

HUMANITIES INSTITUTE

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ANCIENT EGYPT –History

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POLITICAL HISTORY

GOVERNMENT

Overview For over three millennia the government of Egypt, which first became a united kingdom in 3150 B.C.E., remained relatively stable and true to its original character. The tagline ‘theocratic monarchy’ fits well enough, for this vast period of rule, and though the government experienced significant challenges both within and from without, it remained intact and serviceable for, to take an example, much longer than the long lasting Roman Empire.

The King or Pharaoh While there was a pre dynastic monarchic period, perhaps itself three thousand years in duration, we know rather little about its culture, or about a certain renowned Scorpion King, one of its salient leaders. Our significant understanding of the culture dates from the First Dynasty, 3100-3050 B.C.E., when a king named Narmer (or Menes) unified Upper and Lower Egypt into a single kingdom. The King himself was understood to be the gods’ direct instructional channel for leadership, in all the details of governing. While there were times, in later dynasties, when the King or Pharaoh’s power was compromised by foreign invasion, (especially by the Hyksos), or decentralization from within the country, by and large the King or Pharaoh’s power remained unchallenged through to the reign of Queen Cleopatra, the last Egyptian leader (d. 30 B.C.E.). It might be mentioned, as evidence that the Egyptian King was no figurehead, that one of his chief duties--the *Egyptian Cattle Count*-- was to travel throughout his vast land, assessing the wealth of his kingdom, and especially its agricultural condition, which would be the basis for the treasury’s very substantial annual tax revenue.

Chief government officials The King or Pharaoh had one of two viziers, often relatives and always ‘closely connected to the King,’ who carried out the highest level of administrative decision making. Under this level were *scribes*--indispensable educated readers/writers/accountants, *nomarchs* (governors of provinces); *temple officials*--under whom, at later periods of high temple growth, many social services concerning health, banking, infrastructure projects were gathered; and, after 1570 B.C.E., a sizeable and active police force. The vast temple, pyramid, and precinct structures, from which we are likely to take our first impressions of ancient Egypt, were financed, supervised, and architected through the prosperous temples which were scattered throughout the country. Interwoven with the civilizing and control mechanisms of the temple, there was--especially after the Hyksos invasions of the 13th dynasty (1783-1640 B.C.E.)--a sizeable *military build up*, by which the government could assure itself protection against foreign predations.

Economics and revenue A population of 2-5 million (the best guess out there) had to suffice for financing a huge empire, increasingly under assault from the outside world. The vast majority of the ancient Egyptian population were peasants on the land, and it was they who coughed up the produce that filled the state granaries, and eventually bankrolled the vast military and constructural projects of the government. Thanks to abundance of such revenues one speaks--to pick an example--of the 12th dynasty of the Middle Kingdom (2040-1802 B.C.E.) as the Golden Age of the ancient Egyptian government, in which art and diplomacy flourished, and self-glorifying monuments grew like trees from the gardens of the capitol, Thebes.

Readings

Grimal, Nicolas, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1992.

Clayton, Peter, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, London, 1994.

Discussion questions

Discuss the function of the police force--which among other things oversaw morals--in the ancient Egyptian state. Who was chosen for the force, and what kind of training did they get?

What do you see as the relation between religion and government in ancient Egypt? Do you believe the people believed that their ruler was also a god? What would have led them to that belief?

In the first millennium B.C.E. the Egyptians began to adopt a coinage system--as distinct from the different barter systems they had previously used. What effect on governing would this shift to coinage from barter have?

MILITARY

Overview The Egyptian Military went through different developmental phases, in the three millennia and more of the integrity of the Egyptian state. There were, understandably, advances in weaponry, administration, and battle strategy.

Weaponry In the Old Kingdom (2686-2181 B.C.E.) soldiers were basically peasants recruited off the land, and supplied by their local *nomarchs* (regional government administrators) with the basic tools of military trade: *shields, spears, cudgels, bows and arrows*. It wasn't until the so-called Second Intermediate Period of Egyptian history (1650-1550 B.C.E.) that foreign intervention introduced a new kind of weaponry to the Egyptians. The invasion of the Hyksos, an Asiatic nomadic culture which became the Fifteenth Egyptian Dynasty, ruling the nation, brought many novelties to Egypt--new plants and animals, loan words, the culture of the horse, and horse and chariot weaponry which added to the Egyptians' military power store. With the addition of the composite bow--horn and hide added to the bow strings--the Egyptian army entered its later, and most effective, New Kingdom stage, during which, with the innovation of the *khopesh* (sickle sword) and pretty impenetrable scale armor (for the Pharaoh) the national army was a formidable aggressive force.

Administration During the Old Kingdom the army of Egypt was recruited and administered by the regional *nomarchs*, or provincial governors. (The recruits were peasants and artisans, and their army disbanded at the end of conflict.) The final defeat of the Hyksos (see above) meant the gradual development of the Egyptian army into a full-time standing force, consisting of infantry, charioteers, and a navy of large ships (for the time) which however served mainly for transport and supplies, rather than for combat. The fully developed army, of the New Kingdom (1550-1069 B.C.,E.), was a national force under the direction of a Supreme Commander, well organized divisions, and highly organized battle plans.

Battle strategy It should be noted that from the Old Kingdom at its height, the army of Egypt was chiefly employed to protect the boundaries of the nation, and not to undertake foreign actions. (To the early Egyptians it seemed evident that their country was the finest land in the world, and that there was no reason to go beyond its borders.) The army, therefore, was at that period largely involved with constructing fortresses and patrolling the national borders. After their conflicts with the Hyksos, the Egyptians adopted innovative battle strategies, made possible by the growingly sophisticated use of swift and light chariots, tougher and lighter battle armor, and new combinations of infantry with cavalry assault. While the Egyptian army saw considerable internal action, maintaining civil and provincial order, it could boast a remarkably successful three millennia long record of avoiding foreign military entanglements.

Readings

Wise, Terence, *Ancient Armies of the Middle East*, Oxford, 1981.

Hamblin, William, *Warfare in the Ancient Near East*, London, 2006.

Discussion questions

Is a culture's general state of development measurable in terms of its military development? Does military development go hand in hand with cultural development?

In the New Kingdom, the Egyptian army was strengthened by the incorporation of a new weapon, the *khopesh*, which developed out of the battle-axe. What generates such innovations? What do they make possible?

What was the function of the ancient Egyptian navy? How did it coordinate with Egyptian land forces? What truth is there in the frequent claim that the Egyptians were not a 'seafaring people'?

SOCIAL HISTORY

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Overview While we must balk at the image of Egyptian social structure as pyramidal--a too easy association with the more than a hundred great structures which have become the trademarks for this ancient culture--there is nonetheless a familiar rigid geometry governing the Egyptian social hierarchy. Pharaoh on top, slaves at the bottom, and all the spaces in between to fill up--we know it doesn't work quite that way, and yet the pyramidal image is instructive.

Pharaoh Pharaoh, the term for the supreme Egyptian ruler (a god too), was not applied as a direct address term until the second millennium B.C.E, yet we can use the term properly to describe the god king who from (conventional date) 3000 B.C.E. was the supreme ruler of the Egyptian social situation. The Pharaoh, himself a god, had an overall job assignment: to please the gods, which meant to preserve the polity of the Egyptians; to direct their armed forces, collect necessary taxes, and lead negotiations with foreign powers. His right hand man, in all these jobs, was the **vizier**, the top supervisor.

Government officials These power wielders were the wealthiest classes, which gives you an idea of the importance of administration, in this state in which just that, management and control, were essential functions. (That means, on the whole, a static and bureaucratic state, like that of ancient China.)

Priests The priest were socially equivalent to the highest government officials, for their job was to man the innumerable temples that dotted the Egyptian nation, to please the gods, and to make sure that no offences were committed against divine law.

The nobles The nobles, who were frequently in charge of the **nomes**, or national regions, were hereditary families, often related to the Pharaoh himself, who customarily enriched themselves on tax collection, and high level administration.

The military and scribes These two diverse groups, who made up the 'white kilt class,' were equally powerful, the former because they could extort freely, the latter because they controlled writing and reading, rare skills in this almost totally uneducated peasant society.

Merchants and physicians These two classes of skilled middle-classers were the real professionals of the society, dominating trade and crafts, and practicing the healing arts.

Farmers The vast majority of the population consisted of farmers. Dependent on the regularity of Nile inundations, and hobbled by the heavy tax rates imposed on them by the tax-collector nobles, the farmers were often successful in amassing a large and rich harvest. Fruits and vegetables were abundant; wheat was turned into bread and beer; flax into linen and fine cloths; papyrus into paper.

Slaves We don't know the figures on the slave population of Egypt at different periods. It appears that this population was almost entirely made up of war prisoners, and that--in certain ways--this population had some control over their own destinies, some freedom, if they were lucky, to work themselves out of their condition.

Readings

Strouhal, Eugen, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Norman, 1989.

McDowell, A.G., *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs*, Oxford, 1900.

Discussion questions

How did this pyramidal structure change from age to age during the long three thousand years of Pharaonic rule? Can you indicate two or three periods of significant change, like that which occurred in the reign of Akhenaten?

Was there an intelligentsia among the ancient Egyptians? The Scribes? The artisans? The priests? Were there Universities? Med Schools?

Was the aristocracy (the nobles) a class relying on wealth for its position? Or was it a lineage based aristocracy, 'old families'?

GENDER RELATIONS

Overview Male power, in ancient societies, is a given: the patriarch is there from the beginning and stays there--til today, but the freedom and respect granted to women was noteworthy in ancient Egyptian culture. We can note a few aspects of this welcome state of affairs.

Marriage and family Ancient Egyptian sculpture abounds in depictions of husbands and wives standing side by side, holding hands. The guy is frequently a step or two ahead, and has the look of being in charge of things--but who knows, maybe he's not. We appreciate the uncertainty. There seems universal reverence, in the culture, for the wonders of the goddess Ma'at, who guarantees harmony and order in life.

Women and family power In many regards, within the family and out in the society, ancient Egyptian women enjoyed power. In the first place they were not railroaded into marriage, but customarily had full freedom in the choice of their marriage partners. (Pre nups were not rare, guaranteeing wives financial security in case of divorce, which was itself easily obtainable, and in which the woman could normally be represented by legal counsel. In the case of divorce, women had custody over children, as well as over their own property.)

Women and worldly power Out in the world, women were a normal part of the working society. They tended and marketed their own gardens, kept sheep and goats, or worked and sold in the markets for cloth, textiles, and (for example) beer, the drink for the man on the street. On a more elevated achievement level women were known as physicians, and scribes, the latter one of the society's most influential roles--as the scribe needed extensive training in order to be able to read and write. Women were an important part of the priesthood, which was itself influential on the highest levels of society.

Tending the major temples--which were at the same time banks and lending agencies-- women exercised a role in government; as interpreters of dreams, and advisers to the highest officials, as well as placators of the always watching gods on whom the security of the state depended. In their priestly role women could on occasion rise to the level of God-wife, surrogate spouse of God. And then on the very highest levels women could be found serving in high diplomatic posts, or even as Pharaoh, as in the dramatic instance of Hatshepsut (1507-1458 B.C.E.), the fifth Pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty.

Observation Women are one half of society. When women are happy, men are happy, and the society has a leg up on succeeding. Egyptian society lasted intact for three millennia, not bad. We should be so lucky, in our advanced Western experimentation.

Readings

Tyldesley, Joyce, *Daughters of Isis: Women of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1995.

Graves-Brown, Carolyn, *Dancing for Hathor: Women in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 2010.

Discussion questions

Ancient Egyptian society, of course, was predominantly agricultural. Most women lived on the land. What kind of farm work did they perform? How did they balance farm work with taking care of children? Were there schools for their children?

How do you explain the difference between Fifth-century B.C. Athens and Egypt, in the issue of freedom for women? Wasn't there a brilliance of freedom and originality in the great Athenian century? Didn't it include women at all?

What jobs did priestesses perform, at the sacred temples of ancient Egypt? What does it mean that they were in charge of maintaining the statues of the god worshipped in their temple? What was a God-wife, and what did it mean to a priestess to become a God-wife?

ECONOMIC HISTORY

ECONOMIC INNOVATIONS

Overview In dealing with Egyptian science, as distinct from Egyptian technological innovation, we looked briefly into broad developments in engineering, medicine, mining, agriculture and astronomy. (In these spheres of development the evolution of Egyptian culture, in its broadest and most definitive forms, was being promoted). Around this axis, of substantive scientific developments, blossomed a garden of technical innovations--in a broad sense the gadgets that accompany science achievement, and that 'make life better for people.' The Egyptians, a practical people, were eminently creative in the generation of such gadgets.

Massive structures and living interiors Apart from the massive engineering challenges, presented by pyramid construction, there were many practical challenges that had to be overcome in the course of building a huge limestone tomb. Basic tools like ramp and lever were employed in construction, to move enormous weights. (As well as to help transport the huge component blocks for distances of a hundred miles or more.) But it was not only the pyramids. The Lighthouse in the harbor of Alexandria, the Pharos, was often cited as a miracle of tall and effective monumental height, over one hundred meters. When it came to the *interior* appointments of such structures as pyramids, or of well-to-do domestic houses, the Egyptians acquired high skills of furniture making: beds and tables and stools. They proved equally proficient with those niceties of dwelling appointments--columns, lintels, sills, jambs, and veneers--which provided a high domestic comfort level, to those who could afford it. House construction itself,

furthermore, was strengthened by the inclusion of clay-smearred reeds in walls and foundations. The security provided by this kind of innovation meant a great deal to the man in the street.

Miscellaneous, and an observation It is in the nature of technological innovations, like the above, that in the aggregate they do not display a single outstanding product, but rather a diversity of life-enhancing facilitators--like our own electric razors, iPods, or support hose, which tighten up sagging varicose veins. With energy and inventive ardor, the Egyptians found many new ways to medicate themselves, beautify their eyebrows, help themselves sleep well., orient themselves in time with a functional 365 day calendar and calculate by a decimal system.

Readings

Scheel, Bernd, *Egyptian Metalmaking and Tools*, Haverfordwest, 1989.

Nicholson, Paul T.; Shaw, Ian, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge, 200;.

Discussion questions

During which eras of their long imperial history were the Egyptians most prolific with inventions and discoveries? Please get into detail.

Was there any traditional training for scientists and inventors in ancient Egypt, or did they tend to learn by apprentice work and on the job experience? You might start by looking into the life of the legendary architect Imhotep, who was ultimately deified for his great skill.

TRADE

Overview Ancient Egypt was vigorous in trade from Prehistoric times (6th millennium B.C.E.) through to the Roman Period in Egypt, in the first century B.C.E. A look at the map will suggest that trade, both by land and sea, was likely to have been both feasible and necessary--necessary because of the disproportionate amount of non arable desert land in Egypt.

The earliest period Records indicate imports of sheep and goats from Southwest Asia into prehistoric Egypt, as well as pottery from the country of Canaan. Already by the fourth millenium B.C.E. the Egyptian art of ship-bulding was developing rapidly, using planks and glued-together strips of papyrus. By the end of this pre-dynastic period the Kings of Egypt were closely supervising border crossings, where trade entered the country, and taking their share of taxable profits, on caravans entering Egypt from the desert.

The Old Kingdom (2649-2150 B.C.E.) The Old Kingdom, the first great period of pyramid construction and high social development, was marked by heavy activity along the trade routes which joined Egypt to Mesopotamia and to the Eastern Mediterranean by sea, and along the land routes leading south into Nubia and the Kingdom of Punt (probably Ethiopia). (A proto Suez Canal was In fact established across the northern desert, opening a new overland trade route as far as to the Red Sea.) From distant Afghanistan, lapis lazuli was imported regularly as a treasured adornment, while from Lebanon boatloads of cedars entered Egypt, bringing the favored material for the coffins of Pharaohs; for which commodities the Egyptians responded with heavily laden shipments of gold, silver, linen textiles. From farther south in Africa came tropical fruits, apes, monkeys, even a widely noted black dwarf, a touch of the exoticism for which the Egyptian taste grew rapidly.

Organization of Trade With the expansion of trade, in the last two millennia B.C.E., the Egyptian economy increasingly fell under governmental administrative control. By the middle of the sixth century B.C.E. the barter system, which had long dominated Egyptian trade practice, was seeing itself replaced with a standard currency, which facilitated international trading. The government took on itself the job of

patrolling trade routes, assuring security for traders crossing unprotected desert tracts, and for constructing and protecting large granaries, where Egyptian farmers could store their harvests while awaiting shipment. It underscores the long enduring development of trading, in Egypt, that one lucrative job-role, throughout the major periods of Egyptian history, was that of bankrolling trading expeditions, a high stakes business venture which could win big, or prove costly if shiploads were pirated or caravans waylaid.

Readings

Zvelebi, M. ed., *Hunters in Transition: Mesolithic Societies and the Transition to Farming*, Cambridge, 1986.

Bellwood, P., *First Farmers: The Origins of Agricultural Society*, Malden (Mass.), 2005.

Discussion questions

What was the state of trade *within* Egypt? Was it as active as international trade? How did traded goods move within the country?

What kind of trading caravans did the Egyptians employ, to import and export across the Sahara desert? Were there 'authorized' trading routes, followed by all traders?

In the 3rd and 4th centuries B.C.E. the Athenians traded many wine and oil products with Egypt, across the eastern Mediterranean. What did the Egyptians trade back to the Athenians in return?

The Egyptians were active exporters of paper to the Greeks and Romans, as early as 3000 B.C.E. Who were the main consumers of paper, in those cultures? What use did they make of paper? How was it distributed?

CULTURAL HISTORY

OVERVIEW

Historical isolation of Egyptian culture Religion, art, and science converged, in ancient Egypt from the third through the first millennium B.C.E., to create a coherent culture capable of leaving its distinctive mark on future civilizations. While that mark is distinctive and forceful, the Egyptian contribution to the West was only indirectly transmitted to our contemporary world; unlike the Greco-Roman tradition. That tradition undergirds our systems of law, political organization, artistic and philosophy, while the Egyptian tradition had no direct channel (like the western Middle Ages and Renaissance) through which to pass to the major cultures of the Europeanized, and now Americanized, West.

Art Distinctive in appearance, spiritual in intent, and overwhelming as masterpieces of ancient technology, the major works of Egyptian Art are the culture's eternal demand on our attention. The Great Pyramids of Gizeh, constructed around 2500 B.C.E. in the middle of the desert, were homes for three great Pharaohs, places from which their souls could begin their journeys to the Other World. Around the coffins of those pharaohs the Egyptian architect constructed imperishable monuments, on which the world could gaze while contemplating its own preparations for passage upwards. Pyramids became, in fact, living museums in which interior and exterior relief carvings, often brilliantly painted, elaborate sculptures (often of the deceased monarch), and depictions of dancers and musicians all conspired to create a kind of showplace for the greatness of the Egyptian aesthetic sense.

Religion As the above on pyramids would suggest, religion and art were intimately intertwined in the Egyptian experience. The art museum of the Great Pyramid was at the same time the treasured home of

the body of the deceased Emperor, in whose honor the pyramid was constructed—though only after lengthy planning, which involved not only architectural genius but the immense labor of preparing and transporting/dragging the gigantic limestone and marble building blocks for the temple. Nothing short of deep religious faith can have provided the primal spark for this blaze of effort—or rather nothing short of the whip, for slave labor was the essential ingredient in the greatest of the pyramids.

Science The Pyramids, *mastabas*, step-pyramids—all these works of architectural genius, that dot the sands of Upper Egypt til today—are evidence of prodigious scientific understanding—precise, massive, dramatic. Students of ancient Egypt are to this day unsure of the skills employed to transfer heavy materials, to relief-carve in limestone, to master arches and lintels which bear immense weight, and above all to raise and place the slabs, staircases, and interior chambers of the pyramids. The required knowledges of math, physics, and even astronomy—for the cardinal points positioning of the temples—were stupendously refined. Why hesitate, in view of this diversity of skills—to include the Egyptians' advanced achievements in dentistry, paper manufacture, and the ability to brew a good strong beer?

Readings

Bierbrier, Morris, *The Tomb Builders of the Pharaohs*, New York, 1984.

Nicholson, Paul T., et. al., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge, 2000.

Discussion questions

What does it say about the technological skills of the ancient Egyptians, that they both mastered the construction of the pyramid, and invented the first effective toothpaste and toothbrush?

Would it be correct to say that Egyptian culture influenced the modern West chiefly through its effect on Judaism, and the Judaeo-Christian tradition? How would that influence have taken place? Along what channels?

Who brought the stone materials into the desert, to serve as construction materials for the great pyramids of Gizeh? Were these hired manual laborers? Where did they come from? Were they paid, or were some of them unpaid slaves?

SCIENCE

Ancient and modern in science The great discoveries of Western science, in the 16th and 17th centuries, followed by the technology revolutions of the early 19th century, rapidly established the impression that science and even the scientific attitude were products of fairly recent western society. The fact is, of course, that both in Asia and the West studies of the natural world, and of the uses to which we can put it, were widespread, and of value and interest to their people. In some instances—say in mathematics and astronomy—the discoveries made in antiquity were to be influential in shaping western scientific skills.

The Egyptian achievement The scientific discoveries of the ancient Egyptians have on the whole remained part of what we greatly admire about those people, and about their ability to build a classical civilization. For historical reasons—the channels by which historical know how passed from the classic civilizations to our modernity—the achievements of the Egyptians remain to us as a source of awe and inspiration, rather than as a functioning element in post 17th century Western scientific thinking. That awe and inspiration, however, sustain and stimulate us.

Engineering We marvel today at the magnitude of the Pharaonic pyramids, and the brilliant engineering of them after a long haul of stone blocks for hundreds of miles. Even more daunting, than the

materials transportation issue, has to have been that of elevating the heavy materials, for the pyramid construction, from ground level to the upper levels of the completed structure. The stepped pyramid of Zoser, 2600 B.C.E., consisted of six levels, and rose to over 200 feet; 'the oldest sizable stone structure in the world.' The Great Pyramids of Gizeh were initially cut from the cliffs on the eastern bank of the Nile, then floated across the river during the annual floods, and dragged up temporary ramps to their pre-arranged positions. 'The oldest and largest of the pyramids, that of Cheops, consisted of 2.3 million blocks, each averaging 2.5 tons in weight.'

Medicine Egyptian achievements in medicine are amply documented for us by a large number of medical papyri, which record the Egyptians' considerable knowledge of the human body and of its ailments. The first Medical School was in operation in the early third millennium B.C.E., headed by a woman doctor; the first successful surgeries—2700 B.C.E.—were carried out not much later. Reading the papyrus literature we are startled by the list of ailments—the whole catalogue—for which medicines and treatments are prescribed.

Mining The Egyptians developed effective mining operations along the Nile, in copper and gold, and even, in the late period, iron. (The working conditions in the mines were dreadful, a one-way ticket to death.)

Agriculture In agriculture, the Nile itself was permitted to be the great regulative planter, guaranteeing, from its alluvial flood plains, an abundance of fruits and vegetables. Skillful arrangements of irrigation channels, and of shaduf-like devices for water transfer, from one level or basin to another, combined to assure the most precise possible control over the river—which did its part by flooding on the same day every year.

Astronomy Egyptian astronomers were, from the First Dynasty on, close observers of the positions and movements of the stars. Their observations enabled them to align the greatest Pyramids to the cardinal points of the compass; while the great Pyramid of Cheops was aligned to the pole star, a distant but precisely chosen point of reference. (The identification of the planets with specific deities provided an extra impetus, a religious one, for mapping the heavens.) The risings and settings of the planets were carefully calculated—Eratosthenes (276-195 B.C.E.) measured the size and circumference of the earth—and at the Great Library in Alexandria (3rd century B.C.E.-30 B.C.E.) many of the most renowned astronomers of the ancient western world carried out their studies.

Domestic sciences Engineering and medicine take their place with a rich diversity of techno-practical domestic skills—paper-technology, book-roll creations, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals—to create for ancient Egyptian culture a dynamic profile, three millennia long, which is easily belied by the static image left behind to us by a culture of massive pyramids. Pharmaceuticals were usefully available, preserving and practicing ancient curative recipes, which relied on discoveries made as early as the third millennium B.C.E. Both men and women wore make-up created by crushed galena and malachite, mixed with animal fats; a product intended both to promote beauty—female beauty was literally viewed as holy—and for skin protection in the desert heat. Paper was made by soaking strips of papyrus, soaking them, and gluing them together until they formed rolls (scrolls when unfolded) which could be shelved in library book niches.

Readings

Clagett, Marshall, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, vol. 2, *Calendars*,

Clocks, and Astronomy, Philadelphia, 1995.

Nunn, John, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, Norman, 1996

Discussion questions

Did the ancient Egyptians distinguish between science and technology? If so, did they recognize some queen of the sciences, that stood out above all?

The ancient Egyptians viewed beauty, as in female beauty, as a form of the holy. For that reason, they put more than ordinary emphasis on the importance of make-up. We too stress the importance of make-up. Does that emphasis retain, for us, any of the 'holy' implications of female self-beautification?

In the West, during our 19th century industrialization of science, manufacturing became one of the potent expressions of the power of the scientist—working in steel, working in concrete, working with electric power. Did Egyptian science lead to new ways of promoting industrial production?

PHILOSOPHY

Overview Although the ancient Greeks—that is, Thales, Pythagoras and Plato—referred to Egyptian philosophy as the origin of their own, and as the original wisdom, we have little philosophy, strictly speaking, remaining from the three millennia of Egyptian imperial power. We do have, though, plenty of evidence of practical philosophy, popular philosophy on the ground, which greatly enriches our sense of the ancient Egyptian mind.

Ptahhotep Living in the late 25th century B.C.E., Ptahhotep was vizier to the Pharaoh, influential and respected; when he reached the age of 110 his wisdom so recommended him, as a perceptive student of the human condition, that he was prevailed upon to write down his understanding of life, especially for the benefit of his son. There followed a collection of 37 maxims, largely preserved, in which he wrote out his philosophy of life, putting special stress on how to deal with personal issues and protocols at the Pharaoh's court, how to praise one's wife, and how to use silence prudently and to your advantage. Truthfulness and timing are given particular attention, as means to social skill.

Practical philosophy Though the ancient Egyptians were brilliant astronomers and architects, innovated in technologies, and developed a rich theology, they were not at their most inventive in dealing with philosophical issues such as those of metaphysics, logic, or epistemology—where the Greeks excelled. The man on the street was likely to appreciate such points as Ptahhotep's—wise and practical life lessons—and to have his own repertoire of spells, religious practices, and moral strictures. For such folks *The Book of the Dead*, under compilation from 1550 B.C.E. to 50 B.C.E., provided a helpful cautionary road map to the next world, and held out cautions for those concerned about salvation. (Spell 125 in *The Book of the Dead*, concerns the 'weighing of the heart,' a fearsome balance in which the soul of the deceased is weighed against a feather—symbol of the Goddess of Justice, Maat, to determine the weight of the sins of the deceased.) Such abundant Egyptian literature as *The Story of Sinuhe* or *Instructions for Merikare* deploy lessons in caution and sobriety, which appear to have been everyday goals in Egyptian ethic.

Akhenaten (d. 1336 B.C.E.) The Pharaoh Akhenaten, the creator of a unique version of monotheism, stands out for the brilliance (and transience) with which he imposed a new 'philosophy' on the Egyptian people. Perhaps we should say, 'a new way of seeing,' in which the supreme god, the sun god, mastered all the other phenomena of the sky, 'the moon among stars' by another image. Akhenaten gave the people a short-lived vision of an alternate to their age old polytheism. After his death his brilliant vision was harshly dismantled.

Readings

Assman, Jan, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, Ithaca, 2001.

Hoffmeier, James, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism*, Oxford, 2015.

Discussion questions

What was the role of the great Library of Alexandria, in inviting foreign philosophers, and enriching Egyptian philosophical culture?

Religion, magic, and philosophy tended to merge in the mind of the ancient Egyptian on the street. Does the guy or gal on the street in New York City carry an 'organized philosophy within him or her'?

What kind of social/political culture is required to foster the birth of technical philosophy--Plato, Aristotle--as distinct from the practical philosophy of the everyday?

RELIGION

Animal gods of ancient Egypt Egyptian religion was almost consistently polytheistic—it sponsored many gods—for three millennia, from 3000 B.C.E. to the beginning of the common era. ('Almost,' because for a brief period during the rule of Akhnaten, who reigned 1353-1336 B.C.E., the state sponsored a form of monotheism.) As a polytheism, Egyptian religion invested multiple-deities concept in a wide diversity of animals: royal cemeteries, where innumerable god-representing animals are to be found, are in fact dedicated to crocodiles, falcons, ibises, snakes, cats, rams, and many other regional fauna. The tie-in of this animal set, to actual worshipped gods, is loose—we know that the most influential animal-based gods rooted in animals like the jackal, the ibis, the bull, the cat, but the range is wide; for reasons we don't understand, the animals which became sacred to the Egyptians received their own cults, and assumed natural force powers which were regionally worshipped. We have reason to think this synthesis, of animal cults with deified natural forces, derives from Egyptian religious practices which go back centuries before 3000 B.C.E.

Creation For the most part Egyptian religion recognizes divine power in nature, and in the animal symbols which intersect in order to undergird the god world. (The god world is also the person-world, because the line dividing animals from individuals is shaky.) That divine power does not lodge in a single creator, but is a world force in a continual state of generation. Even during the brief period of monotheism, under Akhnaten, there was no room for a single Creative Power to stand forth as World Maker. Only in one instance, during a period of what we call the Memphite Theology, generated around the capital of Memphis, and documented by writing on the Shabaka Stone (730 B.C.E.), was there an evolved and official formulation of a Birth of the Universe in Spirit, in the power of a single spiritual creator, the god Ptah, whom we might compare to the creator god of the Abrahamic religion.

Sin Though the man on the street seems, from much papyrus documentation, to have worried constantly about how the afterworld would treat him, and about the terrors of death, there was no countervailing internal struggle over whether one had led a good life, or would stand up well before the interrogation at the portals of the next world. It seems as though there was a decisive encounter with fate after death, and one's heart was weighed on a scale by the god Osiris. The weight balance was between the individual's soul and that of a feather of the goddess Ma'at, goddess of truth and righteousness; if the soul weighed more than the feather it was adjudged to be the soul of a sinner, part of an inferior life, and unqualified to enter into the afterlife world.

Death The ancient Egyptians were preoccupied with death, but over the long course of their cultural vitality they never wavered in their sense that there is life after death. The pyramid and coffin texts, from various 3rd millennium B.C.E. temples, as well as *The Book of the Dead*—in use from 1550-50 B.C.E.—were popular level records of itineraries of the soul as it made its way from the House of Death to the blessed homes of the gods. The body, whose *ba* (or soul) would leave it for the long journey to the heavens, was thought to continue to live in the tomb, and from there, most thought, it was able to communicate with loved ones and relatives, even to the extent of settling disputes among them.

Afterlife The Egyptians had no doubt about the existence of the afterlife, though they had widely various opinions about what it was. As said, there was agreement that the dead were able to communicate with the living, from their tombs. There was no belief in a land of the dead, where the dead congregated, but there was a conception of select dead as transfigured spirits, *akhu*, circulating 'above,' and involved in the dramas of overcoming obstacles, like bodies of water which lay between themselves and the land of the blessed. This degree of vitality and movement was possible to the posthumous individual, because the soul or *ba* of the person was 'the whole of the person as he appears after death,' and was if nothing else a renewal of the person who had died. In the later periods of Egyptian religious development, at a time when the Eastern Mediterranean was nearing the Christian era and salvation cults were running wild, the Egyptian god Osiris assumed a huge worshipful following for his leadership in finding the right way to rebirth.

Prayers and spells. The Egyptian *Book of the Dead* contains many spells, designed to assure the safety of the ascending soul. Mixed with that body of spells and prayers—to all one's favorite deities—is a vast popular network of prayers and supportive incantations, tried and true recipes for self-defence and self-release.

My mouth has been given to me that I may speak into it in the presence of the Great God.

My mouth is opened, my mouth is split open by Shu with that iron harpoon of his with which he split open the mouths of the gods.

Readings

Breasted, Charles, *Pioneer to the Past: the Story of James Henry Breasted*, Chicago, 1943.

Frankfort, Henri, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, New York, 1961.

Discussion questions

Vast ancient Egyptian cemeteries were devoted to sacred animals, the symbol-aspects of the Gods of the Egyptians. Are you surprised by this hard evidence of animal worship? Did you suppose that the animal worship of the Egyptians was symbolical? If not why not?

What kind of clerisy or clergy ran the Egyptian religious system? Where were there priests, imams, rabbis? How was worship organized, on a social level?

What provisions did Egyptian theology make for the end of the world? Was there an apocalyptic element in this religion?

ART

The arts in Egypt A wide range of arts—architecture, sculpture, music, painting, and literature—mark the ancient Egyptian achievement, which survived from the third millennium B.C.E. to the end of the classical period. While Egypt's stupendous architectural achievements, and the sculptures representing their Pharaohs, continue to seize world attention, those master arts were only part of a vibrant social culture rivaling the brilliant bequests of Mesopotamian and Greek culture.

Architecture While we still have some remains of ordinary dwellings, and of commonplace urban environments, the great majority of ancient Egyptian structures remaining are either intact massive tombs or temples devoted to the gods. (Thus they are, like Roman public structures and temples, massive and conspicuous, and acquire outsized attention as trademark indicators of their cultures.) One should, in this category, before all mention the Great Pyramids of Gizeh, limestone and granite pyramidal tombs built

square in the Central Desert, and intended to guarantee the immortality (and encoffined and mummified remains, of the Pharaohs Cheops, Chefren, and Mycerinus, the last of whom died in the mid third millennium B.C.E. Smaller royal or noble tombs co-existed with these grand Pharaonic warders off of death. The smallest of the monumental desert-tombs were called *mastabas*, and were rectangular flat-topped one storied burial places. The Pharaoh Zoser (2600 B.C.E.) was honored with a Stepped Pyramid in the desert at Saqqara, built by Imhotep, the first architect in history to be memorialized in writing. This Stepped Pyramid, much smaller than the Great Pyramids, was essentially a stack, but a large one, of *mastabas* super-imposed on one another.

Sculpture The Egyptian taste for massive structures and representations achieves immortal expression in the Great Sphinx of Gizeh, constructed around 2500 B.C. This 65 feet tall pyramid sculpture, its face the sculpted head of the Pharaoh Chefren, sports a lion's lower half, to assert the blend of humanity with ferocity in the deceased Emperor, whose great pyramid is nearby. Free standing sculptured couples—say King Mycerinus and his Queen, from Gizeh—bear the distinctive stamp of Egyptian sculptural genius; the figures stiff and straight, one foot forward, the faces impassive and withdrawn. Massive seated sculptures of King Ramses II (1260 B.C.E.) proclaim the traditional moves of massive carving, which remained essentially static for more than a millennium.

Painting Paintings regularly decorated the interiors of tombs, providing an opportunity to memorialize the deceased in scenes which were characteristic of him, as was the case of a certain noble Ti (Saqqara, 2500 B.C.E.), on the walls of whose tomb there is a painted relief showing him watching his retainers attacking a river hippopotamus. Painted reliefs, common in and out of tombs, aimed for a startling synthesis of brilliant color with tactile presence. Worth adding that dance and musical instrumentation often joined genre scenes as the main narrative of such wall painting.

Readings

James, T.G.H., *Howard Carter, The Path to Tutankhamun*, London, 1992.

Smith, W. Stevenson, and Kelly, William, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, New Haven, 1998.

Discussion questions

Do you think the desert is an important element in the expressiveness of Egyptian art? Where, in that art, does the desert become a formative ingredient?

What was the theology of the ancient Egyptians that led them to associate immortality with the great pyramids? What role did the coffins of the Pharaohs play in preserving the personality of the individual Pharaohs?

We have traditionally associated the ancient Greeks with a breakthrough Humanism, a rare innovative sense of the richness and significance of the human personality. The Egyptians have often been looked down on as stiff, ritualized, and formalized in their representations of human beings. What do you think of that contrast between the Greek and Egyptian civilizations?

LITERATURE

Introduction

The oldest Egyptian texts before us date from the last quarter of the third millennium, still early in the development of Egypt as an Empire, and in the growth of mankind toward counteracting death in language. The Pyramid and Coffin Texts, in question, were generally spells or prayers, written on papyrus in vertical columns, and in tone—for the most part—adorational. The whole universe, in these texts, is pervaded by the benign presence of god, and by reverence for the hallowed world, in which one's dying may be a beneficiary of meaning. These extraordinary texts, which represent the true voice of the people, are echoed again a thousand years later in an equally popular expressions of meaning-quest on the popular level. That same voice of the people is sharply audible in the texts from *The Book of the Dead*, a cult text we begin to encounter by 1250 B.C. That itinerary, of the dead person's voyage to a final blessed resting place, was copied and recopied by a new 'middle class' consuming public, for whom the text itself served as a kind of security blanket in the uncertainty of life.

Intimacy of tone, and insight into individual lives mark a number of ancient Egyptian texts, and display themselves both early and late, in the long history of ancient Egyptian culture. From the 21st century B.C., nearly as old as the Pyramid and Coffin texts, date *The Instructions for Merikare*, father-son advice emphasizing patience, self-control, and at the same sturdy readiness to act, in case of threat. The tradition of Egyptian love poems, often tender and romantic, always intimate, takes us to a period as recent as the 13th century B.C., and startles us, even at that, with its 'modernity,' which translates easily into the language of our time. Perhaps the most remarkable study of the individual, in Egyptian literature, is 'The Story of Sinuhe,' 1995-1965 B.C. in composition. This tale, of a government official who flees a threatening conflict, while on mission, and gradually rebuilds his life, until he is a prosperous and powerful elder, takes us into many intimate corners of personality, especially into Sinuhe's anxiety, and into his later wily tricks to win favor for his own political advancement.

Both the theological and the humbly human join in the amazing *Hymn to the Sun* (1380 B.C.), by the monotheistic Pharaoh Akhnaten. As himself the Sun-God, the Pharaoh can be said to be worshipping himself, as representative of us all, in his worshipping of the central planet in our solar system.

Reading

Assman, Jan, *Of God and Gods: Egypt, Israel and the Rise of Monotheism* (Madison, 2008). Budge, E.A. Wallis, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1914).

Translator and editor of *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Mineola, 1967).

Erman, Adolf, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A collection of Poems, Narratives and Manuals of Instruction from the Third and Second Millennia BC* (London, 2005).

Foster, John, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Austin, 2001).

Frankfurt, Henri, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (New York, 1948).

Hornung, Erik, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* (Ithaca, 1999).

Lichtheim, Miriam, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. II, *The New Kingdom* (Berkeley, 1975).

Parkinson, R.B., *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection* (London, 2002)

Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry (Chichester, 2009.)

The Tale of Sinuhe and other ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1640 B.C. (Oxford, 1997).

Discussion questions

On the basis of our introduction, how would you expect to characterize the overall nature of ancient Egyptian literature? The period of highest achievement, in this literature, was at least a full millennium—from the Pyramid and Coffin Texts (2350-2150 B.C.) to the flowering of love poetry (13th century B.C.). Has it some distinctive trademark character?

Does the theme of a 'descent into hell,' such as it plays out in 'The Descent of Inanna', remind you of other texts in which a protagonist—Orpheus, Dante, Jesus Christ—makes such a journey.

In terms of today's literary values, which texts from ancient Egyptian literature would be most likely to win readers in the contemporary West?

Which texts, of ancient Egyptian literature, seem to you most inaccessible from a contemporary western standpoint? What about those texts would make them unavailable or uninteresting for a present day reader? What makes a text either attractive or unavailable to a later audience?

In certain texts of ancient Egyptian literature—*The Tale of Sinuhe*, *The Instructions for Merikare*, the love poems—we come up against an intimacy of tone which may well surprise us. That is, we may have been led to think of the ancient Egyptians, with their pyramids, rigid mummies, and hieroglyphics, as a 'rigid and formal people.' Why have we gone wrong on this? Why do we have trouble seeing the humanity of the ancient Egyptians?

POETRY

Egyptian Lyric

Ancient Egypt equals its Ancient Greek counterpart, in artistic achievement. From the pyramids and temples that meet us in the third millennium B.C.E., to the love poetry that seems astonishingly contemporary to us—though dating from the still ancient aesthetic revolution of the 19th and 20th dynasties—1290-1078 B.C.E.—the Egyptian mark on literature, visual art, and religious thought is strong and distinctive. Thanks to the privileging of historical context, and cultural familiarity, ancient Greece got the ear of later centuries, while the Egyptians world got buried in the sand. But this imbalance yields, on a closer look, to the sense that our attention should fall on Ancient Eastern Mediterranean cultures, if we want to understand the true achievements of either Greeks or Egyptians.

The background to the explosion of verbal art, in Egyptian love poetry, looms over the lyric's sensuous outbreak in the innovative theological poetry of the first 'nearly Monotheistic,' sun worshipping Pharaoh Akhnaten (d. 1336 B.C.E.) The passionate sense of nature's course, in Akhnaten's *Hymn to Aten*, readies us for the marshes, hunting scenes, fleeing gazelles which stud the natural backdrop of the love lyric we discover in the 'aesthetic revolution,' above, the lyric created not so remote in time from the brilliant creations of the Greek Sappho and Archilochus, in the seventh century B.C.E.

What most stuns us, in this accessible Egyptian love poetry, is the ease of reading it today—that despite the frequent lacunae in the papyrus texts, which make the basic interpretation of many lines difficult. The overall play of this poetry, however, is never difficult to grasp: from the 'red fish in the water,' Norton I, pp. 119-20, to the 'milk shot through water' (p. 122) to the 'Moringa oils/ in her diaphanous garments...' (p. 124). It is in fact the Greek Sappho who most comes to mind, as a parallel to the directness, simplicity, and passion of this lyric outburst.

Reading

Foster, John L., *Love Songs of the New Kingdom*, Austin, 1992.

Wilson, Penelope, *Sacred signs: Hieroglyphics in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 2003.

Discussion questions

Historically speaking, we in the West seem to inherit our cultural and artistic values more from the Greco-Roman than from the ancient Egyptian tradition. How do you explain this state of affairs? What is responsible for it?

It is easy to say, and has some truth, that ancient Egyptian love poems are very modern. But is it true? Are the translations you look at, of Egyptian love poetry, characteristic of the way an English language poet would express his or her love today?

Does the *Hymn to Aten* use sensuous language, like the love poems we have just discussed? Does it bring the god directly into the world of sensuous experience?

Egyptian Love Poems 13th Century B.C. (Egypt)

Emotion in language. Egyptian love poems, from the thirteenth century B.C., open our way to what seems a direct expression of emotion, and a verbal field on which we can read without endless footnotes, cautions, and uncertainties. (And without that awesome sense of strangeness that the *Pyramid Texts* or *Book of the Dead* enforce in style and narrative technique.) We should no doubt keep some guard up, for where ready feeling offers itself there is always room for delusion and even deception. The comparison of alternate translations is one way to remind ourselves that the original is never of a single meaning, but in literary work flays out into multiple meanings. And that reflection will remind us that the quest for selfhood, and for ways for formulate it, is (in literary art) a byproduct of language. The language of poetry is inherently ambiguous, and thrives on a margin of half clarity, and is in that different from the languages of, say, the *Code of Hammurabi*, which *proscribes* and lays down, or the language of *The Instruction for Merikare*, which *prescribes*. We will start with a juxtaposition of two translations of a single text, whose language neither proscribes nor prescribes, but *suggests*.

The languages of translation. The distinguished pioneer Egyptologist, Adolf Erman, published his *Ancient Egyptian Literature* in 1923, and in it we read (itself a translation from German into English) the following:

___my god. My brother, it is pleasant to go to the (pond) in order to bathe me in thy presence, that I may let thee see my beauty in my tunic of finest royal linen, when it is wet___I go down with thee into the water, and come forth again to thee with a red fish, which (lieth?) beautiful on my fingers___Come and look at me.

(Erman, p. 248; trans. Blackman, 1927).

The language is an archaized English—itsself a kind of translation, of seventeenth century English/ King James Bible translation language—and simulates a difficulty of disengaging meaning from material (papyrus) not easily read, and syntax not easily converted into the languages of English poetry. This is the kind of anti-English English translation which we will find generative in Week 14, when we turn to lived verbal creations of our time, in which Ancient Near Eastern Literature becomes part of English language newspeak. Erman's translation work contrasts sharply with our second example (in a volume translated 2001), also by a talented Egyptologist:

Love, how I'd love to slip down to the pond,

Bathe with you close by on the bank.

Just for you I'd wear my new Memphis swimsuit,

Made of sheer linen, fit for a queen—

Come see how it looks in the water!

Couldn't I coax you to wade in with me?

Let the cool creep slowly around us?

Then I'd dive deep down

And come up for you dripping,

Let you fill your eyes

With the little red fish that I'd catch.

(John Foster, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 2001; p. 23.)

Foster's translation not only smoothes and charms, where Erman/Blackman scrape rough meanings straight off the papyrus, but Foster also attempts to simulate the meter and rhythm of Egyptian poetry, an effort Erman (p. xxxi in his Introduction) speculates on, but makes no effort at.

Reaching the past through language. Translation is the hidden issue below that 'distance' of Ancient Near Eastern literature, which we discussed in our first paragraph this week. (As a student of literatures not native to you, you may want to reflect on the enormous importance of translation as a whole, is establishing our senses of the creative traditions of our world.) That being said, however, it remains true that Ancient Egyptian Love Poetry, of the Ramasside Period (13th century. B.C.), does what it can to touch broadly human registers, and thus to overcome its birth passage to us through language and artifact barriers—papyrus quickly dries and cracks, and is rarely intact; stelae are often hard to read—not to mention the pure hazards of location and discovery. In this week's readings you will find poems by women as well as men, sensuous as well as longing poems, and lustful poems.

Selfhood and the love lyric. It is from this small collection that we now pay our weekly homage to the issue of selfhood and the person. The language before us, in whatever translation, is clearly one of suggestion and implication, as distinct from the languages of law, manners, or religious adulation. (We can see that suggestive trait of this language, even through the mist of translation.) The expression of longing, passion, nostalgia, which drives Egyptian love lyrics, is at bottom just a distinctive kind of language, the language of feeling yes but in a deeper sense the language of implication and suggestion. Is this language of poetry different from the language of prose, say from that of *The Tale of Sinuhe*? It is difficult to answer, given our distance in time and language from the texts in question. *The Tale of Sinuhe*, we might want to say, is as allusive/suggestive as the love-poems we are reading, but the language of the tale is more causatively sequential, and narrative. In either case, *Sinuhe* or the love-poem, it is the self-identity of the narrator that provides the driving *eros* of the piece, and that keeps us under a spell that at the same time involves ourselves.

Reading

John Foster, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* pp. 17-31.

Adolf Erman, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 254-310.

Discussion Questions

1 Is there any norm for good translation? Should it be as literal as possible, and try to replicate (in the case of poetry) the meter and even sound of the original? Or should the translation of poetry strive for a new version entirely in the new language? This is a classic conundrum in translation theory, and there have been as many responses as translators. Do you have a position on this issue? Do you prefer Foster or Erman, from our own brief survey above? What is your impression of the translations we have been reading in this course? Is there any text that seemed to you to fare especially badly in its English version, and if so what do you surmise was the problem?

2 Do *The Tale of Sinuhe*, *Gilgamesh*, and the love poems we have read seem to you have in common that they all spring from the imagination? We have implied that point repeatedly here, in an effort to consider the width of the range of the texts that go into this class. But are we to think there is not imagination in the *Enuma Elish* or that there is nothing but imagination in the kinds of love poetry we are reading? If imagination means what is created from within special wholeness-establishing powers of the person, might we not say that the pond-poem we sampled above is rather a literal descriptive statement of an emotional condition, while, say, the *Enuma Elish* employs the imagination of huge cosmic conflicts—rather like Milton?—even while purporting to account for the actuality of events in heavenly time? What, finally, do you think of our tripartite division of three kinds of language? Is it proving a useful guide for you as you move through these archaic texts?

3 As you peruse the love lyrics in Erman or Foster, do you accept Foster's view, that when it comes to 'love lyrics' the universal kicks in; we all understand what is going on here, in a way we do not with, say, a creation hymn or a hymn to the sun. Erman's translation segment, above, seems to suggest that at least the flowing syntax of Foster's translation must have cost something in the course of 'smoothing out' the original. Nevertheless, though, do you buy into the idea that the way the 'romantic' is expressed in widely different cultures will be fairly consistent and similar—as distinct, say, from the way the languages of high theology are expressed?

FICTION

Egyptian and Mesopotamian Literatures Ancient Egyptian literature (and that of its counterpart in Mesopotamia) is the oldest in the world, dating from the third millennium B.C.E. Both of these literatures continued to flourish until the end of the classical era.

The range of Egyptian literature Ancient Egyptian literature is of several kinds: early coffin and pyramid inscriptions; post death maps for the soul, like the *Book of the Dead*, which helps to guide the pilgrim soul to the Blessed Regions; instruction type letters and texts designed to guide the living in their passage through life; and love songs, many of them outbursts of lyricism collected in the last millennium before the Christian era. Among these diverse genres there is a body of fiction—we might say tales, adventure recountings, stories—of which *The Story of Sinuhe* (composed shortly after 2000 B.C.E.) is the best preserved, and perhaps best imagined, of the lot.

What fiction means here *The Story of Sinuhe* is *thought* to be fiction, evidence in itself that this tale resembles an historical account as well as a work of imagination. Certainly the text depends on a firm historical placing, and gives us a sense of the world, of courts, of exiles, of end of life tomb plannings, in which a noble like Sinuhe could plausibly have spent his life. But there is an exciting personal dimension to the story, a touching interiority in the grasping of Sinuhe's dread, hope, and final easing into old age; the fictive imagination appears to have penetrated the mind of its principal character.

Fiction in Egyptian literature The present text seems a rarity, a brilliant inside job, in which Sinuhe is brought to life. Under a wider perspective, we should say that in Egyptian, as in Mesopotamian, literature, fictions in anything like the modern sense, in which imagination transforms the world, are rare. But that should hardly surprise us. Even in Greek and Roman literatures there is very little prose fiction—examples would be Hellenistic Greek tales or Petronius' *Satyricon*—and the western world would have to await the Mediaeval Romance or the Renaissance novel, before it could indulge wholeheartedly in that revel of social curiosity, the novel.

Reading

Barta, M. , *Sinuhe, the Bible, and the Patriarchs*, David Brown Book Co., 2003.

Erman, Adolf, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, New York, 2012.

Discussion questions

Here is a research project. Check out the Ancient Egyptian term, or manner of saying, for *fiction*. Did the Egyptians, who were clearly able to *write* fiction, also *discuss* fiction?

What would you, today, feel about calling some of the Egyptian religious texts—coffin and pyramid inscriptions, *The Book of the Dead*—fiction? Would you prefer to call them *fictions*? Or would you leave them alone, in a non-literary category?

If you consider *The Story of Sinuhe* fiction, would you also call it autobiography? Is Sinuhe himself in some sense the writer of the story?

The Tale of Sinuhe 1995-1965 B.C. (Egypt)

Amenemhatep. The *Tale of Sinuhe* is a brief fiction, set in the early 20th century B.C., in the reign of Amenemhatep III, at a time of High Renaissance for Egyptian culture; the so called Golden Age of the Middle Kingdom. (*The Instruction for Merikare* is only slightly older than *The Tale of Sinuhe*.) The reigning Pharaoh Amenemhatep's grandeur of position is reflected in his name, which meant 'Belonging to the Justice of Re,' the Father God, and the cult of monarchical divinity is here at its apex. Like all Egyptian Pharaohs Amenemhatep's attention turned early not only to the exercise of administrative control over his rapidly growing domains, but to the construction of a pyramid worthy of his divine kingdom; his first pyramid, the 'Black Pyramid,' was built at Dashur, but was later superseded by a new pyramid at Hawara. The intricate architectural work embodied there reflects engineering skills befitting the monarch of Egypt at a high point in its culture, and the themes of divinity, monarchy, and tomb-building will clearly be seen to penetrate the following tale.

Who was Sinuhe? The *Tale of Sinuhe* was composed at just this renascent moment, and yet the always difficult explanatory bridge, between background and text to be explained, is difficult in a case like that presented by the story before us. The story is thin on local details, and though that very thinness is part of the mystery and fascination of the tale, it compounds the problems of lodging our text historically. Who wrote it? Who was the Sinuhe he wrote about? What is he trying to say about the nature of the human person?

Sinuhe's Anxiety. As it is, we confront a simple but subtle plot. Sinuhe, a government official, presents a tale which opens with the announcement from his tombstone of the tale of his life, which is what follows. Sinuhe accompanies a certain Prince on assignment to Libya. Then Sinuhe becomes aware (by the miracle of fiction), through an overheard conversation, that there was a problem (*a coup d'état*) in the Royal Palace; and 'then was mine heart distraught, mine arms sank, and trembling fell on all my limbs.' Consequently Sinuhe flees to Canaan. (Within the simple narration, that leads Sinuhe's way, there are moments of sharply felt anxiety: 'I bowed me down in the thicket lest the watcher for the day on the wall should espy me.' His flight is punctuated by his and the narrator's comments on his flight and on himself as the flier. 'I set out southward yet did I not purpose to reach the Residence (his home city), for I thought that strife would arise, and I was not minded to live after him (the ruler under attack).' With these few words Sinuhe affirmed his fear, his timidity, and his 'love for his master.' And at the same time we hear his muttering self-presence, which these directional plans emerge from. We are jolted by the selfhood presence of Sinuhe, here in his text, more living than any access to self we get in earlier Egyptian or Babylonian literature.

Sinuhe's Flight. The ongoing progress of Sinuhe's journey is furthered by the flier's report to the Prince of Upper Retenu, to whose lands he eventually comes, explaining who he is and where he came from. We hear Sinuhe's account from his own voice, enclosed of course in the narration of the whole text, and are left wondering whether we are to take the report at face value—'I know not what brought me to this land; it was like the dispensation of God'; 'and I said again, dissembling'-- Sinuhe has traversed so many events, without really seeming to belong to them, that he comes across as a shadow figure, when he gives an account of himself to another person. (The construction of selfhood is being ingeniously insinuated here, where it leaves its carbon footprint in the minima of Sinuhe's expressive life.)

Sinuhe the con man. Frightened, carefully managing his image lest he fall into dangerous hands, Sinuhe addresses the Prince of Upper Retenu with effusive praise of the new king at the Residence, successor to Amenemhatep, whose power and mercy are already legendary. (It is hard—from the 21st century Western readerpoint—not to take Sinuhe, addressing the Prince of Upper Retenu, as a blend of con man, keeping everybody happy while keeping himself safe, with a genuine admirer of his new king/savior.) At this point Sinuhe accepts the invitation of Nenshi, son of Amu, the Prince of Upper Retenu, who has been sheltering him, and settles down with the Prince, to pass an idyllic life as pampered guest, husband of the Prince's daughter, and darling of the Prince's court. The self-reflexive dimension of the character construction seduces us into seeing the world from 'his' standpoint.

End of Sinuhe's Life. Sinuhe becomes a powerful and merciful king in his own right, though telling us about it—first person narration—with a modesty, almost uncertainty, which marks his whole tale. Finally Sinuhe appeals to the royal court from which he first fled, and begs for the right to 'return home.' (His view of himself, as he lodges this petition, is self-critical, confessional: 'Once a fugitive, fled in his season—now the report of me is in the Residence. Once a laggard lagged because of hunger—now give I bread to my neighbor.') The decree permitting him to return to Egypt arrives, and Sinuhe is invited, as an old man now, to return to his roots, where the gods are preparing a funeral in high honors for him. (Please note that what we recount here, for you the student, is in the text recounted by Sinuhe about himself, and thus participates in his narration of a fiction which will settle and enoble his life. The artfulness of the narrator of this tale, who embeds so much self-reflection in his own narration, embodies the kind of move toward the sense of selfhood which this course concerns.)

Sinuhe's own pyramid. Sinuhe is overjoyed by the new king's invitation, for which he feels a gratitude indicative of a sense of guilt, or at least of unworthiness. (The way he expresses his joy indicates his insecurity.) Having taken careful leave of his life home with Nenshi, Sinuhe travels back to the home city from which he set out, whence he came, and where the new monarch welcomes him—in a ceremony indicating (but all half-said) how deeply traumatic Sinuhe's absence from home has been, and how deep a fault/error/mistake divides him in old age from the mind that filled him when first he heard bad news from his post in the bull rushes. (Like the narrating king in the *Instruction for Merikare*, Sinuhe lives over the depths of a shameful secret, his impulsive flight.) The rest is history. Back with the royal family Sinuhe is given his own sumptuous quarters, golden raiment, four meals a day, and has nothing left but to live out his life in patronal splendor, awaiting the blessedness of his own beautifully appointed pyramid. He has told us himself into just the overall point the narrator of him wished.

The identity of Sinuhe. We are not going to find a subtler or more irresolvable case of the search for personal identity than in the tale of Sinuhe. The way he presents life situations to himself, while himself being a life situation presented by a narrator, is the key to 'his' three dimensionality.

Reading

Parkinson, R.B., *The Tale of Sinuhe and other ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1640 B.C.*

Discussion Questions

1 In the introductory material, above, we referred to *The Tale of Sinuhe* as a 'brief fiction.' No one knows whether the word 'fiction' applies here. It is possible, but hard to verify, that Sinuhe was a real historical figure. Does the text before us seem to you to bear the marks of a fiction. Is fiction an appropriate vehicle for self-discovery?

2 If anyone is trying to track and define self-identity, in the *Tale of Sinuhe*, it must be the author or narrator of the tale. Does that narrator seem to you to be identical with Sinuhe himself? At what points does the narrator separate from Sinuhe and talk about 'him' as another person, or perhaps as a 'fiction?' Do these layers of personal address and reference qualify this ancient text as what we would call postmodern today?

3 What kind of narrative is the *Tale of Sinuhe*? Do you flow from one stage to another, or is the flow interrupted by major hieratic passages and by jumps in narrative strategy? Do you see any parallel between the formal presentation technique here and that in hieratic Egyptian sculpture, in which the frontally depicted human figure is to us anti-naturalistically juxtaposed to the other images in its painted panel.

NON-FICTION

Religion Religion permeates the texts of non-fiction remaining to us from ancient Egyptian writing. The losses of these texts greatly outweigh the survivals, for the heavy reliance on papyrus, for text preservation, inevitably led to great loss of material—although what was left inscribed onto marble was there to stay; and yet from the mid third millennium B.C.E., to the end of the classical era, there remains a steady stream of surviving religious texts.

Pyramid and Coffin Texts The earliest (2350-2150 B. C. E.) of these texts (or inscriptions) are the pyramid and coffin texts which are customarily found on pyramid hallways or coffin chambers at the Temple Complex of Saqqara, and which preserve for us a rich variety of hymns and praise songs. The thrust of many of these texts is the same: the texts appear in the tombs of Pharaohs, and provide exhortation, to the deceased monarch, to take his highly commended soul-path upward to the gods. The texts themselves are rhythmic and incantatory, and in many cases dictate steps in ritual practices carried out by the monarch-worshipping priests.

The Book of the Dead *The Book of the Dead* (1550-50 B.C.) , like the early pyramid texts though at a substantially later time in language and cultural attitude, is also a map for the soul en route to god. Unlike the three step itineraries prescribed for the Pharaoh on his way to god, the *Book of the Dead* serves as a kind of GPM for the ordinary man or woman, providing an itinerary for reaching ever higher stages of the ascent to Elysium. By the first millennium B.C.E., *The Book of the Dead* was in many 'middle class' homes, part of the religious buzz of the culture. (One might compare the rampant popularity of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, pub. 1678, which was also a map for getting to the right hand of God, and greatly popular.)

Hymns A number of priestly hymns are preserved, dating from a wide span of years: during some eight hundred years from the start of the second millennium B.C.E., we have sizeable portions of the hymn devoted to the annihilation of the serpent of chaos, who inhabits the underworld, of the hymn celebrating the cosmic passages of the god Osiris, 'the lordly noble at the table of the nobles,' the God of life itself, and of the monotheistic hymn to the Sun, *The Hymn to Aten*, attributed to the daring monotheist Akhnaten. These hymns are eloquent praises of the Gods as powers of nature, sun, reproductive energy, air and sky.

Instruction for Merikare A final text, in this thumbnail summary, is *The Instruction for Merikare* (2025-1700 B.C.E.), a paternal guide to his son, concerning the successful administration of peoples, whether foreign or of your own stock. Decent treatment of subordinates is of high importance here, as are giving and receiving loyalty, and personal self-discipline. This set of instructions can remind us of Lord Chesterfield's dignified and canny letters to his son in the 18th century.

Readings

Schulz, R; Seidel, M., *Egypt: The World of the Pharaohs*, Cologne, 1998.
Hart, George, *Egyptian Myths, Legendary Past*, Austin, 1997.

Discussion questions

Scribes played an important role in supporting written communication in Ancient Egypt. What was the professional status of the scribe, at different periods in the development of Egyptian culture? Was there, at any point in this development, something like a 'book publishing industry'?

We have called the texts considered above 'non-fiction.' With us, today, 'non fiction' is usually taken to mean 'documentary,' 'information-based.' Is that at all the sense of non-fiction, as we apply it here to ancient Egyptian literature?

Does the ancient Egyptian hymn resemble the hymn of modern religious traditions? What religions or cults have particularly relied on hymns as part of their worship?

RELIGIOUS TEXTS

Egyptian Pyramid and Coffin Texts 2350-2150 B.C. (Egypt)

Coffin spells. The oldest religious texts from Egypt, and arguably the oldest recorded texts, were the Egyptian Pyramid and Coffin texts, the former from the end of the Old Kingdom (2686-2160 B.C.), the latter from the early Middle Kingdom (2055-1650). The former of these texts, the oldest, were inscribed as hieroglyphs on the walls of the tombs of Old Kingdom Pharaohs, to provide encouragement and instructions for the journey into the next world. The latter, in many ways maintaining the texts and attitudes of the prayer makers of the Old Kingdom texts, differ primarily in their use by the 'general educated public,' those who wanted to inscribe *their* spells too on their permanent resting place. The coffin spells were painted in vertical columns—thus were much less costly and time consuming to set down than the carved inscriptions of the Old Kingdom.

A Pyramid text. From a Pyramid text addressed to Nut, the sky-goddess:

Make this Pepi a spirit-soul in thee, let him not die.

O Great Lady, who didst come into being in the sky, who are mighty.

Who dost make happy, and dost fill every place (or being), with thy beauty,

The whole earth is under thee, thou hast taken possession of it.

Thou hast encompassed the earth, everything is in thy two hands,

Grant thou that this Pepi may be in thee like an imperishable star...

(Budge, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 19).

Profusion of pyramid texts. There are several thousand of these Pyramid texts and coffin spells, and you are asked to read a representative sampling. (The examples in Foster, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 70-93, will give you a 'modernized' reading, some of it very moving, some fierce, like the text for King Unis of the 5th Dynasty in the Old Kingdom—a text celebrating the King's power to cannibalize his lesser rivals, during his passage into the next world; some, like the Coffin Text from the Middle Kingdom on p. 91, in which the departed is given power to rise by the Four Winds, deceptively translatable into the 'poetry of the afterlife,' as in

These winds have been offered me by the Maidens:

The East Wind is she who raises the lashes of seeing;

Discloses dawn,

Makes glittering way for the footstep of God

When he strides over eastern horizon.

Oh, let Re hold fast to my arm,

Place me there in his field,

At peace among rushes
There leave me eating and drinking forever,
Blessed by Osiris and Seth.
She is the breath of life, the East Wind,
Offered to me
And through her I live.

Translation issues. You only need to look at the two translations offered above—by Budge and Foster respectively—to see that translation is a key factor in the kind of access we have to these archaic spells, and that the kind of language on which we are carried here is as genre-specific when it comes to religious texts as it is in texts conveying ‘the law,’ like those with which we started. The texts concerning law and manners led us to terms like ‘prescriptive’ or ‘proscriptive,’ but what kind of language will we call that of the Pyramid and Coffin texts? An effective answer to this question could help us organize the readings that lie ahead for us—the language of ‘religion,’ and finally that of the ‘creative imagination.’

Adorational language of pyramid texts. The ‘language’ of the Pyramid texts is ‘adorational’ or ‘imprecatory,’ drawing attention to the awesomeness of the human condition and to the aligning of the self to that condition. (In this latter function, obviously, there will be a fine line between religious and some poetic language—though not the kind of poetic language we find below in Week Six, under ‘love poetry.’) The character of the search for selfhood, in diverse forms of language, will accordingly differ. In the languages of law and manners, with which we began, the self is treated as embedded in the realized settings of social protocol, and as requiring direct address in that setting. In the languages of religion—to make a massive general step—the self is sought in the arc of its aspirations, the trajectories it performs in prayer, spell, or royal itinerary. The self sought in this performative language exists as a permanent condition of discovery.

Reading

Foster, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 64-91.

Budge, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 9-24.

Erman, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 1-18.

Van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 81-83.

Discussion Questions

1 We opened with an introduction to the distance of Ancient Near Eastern Literature from the sensibility of the literatures of the Greco-Roman and Hebraic traditions. Yet in the discussion of the different kinds of language, with which the archaic texts address their subject matters, are we not assuming some similarity between that archaic language process and that of our own time; some continuity of relation between subject and the kind of language we address to it? Are we thereby undermining the thesis of the gap between archaic and Greco-Roman Hebraic traditions?

2 What kind of view of the self is implicit in the notion of establishing a coffin text or spell to guide you in the next world? Does such a practice bespeak confidence in the rightness and harmony of the universe? We have mentioned the affiliation of religious Man/God language with adorational posture, which relies on God’s benign intentions and aid. Is there some contradiction between the precautionary attitude of the spell maker and the trusting attitude of the believer with his/her faith? Or is the notion of ‘faith’ not appropriate, so far as you can tell, to the texts you are reading?

3 What is the importance of the difference between hieroglyphs carved into stone pyramid walls, and texts written onto papyrus and intended for inclusion in the deceased's coffin? (The physical difference itself is evident; though skilled scribes are required for both kinds of memorial—and the scribe occupied a high and respected role in Egyptian society—one act was almost sculptural, while the other was scriptural.) Is the importance of the difference that in one case the scribe promotes a lasting eternity of soul-mapping, while in the other the script writer/painter creates a move in an ongoing narrative?

Egyptian Book of the Dead 1550 B.C.-30 B.C. (Egypt)

Democratization of the holy. We are already familiar with some of the magic and heaven-mappings of Pyramid spells, Week Four, but with the Book of the Dead we come to a far vaster assemblage, a long text dating back to the first dynasties (thus including the Pyramid texts and the Coffin texts) but enlarged and enriched right through to the 26th dynasty (664-525 B.C.), and in fact ultimately to the end of the Ptolemaic period (30 B.C.). In its most recent versions, this long text of 192 spells was a prized tomb or coffin ornament for the upper classes as well as the rulers, and in the later period—Middle Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic period—many well to do citizens attended to hiring professional papyrus scribes who could paint them their own copies and even their own versions of this guide to the next world. (With the 18th dynasty--1550-1295--it became the custom to write the *Book of the Dead* on rolls of papyrus, which were included in private tombs, with the corpse, and not inscribed either on temple walls or on sarcophagi. Thus the portability of these texts was enhanced, and their use made easier. We move into an era of what has been called the 'democratization of the holy.')

We will see that the text of the Book itself, of which there are four extant versions, is built up from textual accretions of two millennia, going back at least to the 6th dynasty (2345-2181 B.C.), and perhaps to pre-dynastic Egypt, a mysterious world about which we have limited (and no written) testimony. But throughout, whether in hieroglyphic or papyrus form, whether relevant only to the Pharaoh, who was surrounded by the Book inscribed onto his tomb walls, or democratized into a text the prominent could have tailor-copied for themselves, and laid on their corpses, the text was a community-constructive textbook of life on the edge, a guide book to passing through the Underworld, and over the edge into the geographies, hazards, and judgments of the next world.

Spells and exorcisms. The spells collected in the *Book of the Dead* are word itineraries to be repeated (like the Catholic rosary, the komboloia of Greek Orthodox tradition, the Islamic *misbaha*) in a particular physical setting—frequently in the process of 'telling the beads' of some mantra-promoting prayer object. A typical papyrus written prayer, for instance, segues into the command that the prayer should be 'said over a green stone scarab set in a band of *tchamu* metal (i.e. silver-gold) which is to be hung from the neck of the deceased.' (Budge, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 50). Instructions for an early word-itinerary can be most specific. Here, for example, is the instruction for activating spell I34:

To be spoken over a falcon standing with the White Crown on his head; Atum, Shu and Tefnut, Geb and Nut, Osiris and Isis, Seth and Nephthys being drawn in ochre on a new bowl placed in the sacred barque, together with an image of this spirit (ba) whom you wish to be made worthy, it being anointed with oil. Offer to them incense on the fire and roasted ducks, and worship Ra. It means that he for whom this is done will voyage and be with Ra every day in every place he desires to travel, and it means that the enemies of Ra will be driven off in very deed. A matter a million times true.

Book of the Dead, spell 134

Two of the actual spell itineraries may give the flavor of this distinctive language of going-beyond:

Words spoken by Ani: 'O you Soul [ba], greatly majestic, behold, I have come that I may see you; I open the Netherworld that I may see my father Osiris and drive away darkness, for I am beloved of him. I have come that I may see my father Osiris and that I may cut out the heart of Seth who has harmed my father Osiris. I have opened up every path which is in the sky and on earth, for I am the well-beloved son of my father Osiris. I am noble, I am a spirit [akh], I am equipped; O all you gods and all you spirits [akh], prepare a path for me.

Book of the Dead, *spell 9*.

The spell will be repeated regularly throughout the individual's life on earth, as a static insurance policy against the unknown, specifically against the much dreaded dissolution of the body, which all efforts—different versions of mummification—are devoted to preventing.

May I have power in my heart, may I have power in my arms, may I have power in my legs, may I have power in my mouth, may I have power in all my members may I have power over invocation-offerings, may I have power over water ... air ... the waters ... streams ... riparian lands ... men who would harm me ... women who would harm me in the realm of the dead ... those who would give orders to harm me upon earth.

Book of the Dead, *spell 68*.

Itineraries of the Soul. The itinerary of the soul (*ba*—free ranging spirit of the dead person; *ka*—life-force of the individual) through the *Duat* (Underworld) is fraught with obstacles, monsters, evil demons, deadly toxins, and leads eventually to a meeting with the supreme judge (Osiris, Ra). No care can be too great in view of the judgments studding the way, and particularly the ultimate *Weighing of the Heart*, by which the Supreme Judge evaluates the moral purity of the candidate for immortality.

Spells and mind-mapping. The word 'spell' suggests the ritual language which drives the Egyptian texts for survival. A central premise of ancient Egyptian practice is that language is identical with what it names, and thus can affect, even change, what it names. (This is an assumption deep in verbal prayer, despite the admonitions, of the modern monotheisms, to consider prayer a *vehicle*.) Noting this, we note the special turn we are now able to give, to our perspective onto the language of the Man-God relationship in the Ancient Near East. The spells of the *Book of the Dead* are practices in mind-mapping, and, like the data generated by a good GPS device, are only as good as the spatial diagrams they represent. For the ancient Egyptian the 'next world' is in no sense a metaphor, but is a 'realm' in which no apologies are made for the physicality of the décor. Telling it like it is is the only way to make 'it' perform for you as you wish.

Readings

Budge, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 37-66.

Budge, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Read enough—30 pages?—to see the syntactical patterns, and to appreciate the kind of narrative flow that reigns here.)

Frankfort, Henri, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*.

Discussion Questions

1 Is the kind of future-realm mapping language of *The Book of the Dead* like the prayer languages of 'modern' monotheisms? *The Book of the Dead* exists as language of which we might want to say, today, that it enables the self to discover the itinerary set out for it. Do Christian or Muslim orthodoxy, for example, propose prayer systems which create or which discover reality? Are their prayer systems parts of ways to discover ultimate reality, or are they creators of that reality?

2 Please reflect on our considerations of language in this syllabus. We have proceeded on the assumption that the ways we use language are the ways we *are*; a useful but certainly arguable description of what being human in the world involves. (Would you yourself argue with that conception?) Are you comfortable with the distinction between the language of manners/social rules and the language of 'religion.' Can you look ahead in thought, and consider the plausibility of a language peculiar to creations of the imagination?

3 We opened with an introduction indicating a more or less sharp break between the cultural traditions of the Ancient Near East and those of the Biblical/Greco-Roman cultures. Does that indication hold up, in

the case of Ancient Egyptian religious practice? Do you see that practice as continuous, in important ways, with the subsequent monotheistic religions of the Near East?

Hymn to the Sun 1380 B.C. (Egypt)

Akhnaten's Monotheism. The most intriguing and culture-influential of the Pharaohs, Akhnaten (1352-1336), is associated before all with the introduction into Egyptian religious thought of monotheism. Virtually overnight he intruded into the dense polytheism, indeed the native polymorphism (animal-god fusions), which had defined Egyptian religious experience. How remote we are from the inner narratives of Egyptian social/political development is proven by how unprepared we are for Akhnaten's reversal of national theology. Whatever the well-springs of Akhnaten's monotheism, what he imposed on his people, especially in the new royal city of Amarna, a vast complex he had built in haste as an administrative capital and a site for his huge Amen temple, the power of his vision was compelling, his courage was unstoppable, and the narrative of Egyptian faith forever enriched. That he created for the ages will be evident in the persistent fascination he exercises over modern scholars, readers, and musicians—cf. Philip Glass's minimalist opera, *Akhnaton*—and by the creative place he continues to occupy in cultural history. Sigmund Freud's last work, *Moses and Monotheism* (1937), turned on the assumption that Moses was an associate of Akhnaten in Amarna, and that Moses drew his monotheistic vision for the Jews from the milieu of Akhnaten's court.

Pharaoh as embodiment of God. It was the lasting assumption of Egyptian theology that the Pharaoh is an embodiment of God—or of the God of the region where the Pharaoh ruled; Atem, or later Ra, at Heliopolis; Ptah for the citizens of Memphis; Amen for the Thebans and their ruler. Thus when the Pharaoh Akhnaten creates his *Hymn to the Sun*, which we have reason to think he himself wrote, he adores the sky-passage of a holy sun, his God, which is also himself. Perhaps he needed so high a self-concept to create at the level he achieves here; and at the same to create for his awe-inspired citizenry, worshipping with him, probably in festal recitations of this hymn, the force that makes the world. It will have been for the whole people that Akhnaten created this musical poem which celebrates 'going forth into the light,' the phrase-thought that sprang from the real name of *The Book of the Dead*. We seem to have, here, a piece of religious literature which can be read like a piece of imaginative literature. Can we believe that is true, when we look back on the stubborn otherness, in style, viewpoint, and world frame, which marks the Ancient Near Eastern material we have been reading, and which Frankfurt, in the *Before Philosophy* we read in Week One, thought the first thing to understand about the archaic world?

Translation issues. We need to go back to our translations, to our discussions of kinds of language, and to the problem posed by language for recovering the past. Let's start by juxtaposing three samples of translation into English of the *Hymn to the Sun*. (Our translation dates are 1923, 2001, and 2011.) The selection is from the description of the world as the sun is setting.

When thou goest down in the western horizon, then earth is in darkness, as if it were dead. They sleep in the chamber, their heads wrapped up, and no eye seeth the other. Though all their things were taken, while they were under their heads, yet would they know it not. Every lion cometh forth from his den, and all worms that bite. Darkness is....the earth is silent for he who created it resteth in his horizon.

(Erman, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 289.)

When you sink to rest below western horizon

Earth lies in darkness like death,

Sleepers are still in bedchambers, heads veiled,

Eye cannot spy a companion,

All their goods could be stolen away,

Heads heavy there, and they never knowing!

Lions come out from the deeps of their caves,
Snakes bite and sting;
Darkness muffles, and earth is silent;
He who created all things lies low in his tomb.
(John Foster, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 2).

When you set in the western horizon,
Earth is in darkness as if in death;
One sleeps in chambers, heads covered,
One eye does not see another.
Were they robbed of their goods
That were under their heads,
People would not notice it.
Every lion comes out from its den.
All the snakes bite:
Darkness hovers, and earth is silent;
As the one who created all things rests in the horizon.
(Van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, p. 204).

Alternate versions of texts. A translation, a carrying-over, is there to make clear to us what was written in a language unfamiliar to us. Is that what these three texts do? (Hard to say, unless we can 'read' the original, in which case we don't 'need' the translation?) Does each of the above versions give you a sense of what the original means—the first version employing Biblical diction and a concrete thingliness; the second version a 'felicitously anglicized smoothness,' and a poem-like layout that cozens the modern ear; the third version contemporary but blunt, and, for example, sticking to what is probably 'original' -- 'horizon' in the final line, rather than 'lies low in his tomb?' Now try this. Take a copy of Erman, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, and turn to pp. xxxviii-xxxix. You will find there both a hieratic and a hieroglyphic facsimile of a passage from the 'Dispute with his Soul of one who is tired of Life,' a wisdom tale like *Sinuhe*, from 2500 B.C. Now think: vast spaces seemingly separate the script-things visible from Egypt from the script-thing 'in English' at the bottom of Erman, xxxix. Do we think those spaces are easy to cross. Let's try another experiment. Order a copy of Budge, *Egyptian Language*, Dover reprint from the New York, 1910 version. That's an approach. It will be a long train ride from the hieratic manuscript on xxxviii to the English on the bottom of xxxix. Do you feel sure that we can cross the border separating these different language acts? Or do we drift back toward Frankfurt's (and our own, in the Introductory week) view that Ancient means Archaic, when it comes to the Ancient Near East? (I drift that way.) Oh yes, and by the way, what about the physical moment of directing your eyes (mind) from Erman xxxviii to xxxix? What kind of distance is involved there? How many milimeters?

Selfhood and language. What, finally do you make of our effort to divide Ancient Near Eastern texts in terms of their distinctive language address, and, within that division, into the further issue of kind of quest for selfhood? Do the three kinds of language in question here—so far as we can reach back into them—comfortably unpack into the addresses of behavioral description, ascension and praise, and imaginative expression? I hope you will say yes, and expect you will, thanks to the broad sense in which each of our text translations above is an address to the transcendent—and sharply different from a proclamation of behaviors or an expression of creative imagination, even though this wonderful Hymn, probably the composition of Akhnaten himself, expresses awe in a language of poetry. But what of the issue of selfhood, and its presentation, which is the title giving action of our course? Is that quest implicit in the language practices tracked in this week's work?

High Writing. Language—whether in the *Instruction for Merikare*, in the *Tale of Sinuhe*, or in the Akhnaten Hymn—is the human self actualizing, trying out its contours, and—so to speak—carving its own map of the world in the face of time. High writing, disciplined by time and life, testifies to the self that is it, and is the quest we are.

Reading

Freud, Sigmund, *Moses and Monotheism*.

Lichtheim, Miriam, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 90.

Pritchard and Fleming, *The Ancient Near East*, Vol. I, pp.227-230.

Van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 202-207.

Waltari, Mika, *The Egyptian*.

Discussion Questions

1 What do you think of the power of language to bridge the temporal gap of three and a half millennia which separates us from the creator of the *Hymn to the Sun*? Is it not true that in a sense the gap is immediately closed by, say, the act of a translation of that *Hymn*, which is thus vaulted into our mind's midst? Is it not equally true that that 'vaulting' is a dangerous sleight of hand, misleading us to bypass the reality of the temporal?

2 What is the source of the remarkable interest our time has paid to Akhnaten? Freud's *Moses and Monotheism*? Philip Glass' *Akhnaten* opera? Mika Waltari's *The Egyptian*? Plays? Operas? Films? Is it the Sun-King's monotheism, which may in fact have influenced theological developments in Hebrew culture? Is it his mysteriously beautiful wife, Nefertiti, whom Akhnaten came increasingly to resemble in visual depictions? Is it his sense of individuality, distinctive selfhood, which has led thinkers to consider him the first modern man, the first individual?

3 In our introduction we stressed the break between the archaic world of the Ancient Near East, and the Greco-Roman Hebraic cultural world we inherit. But we have been admitting the exaggeration of that view, even by our language practice, our confidence that we can penetrate the archaic world whose unreachability we are asserting. Does the case of Akhnaten seem to you an example of the point where a connection, with the Hebrews through Moses, breaks a channel right through the wall dividing us from the archaic? What do you think of the thesis of Freud's *Moses and Monotheism*?

The Instruction for Merikare 21st cent. B.C. (Egypt)

We turn to a small example of poetry from the Early Middle Kingdom in Egypt, instructions of a war-and-experience-tested King of Herakleopolis-- to his son, Merikare. We are in the twenty-first century B.C. The papyrus from which we work has many lacunae, especially at the crucial beginning. We have to guess at the identity of the writer, the precise events to which he is directing the younger man (his son), and the larger geopolitical situation in question here; we grasp little except that there was incessant border fighting to the east of the Kingdom of Egypt, and tension amounting to Civil War between the North and

South of Egypt. We know too that the neighboring kingdom of Thebes was to defeat and swallow up Herakleopolis not long after the writing of the present text. The vague broader outlines of this entire situation are that the Monarchies of the Old Kingdom (2664-2155 B.C.) were at the time of *Merikare* giving way to a decentralization which was diminishing their power, and that they were coping with a serious separation between the Kingdom of the North and that of the South. Many small scale conflicts were breaking out throughout Egypt, and both war and peace had become necessary survival skills. The elites, rulers and writers and scribes, were under pressure to take charge of their lives.

The set of instructions before us could in some sense be from any age—the age of Pliny, of Lord Chesterfield. Merikare's father urges him, in the beginning, to crack down on dissenters and rabble rousers—'a quarrelsome man, one that createth two factions among the youth'; and to wipe out their names, but at the same time, a few characters later, the son is told that 'a good disposition is a man's heaven.' 'A man should do that which profiteth his soul.' In essence, these two essential points—be on your guard against the enemy, but keep your soul as pure as you can—are the core of the entire set of instructions. Were our assignment to summarize the contents of early Egyptian literature, we would have moved on rapidly to the next week's assignment. Our assignment, however, is to penetrate the sense and pursuit of selfhood in this first text of our course. It will be appropriate, while doing this, to look into the nature of literary production and inscription that brought the present fragmentary piece to our attention, after millennia of hazards.

Observations on life, anecdotes from the narrator's past, universal wisdoms about the importance of goodness and the damage done by cruelty to neighbors and the weak: all these moves in language establish here a kind of Kingly paternal atmosphere. Father offers advice of various kinds: watch for traitors, be merciful, hone your skills with the word, for therein lies your strength, keep your mind on the eternal realm in which you will one day be a participant, treat high officials with respect but don't underestimate the value of the ordinary man in sustaining the state. The selves of the king and of his son are blended together in this hortatory discourse, which comes 'from on high' except for cunningly hidden mention—p. 202, Foster—of the 'monumental evil' the father had caused. His destruction of the nome of Thisis serves the narrator as a reminder of how dreadful it is to destroy what has been laboriously built up. This reference gives the whole exhortation a sizzling dimension, and (we have to imagine) builds the narrator into the thrilled attention of his son. The self of the father is unfolded into a dramatic self-presentation, to which his son is urged to direct his attention.

This exhortation to discipline and game plan makes much of the *word*, and the importance of using the *word* well. The readings in Erman's introduction, below, will help you appreciate the nature of writing at this time in Egyptian history, the importance of the scribe, and the kinds of documents of the word remaining to us on papyrus, stelae, and monuments. At the very beginning of writing, the *word* is being distinguished as a source of power and precision, while in our age, as we near the 'end of writing,' we begin to lose our faith in the word.

Readings

Erman, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. xxiii-lxi.

The Instruction for King Merikare, pp. 75-84

The *Instruction for Merikare* in Foster, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 191-203.

Parkinson, R.B., *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, pp. 248-57.

Van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*. pp. 1-26, Introductory Concerns. (This text by van de Mieroop, and his *History of the Ancient Near East*, are easily available and essential background resources for this whole course.)

Discussion and Reflection Questions

1 Does the father-son relationship assume an intimate familiar tone in the *Instruction for Merikare*? May I guess that the answer is something like: yes, though the tone is military behavioral and not intimate, still it seems to be paternal. May I think back then to the point of our introduction, which was that there is a major cleavage in meaning and cultural assumptions between the literatures of the Ancient Near East and those that melt into the Greco-Roman Tradition.? If that point is valid—is it?—are you suspicious of the seeming closeness we feel toward the voice speaker of the *Instructions*?

2 There is debate about whether the Egyptians, as early as the Middle Kingdom, had a sense of historical self-awareness. They seem not to have had 'historians' in any sense of erudite and informed students of their national past. It was not until the time of Manetho (3rd cent. B.C.) that a 'History of Egypt' was written. Do you note the historical references made by the narrator from within *The Instruction for Merikare*? Do you think that historical self-consciousness is related to the personal self-awareness we are tracking through archaic literatures? What do you think of the idea that what we have in this week's reading is wisdom literature rather than an historical perspective?

3 Does the language in which the present text works strike you as behavior-descriptive, to continue with the tripartite language distinction we started with? Is it evident that we are not dealing with religious or imaginal language? Is it, by the way, acceptable to you that we use the hermeneutical principle of three different self-presenting languages as our working principle in this course?