the expereince of the internal audience (= the count) and of the external audience, is similar to the

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[56] Once again, the array of verbs of cognition and experience here is reminiscent of the passage in *Isis and Re* from the previous chapter. See P. Turin 1993 rto 3, 8–10, 13–14 cited in Chapter 3. Cf. Enmarch 2011, 104–105. In the course of his discussion on the relationship between expediton inscriptions and the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, Enmarch cites the following passage from the inscription of Harwerre and points out its similarity to the *Shipwrecked Sailor* 179–8 (Sinai no.90 in Gardiner, Peet and Černý 1952–55 II, 97–99): *ìmì≠tn bdš ḥrw≠tn ḥr≠s mtn dd st ḥwt-ḥr n wꜣḏ mꜣ.n≠i r≠i ìr.n≠i mnt ìm≠i,* "Do not be downcast of face because of it! Look, Hathor can turn it to success- I myself have seen and done the like!" In n.26, Enmarch notes that the juxtaposition of the verbs *mꜣꜣ* and *ìry* also occurs in medical literature.

[57] Cf. Vinson 2015, 471–482.

[58] His body is overlaid with gold and eyebrows like lapis lazuli.

way Re's experience of scorpion bite is to serve as a precedence for the patient's scorpion bite. Also significant is that the sailor tells the story of the serpent's overcoming pain and his own story of overcoming pain not merely for "entertainment" but to bring about a certain practical end, that is, to help the overcome pain.[59] This, too, is similar the purpose of reciting historiola: to bring about the event of healing in the patient.[60] In both cases, the story of the experience undergone by the deity represents a model for the audience/patient to structure, or make sense of, their own expereince.

4.2.3 Sinuhe

Sinuhe is unquestionably the best-known classic of the Middle Kingdom literary compositions. Written in the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, the text has survived in multiple manuscripts copied as late as the New Kingdom period.[61] The plot itself is simple: a royal courtier named Sinuhe flees from Egypt, lives in exile in the Levant, and returns home. But the poetic language and structure takes this simple story to a new level. The most notable feature is that it is stylized as a tomb autobiography. This has several important implications for the portrayal of pain owing to the features born out of the original interactional and social dynamics.

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[59] On the moralizing aspect of the story, cf. Baines 1990, 66: "A reading in moral terms might seem forced because of the supra-moral and supra-personal character of these events, but it should be retained, since the snake presents it explicitly in this light, as, by implication, does the frame for the entire text." Peraps related, perhaps incidental, it is interesting that both texts allude to the secret knowledge of the identity of the sun god. It has been suggested that number the number of the total snakes present in the island before the catastrophe, seventy-five, is an allusion to the seventy-four forms of the sun god as enumerated in the Litany of Re. Derchain-Urtel 1974, 83–104. These forms form a restriced and sacred knowledge, just like the true name of Re alluded in Isis and Re. Baines 1990, 62–63.
[60] Here, it may be worth noting how Parkinson 1999, 74–75 connects magic's function of "encircling" (*pẖrt*; on *pẖrt,* see the discussion in the previous chapter) integral to the magical texts to the New Historicist's conception of literature as an instrument for containing subversive elements. According to him:
> …the *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* concerns the inescapability of unexpected disaster, and alludes to the ultimate ending, the destruction of the cosmos. This bleak information is contained in a neat series of tales within tales which is very reassuring to the reader…The audience of the Tale can experience the uncertainty of reality, and learn of the cataclysmic end of the earth, but at a safe distance.
[61] To date, five Middle Kingdom papyri, two New Kingdom papyri and twenty-five New Kingdom ostraca, all in hieratic have been found. See Allen 2015, 55–56 for the description of the manuscripts.

We talked about the centralization of knowledge in the previous chapter. Another important feature of the centralization was the centralization of tombs. The ancient Egyptian concept of a good and complete life included burial in a well-equipped tomb, which included a biography of the deceased. According to Baines, tomb biographies rose out of the highly performative context of the elite self-representation vis-à-vis the king and other elites in the "fictionalizing frame of role-playing and performance."[62] Inscribed in hieroglyphs, these texts are characterized by highly formal language and a formulaic compositional scheme, and their content is almost exclusively devoted to recounting the episodes of royal favor received by the deceased.[63] The media on which the texts are inscribed—parts of tomb architecture and decoration—are closely bound up with the content of narrative, because the royal favors often consisted of some material or logistical help with the construction of the tomb. The *Sinuhe* narrative makes use of this frame. From the start of the narrative, it is made obvious to the audience that all the events are portrayed as being narrated from the perspective of a completed life. Though the events are told as they are happening to and experienced by Sinuhe *qua* protagonist, this same Sinuhe *qua* narrator knows that they are ordered toward the specific end goal, the tomb.

Incorporated into the overarching autobiographical frame are the various sub-units which draw on a wide range of literary genres, such as historical annals, narratives of conquest and combat, encomia of the king, royal decrees, meditative prayers, and ceremonial lyrics.[64] These units are interwoven into the plot-line and play a role in carrying the plot forward, albeit in a limited sense. The profusion of genres imparts to the text an encyclopedic feel, which is particularly suited for fleshing out a full range of human experience, including, of course, pain.

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[62] Baines 1999, 24.
[63] The early development of Egyptian biographies, see Stauder-Porchet 2017.
[64] Parkinson, 1997, 21–22.

Different genres employed throughout the text bring with them particular kinds of affects that are appropriate for the events that are being narrated or described. For instance, the story proper begins with the historical event of the death of Amenemhat I:

Sinuhe R 5–11
ḥsbt 30 3 ꜣḥt 7
ꜣr nṯr r ꜣḥt≠f nsw-bity sḥtp-ib-rꜥ sḥr≠f r pt ẖnm m ꜣtn ḥꜥ nṯr ꜣbẖ m ꜣr sw
ꜣw ẖnw m sgr
   ꜣm gnw
   rwty wrty ẖtm.w
   [šny]t⁶⁵ m [tp] ḥr mꜣst
   pꜥt m imw

Regnal year 30, third month of inundation, day 3
The god's ascent to his horizon, Dual King Sehetepibre, going off to the sky, united with the sun-disk, the god's body mingled with the one who made it.
The residence was in stillness,
        hearts in grief,
        the great double gate shut,
        the entourage with head on lap,
        the elite in mourning.

With the use of the annalistic infinitive, followed by six parallel adverbial clauses all leaning on one *ꜣw* in the beginning, the mood created is somber and formal. The preposition *m* means "in/on/with" and conveys an object in place. The grief is there but calm and under control.⁶⁶

Compare this with the panic that Sinuhe responds with upon hearing the news:

Sinuhe B 2–4
psẖ ib≠i sn ꜥwy≠i sdꜣ ḥr m ꜥt nbt
nfꜥ≠i {r} wi m nfnft
        r ḥḥ n≠i ꜣst dg
        r dꜣt wi imt bꜣti
        r ꜣrt wꜣt šmw≠s

My heart became confused, my arms spread out, trembling fell on my every limb.
In leaping I took myself off,

---

⁶⁵ *šnyt* here is a variation of *šnwt* "entourage," which is the meaning taken here.
⁶⁶ Cf. Collier 1996, 542 takes note of the passage's what he calls "lexical cohesion": The mourners are characterized metaphorically by place (*ẖnw*) and metonymically by the Egyptian notion of the core of the human being (*ib*) reflecting a movement of lexical cohesion from the outer to the inner. Moreover, there is a powerful evocation of centrality – the residence as the center of the kingdom and the heart as the center of human life.

> to look for a place to hide,
> until putting myself between the two bushes,
> toward the path's making of its going.

In addition to the vivid report on Sinuhe's reaction—in both physiological and psychological terms—the repetition of the preposition *r*, "to/until," indexes Sinuhe's disoriented movement: instead of staying put *in* Egypt, he is heading *to* the Levant.

Another feature that the autobiographical frame grants is the immediacy of the presence of the narrator without the face-to-face context. As can be seen, in *Sinuhe*, this distinctive first-person narration is exploited to report not only the external events that happen to the protagonist but also his inner thoughts and sensations. This allows the audience to feel as though they have seen and know Sinuhe inside and out.[67]

The ensuing flight scene is of special interest because the account of Sinuhe's topographical movement is constantly punctuated by Sinuhe's inner thoughts. By following this account, the audience is also able to follow Sinuhe's exterior as well as his inner journey:

> **Sinuhe B 15–23**
> *rdit≠i wꜣt n rdwy≠i m ḫd*
> *dmi.n≠i inbw ḥqꜣ iry r ḫsf sttiw*
> *šsp.n≠i ksw≠i m bꜣt m snd̠ mꜣꜣ wršyw tp ḥwt imt hrw≠s*
> *ir(t)≠i šmt tr n ḫꜣw*
> *ḫd̠.n tꜣ pḥ.n≠i ptn ḥn.kw r iw n km-wr*
> *ḫr n≠i ibt ꜣs.n≠f w(i) ntb.kw ḫḫ≠i ḥmw*
> *d̠d.n≠i dpt mt nn*
> *t̠st≠i ib≠i sꜣq≠i ḥꜥw≠i…*
>
> My giving a path to my feet downstream:
> I touched the Ruler's Walls, made to bar the Asiatics.
> I crouched down in a bush in fear that the watchmen on duty on the wall might see.
> My making off at the time of dusk:
> At dawn I reached Peten, and landed at the island of the Great Black.
> Thirst fell and overtook me, so that I was scorched, my throat parched.
> I said, this is the taste of death.
> My lifting up my mind and collecting my limbs…

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[67] Cf. Suhr 1999, 95.

Although Sinuhe's life journey seems to be fraught with suffering and pain, it is difficult to isolate a specific event or definitive moment of Sinuhe undergoing pain in the text. Instances of Sinuhe's fear, grief, joy, fatigue, thirst can be explicitly pinpointed, but not that of pain. In fact, though the word *mr* is mentioned twice in the text, in both cases it is not predicated of Sinuhe. Does this mean that Sinuhe does not experience pain? Quite the contrary. It would be hard to argue that he does not. In fact, Sinuhe's pain is the kind of pain that induces the audience to participate in a far more personal and intimate way than *Peasant* or *Sailor*. It is the pain of longing. Sinuhe longs; the audience watching Sinuhe too longs.

To demonstrate how this is achieved, I start my analysis from the middle of the text where two instances of *mr* bookend Sinuhe's duel with the hero of Retijenu. The duel marks the halfway point of the text and also the climax or turning point of the plot.[68] The first instance of *mr* occurs right before the actual combat begins. It is said of those who have come to watch the duel:

> **Sinuhe B 132–135**
> *ḫꜣty nb mꜣḫ n≠i ḥmwt ṯꜣyw ḥr ꜥi*
> *ib nb **mr** n≠i ḏd≠sn*
> *in-iw wn ky nḫt ꜥḥꜣ r≠f*
>
> Every breast smoldered for me, women and men were wailing.
> Every heart being in pain for me, saying,
> "is there another mighty man who can fight for him?"

Here, the word *mr* is in stative with *ib nb* as its antecedent, dative n with the first-person suffix pronoun, referring to the narrator, Sinuhe. The on-lookers of the fight have their heart aching for Sinuhe. The second reference appears after Sinuhe has won the duel. In the middle of Sinuhe's passionate prayer, he petitions a nameless god to have pity on him and bring him home:

> **Sinuhe B 156–162**
> *nṯr nb šꜣ wꜥrt tn ḥtp≠k di wi r ẖnw*

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[68] Cf. Hays 2014, 37.

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smwn≠k r rdìt m³≠i bw wršw ìb≠i ìm
ptr wrt r ʿbt ẖ³t≠i m t³ ms≠k wì ìm≠f
mì-m-s³ pw ẖpr sp nfr dì n≠i nṯr ḥtp
ìrr≠f mì ẖt r smnẖ pḥwy n sfn.n≠f
*ìb≠f **mr** n dqr.n≠f r ʿnẖ ḥr ẖ³st*

Any god who destined this flight, may you be appeased and put me towards/at home,
surely you will cause that I see the place in which my heart spends the day,
(for) what is greater than uniting my corpse with the land in which you birthed me in?
This is "help!"[69] so that a good event would befall, as the appeased god would grant me,[70]may he act as such to ennoble the end for (of?) the one whom he had afflicted,
his heart being in pain for the one whom he had pressed to live in a foreign country…

The word *mr* is again in stative and has *ìb≠f* as its antecedent, where the 3ms suffix pronoun refers to a god to whom Sinuhe attributes his life's fate.[71] Whichever god is responsible for all this, his heart must be in a state of pain for Sinuhe.

So, in both cases, pain is predicated, not of Sinuhe, but of those who are watching Sinuhe. But what is it about Sinuhe's situation that warrants this response from the watchers? After all, Sinuhe is successful. He has just beaten the Asiatic champion. He has Amunneshi's trust, is happily married with lots of children, and owns lots of cattle and possessions.[72] But there is still a sense of something missing. In *Peasant* and *Sailor,* it is something that happened while being away from home that brought pain. In *Sinuhe*, it is the very fact of being away from home that contributes to pain. Examination of the immediately surrounding passages reveals that Sinuhe is feeling homesick. A couple of lines prior to the first reference of *mr*, where Sinuhe has just heard the news of the champion's challenge, he cries out:

Sinuhe B 117–22
nḥmn wì mì k³ n ḥww m ḥr ìb ky ìdr
hd sw k³ n ʿwt ng³w ḥr ³m r≠f

---

[69] This is an A *pw* sentence with the imperative *mì m-s³*, "come after" (Egyptian idiom for help) as A. See Allen 2015, 111 for further.

[70] I took *dì* as circumstantial, describing the circumstance of the previous clause, but it can also be taken as prospective in parallel with the previous clause.

[71] Contra Allen 2015, 111 where the translation "may he act in such a way as to improve the end for one he has afflicted, whose mind is pained" seems to suggest that pain is of Sinuhe's.

[72] B 78–97.

ỉn ỉw wn twꜣ mrrw n šꜣ n tp-ḥry
nn pḏty smꜣ m ỉdḥw ptr smn ḏyt r ḏw

I am surely like a bull of the wild in the midst of another herd, whom the alpha bull attacks while the steer fastens on to him. Is there a dependent loved to the same degree as the chief servant? No bowman is allied with a reed-man. Who can fasten papyrus to a mountain?

The rare emphatic particle like *nḥmn*[73] and rhetorical questions all contribute to conveying

Sinuhe's bitterness. He has been trying really hard to fit in to his new home, but is this what he

gets in return? The day dawns for the fight, the champion had brought all the neighboring tribes

against Sinuhe (B 129–31). The locals are ganging up on one foreigner. That he is indeed a loner

and an outsider is apparent to all who have come to watch the duel. It is in this context the first

reference to *mr* occurs.

Although the duel itself does not pose much of a challenge to Sinuhe—he wins it easily

and ends up with even greater possessions and honor than before—it has awakened in Sinuhe the

existential awareness of being a foreigner, which makes him reassess his life in the Levant:

Sinuhe B 149–156

wꜥr wꜥr n hꜣw≠f ỉw mtt≠ỉ m ẖnw		----- A
sꜣꜣ sꜣy n ḥqr	*ỉw≠ỉ dỉ≠ỉ t n gsy≠ỉ*	----- B
rww s tꜣ≠f n hꜣyt	*ỉnk ḥḏt pꜣqt*	----- C
btꜣ s n gꜣw hꜣb≠f	*ỉnk ꜥꜣ mrt*	----- D
nfr pr≠ỉ wsẖ ỉst≠ỉ	*sẖꜣwy≠ỉ m ꜥḥ*	----- E

A fugitive flees because of his surroundings, but my reputation[74] is in the Residence;
A creeper creeps for hunger, but I give bread to my neighbor.
A man leaves his land for nakedness, but I have white clothes and fine linen;
A man runs because he lacks someone he can send,[75] but I am rich of dependents.
My house is good, my place is large, but my memory is in the palace.

The passage as a unit is marked off from the surrounding text by the framing spatial expressions

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[73] *GEG* §11, 6.
[74] Cf. Allen 2015, 109: "the word is normally found in the expression *mtt nt ỉb* or *mtt ỉb*, denoting innermost thoughts or feelings."
[75] I.e., messengers.

m ẖnw in A and *m ꜥḥ* in E. In A–D, the first half of each couplet delineates the state of

disintegration or lack (designated A1, B1, etc.) As Allen points out, these lines can be read as a

generalization, but also specifically applicable to Sinuhe's situation before he became settled in

Retjenu.[76] The second half of each couplet communicates the opposite, the state of wealth and

abundance that Sinuhe is now inhabiting (designated A2, B2, etc.).[77] E deviates from the pattern

established in A–D. Here, too, the first half, E1, serves as a background against which the

contrast in the second half, E2, gains its significance. But instead of the past lack, it is the current

abundance that occupies the first half. E1, *sḫꜣwy≠i m ꜥḥ,* together with A1, *mtt≠i m ẖnw*, echoes

back to the beginning of the text and expresses Sinuhe's longing for home. The deviation in E

however serves the rhetorical function and conveys the longing more powerfully. Compared to

the memory of the palace (*sḫꜣwy≠i m ꜥḥ;* E2), any wealth and abundance (*nfr pr≠i wsḫ ist≠i;* E1) is

as good as other states of lack (A1, B1, C1, and D1). And it is precisely here, immediately

following this passage that the second instance of *mr* occurs.

  Now, if the bystanders and the nameless god are expected to feel pain for Sinuhe, the

audience of the narrative (and the purported the visitors to the tomb) are similarly expected to

have their heart *mr* for Sinuhe. The gamut of emotions that are mapped onto Sinuhe's life

journey evokes in the audience strong feelings as well, as Sinuhe's situation of pain appeals to

Egyptian values. By Egyptian values, I mean the king and *maat*, and the longing for afterlife.

Recall from the previous chapter how putting objects—be they medical recipes or mortuary

spells, their origins could be diverse—into one central place is a form of imparting order. When

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[76] Allen 2015, 109. See also Stauder 2014, 174–177 for illustration of how the very language employed in the passage dynamically embodies Sinuhe's split identity.

[77] Cf. Allen 2015, 109: "an emphatic sentence in which a generalization in the first line serves as a background to the contrasting situation of Sinuhe in the second." The rhetorical structure here can be understood as a form of then-now structure which we shall discuss in-depth in the next chapter.

the king collects such objects in a central place, he imparts order and unity. And once imparted

order and unity, only then, they find their true efficacy. So are the royal subjects. Being away

from home (*ẖnw*) is akin to having one recipe or one spell found by itself: hardly useful (*ꜣḫ*,

"effective"). Most importantly, away from the king, one cannot have a proper burial, a perquisite

to become *ꜣḫ*, "the blessed/transfigured one."[78] This longing for *ꜣḫ*—both earthly and

heavenly[79]— would have deeply resonated with the Egyptian audience, making the audience

particularly receptive to Sinuhe's experience.

4.3 Pain in Late Egyptian Literary Narratives

4.3.1 Ramesside Literary Narratives

Compared to the older classics, the stories dated to the Ramesside period are light in tone

and humorous.[80] Folktale and mythological motifs abound, and there are more characters and

actions than in the Middle Egyptian narratives. The events are presented in an episodic manner[81]

and are told in the third person. The demarcation between the story and the narrative in these

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[78] Cf. B 191: *sbt r ìmꜣḫ,* "passing to blessedness."

[79] Cf. *ꜣḫt*, "horizon."

[80] If the scholarly discussions on Middle Kingdom literature have revolved around the functional context and intertextuality, the discussion on the New Kingdom materials have centered on the topic of linguistic register, which refers to a variety of language defined according to its use in social situations. The notion was first introduced to Egyptology by Goldwasser (1990), and subsequently taken up by other scholars interested in pragmatics, such as Junge (2001, 18–23), David (2006) and Polis (2017) among others. The language variety in which the Late Egyptian stories are written is referred to as "literary," when compared to the language of the contemporary documentary narratives. The existence of the variety was recognized as early as Hintze 1950 and 1952, and the distinction between the literary/non-literary language is systematically laid out in Groll 1976, 237–46. By the New Kingdom, the Egyptian language had undergone significant transformations, and the varying responses to these linguistic changes across different sectors of society resulted in different language varieties (registers) of Egyptian. More specifically, after the linguistic innovation of the Amarna period, the documentary texts started being written in a form of language that conforms closely to the contemporary spoken language, while the monumental texts (both non-royal autobiographical and royal inscriptions) continued employing (what they thought was, but in reality, a bastardized form of) Middle Egyptian. For more on the linguistic situation during the New Kingdom, see now Stauder 2013, 3–55.

[81] Baines 1996, 60. In particular, passing of time becomes the explicit marker of organizing the episodes. According to Jay (2008, 145), fronted temporal adverbials especially play a significant structural role in Late Egyptian stories in general, as they are used very frequently and are often rubricized.

tales is obvious and rigid. In addition, it has been suggested that they lack the same level of self-reflection compared to the Middle Egyptian materials.[82]

Such features of the Ramesside literary narratives require us to adopt a different reading strategy when we look for representations of pain and examine their effects. From a structural point of view, Ramesside narratives are similar to Demotic narratives. Tait has observed that in Demotic narratives, emotions have a narrative aspect of signaling some sort of a shift or progress in plots.[83] In other words, representations of emotions inform the audience of the relational dynamic between the characters and of the characters' motivations to action. My analysis below is informed by Tait's insight. I turn to the two longest and best preserved of all the extant Ramesside literary narratives: *The Tale of Two Brothers* and *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*.

4.3.1.1 The Tale of Two Brothers

Preserved in a single manuscript of nineteen columns dated to the later 19th Dynasty, *The Tale of Two Brothers* features a highly entertaining plot that draws richly upon mythological and folkloristic motifs.[84] The story opens with an idyllic description of the life of Anubis and Bata,

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[82] Cf. Jay 2016, 36: "while a deeper kind of psychologization has been identified in the earlier tales, static characterization tends to be the norm. Such static characterization may well be tied to Ong's psychodynamics of orality, for it conforms well to studies showing the difficulty of members of oral cultures have with self-analysis."

[83] Tait 2009. More specifically, he observes that emotion expressions typically appear at the beginning of a new episode, in recognizable, largely fixed phraseology. Emotions expressions are like temporal expressions (a few days later, the moment x…etc.) and movement expressions (went up aboard, sailed and arrived). More on temporal and movement expressions in demotic narratives, Tait 2011, 400–402; Jasnow 2007, 436. The particular emotion that Tait uses to demonstrate his point is anger (ḫꜥr). In the text of P. Spiegelberg, for instance, the expression "became angry like sea" (ḫꜥr subj. m-qty ym) is used to refer to the characters' public displays of anger that is followed by the characters' making decisions and taking actions, which propels the story forward. Tait also includes to the category of emotions expressions such as tḥr, "to become troubled," sby "to laugh," bn-pw꞊f gm mꜣꜥ (nb) n pꜣ tꜣ ìw꞊f n-ìm꞊f ,"he didn't know where on earth he was," wn꞊f rꜣ꞊f n sgp ꜥꜣ ìw꞊f ḏd, "he opened his mouth in a great cry, saying…" Jacqueline Jay (2016, 116) too briefly considers the role of emotions in Demotic narratives and notes that emotions associated with phrases such as wn꞊f rꜣ꞊f n sgp ꜥꜣ or ꜥš꞊f sgp ꜥꜣprovide a catalyst for further action.

[84] BM 10183 or Papyrus d'Orbiney after its original owner. Since its discovery and early publication, the tale has received a wide attention from scholars because of the parallels with narratives of other cultures, like Joseph and Potiphar's wife. For the history of reception, see Hollis 1990, 16–47; Wettengel 2003, 1–16.

two brothers.[85] The peace is disrupted when Anubis's wife unsuccessfully tries to seduce her

brother-in-law. Fearing the repercussion of the incident,[86] the wife sets out to drive a wedge

between the brothers. The first reference to "pain" occurs when the wife fakes an assault by

Bata:

Two Brothers 4, 5–5, 10 (=*LES* 13, 9–14, 10)
*ìst tꜣ ḥmt n pꜣyꜰf sn ꜥꜣ **snḏ.tì ḥr pꜣ smì ḏd(t).n꞊s***
wn.ìn꞊s ḥr ìnt ꜥḏ pyr
*ìw꞊s ḥr ḫpr mì nty **qnqn.tì n-ꜥḏ** n ꜣbw ḏd n pꜣy꞊s hꜣy m pꜣy꞊k sn šrì ììr qnqn(꞊ì)*
ìw pꜣy꞊s hꜣy ḥr wḥꜥ m rwḥꜣ m pꜣyꜰf sḫr nty rꜥ nb
ìwꜰf ḥr spr r pꜣyꜰf pr
*ìwꜰf ḥr gmt tꜣyꜰf ḥmt **sḏr.tì mr.tì n-ꜥḏ***
ìw꞊s ḥr tm rdìt mw ḥr ḏrtꜰf m pꜣyꜰf sḫr
 *ìw bwpw꞊s stꜣ r-ḫꜣtꜰf ìw pꜣyꜰf pr m kkw ìw꞊s **sḏr.tì ḥr bš***
ìw pꜣy꞊s hꜣy ḥr ḏd n꞊s
 m njm mdw m-dj꞊t
ꜥḥꜥ.n ḏd꞊s nꜰf
 bwpw wꜥ mdt m-dì꞊ì ḥrw pꜣy꞊k sn šrì ìr m-ḏr ìwtꜰf
 …
 …
 ḥr ìr dì꞊k ꜥnḫꜰf ìw꞊ì r mwt n꞊ì…
*pꜣ-wn **tw꞊ì ḥr šnt pꜣy smì bìn** wn ìwꜰf r ìrtꜰf m sf*

Now, the wife of the elder brother was afraid because of the proposition she had made.
Then she brought fat and bandages and she became like one who has been beaten
deceivingly, out of intention to tell her husband, 'It was your younger brother who beat
(me).' And her husband quit for his house in the evening in his daily custom, and he
reached his house, and he found his wife lying down, being ill deceivingly. And she did
not put water on his hand in his habit, she having not kindled fire before him, his house
being in darkness, while she was lying down vomiting/spitting. And her husband said to
her, "who had words with you?" Thereupon she said to him, "no one spoke with me
except for your brother…If you let him live, I am going to kill myself…because I am
suffering[87] (on account of) the evil proposition/plan that he was going to do yesterday!

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[85] Hollis 1990, 84-88 for an in-depth discussion of the opening scene.

[86] Adultery was punishable by death, the best-known example of which occurs in the second tale of the Westcar
Papyrus. The grave consequence of adultery is also mentioned in mentioned in various Instruction texts. For specific
examples, see Hollis 1990, 97–98.

[87] Wente 2003, 6 n.7 takes *šnì* as to mean "to curse" noting that the determinative of the verb (A2: a seated man with
hand to mouth) favors "curse." The verb *šnì* is commonly translated as "to enchant, conjure, or exorcise" denotes a
magical act, deriving from "to recite (a spell)." It, which can be used for the purpose of cursing, but probably
doesn't have the similar semantic as that of the English "to curse." The Egyptian word that is comparable to the
English word "to curse" is the verb *sḫwr*, "to cause to be wretched." Ritner 1993, 43–46. Note, *šnì* with A2 also
occurs in a passage from the *Doomed Prince* (= *LES* 4, 9–10): *ḫl <bn> twì **ḥr šnt** rd.wy꞊ì ìw꞊ ì r šmt r pwyt m-dì꞊tn*,
"if I were <not> hurting in my feet, I would proceed to leap up with you." Once again, Wente suggests an alternative

The section opens with an *ìst* clause, which not only provides the relevant information for the action in the following two main clauses (i.e. it explicitly states that it's out of fear that the wife does what she does),[88] but also serves to tie the whole section[89] together, by virtue of its predicate (*snḏ.tì ḥr pꜣ smì ḏd(t).n≠s,* "was afraid because of the proposition she had made") anticipating the predicate of the very last main clause of this section (*ḥr šnt pꜣy smì bìn,* "am suffering (on account of) the evil proposition/plan").[90] The first two main clauses, the initial form and the non-initial form immediately following it,[91] tell of the wife's feigning injuries by applying fat and bandages.[92] No pain-term examined in Chapter 2 occurs here, but the word *qnqn,* "to beat,"[93] occurs twice. "To beat" is conceptually and semantically distinct from "to feel pain," and so is "to be beaten" from "to be pained." For sentient beings like humans, however,

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translation, "if I could but enchant my feet," saying that the restoration of a negative *bn* is uncertain and the determinative of the verb favors "to enchant." However, Wente's alternative translation does not make sense when the plot is considered. Here, the prince's speech is supposed to provide an explanation why he cannot go leaping with others at the moment. If the reason why he cannot go leaping now is because he is not able to enchant his feet, as suggested by Wente's translation, then when he finally goes leaping after many days, it should be because the prince can now enchant his feet that he could not before. How is that the prince is all of sudden able to enchant his feet? For something as major (in terms of having a significance consequence to the development of the plot) as acquiring a power to enchant one's feet, one would expect it to be explicitly mentioned in the story, but this is not the case in our text. It simply says, after many days, the boy went leaping. I suggest what is implied in "after many days" is the prince's recovery from his feet pain from the long journey (reference to bandaging of his feet is made in 5, 10). Unlike developing a power to enchant one's feet, recovery from pain after many days of rest is a natural and common phenomenon and is more likely to be elided in narration without hindering the reader's comprehension of the plot.

[88] This function of the particle *ìst* remains the same in Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian. Jay 2008, 187. More on the particle *ìst* with comprehensive bibliography, Jay 2017.

[89] Note, the demarcation of the section is not arbitrary; nor is it just in terms of the content, in respect to the plot progression. It is formally marked by the fairly consistent and pattered use of the initial and non-initial sentence forms. See *supra* n.96.

[90] This is comparable to the poetic device called the envelop construction discussed by Pardee (2012, 87–90), specifically in relation to the plot progression in Ugaritic narrative poetry.

[91] The distinction between initial and non-initial sentence forms was introduced in Černý and Groll 1993, 164–168. Jay (2008, 160–162 &167; also Broze 1996, 157ff), discusses the role of *wn.ìn* clause as the most common initial narrative form in Late Egyptian tales. As it stands at the head of a series of non-initial continuative clauses–which are the most basic form for presenting a sequence of events in LE–and is often rubricized, it seems to be marking the formal division of the text into sections. Note, there are no strict rules governing the decision to start a new section, and it is best to see as an indication of the pause in the narrative when a *wn.ìn* clause appears (eg. the passage from Horus and Seth discussed below).

[92] Cf. Westendorf 1981, 57ff.

[93] *Wb.* V, 55.4–56.9; TLA lemma-no. 161450.

beating usually produces pain, and *qnqn.tἰ*, "to be in the state of having been beaten," therefore, can easily be associated with the state of being in pain. The next three continuative clauses have the subject shifted to the husband.[94] At first, this shift in the subject seems to draw attention away from the wife, but it just makes the scene all the more dramatic when she appears as the object of *gm* and the antecedent of the two statives, *sḏr.tἰ* and *mr.tἰ*, in the third clause. The latter of the two, *mr.tἰ*, is modified by the same adverb, *n-ʿḏꜣ*, that modifies *qnqn.tἰ* a few clauses back, signaling a loose parallel between the two expressions.

Since the wife has not actually been assaulted and is not suffering from real pain, she has to rely on external manifestations of pain to present herself as such. In the next continuative clause, which is made longer than all the previous continuatives by the circumstantial clauses, the subject switches back to the wife, and here we see the wife putting on what is called "pain behavior" in modern parlance.[95] She withdraws from her daily activities, lies down and *ḥr bš*, "drools,"[96] which all communicate non-verbally that she is in pain, or ill. This leads the husband to ask the wife what happened, which in turn gives the wife the floor to speak. She relates to him the incident in reverse, and as a grand closure to her deceptive story, she gives him an ultimatum,

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[94] More precisely, the subject shifts *back* to Anubis, as the *ἰst* compound (*ἰst* clause + *wn.ἰn* + continuative) with the wife as the subject and as the focalizer is more of a deviation from the flow of main narration, which has Bata and Anubis as the subject and the focalizer. This deviation, though necessary for providing the relevant information required to make sense of the plot progression, takes a toll on the audience's attention and therefore has to be compensated by repeating the narration of the same event twice with some adjustments. That the big brother returned home in the evening is already narrated in 4, 3–4 (=*LES* 13, 5), but is repeated in 4, 7–8 (=*LES* 13, 12–13) where the big brother is not referred to as her husband.

[95] Pain behavior refers to the various actions or postural displays that serve to communicate the fact that pain is being experienced. Pain behaviors can be verbal (e.g., verbal descriptions of the intensity, location, and quality of pain; vocalizations of distress; moaning, or complaining) or nonverbal (e.g., withdrawing from activities, taking pain medication, or pain related body postures or facial expressions). Keefe and Pryor 2007.

[96] While withdrawing from activities and lying down are among the more universal pain behaviors, drooling appears more specific to Egyptian culture. This explains the disagreement among scholars over a correct translation of the term *bš*. Several translations (e.g., Lichteim, Wente) have "vomiting," while Rowinska and Winnicki (1993, 85–89) argue that the verb is to be translated as "spitting," conveying the wife's contempt of Bata. Here, I have translated as "drooling" in light of Ritner 1993, 83. Ritner points out that dripping spittle was felt to characterize illness as well as old age. This nuance survives into a fourth century love spell preserved in Old Coptic, in which the accumulation of saliva is an omen of the victim's mental and physical distress: "If a large amount of saliva forms in your mouth as you speak, understand that she is distressed." PGM IV, 11.131–33 in Betz 1986, 40.

unless he does something, she will die, which is paralleled in the *Doomed Prince*.[97] Together

with the ensuing *pꜣ-wn tw≠i ḥr šnt pꜣy smi bin*, "because I am suffering (on account of) the evil

proposition/plan," the wife's speech constitutes the most explicit first-person account of pain in

the entire corpus of the Late Egyptian stories.

This scene as a whole, while not involving "real" pain, tells much about the character of

the wife, who uses the pretense of pain to her advantage. The event also moves the plot forward.

Immediately following the wife's speech is a new section beginning with a *wn.in* clause that tells

of Anubis, who becomes super angry and chases Bata with a spear. Bata is forced to flee, and we

are brought to another very dramatic scene (albeit in a different sense) where the next reference

to pain occurs. Full of strife and grief, the scene is the most emotionally charged scene in the

entire story:

Two Brothers 7, 7–8, 1 (= *LES* 16, 15–17, 6)
wn.in≠f ḥr ꜥrk≠f n pꜣ-rꜥ-ḥr-ꜣḫ.ty m-dd
  ir pꜣy≠k <iy.t> r ḫdb{≠k}<≠i> m grg iw≠k ḥr pꜣy≠k niwy ḫr-st-rꜣ kꜣt tꜣḥwt
iw≠f ḥr int wꜥt sf{n}d gꜣš
iw≠f ḥr šꜥd ḥnn≠f
iw≠f ḥr ḫꜣꜥ≠f r pꜣ mw
iw pꜣ nꜥr ḥr ꜥmꜣ≠f
iw≠f ḥr gnn
iw≠f ḥr ḫpr ḫsy-sw
iw pꜣy{≠k}<≠f> sn ꜥꜣ ḥr šnt ḥꜣty≠f r-iqr sp sn
iw≠f ḥr ꜥḥꜥ ḥr rmt n≠f qꜣ{≠f}
  nn rḫ≠f dꜣt r pꜣ nty pꜣy≠f sn šri im m-dr nꜣ mšḥw

Then he swore by Re-Herakhty, saying, "As for your coming to kill me unjustly, you
carrying your spear, on account of a prostitute's vulva,"[98] and he took a knife of reed, and
he cut off his phallus, and he threw it into the water, and the catfish swallowed it, and he
became weak, and he became "he is wretched." And his elder brother became greatly

[97] It also occurs in the love songs (Chapter 5). In a later Demotic tale (pCarlsberg 422), a similar episode is found,
this time a son to his father, when the father opposes the son's marriage to a certain girl: "These things which I am
saying, if they do not happen, death is the one who is with me as a friend and life is the one who is with me as an
enemy." Ryholt 2002, 364.
[98] More on the term, see Westendorf 1994, 349 ff. For a lexicographical analysis, Servajean 2012, 103–113.

pained/sick of heart, and he began[99] to weep for him loudly, he not being able to cross over to the place where his younger brother was because of the crocodiles.

The section is made of a *wn.ꞽn≠f ḥr sḏm* clause which relates Bata's dramatic oath, followed by eight continuative clauses. The first six relate Bata's actions and physical state of Bata,[100] and the last two, Anubis's emotional response. If we were to examine pain from a clinical perspective, the first six clauses would take priority: Bata has just created a situation that calls for immediate medical attention. From a literary perspective, however, it is the last two that are more significant. The first clause of this two has *ḥr šnt ḥꜣty≠f* as the predicate. The wording here is unusual. As shown in Chapter 2, expressions involving the pain word (*mr*, *šnꞽ*) and the heart word (*ꞽb*, *ḥꜣty*) occur frequently in the literary corpus. But in most of these cases, they are followed by the dative object, indicating where the pain is directed, which is not the self, but others. Here, there is no dative object. It is just Anubis and his heart.[101] What is this pain about, then? The text does not explicitly say, but if we may take the liberty of reading between the lines, this seems to be the kind of pain associated with remorse. Scholars have pointed out that Bata's emasculation expresses the physical affirmation of his innocence.[102] If what is expressed in the six continuative clauses does really prove Bata's innocence, it also proves that Anubis is guilty as charged: it was really on the account of the "prostitute's vulva" that Anubis came to kill Bata unjustly. The violence and irreparability of Bata's self-emasculation make the wrongness of Anubis' action particularly evident, and as a result, Anubis' heart feels that pang of guilt.

The final continuative clause doesn't have the pain word in it, but has as its main

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[99] Instead of "he stood, and he wept." See Junge 2005, 84.

[100] Scholars have interpreted Bata's self-emasculation in terms of Bata trying to add weight to his testimony and to prove his innocence, and in relation to the legend of Osiris. Hollis 1990, 103–114 for further discussion and bibliography.

[101] *šnꞽ* here has the same argument structure as *mn*. See Chapter 2.

[102] See Hollis 1990, 104 for the summary of the interpretation by different scholars and bibliography.

predicate *rmỉ,* "to weep," which is closely associated with pain.[103] It is followed by the dative

object. The 3ms suffix could be referring to Bata, but it could also be referring to Anubis

(ethical dative). In sharp contrast to the previous continuatives, the current clause is made far

longer by the circumstantial. Identifying the exact nature of the relationship between the main

clause and the circumstantial is not easy, especially when it involves a subtle emotional nuance. I

suggest that Anubis's not being able to get to where Bata is because of the crocodiles concretizes

the irreversible rupture in the relationship between the brothers, something this section as a

whole poignantly portrays.[104] On Bata's part, he is already aware of the reality.[105] For Anubis,

this is just dawning on him. Before going berserk, he was plowing the field with the little brother

and "*their* hearts were very pleased because of *their* work at *their* beginning of work." He is now

back to his ordinary senses, but there is a gulf (literally) between him and the brother. The days

of solidarity are past him, and the life will never be the same. The weeping in this context,

therefore, doesn't seem to be indicating sympathy for Bata, but mostly the grief over the loss of

shared life, which is made all the more painful by the fact that it is Anubis himself who brought

it about.[106]

The pain expression involving heart occurs two more times in the tale. Both instances

follow the more conventional usage, being followed by the dative object. In both instances, the

dative object refers to Bata.[107] The first of these occurs at the Valley of Cedar with the gods as its

subject:

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[103] See above in the discussion of the *Peasant*.
[104] Compare this scene to the reunion scene in 14, 3–4 (=*LES* 23, 2–3), where the language of "oneness" comes to the fore.
[105] 7, 1–2 (=*LES* 16, 5–6): *nn ỉw≠ỉ r ḫpr m-dỉ≠k r nḥḥ nn ỉw≠ỉ r ḫpr m st ỉw≠k m≠s{n}* "I will never with you forever, I will not be in a place where you." Similar expression also in 8, 3 (=*LES* 17, 10–11).
[106] Compare Anubis weeping here to that in 3, 3 (=*LES* 22, 16–23, 1), when Anubis finds Bata lying dead.
[107] In addition to these two instances, a negative emotion expression involving the heart occurs in 11, 1–2 (=*LES* 20, 15), which uses the word *ḥwꜣ,* "to rot, putrefy" with a pus determinative: *ỉw ḥꜣty≠f ḥr ḥwꜣ r-ỉqr sp-sn*… "and his (the washer of the pharaoh) heart became rotten very much…" See Toro Rueda 2003, 298–299.

Two Brothers 9, 3–6 (= *LES* 19, 2–8)

prt pw ìr.n≠f m pꜣy≠f bẖn
ìw≠f ḥr t̠ḥn tꜣ psd̠t ìw≠sn ḥr šmt ḥr ìrt sẖrw n pꜣ{y st}tꜣ r-d̠rw≠f
wn.ìn tꜣ psd̠t ḥr d̠d n wꜥ m≠sn ḥr d̠d n≠f
        ḥꜣ bꜣtꜣ kꜣ n tꜣ psd̠t ìn-ìw≠k dy wꜥ.tw ìw ẖꜣꜥ≠k nìwt≠k r-ḥꜣt tꜣ ḥmt n ìnpw
        pꜣy.k≠sn ꜥꜣ ptr ẖdb<≠f> tꜣy≠f ḥmt ḥr ìw≠k ꜥn n≠f wšb<n> t̠ìꜣ nb r≠k
        ìw ḥꜣty≠sn mr n≠f r ìqr sp-sn
ìw pꜣ-rꜥ-ḥr-ꜣẖty ḥr d̠d n ẖnmw
        ìẖ qd≠k wꜥt st-ḥmt n bꜣtꜣ tm≠{k}<f> ḥmst wꜥ

He went out from his villa and encountered the Ennead as they were going about governing the entire land. Then the Ennead spoke in unison, saying to him, "Oh, Bata, Bull of the Ennead, are you not here alone, you having deserted your town before the face of the wife of Inpw, your big brother. Look, he has killed his wife, therefore you have returned to him the account of any wrong against you," their hearts being pained for him very much. And Pre-Harakhti said to Khnum, "Build a woman for Bata that he may not live alone."

The reference to pain here is interesting because the notion of the god(s) feeling pain for humans, which is only implied or poetically evoked in *Sinuhe*, is here explicitly incorporated into the plot.[108] Similar to *Sinuhe*, the gods feeling pain for the protagonist (and helping the protagonist out of that pain) does not happen out of the blue, but the expectation that it will has been gradually building. At the beginning of the story, when Bata was still living with his brother and his wife, it was made clear that Bata is a hard-working family man. He would go out to the field, herd cattle and bring home every good thing for his brother and his wife.[109] When he arrives at the Valley of Cedar, Bata continues to do the same. Although he has switched from cattle herding to hunting wild animals,[110] he stills bring home every good thing (*ẖt nbt nfrt*). Here, he does not have any family, but he hopes he could start one (*n-ꜣbw grg n≠f pr*).[111] The obvious

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[108] The idea that the god(s) would grant someone's desire out of sympathy (instead of according to justice or on a whim, for instance) seems to be closely connected with the idea of personal piety, which refers to the intimate religious attitude towards the god who listens to prayers. As mentioned, the idea is already present in *Sinuhe*, but in the *Two Brothers*, (the text dated to the so-called age of personal piety), it is just made more obvious/ objective(?), largely owing to the third-person narration. In addition to the passage cited here, there's another instance that shows the personal god hearing prayer in 6, 4–6 (= *LES* 15, 11–13).

[109] 1, 2 (=*LES* 9, 13–14); 1, 4–7 (=*LES* 10, 4–7).

[110] 8, 9 (=*LES* 18, 11–12); 10, 1 (=*LES* 19, 12–13).

[111] 9, 2 (=*LES* 18, 16).

obstacle to Bata's family plan is that he doesn't have anyone (*ỉw nn wꜥ ḥnꜥ⸗f*) with whom he could start a family.[112]

That Bata is presented as being far from home and utterly alone creates a situation comparable to the one encountered in *Sinuhe*, where the audience is made to sympathize with the protagonist. Hence, by the time the Ennead enters the scene and starts speaking in unison, "Oh, Bata…aren't you here alone, having deserted your city…" it is as if the audience, too, is part of that unison (*wꜥ m⸗sn*). The gods' hearts ache for Bata, so does the audience's. What the audience can't do for Bata, however, is to help Bata start a family, but the gods can. Pre-Harakhty's having Khnum fashion a woman for Bata is *a propos*, both in terms of plot development and of audience engagement.

Too bad for Bata, acquiring a wife does not bring him happiness, only more trouble. Being disloyal and conniving, the wife treats Bata badly, which again puts Bata in a situation where someone ends up feeling pain for him. After having died once because of the wife, Bata comes back to life in the form of a bull, but the wife wants to have him killed again.[113] She places her new husband, the pharaoh, under an oath and corners him to the position where he is forced to kill Bata the bull.[114] The pharaoh, who has developed a great liking of the bull, feels much pain over the situation:

> **Two Brothers 16, 5–6 (= *LES* 26, 6)**
> *ỉw tw ḥr šnt n pꜣ ỉn⸗s r ỉqr sp-sn*
> *ỉw ḥꜣty n pr-ꜥ ꜥ.w.s mr n⸗f r ỉqr sp-sn*
>
> And one (pharaoh) suffered very much at/because of what she said, the heart of pharaoh, lph, being pained for him (Bata) very much.

Like the passage dealing with Anubis' pain above, the pharaoh's pain is spread out in two main

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[112] 8, 9 (=*LES* 18, 11). One-person household was not a thing in ancient Egypt.
[113] Like in the case with Anubis' wife, it is fear that Bata's ex-wife to do what she does. 16, 1-2 (=*LES* 25, 14–15).
[114] 16, 3–4 (=*LES* 26, 2–3).

clauses. The repetition *r ỉqr sp-sn* grabs attention. The pain conveyed in the first clause is not

directly about Bata, but about the wife's speech, indicated by the dative object *n pꜣ ỉn≠s*,

"at/because of what she said." The tale does not reveal much detail about the content of the

wife's speech to the pharaoh, save for how she wants to eat the bull's liver.[115]

The second clause is about Bata. The wording is same as that of the one involving the

Ennead. But unlike the Ennead who, out of their sympathy for Bata, step in and actively "help"

by fashioning the wife for Bata, the pharaoh here remains passive; instead of intervening to

rescue Bata, the pharaoh proceeds to kill Bata the next day. As such, the pharaoh's pain for Bata

does not seem to contribute much to the plot the way the Ennead's pain for Bata. I suggest that

the statement's main role is to convey the degree of affection the pharaoh has for Bata. Earlier, it

is said that the pharaoh loved Bata *r ỉqr sp-sn r rmṯ nb nty m pꜣ tꜣ r-ḏr≠f*, "very much, over any

human being in the entire land."[116] If you have no choice but to kill somebody that you love *r ỉqr*

sp-sn, of course, it hurts *r ỉqr sp-sn*.

4.3.1.2 The Contendings of Horus and Seth

The longest of the New Kingdom stories, *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* takes a

variety of pre-existing mythic episodes surrounding the rivalry between Horus and Seth and

interweaves them into one that ultimately ends with Horus' victory. At a surface level, it appears

as if there is little narrative logic connecting one episode to another. This has led some modern

scholars to complain about the long-windedness of the story.[117] That being said, the tale presents

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[115] 16, 4–5 (=*LES* 26, 3–5).
[116] 15, 6 (=*LES* 25, 6–7).
[117] Posener (1971, 240) describes it as "an interminable trial before the ennead convened under the presidency of Re." Oden (1979, 354) notes, "the tale does tarry, and it does try a reader's patience." Wente (2003, 91) says, "perhaps the one with the least literary merit, for there is very little in the way of suspense to maintain the reader's interest throughout the narrative." Broze's in-depth structural analysis of the tale (1996), however, shows that this is not simply the case. According to her, the cohesion of the text is primarily achieved on the level of form, in terms of

a rare opportunity to get a glimpse into the lively world of the gods as imagined by the ancient Egyptians. The values very dear to the Egyptians such as justice and family solidarity[118] get transposed onto the gods, and the otherwise austere Egyptian gods are depicted as subject to human fragility.[119]

Two references to pain are made. The first occurs in reference to Pre-Harakhti at the end of the first round of proceedings at the court. All the gods have expressed their view in favor of granting the office of Osiris to Horus, except for Pre-Harakhti, who is insistent on giving it to Seth. This results in impasse where all the gods are frustrated. Finally:

> **Horus and Seth 3, 10–4, 1 (=*LES* 40, 15–41, 7)**
> *iw bꜣbꜣ pꜣ nṯr ḥr dwn≠f*
> *iw≠f ḥr ḏd n pꜣ-rꜥ-ḥr-ꜣḫty*
>   *kꜣr≠k šw*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n pꜣ-rꜥ-ḥr-ꜣḫty **ḥr šnt** tꜣ wšbt ḏd n≠f*
> *iw≠f ḥr nmꜥ≠f ḥr psḏ≠f iw ib≠f r ḏw.w[120] ꜥꜣ wr ----- (A)*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n tꜣ psḏt ḥr prt r-bnr*
> *iw≠sn ḥr ꜥš sgb ꜥꜣ r-ḥr-n bꜣbꜣ pꜣ nṯr*
> *iw≠sn ḥr ḏd n≠f*
>   *pr n≠k r-bnr pꜣ btꜣ i.ir≠k ꜥy r- iqr*
> *iw≠sn ḥr šmt r nꜣy≠sn imꜣww*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n pꜣ nṯr ꜥꜣ ḥr irt wꜥ hrw*
> *iw≠f <ḥr?> nmꜥ ḥr psḏ≠f m pꜣy≠f sḥ iw ib≠f r ḏw.w ꜥꜣ wr -----(B)*
> *iw≠f ḥr wꜥ.t≠f -----(C)*

…and Baba[121] the god got up, and he said to Pre-Harakhty, "your shrine is empty."
Thereupon Pre-Harakhti suffered (on account of) the statement that was said to him, and
he lay down on his back, his heart (feeling) very bad. Thereupon the Ennead went
outside, and they let out a loud cry before the face for Baba the god. and they said to him,
"get out, this offence which you made is very great!" And they departed to their tents.

both graphics and narrative (as opposed to the causal relevance of the events that modern readers are more used to). See especially her comments on the significance of the repetition of structure in at ibid., 175–176.
[118] Cf. Sweeney 2002, 143.
[119] Cf. Baines 1999, 37: "This is a narrative about the world of gods that takes material, episodes, situations, transitivities from the divine context and reincorporates it into a story-telling framework that has a distinctly anthropomorphized cast…As the audience reads or listens, it does not believe in the things the narrative tells, even though they embody what is deeply true. In certain directions they go beyond what we would otherwise see in a literary story."
[120] The form of *ḏww* here should be stative, and the presence of *r* here, according to Gardiner (*LES* 41a, 3, 11a) is something that is "thoughtlessly borrowed from the adverb *r-ḏww*, which is used twice (6, 5 and 8, 5) in the text.
[121] More on Baba, see now Leitz 1994, 103–117.

Thereupon the great god spent the day, lying on his back in his pavilion, his heart (feeling) very bad, and he was alone by himself.

There have been some debates on what Baba's insult must have really meant,[122] although there are no conclusive interpretations regarding it. For the present purpose, though, we can conclude that it is bad enough to make Pre-Harakhti suffer and bad enough to make the Enneads yell at Baba and kick him out. Here, the word *šni*, as in Anubis's wife's speech, has the speech/proposition, rather than the heart, as the object. Although the gods have been all very mad at Pre-Harakhty, they avoid an open confrontation with him. Instead, they use the Baba incident as an excuse to go back to their respective tents (*r nꜣy≠sn ìmꜣww)*. This leaves Pre-Harakhty all alone. The continuative clause following the last *ḥꜥ.n* clause in the passage (B) repeats almost verbatim the content of the continuative clause following the first *ḥꜥ.n* clause (A), the only difference being the newly added *m pꜣy≠f sḥ* "in his pavilion." This newly added phrase conveys the solitude of Pre-Harakhty as it forms a contrast with the phrase *r nꜣy≠sn ìmꜣww* "to their tents." And if this contrast is too subtle to drive the message home, the last continuative clause (C) explicitly says that Pre-Harakhty is alone. The added emphasis on aloneness conforms to the pattern we have seen a few times, that pain and solitude go hand in hand. Accordingly, the cure comes from finding oneself in the company of others. The episode that directly follows tells of Hathor coming to visit Pre-Harakhty.[123] Once Hathor's dance cheers up Pre-Harakhty, Pre-

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[122] According to the interpretation put forth by Walls (2001, 99), the passage alludes to the Book of Dead, Utterance 93, where Baba is blamed for Re's sexual impotence. Broze (1996, 238–243) argues that *kꜣr šw* refers to the absence of the daughter Maat from the chapel or cabin of the solar barque. A parallel in Papyrus Anastasi IV 11,11 (= *LEM* 47, 9–10) suggests that the phrase refers to, in general, the state where an essential element is missing. He points out the idea of *kꜣr šw* contrasts with the idea of *kꜣr wḏꜣ*. According to what is often expressed in the solar hymns, the *wḏꜣ*-ness of the *kꜣr* is predicated on the presence of Re's daughters on the boat, and especially, the daughter Maat is required for the perfect navigation of the barque. Both interpretations place the passage within the dense network of mythological/religious meanings, therefore, invaluable. But neither fully explains how the insult works *within* the story. For instance, is Baba's insult in reference to the way Pre-Harakthy has been handling the situation at the court proceeding in the story? (Given the judicial context within which this scene is set, this sounds quite plausible). Is Baba practically saying that Pre-Harakhty has lost his sense for justice, and therefore his judgement has no relevance to the court proceeding? See Lichtheim 1976, 223 n.7.
[123] This is an allusion to the festival of the returning goddess.

Harakhty gets up and sits once again with the Ennead. Only then does he return to his normal duty of adjudicating.[124]

The second occasion occurs in the episode where Isis harpoons the two rivals who had transformed themselves into hippopotamuses.[125] In the beginning of the episode, Isis is seen *ḥr rmyt*, "weeping," because she thinks she is about to lose her son to Seth. Out of maternal instinct to look out for her son, Isis then makes a harpoon and hurls it into the water, intending to hit Seth. Instead, she hits Horus. The story continues:

> **Horus and Seth 9, 1–3 (= *LES* 48, 16–49, 3)**
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n ḥr ḥr ꜥš sgb ꜥꜣ r-ḏd*
>   *my nꜣi mwt ꜣst tꜣyꜣi mwt ꜥš n ḥmtyꜣt sfḫ mꜣi ink ḥr sꜣ ꜣst*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n ꜣst ḥr ꜥš sgb ꜥꜣ*
>   *iwꜣs ḥr ḏd n ḥmty*
>   *sfḫ{ꜣf} mꜣf mk sꜣ ḥr pꜣyꜣi šri pꜣy*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n pꜣyꜣs ḥmty ḥr sfḫ mꜣf*
>
> Thereupon Horus let out a loud cry saying, "Help me, mother Isis, my mother, call out to your barb to let go of me! I am Horus, son of Isis!" Thereupon Isis let out a loud cry and told the barb, "Let go of him! See, that's my son Horus, my child." Thereupon her barb let go of him.

The phrase *ꜥš sgb ꜥꜣ* appears often throughout the text.[126] Though it is frequently accompanied by the explicit expressions of sensation or emotion,[127] or gestures and behaviors closely related to them,[128] the phrase itself does not seem to be expressive of emotion, let alone expressive of one particular emotion. In this passage, the phrase is mainly used to introduce the speeches of the characters. What the phrase conveys is that the gods are not simply saying the words, but they

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[124] 4, 1–3 (=*LES* 41,7–11).

[125] The same episode appears in two Ramesside papyri that are known as the calendars of luck and unlucky days (Sallier IV and Cairo calendar). Leitz 1994, 54–7; Broze 1996, 76–78.

[126] See the table in Sweeney 2002, 149.

[127] E.g., joy in 1, 5–6 (=*LES* 37, 8–9) and anger in 13, 1–2 (=*LES* 54, 9–10).

[128] For instance, when Horus shows Isis his hands that have caught Seth's semen, she lets out a loud cry, "took up her knife, cut off his hand, threw them into the water…" 11, 6–7 (=*LES* 52, 5–7). Or, when Seth announces to the Ennead that he has done man's work again Horus, the Ennead "let out a loud cry and spat on Horus." 12, 3–4 (=*LES* 53, 7–8).

are yelling the words. Why all this yelling? It is only when trying to answer a question like this

that the need to refer to emotion becomes more obvious and natural. As for Horus, it can be

understood as a shout of pain and distress, as well as an urgent call for help. As for Isis, it is

maternal mirroring: the mother yells out of distress because the child yells out of distress.

In the latter half of the episode, Isis gives a second try at harpooning Seth and this time

she hits the right target. The phrase ꜥš sgb ꜥꜣ occurs once more, this time with Seth as its subject.

The way Isis responds to this is very interesting:

> **Horus and Seth 9, 4–9, 7 (= *LES* 49, 5–49, 11)**
> *wn.ỉn≠s ḥr wḥm r ḥwt≠f ꜥn r pꜣ mw*
> *ỉw≠f ḥr dp m ḥm n stẖ*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n stẖ ḥr ꜥš sgb ꜥꜣ m-ḏd*
>   *ỉr≠ỉ ỉḫ r≠t snt ꜣst ꜥš n ḥmty≠t sfḫ m≠ỉ ỉnk pꜣy≠t sn n mwt ꜣst*
> *wn.ỉn≠s **ḥr šnt ẖꜣty≠s n≠f** r ỉqr sp-sn*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n stẖ ḥr ꜥš n≠s r-ḏd*
>   *ỉn-ỉw mry≠t pꜣ s ḏrḏr r sn n mwt stẖ*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n ꜣst ḥr ꜥš n pꜣy≠s ḥmty m-ḏd*
>   *sfḫ m≠f mk sn n mwt n ꜣst pꜣ ỉ.dp≠k m≠f*
> *wn.ỉn pꜣ ḥmty ḥr sfḫ m≠f*

> Then she threw it again to the water, and it bit into the body of Seth. Thereupon Seth let
> out a loud cry, saying, "What have I done against you, sister Isis? Call out to your barb to
> let go of me! I am your maternal brother, Isis." Then she felt very pained/sick of her heart
> for him. Thereupon Seth called out to Isis, saying, "Do you love the stranger more than
> the maternal brother Seth?"[129] Thereupon Isis called out to her barb, saying, "let go of
> him. Look, it's Isis's maternal brother who you have bitten into." Then the barb let of go
> of him.

Seth's letting out loud cry conveys pain and distress, similar to that of Horus, but it also has an

added nuance that is not present in Horus' cry. Instead of a direct request for help (like Horus'

my n≠ỉ), there's some maneuvering or persuasion involved here, as indicated by the rhetorical

question.[130] He also makes use of kinship terms, addressing Isis as *snt*, "sister" and referring to

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[129] On the meaning of the term *ḏrḏr* and the significance of attributing it to Horus in the passage, see Broze 1996, 78.

[130] This seems to be one of rare instances where a wh-question is used as rhetorical question. Sweeney 1990, 327.

himself as *sn n mwt*, "maternal brother." This makes Isis halt. Her heart feels much pain for Seth.

Notice that the event of Isis' pain at this juncture is given in a *wn.ỉn* clause. According to Broze, a *wn.ỉn* clause creates a split between the action it introduces and the situation that precedes it, while an *ꜥḥꜥ.n* clause integrates the action into the context to which it is an immediate consequence or reaction.[131] Hence, having an *ꜥḥꜥ.n* clause would seem to make more sense, since Isis' feeling pain is a direct reaction to Seth's words. That an *wn.ỉn* clause is used instead, then, signals a shift in the flow of the sequence of events. To be sure, it doesn't seem to create a complete split in the narrative, but it still signals a subtle shift in the tone. When Seth speaks again, notice that he does not *ꜥš sgb ꜥ*, but just *ꜥš*-es. Mirroring this, Isis, too, simply *ꜥš*-es to the barb. It is as though, with the event of Isis' feeling pain for Seth, the frenzy that began the scene has calmed down a little. This, then, leads to an unexpected outcome: Seth is let go.[132] The event of Seth's release is also given a *wn.ỉn* clause. This contrasts with the event of Horus's release (9,3), which uses the same wording but is given in an *ꜥḥꜥ.n* clause. The subtle nuance created here in light of Broze's theory is that unlike Isis' release of Horus, which can be seen as a predictable and natural reaction, the release of Seth is not.

4.3.2 Post-Ramesside Literary Narratives

4.3.2.1 The Misfortunes of Wenamun

Surviving in an incomplete copy, *The Misfortunes of Wenamun* features the journey of the principal character Wenamun, who is sent to Byblos to acquire lumber for a new cultic barque. The text is framed as an official document, wherein the events of Wenamun's journey

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[131] Broze 1996, 211.

[132] It has been pointed out that Isis's response here is inconsistent with her character throughout the tale. As Sweeney notes (2002, 154), Isis is quintessentially a goddess who operates out of family loyalties, it seems to make much sense, since it is only this episode where the kinship between Seth and Isis is directly brought out.

are narrated in the first-person: Wenamun "reports" what he sees, hears, and experiences (almost) as they happen.[133] The strings of continuative clauses that are used throughout the text may appear to possess no literary merits, but they are actually very appropriate for imparting a great degree of immediacy and realism.[134] Much of the text is taken up by the direct speeches, and in particular, the lengthy verbal sparring between Wenamun and Tjkerbaal takes center stage.[135]

The title Gardiner gave to the text gives away that Wenamun's journey is rife with difficulties. He is robbed, mistreated, stranded, and beaten. But it is difficult to empathize with Wenamun than with the peasant, Sinuhe or Bata. In large part, it is because Wenamun is a less likable figure. We see him stealing and being rude, and as a rule of thumb, readers are less inclined to attend to the signs of pain of those whom they find morally reprehensible. Also, and not unrelated to the previous point, the difficulty has to do with the obscure authorial intention. Many scholars have identified the presence of an ironical authorial voice and see the text as a satire or parody.[136] In a satire, the characters undergoing pain are not supposed to invite pain, but humor. Most significantly, it has to do with the unique style of the first-person narration employed in the text. The style of narration employed in *Wenamun* verges on being omniscient, which provides many external details.[137] When it comes to the feelings/interior states of Wenamun, however, the amount and scope of information provide is very restricted. Wenamun, both as the character and the narrator, looks out to the external world, but hardly looks into

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[133] Baines 1999, 215.

[134] Jay 2011. The extent of realism led early scholars to regard the text as a real report. For the history of the scholarly reception of the text, see Winand 2011, 541–543.

[135] Baines (1999, 221) compares Wenamun's verbal sparring with Tjkerbaal to Sinuhe's fight to the hero. Cf. Suhr 2016, 120

[136] Blumenthal 1972, 11; Baines 1999, 211–212; Eyre 1999, 252.

[137] For instance, down to exact amount of silver and gold lost, or the amount of beer and meat provided by the chief, the amount of the shipped goods, etc., the emotions of the other character, and even the details of scenes which the first-person narrator could not have witnessed.

himself.[138] He appears to be lacking in self-reflection and/or emotionally muted. This is in sharp contrast to *Sinuhe*, where the first-person is optimized to make accessible Sinuhe's interior thoughts and sentiments to the audience, which, together with the carefully chosen generic forms for creating the appropriate mood, plays no small part in informing the audience of what is going on and prepares the audience to make sense of and share in Sinuhe's pain. In *Wenamun*, without any explicit comments by the "inner-self," the audience is left on their own and must glean from the subtle nuance of the speeches, or the reaction of other characters.[139]

As a result, even when we encounter Wenamun crying, it is difficult to figure out what to make of it. The passage featuring Wenamun's weeping is placed at the end of the Byblos phase, when Wenamun has finished the negotiation with the chief and is back at the shore:[140]

Wenamun 2, 62–68 (= *LES* 73, 13–74, 3)
ỉw≠ỉ šm n≠ỉ <r> sp{r}<t> pꜣ ym r pꜣ nty nꜣ ḫtw ỉm wꜣḥ
ỉw≠ỉ nw r 11 n br ỉw≠w {n}<m> ỉw {n}<m> pꜣ ym jw ns-st nꜣ ṯ-k-r r-ḏd
    ḏdḥ sw m-dy brw m-dỉ≠f r pꜣ tꜣ n kmt
ỉw≠ỉ ḫpr ḥms.tw rm
ỉw pꜣ sš n pꜣ wr ỉy n≠ỉ r-bnr
ỉw≠f ḏd n≠ỉ
        ỉḫ r≠k
ỉw≠ỉ ḏd n≠f

(ỉ)n bw ỉr≠k ptr nꜣ gš ỉ-ỉr ỉr sp sn n hꜣy r kmt	-----A
ptr st ỉw≠w nꜥy r qbḥ	-----B
šꜣꜥ.t ỉḫ ỉy ỉw≠ỉ dy ḫꜣꜥ.kwỉ	-----C
ḥr (ỉ)n bw ỉr≠k ptr nꜣ [ỉw] r ḏdḥ≠ỉ ꜥn	-----D

ỉw≠f šm ỉw≠f ḏd.t≠f n pꜣ wr
*ỉw pꜣ wr ḫpr rm m-{ḏr}<dỉ> nꜣ mdt [ỉ.ḏd≠w n≠f] ỉw≠w **mr**[141]*

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[138] Cf. Suhr 1999, 119: "Bei der Wiedergabe von Gedanken und Emotionen beschränkt sich der Erzähler auf von außen zu beobachtende Handlungen und Figurenreden des erlebenden Ich."
[139] Cf. Baines 1999, 217:
    Wenamun is among the narrative texts which least evidently mobilize their audience, and its balance of moral advantage and adversity is less obvious. Instead, part of what the first-person form does is to present a character in an apparently detached way…Wenamun handles character without Sinuhe's metalevels of passages that stand back to comment upon the narrative and upon the protagonist's sense of what it means and where it is going.
[140] Schipper 2005, 255 for a grammatical, formal analysis of the passage.
[141] The transliteration given in *Ramses Online* (a digital annotated corpus of Late Egyptian; this particular line has been annotated by Gaëlle Chantrain and Anne-Claude Honnay) has *smḥr* here. For reading of *mr* as *mḥr*, see

I took myself off <to> the shore of the sea to the place [where the logs were], being set down, and I looked at eleven freighters, they coming from the sea and belonging to the Tjeker, saying "Apprehend him! do not allow freighters (heading) for the land of Egypt to be at his disposal!" and I began to sit and cry, and the letter scribe of the Chief came to me outside, and he asked me "What is with you?" and I replied to him "Can you not see the migratory birds[142] who have already gone down to Egypt twice? Look at them travelling to the cool[143]! (But) until when (lit. until what comes) am I to be abandoned here, for can't you see those [who have come] in order to apprehend me again?" And he went and he reported it to the Chief. The chief began to cry because the words [that were said to him] were **painful**.

In terms of plot too, we cannot be so certain how this episode fits within the story as a whole, because of the missing ending. The quest structure makes full sense from the viewpoint of the completed quest. But even assuming that Wenamun eventually finds his way back to Egypt, and that the Byblos phase is meant to represent the climax of the story, having an episode whose "content appears almost entirely emotional"[144] at this juncture in the story is puzzling. Not only does it stall the story, but the emotional dynamics also here seem inconsistent with the rest of the story. For instance, the sudden emotional outburst and open display of vulnerability is at odds with the character of Wenmaun, who has remained, more or less, emotionally muted. That Tjkerbaal would cry after Wenamun is no less difficult to make sense of, in light of the nature of the relationship between the two portrayed thus far (not really on friendly terms) and the action of Tjkerbaal on the following day. Baines therefore sees this passage among those passages that do not take the narrative forward but contribute to enhancing the structure of the whole.[145] Baine's observation has merits, and I would like to elaborate on it by focusing on the last sentence of the passage, in which the word *mr* occurs.

Chapter 2, n.52. The word in question is placed at the very beginning of line 68, where the edge is slightly destroyed. There maybe enough space for *s* to fit in, but it is not certain.

[142] See Goelet 1983, 50–2 for *gsw*, "migratory birds."

[143] The *qbḥ* "cool" region is to the north of Egypt, Egberts 1991, 62–67, followed by Wente 2003, 123 and von Lieven 2007, 156. Goedicke 1975, 120, however, argues that it refers to the Nile delta.

[144] Baines 1999, 219.

[145] Baines 1999, 219.

Scholars have interpreted the last sentence as an instance of sympathy, reciprocal weeping, and solidarity.[146] While such interpretation cannot be ruled out, the wording/phrasing suggests a slightly different meaning for this last sentence. What the text says is *m-dì n' mdt ì.ḏd≠w n≠f ìw≠w mr*, "because the words that were said to him were painful," and there is no reference to a heart aching or a dative object referring to Wenamun. Instead, it is the words that are painful.[147]

The painful words most certainly refer to Wenamun's answer to the scribe's question, which comprises several lines of the text. The speech begins with the negative aorist *bw ìr≠f sḏm* construction (A),[148] followed by an imperative *ptr st* (B) and the terminative question + interrogative particle *š'.tw ìḫ* (C).[149] The last clause makes use of the *bw ìr ì≠f sḏm* construction again but this time preceded by the particle *ḥr* (D). The repetition of *n bw ìr≠k ptr* in (A) and (D) forms an inclusio to the speech. The object of *ptr* in (A) is the birds, and the object of *ptr* in (D) is pirates. This vividly captures what Wenamun is seeing at the moment. Recall that Wenamun is on the shore of the Mediterranean ocean, looking towards the sea. When you gaze toward the ocean from the shore, it seems as though the ocean meets the sky. There, you do not have to shift your gaze in order to see what is in the sky and what is in the ocean. The flock of ships and the flock of migratory birds are all within one scene. In that Wenamun's words here provide a snapshot of what Wenamun is seeing at the moment,

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[146] Baines (1999, 220 n.41), for instance, compares this instance with the instance of crowd's heart aching for Sinuhe, referring to both scenes as "quasi-proverbial anecdotes."

[147] The painful words, of course, presuppose a sentient subject who is pained by the words, and here, the sentient subject would be Tjkerbaal. But the wording foregrounds the quality of the words, not the emotional state of Tjkerbaal (or Wenamun).

[148] Junge 2005, 100.

[149] Winand (2011, 553) points out the parallel in *The Doomed Prince* (Harris 500 vso. 4, 12–13 = *LES* 2,12): *ìy ìḫ jw mì-nȝḥms.kw* "(it) occurs why, that I stay here?" According to hims, these two cases represesent rare instances of a fronted terminative in the Late Egyptian corpus.

their effect maybe comparable to the famous passage concerning the window of Tjkerbaal's upper room.[150]

I suggest Tjkerbaal's response to Wenamun's words with weeping is comparable to the case of the peasant's *mdt nfrt* being more beautiful (*nfr*) than anything in the pharaoh's heart. Tjkerbaal cries (pain behavior) because the object (the words) is painful.[151] The main difference between the two occasions (in addition to the difference in lexical choice) is that in the *Peasant*, although the words rose out of a painful situation, the words themselves are *nfr*, having been inspired by the longing for *maat*. It was precisely the pharaoh's concern for *maat* that made him particularly moved by the peasant's words. In the present case, however, neither Wenamun nor Tjkerbaal seems to have much concern for *maat*. Tjkerbaal's response is more "sensual," one may say, as illustrated by his gesture of sending food, wine, the Egyptian singer to Wenamun,[152] with the following message:

> **Wenamun 2, 70 (= *LES* 74, 7–8)**
> *wnm swr*
> *m-ḏy ṯꜣy ḥꜣty≠k sḥrw*
> *iw≠k (r) s ḏm pꜣ nb nty iw≠ i (r) ḏd≠f n dwꜣw*
>
> Eat, drink, do not let affairs seize your heart. You will hear everything I will say tomorrow.[153]

Baines notes that Tjkerbaal's actions toward Wenamun the next day do not show any sympathy for Wenamun, "the weeping is as it were bypassed."[154] In my view, this is precisely because there was not much sympathy to begin with.

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[150] 1, 48–50 (=*LES* 66, 3–6)
[151] Throughout the story, Tjekerbaal says and does a lot of things traditionally associated with the Egyptian pharaohs, but not quite the same way.
[152] 2, 68–69 (= *LES* 74, 4–6)
[153] The mood evoked here is reminiscent of that of the Harper's songs, which have been described as "melancholy carpe diem." Lichtheim 1945.
[154] Baines 1990, 220.

4.3.2.2 The Tale of Woe

The last text to be examined is Papyrus Moscow 127, more commonly known as the *Tale of Woe* or the *Letter of Wermai*.[155] Written in literary Late Egyptian, it was found in the same jar with *Wenamun*, but has received significantly less scholarly attention, owing to the unusual orthography, vocabulary, and grammar.[156] The text also represents a generic anomaly in that it is a literary text in an epistolary form,[157] with a significant narrative section. In the letter, Wermai tells his friend Usermarenakht how his life has been full of woes and pain and asks him to relay the letter to an unnamed benefactor, whom Wermai hopes might come to his aid.[158] In a narrow sense, only the parts in which Wermai recounts his past experiences constitute the narrative proper.[159] The ways in which this narrative section is conjoined to the requests and wishes, as well as to the very event of Wermai's letter, add further depth to representation of Wermai's pain.

Throughout the letter, Wermai embeds himself in the narrative where he figures as a

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[155] Caminos' 1977 edition includes the photos of the hieratic manuscript, hieroglyphic transcription, translation with extensive philological notes. For translations: Allam1975, 147–153; Quack 2001, 167–181.

[156] Osing 1983, 175. As Quack (2001, 168) points out, Caminos' edition provides detailed analysis of orthography and lexical meaning, but not much analysis of verbal system.

[157] The use of epistolary form in a literary context is very rare, and the onlyother known example is P. Anastasi I (Ramesside Satirical Letter).

[158] After the address and greetings that closely follow the New Kingdom epistolary style (1, 1–9), the two extended, rather sinister "far be it from you" wishes follow (2, 4), which are not all that typical but appear to be specifically tailored to the content of the letter. The language of the wishes is heavy on the theme of death, and Seibert (1967) has described this section as *Todesbefallenheit*, "death infestation." Moers 2001, 275. The language of this introductory part is closer to Middle Egyptian compared to what follows which is closer to Later Egyptian. Quack 2001, 168. For register variation within the letters, see Winand 1992, 23–25; Sweeney 2001; Gohy 2012. The phrase *ḥnꜥ ḏd nty* signals the start of the "meat" part of the letter wherein Wermai recounts his past hardship leading up to the present time (2, 4–3, 13; narrative I). This section can be further divided into three different stages, depending on the whereabouts of Wermai in his journey. The first part (2, 4–11) relates the persecutions he experienced in his hometown leading to the exile. The second part (2, 12–3, 4) narrates his wanderings, highly reminiscient of Sinuhe's flight scene and the third part (3, 4–13), gives the account since the arrival at the Great Oasis. Wermai then presents his request to Usermarenakht, that his letter be passed on to an unnamed benefactor, whom, Wermai hopes, will rescue him from his hardship (3, 13–4, 8). Next follows another narrative section (narrative II), this time, that of the more recent past, involving difficulties in producing enough grains to pay taxes (4, 8–5, 2). The letter then comes to a rather abrupt end. With no word of farewell, Wermais expresses more wishes (5, 2–6). See Caminos 1977, 79–80 for the plot summary.

[159] 2, 4–3, 13 and 4, 8–5, 2.

passive sufferer of injustice and violence. When he begins recalling past events, the verb forms

used are mostly statives and passive *sḏm≠f*s,[160] which convey the sense of how things just

happened to Wermai, and there was not much he could do:

> **Tale of Woe 2, 4–11**
> <u>tw≠ỉ</u> mn m grg
> <u>tw≠ỉ</u> gb.kwỉ ỉw bw mdt
> ꜥwn.k(wỉ) bw <bn?> n≠ỉ btꜣw
> ḫꜣꜥ.kwỉ bnr m niwt≠ỉ
> ỉṯꜣy ꜣḥ.wt bn st wḏꜣ
> …
> tk(n).kwỉ (r-) bnr m st≠ỉ n sf
> dd n ḫt tꜣ m šm-ỉw ḏry…

I was removed falsely. I was defrauded without speech. I was robbed. There was no
crime on my part. I was thrown out from my city, my property having been seized. It
could not be saved…I was chased away from my position of yesterday, made to wander
in going and coming strenuously.

> **Tale of Woe 3, 4–6**
> pḫr wḥwt ỉw≠ỉ ḥr rd.wy
> ỉṯꜣy ssmwt nhm wrrwy
> n3y≠ỉ htrỉ {i}<s>km m drt
> šsp nꜣy≠w ꜥgns(?)[161]
> k{ꜣ}y[162] ḥr-r≠w
> bw <bn?> ỉnk dỉ st ỉw≠ỉ mꜣwḏ.kwi ḥr šm.t

I wandered around villages, I being on foot. (My) horses were seized, and (my) chariot
was taken, my team snatched from my hand, their belts(=reins?) were taken, and another
was upon them. It was not I who I gave them(?), I being forced to walk.

In these passages, Wermai simply narrates one event after another from a relative distance. This

contrasts with the ensuing section where Wermai reflects on the solitary state that his exile has

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[160] Quack 2001, 169ff; Jay 2008, 19.

[161] Caminos (1977, 37) understands the sense of *šsp* here as "to suffer, endure," and for what comes after *šsp,* he suggests to read it as either *nꜣy≠w <spw> ꜥ(y) gns or nꜣy≠w <spw> ꜥ(y) <n> gns,* meaning "their great acts of violence." He thus gives the translation: "(I) suffered their (=the enemies') great acts of violence." Quack (2001, 176 n.86) rightly points out, Caminos reading requires too many adjustments. The alternative Quack suggests is to see *ꜥgns* as a corruption of *ꜥgs*, "belt."

[162] Caminos (1977, 37 n.10) understands the word to mean "cry out, scream," most probably because the word is followed by the hand to mouth determinative. According to Quack (2001, 176 n.86), however, this represents the common spelling of *ky* in other texts dating from the same period.

placed him in. Here, the narration of past events starts increasingly being taken over by introspection and statements about his feelings:[163]

> **Tale of Woe 3, 7–13**
> *wrš(≠ì) m nìwt bn ìnk st dmyt bn rḫ(≠ì) st*
> *ìry ḫppw*
> *…*
> *bs ḥꜣb r snf ìb m-ḏr spr ḥr ìwyt*
> *nn sp sn nḏnḏ ḫrw m-ḏr ìwt(≠ì) ḥr šmt*
> *ìwf qs ḫꜣꜤ ḥr qꜣrìꜣ ìn n-m sḥꜣp≠f sw*
> *bw ḥꜣb≠w r ms-ìb*
> *ptr nn mwt nn Ꜥnḫ bw nhꜣp n≠ì m nꜣy≠ì mr(w)*
> *ìw≠w ìḫ ḥr-sꜣ qnw ìw[164]≠ì (r) ḫrt-nṯr ìw≠ì (r) pꜣ mꜣ Ꜥḫty*

> I spent time in a city not my own, or a town I knew not, a companion of strangers[165] …If only there had been a message to comfort the heart when I fell a victim to wrong-doing. There never was an inquiry after my condition in the course of my comings and goings. When flesh and bone are abandoned on the desert-edge, who is going to bury him? They did not send (a message) to express concern for me. See, neither the dead nor the living cared for me in my pains. What will they (my pains) signify anyway, when I am in the realm of the dead and in the sight of the Horizon of God?

The temporality here is ambiguous. He is recalling the past events (*nn sp sn nḏnḏ,* "there was never an inquiry"; *bw ḥꜣb≠w,* "they did not send (a message); *bw nhꜣp n≠ì,* "(they) did not care for me"), but are the rhetorical questions that are interspersed between them (e.g., *ìn n-m,* "who… ; *ìw≠w ìḫ,* "what…") also of the past, or do they belong to the present? That is, did he make these comments back then and now only reporting that he made these comments in the past, or do they represent how Wermai feels about the past events at the moment of his writing? According to the snake from the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, recounting one's experience when pain has passed is joyful. For Wermai, it does not seem like pain has passed; Wermai continues to feel the pain's sting.

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[163] Caminos 1977, 77.
[164] Written with r for *ìw*. Caminos 1977, 42.
[165] According to Caminos (1977, 38), this is one of the compound words with *ìry*, literally, "a companion of unusual things" or "one associated with strangers," referring to a person that feels himself foreign or at least unfamiliar to the milieu. In the same place, Camino references a Coptic word with the similar connotation, ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲙⲙⲟ "the condition of a stranger." In Coptic literature, this condition was thought to be "as painful as the severest tortures which could be inflicted upon a Christian martyr."

It is during this temporally ambiguous section that the reference to the unnamed

benefactor is first made in order to solicit help. Wermai's request to Usermarenakht to pass on

the copy of his letter to the benefactor signals the transition to the here and now. As Suhr notes,

such reference to a copy of this letter adds a greater sense of immediacy and urgency to the

reader when he looks at the text that he is holding in his hand as if it were a copy made on behalf

of Wermai.[166] Also here another phrase with the word *mr* occurs:

> **Tale of Woe 3, 15–4, 8**
> *iw≠f dwꜣw m wḏ n≠f ḫn≠i n ib≠i m nꜣy≠i dbnbn*
> *wḏ n≠k wpwty tꜣy≠i mitt n≠i m st≠k*
> *ḥm.n≠i nfry nn rḫ≠sn bn sw*
> *…*
> **mk mr ib≠i**
> *iry≠i ꜣbd 1 ḫnr.kwi m nfry*
> *isp[167]≠i wnw {ḥr} m-di≠i*
> *…*
> *ḥꜥpw ꜣb*
> *tꜣ≠sn m wšr*
> *nn pr≠w m ꜣdi*
> *…*
> *wḏ n≠k iw ib(≠i) mḥ ḏd iw≠f (r) iyt n šwwy*
>
> He will come forthwith when my utterance is sent to him, (so I said) to my heart in my
> wanderings. Do send a messenger to him with a copy of my letter from your place. I
> know of no grain, nor do they know of it: people do not have it… see, **my heart is in
> pain**; I spent a month being kept away from grain. I ache with hunger (and so are) those
> who are with me…the Nile is stopped, and their land is darkness. They cannot escape
> from dire affliction…Send for yourself (my letter), for I am confident (lit. my heart is
> full) that he will come for the needy.

After the period of wandering by himself, Wermai arrives at the oasis to seek refuge. Life at the

oasis, however, is not anyway better. What seems to be happening in this passage is that Wermai,

in soliciting help, now embeds himself in the narrative of communal suffering. He has not seen

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[166] Suhr 2016, 130. See also Caminos 1977, 78 n.1
[167] Note the rarely attested verb *isp* "ache with hunger." *Wb*. I, 132.13; Lesko I, 54; TLA lemma-no.31480. Usually
written with the arm with the stick determinative, here written with the bad bird determinative. Caminos 1977, pls.
9&10

grain and is suffering from hunger, just like everyone else who is with him. In this context, the phrase *mk mr ib≠i* seems not to be just about Wermai's individual plight. Though it is his individual heart that is in pain, his pain is caused by *our*—the collective—plight. Correspondingly, the help that Wermai is seeking is not just for himself, but for the whole community of *šwwy*, "the needy" (4, 8).

Of no small significance is that the phrase *mk mr ib≠i* sounds manifestly archaic. Combined with the references to the dried-up Nile and the darkened land which are time-old literary motifs for portraying Egypt in distress, the current section is particularly reminiscent of literary laments. We shall examine the language of literary laments more closely in the next chapter. Here, suffice it to say that literary laments are a genre heavily concerned with *maat*. By providing extensive descriptions of woeful conditions that Egypt undergoes whenever *maat is absent*, literary laments call to attention the ever-present need for enacting *maat* at both individual and communal levels. Although no explicit reference to *maat* is made in the current passage, using the language that is reminiscent of literary laments using can produce a similar effect.

The ending of the letter, which Caminos has described as "an impassioned outpouring of sentiment in which regret, anxiety and hope combine"[168] is similarly archaic:[169]

Tale of Woe 5, 1–6
ḏd≠i n ib≠i tꜣy st nꜣ ṯꜣtꜣ tꜣy≠w spwy nꜣ ꜥmꜥm pšn.kwi m bꜣkiw ist di≠s tm r pr

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[168] Caminos 1977, 64.
[169] Quack 2001, 181. This section, too, is fraught with philological difficulties. The ending of the letter appears to be continuous with the narrative II that relates certain events involving grains and taxes. The events recounted in the narrative II seem to have taken place in more recent past than those told in the narrative I. The events narrated in the narrative II contain more specific details, including the quoted direct speeches, in a manner similar to the Late Egyptian letters. The immediate purpose the narrative II appears to be in providing the background on how Wermai and the people came to be in the plight mentioned in 4, 3. References are made to the burdensome tax (4, 12) and the false grain measure (4, 14). These references not only reflect the current state of the unjust society, but similar to the motifs of the dried up Nile and darkened land, are evocatice of the language of the literary laments. Hence, similar to the transition from the narrative I to the request, it is that signals the temporality has shifted to here and now.

ḥꜣn(ꜣ) my bw wḏ(ꜣⁱ)[170] *r-gsⱥk btꜣ ꜥꜣ wnⱥf ḥr nṯrⱥⁱ*

...

...

ḥꜣnꜣ my pḥⱥf nꜣyⱥⁱ sbtⁱw

I said to my heart, "Let the sparrows take the remnant of the grains, and let me be rid of the tax and the staff, which caused shame to excess."[171] O that I should not have to send to you (the message) about the great crime which was before my god…O that he should reach my oppressors.

The key feature expressive of the tone of Wermai's emotional state is the repetition of the particle *ḥꜣn(ꜣ)* followed by *my*.[172] In the next chapter, we will come back to the literary effect of the repeated use of this particle.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined pain as represented in Egyptian narrative literature of varying kinds. In particular, I focused on the scenes where the word *mr* (also less frequently *šni*) occurs as the locus, and how these scenes fit into the overall plot. The table below summarizes the representations of pain examined in this chapter.

Table 4. Representation of Pain in the Literary Narratives

Text	Pain Representation
Peasant	- Narrated: peasant cries out of pain, when abused by Nemtinakht - Petitions feature first-person account of pain by the peasant
Shipwrecked Sailor	- Snake refers to loss of his family as a painful event - By extension, the sailor's loss a painful event
Sinuhe	- The crowd feels pain for Sinuhe - Sinuhe asks the nameless god to feel pain for him.
Two Brothers	- The wife pretends to be suffering pain - Anubis' heart is pained (=remorse) - The Ennead feel pain for Bata - The pharaoh feels pain for Bata
Horus and Seth	- Re is pained by what was said in the council - Isis feels pain for Seth
Wenamun	- The chief cries having found Wenamun' speech painful
Tale of Woe	- Wermai narrates his life full of pain and woes

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[170] Reference to the act of sending the letter mirrors 4, 1.
[171] Literally, "caused (me) to be ashamed until (I) left."
[172] Caminos 1977, 65. Gardiner 1955, 288ff; Satzinger 1976, 109ff; Junge 2012, 88.

Perhaps the most obvious observation is the relative absence of physical pain. Even when situations that must involve a great deal of pain (e.g., Bata's self-emasculation) occur, the experience of pain is not given an explicit narrative statement. One way to think about this is in light of the notion of the "decorum."[173] The scarcity of explicit representation of pain in Egyptian monuments suggests that the Egyptians were not very fond of displaying pain in general.[174] This could have been out of social concerns,[175] but also out of a belief that that the images were potent. It is possible that textual representations were subject to similar constraints.

While physical pain is absent (or regarded as unimportant), what we normally associate with emotional or mental pain—such as pain caused by injustice, loneliness or sympathy for others—is given explicit representation and contributes to the plot. What does emotional/mental pain have that physical pain does not have? The significance of emotional/mental pain can be better understood when considered in relation to the mimetic (imitated/simulated) frames the

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[173] The notion of decorum has become quite complex since Bained first adopted it in his 1985 publication (developed from 1976 dissertation on the fecundity figures). More specifically, when Baines first introduced the notion, it was to give a name to a set of principles that account for the regularity in patterns of iconographic representation in the monuments. Upon noticing "a complex, tightly structured symbolic system—stricter in demarcations within unitary compositions than anything familiar from western art,"(2007, 16) he suspected that this was related to the Egyptian ideas of and concerns for enacting the proper world order and gave the following definition (Baines 1990, 20):

> …the decorum found on the monuments, which can be traced from late predynastic times, is a set of rules and practices defining what may be represented pictorially with captions, displayed, and possibly written down, in which context and in what form. It can be related to other constraints on action and reports on action…was probably based ultimately on rules or practices of conduct and etiquette, of spatial separation and religious avoidance.

Although at first, Baines only applied the concept to the domain of monumental representation, he subsequently expanded on the concept to apply to the domain of written texts, and finally to any "meaningful domains of Egyptian culture." The history of development of the notion is given by Baines himself in 2007, 15–17. As decorum connects the immanent properties particular artifacts to the non-immanent, i.e., social practices, it seems to carry a great explanatory force, and for this reason many Egyptologists have applied decorum as a tool of analysis or an explanatory framework for their research. Recently, however, there has been some criticism against using decorum as an all-encompassing explanatory framework. Cf. Gillen *forthcoming*.

[174] The few known representations are discussed in Prakash 2020.

[175] A line from the stela of *Uha* (OIM E16956. See Teeter 2003, 33-34), which describes the group circumcision ("I was circumcised with 120 men, there not being a man whom I struck…") seems to suggest that refraining from public display of pain was regarded as something honorable in ancient Egyptian society.

texts take on. For the *Peasant* or *Wermai* the frame of petition or letter is very closely connected

to pain's making its way into the text. The frame of the petition or the letter is meant to solicit

help from those in authority.[176] In asking for help, both the peasant and Wermai draw attention to

larger evil at a societal level. The kind of pain under consideration here is a rupture in *maat* that

is not confined to individuals. It is better described as social or moral pain, a type of pain which

the ancient audience would have been taught to be sensitive to.

The tomb autobiography frame of *Sinuhe* similarly informs the representational value of

emotional/mental pain. The most explicitly represented statements about pain in the text are

instances of those who are feeling pain for him as they watch Sinuhe. As the audience (both the

purported tomb visitors as well as the broader audience) is in a way watching—be it by hearing,

reciting/reading, or copying—Sinuhe's ordeal, the pain thus represented in the text appears as if

commenting on the audience's own response. Hence pain in *Sinuhe* serves as the locus of the

chronotopic exchange (the world of the text and the world of the audience converge) as

described in the introduction of this chapter. In light of how widely read/copied *Sinuhe* was in

Egypt, and how it is among the Egyptian literary texts that are most loved/appreciated today, we

can also imagine the Middle Kingdom scribes, New kingdom scribes, and modern Egyptologists

all coming together and feeling pain for Sinuhe.

Ramesside narratives do not make use of the mimetic frames to generate plot in a way

comparable to the ME narratives. In Ramesside narratives, heart (*ỉb* or *ḥꜣty*) + pain (*mr* or *šnỉ*) +

dative (variations of *mr* + *ỉb* + dative used in *Sinuhe*) inform the audience of the relational

dynamic between the characters and of the characters' motivations to action. One of its earliest

attestations, dating to the Old Kingdom, is found in the pyramid text (PT 508): *mr ỉb≠s n≠f ḏỉ≠s*

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[176] It is performative not exactly in the same way as the incantations examined in the previous chapter are. They are however similar in that both are meant to elicit a hoped-for outcome by words.

n∓f mnḏ∓s snq∓f sw, "her heart will be in pain for him, she will give him her breast so that he may suckle it."[177] Being fed with the mother goddess' breast milk is very important for the restoration/rejuvenation of the newly deceased king. And it is her feeling pain for the king that prompts the mother goddess to suckle the king. Pain here encodes the intimate affection inherent in the mother-son relationship. Whenever the expression is used in the Ramesside narratives, it seems to signify love (more intimate kind than the English word "sympathy" carries), which at times appears "irrational." One of the most memorable instances is that of Isis vis-a-vis Seth in *Horus and Seth*. Isis is always looking out for her son; the bond is very tight, and this is precisely the reason why she opposes Seth. But when she is reminded that Seth is after all her maternal brother, she can't help but feel pain/love for him, too. She lets him off the barb. The action does not align with her intended goal. It actually ends up costing her, making her Horus very upset. At the same time, there is something good and beautiful about the whole scene, as it seems to suggest that this pain/love is capable of overcoming the bad blood.

In short, the kind of pain that made its way into the Egyptian literary narratives is the kind of pain that exists between people, that which is conducive to bringing people together. It is worth noting that while it is the individuals that suffer pain, but the pain suffered by these individuals is not necessarily about themselves. An analogy would help. When you see something with your eyes, although it is your eyes that see, what you see is not yourself (with the exception of self-reflection); when you hear something with your ears, it is your ears that hear but what you hear is not yourself. Similarly, when you feel pain with your heart, it is your heart that feels pain, but the object of pain is something other than itself. In the next chapter, we shall examine more closely the role of heart in feeling pain.

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[177] Also discussed in Chapter 2, eg. (101).

CHAPTER 5

Pain in Egyptian Poetry[1]

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I continue examining pain in the literary sphere, but turn to two different genres of poetic compositions, the so-called literary laments and the love songs. This chapter is primarily concerned with the ways in which the aesthetics of the Egyptian poetry interact with the experience of pain. Both the literary laments and love songs are works of verbal art that Egyptians considered beautiful: the literary laments are examples of what Egyptians called *mdt nfrt*, "beautiful speech"; the love songs, as indicated by the titles they sometimes bear, *tsw nḏm*, "sweet verses."[2] Albeit in varying degrees and manners, both genres feature the speakers undergoing pain, and this chapter looks at how the verbal artistry contributes to giving shape and substance to the speakers' pain. Towards this goal, I subject the select passages to close reading to delineate the ways in which the elements— verse structure and parallelism, use of first-person voice, and expressions relating to the heart—work together to capture and enact a type of movement. I suggest this is a kind of movement that begins deep inside the heart (cognitive and affective), and through the vehicle of artistic (beautiful) speech, becomes transmitted and amplified. Furthermore, I suggest that proper understanding of this movement illuminates the nature of pain involved in both genres.

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[1] Arguably, "poetry" or "poem" is not the most appropriate term to designate the genre of the texts examined in this chapter. More specifically, in common parlance, poetry or poem is associated with verse structure, which is contrasted with prose. Since some of the texts examined in the previous chapter (such as *Sinuhe*, the significant portions of the *Peasant*, or the *Tale of Woe*) are also written in verses as well, the label "poetry" does not seem to adequately differentiate the texts in this chapter from those of the previous chapters. The criterion I used to here is narrativity/non-narrativity: unlike the texts treated in the previous chapter, the literary laments and the love songs are not primarily concerned with representing a sequence of events.

[2] For Indo-European parallels where poetry is characterized as sweet, West 2007, 89–90.

This chapter also addresses the relationship between pain and leisure/entertainment. The aesthetics of these texts are also known to be related to the function of these texts to provide pleasures to the audience. As we have seen from the previous chapters, Egyptian texts— literary and non-literary alike— require the audience to participate in the reality represented and enacted by the texts in one way or another, which implies the audience of these poems and songs is expected to participate in the experience of pain. It is a curious thing, then, that the texts that are to provide entertainment ask the audience to voluntarily partake in pain. How does the pain experience contribute to entertainment? Is the entertainment achieved by pain or despite pain? While the full treatment of the topic is well beyond the scope of this dissertation, I would like to use this chapter as an opportunity to broach the topic.

5.2. Literary Laments

The literary laments (or, as otherwise known, pessimistic discourses) refer to a group of texts characterized by the dominant mood of grief and pessimism.[3] Besides the overall pessimistic mood, the subject matter can be wide-ranging and the degree of abstraction with which they are dealt varies from text to text.[4] Among the *topoi* that are frequently observed across the corpus include: Asiatic invasion, inversion of social hierarchy and cultural traditions,

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[3] For an overview of the form and content of the literary laments, see Junge 1977, 275–84; Blumenthal 1996, 105–135. It should be noted that, just with any kind of Egyptian texts, the literary laments too defy neat classification. In the past when Egyptian literature was primarily divided into wisdom texts and narratives in the manner after the tradition in biblical studies, the laments were treated as the subtype of the wisdom genre. Cf. *LÄ* III, 964–992; the text corpus compiled by Posener (1951, 27–48 and 1952, 117–120), which divided Egyptian literature primarily into wisdom texts and narratives). Lichtheim (1997, 1–8) was the first one to point out this was problematic. More specifically, Lichtheim noticed that though the laments share with other didactic texts their essentially non-narrative nature, unlike didactic texts—which are explicitly framed as giving good advice and inculcating wisdom—they take the form of lengthy monologues (or dialogues) where the wisdom is sought in a more discursive manner. Here, I follow the classification scheme and terminology by Parkinson, who divides Middle Kingdom literature into three groups based on the content: "narratives/tales", "teachings/instructions" (*sbꜣyt*), and reflective "discourses" (*mdt*). Parkinson subsumes the literary laments bunder the last category. See Parkinson 2002, 294–5. It is worth nothing that unlike "teachings" which would continue to develop, albeit taking new forms, in later periods, "discourses" do not.
[4] Parkinson 2002, 193.

breakdown of central kingship, ecological disaster (mostly with an unusual condition of the Nile), moral depravity, prevalence of death, etc.[5] The dramatic mode of presentation, in which a first-person speaker laments the horrible things he is witnessing in Egyptian society, imparts immediacy and emotional valency to the texts.[6] Often, the first-person speaker would wrestle with thorny philosophical/theological questions, such as the problem of evil and theodicy.[7] The sense of immediacy and emotional intensity, instead of sacrificing the intellectual rigor, enhances it.

In the past, because of the setting and subject matter internal to the texts as well as the classical Middle Egyptian they are written in, the Middle Kingdom composition date was widely accepted.[8] Moreover, the portrayal of the distraught Egyptian society in these texts was generally accepted as being based on the historical reality of the First Intermediate Period, appropriated by the Middle Kingdom elites for varying purposes, be it political,[9] philosophical or literary entertainment.[10] In contrast, more recent scholarship appears rather agnostic to questions of the historical accuracy of the representation of Egyptian society in the texts. Instead, recent research

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[5] Cf. Blumenthal (1996, 108–124) lists five main motifs of the genre. a) the terrible world; b) reproaches to the god and the god's justification; c) the hopeful world; d) art of speech and wisdom; and e) the individual and the god.
[6] Cf. Parkinson 1997, 9.
[7] Cf. Parkinson 200, 130–138; Enmarch 2008, 55–58.
[8] For recent scholarship on dating Middle Egyptian literary texts, see Stauder 2013.
[9] The political reading is most famously associated with Posener (1956), so much so that his reading of these texts came to be designated with its own label, "propaganda model." Junge (1977) sees them as ritual ideological fiction, whose details are not real but elaborated, meant to highlight the role of the king as guarantor of *maat*. Quack (1997, 353) also regards these texts as political propaganda. Further on the propaganda model of literature, see Parkinson 2002,13–16. Assmann adds a little more nuance to the account. He regards the *Prophecy of Neferti* "neither a historical description nor a ritual ideological fiction; it is codified memory." 2003 [1996], 109. Spekaing of the literary laments in general, he adds that they

> […]likely reflect the experiences undergone by at least some members of the upper stratum of society during the period of decline and form part of a "therapeutic" literary tradition that reaches back to the Sixth and Eighth Dynasties. Every major experience of loss precipitates heightened memory, and this memorializing perspective on what has been forfeited gives rise to a construction of the past. Ibid., 110.

[10] Cf. Lichtheim1973, 145–146.

seems interested in uncovering some other areas of varying academic interests, such as linguistic

dating,[11] orality and performance,[12] or cultural identity.[13]

The recognized corpus includes: *The Prophecy of Neferti*,[14] *The Dialogue of Ipuwer*,[15]

The Lamentations of Khakheperreseneb,[16] *The Dialogue of a Man with his Ba*,[17] *The Discourse*

*of Rensene*b, *The Discourse of Sasobek*,[18] and *The Discourse of the Fowler*.[19] Among these, I

shall focus on the first three, and partially the fourth. The last three have been excluded, for they

are too fragmented to be able to identify significant patterns.

5.2.1 Then-and-Now Formulation

Grief and anguish expressed in the literary laments is linked to the perennial Egyptian

concern for *maat*, as the collective/common good. We already saw an instance of this in the

previous chapter. In the *Eloquent Peasant*, the peasant's petitions are not only concerned with his

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[11] Cf. Stauder 2013.

[12] Cf. Enmarch 2008.

[13] Cf. Polus-Wegner 2021, 93–102 links the distinct rhetorical strategies employed in *Neferti* to reinforcement of the Egyptian cultural and social identity.

[14] The text is fully preserved in pPetersburg 1116 B. It also survives in several incomplete copies, whose provenances include both Memphis and Thebes. Translation of the text can easily be found in anthologies such as Lichtheim 1973 and Simpson 2003. Helck 1992 provides the hieroglyphic transcription. Among the notable studies of the text include Goedicke 1977; Blumenthal 1982, 1–27.

[15] Also known as *The Admonitions* from Gardiner 1909. It is the longest extant poem in the Middle Egyptian corpus (c. 660 + lost part). The text is preserved on a single Ramesside copy—Papyrus Leiden I 344—with a missing beginning and end. Refer to Enmarch 2008 for comprehensive literary analysis on the text as well as for references.

[16] The principal text is from a writing board (BM EA 5645) dated to the 18th dynasty. An ostracon (oKairo JE 50249) also preserves a couple parallel lines. Some of the notable studies include: Gardiner 1909, 95–110; Kadish 1973, 77–90; Vernus 1995, 1–33; Parkinson 2002, 200–2004. Barbotin 2012, 1–20 is the most recent. Barbotin argues that EA 5645 is a missing beginning to *The Dialogue of a Man with his Ba*, but see Parkinson 2003 and Escolano-Poveda 2017 for discussion on fragments of the lost beginning.

[17] Also known as Lebensmüde. It is preserved on a single late Middle Kingdom copy, Papyrus Berlin 3024. The text consists of 155 short vertical lines, including the end, but an unknown proportion of the composition at the start is missing. It is one of the most interesting, yet difficult, literary compositions surviving from ancient Egypt. Many Egyptologists have written about the text. Refer now to Allen 2010 for comprehensive analysis with references. Allen 2015, 327–359 is an abridged version with hieroglyphic transcription, translation and notes. Parkinson's introduction and notes to his translation of the text included in his anthology (1997, 151–165) are also valuable.

[18] pRamesseum I = BM EA 10754. An opening narrative episode introduces a dancer and a man named Sasobek, who is imprisoned in a dungeon and voices his laments. Barns 1956; Parkinson 2002, 305–306.

[19] BM EA 10274. It preserves a middle part of a literary composition dated to the late Twelfth Dynasty. Parkinson 2004, 81–111.

own case, but with the suffering undergone by Egyptian society as a whole. At the root of this suffering was the failure of officials to uphold justice, and the bitterness harbored by the peasant was made particularly poignant by the extensive use of parallelism centered on a paradox: those who are supposed to relieve pain are doing just the opposite, i.e., causing pain. This type of parallelism that repeatedly juxtaposes two opposing ideas is widely employed in the literary laments, serving as the main structural and thematic principle. Among such types of antithetical formulations is one specific kind that Egyptologists have come to refer to as "then-now (einst-jetzt) pattern."[20] It is referred to as such, because the antithesis usually consists of one of the ideal past (then) and one of the current chaos (now).[21] Below are examples from the texts of *Neferti* and *Ipuwer*:

Neferti 54–55

sꜣ (w)-ꜥ	The weak man (then)
m nb ꜥ	as the lord of force (now),
tw <r> nḏ ḥr.t	one salutes him (now)
nḏ ḥr.t	he who used to salute (then).
di≠i n≠k	Let me show you
[ẖry]	the lowermost (then)
r-ḥry[22]	as uppermost (now),
pẖr.ti m-sꜣ	what is followed after (now)
pẖr ẖt ≠{i}	is what (from which) the belly used to turn (then).[23]

Ipuwer 7, 8ff

tm ir n≠f ḏbꜣt	He who could not make for himself a coffin (then)
m nb ḥꜥt	is owner of a tomb (now).

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[20] Schnekel 1984, 51–61; Westendorf 1986, 5–8.

[21] The details of imagery do not necessarily need to be taken as portraying contemporary, specific historical situations. They are said to constitute a literary *topos* of a schematic anti-ideal "inverted world (verkehrte Welt)." Enmarch 2008, 19–20 & 39. For an alternative view, Hassan 2007; E. Morris 2020.

[22] This literally becomes true in Coptic. As ehrai means both below and above in Coptic, those who are ehrai are indeed ehrai.

[23] This is a rather difficult, convoluted (befitting of the word *pẖr;* it seems to mimic the shape of the determinative) line. Many different translations have been suggested. For instance, Parkinson (1997, 138) reads "the man who followed after, now the man leading a generation." Tobin (2003, 219) translates "He who (once) followed obediently now goes his own way" has a footnote "Lit. He who walked behind is one who turns his body." In general, *pẖr.ti m-sꜣ* is taken as the "then" component and *pẖr ẖt* the "now" component. My translation here takes it the other way around. This is not random but in reference to *tw <r> nḏ ḥrt nḏ ḥrt* earlier which also has the "now" element before the "then" element. So, there are two sets of chiasmus (then-now-now-then) in this passage.

mtn nbw wꜥbwt	Look, the owners of sepulchers (then),
dr ḥr qꜢnr	are repelled onto the high ground (now);
tm ir n≠f qrs	he who could not make for himself a burial (then),
m-<nb>-pr-ḥḏ	is <owner> of the treasury (now).
...	…
mtn nb ḫt	Look, the owner of property (then),
sḏr ibi	spends the night thirsty (now);
dbḥ.n≠f tꜢḥt ≠f	he who begged his dregs for himself (then),
m nb sḫr.w	is the owner of sxrw-beer (now).
mtn nbw ḏꜥy.wt	Look, the owners of linen (then)
m isy.wt	are those of old clothes (now);
tm sḫt n≠f	he who could not weave for himself (then),
m nb p(Ꜣ)q.t	is the owner of fine linen (now).
...	…
mtn iwty šwyt≠f	Look, he who had no shade (then),
m nb šwyt	is the owner of shade (now);
nbw šwyt	the owners of shade (then),
m wḫt n(t) ḏaw	are in the darkness of storms (now).

About half a century ago, Peter Seibert argued that the use of antithetical statements in literary laments could be traced to the laments of mourners at funerals in captions to funeral scenes in tombs.[24] Consider the following examples:

TT 137, caption by the mourning woman at the head of procession[25]

pꜢ rs-tp	The vigilant (then)
m qd	is asleep (now);
pꜢ iwty ꜥw n grḥ	The one who did not sleep at night (then)
sw m nn rꜥ nb...	he lies weary all day (now).

TT 296, caption to the mourning women[26]

pꜢ sḫry	The glib one (then)
h(Ꜣ) s sgr	silence has befallen him (now).
pꜢ rs-tp	The wakeful one (then)
m qd	is asleep (now).
pꜢ iwty ꜥwy grḥ	The one who took no sleep at night (then)
sw m nn rꜥ nb	is weary every day (now)…
pꜢ ḫrw	The one with the booming voice (then)
gr bw mdw n≠f	is silent, he does not speak (now).
pꜢ ip ḏt≠f	The self-aware one (then)

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[24] Seibert 1967, 19–25.
[25] Lüddeckens 1943, 136 (no.65).
[26] Osing 1992, 54–55 & pl.36. Cited in Assmann 2005, 114–115; Enmarch 2013, 96.

ḫmy	is unknowing (now).

TT 49, Caption to the group of wailing women[27]

ḏd mdw in nꜣ n wšb.wt	Words said by the wailing women:
imw[28] *sp sn*	Woe x2
ꜥḏ sp fdw	Be well x4
nꜣhww n wrḏ	Lamenting without tiring,
ḥy tꜣ ꜣqyt	Oh, the loss.
pꜣ mniw-nfr	The good shepherd (then),
šm r tꜣ nḥḥ nḥm.n≠k	gone to the land of eternity you are taken away (now).
pꜣ ꜥšꜥ rmṯw	He who had many people (then),
tw≠k m tꜣ mr wꜥ	you are in the land that loves loneliness (now).
pꜣ mr wn≠f rdwy≠f r šm	He who loved to stretch his legs to walk (then),
inqt mrw ḏri	is bound, wrapped up, hemmed in (now).
pꜣ ꜥšꜣ pqt mr wnḫ	He who had many linens, loved clothing (then)
sḏr m sfḫ n sf	is sleeping in yesterday's cast-off clothing (now).[29]

Later, building upon the observation made by Seibert, Assmann linked the use of the "then–now pattern" to the rhetorical purpose of literary laments' presenting the topsy-turvy world as comparable to the state of death.[30] Sure, death could be a good thing for the deceased in ancient Egyptian religious belief,[31] but for the bereaved, it is marked by irreversible discontinuity, a rupture between yesterday and today.

Enmarch has raised doubts about the relationship between literary and non-literary laments, though not specifically against Assmann's argument, saying: "beyond a common

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[27] Lüddeckens 1943, 112–114 (no.49); Davies 1933, pl.24.

[28] Written with [reed leaf + Z 11 + either A-bird or m-bird + standing man with arms stretched above]. Different readings suggested by different translations. The translation given in Davies (1933, 41) has "praise" (*iꜣw*). Lüddeckens translates as "wehe."

[29] Davies 1933, 41 n.13: referring to the bandages of the dead, which were often taken from worn household linen; they offer clear indication of previous use.

[30] Assmann 2005, 138–139. In contrast to Seibert and Assmann, Schenekel (1984, 51–61) links the formulation to the legal context. Also, they see then-now not as the end, but functioning to build up the expectation to the restoration of the former condition. A-B-A'. Cf. Westendorf 1986, 5–8.

[31] It is however said that starting from the post-Amarna period, i.e., long after these texts were written, the hitherto unambiguously positive portrayal of death in tombs undergoes some shift. Assmann 2005, 3:
> Firm belief in immortality made it impossible to include songs expressive of pain and sadness, songs that would have immortalized the negative side of death and the realm of death. In the immediate wake of the Amarna Period, however, this taboo was lifted, and the texts sound an entirely new note expressive of pain and sadness.

Assmann's insight, while profound, needs to be taken in conjunction with what other scholars have said on the same phenomenon.

pessimistic outlook, there is little to explicitly link the liturgical and tomb caption laments with those found in Middle Egyptian literature."[32] In my view, even if the literary laments did not historically "inherit" the rhetorical structure from the funerary laments, Assmann's insight that the literary laments convey the sense of discontinuity comparable to that observed in the funerary laments can still be of relevance on the thematic grounds. As I hope to demonstrate below, in both funerary and literary laments, then-and-now formulation is employed to capture and enact some kind of movement, which has both verbal and bodily components. In my analysis, I foreground this sense of movement as a main component of a form of pain, commonly known as grief.

Starting from the funerary laments seems appropriate from a heuristic point of view. In general, it is easier for an average modern reader to relate to the pain resulting from the loss of loved ones than to the pain resulting from the loss of *maat*. One could use what is found from the poetics of the funerary laments as a springboard to start thinking about the poetics of the literary laments.

The caption to the wailing women in the TT 49 example cited above is but a part of a larger scene, which also includes the mourning widow of the deceased. Accompanying the widow are:

TT 49, Caption to the mourning widow[33]

wꜣyt ir≠k sw mi-iḫ	…far away; how can you do that?
šm≠i wꜥ.kwi	I may go, being alone,
ḥr swt m-ꜥ≠k m-sꜣ≠k	but with you and behind you (?)
pꜣ mr sḏd ḥn≠i	One who loved to chat with me (then),
tw≠k gr {wt}? bw mdw≠k	you are silent, you do not speak (now)!

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[32] Enmarch 2013, 97. Enmarch's reasoning is that antithetical formulation is not unique to the funerary laments but is also seen in other genres such as hymns and eulogies. To this, Enmarch also adds that while the literary laments were composed before Amarna, then-now formulation is not employed in the funerary laments from the pre-Amarna tombs. He then argues that Middle Egyptian literary works should not be seen as direct transcriptions of oral compositions and that there was probably a complex relationship between the lost oral poetry and the partly attested literature where each affected the other. See also Enmarch 2008, 45.

[33] Lüddeckens 1943, 109–111 (no.48); Davies 1933, pl.24.

Presumably, what is being communicated by the widow's lament here is not just the facts described as such. The facts are deceptively simple. The man was once alive, now he is dead. It is also difficult to characterize what is going on here as simply a "pessimistic outlook." What adds depth to the deceptively simple facts or a pessimistic outlook is the widow's pain/grief. The words here convey the relentless pain of loss and bitterness of the bereavement. The then-now pattern, I suggest, dramatizes the widow's experience, by simulating the movement the widow's heart/mind is forced to make, oscillating from one end to the other end. The sense of harmony or union that long characterized their relationship is now ruptured by death.[34] The widow is not just sad but also confused.[35] As an analogy, consider how it makes one feel disoriented/dizzy when forced to move from one place to another quickly. Motion sickness happens "when the movement you see is different from what your inner ear senses."[36] The widow's disorientation as conveyed by the then-now formulation points to something similar. Against her will, her mind moves from one pole to another. The key here is to think of the two poles not in respect to the objective point of reference, but in respect to "I." It is not simply that random man or general somebody was once alive and is now dead. It is the man who used to be with me and is no longer with me.[37]

While the wailing women may not feel exactly the same way as the widow, the sorrow would have been shared, nonetheless. Emotion is known to be contagious. It is most commonly

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[34] Cf. The relationship between Bata and Anubis as discussed in Chapter 4.

[35] If we recall the passage from *Sinuhe* (cited in Chapter 4), where it describes the mourning in the Residence, which is characterized by static and calm mood, the widow's grief here is closer to Sinuhe's restlessness.

[36] CDC website. One source describes "a *discontinuity* between either visual, proprioceptive, and somatosensory input, or semicircular canal and otolith input." Kohl 1983. Another source describes it as that which occurs "when there is a *mismatch* between actual versus expected sensory inputs." Takov and Tadi 2021.

[37] For somebody who has just experienced a loss, this oscillation happens over and over again. The moment you think you've adjusted to the new reality of not having the person in your life, another piece of memory surfaces, "oh, he used to do this," "he used to hate that," etc, that makes you feel all over again how real he is/was.

observed among infants and young children. One baby starts crying, soon all the babies in the room are crying. [38] Emotional contagion is known to be stronger among those who are "similar" (i.e., share close interpersonal/social ties). Mourning women usually consisted of the close relatives.[39]

What distinguishes from the "one baby crying-soon all the babies crying situation" from the funerary lament is, of course, for the latter, crying is accompanied by words.[40] While the mourning women's laments do not sound as intimate and personal as the widow's lament,[41]the similar sense of disorientation is conveyed by the same then-now pattern that enacts the oscillating movement between two poles of then and now. Lamenting in group facilitates the transfer of the emotion between people.[42] Not that the current usage of the word emotion retains its etymology, (e + *movere*), but it reminds us: there maybe after all a notion of movement built into the word. To feel or have an emotion is to undergo a certain type of motion. And when the person undergoing this type of motion does not keep the motion within oneself but lets it out in a public-sphere, those who hear are also drawn into the orbit of this motion. As represented in the tomb in captions, the lament of the widow and that of the wailing women are kept separate. In

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[38] Scientists attribute this to mirror neurons, "a class of neuron that modulate their activity both when an individual executes a specific motor act and when they observe the same or similar act performed by another individual." Kilner and Lemon 2013. Growing research suggests that automatic mimicry activated by mirror neurons may be closely implicated in empathy. Prochazkova and Kret 2017.

[39] Enmarch 2013, 86–87. In Ptolemaic Egypt, however, they could be hired in. See Cannata 2021.

[40] Cf. Nagy 2020, 63–74. Nagy is a classicist, but his works can provide insight to those working with laments in other areas. See also Austin 2021 whichs is also on lament and grief in Homer but takes a very different approach from Nagy.

[41] The deceased is mostly referred by the participles, or ⸗f, though also by ⸗k a few times. The title (and instruction?) suggests this could be part of a repertoire, which some people may be tempted to think of as a sign of lack of spontaneity.

[42] Lüddeckens (1943, 183) notes that male professional mourners express conventional confidence in afterlife; while the dead man's wife, expressing personal loss and longing, displays pessimism. According to Sweeney (2002, 44–5), expression of grief was deemed more appropriate for female than for male.

reality, however, their laments would not have been kept separate as they would have occurred in the same place.[43]

With this is mind, we return to the literary laments. Note, I am not here suggesting that these were performed as a part of ritual; the exact nature and degree of emotions also would have been different. Even so, the then-and-now pattern can still be viewed as enacting and facilitating the similar movement in the audience of the literary laments. Here, we do need a stretch of imagination. Recall from the Introduction Bakhtin's notion of the secondary genre and the idea of dialogicity. The literary laments serve as the medium through which grief becomes increasingly shared: not just my pain, but our pain. A wave of (e)motion travels through the mourners across generations. A metaphor? Maybe. It does not make the grief any less real though.

5.2.2 A Call to Weep

Unsurprisingly, references to weeping are prevalent in the literary laments. The *topos* of the land in destruction often includes the weeping that is heard throughout the land:

Ipuwer 3, 13-14

iw ms sbṯ ꜣq.w	O yet laughter perished,
[n-] ir.tw≠f	[is no] longer done.
im *pw nty ḫt tꜣ*	It is *mourning*[44] which is *throughout the land*,
šbn ḥr **nḫwt**	mixed with *lamentation*.

Khakhperreseneb rto. 11–12

wnn tꜣ sn{t}i-mni(t)	The land is passing in pain,[45]
irtiw *m* **st nbt**	there are *lamentations everywhere*.
nt spꜣwt m **iꜥnw**	Towns and districts are in *mourning*,
ḥr-nb twt ḫr iw	all people are united under crime.

In *Ipuwer*, the weeping and mourning are extended to the animals and the god(s):

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[43] I do not mean they were necessarily said all at once. It could have taken an antiphonal form. In fact, the term nꜣ n wšbwt seems to have derived from the wailing womens' responsorial role.

[44] Vocal demonstration of grief. Enmarch 2008, 93.

[45] See Chapter 2.

Ipuwer 5, 5–7

*ỉw ms ʿwt nbt ỉbw≠sn **rmw***
  *mnmnt ḥr **ỉm** m-ʿ sḫrw tȝ*
ỉw ms msw srw ḥwỉ.tw r sȝwt
ẖrdw nw nḫt dỉ.tw ḥr qȝnr
*ẖnmw ḥr **ỉm** ḥr wrḏw≠f*

O yet, all herds[46] *their hearts weep,*
  cattle *mourn* because of the state of the land.
<small>O yet children of officials are thrown against the walls,</small>
  children of prayer being placed on high ground,
  Khnum *mourns* because of his weariness.

Not only does the text describe the weeping already taking place, but it also calls forth for

weeping:

Ipuwer 10, 3– 4

***rmy** rf tȝ-mḥw*
šnʿ n nsw
  hȝỉ≠ỉ ỉn.tw n≠ỉ n bw-nb
ỉw pr-nsw ʿws r-ḏr≠f
  <m>-ẖmt bȝkw≠f

Let the Marshland weep,
the royal storehouse
  is free-for-all[47] for everyone,
the entire royal estate lph
  is without[48] its revenues.

Ipuwer 16, 13–14

***rmw** rf nṯr*
šmsw≠sn ʿq r ḥwt kȝ
wbd twt…

Let the gods weep,
their followers enter against Ka-chapels,
  statues being burned…

This call to weep is most interestingly developed in the prophesy in *Neferti*, and it is worth

looking into the text as a whole to see how this works. The frame narrative of *Neferti* is set in the

time of Sneferu. Neferti is summoned by the pharaoh with the expectation that he would deliver

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[46] The word *ʿwt* evokes the mankind, as humankind is often referred to as the cattle of the creator god. E.g., *Meriakre* E 130–131; *Westcar* 8, 17. See Enmarch 2008, 107.

[47] Lit. "Should I go down, it would be brought to me." Also in *Ipuwer* 6, 9: *ʿnḫt n kmt m hȝỉ≠ỉ ỉn.tw n≠ỉ,* "The grain of Egypt is a free for all." *hȝy* and *ỉn* here are likely to be referring to what the Peasant is doing in R 1, 2–3: *mt wỉ m **hȝt** r kmt r **ỉnt** ʿqw ỉm n ẖrdw≠ỉ,* "Look, I am going down to Egypt in order to fetch grains therin for my children." It is used as an idiomatic expression similar to the way *ỉs ḥȝq,* "go and plunder" is used to refer to easy prey. See Hoch 1997, §194. Cf. Parkinson 1997, 195 n. 82; Enmarch 2008, 119 and 163. It is worth noting that both *hȝy* and *ỉnỉ* have deictic meaning, being projected from the viewpoint of those who do not dwell in the "center." Contrast the way the pharaoh in the *Peasant* refers to the peasant's *hȝt* and *ỉnt* in B1 112–114: *mk **ỉw** wʿ m nȝ n sḫty r šwt pr≠f r…wnn≠k ḥr rdỉt **dỉ.tw** n≠f ʿqw,* "Look, one of those peasants **comes** to the land (Egypt) because of the emptiness of his house…You shall have the grains **given to** him…"

[48] *GEG* §178.

beautiful speech for entertainment.[49] Before he begins, Neferti recollects,[50] and when he begins,

he begins by addressing his own heart:

Neferti 17–21

ỉw≠f mḥ≠f ḥr ḫprt m tꜣ	He ponders the events in the land,
ỉw≠f sḫꜣ≠f qni n ỉꜣbtt	he recalls the turmoil of the East,
ḫpỉ ꜥmw m ḫpš{tw}≠sn	the Asiatics wandering in their strength,
sh≠sn ỉb nw nty ḥr šmw	terrorizing harvesters' hearts,
nḥm≠sn ḥtrw ḥr skꜣ	seizing the cattle from ploughing.
ḏd≠f	He says:
ḫws ỉb≠ỉ	Pound, my heart,
rm≠k *tꜣ pn*	and **weep** for this land,
šꜣꜥ.n≠k ỉm≠f	that which you began therein,
gr m ỉwḥ	Silence is what overwhelms(?)[51]
mk wn ḏd.tj rf m stryt	Look, what is said of it should (inspire) respect,
mk rf wn wr m ptḫ	Look, the official will be laid low,
<u>*m wrd*</u>	do not be weary.[52]
<u>*mk st ḫft-ḥr≠k*</u>	Look, this is in front of you,
ꜥḥꜥ≠k r ntt m-bꜣḥ≠k	May you attend to what is before you.

The five units preceding *ḏd≠f* describe the act of recollecting and the content thereof. Notice the

first two units both beginning with *ỉw≠f* are syntactically and semantically parallel, but the object

of the second *ỉw≠f* clause specifies the object of the first *ỉw≠f* clause: Neferti is thinking about the

events in the land, more specifically, the turmoil of the East. It has the effect of zooming in. The

next three units do not have the introductory *ỉw≠f*, and syntactically could be taken as

subordinated to the object of the second *ỉw≠f* clause. They add descriptive details to the "turmoil

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[49] See the Excursus at the end of this chapter.

[50] For Indo-European parallels for poetic activity being characterized as an act of calling to mind, see West 2007, 33–35.

[51] In addition to its primary meaning "to sprinkle with water, to moisten" (*Wb.* I, 57.1–8), *ỉwḥ* also has an extended meaning of "libation" and "bathing" (*Wb.* I, 57.9). This has resulted in a wide variety of translations by different scholars. Refer to the list compiled by Dils in TLA: https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/S02?wc=172496&db=0. I am following Parkinson 1997a. Parkinson sees this line as involving double imagery centered on water: 1) to be silent here is to not weep, and 2) weeping involves lot of tears, which the Egyptians see it as a form of water, which is appropriate the subject of predicate *ỉwḥ*. While silence is considered as a virtue, to be silent and not speak out when it requires, is not right. See the discussion on the *Peasant* in Chapter 4.

[52] Cf. the caption to the wailing women from TT49 cited above: *nꜣḥww n wrḏ*.

of the East." Things are getting more real with each clause. The spontaneity and directness add poignancy to the speech.

The prophesy proper starts with the imperative *ḥws* followed by vocative *ib≠i*.[53] The word *ḥwsi* is commonly is used in the context of building a monument, and has the meaning of pounding, beating.[54] With the heart as the subject of the action, we can understand perhaps its meaning in relation to the pounding motion and sound of the heartbeat: Neferti is telling his heart to beat louder or faster.[55] What is of greater interest is the *rm≠k* that follows. The referent of the 2ms suffix pronoun is undoubtedly the heart. As a subjunctive following the imperative, it continues the force of the imperative from the previous *ḥws*: Neferti is telling his pounding heart to weep. The object *t³ pn* refers back to *t³* from the frame narrative (*ḥprt m t³*) and serves to tighten the sense of continuity carrying over from the frame narrative to the content of Neferti's speech. However brief, these two clauses forcefully arrest the attention and effectively establish an anticipation that the "prophesy" will unfold in the form of Neferti's speech to his own heart. The audience (both internal and external) is only overhearing this talk.

For the rest of the text, the same frame of Neferti's direct address to his own heart is maintained. At various points punctuating the prophesy is the phrase *d≠i n≠k*. By presenting what he sees through the mind's eyes via speech, he tries to elicit from his heart to weep.

Neferti 38–39
di≠i n≠k	Let me present to you,
t³ pn m sny-mn	the land in catastrophe,
tm ḥpr ḥpr…	what should not happen, happens…

Neferti 44–45
di≠i n≠k	Let me present to you

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[53] Alternatively, it could be analyzed as a prospective *sḏm≠f*, "may my heart pound."
[54] *Wb*. III, 248.4–249.5; Cf. Posener 1956, 149–150.
[55] Alternatively, as the word *ḥwsi* also has the meaning "to stir, mix in a vessel," we can also understand what Neferti is telling the heart to do is to stir all the thoughts that are going through his mind (as conveyed by the verbs *mḥ* and *sḫ³*).

sꜣ m ḫrwy	the son as attacker,
sn m ḫfty	the brother as enemy,
s ḥr smꜥ ꞽt=f	man murdering his father.

Neferti 47

dꞽ=ꞽ n=k	Let me present to you
nb m nhp rwty ḥtp	the lord in sorrow, outsider in peace.

Neferti 54

dꞽ=ꞽ n=k	Let me present to you
tꜣ m sny-mny	the land in catastrophe,
sꜣ (w)-ꜥ m nb ꜥ	the weak man as the lord of force…

Neferti 55

dꞽ=ꞽ n=k	Let me present to you,
[ḫry] r-ḥry	that which is below, that which is above,
pḫr.tꞽ m-sꜣ pḫr ḫt={ꞽ}	The man who followed after, now the man leading a generation…

We may ask why Neferti is intent on inducing his heart to weep. Informing us are the following lines which describe the devastating future that Neferti foresees, marked by absence of weeping:

Neferti 24

ḥḏ tꜣ pn	Destroyed is this land,
nn mḥ ḥr=f	no one cares about it,
nn ḏd	no one speaks out,
nn ꞽr rmw	no one sheds tears.

Notice the verbs used here all echo the very acts that Neferti himself is engaged in. *nn mḥ ḥr=f* is matched by *ꞽw=f mḥ=f ḥr ḫprt tꜣ pn* in lines 17–18, *nn ḏd n* is matched by *ḏd=f* in line 20 and *nn ir rmw* is matched by *rm=k tv pn* also in line 20. I shall come back to the significance of this mirroring shortly below. For now, attention needs to be drawn to how this absence of weeping contrasts with the universal weeping as seen in the examples from *Ipuwer* and *Khakherreseneb* cited above. Usually, the land being destroyed is accompanied by a lot of weeping. Since a lot of weeping means a lot of suffering and pain, if there is no one weeping, should not this be taken as a positive thing, since there is less pain? But, here, Neferti is pointing out something else. Later

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in the text, there are two more passages that refer or allude to absence of weeping, both of which

also feature the series of *nn*:

Neferti 41–43

*nn **rm**.tw n m(w)t*	Death will not be wept at,
nn sḏr.tw ḥqr n m(w)t	Death will be not fasted for,
ib n s m-sꜣ≠f ḏs≠f	the heart of a man being only after himself.[56]
nn ir.tw sꜣmt mjn	Mourning[57] will not be made today,[58]
ib sṯnj ḥr≠s r-ꜣw	the heart having turned away from it entirely.

Neferti 51–53

*[iw] rꜥ iwd ≠f sw **r(m)t***	Re separates himself from mankind.
[wb]n≠f wn wnwt	Though he would rise when it is time,
nn rḫ.tw ḫpr mtrt	the occurring of midday will not be known,
nn tni[.tw] šwt≠f	his shadow will not be distinguished,
nn bꜣq ḥr dgꜣ.tw[≠f]	face will not be bright when looked upon,
*nn **ibḫ irt m mw***	eyes will not moisten with water.

The first passage points out the abnormality of absence of weeping for death. Death should be

mourned. Not only is this a natural response (i.e., you are inclined to do it as part of human

nature), but it is also the right thing to do (i.e., if you do not want to do it, you need to). It is a

form of affection and a sign of social solidarity. When people are selfish, however, they stop

responding to something as serious as death by mourning. Absence of weeping is therefore a sign

of prevalent selfishness, not less suffering.

Absence of weeping takes on a cosmological meaning in the second passage. To be sure,

here no explicit reference to weeping is made, but allusion is rich. The passage alludes to the

mythical rebellion of mankind. [59] Angered at mankind's rebellion against him, the sun god

slaughters them and then decides to separate himself from mankind by leaving the earth for the

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[56] Evil of selfishness is most extensively developed in *Man and Ba*, especially the "Who can I talk to today" litany.
[57] Lit. disheveled hair.
[58] Referring to future as "today" conveys the presentational immediacy.
[59] Parkinson 1997, 141–142 n. 22; Parkinson 1997, 233

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sky.[60] *Nn* clauses spell out the consequences of the sun's withdrawal from the land, one of which

is the eyes do not moisten with water. It also alludes to the mythical account of the creation of

mankind. Though the word *r(m)t* in line 51 refers to the mankind, wherever Re as the creator god

is involved, even if it is not meant explicitly, the word's association with *rmyt*, "tears" is

inevitably echoed. [61] According to Ritner, the pun between the two is not a random phonetic

accident in Egyptian theology; words are divine creations, so the pun expresses an underlying

cosmic linkage between the two concepts.[62] Weeping and mankind are linked cosmologically.

Based on this, we may then proceed to understand loss of tears with loss of humanity. Weeping

is what makes man man, both cosmo-mythologically and ethically. For Neferti, the absence of

weeping in the face of destruction of the land is a destruction on another level.

Note that despite the immediacy and vividness of Neferti's account, he is not himself

directly experiencing the catastrophe. He is seeing it and presenting it as now, but that now is not

now. I suggest that this is not merely a literary device, but something closely linked to the

rhetorical goal of the text as a call to weep. Dramatic presentation invites dramatic interpretation;

Neferti's deep and circumspect intuiting of events provide a model to emulate for the audience.[63]

The audience, when presented with Neferti's words, is invited to "see" these events though their

heart. And just like Nerferti who takes what he "sees" to his own heart to weep, the audience is

invited to do the same. If the then-and-now formulation serves as a more "raw" vehicle for

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[60] Cf. *The Myth of the Heavenly Cow*. The mytheme of repression of the rebellion recurs in *Merikare* (E 133–134; Quack 1992, 95) and the Calendar of Good and Bad Days (specifically, month 1, inundation season, day 12). See Leitz 1994, 23–25.

[61] In CT 1130, the creator announces: "From my sweat I created the gods. Mankind (*rmṯ*) is from the tears (*rmyt*) of my eye." On a related note, lines 22–23 which reads *šꜣꜥ rꜥ m grg tꜣ ꜣqw r-ꜣw n ḫpr ḏꜣt*, "may Re begin to recreate, for the land is ruined entirely, no remnant exists" could be alluding to Re's weeping as well. Since the mankind came from Re's tears, with everyone gone, recreation of mankind would seem to require yet another round of weeping by Re.

[62] Ritner 2022, 86.

[63] Cf. *Ipuwer* 1, 8: *šm nb-qd m ꜣrtiw m-ꜥ ḫprt m tꜣ*, "the possessor of characters goes in mourning because of what happened in the land."

lamenting, this ironic framing motivates it intellectually. It adds a great evocative force, inducing

audiences to use their imaginations in reliving the events and live out the drama in their own

context.

5.2.3 Pain and Introspection

The text known as Khakheperreseneb echoes a number of themes and motifs featured in

Neferti,[64] but Khakheperreseneb delivers them in a more introspective manner.[65] Though lacking

a frame narrative like Neferti, the text is preceded by the title that is suggestive of its

contemplative character: *ḏꜥr ḫnw m ḥḥꜣ n ꜣb* "probing of the matters/utterances by (means of)

searching of the heart."[66] Owing to this title, the text has been variously described as a

soliloquy/dramatized monologue, or an interior dialogue. In what follows, I shall focus on two

sets of repetition, that progressively deepen the introspection and render dynamic the experience

of pain.

After the introductory *ḏd≠f*, the speech begins with *ḫꜣ n≠i*, "if only,"[67] an expression

characteristic of deploring one's situation:

Khakh. rto. 2–4

ḏd≠f	He says:
ḫꜣ n≠ꜣ ḫnw ḫmmꜣ/[68]	If only I had unknown utterances
ṯsw ḫppy/	and extraordinary[69] verses,
m mdt mꜣ(w)t tmt swꜣ/	in a new speech that does not pass away…

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[64] Parkinson 1997, 144.

[65] To be sure, Neferti is also very introspective, as the content of the prophesy is a result of recollection of his mind, and the whole speech is framed as an address to his own heart.

[66] Different translations suggested by others include: Gardiner (1909, 97), "…with ingenious mind"; Kadish (1973, 77), "the searching for phrases in racking the brain"; Parkinson (1997a, 146), "the seeking of utterances with heart-searching"; Simpson (2003, 212), "the search for words by an inquisitive mind." On the argument structure of *ḥḥꜣ,* Winand 2016.

[67] See the discussion on Wermai in the previous chapter on this particle. It is further discussed below in the discussion of the love songs.

[68] / marks the verse point (red dot).

[69] *Wb*. III, 259.14–15.

The speaker-poet laments the difficulty in finding the right words to express his anguish. The speech here is highly self-referential: it is a speech that is searching for a speech, yet itself already being that speech.[70]

"If only" occurs two more times. It functions like a leitmotif organizing the poem.[71] A development or progression of a theme can be observed from one occurrence to another. If the first "if only" has introduced the problems of speech as the topic, the second "if only" adds on to the old topic a new one:

Khakh. rto. 7–9

ḫ³ ³ rḫ≠ì ḥm.n kywy/	If only I knew what was unknown to others,
m tmm.t wḥm/	what is still unrepeated,
ḏd≠ì st wšb n≠ì ìb≠ì/	I would say them so that my heart would answer me,
sḥḏ≠ì n≠f r mn≠ì/	that I may enlighten it about my pain,
wìn≠ì n≠f ³tpw nty ḥr psd≠ì/	and transfer to it the burden which is on my back,
ḫnw m sfn{.n} wì...	the matters, namely, that which afflict me...[72]

Here it is revealed that the reason the speaker wishes he had innovative utterances is because he deems it would have an effect of unloading the burden onto his heart.[73] The third "if only" occurs at the end of the recto:

Khakh. rto. 13–14

ḫ³ n≠ì ìb m rḫ wḥdw/	If only I had a heart which understands suffering,
k³ ìrì.y≠ì sḫnì ḥr≠f/	then I would alight on it,[74]
³tp≠ì sw m mdt nt m³ir/	I would load it with words of misery,[75]
dr≠ì n≠f mn≠ì/	and drive away my pain onto it.

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[70] Cf. Parkinson 1997, 144. This results in a highly convoluted line like rto. 5: *n ḏd ḏd ḏd ḏd.t(y)≠fy/* "no speaker has spoken yet. May one who will speak now speak."

[71] To be sure, these divisions do not correspond the formal division into three "paragraphs" that the text on the recto is arranged in. Each paragraph consists of four to five lines. Paragraph 1 (rto. 1–4); paragraph 2 (rto. 5–9) (has the date *ìbd 2 šmw sw 28* in red ink at the end); paragraph 3 (rto. 10–14). See pls. xxxii-iii in Kadish 1973. The first if only occurs at the beginning of the first paragraph, the second if only occurs in the middle of the second paragraph, and the third if only occurs towards the end of the third paragraph.

[72] Kadish 1973, 81 n.z.

[73] Reminiscent of the peasant seeking to let it all out. See the previous chapter.

[74] For the sequence of *ḫ³-k³*, see *GEG* §243. It is also discussed below for the love songs.

[75] For *m³ir*, refer back to Chapter 2; n.84 below.

On the surface, it seems to reiterate what has already been said in the previous section (e.g., unloading the pain onto his heart), but now what the speaker wishes to have is not the utterances, but the heart that understands suffering (*ib m rḫ wḥdw*).[76] This development can be understood in relation to the passage interposed between the second and the third "if only." Rto 10 begins with the statement *ink pw Hr nkꜣy m ḫprt/ sḫrw ḫpr ḫt tꜣ*, "It is that I am contemplating on what has happened,[77] the state of things that have occurred throughout the land." This is then followed by the series of antithetical statements describing the land in calamity.[78] This passage consisting of the antithetical statements are the utterances that the speaker was wishing that he had earlier. By the third "if only," he has managed to churn them out.[79] But instead of being relieved of the burden as he hoped, the speaker continues to suffer.[80] It turns out the problem is not about having the right utterances, but about having the heart that can endure.

This paves the way to the text of the verso. Unlike the recto, the verso consists of one long paragraph. In the verso, "if only" does not occur anymore. After the introductory *ḏd≠f n ib≠f*, which echoes the introductory *ḏd≠f* on the recto, the heart is directly addressed, in imperative + subjunctive:

Khakh. vso. 1

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[76] Or "able to endure," or "knows patience." Observe how the repetition plays with the contrast between *rḫ* and *ḫm*. *ḫꜣ n≠i ḫnw ḫmmi >ḫꜣ ꜣ rḫ≠j ḫm.n kywy > ḫꜣ n≠i ib m rḫ wḥdw*. Hence, *ḫm > rḫ- ḫm > rḫ*.
[77] The use of *ink pw* is here a little puzzling. Customarily, it has been translated "I contemplate on" or "I am contemplating on," etc., but such translations do not capture the sense conveyed by the nominal *ink pw*. The nominal sentence in the midst of subjunctives jumps out. Refer to Hoch §144 for *ink pw* used in explanations. The writing of *nkꜣy* presents a grammatical challenge. It is followed by the seated man determinative (also found on the parallel line in oKairo), but in the pseudo-verbal construction, the determinative is superfluous. The same sentence occurs again in verso 1, but without a seated man determinative. Cf. Barbotin 2012, 13, n.62
[78] Rto. 10–12.
[79] Cf. rto. 3: *sḫꜣk≠i ḫt≠i ḥr ntt im≠s/ m fḫ n ḏd nb*, "I shall filter my body on account of what it is in it, by releasing of all speech." Note the verb *sḫꜣk* (*Wb.* 4, 268.5–8; MedWb 792 f) is not very well attested and is mostly known from medical texts, which makes it likely to be a medical metaphor.
[80] Rto. 13. Cf. Parkinson 1997a, 149 n.8.

ḏd≠f n ỉb≠f/	He says to his heart:
mỉ m ỉb≠ỉ mdw≠ỉ n≠k/	O come, my heart, that I may speak to you.
wšb≠k n≠ỉ ṯs[w]≠ỉ/	May you answer me my verses,
wḥ'≠k n≠ỉ n' nty ḫt t'...	may you explain to me the things upon the land…

ṯsw≠ỉ refers back to the antithetical statements from the recto, but also anticipates yet another

series of antithetical statements, which follow immediately after and continue till the end.[81] Here,

Khakheperreseneb expresses his suffering in most direct manner, using many of the words

surveyed in Chapter 2:

Khakh. vso. 4–5

*dw'.tw r **wḥdw** r'-nb/*	One wakes up to suffering every day,
*'ww wdn **mn≠ỉ**/*	long and heavy is my pain,
*nn pḥty n **m'ỉr**/*	without strength for the miserable,
<nḥ>m≠{r}f m-' wsr r≠f/	(for) saving him from the one stronger than him,[82]
***ḫ'yt** pw gr r sḏm.t/*	silence against what is heard is a disease,
***ỉh** pw wšb n ḫm/*	but the answer of the ignorant is pain.

The poem concludes with the speaker returning to address his heart:

Khakh. vso. 5–6

ḏd≠ỉ n≠k ỉb≠ỉ wšb≠k n≠ỉ/	I speak to you, my heart, that you shall answer me.
n gr.n ỉb pḥ/	A touched heart cannot be silent.
mk ḫrt b'k mỉ nb/	Look, the servant's needs are like the master's,
'š'{t} wdn ḥr≠k/	many things are weighing upon you.

These closing lines with obvious echoes to the previous lines attest to the coherence and

completeness of the poem as a whole. For my purpose, I would like to draw attention to the

development from *ḏd≠f* (rto.1), *ḏd≠f n ỉb≠f* (vso.1) and now, *ḏd≠ỉ n≠k ỉb≠ỉ* (vso.5). As a form of

Chinese box construction, the development can be seen as a mimetic frame for introspection.[83]

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[81] Vso. 1–5. As in the recto, here too the description of the calamity is preceded by *ỉnk pw ḥr nk' m ḫprt*.

[82] Previous translations all suggest what's happening here is the weak having no strength to protect/save himself against the strong. E.g., Parkinson 1997a, 48: "the pauper has no strength to <save himself> from the more powerful man." Barbotin 2012, 14: "l'indigent n'a pas la force qui le préserverait de plus puissant que lui." They all insert *sw* after *nḥm≠f* (or sometimes reconstructed *m<k>t≠f*) for this line of translation. But the miserable/wretched never had really had the strength to save himself against the powerful even during the good days; that's what why the elites had to protect them. See the examples listed in Chapter 2 under *m'ỉr*, especially the example #51. I am wondering if the speaker is lamenting his own lack of strength to protect the weak.

[83] Akin to the structure of the *Shipwrecked sailor*.

To elaborate, not only do these phrases serve to introduce a speech, but they also each constitute an event of speech (a quotation within a quotation within a quotation). Taken individually, they are three different frames, representing three different speech events. But when strung together, they create but one unified frame that dramatizes the theme of the poem, *ḏar ḫnw m ḥḥy ib*, "probing of the matters/utterances by (means of) searching of the heart" mentioned in the title.

Also, notice another set of interlocking repetition: *wšb n≠i ib≠i* (rto. 7), *wšb≠k n≠i ṯs[w]≠i* (vso.1), and to *wšb≠k n≠i* (vso.5). With each iteration, the speaker presses the heart further. The frame seems to be simulating that journey which progressively moves deeper into, or grows closer to one's innermost being which is the heart.[84]

How does this progressively introspective frame relate to the experience of pain? Even when the similar/same things are said, when directly addressed to the heart, the vocative character renders the meaning of the utterances to be more deeply/personally felt. To illustrate, consider how one is often advised to not take something too personally; by not taking it personally, one is spared of getting hurt. What we see in *Khakheperresenb* is just the opposite: one should take the affairs that are already afflicting you more personally. By taking closer to the heart (the goal is to *pḥ ib* as indicated by vso. 5), you are to feel more pain.

Invitation to feel more pain appears counter intuitive. A line from the later Demotic wisdom text may provide a clue: "suffering of heart and tongue is that which causes a prophet to come into being."[85] Could it be that the Egyptians associated suffering of heart with acquisition of wisdom and knowledge?

5.3 Pain in Egyptian Love Songs

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[84] Cf. The phrase "my heart spoke to me" for inner dialogue and "the Chamber of Darkness" in the Book of Thoth, Jasnow and Zauzich 2020, 22–23.

[85] Jasnow and Zauzich 2020, 105. The Book of Thoth describes the aspiration for knowledge in passionate term. The pain and suffering that needs to be endured by the disciple is not just of suffering of heart and tongue but of the entirety of the being, which involves a high degree of abstinence and self-discipline. Ibid., 18–19 & 21–22.

Egyptian love songs are lyrical compositions that are often found in small groups (variously referred to as song collections or cycles). A currently recognized corpus consists of ninety-four individual songs, scattered on three papyri, a vase, and a few dozen ostraca.[86] All the extant songs are known from Ramesside copies (between the Nineteenth Dynasty and the Twentieth Dynasty; circa 1300 and 1100 BCE), although scholars trace their origin as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty.[87] To date, the copies have been exclusively found from the region of Western Thebes, and the great majority of them are from the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina.[88]

The term "love songs" is a modern attribution, but not all that inappropriate, because they are songs about love. As characteristic of Egyptian compositions, the subject matter is not dealt in abstract but shown in concrete forms, in this case by showing those in love. Typical songs feature a pair of young couple, who refer to one another as *sn*, "brother" and *snt*, "sister," and at least one and sometimes both of whom are desperately in love. Their love takes place against the backdrop of bucolic landscapes and domestic environments, often with paraphernalia of festivals and banquets. Amidst the lush vegetation, overlooking the Nile, with birds and flowers, lovers

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[86] The four extant major collections are the Papyrus Harris 500 (=pBM 10060), the Turin Papyrus (=pTurin 1966), the Cairo love songs (=oDM 1266 + oCGC 25218), and the Chester Beatty Papyrus I (=pBM 10681). For the full list of the extant songs and their provenance, refer to Mathieu 1996, 19–21.

[87] Their brief attestation in the written records has been the source of great puzzlement for scholars. Early commentators like Erman (1923, 303), Gardiner 1957 (1957, 24) and Hermann (1959, 1, 9–35) all considered it possible that love poems had much earlier origins. More recently, Vachala (2002, 182–183) has suggested the existence of love songs as early as the Old Kingdom, based on a fragment of a love song as a label of a harpist in the tomb of Inti at Abusir and in the tomb of Mereruka. Parkinson (2002, 226–232) posits *Tale of the Herdsman* (12th Dyn.) and the *Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling* (18th Dyn.), which represent mythical and pastoral traits and praising the benefits of agriculture as a source of life and pleasure, as possible literary precursors. Finally, Ragagzzoli (2008, 135–137) notes the close parallels between the love songs and the eulogies of cities. These differences in view exist, not simply because differenct scholars have different ancient materials available to them, but also because they differ on i) criteria for love songs, and ii) what counts as literary love songs. For instance, Parkinson's suggestion seems to reflect his view that love songs belong to a larger genre of lyrical poems.

[88] pHarris 500 (pBM 10060) was found with other papyri in a box in the Ramesseum, while pChester Beatty I was found as part of the Qenherkhepeshef archive collection in the necropolis of Deir el-Medina. The concentration of texts in Deir el-Medina may be explained by chance preservation and does not indicate that they were exclusively consumed there.

delight in the presence of one another. Extensive use of imagery and figurative language imbues

the songs with their characteristic rich and immersive quality, melding the lovers with the

setting, with one another, and with the audience. Frequent references to things like wine, fragrant

oil or luxurious linen present the experience as sensual and intoxicating.

Their affinity with the Biblical Song of Songs has been noted for over a century, since the

early days of their discovery,[89] and this has invited a high degree of comparative interest, which

is quite unusual for Egyptian texts.[90] Michael V. Fox's 1985 comparative study of the Egyptian

love songs and the Song of Songs remains one of the most comprehensive and insightful literary

studies on the Egyptian love songs.[91] The comparative perspective he brings to the examination

of the Egyptian corpus not only sheds light on the universal aspect, but also casts into sharper

relief the features that give Egyptian love songs their unique flavor. Most significantly, he

identifies the introspective quality of the Egyptian loves songs as their hallmark feature, based on

his observation that compared to the outward looking Biblical lovers, the Egyptian lovers are far

more focused on exploring their own feelings and thoughts occasioned by love. He notes:

> The Egyptian lovers are fascinated by love, amazed at its power and its sensations. In attempting to show how love feels, the Egyptian poems characteristically use introspective reports on the speakers' emotions… we get the impression of lovers taking their own emotional pulses and revealing what love does to them…lovers dwell upon their own emotions, approaching their feelings from many angles and trying to grasp them in various ways, as if to pin them down. It seems important to the lovers (and to the poets behind them) to communicate just what is going on inside. In contrast, the urgency of the lovers in Canticles is to tell what they see in each other.[92]

Introspective reports are something we have seen over and over again in the literary narratives

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[89] The resemblance was readily noticed by the scholars who made the first hieroglyphic transcriptions of the corpus. Maspero 1883, 47; Muller 1899, 8.
[90] White 1975; Fox 1985.
[91] Mathieu 1996 offers a more through grammatical and philological treatment of the texts. But as far as both text-critical exegesis with sensitivity to literary artistry and the broader literary discussions go, Fox's work has not been surpassed.
[92] Fox 1985, 325–326. See also 259–261; 278–280; 327–330.

(Chapter 4) as well as in the literary laments examined in the first half of this chapter. We have also seen the importance of the physician's examination of the heart as the indicators of what is going on deep inside the patient's body (Chapter 3). It is therefore very interesting that Fox would refer to them as "emotional pulses." For the analysis of pains that accompany love, I shall continue to rely on these introspective reports, but just as I have done with the literary laments, I will look at them in close relation to the overall rhythm of the texts.

In very general terms, all longing can be understood as rising from a certain lack: out there is something or someone you want, but you do not fully (currently and/or lastingly) possess that someone or something. And to not have what you want, many would agree, can be painful. Again, in very general terms, all longing can be thought of as involving some kind of movement/motion: out there is something or someone that draws or pulls you, and instead of resisting that force, you are submitting to the force. In this sense, longing can be conceived of as one and the same pulling motion initiated by the object, but seen from the subject's perspective.

Across the corpus, we frequently come across the speakers who are in the state of lack and are undergoing the longing movement as they speak.[93] They would have the lovers present in their mind (words for "remembering," "thinking of" are very common), but at the same time are very aware of the distance between the longed-for state and current reality. As in literary laments, the distance between the current state and the ideal creates tension,[94] giving rise to the poetic movement: they pine. The following analysis focuses on the interface between the formal features of poetry which both capture and enact the speaker's pining.

5.3.1 "If Only…"

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[93] Cf. Guglielmi 1996, 344: "Wie alle Liebeslieder sing auch die ägyptischen Lieder der Sehnsucht, und so gehört die Festlegung der Distanz wzischen den Liebenden, die sich zwischen nächster Nähe und weitester Ferne erstreckt, zu ihren fundamentalen Momenten."
[94]Cf. Matheiur 158f; Meskell 2002, 133.

In the following poem, a male speaker gets a peek at the girl he likes through the door, which then leads him to indulge in a daydream:

Harris 500 2, 11–13 (= Fox no.7)[95]

pꜣ bḫn n snt	The mansion[96] of sister,
pꜣy≠s rꜣ m ḥr-ỉb pꜣy≠s pr	her entry is in the middle of her house,
ꜥ.wy≠s wn qfꜣw(?)≠s pr	her double-doors open, bolt drawn back,
snt qnd.tỉ	and the sister is angry!
ḫl di.tw(≠ỉ) r ỉry-ꜥ	If only I were appointed doorkeeper,
ỉry≠ỉ st ḥdn{ḥ}dn[97] r≠ỉ	I would have made her be mad at me,
kꜣ sḏm≠ỉ ḫrw≠s qnd.tỉ	but then I shall listen to her angry voice,
ḫrd≠ỉ n ḥryt≠s	I being (like) a child in fear of her.

The poem can be divided into two halves, which are held together by the motif of the door and door-keeper (*ꜥ, ỉry-ꜥ*) and the girl being angry (*qnd.tỉ*). The first half presents what the boy sees —the architectural setting,[98] the door,[99] and the girl. The second half, which begins with the optative particle *ḫl*, "if only,"[100] presents what the boy wishes. A certain shift can be observed from the first half to the second half. If attention is directed outwardly to the world in the first half, in the second half, attention is directed inwardly to the boy's desire. Although one may think of the first half as simply providing the background setting for (i.e., it is incidental to) the

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[95] Note on the transliteration and translation: Transliteration is largely based on the transcription and transliteration by Mathieu 1996. Translation is mine, having consulted Fox 1985 translation and the philological commentaries in Mathieu 1996 and TLA.

[96] Compared to *pr*, *bḫn* has a more "bucolic" feel to it. It is what Bata builds in the Cedar Valley. The word also appears in the *Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling* as well as in the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (pAnastasi IV rto. 8, 9; pLansing rto. 11, 3).

[97] Mathieu's transcription (pl.9) has: *ỉry≠ỉ st ḥdnḥdn r≠ỉ*. He treats *≠ỉ* on *ỉry* as an error and takes *ḥdnḥdn* as an emphatic with focus on *r≠ỉ*, yielding, "c'est contre moi qu'elle gronderait!" White 1978, 171 has "I would make her angry at me." Popko (TLA note on the passage) points out that for White's translation to work, something like *ỉry≠ỉ ḥdnḥdn≠st r≠ỉ* or *di≠ỉ ḥdnḥdn≠st r≠ỉ*. I am here taking the entire *st ḥdnḥdn r≠ỉ* as the object of *ỉry≠ỉ st*. This is interesting and may require a closer look for the grammar can tell about the Egyptian understanding of emotion. Can a person (A) directly make someone (B) get angry, or is A causing a situation where B gets angry? Černý and Groll (1993, 197–198) list verbs for emotional states (*mrỉ* "love" and *wḫꜣ* "desire") and verbs describing emotional states (*rmi*, "weep") among the categories of verbs that do not occur in statives.

[98] The architectural features are sometimes interpreted as having some sexual connation relating to female anatomy. Cf. Vinson 2015.

[99] Outside door can be seen as an archetypal setting of separation, in which the speakers act out frustrations and pain of love. There are a few examples in the corpus where the similar outside the door setting is featured (e.g., Fox nos.46–47), and they have been referred to as *paraclausithyron* (lit. "outside the closed door") after the similar motif in the Greek and Roman lyrics and elegy. Fox 1985, 185–186.

[100] See *infra*.

boy's wishful thinking, you can also see that it actually constitutes the core content of the boy's wished-for reality. Everything—he mansion, door, sister, and even (or especially) her angry voice—is already perfect as it is, and all that the boy wants is that he would be part of the world that he is only seeing from a distance.

The particle *ḥl* is of interest here. This is a later writing of *ḥꜣ* seen earlier in the discussion of *Khakheperreseneb*.[101] In addition to expressing a wish, the particle seems to have developed a nuance of lack by the Ramesside period. For instance, the negation of *ḏd≠f ḥl n≠i*, "that he does not say 'if only,'" is used idiomatically to express the state of contentment and happiness:[102] to be in a state one has to say *ḥl n≠i* means you are in need; to be in a state one does not have to say *ḥl n≠i* at all means you are not in need, but in fullness and satisfaction. For this reason, in the satirical texts, the standard greeting wish formula such as *ꜥnḫ≠k wḏꜣ≠k snb≠k* "may you live, prosper, and be healthy," is followed by *nn ḥl n≠k*, "without 'if only' to you."[103]

In light of the connotation that *ḥl n≠i* has, the songs that use repetition of *ḥl n≠i* as a main constituting device readily convey the state of lack and the force of longing. The following cycle of song also makes use of the repetition of *ḥl n≠i* six times in a row.[104]

> **oCairo CG 25218 + oDeM 1266, 18–28 (= Fox no. 21)**
>
> | *ḥl n≠i tꜣy≠s nḫsy* | If only I were her Nubian, |
> | *nty m iry-rdwy≠s* | who (serves) as her attendant |
> | | … |

---

[101] Cf. *ḥꜣnꜣ in the* Tale of Woe (see Chapter 4); G*EG* §238. In earlier Egyptian, *ḥꜣ* (and a rarer variant *ḥw*) is often followed by the enclitic particle *ꜣ* for emphasis. In later Egyptian, the same article is written out syllabically in group writing as *ḥꜣ-nꜣ* or *ḥꜣ-n-r*. Hence, *ḥꜣ-n-r > ḥnr > ḥl.*

[102] For instance, in the Letter of Menna (oChicago OIC 12074 + oIFAO Inv. 2188, rto. 3–4): *iri.y≠i ḥr.t≠k m nty nb nty kꜣwt ḥr w ḥꜣx≠f **bw ḏi≠i ḏd≠k ḥl n≠i** m grḥ iw≠k sḏr(.ti) ḥr pnꜥnꜥ*, "I have satisfied your needs with everything, what people are trying to own. I used to not let you say 'if only I had' at night, as you lay there and tossed and turned." Similarly, in a eulogy to the city of Piramesses (pLansing = pBM EA 9994, vso. 8): *ršwt ḥmsi m-ḫnw≠f / **nn ḏd ꜣtw n≠f ḥl n≠i***, "happiness dwells within her (the city), there is no one says of himself, 'if only I had.'"

[103] E.g., pAnastasi I (=BM EA 10247) 2, 7: *ꜥnḫ≠k (w)ḏꜣ≠k s(nb) ≠k sn≠i i [qr] ꜥpr.ti ḏd nn ḥl n≠k*, "may you live, be well, be healthy, my excellent brother, equipped permanently (?) without 'if only' to you."

[104] Fox reconstructs another *ḥl n≠i* in the broken part and treats the subsequent lines as constituting the 7th stanza. Mathieu (1996, 111 n. 387) doesn't see the ground for another *ḥl n≠i* in the lacuna, and treats the subsequent lines as the continuation of the 6th stanza.

...[105]

{sw}<st> ỉnỉ n≠ỉ ỉnw n ḥ'ts nbt
ḥl n≠ỉ pꜣ rḫtiw ꜥ[106] n snt≠ỉ

...

sky≠ỉ ḥ'ts≠ỉ m pꜣyⸯs nfry
f[d] ⸗s ḥr≠s {m} im

…

ḥl n≠ỉ pꜣy≠s ḫtm šrỉ
nty m ỉry-ḏbꜥ≠s

…

ḥl nšỉ dwꜣw n mꜣꜣ
mỉ ỉ.ỉrw ꜥḥꜥ≠s
nfr tꜣ n ỉsy
sbq ḥnw≠f
ršw tꜣyⸯs wnt-ḥr

…

ḥl n≠ỉ snt m-mnt
mỉ wꜣḏwꜣḏ mꜣḥ

…

pꜣ ḫsbd nꜣ rrmt prỉ*…*
nꜣ [ḥr]rw n ḫtꜣw psfy
pꜣ bsbs pr[ḫ]*...*

…

ḥl n≠ỉ ỉwt≠s mꜣ [ꜣ≠ỉ]
ỉry⸗ [ỉ] ḥb n nṯr
ỉ.d{≠s} tm≠s wꜣy
dỉ≠f n≠ỉ ḥnwt m-mnt
nn ṯst≠s r[≠ỉ]
  [...]
  ỉr ỉry≠ỉ ꜣt n tm mꜣꜣ≠s
  [...]
  [ỉb]≠ỉ pḫr m-ḫnw ḫt≠ỉ
  [...]
  swꜣš≠ỉ sw m nfr grḥ
  smꜣꜥ≠ỉ ꜥ[ꜣbt]
  ḫꜣy ỉb≠ỉ r st[≠f]
  …

she brings me the hue of all her whole body.
If only I were the washer of my sister's garment,
  …
  I'd wipe my body with her clothes,
  which she cast off therein.
  …
If only I were her little signet ring,
  which is the companion of her finger.
  …
If only I had the "morning of seeing"
  like that which is made for her lifetime.[107]
  Beautiful is the land of Isy,
  splendid are its produce.
  happy is her mirror…
  …
If only I had my sister every day,
  like the greenness of the wreath.
  …
  lapis lazuli flower, sprouted mandrakes…
  Hittite flowers in full bloom,
  flowering fennel…
  …
If only she would come to see me,
  I shall make a festival to the god,
  he who causes her not to be far,
  may he grant me the mistress daily,
  without her absence from [me].
  […]
  If I spend a moment not seeing her,
  […]
  my [heart] turns inside my body (?)
  […]
  I'll worship him in the depths[108] of the night,
  I will present offerings,
  my heart will descend to [its] place
  …

---

[105] The ellipsis without brackets represents the verses I have chosen not to cite out of the concern for length and relevance. The ellipsis with the brackets represents the lacunae.

[106] The arm sign is followed by the sSr sign; it's not clear if the latter is serving as determinative or a word on its own. Translation here follows Fox and Mathieu.

[107] Uncertain translation. Fox (1985, 38) reads "if only I had a morning of seeing like one who spends her lifetime (?)!" Mathieu translates (1996, 101), "puissé-je avoir le matin pour [la] voir tout le temps de son existence."

[108] Following Kitchen's (1996, 391) translation choice here. The root *nfr* means "to be beautiful" but also "end" or "limit" (related to the negative expression *nfr n*, "not"). *GEG* §351.

In the first two stanzas, *ḥl n≠i* is used to formulate the boy's desire to be the girl's personal maid, which he imagines would grant him an intimate and private access to the girl: a Nubian maid to adorn and see her naked body, and a laundryman to handle the clothes that touched her body. The next two stanzas move on to the realm of objects. The speaker wants to be a signet ring that is always on her finger and a mirror that she gazes upon every day.

In the final two stanzas, the boy's longing is more directly expressed. He wishes that he had her and that she would come see him. It is worth noting that in these two stanzas, the backdrop of the boy's fantasy shifts from the confines of the domestic setting to outdoor, to a pastoral and festival background.[109] For instance, in the fifth stanza, references are made to bouquets made of all kinds of greeneries and flowers (including the lapis lazuli flowers that are thought to be of Nubian origin and the flowers of the Hittite land), which conjure up in mind not only the bucolic environment where the flowers grow, but also the cosmopolitan city during the time of the festivals when all the flowers are brought together for celebration. Fox mentions how the images developed at length in this poem tend to detach themselves from the reality of love and direct the attention away from the personalities of the lovers involved.[110] I think this would have been particularly conducive to drawing in the audience and evoking the similar kind of longing in them. While the song is framed as one boy's longing for a girl, aesthetic and sensorial details that give shape to that longing—from the intoxicating scent of mandrakes and delicate feel of the linen to the lushness of the wreaths and the excitement of the festivals–are those that any Egyptian would have found extremely pleasant and desirable.

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[109] A subtle shift can already be observed in in the fourth stanza, where the mention of the land of Isy and its produce evokes the exotic image of the foreign land. It is worth noting that the produce of the exotic foreign land and the mirror are associated with the goddess Hathor. In the final two stanzas, the Hathoric theme gets further developed, in association with the festival. On the prominence of Hathor or other types of "returning goddess" in the festivals that form the backdrop of the love songs, see Darnell 2016.
[110] Fox 1985, 281–282.

The sixth stanza is a continuation and culmination of the festival setting but with a different focus. This last stanza is different from the rest in that the speaker does not only express his desire, but also expresses his determination to take a specific action (or a series of actions) on his part if the desire is granted. While too many lacunae make it difficult to give a complete picture, references to a festival of a god (*ḥb n nṯr*), worship (*swꜣš*) and presentation of offerings (*smꜣꜥ ꜥbt*) point to the celebratory cultic setting. Hence, it seems to be the case that the speaker is intending to make his "private" longing for the girl gain a more public status by making it official before the god.

Moving on to another example, the following song is made up of three stanzas, all of which begin with *ḥl nꜣi iw≠k snt ꜣs.ti*, "if only you would come to (your) sister swiftly." Each stanza features imagery of a figure that embodies the longed-for swiftness.

Chester Beatty I 1, 1–2, 5 (= Fox no. 38–40)

ḥl nꜣi iw≠k n snt ꜣs.ti	If only you would come to (your) sister swiftly,
mi wpwty-nsw n ꜣs	like a swift royal messenger
...	…
nḥb n≠f nꜣ iḥ r-ḏrw	all the stables are harnessed for him,
ssmt n≠f ḥr ḥtpt	horses are (harnessed) for him at rest stations,
wrryt nḥb ḥr st≠s	the chariot is harnessed in its place,
...	…
ḥl nꜣi iw≠k [n snt ꜣs.ti]	If only you would come to (your) sister swiftly,
mi ssmt n nsw	like a royal horse,
...	…
nb≠f rḫ rdwy≠fy	his master knows his strides,
ir sḏm≠f ḫrw isbr	if he hears the sound of whip,
nn rḫ≠f inw	he will not know any restraint
...	…
ḥl nꜣi iw≠k n snt ꜣs.ti	If only you would come to (your) sister swiftly,
mi gḥs ḫꜣp ḥr mr	like a gazelle bounding[111] on the desert,
...	…
ḥꜥt≠f gꜣḥ.y	its body weary,
ḥryt ꜥq.ti m ḥꜥt≠f	fear having entered its body,
nw m-sꜣ≠f	hunters are behind him,
ṯsmw r-ḥnꜥ≠f	dogs next to him,
…	…

---

[111] *ḫꜣp* is a variant of *šꜣp*, "to bounce, bound." Fox 1985, 69.

The swiftness associated with the figures adds further intensity to the force of longing already conveyed by ḥl n≠ỉ. By wishing that the lover would come to her at such super-speed, the speaker is expressing how much she wants to be with him: right now, as soon as possible. A certain progression (or break) is to be observed between the first two stanzas and the third.[112] The figures used in the first two stanzas have a certain royal feel to it; there is a sense of strength, confidence and order surrounding the images of the royal messenger[113] and of the royal horse of the New Kingdom empire.[114] The royal messenger can travel fast with the help of the imperial infrastructure and logistics.[115] The otherwise unstoppable royal horse is under the control of a capable master; he gallops when whipped. The gazelle in the third stanza is a little different. The gazelle is in the wilderness, the space that lies outside the world of orderliness controlled by the king. Not only is it fatigued, but ḥryt ꜥq.tỉ m ḥꜥt≠f, "fear has entered its body." This phrase is often used to describe the state of the enemies of the pharaoh.[116] Its swiftness is born out of desperation; it runs, because it simply cannot afford to stop. A sense of precariousness and disorderliness permeates the imagery, which in turn hints at the quality of the speaker's longing, which is not present in the first two stanzas. [117]

Before moving on, it is worth taking a brief look at the following Ramesside love spell

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[112] Cf. Fox 1985, 68 describes it as "rather grating."

[113] The theme of the royal messenger is also known from the Ramesside Miscellanies.

[114] On horses in ancient Egypt, refer to Hofmann 1989.

[115] It is known that the Egyptian armies had an organized system of provision and supply depots. For instance, the Ways of Horus was dotted with stations at an interval of about 20km. Spalinger 2005, 33f., 241; E. Morris 2005 384f.

[116] For instance, in the battle relief of Sety I's campaign against the Hittites speaks of the subdued enemies (from the text accompanying the relief of Hittite Chariots): ḥryt ḥm≠f ꜥq.ti m-ỉm≠sn ỉꜣd≠f sḏ.n≠s ỉb≠sn, "the terror of his majesty has entered in them, his aura has invaded their hearts." Karnak, Amun District, Hypostyle (Exterior)/North Wall, West Wing, Bottom Register. OIP 107, pl. 35, l. 30. The surrendering message sent by Tefnakht to Piye as recorded in the Victory stela of Piye reads (l.133): wꜣḥ kꜣ≠k ḥry≠k m ḫt≠i snḏ≠t m-ꜥb qs≠i, "As your ka-endures, terror of you is in my belly, fear of you is within my bones."

[117] Cf. Fox (1985, 68) suggests that the imagery here expresses "the wild and unrestrained force of lust, suggesting the intensity of the sexual desire of the youth."

from Deir el-Medina. Just like in the love song immediately examined above, a series of similes whose images are drawn from the bucolic and domestic environment are employed, all headed by *mỉ*:

Ostracon Deir el-Medina 1057[118]

ỉ nḏ- ḥr≠k Rꜥ-ḥr-ꜣḥy ỉt nṯrw…	Hail to you, Re-Horakhty, father of the gods…
mỉ ỉyt tꜣ mnt ms-n tꜣ mnt m-sꜣ≠i	Come (make)[119] X (f.) born of Y come after me,
mỉ ỉḥ m-sꜣ smw	like an ox after grass,
mỉ bꜣkt m-sꜣ ẖrdw≠s	like a maidservant after her children,
mỉ sꜣw m-sꜣ ỉꜣwt≠f.	like a herdsman after his herd.
ỉr tmt≠w dỉt ỉyt≠st m-sꜣ≠i…	If they do not make her come after me…

While the use of the similar phraseology conveys the similar sense of longing, as indicated by the absence of *ḥl n≠ỉ* (among other things), the speaker is not simply expressing

5.3.2 Dynamics of Heart

Given the Egyptian conception of the heart, it is not all that surprising to see the heart being featured extensively in the love songs.[120] It is the heart that serves as the agent of longing and any action that derives from that longing. Consider the following example, which is short and sweet with a neat parallelism.[121]

Harris 500 5, 12–6, 2 (= Fox no. 16)

ỉb≠i (ḥr) sẖꜣ (m) mrwt≠k	My heart remembered your love,
gs n mꜣꜥ≠i nbd	while (only) half my head was done,
tw≠i ỉw.kw m sẖs r wḫꜣ≠k	I have come in running to seek you,
mkḫꜣy≠i n tꜣy≠i nš(t)	neglecting my hairdressing…

The first half of each couplet serves as the main clause with pseudo-verbal predicate, which describes the speaker's thought or action in respect to her lover. The second half then describes

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[118] Published in Smither 1941. For a hieratic facsimilie and a hieroglyphics, refer to Posener 1938, pl 31 and 31a. transcription.

[119] *ỉmm* has been omitted by the scribe. Smither 1941, 131 n.c.

[120] For the role of the heart in the love songs, Mathieu 1996, 165–168; Toro Rueda 216–217.

[121] The stanza is made up of three couplets, but since the third couplet has a lacuna and the translation is uncertain, here I only discuss the first two.

the circumstances of the main clause, both involving the undone state of the speaker's hairdo.

The second couplet represents a subtle development or the result of the first couplet: it is because/after the heart has thought of the love that the speaker has come seeking the lover in haste, so much so that her hair is still a mess. Her movement (*iw*) arises directly from her heart, and what we see here is an instance of "following one's heart" captured in its moment.[122]

Notice that although it is not directly expressed in the song, the speaker came in running (*m šḥs*) is suggestive of the kind of movement her heart makes at the thought of her lover: it, too, is very likely to be running. The theme of a racing heart is also seen in the fourth stanza of the first cycle of the song on Chester Beatty. Here the verb *ifd*, "move quickly,"[123] which puns on the word for four, is predicated of the heart, both at the very beginning and at the end. Just like in the previous example, it is the heart's remembering the lover (the word *sḫ³*, "to remember" recurs three times) which makes the heart race. As a result, here too, the speaker is prevented from properly adorning herself. Unlike in the previous example, however, the speaker of this song tries to resist the heart's prompting.

Chester Beatty I 2, 9–10 (= Fox no. 34)

ḥwt mḥ ifdt		Fourth Stanza
ifd sw ib≠i ³s/		My heart hurries itself instantly,
ḏr sḫ³ mrwt≠k/	-----1	at the memory of your love.
bw dd≠f šm≠i mi rmṯ/		It does not let me walk like a (normal) person,
sw tfy mkt≠f/	-----2	it has strayed from its proper place
bw dd≠f t³y≠i mssy/		It does not let me don a tunic;
bw wnḫ≠i p³y≠i bhn/	-----3	I cannot put on my cloak,
bw dd(≠i) sdmw r irt(y)≠i/		I cannot apply paint to my eyes,
bw wrḥ (≠i) wi m-kf³/	-----4	I cannot anoint myself at all.
m-ir ʿḥʿ pḥ (r)-ḥnw(≠f)/		"Don't delay, reach (him) at his place,"
ḫr≠f n≠i r-tnw sḫ³(≠i) sw/	-----5	it says to me whenever I think of him,
m-ir n≠i p³y≠i ḥ³ty wḫ³/		Don't make, my heart, folly to me,
i.ir≠k ḫn ḥr iḫ/	-----6	why do you act crazy?

---

[122] The theme is well expressed in the the *Antef Song* as well as in the *Doomed Prince*, both of which are found in Papyrus 500. On the expression *šms ib,* see Lorton 1968, 41–64.
[123] *Wb.* 1, 72.1–2. See also the discussion on *ḥwsi* above in the discussion on *Neferti*.

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ḥms qb iw n≠k sn/		Sit, be cool, may the brother come to you,
irt qnw m-mitt/	-----7	many others likewise. [124]
m rdit ḏd n³ rmṯ r≠i/		Don't let people say about me,
st th.tw m mrwt/	-----8	a girl who has gone astray by love.
smn tw r tnw sḫ³≠k sw/		Stand firm whenever you think of him,
ib≠i imi≠k ifd/	-----9	My heart, do not flee.

The first and the last couplets bracket the entire poem, themselves parallel to one another with a chiasmus (*ifd–sḫ³–sḫ³–ifd*). The three couplets following the first couplet (2–4) are made up of a series of negation, expressing the speaker's inability to function normally. The fifth couplet is of great interest. It marks the half point, and the phrase *pḥ ḫnw* in the first half of the fifth couplet can be interpreted not simply in relation to the content, but to the structure of the song: it has now reached (*pḥ*) the very innermost (*ḫnw*) part of the current stanza, and of the entire cycle (the cycle is made of seven stanzas in total). The word *sḫ³* in the second half of the same couplet also contributes to this "half point marking" in that it looks back to first *sḫ³* in the first couplet while looking forward to the third *sḫ³* in the last couplet.

Most interestingly in the fifth couplet, the voice of the heart intrudes, as a direct quotation cited by the speaker. Sudden shifts of voice or address are quite common across the corpus but often without explicit indicators. Here, the second half of the fifth couplet— *ḥr≠f n≠i r tnw sḫ³ sw* "it says to me whenever I think of him"—serves as the explicit narrative statement to indicate that shift has taken place. Notice the changes in the referent of the 3ms pronouns. Until now, 3ms has been used to refer only to the heart. In this phrase, however, the boy who has until now been addressed in the second person, too, is referred by the 3ms pronoun, *sw*. It then makes us wonder: who is the speaker talking to at this point? Starting from the sixth couplet, the boy continues to be referred to with the 3ms pronoun, while it is now the heart that is directly

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[124] Following Mathieu's (1996, 40 n.6) interpretation who reads the seated man not as a suffix pronoun (what Fox does) but as a determinative and translated *irt* as "person."

addressed with the 2ms pronoun. From the sixth couplet onwards, it also represents the resistance

put up by the speaker against her own heart. The barrage of imperatives creates the experience of

the rhythm that simulates the movement or sound of the racing heart. Alternatively, it can be

thought of in terms of deep breath that one takes when trying to calm down the racing heart. Not

knowing how it actually sounded, we can only speculate, but in any case, by the last couplet, the

audience would have very much experienced they rhythm of the girl's heart laminated onto the

rhythm of the song.

The heart serving as the self's Other is something that occurs quite often in Egyptian

literary texts. The interior back-and-forth between the self and the Other gets an interesting twist

in the following example, whose setting is typically understood as the "morning after."[125] The

female speaker has had a great time the night before with her lover, but now that the morning has

come she has to leave. Here, it is the voice of the swallow[126] heralding the morning that serves as

the female speaker's Other.

Harris 500 5, 6–8 (= Fox No.14)

ḫrw tꜣ mnt ḥr mdt sw ḥr ḏd	The voice of the swallow speaks, it says:
pꜣ tꜣ ḥḏ iḫ wꜣt≠{i}<t>	"The day has dawned, what is your way?"
im≠k pꜣ ꜣpd iw≠k ḥr ḏyḏy≠i	"Stop it, bird, you're quarreling with me."
gm.n≠i sn m tꜣy≠f ḥnkyt	In his bedroom, have I found (my) brother,
ḥꜣty≠i nḏm m ḥꜥw	my heart being exceedingly joyful.
ḏd≠n nn iw≠i r wꜣy	We said (to each other), "I will never be far,"
iw ḏrt m-d ḏrt	while holding hands (lit. hand with hand),
irr≠i[127] swtwt iw≠i ḥnꜥ≠{i}<T>[128]	"With you I make stroll

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[125] Fox 1985, 23, 288–289.

[126] The choice of a swallow may be thought in relation to Ba. Allmansa-Viallatoro (2016, 1–9) provides an interesting interpretation of the role of Ba in *Man and Ba*. Based on the observation that it was not uncommon in ancient Mediterranean world for animals being portrayed as capable of warning people of dangers (she mentions Achilles' horse in Illiad; we could also add to the list Baalam's donkey in Hebrew Bible), she notes that what Ba is trying to do in the text is to warn the Man of an imminent danger. Perhaps the swallow is trying to warn the girl of the imminent danger (ḥḏ ib) as well. See also Migilio 2022 which discusses the significance of birdcalls and bird imagery in the *Gilgameš Epic.*

[127] Mathieu takes the *r* under the eye sign as a proposition and reads *r irt swtwt*, "pour faire des promenades" instead.

[128] Writing of suffix pronouns is very confusing in this song. The seated man determinative is used throughout, where 1cs is not expected. Both Fox and Mathieu amend 1cs to either 2ms or 2fs, as a continuation of the direct speech.

m st nb nfrt	in every pleasant place,"
diꜣf <wi> m tpt n nfrwt	He placed <me> as the best of the beautiful,
bw ḥḏꜣf pꜣyꜣi ḥꜣty	he does not destroy my heart.[129]

The word *ḏyḏy* here is taken as a variant of *ṯtṯt*, "to quarrel."[130] As is the case with any verb formed by republication, repeated action is implied. Similar to the way the heart in the previous song makes the speaker feel uncomfortable by its repeated thumping, the swallow is making the speaker of the current song uncomfortable by its *ḏyḏy*-ing. Like the previous speaker, the current speaker scolds and fights against the opposing voice. The verses starting from *gm.nꜣi* can be understood as the girl's self-justification for not doing what the voice tells her to do. That is, why she is choosing to linger. Quoted are the words of the promise exchanged between her and the lover the night before. Apparently, they had decided they would never be far from each other and live happily ever after. "He does not destroy my heart," the girl insists. The use of the word *ḥḏ* in this last verse is interesting.[131] It looks back to *ḥḏ* earlier in the song (same glyphs but with a different determinative), while anticipating the outcome of the event, which unfolds in another song that immediately follows the current song in the manuscript.[132]

Harris 500 5, 9–12 (= Fox no.15)

i.diꜣi ḥrꜣi ḥr pꜣ sbꜣ n-bl	I turn my face to the door outside
mk sn iw nꜣi	look, (my) brother is coming to me!
irtyꜣ<i> ḥr wꜣt {ꜣi}	My eyes are on the road,
msḏrwyꜣi ḥr sḏm…	my ears listening…
…	…
bw gr ibꜣi	my heart cannot be silent.
hꜣbꜣf nꜣi wpwty	He/It sent me a messenger,
ꜥš rdwy m ꜥq ḥr prt	swift of feet in coming and going,
r ḏd nꜣi ꜥḏꜣꜣf wi	to tell me he wronged me.

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[129] *bw sḏmꜣf* as aorist negative. Alternatively, *bw sḏmꜣf* could be seen as negation of preterite. Junge 2012, 100–101.
[130] According to the commentary to this verse in TLA, the transitive use of *ṯtṯt* is rare, but still attested elsewhere (e.g., oGardiner 54 rto. 5; pVandier 2.7). It is also suggested that the spelling *ḏyḏy* can possibly be seen as a play on words with *ꜥḏꜥḏ*, "to be happy," which is once said of birds in Edfu.
[131] One could probably render *ḥḏ* as "break" or "wound." I chose "destroy" to foreground the "gravity" of situation here. The same word for the destruction of the land for which Neferti mourns is being used. For the girl, the situation is that serious.
[132] Fox suggests that Harris 500 5, 12–6, 2 (= Fox no. 16) cited at the beginning of this subsection also belongs to the same cycle.

kꜣ ḏd gm�=f ktt   In other words, he found another,

sw ḥr gꜣgꜣ n ḥr=i{f}   (while) he was gazing into my face.[133]
iḫ r=f   What is (wrong) with him,
pꜣ ḥḏ ib n ky ḥr ḥppw   the heart-destroyer and player.[134]

The girl is waiting for the lover, and her heart is racing (*bw gr ib=i*). In Chapter 3, we saw that the movement of heart is taken as the "speech" of heart, as by its sound the physician learns what's going on deep inside the patient's body. There, it was noted that because the various speech verbs can be predicated of both the heart and the patient, sometimes it is ambiguous whether the personal pronouns on the speech verbs refer to the heart or the patient. Something similar happens in the following example. Somebody has sent the girl the messenger, the messenger who is swift of foot, etc. On one hand, one could understand it is the lover who has sent the girl the

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[133] Fox (1985, 24) translates, "she is gazing at his face" without any comment on the pronouns involved. Mathieu (1996, 77 n. 240) translates, "elle est en admiration devant lui" also without any comment on the pronouns. Both translations seem to understand the subject of this clause as referring to a hypothetical girl designated by *ktt* in the immediately preceding clause. But the pronoun is 3ms *sw*. Moreover, Mathieu's hieroglyphic transcription (1996, pl. 12, 11) has *sw ḥr gꜣgꜣ n ḥr* followed by the seated man determinative and *=f*. Mathieu has then placed *sic.* below the seated man determinative, which explains his decision to translate the phrase "devant lui" instead of "devant moi," but it still does not explain why he has translated *sw* as "elle." Here, I am taking *sw* as referring to the boy and taking the seated man determinative after *ḥr* seriously as the 1cs suffix pronoun while *=f* at the end as a scribal mistake. Differently put, both Fox and Mathieu's translations reflect an understanding that the boy has found another girl and moved on from the speaker. My translation suggests that the boy is two-timing.

[134] Lit. one who injures the heart of another and he who wanders. My translation here is quite liberal, but (I think) plausible. For taking *pꜣ ḥḏ…* as the participle referring to the boy, this sounds more natural and intelligible in light of something similar in the funerary laments cited above, where the construction is used to the person gone. Previous translations all point out the obscurity of the meaning of *ḥppw* and offer tentative translations. For instance, Fox (1985, 24) gives "(Well), what is it (to me) that another's nasty heart makes me into a stranger(?)?"; Mathieu (1996, 63 and 77 n.240) gives "eh quoi! etre offense par une autre, et une etrangere!" The root *ḥpp* with meaning "strange" (in the sense of innovative or extraordinary) occurs in Khakheperreseneb in rto. 2 cited above with the book scroll determinative (Y1). It also occurs in the *Tale of Woe* (pPushkin 127 3, 7) with eye determinative (D6), which Caminos (1977, 77) translates as an "enemy." In the current text, the word is followed by finger (D51), arm holding stick (D40) and seated man (A1) determinatives. The combination of D51 and D40 is used for verbs like *ḫꜣi*, "measure" (see Chapter 3 for discussion) or *ṯꜣi*, "seize." Here, I am taking it as an imperfective participle of *ḥpi*, "to wander, encounter (someone)" (*Wb.* III, 258.3–16; see the *Neferti* passage cited above), somebody who habitually wanders and/or meets someone new (with a connotation of seizing the heart?).

messenger. In this case, what is narrated afterwards is happening for real, not just in imagination. On the other hand, as the closest antecedent for *=f* is the heart, we can understand the whole thing to be describing the dynamics of the heart, one anxious thought leading to another.[135] The sudden changes of address aptly convey how quickly her thoughts are snowballing. On either reading, one thing appears obvious. In the previous song, the girl was very confident that he would not destroy her heart. By the end of this song, the guy has turned into a total heartbreaker (even if she is only imagining it).[136]

5.3.3 Lovesickness

Painful paradox of longing comes into full view in the songs that feature lovesickness.[137] Intense longing has plunged the lovers into the state of depression and illness, yet they cannot stop longing, because the only way they can get out of the current state is by being united with the one for whom they long. In these songs, the opposition between the current state of lack/separation and the imagined state of fulfillment/union is still the main constituting device, but it becomes intertwined with yet another set(s) of dichotom(ies), sickness/death and health/life.

No explicit reference to lovesickness is made in the following song, but one of its most characteristic symptoms, loss of appetite, is at play. The female speaker complains that away from her lover, what is supposed to taste sweet and pleasant tastes bad. She declares only her lover's kiss of nose can revivify her:

Harris 500 5, 1–3 (=Fox no.12)

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[135] Messengers (*wpwtyw*) can also refer to disease causing agents. See the discussion below on lovesickness.
[136] *Antef Song*, which starts from 6, 2 of the same papyrus has lines that read (6, 11–12): *šms ib≠k ḥnꜥ nfrw≠k ìr ḫwt≠k tp t꜒m wḏ ìb≠k*, "follow your heart and your beauty/pleasure, carry out earthly concerns when/as your heart commands." Interestingly, the parallel verse from the Harper's song from the tomb of Paatenemheb has *m ḥḏ ìb≠k* commonly translated as "do not let your heart be broken," instead of *m wḏ ìb≠k*. This probably has to do with the fact that the *ḥḏ* mace (T3) and the *wḏ* cord (V25) look the same in hieratic.
[137] Cf. Hermann 1959, 98–100; Fox 1985, 279ff; Mathieu 1996, 186.

pr≠i [… n t³y≠k] mrwt	I came […because of your] love,
ꜥḥ-ib m-ḫnw≠i	the steadfast one within me (?)[138]
ptr≠i šꜥyt bnr	When I behold sweet cakes,
st mi ptr ḥm³m.t	it is like beholding salt.
šdḥ p³ nḏm m r(³)≠i	Pomegranate wine, sweet in my mouth,
sw mi sḫ.wy n ³pdw	it is like the gall of birds.
ḫnmt fnd≠k wꜥ.ty	The kiss[139] of your nose alone
t³ nty ḥr sꜥnḫ ib≠i	is what revives my heart
gm.n≠j di tw n≠i imn	I have found that Amun gave you to me
r (n)ḥḥ ḥnꜥ ḏt	for ever and ever.

In traditional Egyptian thought, giving of life through the nose is something associated with a deity or a king, though not necessarily involving an act of kissing. Canonically, gods first give the breath of life to the king, then the king "distributes" that breath of life to the people. References are too many to enumerate, but one is immediately reminded of the enduring motif in royal iconography of the gods holding the ankh sign close up to the nose of the king. One can also easily recall the foreign vassals constantly begging pharaohs for the breath of life. On this note, that the languishing speaker is identifying her lover's kiss as the only source capable of resuscitating her seems to grant to the lover a power and status that is unusual for mere mortals.

One is quite naturally reminded of the romantic conception of "true love's kiss." This is not without good reasons. Granted, it is a trope popularized by Disney, but Disney movies are (or used to be) after all adaptations of traditional fairytales, and just around the time the love songs were being written down, the fairytale-like narratives were being put down to writing for the first time as well. In fact, on the verso of the same papyrus on which the current song is found is also found the story of the *Doomed Prince* which employs many familiar motifs known from later European fairytales. An Egyptian prince ends up in the foreign land of Naharin (=Mitanni) in the

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[138] Most translators have taken *ꜥḥ* as a verbal predicate, either a present tense (e.g., Fox 1985, 21: "my heart stands still within me"; Tobin 2003, 313: "my heart stops within me") or an optative (e.g., Mathieu 1996, 74: "que mon coeur se tienne en moi!" or "tiens-toi en moi, mon coeur!"; cf. Kitchen 1999, 356).

[139] Mathieu (1996, 75) has *ḫnmw*, "scent" or "odor," which is masculine. This does not explain the stative ending *–ti* on *wꜥ* or the feminine demonstrative *t³*.

course of his journey disguised as a fugitive. There, he rescues the princess who has been locked

up in a tower by jumping seventy feet above ground to the window of the princess' room. This

dramatic rescue is followed by the kiss. Not only that, when the princess learns that her own

father is trying to have the prince killed, she adamantly cries out: "if he is taken from me, I shall

neither eat nor drink but shall die right away."[140] Love can indeed be as strong as death.

Not uncommonly, words like *mr* and *ḫꜣyt* are used to refer to lovesickness.[141] In the

following song from Harris 500, the speaker plans to feign sickness (*mr n ꜥḏꜣ*) so as to lure the

girl of his desire to pay him a visit with other neighbors. The way the boy speaker conjures up an

imagined scenario in which he enjoys a trivial interaction with the girl he likes is reminiscent of

the very first song cited above, where the boy fantasizes about being scolded by the girl.[142]

Though the boy is only pretending to be sick, he still refers to his condition as *pꜣy≠i mr*, "my

illness," which no physician (*swnw*) can handle:

Harris 500 2, 9–11 (=Fox no.6)

iw≠i r sḏr n ẖnw	I will lie down inside (at home),
kꜣ mr n ꜥḏꜣ	and then be ill in pretense.[143]
kꜣ ꜥq nꜣy≠{r}<i> sꜣḥwt r ptr(≠i)	Then my neighbors will come to see (me),
kꜣ iwt tꜣ snt m-ꜥ≠sn	and then (my) sister will come with them.
iw≠s r ir nꜣ n swnw r bḥl	She'll put the doctors to shame,
ḥr iw≠s rḫ.ti pꜣy≠i mr	for (only) she understands my illness.

The boy's dreamed up reality unfolds sequentially over 5 clauses. The *iw + r* clauses in the

beginning and the end form a mini *inclusio* to the three *kꜣ* clauses in the middle. The *ḥr +*

circumstantial clause of the last verset is not part of the sequenced actions. It is an explanation to

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[140] *LES* 5, 11–12. On a similar note, it is also interesting that the current song is immediately followed by the song where the female speaker (presumably the same speaker) says in her prayers: "[Give me] my prince tonight, or I am like on who (lies) in her grave! For are you not health and life?"

[141] For the meaning and use of these words, refer to Chapter 2.

[142] Harris 500 5, 12–6, 2 (= Fox no. 16).

[143] The phraseology of *sḏr n ẖnw* followed by *mr n ꜥḏꜣ* is reminiscent of Anubis' wife in the *Two Brothers* discussed in the previous chapter.

the immediately preceding *i̓w* clause, at the same time figuring as the punchline of the entire song.[144]

The theme of lovesickness is most fully developed in the seventh stanza of the first cycle of song in the Chester Beatty papyrus. We already saw another stanza from the same cycle, and since this final stanza is the culmination of all the previous stanzas, it may be worth giving a brief synopsis of the entire cycle so as to provide the context.[145] The cycle presents a single event happening over an unspecified period of time from two different points of view by two characters. From the first moment they exchange glances, they become infatuated with each other, but obstacles prevent them from realizing the love. While the speakers' voices alternate between the stanzas, stanzas are not presented as dialogues (i.e., the boy and the girl are not talking to each other), but as individual monologues. The first stanza is the boy's ode to the girl: she who is long of neck, white of breast, whose hair is lapis lazuli, fingers like lotuses, etc. has captured his heart.[146] The second stanza is the girl's description of her feelings for him. His voice vexes her heart, even to the point of making her feeling sick. In stanza three, the boy narrates that happens to him on the day he sets out to go see the girl. He runs into "Mehy in his chariot together with his lovers." Mehy is an enigmatic figure that appears in a few other love songs as well, and some debates exist as to who or what Mehy is.[147] In the current song's context, it is clear that Mehy is somebody that thwarts the boy's initial plan to go see the girl, instead of helping him. Stanza four returns to the girl's point of view, which was already discussed above. In stanzas five and six, the boy and the girl continue to long for each other. Both invoke the

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[144] Cf. Mathieu 1996, 187 thinks that the song contains a series of inversions of the traditional topos.

[145] See Fox 1985, 61–64 for more detailed summary of the plot running through the cycle.

[146] The so-called w*asf*-form, a structural device shared in love poetry in the Mediterranean. It occurs in Egyptian mortuary literature.

[147] For instance, Fox thinks he's a Cupid-figure who embodies the power of love. Fox 1985, 64–66. Mathieu 155–156. The summary of other interpretations can be found in Gillam 2000, 207–216.

Golden One (Hathor) for help. Then comes the last stanza of the cycle. Not having been able to see the girl for days, the boy is wasting away:

Chester Beatty I 4, 6–5, 2

ḥwt sfḫnwt		Seventh stanza
sfḫ r sf bw mꜣꜥἰ snt/		Seven to yesterday that I haven't seen sister,
ꜥqꜥq.n ḫꜣyt ἰm≠ἰ/	-----1	and sickness has entered deep into me,
ḫpr.kwἰ ḥꜥw≠ἰ wdn/		I have grown heavy in my limbs,
smḫ ḏt≠ἰ ḏs≠ἰ/	-----2	my body has lost sense of itself.
ἰr ἰw n≠ἰ nꜣ wrw swnw/		When the chief physicians come to me,
bw hr ἰb≠ἰ pḫrt≠sn/	-----3	my heart finds no relief in their remedies,
nꜣ ḥryw-ḥb bn wꜣt ἰm≠sn/		the ritualists, there is no way through them,
bw wḏꜥ tꜣy≠ἰ ḫꜣyt/	-----4	my sickness cannot be discerned.
pꜣ ḏd n≠ἰ mk sw pꜣ nty sꜥnḫ/		The saying to me "here he is" is what revives,
rn≠s pꜣ nty ṯs≠ἰ/	-----5	her name is what raises me,
pꜣ ꜥq pr n nꜣy≠s wpwtyw/		the coming and going of her messengers
pꜣ nty sꜥnḫ ἰb≠ἰ/	-----6	is what revives my heart.[148]
ꜣḫ n≠ἰ sn r pḫrt nbt/		Being a brother is more effective for me than any remedy,
wr sw n≠ἰ r tꜣ dmdyt/	-----7	it is greater to me than the scroll.
pꜣy≠ἰ wḏꜣ pꜣy≠s ꜥq r-bnr/		My amulet[149] is her visit,
ptr st kꜣ snb/	-----8	seeing her, then (I will be in) health.
wn≠s ἰr.ty≠s rnpy ḥꜥw≠ἰ/		May she open her eyes, that my body rejuvenate,
mdt≠s kꜣ rwḏ≠ἰ/	-----9	Her speech, then I will be strong.
ἰw≠ἰ ḥpt≠s sḥr≠s ḏwt ḥr≠ἰ/		When I embrace her, she exorcises harm from me.
pr≠s m-ꜥ≠ἰ ḥr hrw sfḫ/	-----10	She left me now seven days.

The same themes, such as physicians being not able to provide a cure or that only the lover's presence can revive the heart of the speaker can be seen, but they are interwoven into extended interlocking patterns of parallelism. Interestingly, medicine and magic, two complementary aspects of the Egyptian art of healing, figure as one of the structuring devices of the text. In the third and fourth couplets, the physician (*swnw*) and lector priests are introduced as a word pair.

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[148] Messengers here could be an allusion to Sakhmet's messengers. They are frequently mentioned along with the slaughtering demons (*ḫꜣtyw*). Sakhmet's messengers were believed to bring diseases or cause harms. E.g., Edwin Smith 19, 18–20, 1. The girl's messengers in the song, in contrast, bring life. On Sakhmet's messengers, see among others, Germond 1981, 298–304; Ritner 2011; Ritner and Scalf 2019, 185–212.

[149] Mathieu translates *wḏꜣ* here as *salut*, indicating general "well-being," on the basis of the presence of the words *sꜥnḫ* and *snb*, which, together with *wḏꜣ* form a conventional word pair. In my view, "amulet" makes a better sense because 1) the word is written with the *wḏꜣ*-eye determinative and 2) this couplet, together with the one immediately preceding it parallel the 3rd and 4th couplets.

The seventh and eighth couplets then mirror and expand on the third and fourth couplets without exactly reintroducing the pair. More specifically, in the seventh, the word *pẖrt*, "remedies" is repeated from the third couplet, but *dmdyt*, the "scroll" where the remedies are recorded is newly introduced. Both *pẖrt* and *dmdyt* are the emblems of chief physicians (*wr swnw*),[150] and the phonetics of the second verset of the seventh couplet, *wr sw n≠i,* seems to mimic *wr swnw*. The eighth couplet similarly expands on the healing art associated with the lector priests. The word *wḏꜣ* here is written with the eye of Horus, indicating that the intended word here is the healing amulet. In sound, it is a play on the word *wḏꜥ* in the fourth couplet. The fifth and sixth couplets which form the core (middle) of the songs are parallel to one another in that they start with *pꜣ* + infinitive and the repetition of *pꜣ nty sꜥnẖ*, "that which revives." The first and last couplets form an *inclusio*. In addition to the obvious repetition of the word *sfẖ*, seven, the illness that has entered him as a result of being away from her, which is the content of the first couplet, is conceptually the opposite of the evil being exorcised by her presence.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the poetics of pain in the literary laments and the love songs. Undoubtedly the two genres are very different. As their genre labels readily reveal, the laments are about grief, and the love songs are about love. Not only that, the literary laments are associated with the seriousness of the Middle Kingdom literature; being mainly concerned with man's ethical life, they are "generally unromantic in all senses of the word."[151] In contrast, the Ramesside love songs are concerned with the pleasant and beautiful life; they are light, almost frivolous; the ethical life does not appear to be the primary concern.

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[150] Refer to the Ebers spell in Chapter 3.
[151] Parkinson notes 1997a, 9.

Yet, as I hope to have demonstrated in this chapter, aestheticization of pain in these works share something in common. In both cases, the speakers suffer on account of what is missing (*maat*, the lover), and they long for what is missing. In both, this reality of pain is given its shape by the oscillating movement between two poles. The movements of then-now of the laments and separation-union of the love songs dramatize a sense of lack or rupture.

Scholars have viewed the function of these two genres in terms of entertainment.[152] For the literary laments, entertainment is explained by the cathartic pleasures,[153] while the love songs have been linked to a sense of oblivion.[154] These are valid accounts. Based on the analysis and interpretations offered in this chapter, I would like to venture to offer something more nuanced. I would like to bring to the fore the sense of longing, which is also a form of pain. I suggest that these texts, by virtue of their beauty, also create in the audience similar kind of longing and encourage to explore deeper into their longing. In this view, entertainment has to do with "cultivating" longing: people learn to long beautifully.

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[152] See below in the Excursus B.

[153] Parkinson (1997a, 15): "descriptions of agony were intended to be a source of aesthetic pleasure, presumably in a manner similar to the sufferings enacted in western tragedy." In reference to *Neferti*, Parkinson also notes (1997a, 133): "it is notable that a king could consider such a searing and dark lament as 'entertainment' and the poet's art has a central role in this; it makes the 'undone' chaos into something 'perfect', and the imperfection of life and history becomes a source of aesthetic pleasure." Also in: Parkinson 1999, 76–8; Parkinson 2000, 46–9. Enmarch (2008, 63) speaks of how the Egyptians derived "a certain cathartic pleasure in the artistic formulation of untoward thought." Cf. Polus-Wegner 2021, 93.

[154] *sḥmḫ- ỉb*; See below in Excursus B.

Excursus B: Pain and Entertainment

Both literary laments and love songs have been understood in terms of entertainment.

Here, I turn to two phrases that are associated with the laments and the love songs *sḏꜣy-ḥr*[155] and

sḫmḫ-ib. Based on the meaning and usage of these phrases, I suggest that in contrast to the

modern notion of entertainment, where much focus is placed on the subject (i.e., people who

undergo entertainment or who are entertained), the Egyptian notion of entertainment is much

more object-oriented.[156]

Earlier it was mentioned that Neferti in the frame narrative is summoned by the pharaoh

with the expectation that he would he would deliver beautiful speech for "entertainment."

> **Neferti 13–14**
> *ḏd.in ḥm≠f ʿnḫ-wḏꜣ-snb*
>   *mi m nfrti ḫnms≠i*
>   *ḏd≠k n≠i nhw n mdt nfrt ṯsw stpw*
>   *ḏꜣy-ḥr n ḥm≠i n sḏm st*
>   ...
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n dwn.n≠f ḏrt≠f r hn n ḫrt-ʿ*
> *ꜥḥꜥ.n šd.n≠f n≠f šfdw ḥnʿ gsti*
> *wn.in≠f ḥr irt m sšw ḏdt.n ḫry-ḥbt nfrty*
>
> His majesty l.p.h said
> "Come Neferti, my friend,
> tell me some fine words, choice phrases that my majesty be entertained at hearing them."
> …
> He stretched out his hand to the writing tools box.
> He took out for himself a papyrus roll and palette.
> Then he wrote down what the lector Neferti said…

While customarily translated and understood as entertainment, etymologically, a notion of

pleasure is not inherent in the term. Rather, it suggests an idea of movement of the head, to turn

the face away from the body.[157] As such, in his study on *Neferti*, Goedicke argues against the

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[155] *Wb*. IV, 378-379.8; *FCD* 258.
[156] Differently put, entertainment is not primarily about what the subjects happen to find fun and beautiful; it is about the objects that possess extraordinary qualities that seize your attention or take your breath away.
[157] Nyord 2009, 164 n.1240.

traditional understanding of the expression as "entertainment" and instead suggests an interpretation closer to the literal meaning of the phrase, in the sense of "to influence" or "to form an opinion or outlook."[158] More recently, Volokhine has published a detailed study of the phrase.[159] After examining various contexts in which the phrase occurs (harpooning, hunting, fishing, archery, educational walk, game of senet, etc.), he suggests that the common denominator among these is an activity of the gaze, especially during moments of sustained attention. He concludes that the meaning of the phrase indeed extends to entertainment, but the kind of entertainment that requires concentration, not diversion.

The phrase *sḫmḫ-ib* is customarily translated as entertainment as well.[160] The love songs often bear the title, *ḥst sḫmḫ-ib*, "songs of entertainment." [161] The etymology is uncertain. Some scholars have suggested "to make the heart forget," using the morphological affinity to the word *sḫm*, "to forget."[162] Others scholars have translated it as "having fun", "cheering up the heart" mainly based on the context of use.[163] Fox and Assmann suggest that the term can be used to denote "entertainment literature."[164] For Guilemi, however, "entertainment" is not the most appropriate, because literature with more serious tone also bears the similar title.[165] He therefore suggests to understand the term as designating the thematized phenomena of the "counter-world."

The banquet context in which love songs would have been performed can be found in the

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[158] 1977, 59f.
[159] Volokhine 2016, 837–859.
[160] *Wb*. IV, 252,10–253,4.
[161] In addition to less frequently used *ṯsw nḏm*, "sweet verses" referred to in the introduction of this chapter. Further discussion on the titles, Mathieu 1996, 134–138.
[162] *Wb*. IV, 243
[163] Rueda 218–219 for the summary of previous interpretations with references.
[164] Fox 1982, 289 and 367; Fox 1985, 55; Assmann 1991, 900; Assmann 1999, 12–13. See also Morenz 2013, 228–230.
[165] Guilemi, 1996, 341–342. Cf. Moers 2010, 697–698.

love songs themselves. A song written on an ostracon from Deir el-Medina refers to singers

performing on the occasion of *ḥrw nfr*, "holiday (lit. beautiful day),"[166] equipped with

instruments and words of *sḫmḫ-ib*.[167] Love songs' relationship with the so-called Harpers' songs

also helps understand the performative context.[168] Harper's songs are poetic texts found in tomb

murals, as a part of the tomb decoration that portrays the deceased's activities on earth.[169] Near

the banquet table before which the deceased is seated, a bald (and often blind) harper is shown

performing for the occasion. The text of Harper's song is presented like a caption near the

harper, like the lyrics to the music the harper is playing. Throughout the texts, the phrase *sḫmḫ-ib*

occurs frequently, as well as references to standard paraphernalia of wine, music, flowers, and

myrrh that recur in the love songs.[170]

The phrase goes back to the Old Kingdom, when it was associated with the activities of

dancing and singing, especially in the context of the court entertainment. During the Old

Kingdom, the overseers of palace singers and dancers would bear the epithet *sḫmḫ ib n≠*

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[166] According to Darnell (2016, 46), *ḥrw nfr* originally had application to funerary banquets, but by the Middle Kingdom, they came to be applied to Hathoric celebrations as well. For further references on the topic, see Darnell, Klotz and Manessa 2013, 1 n.2. Non-funerary contexts from New Kingdom and onwards are discussed in Gregersen 2015, 55-85.

[167] O.Borchardt 1 rto.: *ḥrw-nfr pꜣy≠i ptr≠k / sn ḥsy ꜥꜣ pꜣ mꜣꜣ≠k / bsy≠k n≠i irm ḥnqt / ḥsyw ꜥpr m ḫaw / iw rꜣ.w≠sn ꜥpr m sḫmḫ-ib… ,* "My seeing you is a beautiful day / brother, seeing you is a great blessing / flood me with beer / (with) the singers equipped with instruments / their mouths equipped with *sḫmḫ ib* …"

[168] Lichtheim 1945, 178–212; Wente 1962, 118–128. The standard debate between whether the banquet is mortuary/religious (depicting the reality of the deceased's existence in the hereafter) or biographical/secular (depicting an event in the deceased's past life). The tomb context has led the schoalrs to think harper's songs are rooted in the burial celebration and represent the literary transformation of actual performances that presumably occurred during these events in real life; Bochi 1998: 89-95; Davies (51–53) draws attention to the fact that the feasting scenes occur more than once in different parts of one tomb, and the kind with harper song doesn't have the same kind of ritual/magical force as the regular meal of the dead.

[169] Or activities that are hoped for the afterlife. Interpretations vary.

[170] E.g., TT 75: "Sitting down to divert the heart (*sḫmḫ ib*) according to the practice of existence on earth, anointed with myrrh, adorned with garlands, making holiday (*irt ḥrw nfr*) in his house of justification which he made for himself on the west of Thebes." Davies 1923, pls. IV, V, XVIII. Also occurs in Amenhotep II's Memphis stela (*=Urk* IV, 1307).

(king)."[171] Some dwarves bear the similar titles,[172] and the divine dance that the pygmies perform, which is mentioned in the Pyramid Text (PT 517) and the autobiography of Harkhuf, is also modified by the phrase *sḥmḫ ib n≠* (king/god).[173] During the New Kingdom, the phrase occurs most frequently in the context of banquets and leisure walk. It also occurs in the context of seeing beautiful things. In the tomb of Paheri at el-Kab, a caption to the deceased and his seated wife reads *sḥmḫ-ib m³³ bw nfr*, "rejoicing at seeing beautiful things."[174] It occurs in a royal, more official context as in Seti's stela at Abydos, where it refers to the temple he himself dedicated to Ramses I as the object of his *sḥmḫ-ib*.[175]

Interestingly, *sḏ³y-ḥr* and *sḥmḫ-ib* frequently occur together. For instance, a caption in a Theban tomb to the scene where the deceased is overseeing a harvest reads *apr m ḫt nbt nfrt r sḏ³y-ḥr n nb t³wy sḥmḫ-ib n nṯr nfr*, "equipping with all good things to entertain the lord of the two lands, to please the good god."[176] In the tomb of Rekhmire, a caption reads, *sḥmḫ-ib m³³*

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[171] For instance, a late 5th dynasty Giza tomb of Nimaatre, bears the title *ỉmy-r ḥst pr-ˤ³ sḥmḫ-ib n nb≠f m ḥst nfrt m ḥnw pr-ˤ³,* "overseer of singers of the palace who delights the heart of his lord with beautiful songs inside the palace" (Jones, no. 3590; Strudwick 255). Within the same tomb, there's a chapel dedicated to his mother, Neferesere, who bears the title *ḫkrt-nswt mrt≠f ỉmyt-r sḥmḫ-ib nb nfr n nswt ỉm³ḫwt ḥr nṯr ˤ³ rˤw nb (ỉ)m(yt)-rˤ ỉb³w n nswt sḥmḫ-ib n bjtj m-st≠f nb(wt).* Jones, no. 3591; Strudwick 397.

[172] A dwarf named *Pr-n-ˤnḫ* has the epithet *sḥmḫ-ib nb≠f r-nb.* In general, dwarves had a strong presence in the entertainment industry during the OK as there were dwarf harpists, dwarf animal (monkeys and dogs) tenders, etc.

[173] The particular spell occurs in the pyramids of Pepi I, Merenre and Peipi II*: d³g pw ib(³)w nṯr sḥmḫ-ib n nṯr m b³ḥ ˤwy st≠f wrt,* "he is a dwarf of the god dances who cheers the god in front of his great throne." Rhe royal letter embedded in Harkhuf's autobiography reads: *ḫ³ˤ inn≠k dng pn m-ˤk inn≠k m t³-³ḫ.tw ˤnḫ wḏ³ snb r ib³w nṯr r sḥmḫ-ib r snḫ³ḫ³ jb n nswt-bit nfr-k³-rˤw ˤnḫ ḏt, "*Take off (quickly), because you are to bring this dwarf back with you, whom you are brining from the land of the horizon while he is alive, whole and healthy, for the dances to cheer up and please the heart of the king Neferka-Re, who lives forever."

[174] *Urk* IV, 126, 13; Griffith 1894, pl. iv.

[175] *bi³t≠f pw sḥmḫ n≠f s ib≠i,* "It is his wonder (=temple), what my heart rejoices in." K*RI* I, 110–114; Cf. Assmann 2005 [2001], 49 discusses the passage in the context of filial piety. Also interesting is the example from OI Epigraphic Survey 1998, 49, Pl. 196: *sḥmḫ-ib pw n psḏt ḫˤ Imn m-ḫnw.s (n) rḫyt*, "It is with pleasure of the ennead, within which Amun appears in glory (to) the rekhyt people."

[176] TT 92; *Urk* IV, 1449, 7–8. Simlar, TT 73; *Urk* IV, 456, 2; Hatsheptsut's name is followed by *sḥmḫ-ib n nbt t³.wy sḏ³-ḥr n imi ˤḥ.*

nfrwt sḏꜣy-ḥr m kꜣt sḫt, "being pleased at seeing the beautiful things, entertained by the works of field."[177] Another example comes from a satirical letter:

> **pAnastasi I 8, 3–4**
> *ỉri.wy≠(ỉ) n≠k sḥry mỉ sḏꜣyt-ḥr/*
> *ḫntšỉ≠tw n sḏm≠st mỉ sḫmḫ-ỉb/*
>
> I want to write (or: have written) a bundle of letters for you as a pleasure,
> so that you be glad when you hear it like an amusement.

The pairing of the two phrases seems to reflect the Egyptian penchant for balance. Volokhine suggests that the pairing could be indicative of two complementary aspects of relaxation (*sḏꜣy*-Hr referring to attention and *sḫmḫ-ỉb* adding the nuance of forgetting) as envisioned by the ancient Egyptians for pleasurable pursuits.[178]

The phrase *sḏꜣy-ḥr* is also found in a graffito.[179] Though not using the phraseology, an illuminating example of a paring of Hr and ib occurs among the visitors' graffiti in the royal tomb:

> **M.1.5.p.18.2**
> *ỉwt pw ỉr.n sš ỉmn-m-[ḥꜣt sꜣ sš ꜥn]ti-mnti r mꜣꜣ tꜣ ḥwt nṯr nt ḥm n nswt bỉti sꜣḥ-rꜥ mꜣꜥ ḫrw gm.n≠f sy **nfr ḥr ỉb≠f** r ꜥꜣ wr sy **m ḥr≠f mỉ** tꜣ pt sšp ỉꜥḥ*
>
> There came the scribe Amenemhat, [son of Scribe Anat]menti to see the temple of the Majesty of the KULE, Sahure, justified. What he found was that it was exceedingly beautiful in his heart, it was to his eyes (lit. face) like the heaven, [180]

Here, the expression *nfr ḥr ỉb≠f* is reminiscent of the Pharaoh's response to the peasant's speech; a "vision" of heaven is reminiscent of a scene in Setna, where Neferkaptah enchants all kinds of by citing spells from the book he had found in x. In the same text, the expression "didn't know

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[177] A 18th Dynasty Theban tomb, the deceased Senefer is shown seated with his wife and the accompanying caption reads, *sḏꜣy-ḥr ḥnꜥ Mryt [m pr≠f] nt sḫmḫ-ỉb*, "entertainment with…"
TT 96; PM I, 196–203; *Urk* IV, 1422; Also in TT93 (Kenamun), *Urk* IV, 1396.
[178] Volokhine 2016, 859.
[179] Navratilova 2015.
[180] Navratilova 2015.

where on earth he was" occurs twice. When Neferkaptah first hears from the old priest of the existence of the scroll, and when Setna, in possession of now dead Neferkaptah's scroll, first sees beautiful Tabououe. There, the expression conveys some sort of "forgetting," but the focus is not really on the literal meaning of not knowing their whereabouts on earth, but on the marvelous nature of the object. Perhaps the English idiom "to take one's breath away" carries the similar connotation. For the Egyptians, entertainment seems to involve coming into contact with something breathtakingly beautiful; something other-worldly (not counter-world or carnivelsque as suggested by some), in the sense of sublime and elevated. As such, I think the key lies in not what people feel, but the nature of the object/activity involved. Sure, it is the subject, the person, whose breath is being taken (whose face *sḏꜣy*, whose heart *sḫmḫ*, etc.,), but the primacy is on the qualities of the object. Some scholars in the past have interpreted *sḫmḫ-ib* in terms of an escapist pursuit.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

This study has examined the ways in which pain is framed and given meaning in ancient Egyptian texts dating from the Middle Kingdom up to the Third Intermediate Period. Overall, Egyptian understanding of pain emerging from these texts does not align with what people today would commonly think of pain. Egyptian notion of pain is expansive, encompassing the notions of illness, anguish, suffering and evil among others. In this concluding chapter, I provide a summary of the various strands of arguments and findings from the previous chapters. 6.1 summarizes the theoretical-methodological argument of this study; 6.2 recapitulates the substantive argument. Finally, 6.3 discusses the limitations and the avenues for future research.

6.1 Pain and Egyptian Texts

One of the chief objectives of this dissertation has been a theoretical-methodological one, to develop a heuristic framework that uses pain as an interpretative lens through which to read the ancient Egyptian texts. Towards this goal, Chapter 1 began by asking how something as subjective and experiential as pain could be studied in the Egyptian texts. It is a common practice to start by offering a definition (or working definition) of a concept with which one is working. I started, however, by arguing why it is neither sound nor necessary to start with a definition of pain for studying pain. No one definition seemed adequate for capturing the manifold meanings of pain. Instead of drawing attention to what pain consists of, I therefore drew attention to the grounds or conditions that make possible representation and communication of pain, and what purpose representation of pain serves.

Scarry's work is a standard text of reference for critically approaching pain. Her thesis that pain is utterly private and unsharable—that it resists linguistic representation—has been widely influential, and at the same time received many criticisms in subsequent cultural histories of pain. For the purpose of this dissertation, the question of pain's shareability has been somewhat immaterial, as its point of departure inevitably had to be what has already been linguistically represented. More important for this project, therefore, was the question of what this already represented pain can tell us. Both Scarry and her critics agree that pain, however symbolic and figurative, does get represented in broader cultural discourses where its meanings are guided by the social and moral values of a culture. Particularly instructive for my purposes has been the idea that pain's articulation is intimately related to shared understandings of personhood (i.e., what man is, what man ought to be, what is man's place in the world, etc.) and substantive communal values. Domains such as philosophy, spirituality, art and literature are known to have provided avenues for exploring and transmitting the meanings of pain in ways medicine does not: instead of eradicating pain, they educate and inspire people to transcend pain by tapping into the human desire for happiness and ability to seek "higher meanings." To read the texts through the lens of pain, therefore, is not just to look at the representations of pain in the texts, but to interpret pain in light of various factors, among which are what the culture deems good, beautiful and important. In this sense, pain has served not simply the object of study, but also a point of view from which to explore the Egyptian values.

As much as this dissertation sought to employ the lens of pain in reading of the Egyptian texts, this dissertation has also sought to use the Egyptian texts to read pain. This was done by fleshing out the rich contextual understanding of the cultural dynamics that underpin the meanings of pain. The corpus examined in this study consisted of several different types/genres

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of Egyptian texts, both literary and non-literary, which vary in aims, conventions and expectations. My reading of these texts took the "generic" differences not simply as a means to classify texts or speculate about texts' socio-functional context, but as indicative, if not constitutive, of the meanings of pain. Hence, while the analyses carried out in different chapters shared in common the wide-ranging theoretical, methodological orientation, they differed in terms of the specific focus that was given.[1]

For Chapter 3, which examined the magico-medical texts, it was the language use of the Egyptian physician (or other types of healers) who has to treat pain that served as the focus of contextualization. The language of the magico-medical texts frame pain as an object of empirical observation as well as an object of performative action, without much commitment to giving an account of how pain would be felt and experienced by those who are undergoing pain. This chapter also sketched out the distinct orientation of Egyptian medicine as a further step in contextualization, in view of the fact that medical understanding of pain is powerfully mediated by the epistemological and institutional contexts within which medicine operates.

In Chapter 4, which examined the literary narratives, the focus of analysis was laid on the ways in which pain is integrated into the plot. Here, it was revealed that the Egyptian literary narratives utilize pain in order to foreground the interpersonal relationships between the characters and to elicit audience empathy.

In Chapter 5, which examined the non-narrative literary compositions, the literary laments and the love songs, the analysis centered on how the formal aesthetics of the texts serve as the vehicle of the speaker's emotions. Although the emotions underlying the laments and the love songs are ostensibly very different—grief and love—both genres make use of antithetical

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[1] Put differently, by and large, I remained true to the general maxim of letting the ancient texts speak for themselves.

parallelism to convey the gap between the current state of lack and the desired state of fullness. Building upon this analysis, the chapter suggested that pain can be understood in terms of this gap, as a form of longing that is concretized in the oscillating movement between the two opposing poles.

6.2 Pain in Egyptian Thought

6.2.1 Pain and *Maat*

If we consider various pain situations across the different types of Egyptian texts examined in this dissertation, we see that pain is intimately connected to the reality and experience of evil, as defined by the ancient Egyptians as the absence or disruption of order, *maat*.

This was already made apparent in the lexicographical survey in Chapter 2, which showed that not only are Egyptian pain words predominantly determined by the evil bird, but some of these words such as *mr* and *mn* in certain contexts are better translated as "evil." Also noteworthy was the fact that words such as *mr* and *mn* occasionally take the Seth determinative. Seth is quintessential embodiment of disorder and violence, and pain's association with Seth is suggestive of the cosmological dimension of pain in Egyptian thought.

In the magico-medical texts examined in Chapter 3, pain's association with evil became apparent in the ways in which various illness and pathological conditions are characterized in terms of a disturbance or irregularity in the workings of the body, and their treatment in terms of contending with a dangerous force. Put differently, in the magico-medical texts, pain is evil in the sense that 1) it is a formal manifestation of the body's failure to operate according to its proper order, and/or 2) it is caused by entities or forces that are evil (e.g., migraine as an attack by a demon). These two senses do not seem clearly distinguished from another in Egyptian

medical thought, and it is interesting to note that there is a great parallel between the ways in which pain is counteracted in the medical sphere and the ways in which other "evil" forces are counteracted in the other pharaonic activities, such as execration rituals and military expeditions against the foreigners.

Middle Egyptian literary compositions such as the *Peasant* and the literary laments mostly explicitly link the reality of pain with evil at the societal (and sometimes cosmological) level. From moral depravity and negligence of traditions to the incursion of foreigners and failure of the Nile, various conditions that inflict pain upon the Egyptian society are seen as the manifestations of absence of *maat* or prevalence of *isfet*. In my analysis, I showed how these texts not only represent a speaker who is pained by and mourns at the prevalence of evil but also induce the audience to participate in the similar experience.

The love songs represent an interesting case. The speakers of the love songs, too, describe their experience in terms of evil. For instance, the lovers' distress and anguish are likened to a disease or an evil condition (*mr* or *ẖꜣyt*) that the physicians' prescriptions cannot cure or the lector priests cannot exorcise. What the love songs are intent on drawing attention to, however, is not the experience of pain-evil itself, but the desirability of the full presence of or union with the loved ones.

Egyptologists have certainly spoken on the topic of *maat* before. Past discussions on *maat* have often been projected from the standpoints of ideology, power, religion, etc. As pain is inflected with a personal and affective dimension, thinking about *maat* from the perspective of pain allows to view *maat* in personal and affective terms. This, in turn, allows for a more nuanced and dynamic assessment of *maat* in Egyptian thought.

6.2.2 Pain and Heart

One of the most interesting findings of this dissertation has been the ways in which the expressions [heart + pain + dative] are deployed in the narratives (Chapter 4). Here, it is the referent of the dative who is undergoing the reality of evil (Sinuhe faces the possibility of dying in the foreign land; Bata the bull is to be executed; Seth is pierced with the barb, etc.). But the one who suffers pain (i.e., the subject of pain) is the possessor of the heart who is not directly him/herself undergoing evil. That these expressions occur at key junctures of the narratives keeps the audience's attention on the bond between the characters. Pain as an experience of evil, when considered on its own without any context, is bad (so much so that this sentence amounts to tautology), but when it is oriented towards others, through the medium of the heart, something positive results.

The role of the heart is also important in other pain situations. In the magico-medical texts, as the heart is known to connect all the parts of the body, its movement and speech are taken as indicators of what is going on inside the body, i.e., what is causing pain. When the physician tries to make sense of the patient's pain not by directly observing the body part that is pained, but by examining the heart that connects all the body parts, the physician is treating the pained body part not as an independent entity, but as that which exists and functions as a part of the whole.

In the literary laments and the love songs, the heart serves as the speaker's interlocutor. Here, too, frequent references to heart's movement and speech are made. The speakers are not only observing what is going on around them in the external world but are also constantly assessing and reflecting on these situations by talking to their heart. This interior dialogue adds

depth to the pain situation; it also invites the audience to think about similar pain situations in their own contexts.

6.2.3 Pain and Speech

As mentioned in 6.1, while "un/sharability" of pain is the focal point of many critical cultural studies on pain, this dissertation has not engaged with the question directly. In so far as the problem of representation and language is concerned, the focus was laid on how texts serve as the durable vehicle or medium of transmitting the values associated with pain.

It is important to stress that in the Egyptian texts, the function of language vis-à-vis pain is primarily performative, in the sense that the language of pain is more about producing an outcome of encountering pain rather than describing pain. *Nfr mdt*, as we have seen in the case of the *Peasant*, has a major role in fighting against pain and evil. The peasant (as well as the speakers of the literary laments) is not simply expressing his own experience of pain with his speech, but is trying to elicit a concrete response from his audience. That the pharaoh, instead of taking immediate action to remove the peasant's pain, instead has the peasant keep making eloquent petitions, seems to be motivated by the concern for the enduring good. In other words, the pharaoh has the peasant's speech written down, not because it expresses the peasant's pain well, but because it is pregnant with the power to inspire people to counter pain and evil.

Rhetoric, the art of speaking well, does not fully explain the scope of power that is accorded to speech in Egyptian thought and practices. In encountering pain, speech is able to do more than simply instructing or "persuading" in the conventional sense.[2] For the Egyptians, speaking is an act *sui generis*. In the magico-medical texts, the physician is to pronounce (*ḏd.ḫr≈k*) the diagnosis after the examination of the patient; the incantations, of course, are

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[2] Persuading is in quotations marks because persuasive analogy (see n.108 in Chapter 3) is also a form of persuasion.

always to be spoken. Relatedly, as a recent article by Fischer-Elfert draws attention to, *ḏd* and *ỉrỉ*

go hand in hand not only in the didactic texts, but also in the magico-medical texts for enacting

maat.[3]. From the analysis of the story of *Isis and Re* (Chapter 3) and the analysis the story of the

Shipwrecked sailor (Chapter 4) emerge the striking similarity in encountering pain: both draws

on the power of telling the story of a divine precedence in order to produce the desired outcome.

On the whole, evidence here sheds light on the relationship between human agency and

speech for encountering pain. A person's role vis-à-vis pain at first is invariably that of a patient:

pain (or circumstances causing pain) simply happens, and it happens regardless of your

choosing. Speech, however, is endowed with a creative force and an inseparable aspect of

"doing" *maat*. As such, through speech, the patient can be potentially transformed into an agent.

Pain's "un/sharability" becomes a problem only when one restricts the function of language to its

referential/descriptive function.

If speech can be put to use to encounter pain, it can also cause pain. In Chapter 4, we saw

various instances where somebody suffers pain because of what someone else has said (Anubis'

wife lies to her husband that she is suffering from the evil suggestion that Bata made to her; the

Pharaoh is pained by Bata's wife; Pre suffers from Baba's comment). In addition, while this

dissertation has not examined them in-depth (only referenced in the footnotes), incantations were

frequently used to inflict pain in others.

6.3 Limitations and Future Research

While this dissertation has sought to examine diverse aspects of Egyptian understanding

of pain by turning to different genres of ancient Egyptian texts, not every genre has received

equal amount of attention. The analysis of the literary laments in Chapter 5, for instance, would

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[3] Fischer-Elfert 2021, 181–182.

benefit from more in-depth treatment in the future. Also, the examples from the mortuary texts or royal inscriptions have been included in the lexicographical survey in Chapter 2, but they have not been examined as thoroughly. Mortuary texts and royal inscriptions are undergirded by their own institutional history and logic, which in turn call for different sets of contextualizing strategies. [4] Finally, expanding the diachronic range by considering later Demotic texts can also enrich our Egyptian understanding of pain. One could only hope, given more time, dissertation would develop into a more comprehensive study that covers wider range of textual sources.

The current project can also be extended to shed further light on the significance of the heart in Egyptian thought. While Egyptologists have long acknowledged the importance of the heart in Egyptian thought as the seat of thought and emotion, the topic has not received as adequate or sustained engagement as one could wish for. The notable exceptions are Assmann and Lichetheim, both providing a history of the developing notion of the heart in Egyptian thought. Assmann, for instance, argues that the role of heart as reflected in the autobiography of Intef dated to the reign of Tuthmoses III, is a development from the Middle Kingdom notion: more than being "inerer Motor und Sitz von Wille, Initiative und selbstbestimmtem Handeln," the heart starts to figure as a "moralische Instanz, die Lehren erteilt und Weisungen gibt, ... die als göttliche Stimme erkannt wird und unserem Begriff des Gewissens schon sehr nahe kommt."[5] Lichtheim in turn charts out the historical development of the notion of conscience in Egyptian

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[4] It is also quite obvious that this dissertation has not considered pictorial representations of pain. In much of the Western history, pictorial representations of pained individuals have been quite common; most of the Western cultural histories of pain use the pictorial representations as important sources. So not considering pictorial representation may seem like a major limitation of this study. Besides the fact that interpretation of art sources requires yet another kind of skills and knowledge, based on the general knowledge possessed by the author as well as based on the evidence presented by Prakash (reviewed in the Introduction), it seems fair to say that in ancient Egypt, pictorial representation of pained individual is not as pervasive in comparison to the later West. Egyptians did not seem to have been very interested in pictorial representation of individuals suffering from pain. A few notable exceptions include, in addition to the cases mentioned in Prakash' study, the famous scene of the starving Bedouin from the causeway of Sahure's pyramid complex and the defeated enemies in the royal inscriptions.
[5] Assmann 1993, 99.

thought through a detailed survey of the autobiographical texts and wisdom texts. [6] She

concludes that "the notion of moral sense/conscience did not attain a precise shape embodied in a

lexeme" in Egyptian thought."[7] If pain can have a history, it seems not unreasonable to think

about a history of moral conscience, too.[8] How does ancient Egyptian understanding of empathy

(which, I have argued in this dissertation, as a form of pain) relate to this developing Egyptian

notion of moral sense/conscience? This is one of the questions that surfaced while working on

this dissertation, something that I would like to address further in my future research.

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[6] She notes: "his (Assmann's) observation made me want to determine just how far the Egyptian had come in working out the notion of "conscience." Lichtheim 1997, 72.

[7] Lichtheim 1997, 73. She adds "even in classical Greece the concept of 'conscience,' though formulated, did not become significant." Ibid., 74.

[8] The discourse on conscience was progressively refined throughout much of the antiquity and into the medieval period. The notion of conscience and the related notion of *synderesis*, for instance, served as the locus of Scholastic moral philosophy, most notably in Aquinas's account of natural law. Inquiry into the role of human mind in moral judgement, motivation and action is such an interesting field of research that Egyptology, in my view, has interesting insight to offer.

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