

ZEITSCHRIFT
FÜR
ÄGYPTISCHE SPRACHE
UND
ALTERTUMSKUNDE

HERAUSGEGEBEN
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BAND 134 · 2007 · HEFT 2



Akademie Verlag

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Osiris, Re and Cheops

The Tale of Cheops and the Magicians (P. Westcar or P. Berlin 3033) has a particular importance for Egyptologists. First, it was one of the bases for the work of Adolf Erman who used the manuscript to develop his ideas of a systematic approach to the Egyptian language, grammar in particular¹. Second, the clear evidence of folktale elements interwoven into a political framework, first stressed by Erman and then later repeated by scholar after scholar, has provided much interest among art historians as well as members of the Art Historical School of Egyptology². In recent times, outside of interesting sidebar comments with respect to the fate of crocodiles and other small details, the composition has not been treated in detail³. But for the development of the plot, there have been very few studies⁴. The two crucial analyses of the composition remain those of Alan Gardiner and Erik Hornung⁵. Indeed, in the very recent study

of Parkinson we find the tale barely addressed as to religious significance, as if the crux of the matter simply did not involve Cheops' wish for eternal resurrection in the Afterworld⁶.

Why scholars should prefer to single out idiosyncratic details of dress or speech is a question that has occupied minds greater than mine. On the other hand, surely the purpose of the literary composition, especially the questions remaining that surround the plot, are of prime importance. There is one, and following normal expectations, it runs through the entire text. Apparent sharp diversions of locality and personalities are of no difficulty in being understood, just as long as we follow the precepts of folktales, wonder-tales, and the like⁷. If, however, we attempt to views the participants as "real" figures, and attempt to reconstruct "history" from what is so clearly a wonder tale, then the pursuit of the composition's purpose will be in vain. (This is one among many reasons why I find any connection to known historical royal figures of Dynasties IV and V to be an erroneous method of approach.)

The art of the portrait is missing in this composition, and except for some key words presented by Djedi to Cheops, it is fair to state the motivation plays a very secondary role but for one exception. Cheops' desires to obtain the

¹ A. Erman, *Die Sprache des Papyrus Westcar*, Göttingen (1889); note the subtitle: "Eine Vorarbeit zur Grammatik der älteren ägyptischen Sprache". I do not follow the hypothesis of H. Roeder, "Die Imagination des Unsichtbaren. Die altägyptischen Erzählungen des Papyrus Westcar und die Performanz des Performativen", *Paragana* 12 (2003) 184–222.

² As a good example of the art historical school, I can cite H. Fischer, "Some Iconographic and Literary Comparisons", in J. Assmann et al., eds., *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*, Wiesbaden (1977) 155–70, especially pages 160–5.

³ C. Eyre, "Fate, Crocodiles and the Judgment of the Dead. Some Mythological Allusions in Egyptian Literature", *SAK* 4 (1976) 103–14.

⁴ The summary of G. Burkard and H. J. Thissen, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte I*, Münster-Hamburg-London (2003) 177–91, despite its apparent modernity, remains traditional in its approach. Indeed, it reads as a compendium.

⁵ A. Gardiner, "The Secret Chambers of the Sanctuary of Thoth", *JEA* 11 (1925) 2–5; and E. Hornung, "Die 'Kammern' des Thot-Heiligtumes", *ZÄS* 100 (1973) 33–5.

⁶ R. B. Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt. A Dark Side to Perfection*, London-New York (2002) in particular pages 45, 138–43 and 295–6.

⁷ V. Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, trs. A. Y. Martin et al., Manchester (1984), passim, especially Chapter II: "Folklore and Reality". Owing to the limited corpus of such stories I am unable to differentiate between a "folktale" and a "wondertale" within the Egyptian literature. However, the division, so sharp in the Russian culture, may not be appropriate here.

ritual confirming the solar-Osiris transformation. Before entering into that nest of difficulties, let me set out some of the obvious story-like qualities of the account. There are three generations indicated for Cheops, a normal method of agglutination by repetition. Nothing can be claimed with regard to reality from the words of the magician Djedi in lines IX 13–14. The generations' number of three is so common that I wonder why it has been overlooked by many historically-minded researchers who then claim that Chephren, Mycerinus, and of course Shepseskaf *must* be indicated⁸. The human being, considering its lengthy history and stage of development by the second millennium B.C. – the date of the composition – could barely live long enough to have an understanding of a great-great-grandparent much less a great-great-grandchild. The triplex system is all too common to repeat here, but in light of Jan Assmann's work with Jan Vlasina perhaps we might bring into his argument the concepts of Collective Memory and the Floating Gap⁹. In the latter case we immediately can see how beyond three generations all becomes murky, unclear, "mythological", or even forgotten. Why should we worry about the Khentkaus problem¹⁰? It is not to be resolved from a narrative story with major folklore imbedding.

⁸ D. B. Redford, *Pharaonic King Lists, Annals and Day-Books. A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, Mississauga (1986) 210 note 24 approaches the issue, but his main concern is different than mine. See additional sources in note 53 below.

⁹ *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, Munich (1997) 48–56. The term as well as the concept are borrowed from J. Vlasina, *Oral Tradition as History*, Madison (1985).

¹⁰ Most recently, see M. Verner, "Khentkaus I, Khentkaus II and the title *mwt nswt bity nswt bity* (or: *nswt bity, mwt nswt bity*)", *GM* 173 (1999) 215–18; a simpler survey is given by M. Verner and G. Callender in "Image and Reflection. Two Old Kingdom Queens named Khenetkaus", *KMT* 8.3 (1997) 28–35; cf. Verner, "Who was Shepseskara, and when did he reign?", in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí, eds., *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, Prague (2000) 581–602, but especially pages 594–6. Add in general, M. Verner, "Archaeological Remarks on the 4th and 5th Dynasty Chronology", *Archiv Orientalni* 69 (2001) 363–418, as it contains some additional data.

On the basis of the piece of Egyptian literature should we equally take credence that the first three kings of Dynasty V were triplets? Conveniently, their birth date is given, but I must note the triad. Is it not simpler, considering the structural laws followed in this wondertale, that the next royal lineage should be marked off by triplets? Let us keep in mind that Cheops and the Magicians, as a unity, does not place "typical people in a typical setting"¹¹. It is, however, the case that many of the personages, owing to their royalty, are or were "real". Hence, this piece of literature is not, properly speaking, a folktale although it exhibits many of the characteristics of one. The abrupt switching of scenes, the pace of action, the lack of details, the virtual absence of character, and the later toils of the downtrodden Rudjedet – all point to such a conclusion. Even the characteristics of the presumed "wicked" Cheops (in contrast to, but not expressed, image of the "good" Snefru) can claim to be derived from a popular rendition of contemporary history that became embedded in folktales¹².

According to Erman, the tale "does not belong to the higher literature"¹³. We can leave this rather breezy criticism to the side and advance deeper into the folkloric *elements* of the story. The radical ending of one story leading to a sec-

¹¹ A famous phrase; see V. Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, 21 with note 7 page 195.

¹² In general, the conclusions of G. Posener, *Littérature et politique de la XII^e Dynastie*, Paris (1956) 10–13 are pertinent and worth remembering; Parkinson provides a fine summation of the "esoteric" knowledge presupposed in the text, especially the clear-cut reference to the sun, Re, and the question of an "investigation" into the soul after death in his *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 139–40. This issue will be explored later in the discussion.

¹³ Whose "higher" literature, his or the Egyptians? These value-laden comments of literati are dubious. I cite A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, trs. A. M. Blackman, London (1927) 36. In this context I cannot but remind the reader of Wilamowitz's rejection of the hypothesis that there was any connection between Greek literature and folk culture (V. Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, 111, referring back to U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Die griechische Heldensage", *SPAW phil-hist. Klasse* 1925, 41–62 and 214–42). The same attitude, I believe, concerning *Hochkultur* and presumed "lower" elements of society is expressed here.

ond and then a third comes quickly to mind. The first tale, covering the well-known (to us as well as to the ancients), indeed most important king of the preceding Dynasty, Djoser, commences the opening narration. Chephren then continues with a more recent tale, officially claimed to have taken place under Pharaoh Nebka, a rather shadowy figure to say the least¹⁴. Whether or not we wish to place the entire account into a “low tradition” as Parkinson does is not my issue here¹⁵. I certainly do not find the story totally “vulgar”, but rather derived from a serious account of the living king’s wish to locate plans for his pyramid, the Achet, that are somehow connected to the god Thoth¹⁶.

The second tale is connected with marital strife. As related by Chephren, the next ruler of Egypt after Cheops, and also his son, the narrative is quite simple. This is naturally to be expected. Personalities are not revealed in folktales even if the latter are absorbed into events that claim historical settings. But the plots remain fantastic, as in fact this one of Chephren is. We are plunged into the world of impossibility where magic rules or where all appears to be invented and impossible. Tale number three which follows is equally structured although there the erotic element is more prominent.

¹⁴ For these and other reflexes of the Old Kingdom in later times I can refer to D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt I*, Berlin 1969.

¹⁵ Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt, 138–44.

¹⁶ In general, see C. J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth. Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion*, Leiden (1973) Chapter 5. For the timeframe preceding the New Kingdom we will have to do with the work of H. Spiess, *Untersuchungen zum Gott Thot bis zum Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, Dissertation Hamburg, Hamburg (1991). In Spiess’ work there are a few details that can be connected to our present study, but needless to say a modern and worthwhile study of this deity remains to be written. One example: P. Boylon, *Thoth. The Hermes of Egypt*, London et al. (1922) 158–9 mentions the connection of Thoth with the cult place of *Wnw*, but neither he nor later Spiess (pages 175–9 in particular) sees the word game which is implied.

I can refer the reader to the various small analyses of J. Yoyotte, *Annuaire École Pratique des Hautes Études*, V^e Section under “Thoth” or his various sites. (See in particular pages 178–82 in the 1971–2 issue.)

Baufre, another (and younger) son of Cheops who may have been an actual ruler then turns to the reign of Snefru, the father of Cheops. We have thus reached the conclusion of the triplets. All three tales refer to past events; all contain the impossible. All can be subsumed into one on the basis of simple folkloristic rules.

The trebling is in essence a unity because all of these court-narrated tales are not merely in the past, they are set against the next one. To put it another way, counting, especially by three, is age-old, and we need not consider its origins here. To perceive “three” not arithmetically but as “a lot” or “much” is apt, and is employed to heighten the interest in the narrative¹⁷. But as with two elder brothers who fail and the youngest who succeeds, the presupposition of three is actually incorrect; the system is binary: the two unsuccessful suitors or warriors are set against the one who wins the heart of the eternally young princess. (This issue has been discussed in extenso by folklorists; indeed, it has become common knowledge.) In similar manner, the three tales preceding Horjedef’s declamation to his father are, in essence, a unity: they all reflect the past and clearly do not liven up the ruler enough for the latter to respond with a direct query to one of his sons.

We should keep in mind that of the three preceding tales – and unfortunately the first is lost so that we cannot be sure of its content or purpose – the latter two have distinct orientations. Chephren’s is linked to sex and marital failure; Baufre’s with maidens, or to use Propp’s term, borrowed from O. M. Freudenberg, *Juno types*¹⁸. The former concentrates upon revenge and death, a theme that I will explore in more detail below. Yet it does involve sex. The latter, on the other hand, moves the protagonist upwards in society, so to speak. It is now Snefru who is the main character, and he is particular in need of a diversion. Baldly put, Djadjaemankh states that his monarch should go to the lake of the palace and divert himself with these young women who have yet to bear a child. Hence, they are in a sense forever young yet possessing

¹⁷ V. Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, 24–5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 197–8 note 31, especially regarding characters in epic poetry.

the attributes of fertility. The second tale does not end unhappily (actually it could not) nor, more importantly, does it involve violence. Yet both are unified in reflecting affairs involving sexual characteristics, women, and hence fertility. Are these items not connected to the wish to be young or the wish to have children?

Hordjedef proposes something else. The antithesis to the previous three accounts is at hand. Now Cheops suddenly asks a question, and by doing so his character is introduced, barely to be sure, but it is there. The key is reached regarding the so-called “chambers” of the sanctuary of Thoth. At this point I must support Hornung’s interpretation. He has seen that an Afterworld connection is evident. Cheops is missing some details, facts that were written down. By utilizing some very indirect details from the Coffin Texts, Hornung pointed out the strong similarity in reasoning. There are common words in both accounts or there is a pattern of similar sounding words. Now it is well known that among the archaic societies there were three ways of explanation. Igor Diakonoff reiterated them in his important study on myth: metaphor, metonymy, and the similarity of sounds/words¹⁹. In other words, we are dealing with analogy. All three forms, I would add, are truly the ways that the human mind proceeds and to label them as “pre-scientific” or “unscientific” is to miss the reasoning power of the human race. How else are new things explained? Only on the basis of the old or, rather, the given. When anything needs to be understood the ancients as ourselves have always employed analogies from pre-existent forms of thought²⁰.

Hornung went further²¹. He knew that Cheops was after something for his tomb. Further, the Pharaoh definitely cannot locate it by hand. The connection to Thoth, nonetheless, places us to a post Old Kingdom frame of mind as Posener showed²². The meaning “shrine” for *ipwt*, first proposed by Hornung, aids us further in seeing the religious connection of the account. The crux of the Coffin text information that so effectively supplies an explanation for Cheops’ action is a simple one: the “Field of Thoth”, the connection with Re in heaven, are all interwoven with the cult of Re in Heliopolis. Furthermore, as Hornung proved, we are not dealing with a mere “inventory” in that solar city but rather a connection with the “examination” of the dead individual – who will be a Pharaoh in this case – in the Afterworld. He, as Re, will have to be rejuvenated in the night. The sun god dies at evening tide; the king is dead. It is in the sixth hour of the night, as the *Amduat* indicates, that the mysterious rejuvenation of Re (and so the king) occurs.

Let me be more specific. We are dealing with the age-old human dilemma of life after death. Cheops needs the data for his pyramid. Djedi, as it turns out, knows the place where they are. In the *Amduat*, which is first known to us in written format from the reign of Thutmose I, the evidence centers upon the sixth hour of the night during which Re is rejuvenated²³. The great theme of that religious tractate surrounds the unification of the sun god with its corpse (*h3t*). Here, we have an explicit mention of the famous

¹⁹ I. Diakonoff, *Archaic Myths of the Orient and the Occident*, Göteborg (1995).

²⁰ One good example is Newton’s definitions for the colors of the prism, the so-called “natural colors”. He set us a system of seven intervals based on the intervals in a musical octave. This was criticized at a later date by many because of its presumed non-scientific basis. (Today scientists employ *measured* wavelengths and ignore the actual color terms unless attempting to explain the “zone” under consideration.) That this is not a problem excluded from Egyptology may be seen in some of the key contributions in the volume *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, ed., W. V. Davies, London (2001). I believe that this related issue, resolved

by J. Albers, *Interaction of Color. Grundlegung einer Didaktik des Sehens*, Cologne (1997), is one that ought to be mentioned in this context because it is connected with the question of the morphology of such tales of wonder that we are analyzing here. Compare the point of view of Propp with regard to Goethe’s theory of color and the problems.

²¹ “Die ‘Kammern’ des Thot-Heiligtumes”, 33–5.

²² G. Posener, “Philologie et archéologie égyptiennes”, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 65 (1965) 339–40.

²³ E. Hornung, *Das Amduat. Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes II*, Wiesbaden (1963) 122–4, and also “Schwarze Löcher von innen betrachtet: Die alt-ägyptische Hölle”, in T. Schabert and E. Hornung, eds., *Strukturen des Chaos*, Munich (1994) 254–5.

Solar-Osirian unity²⁴. The Book of Gates, a later royal text, points out this situation in some detail: the “mystery” of Re, hidden (as in the “hidden room”) is nothing more than the cadaver of Osiris²⁵. And, as Jean Yoyotte stressed, in the Afterworld the replica of the Hut-benben (*Hwt-bnbn*) contains the corpse of Osiris²⁶.

²⁴ I have returned to this issue in a forthcoming study on the Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II. It has been discussed many times and by many scholars, among which we may cite Hornung. There is now T. DuQuesne’s recent article, “Osiris with the Solar Disk”, *DE* 60 (2004) 21–5. A compendium volume on the matter has just appeared by J. C. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity*, Göttingen (2004).

²⁵ J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*. Berlin (1969) 85–7, 93–4, and 310–11. “Mystery” is *šḥ*.

²⁶ J. Yoyotte, “Héra d’Héliopolis et le sacrifice humain”, *Annuaire École Pratique des Hautes Études*, V^e Section 89 (1980–81) 100–01. Yoyotte refers back to Eugène Lefébure’s discussion, “Le paradis égyptien d’après les rites de Bousiris et d’Abydos” *Sphinx* 3 (1900) 140–2 (also in his *Oeuvres Diverses*, Paris [1915] 280–2 = *Bibliothèque Égyptologique* 36). But he also adds the important data from the Book of Gates.

See now E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits II*, Geneva (1984) 162–5 where the key data are to be found. He notes that the “House of the Benben” is already to be seen in the Litany to the Sun.

The question of the Osirian role with the Aten has yet to be resolved although the mention of the Hut-benben (in this context, at Thebes and at Amarna) ought to provoke research. For the moment, I can refer the reader to the recent work of A. Grimm and H. A. Schlögl, *Das thebanische Grab Nr. 136 und der Beginn der Amarnazeit*, Wiesbaden (2005). Unfortunately, the two authors connect Osiris with the king whereas it is self-evident that the pillars in the tomb which they publish are oriented to Re; the Solar-Osirian unity is obvious. There is no king-Osirian unity. I must thank Prof. Hornung for supplying me with many details concerning the data in this recent volume.

It is worthwhile noting in this context that Rolf Krauss had earlier observed the presence of Osiris during the Amarna Period: *Moïse le Pharaon*, trs. Nathalie Baum, Paris (2000) 57–68. Subsequently, see as well his “Nefertiti y Ajenaton: nuevos resultados en las investigaciones acerca del arte y la religión de la época de Amarna”, *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología* 11 (2001) 45–61.

Even though he did not deal with the Solar-Osirian Unity, Krauss nonetheless observed that “By an apparent contradiction, Akhenaton tolerated Osiris in the private Theban tombs” (page 61). It appears to me that

The intersecting of Re with Osiris or vice-versa is, as I have indicated, a result of the age-old human condition of questioning death. The sun revives, yet it was dead. The king (or even us non royals) must die. What happens thenceforth? Does he, do we, rise again? With this common ancestry of thought we can better see the importance of Osiris with Re, and not merely in the Ramesside Period when it begins to pick up in importance (me), or even later in the XXIInd Dynasty when it literally takes over the theology of that time²⁷. But we can most certainly trace this explanation of rebirth or rejuvenation back earlier than the New Kingdom. (The present-day scholarly questions surround its influence.) Notwithstanding such antecedents, it is interesting to see its importance in the Amduat in a minor but not insignificant way but also in the Litany to the Sun²⁸. The earlier example of that book comes from the reign of Thutmose III but, perhaps surprisingly, it disappears in royal tombs until Seti I.

Now we cannot date either religious composition with certainty. With regard to the Amduat, Altenmüller’s arguments for a pre Dynasty XVIII origin seem compelling, but one would like more direct evidence²⁹. We only know the Litany

an entire re-working of the role of Osiris during the Amarna Period is now obligatory.

²⁷ A. Niwinski, “The Solar-Osirian unity as a principle of the theology of the ‘State of Amun’ in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty”, *JEOL* 30 (1987/88) 89–106. This study contains a lot of Ramesside data.

²⁸ E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)*, Geneva, 1976.

²⁹ H. Altenmüller, “Zur Überlieferung des Amduat”, *JEOL* 20 (1968) 27–42. According to him the New Kingdom recensions must go back to the Middle Kingdom, and the division into twelve night hours most certainly predicates a timeframe post Dynasty VI/VIII or thereabouts. (I am referring to the evidence of the Diagonal Star Clocks, for which see R. A. Parker and O. Neugebauer, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts I*, London [1960]).

To pursue the antecedents for a *unified* religious book, the Amduat in this case, is different than arguing that the Amduat existed prior to Dynasty XVIII. (Let us not forget that when discussing the Amduat we have to include the vignettes as well as the text; both form a whole.) The recent attempt of U. Rößler-Köhler, “Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, Teil I: Ein ‘Gottesbegräbnis’ des Mitt-

to the Sun from the reign of Thutmose III onwards, yet it definitely indicates the direct association of Re with Osiris³⁰. Clearly, this unity was not a mere creation of Egyptian speculative thought in the New Kingdom. Both books are final in the versions that we possess. That is to say, the Amduat and the Litany to Re are well structured and articulate; they are not mere drafts or rough theological musings. The essential problem is with regard to their inception. At best, and I follow Altenmüller (with regard to the Amduat) as well as Harco Willems here, there is enough data to indicate that the Re-Osiris fusion, at least in religious thought, can be traced back to the Middle Kingdom³¹.

But we have left the Cheops story far aside at the moment, and it is necessary to retrace our steps with regard to the king's wishes. We have seen that Hornung proposed a close connection to religious beliefs centered on rejuvenation, Re, Thoth, and also judgment. The damned or blessed, after all, must be examined. (Hence, following Hornung, see the use of *sipty* or *sip*.) Adding some useful data, Borghouts provided additional facts regarding chests (*ḥdt*) that are, in his words, "testimonies of Heliopolitan magic"³². Now it is the case that the famous passages of Cheops and as well that of the magician Djedi harp on the "examination" (*sipty*), the chamber (*ḥt*), the chest (*ḥdt*), the area of Heliopolis (connection to Thoth and the *ipwt*). The connection of the "sanctuary", *wnt*, to Thoth was further

indicated by Hornung; the "sound-alike principle" working in this case (*wnt* and *wnt*). This aspect, connected to analogical reasoning, will also be stressed later. Most of these words or resonances of them turn up in the Coffin Text example referred to by Hornung³³. The idea of the "secret" chest (*ḥdt*) was also explored by Borghouts without, however, seeing that it was Osiris who is located in that object or, to be more exact, the mummy of Osiris. And it is there, as Yoyotte remarkably pointed out, that the mystery took place in the sixth hour of the night. In other words, if we assemble all this disparate data we are lead to one conclusion: Cheops is interested in the Solar-Osirian unity because he knows that he will be dead in his pyramid and he needs the data on the great and hidden mystery of that union. We even possess a useful image of the *ḥdt* of Osiris, and once more have to thank Jean Yoyotte for taking the time to ferret out these facts. Actually, he has given us an excellent visual and written record of the "coffin (*ḥdt*) of Osiris"³⁴.

But in a study subsequent to his first remarks concerning these chests, of which Cheops is strongly desirous of locating, Borghouts provided even more information from the Middle Kingdom concerning these items³⁵. I particularly noted his reference to the El Bersheh corpus of coffins in which there is a theme of a dying son "finding himself confronted with a request from his deceased father, transmitted to him by his fellow-ghosts in the hereafter who are united in a king of a court"³⁶. In other words, there is a tribunal and a judgment is to take place, thereby supporting further Hornung's conceptions of the *ḥdt* with an examination of the dead person. But this Middle Kingdom information brought forward aids us further when we observe such phrases as the chest of Re (*ḥdt* employed), the divine crew in the bark of Re, Re-Atum, the night bark, and the like. Borghouts concluded

leren Reiches in königlichem Kontext: Amduat 4. und 5. Stunde", in R. Gundlach and W. Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, Wiesbaden (1999) 73–96 is not conclusive. The follow-up chapter of L. Gester-mann, in the same work, "Königliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, Teil II: Osirisgräber des Mittleren Reiches in königlichem Kontext: Amduat, 6. Stunde", 97–110 suffers from the same historical limitations. Neither scholar has *proven* the existence of the Amduat in Dynasty XII.

³⁰ See especially E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, 176–8.

³¹ I am now referring to my study of the Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II wherein I discuss the Middle Kingdom evidence for the Re-Osirian "fusion"; the work of Harco Willems is *The Coffin of Heqata* (Cairo JdE 36418), Leuven (1996).

³² J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, Leiden (1971) 94–5.

³³ "Die 'Kammern' des Thot-Heiligtums", 33–5.

³⁴ "Héra d'Héliopolis et le sacrifice humain", 66–7 and 71 and 81.

³⁵ J. F. Borghouts, "The Enigmatic Chests", JEOL 23 (1974) 358–64.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 359.

his discussion by considering the “secret” Chest, the one of Re, to belong to the solar ship, and with this in mind we can once more return to the more prosaic but nonetheless exciting narrative of Cheops and the Magicians.

Whereas I agree with Parkinson who finds such details “not fully mobilized in the subsequent narrative”, this is due to the climax in the court scene and the loss of the final section that has to do with Rudjedet³⁷. It is now necessary to address the first issue. Cheops has been searching for data connected to his life in the afterworld, and especially, as we have presented above, the solar-Osiris connection. He needs information. The magician Djedi is ignorant of the “number” of these shrines (I follow Hornung) but can locate them. However, he cannot personally obtain them; that is denied to him. As befits the nature of the tale, no motives or explanation are given. The reason is that the next portion of the plot will introduce a character who can do precisely that. It is the wife of the sun-god priest in Sakhebu who will be able to bring the wanted objects to Cheops. (Frankly, the course of the narration must proceed with both Cheops and Djedi being unable to obtain the desired “box” or “casket”. This allows the writer to move to the trials and tribulations of this woman.) But also it unravels the question of the story’s aim. Rudjedet is to resolve Cheops’ dilemma, and owing to her relationship to the cult of Re and her obvious connection to the birth of the triplets, the story has to end with some type of reconciliation. The king succeeds in his quest and thereby obtains the “secret”, and the lineage of the succeeding dynasty proceeds. (One might say that both “live”. In death Cheops is to be resurrected in the middle of the night – the Re-Osiris unity – and the triplets will not be killed. In fact, one would have expected that threat in a folktale even if, as we know, such actions cannot succeed.)

Yet the attempt to carry out the wish of the king is not yet presented. We have to pace through the background details of Rudjedet, and here we can see that the Cheops story is not a simple folktale. Djedi, not carelessly and not

with malice (he lacks emotion; all of the characters lack personality), tells Cheops that the wife of the priest of Re at Sakhebu has born three children. Naturally, we are located in the middle of the divine birth concept with Re as the progenitor. This is why the tale ceases a forward motion and only resumes when the Pharaoh becomes disconsolate. Djedi then notes the mood, and this would have been a bit of a surprise if the narrative were a pure folktale; once more we can observe that the narrative is something more than a folktale. Djedi points out the trebling of Cheops’ offspring, but whether this is to be taken a bare fact, a position I cannot conceive, may be left up to those historians who wish to correlate any historical personage to any reference independent of context.

The king then asks for the date of this triple-birth and its location. Conveniently, the former is to occur right in the middle of civil month five. Of equal if not greater importance is the setting. Thus we come to the much-disputed passage concerning the “Canal of the Two Fishes”³⁸. At this point I must sidestep the questions of the location of Sakhebu and the problems of the disputed passage. In a nutshell, Cheops states that he will go there and Djedi replies by maintaining that he will prevent his monarch from ever attaining that goal³⁹. The issue in our story is not where, precisely, this place is or, similarly, where the canal was located. The plot cannot allow Cheops to reach it; else, the narrative ceases. Hence, Djedi places a blockade. How unfortunate it is that the text is corrupt at this point; no satisfactory reconstruction of the key section of page IX 16 has been proposed even though the point of the account is transparent.

We can ignore the questions of astronomy which so frequently interested George Goyon and go to the heart of the matter. Because Rudjedet has been named as the woman to whom the task of obtaining these Heliopolitan items of rejuvenation, Cheops cannot locate them. Most

³⁷ Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt, 140.

³⁸ E. Edel, “Der Kanal der beiden Fische”, DE 16 (1990) 31–3.

³⁹ G. Goyon, “Est-ce enfin Sakhebou?”, in *Homages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron I*, Cairo (1979) 43–50.

certainly, one would have expected a verbal explosion on the part of the Pharaoh. How could a commoner, even if he is a magician, be allowed to refute, nay prevent him from seeking out his wish? Once more, the techniques of the folktale, so well used by the author of this composition, work. Cheops is not even angry, even though the folk-tradition preserved the memory of a sometime tyrant. Indeed, did not the story reveal earlier that he wished to kill a human, only then to be prevented from doing so by the intervention of Djedi? But of course, this aspect of the monarch is one-dimensional. We do not, nor will we even know, why Cheops is a presumptuous and forceful personality. All that we pick up from the tale is the aspect, not the cause. Motivations play no role, as I have enunciated earlier in this analysis. Cheops must accede to Djedi's statement.

Let me now summarize the presentation before moving deeper into the solar-Osirian components of the narrative. The aim of Cheops is revealed at his court. As we commence reading the account, given the missing opening and first tale, it is hard to determine the original thrust. But all conveniently leads up to the denouement of Cheops' long sought after wish. In this task he has been so far unsuccessful. Even when he finds out that someone actually knows the location he fails, as neither he nor Djedi can go. Djedi is blocked by his own knowledge (not character) and also serves the means to prevent the king from proceeding forward. The story then transfers its motivating force from Cheops to Rudjedet. She is the protagonist of "Part B". True, we read of the divine birth of the first three kings of Dynasty V, and additional side-elements are brought in regarding the deities present at the birth, their mission to perform the parturition ceremonies ordained by Re, and the like. But it is the lowly wife of a minor Re priest who claims our attention. Here, the folk elements are as prevalent as before. And as earlier, they are contained within a narrative that is no mere wonder- or folktale. Re sends his emissaries and the children are delivered. Then the divine participants depart and the account turns to the human dimension. As chance would have it, impediments occur, although only one is preserved in the single copy of the tale. (I expect that there were

three attempts to prevent Rudjedet from getting the item to Cheops.) Her female servant forms the first of what surely was a series, undoubtedly a triplet, of dangers. All will be overcome but as the papyrus is broken off in line 26 of page XII, we cannot relate those events⁴⁰.

Let us turn to the figure of Hordjedef for the moment. In Egyptology he is well known for having a close relationship to literature. He was a king's son but never became a Pharaoh. Instead, and his role in this story partly indicates that, Hordjedef is connected to religion, literature, and those intellectual pursuits akin to both. This image and recollection in the memory of some Egyptians, especially of a literary persuasion, clearly predates the Ramesside Period. However we wish to date the manuscript of P. Westcar, it cannot be placed in Dynasties XIX–XX. I understand that some individuals now wish to down date the manuscript, perhaps following recent trends in Egyptology. Nonetheless, I would not be so exact to determine a specific reign and prefer to locate the time of the redaction to an interval around the cusp of the outgoing XVIIth Dynasty and the early years of Ahmose. In any case, the language would allow us to place the composition around the Late Middle Kingdom⁴¹.

But to return to the main issue, Hordjedef and his connections outside of a typical princely role did belong in the traditions of a later period, namely that of the Ramessides. In this context I can refer to Jan Assmann's important discussion on literature during the Dynasties XIX and XX⁴². Assmann's interesting and thought-provoking study of "diglossia" (and so the "Classic"/"Modern" debate) mainly concerns

⁴⁰ For the episode of the crocodile and its ramifications, see C. Eyre, "Fate, Crocodiles and the Judgment of the Dead", referred to in note 3 above.

⁴¹ For Parkinson, *Dynasty XIII: Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, summary on page 296; also S. Quirke, "Narrative Literature", in A. Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms*, 271–2, who brings in a series of good points.

⁴² J. Assmann, "Gibt es eine 'Klassik' in der ägyptischen Literaturgeschichte? Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Ramessidenzeit", in W. Röllig, ed., *XII. deutscher Orientalistentag*, Stuttgart (1985) 35–52.

the break in Egyptian society after the Amarna Period. Thus for him Hordjedef's remarkable position is paralleled by other Egyptian intellectual heroes whose renown was associated by intellectual efforts. By and large this is true of the later evidence regarding such figures as Hordjedef, Imhotep, Ipuwer, and the like, but we must not forget the so-called "Daressy fragment". There, in a tomb at Saqqara, a non-literary record of such cultural heroes was found⁴³. We can mention in this context the remarkable parallel of Chaemwase⁴⁴. In similar guise, Thoth, whom we shall note when he appears with Hordjedef, has no military background, remaining the "first minister" of Re⁴⁵. But Hordjedef, too, was a king's son who never became Pharaoh. In this case, Chaemwase, contrary to Hordjedef, contented himself in his later years with "archaeological" pursuits and his role as High priest of Ptah; however the late Demotic tradition most definitely connects him with religious texts, Thoth, rejuvenation and the like. (Note the Re connection.) Quirke, for example, covered the same issue and suggested that such "great authors" of the Ramesside Period, among whom we can place Hordjedef (and even the magician Djadjaemankh of P. Westcar) could have owed their presence due to their role in Egyptian court society as "great officials"⁴⁶.

Both characters — and I use this term in order to differentiate the memories of them from

their actual figures — actually form a category in folklore. Namely, the prince who will never be king. In their cases, however, we do know some essential details surrounding their lack of success outside of their order in the hierarchy of sons. Chaemwase, nonetheless, was the fourth born male son of Ramesses II, but died before his father. He seems at one time to have been a designated heir but his mortality prevented him from reaching the throne. Hordjedef most certainly was not able to become king owing to his elder brothers. (To die before one's father is especially tragic, not only in folklore but in all strata of society. One can see and feel how such an event is extremely momentous.) Yet I find it striking that, rather than being coupled in tradition with abnormalities (physical deficiencies, lack of fertility, fear of war) that would prevent one from being a Pharaoh or even a "proper" son, they are coupled with other pursuits that were regarded as significant, at least by an educated stratum. In folk tradition often a crown prince is weak, emasculated, wounded, has harmful physical characteristics, often wears "odd" clothes or associates himself with "peculiar" animals, and the like. (I am listing the standard attributes derived from folklore studies.) In some cases he is the evil person, preferring a role that is intellectual and connected to the "black arts" such as divination or sorcery. Magic, in other words, is frequently associated with such men. If we follow the folktales, they will lose in the end, but then there is always a successful prince or non-royal individual, preferably a peasant or a member of a very low social stratum, who will succeed. In the case of these two king's sons no such tradition was applied. Rather, in the minds of some elite within Egypt both achieved renown for non-martial, non-physical deeds.

Independent of his role in the Cheops tale, Hordjedef is known for more than a few Ramesside notations and connections with literature. Here we can return to the issue of rejuvenation, Re, and Osiris. Posener brought this king's son to light in another religious setting, that is *The Book of the Dead*⁴⁷. From three key versions of

⁴³ See the references in the previous citation of Assmann and also that of Quirke in note 46 below. But this may have to do with the overlapping of cultural and generational memory by one noted Dynasty XIX individual.

⁴⁴ F. Gomaà, *Chaemwase. Sohn Ramses' II und Hoherpriester von Memphis*, Wiesbaden (1973) as well as M. M. Fischer, *The Sons of Ramesses II*, Wiesbaden (2001) 103–5, with the stress upon Chaemwase's non-military career.

⁴⁵ This role is well known; see now J. Yoyotte, "Une note biographique du roi Osiris", *BIFAO* 77 (1977) 145–9. See as well the scintillating review by S. Quirke in *JNER* 5 (2005) 228–38 of C. Geisen, *Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep aus der 13. Dynastie. Ein Textzeuge aus der Übergangszeit von den Sargtexten zum Totenbuch*, Wiesbaden (2004).

⁴⁶ S. Quirke, *Egyptian Literature 1800 BC. Questions and readings*, London (2004) 33–6.

⁴⁷ "Philologie et archéologie égyptiennes", 339–41.

the Book of the Dead we can see Hordjedef also in a role dated to the reign of Mycerinus. Thoth occurs as does the little-known goddess Wnut (*Wnwt*)⁴⁸. With regard to the latter divinity, the best that can be proposed for her entrance into a religious narrative such as the one under consideration is to note her association with the sun god. I would also remind the reader of the word for shrine, *wnt*, and that for this Lady. I.e., once more the resonances of words come into play.

These brief notices of Hordjedef connect him with an inspection; the key word is *sipty*. Again, see the use of the term *sipty*, which in this case definitely means that he checked out affairs. One of the brief versions of the Book of the Dead claims that the chapter (30B) was written by Thoth himself and placed under a brick of Upper Egyptian sandstone⁴⁹. The spell was found in Hermopolis, cult center of Thoth, under the two feet of that deity. And it was Hordjedef who located it. Now we can see if still dimly, the connection between Thoth and Cheops' quest, so indirectly posed in the story. A second version extends somewhat this account. Chapter 64 (expanded version) and 148 from the same religious tractate discuss the brick and its color, while the latter adds that Hordjedef obtained the fabulous document by prayer⁵⁰. According to the variant

of Chapter 64 the prince was assisted by a "Power"⁵¹.

Posener further adduced the well-known qualities of Thoth and his connection to Re as well as to medicine, a task that is worthy of more research. And it is thus not surprising that he linked the various key passages in the Book of the Dead (Chapters 30B, 64, 137A, 148, and even 26) with the heart (of the deceased). In particular, he pointed out further references in the same religious book that are concerned with physical/medical aspects⁵². We can, nonetheless, overlook the later tradition of Thoth and his magical books, well known from the later Demotic period, and even his association with the plans of temples⁵³. With Thoth associated with various

⁴⁸ See now C. Leitz, ed., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Leuven-Paris-Dudley (2002) 390–1, but there is no resolution as to her true role and significance. Yoyotte, nonetheless, correctly argued in his "Religion de l'Égypte ancienne", *Annuaire École pratique des Hautes Études V^e Section* 1968–9, 111 that this goddess belonged to the ancient pantheon of the Hare Nome, which, I should add, did *not* include Thoth, and that she was both the hare-goddess and an aspect of the royal uraeus.

⁴⁹ For the word and its connection here, see E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bj3-*, Cologne 1971, especially p. 126.

Erik Hornung also covers some of these passages in his commentaries to the Book of the Dead: *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*, Zurich-Munich (1979); see as well D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 217–21.

⁵⁰ The text uses the same terms as in the Shipwrecked Sailor, line 129: *m ss3*; see as well Wildung's comments cited in the last note. See now F. Sarjean, *Les formules des transpositions du Livre des Morts*, Cairo (2004) 24–5 with regard to Hordjedef.

⁵¹ The word is a simple one, *nht*. But it does not signify "Mannschaft" as in Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 220. O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts II*, London (1964) translate *nht* as "giant" (5), following age-old Egyptological research. I still prefer "Power" or "Force". It is interesting to see how Edward Wente and Miriam Lichtheim translated the same word *nht* in *The Doomed Prince*: "water spirit" (the former) and "demon" (the latter). Neither interpretation fits well. See E. F. Wente, in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, New Haven-London (1973) 85–91; and M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London (1976) 200–03. Wente's translation "water spirit" ultimately goes back to T. E. Peet, "The Legend of the Capture of Joppa and the Story of the Fore-doomed Prince", *JEA* 11 (1925) 228. But Peet's remarks must be read in conjunction with W. Spiegelberg, "Die ägyptische Gottheit der 'Gotteskraft'", *ZÄS* 57 (1922) 145–8, and there the inquiring scholar will find the discussion of "Riesen", "giant". We can, however, now refer the reader to G. Vittmann, "Riesen" und riesenhafte Wesen in der Vorstellung der Ägypter, Vienna (1995) passim, especially I.1.d ("Schutzgenius").

⁵² Here, the heart; see E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, Mainz (1976) 184–5; add M. Malaise, "La pierre *nmhf* et son identification avec le défunt dans le Livre des Morts", *CdE* 48 (1973) 26–35, where specific references are given to Chapters 30B and 64 of the Book of the Dead.

The medical/anatomical connections are obvious, as is the connection to Thoth, and indeed were reflected upon by Posener, "Philologie et archéologie égyptiennes", 339–41.

⁵³ See B. H. Stricker, "Aanteekeningen op Egyptische literatuur- en godsdienstgeschiedenis", *OMRO* 25 (1944) 52–90, wherein a detailed analysis of the so-called Tanis Geographic Papyrus may be found. The

books, a date from the First Intermediate Period onwards is assured⁵⁴. But the role of this deity increases remarkably when we reach the New Kingdom. If Thoth eventually became a cultural hero or, in Posener's words, a "héros civilisateur", he thereby filled a role similar to that of such wise men as Hordjedef, and thus it is not remarkable that the two are often associated⁵⁵.

In Book of the Dead Chapter 137 we learn that the box or casket was a *hn*, and this serves well to support Hornung's analysis of the *tpwt*. True, the words are different, but the all too frequent repetition of identical or similar sounding words in these three major sources (Cheops story, the Coffin texts case of Hornung, and these Book of the Dead chapters) provides a communality that cannot be so easily dismissed⁵⁶. Let me, now, proceed to place these disparate sources together. First, they all involve a setting that involves royalty. Intellectual aspects are the theme, and in this case this means religion. Specifically, the key individuals are Hordjedef, Thoth, and two Pharaohs of the IVth Dynasty, Hordjedef's father and brother. The passages center around the relationship of the Afterworld and the "secret" surrounding the rejuvenation of Osiris. Re, naturally, is the prominent actor in the story of Cheops. In fact, his link with the living Pharaoh (who is to die) and the succeeding triplets of the next Dynasty is so clear that the account must be taken as a serious

one, despite the "vulgar" layers of presentation, so well explicated by Parkinson⁵⁷.

The dating of the manuscript to the Late Middle Kingdom presents one with a developed solar-Osiris unity that plays a major role in the plot. We can thus connect this religious aspect with other tentative explorations into the pre New Kingdom origins of Re-Osiris, the Amduat, and the role of Thoth⁵⁸. The interweaving of stories such as the Cheops one with religious tractates should not surprise us. If segments of background mythological or popular stories, no matter how brief, could occur within ritual texts such as the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyri, I see no objection in interpreting these Book of the Dead passages as reflecting upon the cultural role of Hordjedef and his connection with religious books and the Egyptian cult of the Afterworld (which involved Re and Osiris)⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 140 regarding the religious matters.

⁵⁸ In general, I can also add the overview of E. el-Banna, "À propos des aspects héliopolitains d'Osiris", BIFAO 89 (1989) 101–26; with also É. Drioton, "Trois documents d'époque amarnienne", ASAE 43 (1943) 42–3.

⁵⁹ It is for this reason that I find Assmann's analysis questionable: "Die Verborgenheit des Mythos in Ägypten", GM 25 (1977) 7–43; see J. Baines, "Egyptian myth and discourse: myth, gods, and early written and iconographic record", JNES 50 (1991) 81–105 for empirical refutations.

The hypothesis of Assmann, however, is easy to refute. Myths and stories could be placed within other settings, especially when religious or medical aspects were under consideration. By the methods of analogy such accounts were used to explain certain events. Here, we return to the tripartite division of Diakonoff referred to earlier, especially his discussion of like-sounding words. I can also note the remarkable study of S. W. Jamison, *The ravenous Hyenas and the Wounded Sun. Myth and Ritual in Ancient India*, Ithaca (1991) concerning ritual texts in Sanskrit virtually identical to Egyptian ones in that they also contained segments of myths. She was thus faced with the same problem as Assmann; namely, the apparent lack of "myth" within early Indian society. And as Assmann, Jamison had to search through religious rituals. Her conclusion was different than the Egyptologist's. Instead of rejecting myth at any early stage of society she reconstructed those phases of Indo-Aryan mythology.

The same ought to be the approach taken by Egyptologists with respect to the ancients, though I wonder if, following Diakonoff, the overwhelming power of the royalty and its Horus-Osiris myth, tended to eliminate

role of Thoth and Cheops is also brought into Stricker's presentation.

There is a very important later study of this British Museum papyrus by J. Yoyotte, "La science sacerdotale égyptienne à l'époque gréco-romaine (le papyrus géographique de Tanis)", *Bulletin de la Société Ernest Renan* N. S. 9 (1960) 13–18 (= *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 80 [1961] 133–8.) His discussion ends with the connection of Thoth, the role of Cheops, Djedy, as well as the relationship to various medical tractates.

For general comments, I can refer to Redford's book cited in note 8 above, but also to D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige, passim*, especially pages 26–31 and 159–61.

⁵⁴ G. Posener, "Philologie et archéologie égyptiennes", 341.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 342.

⁵⁶ See Parkinson's negative comments in *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 139.

But Chapter 30B of the Book of the dead may help us further to fix some date for these cultural aspects. The papyrus upon which we depend is in Parma and was published frequently. It is Giuseppe Botti's edition, however, that provides the best details, if only as he includes useful photographs⁶⁰. This is the key exemplar for Chapter 30B. The owner was a certain Amunhotep who lived in the first half of Dynasty XVIII. Irmtraut Munro dates the man to ca. the time interval of Amunhotep II–Thutmose IV on the basis of the style of the wigs⁶¹.

I would not wish to hazard any time frame more specific than this extremely conservative estimate but for the man's titles, but the following is an attempt to be more precise⁶². He was a warrior in the service of his Pharaohs. In fact, he was at the apex of the then military society. His two designations, nonetheless, allow us to set him within the cusp of Dynasty XVII–XVIII because in addition to serving as general of the infantry (*imy-r3 mš*), Amunhotep was also the admiral of the flotilla (*imy-r3 ḥꜥw*)⁶³. Hence, he belonged to a period of time during which the Egyptian marine division played a very signifi-

cant role within the Egyptian military system⁶⁴. In fact, the naval contingent was the elite one within the state before the rise of the charioteers, and thus we can set Amunhotep to an era that concluded with Ahmose's seizure of Avaris. One might place the man's burial in Thebes at around this time and interpret his titles as indicating a crucial role in the expulsion of the Hyksos. (It goes without saying that the combination of both the land and water segments of the military by one man is, at present, unique within the published data⁶⁵. But the juxtaposition of infantry with flotilla had to disappear with the development of a land-based army; the navy was then relegated to a secondary position.)

In this study I intended neither to *guess* historical facts nor to prove their *identity* within the story of Cheops⁶⁶. I have tried to ascertain to which past phenomena (rather than events) the tale corresponds and have, at best, lined in what measure the past really determines and brings forth the tale. In essence, my aim was to discover the sources of the tale in historical reality, but to study the *genesis* of a phenomenon is not the same as to study its *history*.

Summary

Researching the narrative of P. Westcar has often been a mainstay of Egyptology. In particular, questions surrounding its dating, nested story-structure, and Middle Kingdom society have been often stressed by Egyptologists. This presentation, on the other hand, will concentrate upon the "classic" parameters of *Märchen* as well as place a new emphasis upon the participants, especially Hordjedef in his role as a key "intellectual". Moreover, the aim of the tale, Cheops' wish for himself in the afterlife, is also explored.

in Egypt most traces of other mythological settings, at least in the upper cultural spheres. See as well V. Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, Chapter 7 where a similar attempt is made to separate ritual and myth (as well as folktale) when one has a lot of stories and myths embedded in religious rites.

⁶⁰ G. Botti, *Cimeli egizi del Museo Antichità di Parma*, Florence (1964) 36–40 and Pl. X.

⁶¹ I. Munro, *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*, London and New York (1988) 51–2 and 276. If the following argument of mine is not convincing, we must then rely upon her data, art historical criteria that I find necessary but not sufficient to resolve the issue. I must thank Dr. Barbara Lüscher for some comments on this matter.

⁶² Botti sets the papyrus within Dynasty XVIII, *Cimeli egizi del Museo Antichità di Parma*, 39–40; see as well E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, Einleitung, Berlin (1886) 86–7.

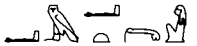
⁶³ He is listed neither in A. R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, Berlin (1964) nor in A. Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Heidelberg (1996).

⁶⁴ O. Berlev, "The Egyptian Navy in the Middle Kingdom" *Palestinskij Sbornik* 17 (80) (1967) 6–20. I have covered this issue in Chapter I of my *War in Ancient Egypt. The New Kingdom*, Oxford (2005).

⁶⁵ I am fully aware that the function reflected by the second may have preceded that of the first (or even vice-versa?), and that the "ships" may not be military ones. To travel this far, however, is to invite complete skepticism.

⁶⁶ From this point onwards I follow, almost word for word, V. Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, 100.

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