

CHAPTER I.5

EGYPTIAN EPIGRAPHIC GENRES AND THEIR RELATION WITH NONEPIGRAPHIC ONES

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GENERAL FEATURES OF EGYPTIAN INSCRIPTIONS

REFLECTING the digraphic nature of Egyptian written culture, written performance in the inscriptional—or lapidary—sphere differs fundamentally from writing on portable writing surfaces. With few exceptions, the lapidary sphere is associated with the more iconic hieroglyphic variety of the script (see chapter by Vernus), contrasting with the non-lapidary sphere, which is associated with the more cursive varieties, linear hieroglyphs, hieratic, and Demotic on portable writing surfaces. Hieroglyphic writing in the lapidary sphere, moreover, is often closely associated with pictorial representations of various sorts. In royal stelae of the New Kingdom and later, for example, the lunette often shows a pictorial representation of the king in ritual action with the gods, while the body of the stela consists of an amply developed textual inscription that often culminates in benefactions of the king for the gods. The textually expressed contents, which are specific as to royal name, and often time, place, or events, are thus inserted into the more generic order pictorially expressed in the topmost position of the monument (see chapters by Allon, Pieke).

Lapidary inscriptions are defined by their resultative aspect, sacralizing function, and performative force. Inscriptions establish a lasting situation, projecting a specific time-space—or chronotope—that is extracted from the regular flow of time and unbounded

to the future (see chapter by Ockinga). Actions are recounted insofar as they result in such “from now on instituted” (i.e., resultative) situations (such as the benefactions given to a temple or cult resulting from royal action or the lasting tableau of the speaker’s self in autobiographies). Lapidary inscriptions sacralize the contents they inscribe, inserting these permanently into the created world and ritual order that sustains it (Vernus 1990), and often have performative force, bringing about what they inscribe by the very fact of inscribing it. Beyond placement (in distinguished spaces, often ritual in nature: temples, funerary chapels), sacralizing and performative force are established through various features characteristic of ritual language, broadly understood (Silverstein, forthcoming; Stauder-Porchet, forthcoming b):

- an out-of-the-ordinary register defined by a high degree of material investment and semiotic density (hieroglyphic writing, associated pictorial representations, typically more formal varieties of language, aesthetic investment);
- a high degree of internal patterning (of language, of writing, and of representations: e.g., Stauder-Porchet 2015) and a general stability of formulations (including much formulaic language);
- and a series of licensing lines of authority (such as the prominent inscription of the royal name, date, and/or pictorial representation of the king in ritual action).

Lapidary inscriptions are authoritative: in their proper places, they outcompete any conceivable challenging discourses decidedly through their high investment of material and semiotic resources (Gillen 2014). In being performative, lapidary inscriptions define, or bring about, their own domain of truth. In the realm of lapidary inscriptions, Ramesses II at Qadesh did truly defeat the Hittite army in a heroic feat regardless of actual events on the ground, which belong to a different realm. Such authoritativeness notwithstanding, an awareness of the possible divorce with actuality is occasionally expressed in the lapidary sphere itself in metadiscursive assertions of the truthfulness of the inscription (first in nonroyal inscriptions from the First Intermediate Period on, then in royal ones as well from the Middle Kingdom on: Coulon 1997).

Inscriptions, more generally, tend to display a high degree of reflexivity, for example Old Kingdom inscriptions establishing the ritual integrity of the funerary chapel in which they are inscribed or building or restoration inscriptions inscribed in the very places they concern. Reflexivity can also concern the inscription itself. Mid-Fifth Dynasty inscriptions, such as Werre or Niankhsekhmet, thus abound in metatextual statements regarding their own making under royal authorization, pointing to these being, in fact, royal inscriptions inserted into nonroyal funerary chapels (Stauder-Porchet 2017, 35–73). From the Old Kingdom on, threats and curses are inscribed against whoever would contravene what the inscription brings about, or attempt at the inscription itself.

While some inscriptions did not imply any human viewer (e.g., “funerary literature” inscribed in sealed-off funerary apartments), other ones are strongly addressive, even though only few people had (full) competence in the hieroglyphic script versus relatively more widespread literacy in hieratic (see chapter by Navratilova). The addressive

orientation of such inscriptions can be both social (as a matter of display, including competitive emulation: van Walsem 2013) and ritual (calling on the viewer to act ritually on behalf of who speaks in the inscription). It is variously manifest in placement (for example, on the outer facade of a funerary chapel), in aesthetic investment and epigraphic quality, and in rare or unique features that attract the viewer's attention. Instances of graphic playfulness thus display scribal prowess and entice the viewer to make him pause and recite an invocation offering (e.g., Diego Espinel 2014). Addressivity is made linguistically explicit in threat formulae (see earlier) and in appeals to the living (from the Old Kingdom on) that frame the ritual roles of the speaker and viewer, with effect over the set of texts inscribed next to them. A concern for future audiences and posterity becomes more linguistically explicit from the early New Kingdom on in nonroyal and royal inscriptions alike (Popko 2006).

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY EPIGRAPHIC GENRES

Ancient Egypt did not develop a descriptive or normative theory of genres. There are very few labels that could refer to type of text (e.g., in New Kingdom royal inscriptions, *sd̄d nḥtw*, “Recital of victories,” or *ḥ3t̄i-^c m nḥtw*, “Beginning of victories”). For example, there is no native designation for the main genre of nonroyal inscriptions: autobiographies. As practice, however, demonstrates, genres were clearly recognized as such, as schemes for composing and interpreting texts, marked by framing indexicals, and associated with specific cultural settings, discourses, and significations (general introduction to genre in a Bakhtinian perspective, e.g., Foley 1997, 359–378). By definition, genres are historically transmitted, and, therefore, intertextual—or dialogic—objects. Genres, accordingly, allow for deviations, fluidity, mixing, and change over time.

In lapidary inscriptions, a basic distinction is between primary and secondary epigraphic genres. The former have (a significant part of) their genealogy in the lapidary realm itself, to which they remained bound throughout their subsequent history. The latter, by contrast, originated outside the epigraphic realm and continued to exist there even after entering the epigraphic realm. Primary epigraphic genres include pictorial scenes with inscriptions (in royal funerary complexes, temples, and nonroyal funerary chapels), the autobiography, royal *wḏ* (“decree”; these include not only decrees in the narrow sense but also the many royal inscriptions that culminate in a *wḏ*), and various types of rock inscriptions along expeditions roads. Examples of secondary epigraphic genres are ritual and funerary texts, hymns and prayers, and monumentalized documents. Among the major primary epigraphic genres, the autobiography is exclusively nonroyal. By definition, an Egyptian autobiography's most basic purpose is to insert the speaker into the ritual, social, and political order articulated by the principle of *maat* and/or the figure of the king that upholds it. Conversely, the *wḏ* is typically royal, also by

definition: a *wḏ* is an authoritative, or even performative, pronouncement, which is typically the king's (Vernus 2013).

In lapidary inscriptions, a major focus is the name (royal and/or nonroyal). Royal and nonroyal stelae of the early First Dynasty inscribe the name in spatial conjunction with the offering place. Nonroyal names are expanded into extended titularies on stelae from the late First Dynasty, then in built spaces (funerary chapels) from the Third Dynasty. The (expanded) name would remain a major element in both royal and nonroyal inscriptions, emphasized through prominent placement and/or iteration on the monument. (Self-)eulogy, which would become a major element in royal inscriptions and in autobiographical ones from the Middle Kingdom, can be viewed as further extensions of the expanded name.

Considering format, two interrelated parameters help define a typology of Old Kingdom inscriptions. One is the degree of integration of linguistic elements with pictorial representations, or, conversely, their relative autonomy. The other concerns the integration of the linguistic elements themselves: additive and visual (in lists and tabular formats) or through linguistic means (in continuous text, defined by factors such as referential cohesion, temporal organization, and hierarchies of foreground and background). In general, linguistically more tightly integrated inscriptions tended to be relatively more autonomous from pictorial representations, but a whole set of diverse configurations was explored. Consisting of pictorial representations with short non-predicative inscriptions (names, entities, and “labeling infinitives,” for which see later), royal ritual scenes originally developed on mobile artifacts (late proto-historical palettes, then ceremonial tags in the First Dynasty). Monumentalized, they are found in Old Kingdom royal funerary complexes, where they diversify considerably in themes and realization, and in divine temples as these were gradually developing architecturally (more prominently from the Middle, and especially New Kingdom). From the Fourth Dynasty, pictorial scenes including short nonpredicative inscriptions develop in non-royal funerary chapels as well, to become a major focus of elite display and competition in the Old Kingdom. The list and tabular format is illustrated by the titulary (from the late First Dynasty, e.g., the stelae of Merka and Sabef), the offering list (from the Second Dynasty: Morales 2015), names of domains associated with pictorial representations of such domains (from the Fourth Dynasty), lists of participants and items in expedition inscriptions, and annals (attested from the Old Kingdom: Baines 2008). Later annalistic inscriptions would retain a distinctively additive patterning, manifest in long lists of gifts to temples and, further, in the use of the “labeling infinitive” presenting the event in its bare form outside linguistic connectivity. Beginning with the late Eleventh Dynasty Wadi Hammamat inscriptions, this “labeling infinitive” would be extended to narrative royal inscriptions as a more general index of royal action.

Isolated, or additively patterned, predicative sentences are first inscribed in association with pictorial representations in the “*Gott-König Rede*” expressing reciprocal action of the king and the gods (Netjerikhet's Heliopolis sanctuary; slightly earlier instances are on late Second Dynasty seals); this would remain a core element of ritual scenes until Roman times. In nonroyal funerary chapels from the Old Kingdom, so-called *Reden*

und Rufe (from the late Fourth Dynasty) are short segments of speech associated with representations of lowly people busily working for the tomb owner. Continuous text proper consists of linguistically integrated multipropositional discourse. Beginning in the Fourth Dynasty, it is found in inscriptions establishing the rightful construction and ritual integrity of the tomb, in funerary texts of various sorts (the offering formula, ritual self-characterizations of the speaker, appeals to the living), in stipulations regarding the funerary cult (Goedicke 1970), then also in autobiographies (see later). In the royal sphere, early continuous texts are decrees (from the late Fourth Dynasty: Goedicke 1967) and texts that stage royal speech and action in relation to pictorial representations (in the Fifth Dynasty: e.g., el-Awady 2009, pls. XIII–XIV). Related to these are solely textual inscriptions that stage the king's speech in a narrative setting involving an official into whose funerary chapel these inscriptions are inserted (e.g., Werre, Niankhsekhmet, then Kaiemtjenet: Stauder-Porchet 2017, 35–73, 121–135; forthcoming a). In the reign of Izezi, royal letters that praise the official in the king's own words (Senedjemib-Inti, Chepsesre: Stauder-Porchet 2017, 135–147) represent a further development of this tradition of inscribing royal speech in an official's funerary chapel. Overall, speech is prominent in the early development of continuous text in the lapidary sphere.

Autobiographies emerged out of this context. Old Kingdom autobiographies comprise two genres with distinctive formats and phraseology, the so-called ideal autobiography and the so-called event autobiography (Stauder-Porchet 2017; Kloth 2002). Both emerge by the reign of Izezi in the later Fifth Dynasty, at a time when the funerary chapel, including its facade, was developing into a major space for inscription and display. The "ideal autobiography" is often associated spatially with other funerary texts and inserts the speaker into *maat*, into an order, therefore, that is as much ritual as social. The ritual nature of the genre is demonstrated further by its strongly parallelistic patterning, stable phraseology, and set format. This consists of a single sequence with an opening formula ("When I came from my town, I descended from my nome, I had performed *maat*, I had said *maat*...") developed into generic types of action ("...I had given bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked, etc."). The "event autobiography," by contrast, tends to be separate spatially from other inscriptions and serves to provide a textual configuration of the speaker with the king, who could not be represented pictorially in nonroyal spaces in the Old Kingdom. In a recurrent format, the speaker's actions on the king's command are presented as culminating in the king's "praise" (*ḥzī*) of the speaker's unique qualities in the eyes of the king. The prehistory of the "event autobiography" is in the aforementioned royal inscriptions in the official's funerary chapel (royal speech in ceremonialized settings and royal letters). In these, the "praise" of the official had been associated with, then directly expressed in, royal speech directed at the official. In the "event autobiography," phrased in the first person, the voice is now the official's own, while royal speech has given way to generic mentions of the king's "praise."

Inscriptions on natural rock draw on multiple genres. Along with mobile artifacts in the Valley, proto-historic tableaus in the wadis adjacent to Upper Egypt had been a major locus for the development of proto-royal iconography, including signs of writing (e.g., Darnell 2015). Old Kingdom royal inscriptions, for example, in the Sinai, focus

prominently on the ritual scene of smiting enemies. Nonroyal inscriptions (e.g., at the Hatnub quarries and in the Wadi Hammamat) include summary statements of mission, dates, and lists of people and items. The ritual dimensions of rock inscriptions are demonstrated in the late Old Kingdom notably by an inscription that includes an appeal to the living (Shemai) and one that is phrased in formulations similar to the “ideal autobiography” (Anusu) (Eichler 1994).

THE DIVERSIFICATION OF GENRES

The regionalization of, and relatively more widespread access to, written culture during the First Intermediate Period prompted innovations that were instrumental in the subsequent evolution and diversification of lapidary genres. The fading of the royal, and ensuing increasingly local, reference in late Old Kingdom autobiographies led to an interpenetration, and eventually fusing, of the “ideal” and “event” autobiographies and thereby to a redefinition of the autobiography itself (Moreno-García 1998; Stauder-Porchet 2017, 294–310). Self-reliance and care for the welfare of the local community (including the famine topos) became new foci of autobiographical inscriptions in the First Intermediate Period (Moreno García 1997). Along with a thematization of the discursive status of inscriptions (Coulon 1997), an exploration of rhetoric and poetic figures, and increasingly parallelistic modes of patterning inscribed language, these developments would form the background for the development of royal discourse and the rise of literature in the Middle Kingdom (see what follows and the final section).

Middle Kingdom autobiography (Lichtheim 1988; for a survey of the history of the genre, Gnirs 1996) was internally diverse, with more narrative inscriptions (e.g., as expressions of “nomarchal” identity at places such as Beni Hasan or Deir el-Bersheh) and other texts that centered on the self-eulogizing characterization of the speaker in terms of his ethical and rhetorical qualities and composure in a court society in which etiquette and face-to-face interaction were paramount. Eighteenth Dynasty autobiographies often emphasized the speaker’s loyalism to, and action for, the king, for which the subject earned the king’s praise and rewards (Guksch 1994). Ramesside autobiographies demonstrate an increasing textualization of personal piety and religious experience, and could include hymns and prayers (Frood 2007). Continuing often age-old phraseology, autobiographies would be composed until early Roman times, accommodating new themes and motifs, such as elegy (e.g., Isenkebe and Taimhotep) or euergetism (in Tanite autobiographies: Zivie-Coche 2004), at the very end of the history of the genre.

In the Old Kingdom, textual narrative in the royal sphere had been limited to inscriptions that served the function of framing royal speech as the central element, while non-narrative royal inscriptions had consisted mainly in decrees for temples. Inscriptions, such as Senwosret I’s Tod and Elephantine inscriptions or Senwosret III’s Semna boundary stelae, witness to a broadening of the scope of royal inscriptions from the Middle Kingdom, leading to the rise of a rich variety of royal inscriptions in the New Kingdom

in particular (for Thutmoseid times, Beylage 2002). Originating in nonroyal contexts in the First Intermediate Period (e.g., Ankhtifi #2, Intef, son of Myt), restoration inscriptions would thus become a major royal genre from the Middle Kingdom (Tod Inscription; in the Eighteenth Dynasty, e.g., Ahmose's Tempest Stela, Hatshepsut's Speos Artemidos Inscription, Tutankhamun's Restoration Stela). Semantically allied to restoration inscriptions are building and dedicatory inscriptions (Grallert 2001), as well as inscriptions recounting exceptionally high Nile floods inasmuch as these, like restoration inscriptions, imply a return of the land to its pristine state (e.g., Sobekhotep VIII's Inundation Stela, Taharqa's Kawa V Inscription).

As far as current evidence goes, royal inscriptions centering on military matters (Spalinger 1982) are an innovation of the early New Kingdom (e.g., Thutmose I's Tombos Stela, Amenhotep II's Syrian Campaigns), arguably related to the increased social and ideological importance of the military observed already during the Second Intermediate Period. In the Kamose inscriptions, at the eve of the New Kingdom, a claim of innovation in format and subject matter was thus indexed by deliberately innovative expressions in language. In Thutmose III's "Annals," the first campaign is highlighted through its narrative development and partial framing as a *Königsnovelle* (see what follows), but the overall inscription is additively patterned, ultimately as a list of bounty given to the Karnak temple in which it was inscribed. A distinctive, although short-lived, development was the extension of a highly metrical patterning to narrative itself in Ramesses II's Qadesh "Poème" and Merneptah's Israel Stela, in both cases alongside a less tightly patterned and differently focused presentation of related materials elsewhere (in the Qadesh "Bulletin" and Merneptah's Great Karnak Inscription, respectively). Just as the development of pictorial tableaux of royal battles (first documented for Ahmose and Thutmose II, culminating in the battlefield reliefs of Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III) can be viewed as an expansion of the icon of the king smiting his enemies, such "epic poetry" (Lichtheim 1976, 58–59) can be seen as a narrative development of the eulogy. Taking different forms, narrative developments in the Medinet Habu inscriptions are also analyzed as expansions of the eulogies with which they alternate, the eulogies being themselves celebrative extensions of the royal name (Gillen 2014). In post-Ramesside times, military matters become much less a focus of inscription (see, however, Piye's Victory Stela and Psammetichus II's Shellal Inscription, for example).

Narrative forms are also adopted by inscriptions that concern the accession of the king to the throne (e.g., Thutmose IV's and Amenhotep II's Sphinx stelae; or, in altogether different contexts, Aspelta's Election Stela). Integrating pictorial representations, Hatshepsut's Cycle (Divine Birth, Youth, Proclamation) foregrounds divine election. Illustrating a variety of content, other major narrative compositions include, for example, Ramses II's First and Second Marriage Stelae or the Chronicles of Prince Osorkon. As in autobiographies, religious dimensions and personal piety become more prominent during the Ramesside period (e.g., Ramses II's Inscription Dédicatoire, Ramses III's Great Double Stela, or Ramses IV's Abydos Inscription). In the Third Intermediate Period, inscribed oracular decrees reflect aspects of the public staging of decision-making in the Theban polity. The Late Period witnesses an increased focus on sacerdotal matters

(e.g., the Naucratis Stela or the Ptolemaic multilingual Sacerdotal Decrees; also the Bentresh Stela and the Sehel Famine Stela, both pseudepigrapha).

The two most basic elements in royal inscriptions are the opening royal titulary (which can be expanded into a eulogy) and, very commonly, the culminating royal *wḏ* or “decree,” often consisting of benefactions to the gods or their temples. In inscriptions such as the ones referred to in the preceding paragraph, these elements are integrated with narrative parts. In Ahmose’s Karnak Eulogy (CG 34001), the main part of the inscription consists of just such an extended eulogy, followed by loyalist appeals to the king and his queen mother, all culminating in a *wḏ* for the temple of Karnak, the place in which the text was inscribed. Among other formats, Thutmose III’s Poetical Stela consists of a long speech of the god eulogizing the king in hymnic form. Sequences of divine speech, and the king’s, are central in Ramses III’s Great Double Stela.

Including both the eulogy and the *wḏ*, an important format of royal inscriptions is what has somewhat misleadingly become known as the “*Königsnovelle*” or “King’s Tale,” the definition of which is complicated by how inclusive or not a set of texts is considered. In a broad interpretation, the *Königsnovelle* has been taken to refer not to a genre, but to a general textual modality by which the king could feature in an episodic setting, not as “mediator” of history in an atemporal constellation, but as an “actor” of history (Loprieno 1996, 284). Under this definition, most royal inscriptions that comprise a narrative development could qualify as *Königsnovellen*. Alternatively, the *Königsnovelle* can be defined more restrictively as a genre consisting of a ceremonialized occasion of the king’s performative speech, followed by its resulting effects presented as an *wḏ*, the occasion of the lapidary inscription itself (Stauder, forthcoming). Under this definition, the *Königsnovelle* has a deep genealogy in inscriptions of ceremonialized occasions of the king’s speech in the Fifth Dynasty, well prior to its first securely dated instance in Neferhotep I’s Abydos Inscription. In its classical forms, in the Second Intermediate Period and Thutmose and early Ramesside times, the *Königsnovelle* centers around speech: the king’s and often also the courtiers’. The latter serves to eulogize the king’s action, foresight, and particularly speech itself, regularly including metapragmatic characterizations of such royal speech as performative. Third Intermediate Period and particularly Kushite inscriptions retain, or revive, certain features of this classic format, but with much less emphasis on speech.

RELATIONS BETWEEN LAPIDARY GENRES AND WITH NONLAPIDARY ONES

While royal and nonroyal inscriptions represent two fundamentally different realms of lapidary discourse, this did not prevent influences in either direction. In the Old Kingdom, scenes integrating pictorial representations and writing in nonroyal funerary chapels were in part adopted from royal models. Fifth Dynasty royal texts staging royal

speech were inserted into nonroyal funerary chapels where they provided an early locus for the development of the “praise” (*hzi*) of the official by the king, leading to the rise of the “event” autobiography in the late Fifth Dynasty. Conversely, innovations in nonroyal inscriptions of the First Intermediate Period were instrumental in the rise of a more thoroughly textualized royal sphere developing from the Middle Kingdom. Shortly before the ideological apparatus of kingship was restored in its full forms, Wahankh Intef II’s stela CG 20512 is uniquely inscribed with an autobiography—the quintessentially nonroyal genre—providing a link in the process. Features indexical of the royal sphere were in turn occasionally accommodated into nonroyal inscriptions as powerful expressions of an official’s distinction. These include various occasions of royal speech, for example in Ikhernofret’s autobiography (Twelfth Dynasty) where motifs of the contemporary autobiography are spoken by the king addressing the official (Stauder-Porchet, forthcoming a). In a similar vein, the *Königsnovelle*, a quintessentially royal genre that prominently features royal speech, was adapted to a nonroyal context in three tombs of high Thutmoside officials at Qurna (User, Senneferi, and Qenamun: Stauder, forthcoming, §3.3).

While the lapidary and the nonlapidary sphere represent two fundamentally different realms of written performance, major epigraphic genres have their origins in nonlapidary contexts. Among such secondarily epigraphic genres is “funerary literature,” notably the Pyramid Texts (Hays 2012; Baines 2004; Allen 1993, 6–7) and so-called Netherworld Books inscribed mostly in royal tombs of the New Kingdom, then also in nonroyal tombs and on sarcophagi in the first millennium BCE. Rituals inscribed in tombs and temples similarly derive from originally nonlapidary contexts. Hymns to the gods are inscribed in lapidary form first in the late First Intermediate Period (Wahankh Intef II’s stela MMA 13.182.3) and become more common from the early New Kingdom on (e.g., Paheri, Amenmose (Louvre C 286), Suty and Hor, the Hymns to Aton). From Ramesside times through the Late Period, hymns and prayers are an important element in self-presentations and autobiographies, in some royal inscriptions, and, closer to their original contexts, in temples. Considering their tabular format, lapidary annals also derive from and had counterparts in nonlapidary forms (Baines 2008). Administrative or judicial texts published in monumentalized format include dispositions for the funerary cult (e.g., Nikaiankh of Tehna in the Fifth Dynasty, Djefai-Hapi in the early Twelfth), judicial and administrative texts from the Second Intermediate Period on, and, prominently in the Third Intermediate Period, oracular decrees and donation texts, the latter often in hieratic. Monumentalization here was not just a matter of public display of content, but fundamentally, of sacralizing these hieroglyphically inscribed contents (Vernus 1990).

Transpositions of supports from the nonlapidary to the lapidary sphere are demonstrated in rare metatextual mentions that describe inscriptional texts as “copies” (*mitt*) of nonlapidary originals (e.g., Amenhotep II’s letter to Usersatet, Merneptah’s Hermopolis Stela, Ramesses III’s Gold Tablet Prayer). Absent such mentions, individual lapidary inscriptions may or may not derive from nonlapidary originals (e.g., the Duties of the Vizier, sometimes considered a monumentalization of an original document, but

arguably a composition with primary inscriptional destination, part and parcel of the Thutmoside Vizierial Cycle). Conversely, inscriptions could circulate and thereby have a secondary reception in nonlapidary form. Clear cases are copies of the Kamose inscriptions on a writing board (T. Carnarvon I) and of the Qadesh inscriptions on papyrus (P. Sallier III) (Vernus 2010–2011; Spalinger 2002). Both of these compositions display literary features, which may have helped their reception and circulation on portable writing surfaces in conjunction with literary compositions. Harper's Songs are inscribed in funerary chapels in the New Kingdom, but were also transmitted on papyri alongside love poetry. Inscriptions, finally, could become the object of textual archaeology, in order to be transferred on other much later monuments or to be excerpted for model phraseology (Kahl 1999).

While inscriptions and literature (the latter written in cursive varieties on writing surfaces) belong to two fundamentally different realms of written performance, productive interactions between the two are observed as well. In retrospect, the thematic, poetic, rhetoric, and formal innovations of the First Intermediate Period inscriptions can be seen as a prologue to the rise of written literature shortly afterward. Middle Kingdom literature and inscriptions are allied by their linguistic register, a similarly high degree of patterning. Regarding cultural themes and formulations, the autobiography finds multiple echoes in literary teachings (e.g., Montuhotep of Arment's autobiography, UC 14333, early Twelfth Dynasty: Vernus 2010, 455–458). Loyalism, which receives a first developed textual expression in early Sixth Dynasty autobiographies (e.g., Kagemni, Merefnebef: Stauder-Porchet 2017, 218–224, 238–240), finds a paradigmatic expression in a "Teaching" (*sb3yt*) inscribed on a later Twelfth Dynasty stela alongside an autobiography (Sehetepibre, CGC 20538). This "Loyalist Teaching" would subsequently be expanded into a longer version documented in the New Kingdom in manuscript forms that circulated alongside other Middle Egyptian literary compositions (on the primacy of the short version, Stauder 2013, 293–301). In early narrative literature, Sinuhe is framed as an autobiography, re-textualization on writing surfaces with fictionalizing effect to probe the normative cultural values associated with the underlying quintessentially lapidary genre. Expedition inscriptions are intertextually evoked in Sinuhe and the Shipwrecked Sailor. So are the autobiography in the apology spoken by the assassinated king in the Teaching of Amenemhat, restoration inscriptions in Neferti (which is about the return of kingship after disruption), and the *Königsnovelle* in Cheops's Court and the prologue of Neferti (which stages language and its authorization by the king). Such intertextual connections are less productive in Late Egyptian literature, possibly as a function of an increased linguistic distance between inscriptions and literature. Some are observed nonetheless, for example, the *Königsnovelle* in Apophis and Seqenenre with much ironic effect or extended curse formulae, such as those documented in Third Intermediate Period donation stelae as hypotexts for the speaker's utter loss of social bond, hence identity, in the Letter of Wermai (Fischer-Elfert 2005, 215–232).

Conversely, literary elements are found in inscriptions. Literary framing indexicals in inscriptions include the incipits *dd.in* . . . "And said . . ." (compare Shipwrecked Sailor) in Khnumhotep III's highly narrative inscription on the facade of his mastaba (late Twelfth

Dynasty: Allen 2008) or *spw wn*... “There was a man...” (compare Eloquent Peasant, Neferpesedjet) in Samut son of Kyky’s also otherwise literarizing biography (Ramesside: Vernus 1978). In the Second Intermediate Period, an inscription in lapidary hieratic in the Theban Western Desert begins with *ḥ3tī-ḥ* [*m...*] “Beginning [of...],” then presents various literary motifs and formulations, some possibly alluding to specific Middle Egyptian literary compositions (Wadi el-Ḥôl #8, Darnell 2002, 107–119). In the early-mid Eighteenth Dynasty, two inscriptions are framed as “teachings” (*sb3yt*). While Aametju’s Teaching (inscribed in columns of painted hieroglyphs in the tomb of his son Useramon: Dziobek 1998, 23–43; Vernus 2010, 59–63, 70–73), is a true *sb3yt* in the full Middle Egyptian tradition, the High Priest of Amun Amenemhat’s “Teaching” (*Urk. IV 1408–1411*) is, in fact, an autobiography framed as a *sb3yt* so as to highlight the exemplary nature of the speaker’s life.

Beyond such framing indexicals, the study of intertextual connections between inscriptional and literary texts poses a recurrent methodological problem. While there may be cases of a direct influence in one direction or the other, the relation more often is arguably better seen as involving common “clusters of language and imagery” on which both the inscription(s) and literature would have drawn (Parkinson 2012, 13). Illustrations are, for example, Ameny’s graffito (WG 3042, with formulations in common with Ptahhotep: Vernus 1995), the Semna Stela (with related formulations in the el-Lahun Hymns to Senwosret III and Sinuhe’s encomium to Senwosret I), a self-characterization of Bebi of el-Kab’s in the Second Intermediate Period (also in Teaching of Amenemhat: Stauder 2013, 437–438), or the self-presentation of the Thutmoside great royal herald Intef (Louvre C 26, with motifs in common with Eloquent Peasant notably). Clear instances of allusions to literature are identified only occasionally, thus, to Sinuhe, in Dedusobek’s graffito (Wadi el-Ḥôl #5, late Twelfth Dynasty; Darnell 2002, 97–101), arguably in Ineni’s autobiography (Thutmoside, in relation to royal succession), or in echoes of the Sinuhean question (“Why have you come here?”) in early Thutmoside compositions (as a learned *clin-dæil*: Stauder 2013, 260–264). In the same period, the Vizierial Cycle (Appointment of the Vizier, Aametju’s teaching, Installation of the Vizier, and Duties of the Vizier, including the associated pictorial compositions) is replete with references to Ptahhotep (as the prototypical model for a father–son transmission of the vizier’s office as a realization of *maat*) and, further, to Merikare (thus analogizing the second “efficient office,” the vizier’s, with the first, the king’s).

On an altogether different level, mention may be made, finally, of a group of hieratic graffiti consisting of excerpts, mostly incipits, of Middle Egyptian literary compositions that were inscribed—thereby inserted—into the much older hieroglyphically and pictorially preinscribed ritual space of a late First Intermediate Period funerary chapel in Asyut (Verhoeven 2013).

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