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Ay, Neferti, Nakhtmin and Ameny

Politics and Rhetoric at the End of the Eighteenth Dynasty

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Summary: During his reign, King Ay had a speos built in Akhmim, known as the speos of el-Salamuni. Its façade displays a monumental inscription, which contains a long eulogy to the king uttered by the overseer of works, Nakhtmin. For the composition of this inscription, its author had recourse to the *Prophecy of Neferti*. This paper investigates the ways and means of this recourse. First, el-Salamuni's inscription is transliterated, deconstructed, and translated. Then, locutions and verb forms belonging to the first part of the inscription and of the *Prophecy of Neferti* are compared. This comparison shows that whilst conceiving a unique text, the author of the inscription used locutions and verb forms specific to the *Prophecy* to compose a text structured like it, thereby allowing the reader to readily call the *Prophecy* to the mind. A lexical comparison of both texts completes this examination. Next, an investigation of Ay's deeds related in the inscription reveals the importance of the notion of benefactions (*ꜥh.t*), with the speos of el-Salamuni being an exemplification of what being *ꜥh* means for the king. Furthermore, although Ay's deeds praised by Nakhtmin in his eulogy look like a collection of random deeds, they do in fact illustrate different facets of the one pivotal and dominant deed that is central to Ay's actions: the restoration of communication between the gods, the king and the people, for which purpose the speos happens to be a medium. This investigation also shows that by recourse to the *Prophecy*, Ay is made into a messianic king, likened to Ameny. Then, in order to explore the reason of the recourse to the *Prophecy of Neferti*, the speeches of Neferti and Nakhtmin are considered in relation to each other. Based on their common witnessing function, it can be deduced that the author of the inscription considered *Neferti* to be a true prophecy. This leads to the question of the genre of the *Prophecy* and of el-Salamuni's inscription. It is proposed that the inscription is an epideictic text. For convincingly classifying el-Salamuni's inscription as a rhetorical epideictic composition coming under the Aristotelian rhetoric, the essential features of this genre are sought. As a matter of fact, an audience, a *kairos*, an appropriate ethos for the speaker, an argumentation founded on the logos, but also a strong pathos, can

be characterised. As for the thesis of the discourse, it is understood that if the communication with the gods is restored and if the people take advantage of it, it is thanks to Ay's personal values. The temporality of Nakhtmin's encomium, who relates events from his present, the focus of the text on virtue, as well as its *dispositio*, complete the list of the essential features of an epideictic composition. In conclusion, the notion of propaganda is reassessed, and el-Salamuni's inscription as an epideictic text reinstated as a long-term socio-political discourse, as a composition admittedly aimed at establishing absolute confidence of the audience in Ay, but also at reinforcing social cohesion and cultural identity, a function probably required after the Amarna Period.

Keywords: Akhmim – Ay – Epideictic genre – Eulogy – Nakhtmin – Political programme – Prophecy of Neferti – Rhetoric – Royal inscription – Royal ideology – Speos of el-Salamuni

Introduction

During his reign, King Ay honoured his father, the god Min, by constructing a speos at Akhmim¹. Hollowed out of the eastern mountain, this foundation is known as the 'speos of el-Salamuni'². Although the choice of a speos instead of a stone-built temple may be considered surprising, this kind of sanctuary is well attested during the Eighteenth Dynasty, in Egypt and Nubia³. Deir el-Bahari temples

¹ For the *terminus ante quem* of the construction of the speos, see Kuhlmann 1979, 174.

² See Schaden 1977, 258–259; Kuhlmann 1979, 165–188; Kuhlmann 1982, 347–354; Kuhlmann 1983, 19–20 and 84–85; Gabolde 1994, 274–275; Kuhlmann 2007, 179–183; Gabolde 2015, 455–456.

³ Thus, the successor of Ay, King Horemheb, also had two speoi built, one in Egypt and one in Nubia: the speos of Gebel es-Silsila and the speos of Abu Oda; see Thiem 2000 and Černý, Edel 1958, respectively. For a list and description of the New Kingdom main speoi, see Thiem 2000, 18–27; Chappaz 2014, 162–165; Ullmann 2013, 24–36 (Ramses II's temples); Ullmann 2016, 155–156 (focus on Lower Nubia). Ay, however, does not seem to have built any speos in Nubia, as the only major Nubian monument that mentions him is the stela of Gebel el-Shams, erected by the viceroy of Kush, Paser I; see *PM* VII, 122–123; Gabolde 2015, 468–470.

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aside, earlier well-known Eighteenth Dynasty speoi are Hatshepsut's Speos Artemidos and Thutmose III's speos of Ellesiya⁴.

In these speoi, the façade, that is, the dressed surface of the cliff in which the door leading to the internal rooms opens, exhibits royal inscriptions. At the Speos Artemidos, it is a forty-two-column long text engraved on the (present) western part of the pediment, above the entrance⁵. Famous for the allusion to the 'depravations suffered under the Hyksos rulers of Dynasty 15', to quote Allen, this inscription consists of a political and ideological statement concerning Hatshepsut's deeds to the advantage of the gods. It is written in the first person singular, Hatshepsut speaking, and focuses on her building activity in Middle Egypt and at the Speos Artemidos, ending with an address to the *payt* and the *rekhyt*⁶. At Ellesiya, one finds two round-topped stelae cut in the façade and symmetrically placed on both sides of the door⁷. The southern stela also consists of a political and ideological statement, although this relates to Thutmose III's wars, which likewise contains sections written in the first person singular, in which the king is speaking⁸. As for the almost completely lost northern stela, Klug proposes that it was about 'die Stiftungen für diesen Tempel und die eigentliche Bau- bzw. Weihinschrift'⁹. Two stelae erected in front of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel also present similar themes and display.

Due most probably to the position of the colossal seated statues of the king, which lean against the façade of the speos, these stelae have been erected at the foot of the ramp leading to the entrance through the terrace, where they face each other¹⁰. The text of the southern stela is a

statement on the actions undertaken by the king towards the gods, which ends with an address of Amun-Re to the king. As for the text of the northern stela, it is an ideological and political statement on the person of the king, ending with a discourse of Ramses II¹¹. If one looks now at stone-built temples, it appears that comparable texts can also be symmetrically displayed on both sides of the access to the temple.

One of the most striking examples of this are Ramses III's Year 12 twin stelae, engraved on the façade of the first pylon of Medinet Habu Temple, on both sides of the gate¹². The text of the southern stela takes the form of a discourse addressed by Ramses III to the country, whereby the king 'recounts the benefits of his reign: the security of Egypt gained by the conquest of foreign invaders (ll. 3–9); work on the temple (or temples) of Amun (ll. 12–21)', with a focus on Medinet Habu, while in the northern stela, 'Ramses III addresses the courtiers, emphasizing his legitimacy, because he owes his sovereignty directly to the god', as Edgerton and Wilson describe¹³.

The display of these inscriptions must be considered with great care, as it actually makes them very special among royal inscriptions. Indeed, even if references to 'historical events' such as in the inscription of the Speos Artemidos as seen above¹⁴ are rare, they are not specific to these inscriptions; one only has to consider Ramses III's Great Inscription of Year 8, which highlights his military campaigns against Egypt's northern enemies¹⁵. Likewise, displayed as these inscriptions are above the entrance of the Speos Artemidos, on both sides of the door in Ellesiya¹⁶

⁴ See Chapaz 2014, 157–171 and Curto 2010, respectively. For the unfortunately badly preserved speos of Thutmose III at Gebel Doshā, see Davies 2016; Davies 2017.

⁵ See Chappaz 2014, 157 and 159, as well as 170–171, for the original plan of the speos and the position of the text before the transformation of the speos under Seti I; Allen 2002, 1–17. See also Fakhry 1939, 716–717, for the inscriptions engraved outside Hatshepsut's small speos of the Batn el-Baqara.

⁶ See Allen 2002, 1–3 (quotation on p. 1) and 14–17, for a presentation, a synthesis and a commentary of the text.

⁷ See Borla, in: Curto 2010, 70–74 and pl. 8–10; Klug 2002, 169–176; Beylage 2002, 299–305 (southern stela only).

⁸ See Klug 2002, 171 and 174–175; Beylage 2002, 705–707.

⁹ Klug 2002, 171. The author bases her argument on a comparison with the Buhen stelae of Thutmose III (for which see Klug 2002, 177–190), the text of the one engraved on a pillar of the court (see Caminos 1974, 47–52, pl. 10 (pillar 16), 12, 4 and 60–62) being almost identical to the Ellesiya southern stela. For the closeness between this stela and the southern stela of Ellesiya, see also Beylage 2002, 707; Borla, in: Curto 2010, 70.

¹⁰ Stelae B. 1,a and B. 2,a; see Gaballa, Maher Taha 2001, pl. 24–25 (plan of the temple with situation of the stelae) and 35–37 (photo-

graphs of the stelae; face B. 1,c is lacking). The other faces are decorated with offering and purification scenes.

¹¹ See *KRI* II, 311–315, nos. 98 and 99 (text of the stelae); Maderna-Sieben 2018, 67–67 (about Amun-Re's address to the king). Unfortunately, the discourse of the king is almost entirely lost.

¹² See Medinet Habu II, fig. 3 (situation), pl. 107–108 (facsimile) and 128 (photographs); Edgerton, Wilson 1936, 129–133; *KRI* V, 72–77. A further example was probably the stela engraved on the façade of Semna Temple, west from the door, on the extension wall. Only the lunette of the stela partly remains, its lower part having been erased to carve the inscription of Queen Katimala; see Caminos 1998, 16, 17–18; pl. 4,1, 7,1, 13,1 and 14.

¹³ Edgerton, Wilson 1936, 129 and 133 for the quotations, respectively. See also O'Connor 2012, 259.

¹⁴ See also Allen 2002, 17, about the description of the temple of Qusae 'being in ruins', which could be explained by 'its strategic location', as the city 'could well have been devastated during the struggle for the control of Egypt at the end of the Hyksos Period'.

¹⁵ See Medinet Habu I, pl. 45, B and 46; Redford 2018, 32–41.

¹⁶ On the visibility of the stelae of Ellesiya, see Klug 2002, 175, who refers to R. Gundlach's postdoctoral thesis. That the façade of the temple was accessible is shown by the numerous graffiti; see Borla, in: Curto 2010, 91–98 and pl. 22–27.

and Medinet Habu, or at the foot of the ramp in Abu Simbel, they are obviously meant to be seen, to be read and to be understood by a large audience. At Abu Simbel, the stelae are even erected on pedestals accessible through a small ramp, an explicit invitation to come and read¹⁷. However, Ramses III's Great Inscription of Year 8 is also perfectly legible for anyone standing in Medinet Habu's first court. It is therefore their display itself, that is, their location at the front of the temples, that sets them apart. Not only do most speoi not show any similar inscription at this location, but in some stone-built temples, comparable texts shaped as stelae are engraved on a pillar situated far from the entrance to the temple building, as in Buhen, or even on the rear wall of one of the rooms, as in Amada¹⁸.

This display certainly makes us aware of the addressees of these inscriptions, as it makes them legible to any visitor to the temple precinct. But this display also arises from a special relationship between the addressees, the inscription and the monument itself. Now, to this particular category of texts, the speos of el-Salamuni adds one of the most accomplished examples.

The Inscription of el-Salamuni

First, the formatting of the text is unique. The dominant aspect (*beherrschender Aspekt*) of the temple, as Kuhlmann describes, is 'eine hohe Torfassade mit in Stelenform dekoriertes Rück-/Tempel-Eingangswand'¹⁹. The façade has indeed been shaped in the form of an 8.78 m high colossal portal, with all the required architectural, epigraphical and iconographical features: jambs engraved with the king's titulary, a lintel decorated with two symmetrical scenes showing King Ay, accompanied by his wife Tey, offering to Horus, Isis and Aperet-Isis, and a

¹⁷ One may easily add the size of the hieroglyphs as a sign of the legibility of these inscriptions, as it is proportional to the distance between the text and the reader. At Medinet Habu, for example, the lines of text are about 8 cm high (according to the scale of the facsimiles of the inscription; see above, footnote 12, for the references), with the stelae being engraved at shoulder-height.

¹⁸ For the stela of Buhen, see above, footnote 9; for the stela of Amada, see Černý 1967. O'Connor 2012, 259, already underlined the "special significance" of the Medinet Habu stelae "given their location". See also Bleiberg 1985/86, 14, Chart I, as well as Klug 2002, 476–479 and Klug 2006, 90–97, for the situation of the royal stelae in the temples based on their depiction, especially in private tombs in Amarna.

¹⁹ Kuhlmann 2007, 180 (quotation; see also 183); Kuhlmann 1983, 85.

cavetto cornice with torus-moulding (figure 1)²⁰. This portal, however, is not the door to the speos, as its actual entrance, of average size, is situated at the bottom of the façade. It is above this entrance, filling the area up to the lintel of the portal, that a round-topped stela has been cut. In the lunette, Ay, accompanied by Tey, is depicted an offering to [Min], Isis, Horus and Aperet-Isis, while the twenty-five-line long inscription is situated beneath (figure 2). As for the space between the entrance and the jambs of the portal, its upper half is filled with the depiction of the 'overseer of works', Nakhtmin²¹.

Thus, like the other texts described above, Ay's inscription is engraved on the façade of the speos, its scale and location meaning that it is legible not only to anyone entering the speos, but also simply standing in front of it²². Let us continue the comparison with these other texts: as in the Speos Artemidos, there is only one inscription, situated above the entrance; as at Ellesiya, the text exhibits itself in the form of a round-topped stela; as at Abu Simbel and Medinet Habu, the inscription is framed by the typical architectural elements of a portal. At el-Salamuni, however, these architectural elements are ornamented as if they were those of a real portal, and frame both the actual entrance to the speos and the round-topped stela. Furthermore, these 'frame effect' and architectural *trompe l'œil* are emphasised even more by the way in which the area that the jambs and lintel delimit is very deeply cut back (figure 1).

Second, for the composition of this inscription, its author had recourse to a most famous text: the *Prophecy of Neferti*. It is the ways and means of this recourse, as well

²⁰ See Kuhlmann 1979, 169 and pl. 49 (description and photograph of the portal); 171, fig. 2, 176, 6.1 and pl. 51 (facsimile of the decoration of the portal, description of its decoration and photograph of the lintel).

²¹ See Kuhlmann 1979, 174, 176–177, 184, 187 and pl. 52; Kuhlmann 1983, 22; Kuhlmann 2007, 181–182, with fig. 256 (facsimile of the stela, including the depictions of Nakhtmin). For a short curriculum of the 'overseer of works' Nakhtmin, see Kuhlmann 1979, 174. This Nakhtmin is not to be confused with General Nakhtmin, presumed heir of Ay; see Helck 1982, cols. 371–372, n. 5; Gnirs 1989, 100–101; Gabolde 1994, 275, n. 72 and 74; Gabolde 2015, 455, 465, 467 and 480–481.

²² According to Kuhlmann 2007, 180, the speos indeed "besitzt keine aus Verbundsteinen vor den Felsräumen errichteten Bauteile". See also Kuhlmann 1979, 169. For Kuhlmann 1979, 182, the "ungewöhnliche [...] Lage (of the temple) hoch oben im Gebirge [läßt] eine herkömmliche, jedermann zugängliche Kultstätte von vornherein ausgeschlossen erscheinen" (see also Kuhlmann 1983, 85). This statement is contradicted by the many places of worship and pilgrimage, of which the secluded location does not discourage the believer, but even contributes to the attraction of the place.

as the genre of the inscription and the foundation of the relationship between both texts, that this paper will now investigate, starting with the transliteration, the deconstruction and the translation of el-Salamuni's inscription.

Transliterating, Deconstructing and Translating the Inscription of el-Salamuni

Until Kuhlmann published the facsimile of the stela in 2007, on which the transliteration and the translation to follow are based, only the first half of the inscription was known by a partial drawing of Nestor l'Hôte, and its very beginning by a copy made by Lepsius²³. Along with the facsimile, Kuhlmann also gives a synopsis of the text and a translation of some passages²⁴. Recently, Marc Gabolde proposed a reconstruction of the hieroglyphic text based on the facsimile published by Kuhlmann, with a translation and a commentary²⁵.

However, the publication of the speos of el-Salamuni by Klaus P. Kuhlmann, including the stela, is in preparation. This still-to-come publication explains why there is no attempt in the following transliteration and translation

of the text to reconstitute badly preserved sections on a large scale, and why the epigraphic and philological notes to the transliteration and to the translation are limited to the essentials²⁶; the present work does not intend to substitute for the publication of the inscription, but to investigate the recourse to the *Prophecy of Neferti* for the composition of this inscription. I am, therefore, deeply indebted to the scholar, who very kindly clarified for me some difficult readings due to the poor state of preservation of some sections of the text²⁷.

In the following transliteration, the text is presented according to its structure, after having been 'deconstructed'. The translation follows the plan of the transliteration. The principle of this deconstruction is primarily to regard the succession of narrative and discursive sections, the articulation of the clauses (e. g. independent vs. subordinate), the changes of predication, and the changes of subject, as the means of the semantic structuration of the text²⁸. This deconstruction is admittedly based on principles of macro-syntax²⁹, but it does recognize that the main factor for the choice and the ordering of the grammatical constructions is the author's ability to compose a text with liberty and creativity³⁰. It is on this basis that the following transliteration and translation of the stela of el-Salamuni are put forward.

²³ For the drawing of Nestor l'Hôte, see Vandier d'Abbadie 1963, pl. 16, 1 (I am grateful to Burt Kasparian for having provided me with a copy of this plate); for the copy by Lepsius, see *Urk.* IV, 2106–2107, no. 811. See also Spalinger 1982, 41–42 (partial translation and short commentary); Murnane 1996, 225, 103-B, 2 (translation). I am also very grateful to Professor Stephan Seidlmayer, Director of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo*, for having provided me with very useful photographs of the inscription, as well as to Daniela Rosenow and Sebastian Falk, who kindly sent them to me.

²⁴ See above, footnote 21, also for further author's bibliography, in particular Kuhlmann 1979, 177, and the previous note.

²⁵ See Gabolde 2015, 455–465.

²⁶ For example, Gabolde's restorations of the destroyed sections of the inscription (see Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214) and translation of the text (see Gabolde 2015, 456–461) are not systematically discussed.

²⁷ Email from 29th June 2015.

²⁸ This kind of deconstruction has already been applied to the *texte-programme* of the Festival of Min; see Lurson 2013, 385–405. For a comparable and valuable approach, see Beylage 2002, 539 and 545–552.

²⁹ See for example Malaise, Winand 1999, 653–666 (Middle Egyptian); Winand 2000, 403–435 (Late Egyptian).

³⁰ Compare with Malaise, Winand 1999, 655, § 1033.

Transliteration:

¹ | *ḥnḥ Hr k3 nḥt Tḥn-[ḥ^c].w Nbty [Šḥ]m-ph[ty dr]-Stty.w Hr-nbw [Hk3]-M3^c.t Š[hp]r-[t3.wy] nšw-[bity ḥk3-3w].t-ib nb t3.wy
Hpr-hpr[.w]-R^c-ir-M3^c.t [s3 R^c n ḥ.t=f mr(y)] =f [nb ḥ^c.w]^a It-ntr-3y-ntr-ḥk3-W3š.t mry [Mnw] nb Tpw di(.w) ḥnḥ mi R^c d.t*

² | *hpr šwt wn [hm] n [nšw-bity] Hpr-hpr.w-R^c-ir-M3^c.t s3 R^c It-ntr-3y-ntr-ḥk3-W3š.t m nšw mnḥ m t3 r-dr=f
w^c.t m nn n hrw(.w) hpr.w*

wn.in hm=f hr ḥḥ.y 3ḥ.t

r [s]htp ntr.w nb.w

r s[m]nḥ iwnn(.w) ntr.w

r šḥb 3 | p3w(.t)=šn tp t3

[ng3].w^b

[w]3[.w] r fdḳw

šmn(.w) [imny.t]^c=f

ḥm.w[=sn] mš.w m š3w m-[s]n.t-r 3ḥ.t n[.t] p[.t š]ḥkr[.w] m 3.t nb.t špšy

š^c3.w r ḥr-ḥ3.t

*ntr.w Šm^c Mḥw 4 | <r>-mn{3}-m [3]bw.t r idḥw [mdw]=sn n=f m ḥr-r-ḥr [m]i^d mdw it [ḥn^cs3=f m dd] nty m ib(.w)=sn^e di.w
[tp t3]^f*

r ir.t št

ḥ[^c]=šn ḥr prw-n-r=f

[r.šš]=šn ḥft [md]w^g=f

šndm.n=f ib n t3.wy-tmw

⁵ | *t3 nb [ḥ]r rš[w]*

s nb [hr] w[d]n n ntr=f

ntr nb hr šsp [n]ḥ[ḥ]=t[w] n=f [...]ⁿ

[ir].t-nb^d [hr] dd

š[š]n[b] p3 <nty> [m] ḥk3 [...]^h

[šw3]ḥ nb nšy.t

[smnḥ=f] mnw.w=f mn(.w) [w3]ḥ(.w) rwd(.w) n d.t

ištw ir 6 | ntr nfr nb ḥ^c.w It-ntr-3y-[ntr-ḥk3-W3š.t] nn hr.n=f hr ir.t d3.yt

bw(.t)=f ḥd [nty]

wn.[i]n hm[=f] hr [nd]-hr[.t] mi nt-^c=f n r^c nb

dd.in hm[=f] n sr(.w) š[m]r.w^dandⁱ nty r-gš=f

iw 3bw[.n ib]=i 7 | niw.t n.t it=i Mnw k3 šwty imy Sn.t

ir.y=i mnw(.w) wr.t [ḥḥ.w n]^k sp n ntr[=i] nb T[p]w grg t3.wy

wnn r[n]=i [m ḥw.t=f] niw.t n.t ḥḥ [mi] rn n Tm m ḥw.t-sr š^c3(.w) 8 | m išw wr.t ḥḥ.w n sp

šmnḥ.w=i ḥw.t-ntr[=f m] k3.wt ḥḥ

šhtp=i n=f [mw.t=f] k[m3].t nfrw=f 3s.t [...]^l mw.t ntr hr(y).t-ib Tpw

šk[3.y]=i n=f Hr [nd]ty-ḥr-it=f w^f n=i 9 | Pd.wt psd.t dmd.w m bw w^c

iw=i m ndty=sn m-[^q]ḥr[.t=šn] s3=šn mnḥ [3]ḥ-ib [n]=šn^m

d[d.i]n=š[n ḥft] hm[=f] ḥnḥ(.w) (w)d3(.w) š(nb.w)

ir[.w n it].w{=f} <=k> nb[.w]ⁿ Tpw m dd.n=k

¹⁰ | *nb wd hm[=k] ḥnḥ(.w) (w)d3(.w) š(nb.w) rdi.t imy-r k3.w[t]*

r ir.t pr[.t] m r=k

[wn]n [mnw=k mn(.w)]^o hr [rn]=k [m]i nšw ir 3ḥ.t

wn.in hm=f hr rdi.t [nd].tw^p [...] p? [...]^q Nḥt-Mnw

r nd-hr.t m-[di=f]^d

¹¹ | *št3.in.tw^r n=f {ib} <hr>-^c*

wn.in=f hr ḥ.t=f m-b3ḥ hm=f

wn.in [hm=f] hr rdi.<t> m-hr[=f] [...] n=f [...]^s ḥn^c imy-r k3.wt

r ir.t mnw.w^t m-ḥnw{t} Tpw m ḥḥ[y sp.w n] 3ḥ.t^d


r š[...] [m] [...] ntr.w niw.t=f^u













iw rh=f¹² htp ib(.w)=šn ḥr ir.t [3ḥ].t n m-ht


k3.d[d] imy.w-[h]t iw.t=sn
hsy t(3) 3[t h̄k3]ᵛ T hn-hᶜ.w
 [d]d.in=f hft hm[=f]
 [hsy k3.wt]^d hm[=k] ds=k
mtn [ib(.w)]^w=sn [t]w m h̄h.w n rnp.wt
ntk s3=sn mᶜr 13| sp.w
htp.n M3ᶜ[.t] hr snb.t[=k]
ᶜnh t3.wy-[t]m[w m] prw-n-[r]=k
 [...] [ir.t-nb]^d hft [w]sb=k hr-nb hft [r]^d=k
t3.wy m smśw[=k]
 [s nb]^d hr
s3-r-iit=f h(3.w) hr M3[ᶜ].t
¹⁴ | *ntr.w nb.w dmd(.w) hr mk.w hᶜw=k hr [...]*
grg hr=k [...] r [...] ³=sn
 [iw=k]^d m sm-hb(.w) n [Psd.t]^d
 ᶜwy=ky wᶜb(.w) wr.t [h̄k3]^d hr [...] r [...] h.t ᶜn.ti m-[h3].t [Im]n it=k spś[y] m hb=k n[h̄h]^d ¹⁵ | *mn(.w) hr rn=k*
n[hs] hr-nb
r św3ś nfrw=k
ptr[=sn] [...]. w=k^x m wh(3)^y
sh[b]^d=sn [tw] m wi3 [i]my h3.wt=sn
snśn hm[=k] m im.t=sn
 [hᶜ]^z=k mi-kd=sn
ti.t[=k]^{aa} [ti.t=w]^d
¹⁶ | *sh̄tp=tw nfrw=k mi dd=tw*
i3w.w n k3=k n Tᶜh hft mś[.n=f tw]^{bb} [...]
 [...] ir M3ᶜ[.t] [...] ¹⁷
 [...]w wr.t [mi] s3=f Św
śwd=f n=k i3w.t=f n d.t
Pd.wt psd.t m ks.t 17| n [śnd]w=k^{cc}
b3k.w=sn n=k twt
m wrd(.w) [...] sn [...]
 [t]s.n=k t3 nb^{dd}
w3(.w) św r f[d]kw
mni.n=k st tp t3
ti św <hr> mh<.t> 18| sn
śndm.n=k [t3.wy]-tmw m [3b].t ib[=sn]^d [...]
 [...] [m] t3
nn św m t3 [p]n
 [M3]^c.t sś.ti [w]r[.t] ht idb.wy
wśf⁹[=k p3 [h3w/hrw/sbi] n[t]y n[n] hpr idb.wy hr rś[w.t] [...] [hr?] [...] ^{ee}
 [...]
 [nhm].w=sn^{ff} hr [rn=k r k3(w)]^{gg} n p.t
iw mr.w^{hh} wn.w m nd.t r pr-nśw 20| śwᶜb(.w) n nb=sn [mi sp] tpy
in [it=k] [...] k [...] n r [...] [r] [...] mi [...] f n d.t
bnr=k [m rw.t]^d 3hty
mi iry=k 3h.t n d.t m [s.t=k]
²¹ | *r ir[.t M3ᶜ.t] n nb h̄h*
iry=k hr.t t3 [pn] mi tp.w[=fᶜ]^d
śgrh(.w) [t3.wy] m htpw
 [t]m[w] m h[b]
n[tkⁱⁱ wpw]^{jj} nm[h](y)^{kk}

$[iwt\ y\ b\ \{w\}g\ \{3\} <g>^d = f\ \acute{s}d]m.w^{ll} [p\ \acute{z}]^{mm} nmh(y)^{kk} w^{c}(.w)$
 $^{22} | \acute{s}nfr\ ind$
 $\acute{s}w\ [...] w/m(?)\ [...]$
 $h^c [ib] n\ wnn\ [...]$
 $[di]=k [s]nb.w\ b[w-nb] hm[w] ir(.w)[.n] nb Hnmw^{nn} [Dhwty]$
 $[n]n [hr-k\ hr]^{oo} h\acute{d}\ mt(y)$
 $bw.t=k\ irr.t\ \acute{d}3y.t$
 $ir=k [s]hr.w=k^{23} | [s\acute{s}my]^d\ m-h\ \acute{z}.t [s\acute{p}s.w]^d\ n\ [...] k\ m\ [...]$
 $Km.t\ D\acute{s}r.t\ m\ t[h\acute{h}w.t]^{pp}$
 $h.t\ nb.t\ mh.ti [m\ mr.wt=k]^{qq} [...]$
 $[s^c h]^{cr} = k\ Ipw\ m\ m[\acute{z}]w.t\ niw.t [n.t] it[=k] Mnw\ k\ \acute{z}\ \acute{s}w.ty\ hr(y)-ib\ Ipw$
 $^{24} | di=k\ hpr=s [m-s]n.t-r\ Hw.t-[k\ \acute{z}]-Pth [niw].t\ n(.t) [s]p [tp]y [...]^{ss} n.t\ Pth$
 $di=k\ hrp\ n=s\ niw.wt\ \acute{z}[.wt] [...] \acute{s}n$
 $nn\ ir[r] n=k\ m\ ni.wt\ n.t\ it[=k]$
 $ntk\ ir(.w)=k\ mnw.w^t\ m\ ib^{25} | [mr].w[t]^t [...]$
 $[...] m\ h\acute{h}[.w\ n\ rnp]w.t^{uu}$
 $3w-ib=k$
 $[s\acute{s}m]^{vw} = k\ t\ \acute{z}.wy\ \acute{d}d(.w)$
 $iw\ r\ n\ [...] ^c\ [...] f(?)\ r$
 $[...] ^c\ nh\ \acute{d}d\ w\ \acute{z}\ \acute{h}r [s]nht\ hps[=k]^{ww}\ r\ Pd[.wt\ ps\acute{d}.t\ mi] R^c\ \acute{d}[.t]$

- a) The royal title could also be restored as *nb ir.t h.t*.
- b) Restoration based on the traces of the lost hieroglyphs and the translation by Kuhlmann 2007, 181: “da sie an Mangel litten”. Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, proposes to restore $[wn(.w)\ m\ \acute{d}w]$.
- c) The word *imny.t* is restored based on the traces of the *mn*-sign. This restoration fits with the still preserved determinatives $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, indeed usual to the word; see DZA 20.758.430. Compare with the translation of the section by Kuhlmann 2007, 181–182: “indem auf Dauer seine (*scil. des Landes*) Opfermengen (neu) festgesetzt werden”. Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, proposes to restore $\acute{s}mn[.n\ hm=f\ mnw.w]=f$.
- d) Restoration due to Kuhlmann (email from 29th June 2015).
- e) The restoration of the sentence $[mdw]=sn\ n=f\ m\ hr-r-hr [m]i\ mdw\ it [hn^c\ s\ \acute{z}=f\ m\ \acute{d}d] nty\ m\ ib(.w)=\acute{s}n$, with the verb *mdw* at its beginning (Kuhlmann suggests ‘ein Wort der Bedeutung „sprechen“’ (email from 29th June, 2015), whilst Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, also restores *mdw*), is based on KRI II, 334, ll. 13–14 (Abydos Great Dedicatory Inscription) and *Urk.* IV, 1542, l. 15 (Thutmosis IV’s Sphinx Stela). Restoring $[hn^c\ s\ \acute{z}=f\ m\ \acute{d}d]$ fits both with the width of the lacuna and the traces of the hieroglyph left to *it* “father”, which may very well have belonged to the *h* of *hn^c*, but it has to be noted that no other clear trace of the lost hieroglyphs seems to be preserved. For further examples of the expression *mi mdw it hn^c s^z=f* (and similar ones), but without *hr-r-hr*, see Vernus 1995, 43. For *hr-r-hr*, see Brunner 1986², 16, n. c (with further bibliography); Spalinger 2009, 81.
- f) Restoration after Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, and supported by the following section of the text known as *Der König als Sonnenpriester: iw rdi.n R^c nšw N tp t3 n nḥ.w n/r ḥḥ hn^c d.t*; see Karkowki 2003, 202–203.
- g) Kuhlmann considers that a word meaning ‘discourse’ or ‘words’ is the most probable restoration (email from 29th June 2015), whilst Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, also restores $[mdw]$.
- h) Restoration of $<nty> [m]$ according to Kuhlmann (email from 29th June 2015). Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, restores $p\ \acute{z} [ir] h\acute{k}\ \acute{z} [M\ \acute{z}^c.t]$. The lacuna situated right after the determinative of *hk^z* is very narrow, so that restoring $\overline{\text{𓏏}}\ h\acute{k}\ \acute{z} M\ \acute{z}^c.t$ is indeed a good solution, but one may also think of $\overline{\text{𓏏}}\ sp-2$, as in the same expression found in an inscription of the tomb of Ay in Amarna: $\acute{s}snb\ p\ \acute{z}\ h\acute{k}\ \acute{z}\ sp-2$; see *Urk* IV, 1998, l. 9. A further possibility would be *nfr*; see for example *Urk.* IV, 2053, l. 9, 2069, l. 18, and 2139, l. 3.
- i) Let us point out the orthography of *smr*, $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, as according to *Wb* IV, 138 (see also DZA 29.225.550), the use of the tongue-sign F20 for writing it is not attested before the Twenty-second Dynasty.
- j) The restoration of *ib* and *n* is based on Nestor l’Hôte’s drawing; see above, footnote 23 for the bibliography. Since having *ib* as subject of *3b(i)* is attested (see for example Meeks 1982, 79.0018), and since the deter-

minative of the verb, , is situated upright in the line of text, there is no reason to dismiss Nestor l'Hôte's drawing on that point.

- k) The restoration of $[hh.w n] sp$ is based on the same locution that appears in the following line.
- l) Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, restores the determinative of the goddess, which, considering the narrowness of the lacuna, is most probably the best solution.
- m) Restoration of $[3]h-ib [n]$ after Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, and supported for example by *KRI* II, 483, l. 15: $s3 3h-ib n R^c shtp k3=f$.
- n) Kuhlmann restores $jrr wj hm=f jrwt=f nbwt$ “wie sehr tut SM doch alle seine Pflichten” (email from 29th June 2015). Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, restores $irr[.w hm=f n it].w=f$, “ce que fait Sa Majesté pour ses pères”.
- o) The expression $hr rn=k$ to follow supports the restoration of $[mnw=k mn(.w)]$; see for example l. 15 of the inscription; *Urk.* IV, 1656, l. 15: $kd(.w) m mnnw pn hr rn n hm=i$. Restoring $[mnw=k]$ also fits well with the traces of the lost hieroglyphs, whilst restoring $[mn.w]$ fits with the orthography of the word at the beginning of l. 15.
- p) Restoration of nd after Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, but with the papyrus-roll as a second determinative, as the position of the determinative of the verb, , and of the t , upright in the line of text, seems to require, such as: . Let us note, however, the unusual orthography of the verb. One may also understand the tw following the verb as the singular impersonal pronoun $=tw$.
- q) In his drawing, Nestor l'Hôte shows the name of the goddess Isis right before Nakhtmin's name. This is possible, considering one of the titles that he bears on his stelae Berlin 2074 and Louvre C 55, as well as on his statue found in Akhmim: $hm-ntr tp(y) n Mnw 3s.t$ (see *Urk.* IV, 1522, l. 4 and 1538, l. 6 (stela); el-Sawi 1984–1985, 87, fig. 3 and 88, fig. 4 as well as Van Siclen III 1992, 112, fig. 1 and 113, fig. 2 (statue)), which he may, therefore, have also borne here. Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, restores $sš imy-r k3w.t$ which is disputable.
- r) The emendation of $št3 in.tw$ into $št3.in.tw$, with  = , is based on the emendation proposed for pPetersburg 1116B, 4–5 = Ih, where the locution shows the same substitution of signs; see Gardiner 1914, 102, n. 3; Stauder, forthcoming, with sound grammatical arguments (I am very grateful to the author for having sent me a copy of his unpublished paper); below, n. h to the translation; below, footnote 36.
- s) For the locution $rdi.t m hr (n) N$ and what might have been in the lacuna, see the examples gathered by Vernus 2013, 316–317. Compare with Shaw 2008, 28 and 30–31, for a different expression, although also involving the verb rdi , and with the restoration put forward by Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214.
- t) Let us note the orthography of $mnw.w$ ‘monuments’, written  here and  at the end of l. 24.
- u) Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, restores $m hh[y sp.w 3h.w]t r š[nd]m ntr.w niw.t=f$. I follow the author for the first part of his restoration, although considering the presence of the $.t$, I prefer to restore $[sp.w n] 3h.t$, as suggested by Kuhlmann (email from 29th June, 2015). This fits with the size of the lacuna as well as with the traces of the lost hieroglyphs, and is supported by parallels, such as Rondot 1997, 15*, no. 24, sup.: $hh y sp.w n 3h.t n mš šw$. The second part of Gabolde's restoration impeccably fits with the traces of the lost hieroglyphs, whilst the lexeme $šndm$ would make perfect sense here. However, restoring $r š[nd]m ntr.w$ does not fit with the width of the lacuna between the  and the determinative of the lost word, , situated in the bottom-left hand corner of the lacuna; there is too much space between them. An expanded orthography of the word might admittedly explain this, but its two other occurrences in the text shows the same and usual orthography:  (ll. 4 and 18). Another solution would be the presence of an object after $šndm$. One may think of ib , but in that case, a n would be expected where  is found, such as $*šndm ib n ntr.w$; compare with l. 4 of the text.
- v) Kuhlmann restores $hzj Hrw hk3$ “gepriesen sei Horus, der Herrscher...” (email from 29th June 2015).
- w) Restoration according to Kuhlmann, for whom the traces between mtn and $=sn$ “weisen auf jb “Herz”：“Ihr Herz moege Dich mit Millionen von Jahren belohnen”?” (email from 29th June 2015).
- x) Based on the context, one may restore $[šmš]$, ‘to follow’, the verb being attested in the context of processions, for example to describe the accompanying of the bark by the (dead) king; see Medinet Habu III, pl. 138, cols. 37–38; RILT 1, pls. 78 and 82; Nelson 1981, pls. 53, col. 51 and 76, col. 32 = Brand, Feleg, Murnanet 2018, pls. 53 and 76. However, the preserved determinatives, , may rather fit with , ‘the suite/entourage’ (see l. 13), the word also being attested in processional contexts; see *Urk.* IV, 1655, l. 11 (Amenhotep III; stela Cairo CG 34025, where the lexeme is feminine and applies to the king following Amun's processional bark); Osing, in: Stadelmann, Osing 1988, 262, fig. 4 and 267, n. I (stela of Seti I in Gurna Temple, where the lexeme is also feminine and applies to the king

- accompanying the god's processional bark; KRI V, 292, l. 1 (stela of Ramses III in Luxor Temple, where *šmšw* is used for Mut and Khonsu following Amun-Re in procession). Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, proposes to restore *ptr* [*ir=sn tw m nmt.t*]=*k*, which may fit well, although restoring *ir* is not necessary, such as: **ptr*[=*sn tw m nmt.t*]=*k*.
- y) Reading *wh(3)*, “night”, after Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214.
- z) I restore [*h*]=*k* according to the context. The determinative and the traces fit with the restoration: .
- aa) Reading *ti.t* ‘image’ suggested by Fischer-Elfert. The restoration is supported by the following passage of a royal eulogy dating from the reign of Tutankhamun: *ntk R^c ti.t=k ti.t=f*; see *Urk.* IV, 2069, l. 16. Same expression on oBM 5620 dating from Ramses IX; see Demarée 2002, pl. 1 = RIK II, pl. 122, F-G = KRI V, 52, ll. 8–9, quoted by Grimal 1986, 133.
- bb) The preposition *hft* grammatically supports the restoration of a nominal *šdm.n=f*.
- cc) For this restoration, see for example DZA 30.614.610 (= Obelisk of Ramses II in Tanis): *t3.w nb.w m ks.w n šnd.t=f*; Medinet Habu IV, pl. 218, col. 16: *di.n(=i) n=k t3 nb m ks n šnd=k*. From a statistical point of view, restoring **m ks.t n [b3].w=k* would be more probable (see for example *Urk.* IV, 2028, l. 6 = Tutankhamun's *Restoration Stela*), but the first determinative of the word, , while excluding *b3.w*, fits with *šnd*; see DZA 29.369.030.
- dd) Restoration of *ts*, “to put together”, based on the presence of the verb *mni* in the following clause (same restoration for Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214). Both verbs are indeed found combined in sentences expressing the good rule of the king, such as: *nšw nht ts t3 m shr.w=f mn(i) šw m sp.w nfr.w*; see Rondot 1997, 1*, no. 1, sup. and 34*, no. 73. The verb *mn(i)*, however, is used here with a different meaning than on this architrave of Karnak Hypostyle Hall; see below, 184 and 200–201.
- ee) For the section from *nm šw* up to here and the restoration *h3w/hrw/šbi* put forward here, see Lurson 2018.
- ff) Restoration of [*nhm*] based on col. 71 of Merenptah's inscription at Karnak; see Manassa 2003, 62 and pl. 15: *nhm=tw hr rn=i m p.t t3.w*. This restoration also fits with tiny traces that may have belonged to the *n*. Kuhlmann suggests: “sie preisen in Deinem Namen/jauchzen über Deinen Namen?” (email from 29th June 2015). See also the following note.
- gg) Instead of the phonograms writing *r k3(w)* only, one might want to restore also [*wr*] in the lacuna between *rn=k* and , such as: **[nhm].w=sn hr [rn=k wr r k3(w)] n p.t*. However, the traces of the lost hieroglyph in the top-right hand corner of the lacuna fits much better with the mouth than with the swallow (G36). See also the previous note.
- hh) The word is written . Gabolde 2015, 460, translates “les (individus ?) “liés””, but does not indicate any transliteration. The reading put forward here, namely *mr.w*, “servants” (see *Wb* II, 98), is based on the orthography of a word written  in the legend of the left scene engraved upon the first part of the *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (see RIK III, pl. 17, col. 9), in which, based on parallels, Caminos 1958, 14, n. b, proposes to see a writing of the feminine perfective active participle of *mr(t)*: *mr.t*. As an explanation for the orthography, he writes, l. c.: “One would think of a derivation from  δ, ‘to bind’, or perhaps  δ, ‘binding cord, bundle’, with  replacing δ”.
- ii) Restoration of [*t*]*m*[*w*] *m h*[*b*] *n*[*tk*] after Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214.
- jj) Restoration of [*wpw*] after a suggestion by Fischer-Elfert.
- kk) Let us point out the determinative of *nmh(y)*, , which, according to David 2011, 79, n. 49, is exceptional.
- ll) The restoration of [*šd*]*m.w* is based on the preserved traces of the lost hieroglyphs that fit with the ear-sign F21, with the *m*, which would be the phonetic complement, and with the determinative, such as: . Note, however, that this determinative is not usual for that verb, and that I could not find any other example of a combination of *šdm* and *nmh(y)*; compare with the examples gathered by David 2011, 83–5.
- mm) The article  *p3*, not only perfectly fits in with the form and position of the lacuna, but *nmhy* preceded by *p3*, although with a general meaning, is attested in the *Edict of Horemheb*; see Kruchten 1981, pl. I, ll. 13, 14 and 18.
- nn) Restoration of the sentence based on its translation by Kuhlmann (email from 29th June 2015).
- oo) This restoration is based on the following passage in l. 6: *nn hr.n=f hr ir.t d3.yt bw(.t)=f hđ [mty]*, with a switch of the words. It fits with the available space, whilst a tiny trace at the right end of the lacuna fits well with a part of the *h* in *hr*. Restoring a *šdm.n=f* as in l. 6, such as [*n*]*n* [*hr.n=k hr*] *hđ mt(y)*, is also a possibility.
- pp) Restoration of [*h*]*hw.t*] after a suggestion by Fischer-Elfert.
- qq) [*m mr.wt=k*] is restored based on the same expression in Ahmose's Karnak Eulogy and in the Gebel es-Silsila stela of Ramses II; see *Urk.* IV, 19, l. 3 and KRI IX,

4, l. 20, respectively. Based on this latter parallel, one may restore in the following lacuna the same words as on this stela: $\text{3 im}^3.t \text{ bnr}.t \text{ mr}.t$. Another possibility could be $\text{h}.t \text{ nb}.t \text{ mh}.ti [\text{m nfr}w=f]$, such as in a eulogy for Ramses V (see *KRI* VI, 227, l. 13), but the trace of the lost hieroglyph situated in the top-right hand corner of the lacuna fits much better with the hoe-sign U7.

- rr) Restoring $[\text{ś}^{\text{c}}\text{h}^{\text{c}}]^{\text{c}}$ fits with the c -arm still identifiable above the $=k$, with the form of the lacuna between them, which can be filled with the walking legs D54, and with the rounded upper part of the first sign, which can be ś , such as $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}$. For the same verb used in the same kind of sentence, see for example *Urk.* IV, 1691, l. 16: $\text{ś}^{\text{c}}\text{h}^{\text{c}}.\text{n}=\text{f} \text{Tp}.t \text{ nfr}.t \text{ m} \text{m}^3\text{w}.t \text{ m}.\text{sn}.t.\text{r} \text{3h}.t \text{ n}.t \text{p}.t$ (architrave of Amenhotep III at Luxor). Restoring $[\text{hrp}]$ is also possible, though; compare with the word such as written in l. 24.
- ss) Kuhlmann suggests ““Erschaffen” (*qd*), viell. “Erscheinen” (*h3j*) seitens des Ptah” (email from 29th June, 2015). Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, restores *niw.t*, “city”, but *i3.t*, “mound”, just before, such as: $[\text{i3}].t \text{ n}(\text{.t}) [\text{s}]p [\text{tp}]y [\text{niw}.t] \text{ n}.t \text{ Pth}$.
- tt) According to the traces of the hieroglyphs at the beginning of the line, the *mr*-sign (hoe U7) and the mouth *r* are undoubtedly to be restored, which allows for restoring the expression *m ib [mr].w[t]*, for which see for example Rondot 1997, 26, n. f. The restoration of $[\text{mr}].w[\text{t}]$ instead of $*\text{mr}.w$, although more usual in this expression (see for example Rondot 1997, 8*, no. 10, inf.), is due to Kuhlmann (email from 29th June 2015), and indeed attested in *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 28, col. 27 (quoted by Edgerton, Wilson 1936, 27, n. 38b), but with the determinative of the man with the hand to the mouth, such as $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}$. It is uncertain, however, that the room between the quail and the determinative of plurality is enough for this determinative to have also been here.
- uu) The restoration $\text{hh}[\text{.w n rnp}].wt$ is based on the same expression in l. 12: *m hh.w n rnp.wt*. As for the words that preceded this group, one may propose to restore $[\text{isw iry}]$, “reward for it”. This restoration would explain the unusual presence of the preposition *m* before *hh.w*, and fit with the traces still preserved before *m*, such as $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}$. For two examples of sentences with *isw iry*, see Calverley 1938, pl. 34: *wnn=k isw iry m hh<.w>{pn} n rnp.wt* (utterance by Horus in the scene on the left); Rondot 1997, pl. 4: *di.n(=i) n=k isw ir(y).w m ḥḥ w3ś rnp.wt Hr m [...]* (utterance by Amun-Re; see also l. c., 24, n. j, for a commentary on *isw*).
- vv) Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, restores $[\text{hk3}]=k$.
- ww) Restoration of $[\text{ś}]\text{nh}t \text{ hp}^{\text{c}}[\text{=k}]$ based on an utterance by Khnum in the moulding scene on the south wall of the first hypostyle hall of Seti I’s temple at Abydos: *śnh}t=i hp}^{\text{c}}=k mi Mntw r ḥk3 nw (sic) t3 nb* “I make your arm strong like Montu, to be the sovereign of every country” (checked on photograph Calverley); see David 2016, 52 (but the transliteration is to be amended) and 53 (drawing of the scene).

Translation:

¹ Live Horus, “Mighty bull, He whose [crown]s are dazzling”, Two Ladies, “He whose [strength] is [mighty, He who drives out] the Asiatics”, Horus of Gold, “[Ruler of] Maat, He who makes [the two lands come to existence]”, King of Upper and [Lower Egypt, ruler of joy], lord of the two lands, Kheperkheper[u]re-irmaat, [son of Re, of his body, the one whom] he [loves, lord of the crowns]^a, Itnetjer-Ay-netjerheqawaset, beloved of [Min], lord of *Ipu*, given life like Re, eternally!

² So, it happened that [the Majesty] of [the king of Upper and Lower Egypt], Kheperkheperure-irmaat, son of Re, Itnetjer-Ay-netjerheqawaset, was the effective king in the entire land.

One of these days had come,

(when) His Majesty was seeking benefactions,

to satisfy all the gods,

to embellish the sanctuaries of the gods,

to make ³ their offering festive on earth.

Them [having suffered from lack],

(and) [them having fallen] into disappearance,^b

his [daily offerings] had been established,

(and) [their] cult images had been shaped suitable [after the fashion] of the horizon of [the sky], adorned with all sorts of precious stones,

(thereby) being magnified more than formerly.

(Thus), the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, ⁴ from Elephantine to the Delta marshes, [were talking] to him face-to-face, [as] a father talks [with his son, saying] what is in their hearts, he having been placed [upon earth],

to implement it.

It is because of his utterance that they were exulting!

It is according to his [speech] that they [were rejoicing],

which gladdened humanity!

⁵ The whole country was [in] joy,

every person [was] offering to his god,

(and) every god was receiving what [one] was [praying] him (for) [...]ⁿ.

Everyone [was] saying:

“[May] the ruler [...] [be kept healthy],

(and) [may] the holder of kingship [last],

[so that he may embellish]^c his monuments, them being firm, [enduring] and strong eternally!”

Indeed, as for the ⁶ good god, lord of the crowns, Itnetjer-Ay-[netjerheqawaset], he could not possibly have been content with wrongdoing,

(for) his abomination was the destruction of [rectitude].

Then, [His] Majesty was [greeting], according to his daily habit.

So, [His] Majesty said to the noblemen and [companions], who were beside him:

“My [heart] long[ed] for ⁷ the city of my father, Min, whose feathers are high, who is in the *Senet*.

I will build great monuments, [millions of] times, for [my] god, the lord of *Ipu*, who founded the two lands,

and it is [like] the name of Atum in the *Hut-ser*, that my name will be [in his temple] of the necropolis^d, being magnified ⁸ as a great reward, millions of times!

I will embellish [his] temple [with] works of eternity!

I will satisfy for him [his mother], who [created] his person, Isis [...], god’s mother, dwelling in *Ipu*!

I will exalt for him Horus, [pro]tector-of-his-father, who subdues for me ⁹ the Nine Bows united together!

(For) I am their protector, in [charge of^e their] possessions, their effective son, [devoted to] them!”

So, [they said before His] Majesty lph:

“May [it] be done^f [for] {his} <your> [fathers], the lord[s] of *Ipu*, as you said!

¹⁰ (O) lord, may [Your] Majesty lph command to appoint an overseer of works,

to execute what came out from your mouth,

and it is in your [name], that your [monument will be established, like] a king who does benefactions!”

Then, His Majesty caused [...] ^{p?} [...] Nakhtmin [to be received]^g,
to greet wi[th him].

¹¹ | (He) was dragged in to him <immediately>.^h

Then, he put himself on his belly before His Majesty.

Then, [His Majesty] laid charge upon [him] [...] ^{n=f} [...] as well as overseer of works,
to construct monuments within *Ipu* as a seeking for [deeds of] benefaction,
to s[...] [m] [...] the gods of his city,

(for) he knows that ¹² | their hearts are satisfied with making [benefactions] for the future,
so that posterity will say when they come:

“How favoured was the time of [the ruler] “He-whose-crowns-are-dazzling”!”

So, he said before [His] Majesty:

“[May the] own [works] of [Your] Majesty [be praised]!
May their [hearts] recompense [you] with millions of years,
(for) you are their son, whose deeds are ¹³ | successful!

It is upon [your] breast that Maat has set!ⁱ

Huma[nity] lives [from] your [utter]ance.

[Everyone] [...] ^j | according to your statement (and) everybody according to your [dictum],
(so that) the two lands are in [your] suite.

[Every person] says:

“The one whose coming was awaited has fallen to doing Maat!”

¹⁴ | All the gods united are protecting your body from/while [...].

You are vigilant [...] ^r | their [...],

while [you are] the leader of the feast(s) of [the Ennead].^k

Your hands are very pure, [o ruler], while you are [consecrating]^l the offerings, being beautiful in [front of] Amjun, your august father, during your Festival of [Eternity], ¹⁵ | established under your name.

Everybody [awakes]

to praise your person.

[They] see [...] your [...] ^m | during the night,

(and) they [celebrate you]ⁿ in the bark in which are their figureheads,

as [your] Majesty mingles with that what is in them,

as you [appear] like them,

[your] appearance being [their appearance]^o.

¹⁶ | One satisfies your person as one says:

“Adorations to your *ka* and to the moon-god, according as [he] gave birth [to you] [...]”^p

[...] who does Maat [...]

[...] ^w | very [...], [like] his son Shu,^q

who assigns to you his office eternally,^r

the Nine Bows being in submission¹⁷ | because of [the fear] of you,

as they work for you, being assembled.^s

Do not tire [...] ^t | they/their/them [...].

You [put] all the country [together],

(when) it had fallen into disappearance^u.

You moored it to the ground,

(when) it was drowning ¹⁸ | them.^v

It is with a [wish] of [their] hearts that you made [humanity] happy [...]

[...] [in] the land.

It is not in [this] country (anymore),

[Maat] having [greatly] spread out throughout the two banks,

as you reject ¹⁹ the [period/enemy/rebel, during which/because of whom] the two banks could not happen to be in joy [...] [*hr?*] [...] ^w

[...]

(so that) they [hail your name as high] as the sky.

The servants, which had been servile personnel assigned to the palace, ²⁰ have been consecrated to their lord, [like] the First [Time].^x

It is [your father] [...] *k* [...] *n r* [...] [*r*] [...] like [...] *f* eternally.

You are pleasant [at the portal] of the two horizons,

according as you do benefactions eternally at [your place],

²¹ to do [Maat] for the Lord of Eternity,

(according as) you do what makes [this] country serene like [before],

(so that) [the two lands] have been pacified in peace.

[Humanity] is in [feast],

[(as) you are the one who judges] the private individual,

[who does not cease] to [listen to the] single private individual,

²² who heals affliction,

It' [...] *w/m(?)* [...]

(so that) [the heart] of [...] is joyful.

[May] you [cause] that [everyone] is healthy, (o) steering-oar, whom the lord of Hermopolis, [Thoth, has] made!^z

[You shall] not [be content with] the destruction of rectitude,

(for) your abomination is wrongdoing!

May you realise your plans ²³ [(o) leader] in front of [the Nobles] *n* [...] *k m* [...],

(so that) the Black One and the Red One are in [jubilation],

everybody being filled with [the love of you] [...]

May you [erect] *Ipu* anew^{aa}, the city [of your] father, Min, whose feathers are high, dwelling in *Ipu*!

²⁴ May you cause that it becomes a copy of^{bb} Memphis, [the city] of the [First Time], [...] ^{cc} of Ptah!

May you cause that the big cities provide it [...] their/them,

as nobody is acting for you in the city of [your] father,^{dd}

for it is you, the one who will construct monuments with a ²⁵ [loving] heart [...]

[...] [as] millions [of years].

May you be happy,

(so that) you [may lead] the two lands, them being stable!

The mouth/dictum of [...] ^c [...] *f(?)* *r*

[...] life, stability and dominion, while making [your] arm strong against [the Nine Bows, like] Re, [eternally]!

- a) See above, n. a to the transliteration.
- b) Franke 1998, 54, quotes the second sentence and translates it “in Teile zerfallen”. I am grateful to H.-W. Fischer-Elfert for this reference. See also below, n. u. I understand both statives as preceding the main clause, for which construction see Malaise, Winand 1999, 450–451, §§ 729–730, with a *sdm.n=f* form following the stative being discussed. From a semantic point of view, the situation of the gods such as described with these statives is a perfectly fitting background for the actions described in the next sentences: establishing offerings and shaping statues.
- c) One may also translate “[who embellishes] his monuments...”, or “[May he embellish] his monuments...”.
- d) Translation of *niw.t n.t hh* as ‘necropolis’ after Kuhlmann 2007, 182. See also Gabolde 2015, 657, n. 106.
- e) The context seems to require this translation of *m-c*.
- f) I understand *ir.w* as an “emploi impersonnel” of the passive form of the “subjonctif *sdm=f*”; see Malaise, Winand 1999, 421, § 675. See also above, n. n to the transliteration.
- g) Although I follow Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, for the restoration of the verb *nd* (see above, n. p to the transliteration), I do not follow the author (2015, 459) as for his translation of the verb as “mander (?)”. For the translation “to receive”, see *Wb* II, 371, 8: “jemanden feierlich empfangen”.
- h) Unless the suffix pronoun third singular person *=f* has

- been omitted after *št3.in.tw* (at the end of the locution, *ib* has been mistakenly carved instead of *hr*), I follow Stauder, forthcoming, who interprets this construction as an intransitive use of *št3* in the passive voice and without an expressed subject. For the sake of the translation, I nevertheless translate the locution as if it were a construction with subject and I use the pronoun “he”. See also above, n. r to the transliteration.
- i) Interpreting this *šdm.n=f* as a nominal *šdm.n=f* may certainly be challenged.
- j) A verb meaning ‘act’ would make sense here. Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, restores *wnf*, “to be happy”, and translates (l. c., 459) “Tout le monde est [heureux (?)] lorsque...”. This restoration would fit with the traces of the lost hieroglyphs and would also make sense, but the verb does not seem to be used with the preposition *hft*; see *Wb* I, 319. Yet, it is possible that *hft* is used here as conjunction and not as preposition, with *wšb* being a verb and not a substantive. In that case, however, one cannot restore *r* after the second *hft*. As a matter of fact, Gabolde 2015, 457, fig. 214, restores *šsm* and translates the whole passage (2015, 459) “Tout le monde est [heureux (?)] lorsque tu réagis et tout un chacun (l’est) lorsque tu [guides (?)] le Double-Pays qui est à ta suite”. The solution, therefore, happens to depend on the restoration of the lost word after the second *hft*.
- k) Whether this clause is subordinate is uncertain.
- l) Translation according to the context. Kuhlmann suggests: “wenn Du die Opfergaben dauerhaft machst” (email from 29th June 2015). The traces are inconclusive as to which verb should be restored, though. Compare with *Urk.* IV, 1655, ll. 9–13 (Amenhotep III’s stela Cairo CG 34025); *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 138, cols. 38–39 and Nelson, in: Nelson, Hölscher 1934, p. 12.
- m) See above, n. x to the transliteration.
- n) I could not find any other example of *šhb* meaning “to celebrate someone”.
- o) Kuhlmann equally suggests “Dein Abbild ist ihr Abbild”, with *=w* substituting for *=šn* (email from 29th June 2015; see also above, n. aa to the transliteration).
- p) For this sentence, see above, n. bb to the transliteration; Lurson 2017, 239.
- q) Because of the lacuna, it is not possible to know with certainty how many sentences are lost before the prepositional group [*mi*] *s3=f šw*, nor whether they were independent or subordinate clauses. However, this group shows that Re was referred to somewhere in the lacuna, which I consider signifies that what comes after [...] *ir M3[.t]* [...], ‘[...] who does Maat [...]’, does not belong to the speech starting before.
- r) One may also translate “(while) he assigns to you his office eternally”.
- s) Compare with DZA 22.937.280 = Daressy 1894, 50–51, for an inscription about the king’s enemies on one of Ramses II’s colossal statues in the forecourt of Luxor Temple: *b3k=šn n=f twt mi w^c*.
- t) This probable negative imperative certainly indicates that this sentence is an independent clause. Gabolde 2015, 460, understands *m wrd* as a prepositional phrase related to the previous sentence, and translates: “ils œuvrent pour toi, unis dans l’effort”, but translating *wrd* as “effort” seems difficult to follow.
- u) Because of the losses in the previous sentences, it is not possible to know with certainty whether this clause and the following ones are independent or subordinate. This section of the stela is quoted by Franke 1998, 54, who proposes the same translation as above, n. b. Let us note that according to the 75 examples of *w3(i) r...* gathered by Quack 1993, 59–79 (I am grateful to H.-W. Fischer-Elfert for pointing out this study to me), this occurrence is the only one showing *w3(i)* used as adjectival predicate in an adjectival sentence, with Quack 1993, 77, indeed pointing out that “Sprachlich ist als Konstruktion von *w3i r* das Pseudopartizip die üblichste Verwendung, daneben findet sich aber auch *ščm=f* und aktives Partizip”.
- v) The suffix pronoun third plural person *=šn*, “them”, may refer to the gods or to the people. For the translation proposed here, see also below, footnote 60; below, p. 184 and 200–201.
- w) See above, n. ee to the transliteration.
- x) I do not follow the grammatical analysis by Gabolde 2015, 460, who translates the whole sentence “Les (individus ?) “liés” qui étaient le personnel destiné au domaine royal (et qui avaient été) consacrés à leur maître comme lors de la Première fois, c’est ton père [Amo]n [seigneur-des-]trône[s-du-Double-Pays] qui [les protège (?) afin de garantir leur immunité (?)]. The presence of the particle *iw* at the beginning of the sentence indeed strongly suggests that *šw^cb(.w)* is a stative and the predicate of a pseudoverbal construction, not a second participle on the same level like *wn.w*, so that the whole cannot be the preposed object of the following cleft sentence. Compare with the following sentence in Tutankhamun’s *Restoration Stela*: *iw šw^cb.n hm=f nḥ(.w) (w)d3(.w) š(nb.w) hm.w hm.wt šm3.wt hb3y(.w)t wn(.w) m nd.t m pr-nšw* (*Urk.* IV, 2030, ll. 6–7).
- y) The dependent pronoun *šw* may refer to *ind*.
- z) Whether this clause is independent is uncertain. According to Kuhlmann’s translation (see above, n. nn

to the transliteration), the verb is not in the subjunctive form.

- aa) The orthography of the word is that of *m3w.t*, ‘new land’ (Gabolde 2015, 461, accordingly translates “fondation-nouvelle”), so that one may also translate ‘May you [provide] *Ipu* with new lands’. The solution depends therefore on the restoration of the verb at the beginning of the sentence; see above, n. rr to the transliteration.
- bb) For the translation of *m-sn.t-r* as ‘copy’, I follow Ockinga 1983, 94, n. 49, who proposes that “*Sni* construed with the preposition *r* [...] always means ‘to imitate’” in Middle Egyptian texts (I am grateful to H.-W. Fischer-Elfert for this reference). Compare, however, with the meaning of the expression such as used above in the text, l. 3.
- cc) See above, n. ss to the transliteration.
- dd) Because of the lacuna preceding this sentence, it is uncertain whether it is a subordinate clause. The exact meaning of the sentence is unclear, even though it seems to oppose that of the following sentence. I understand *ir[r]* as an active imperfective participle and I analyse the sentence as an adjectival sentence, in which *nn* is the predicate and *irr* the subject.

The Inscription of el-Salamuni and the *Prophecy of Neferti*: Structural Matches

As in the texts referred to above, the inscription of el-Salamuni contains a speech, which fills more than half of the text, more precisely 13 and a half lines. Still, this speech combines three features which inherently distinguish it from those of the other inscriptions: (1) its general frame: the “greeting (*nd-hr.t*)”; (2) the speaker: ‘the overseer of works’, Nakhtmin³¹; (3) the addressee: the king. For instance, in the aforementioned inscriptions, the speaker is the king³², the god, or an anonymous group of people, but not a named private person³³. If these features are in

³¹ For this Nakhtmin, see above, footnote 21. See also below, footnote 99.

³² As in the text of Medinet Habu southern stela, in which Ramses III addresses the country; see above, footnote 12, for the bibliography. More generally on Ramses III’s speeches in the Medinet Habu war records, see Redford 2018, 83–86.

³³ This is also true for the royal inscriptions in general; see Klug 2002, 494–495. For examples, see *Urk.* IV, 17, ll. 10–15 (Ahmose’s Karnak Eulogy); *Urk.* IV, 2120, ll. 12–17 (Horemheb’s *Coronation Inscription*). For the Ramesside royal inscriptions, see Maderna-Sieben

themselves reminiscent of the *Prophecy of Neferti*, a closer comparison between both texts shows that some of their locutions and sentences with a *sdm.in=f* form happen to be the same³⁴. They are given in the following table³⁵:

Table 1: The locutions and sentences with a *sdm.in=f* form common to the first part of the *Prophecy of Neferti* and of the inscription of el-Salamuni.

Prophecy of Neferti	Inscription of el-Salamuni
la–b: <i>hpr.n swt wnn hm n nsw-bity Snfr.w</i> <i>m3^c-hrw m nsw mnḥ m t3 pn r-dr=f</i>	l. 2: <i>hpr swt wn [hm] n [nsw-bity]</i> <i>Hpr-hpr.w-R^c-ir-M3^c.t s3 R^c Tt-ntr-</i> <i>3y-ntr-hk3-W3s.t m nsw mnḥ m t3</i> <i>r-dr=f</i>
lc–d: <i>w^c m nn n hrw(.w) hpr(.w)</i>	l. 2: <i>w^c.t m nn n hrw(.w) hpr.w</i>
le: <i>pr.t pw ir(.w).n=sn nd<.n>=sn hr.t</i> <i>mi nt^c=sn n.t r^c nb</i>	l. 6: <i>wn.[i]n hm[=f] hr [nd]-hr[.t] mi nt^c=f</i> <i>n r^c nb</i>
lf: <i>dd.in hm=f^c nh(.w) (w)d3(.w) s(nb.w)</i> <i>n htmw nty r-gs=f</i>	l. 6: <i>dd.in hm[=f] n sr(.w) s[m]r.w nty</i> <i>r-gs=f</i>
lla: <i>dd.in=sn hft hm=f^c nh(.w) (w)d3(.w)</i> <i>s(nb.w)</i>	l. 9: <i>d[d.t]n=s[sn hft] hm[=f]^c nh(.w) (w)</i> <i>d3(.w) s(nb.w)</i>
llg: <i>st3.in.tw=f n=f hr^c.wy</i>	l. 11: <i>st3.in.tw n=f {ib}<hr>^c</i>
llh: <i>wn.in=f hr h.t=f m-b3h hm=f^c nh(.w)</i> <i>(w)d3(.w) s(nb.w)</i>	l. 11: <i>wn.in=f hr h.t=f m-b3h hm=f</i>
lll: <i>dd.in hr(y)-hb(.t) Nfr.ty</i>	l. 12: <i>[d]d.in=f hft hm[=f]</i>

As one can see, the locutions and the sentences with a *sdm.in=f* form common to the *Prophecy of Neferti* and the inscription of el-Salamuni are in the first part of the texts (the so-called “Prologue” in the *Prophecy*), until Neferti and Nakhtmin start speaking, and they are in the same order. Such a striking match can obviously not happen by chance. It has to be the result of the author of the inscription having intentionally selected them to structure his own composition³⁶. This, however, should not give the

2003, 77–98; Maderna-Sieben 2018, 49–50, 54–59 and 70–72 (early Ramesside Period).

³⁴ On the use of “*-in*-marked constructions” in the *Prophecy of Neferti* as a characteristic of the text, see Stauder 2013, 348.

³⁵ When quoting the *Prophecy of Neferti*, I refer to the sections of the text such as numbered by Helck 1992². As for the transliteration of the text, I use the copy of pPetersburg 1116B whenever possible.

³⁶ Stauder 2013, 406–412, 417, and 423, investigates the “text-initial *hpr(.n) swt*” and the “fronted temporal expression” *w^c(.t) m nn n hrw(.w) hpr(.w)* in the *Prophecy*, extending the study to the verb forms following the expressions (in particular l. c., 410–411, B-C, for other

Table 2: The locutions and verb forms of the first part of the *Prophecy of Neferti* and of the inscription of el-Salamuni (excluding dialogues, wishes and descriptions).

Prophecy of Neferti	Inscription of el-Salamuni
<i>hpr.n šwt wnn hm n nšw-bity ... m nšw mnḥ ...</i>	la-b <i>hpr šwt wn [hm] n [nšw-bity] ... m nšw mnḥ ...</i> l. 2
<i>w^c m nn n hrw(w) hpr(w)</i>	lc <i>w^c.t m nn n hrw(w) hpr.w</i> l. 2
<i>ḳ pw ir(w).n knb.t n.t hnw r pr-^c ...</i>	lc-d <i>wn.in hm=f hr ḥh.y ʒḥ.t</i> l. 2 <i>išt w ir ntr nfr nb ḥ^c.w ... nn hr.n=f hr ir.t d3.yt ...</i> l. 5
<i>pr.t pw ir(w).n=šn nd<.n>=šn ...</i>	le <i>wn.[i]n hm[=f] hr [nd]-hr[.t] mi nt-^cf n r^c nb</i> l. 6
<i>dd.in hm=f ḥh(w) (w)d3(w) š(nb.w) n htmw ...</i>	lf <i>dd.in hm[=f] n šr(w) š[m]r.w nty r-gš=f</i> l. 6
<i>št3.in.tw <n>=f hr-^c</i>	lh
<i>wn.in=šn hr h.t=šn m-b3ḥ hm=f ...</i>	li
<i>dd.in] hm=f ḥh(w) (w)d3(w) š(nb.w) n=šn ...</i>	lj
<i>rdi.in=šn hr hw.t=šn m-b3ḥ hm=f ...</i>	ln
<i>dd.in=šn hft hm=f ḥh(w) (w)d3(w) š(nb.w)</i>	lla <i>dd[i]n=š[n hft] hm[=f] ḥh(w) (w)d3(w) š(nb.w)</i> l. 9
<i>dd.in hm=f ḥh(w) (w)d3(w) š(nb.w)</i>	llf
<i>št3.in.tw=f n=f hr-^c.wy</i>	llg <i>wn.in hm=f hr rdi.t [nd].tw [...] p? [...] Nht-Mnw...</i> l. 10 <i>št3.in.tw n=f {ib}<hr>-^c</i> l. 11
<i>wn.in=f hr h.t=f m-b3ḥ hm=f ...</i>	llh <i>wn.in=f hr h.t=f m-b3ḥ hm=f</i> l. 11 <i>wn.in [hm=f] hr rdi.<t> m-hr[=f] ...</i> l. 11
<i>dd.in hm=f ḥh(w) (w)d3(w) š(nb.w)</i>	lli
<i>dd.in hr(y)-hb(t) Nfr.ty</i>	lll <i>[d]d.in=f hft hm[=f]</i> l. 12
<i>dd.in hm=f ḥh(w) (w)d3(w) š(nb.w)</i>	lln
<i>ḥ^c.n dwn.n=f dr.t=f r hn n hr.t-^c</i>	llo
<i>ḥ^c.n šd.n=f n=f šfdw hn^c gsti</i>	llp
<i>wn.in{n}=f hr ir.t m sš ddt.n hr(y)-hb(t)] Nfr.ty</i>	llq
<i>dd=f</i>	lllf

impression that he wrote an uninspired text, that he slavishly recycled some of the sentences of the *Prophecy*.

texts in which a *wn.in=f hr šdm* form follows the expression *w^c(.t) m nn n hrw(w) hpr(w)*). Parallels are gathered, but none of them shows both expressions together, or the same verb forms following them. This confirms that the display in the same order of the same *sdm.in=f* forms in el-Salamuni's inscription and in the *Prophecy* cannot happen by chance. See also Spalinger 1982, 41–42. Stauder, forthcoming, deals again with the texts and inscriptions showing *w^c(m nn n) hrw hpr* following *hpr swt* and the verb forms following *w^c(m nn n) hrw hpr*. He takes the inscription of el-Salamuni into consideration. In the first case, he notices that in three other texts, *w^c(m nn n) hrw hpr* follows *hpr swt*: The *Prophecy of Neferti*, the Abydos Great Dedicatory Inscription and *Apophis and Seqenenre*. In the second case, he points out two other texts showing a *wn.in* form following *w^c(m nn n) hrw hpr*: The Inundation Stela of Sobekhotep VIII and Papyrus Westcar. This confirms his preceding conclusions. Then, about the writing of *.in* with $\dot{\Delta}$ in the locution *št3.in.tw n=f {ib}<hr>-^c*, only common to the inscription of el-Salamuni (l. 11) and the *Prophecy* (lh), Stauder, forthcoming, speaks of a “Néferti-isme” (see also above, n. 1 to the transliteration and n. h to the translation). Likewise, having pointed out that the same sentence introduced by *hpr(n) swt* also appears in both texts, he proposes that the authors of the inscription had a copy of the *Prophecy* “sous les yeux”. We shall see how right this seems to be. Posener 1956, 30, already suggested that the *Prophecy* may have influenced royal inscriptions, at least those of the Nineteenth Dynasty. See also below, footnote 122; Spalinger 2018.

Thus, let us consider the preceding table, which presents all the locutions and verb forms in the first part of both texts.

This comparison indeed reveals both the strategy and the method that was followed by the author of the inscription to compose a text structured like the *Prophecy*, but nevertheless original: maintaining very few of the court episode; retaining, disregarding and inserting *sdm.in=f* forms. Thus, from the whole court episode of the *Prophecy*, the author of the inscription deleted almost all dialogues and kept two events: the initial greeting and the entry of the wise man. Let us start with the initial greeting and the way it has been thoroughly restructured by the author of the inscription, who used *wn.in=f* constructions for doing this.

Following the *hpr.n šwt wnn/hpr šwt wn* locutions (Ia-b and l. 2), action is introduced in both texts by the *w^c m nn n hrw(w) hpr(w)/w^c.t m nn n hrw(w) hpr.w* sentences (Ic and l. 2). Then, in the *Prophecy*, two *sdm pw ir(w). n=f* forms succeed each other, used to describe the daily greeting by the *knb.t*, in the form of a very quick entering/going out of the palace (Ic–e). But in the inscription of el-Salamuni, one finds a *wn.in=f* construction (l. 2) introducing an ideological statement (ll. 2–6), instead of being

succeeded straight away by a second *wn.in=f* and of being used to describe the daily greeting, which may have been expected in comparison to the *Prophecy*. It is only after this statement and a sentence marked by *istw* which concludes it³⁷, that the author inserted a second *wn.in=f* construction, which not only frames the statement, but with which the text takes up again with the *Prophecy*. Indeed, the author placed after this second *wn.in=f* the same expression for the greeting that is in the *Prophecy* after the second *sdm pw ir(.w).n=f*. Yet, since the court is not mentioned, he substituted it for Ay as the one greeting, as the replacement of the suffix pronoun third person plural =*sn* for the suffix pronoun third person singular =*f* after *mi nt-^c* shows: Prophecy of Neferti:

pr.t pw ir(.w).n=sn nd<.n>=sn hr.t mi nt-^c=sn n.t r^c nb

Inscription of el-Salamuni:

wn.[i]n hm[=f] hr [nd]-hr[.t] mi nt-^c=f n r^c nb

This certainly reflects the unilateral tone of the text: Ay presents himself, Ay decides and Ay appoints; a radically different manner than in the *Prophecy*. As a matter of fact, the suffix pronoun first person singular is used in the text only by Ay (ll. 6–9), with the suffix pronoun first person plural not even used by the noblemen and companions

37 Considering this sentence marked by *istw* the conclusion of the ideological statement might be challenged. Theoretically, in this inscription of the late Eighteenth Dynasty, this particle can indeed open or conclude a section, be syntactically dependent or independent, as it is already the case in Middle Egyptian; see Oréal 2011, 171–257, Oréal 2012, 231–233 and Jay 2017, but also Ritter 1995, 153; Beylage 2002, 556, with n. 1687, for examples of the uses of the particle in royal inscriptions of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as well as Spalinger 1982, 160–161, 164–166 and Morschauser 1985, 141–142, for the multiple uses of *ist* in the *Bulletin* and in the *Poem of Kadesh*. Furthermore, as no corresponding clause marked by this particle is to be found in the *Prophecy*, its use in el-Salamuni's inscription is most probably a late Eighteenth Dynasty use. Taking this into consideration, the three following reasons led me to regard the particle *istw* as marking the conclusion of the ideological statement (for this argumentative use, see Oréal 2011, 226–232 and 250; Oréal 2012, 232–233 and 237). First, since this clause is not syntactically dependent upon the preceding clause, which belongs to the speech of “everyone” (l. 5), it is certainly an independent clause. Second, when *ist* is used to structure late Eighteenth Dynasty royal inscriptions, it marks clauses which admittedly opens new sections of the text, but in this function, the particle recurs, it is not used only once (compare with Oréal 2011, 242–244, 250 and 255–257); see *Urk.* IV, 1646–1651, l. 5 (first part of Amenhotep III's stela Cairo CG 34025), 2025–2032 (Tutankhamun's *Restoration Stela*), and 2113–2120 (Horemheb's *Coronation Inscription*). Third, in el-Salamuni's inscription, the *wn.in=f* constructions are the ones structuring the text, and this unique clause marked by *istw* interrupts their flow. On this sentence, see also below, p. 185 and 198.

when they address their king, two other differences with the *Prophecy*.

If one looks now at these first six lines of the inscription on a large scale, then a system of double brackets enclosing the ideological statement appears, in which the first and last ones build the reference to the *Prophecy of Neferti*:

Prophecy of Neferti	Inscription of el-Salamuni
<i>hpr.n swt wnn hm n nsw-bity ...</i>	<i>hpr swt wn [hm] n [nsw-bity]</i> (l. 2)
	(la-b)
<i>w^c m nn n hrw(.w) hpr(.w)</i>	(lc) <i>w^c.t m nn n hrw(.w) hpr.w</i> (l. 2)
<i>‘k pw ir(.w).n knb.t</i>	(lc-d) <i>wn.in hm=f hr h.h.y 3h.t</i> (l. 2)
	Ideological statement
∅	<i>istw ir ntr nfr nb ...</i> (ll. 5–6)
<i>pr.t pw ir(.w).n=sn ...</i>	(le) <i>wn.[i]n hm[=f] ...</i> (l. 6)
<i>... nd<.n>=sn hr.t mi nt-^c=sn n.t r^c nb</i>	<i>... hr [nd]-hr[.t] mi nt-^c=f n r^c nb</i> (l. 6)

After the second *wn.in=f* (l. 6), one finds two *dd.in=f* also to be found in the *Prophecy*: (1) *dd.in hm[=f] n sr(.w) s[m]r.w nty r-gs=f* (l. 6), which corresponds in the *Prophecy* to *dd.in hm=f ‘nh(.w) (w)d3(.w) s(nb.w) n htmw nty r-gs=f* (If); (2) *d[d.i]n=s[sn hft] hm[=f] ‘nh(.w) (w)d3(.w) s(nb.w)* (l. 9), which corresponds to *dd.in=sn hft hm=f ‘nh(.w) (w)d3(.w) s(nb.w)* (IIa), although the *wn.in=f* construction to which the latter is related (Ii) has not been retained in the inscription (see Table 2). In the *Prophecy*, the first *dd.in=f* (If) introduces the address of Snefru to his seal-bearer, whom he charges to fetch the *knb.t*, whereas the first *dd.in=f* of the inscription (l. 6) already introduces Ay's speech to the “noblemen and companions”, in which he presents his project for Akhmim³⁸. As for the second *dd.in=f*, it introduces in the *Prophecy* the answer of the *knb.t* (IIa), and the answer of the “noblemen and companions” to Ay in the inscription (l. 9).

Then, the author of the inscription inserted a third *wn.in=f* construction to describe Nakhtmin's summons, which has no equivalent in the *Prophecy*: *wn.in hm=f hr rdi.t [nd].tw [...] p? [...] Nht-Mnw r nd-hr.t m-[di=f]* (l. 10). And despite having discarded most of the court episode, he reused the greeting expression *nd-hr.t* at the end of the sentence. Now, if one looks again at the text on a large scale, the repetition of the *wn.in=f* constructions in l. 6 and l. 10 with the greeting expression builds a further system of brackets, which comes directly after the first one:

38 Instead of the *sr.w* and *smr.w*, the *Prophecy* indeed mentions the *knb.t n.t hnw* in Ic and Ig. The *sr.w* and *smr.w* are already encountered in the Leather Roll pBerlin 3029, 9–10 (see Osing 1992, 110 and 111, for the transliteration and the translation, respectively), but also under Amenhotep II, in the narrative of Qenamun's appointment as overseer of Perunefer (see *Urk.* IV, 1385, l. 7).

wn.[i]n hm[=f] hr [nd]-hr[.t] mi nt-^c=f n r^c nb (l. 6)

dd.in hm[=f] n šr(.w) s[m]r.w nty r-gš=f (l. 6)

Presentation of the project for Akhmim

d[d.i]n=s[n hft] hm[=f] ^cnh(.w) (w)d3(.w) s(nb.w) (l. 9)

*wn.in hm=f hr rdi.t [nd].tw [...] p? [...] Nht-Mnw
r nd-hr.t m-[di=f]* (l. 10)

The restructuring of the initial greeting resulted, therefore, in its division into two sections: an ideological statement (ll. 2–6) and the presentation by the king of his project for Akhmim (ll. 6–10), with the *wn.in=f* construction in l. 6 building the transition. Let us now examine the entry of the wise man, launched with the *wn.in=f* construction in l. 10.

As for this section (l. 10–12), a further look at Table 2 shows that the author of the inscription completely deleted the dialogue of the *Prophecy* between the king and the wise man, just before the latter starts his speech. In el-Salamuni's inscription, Nakhtmin indeed begins with his eulogy (l. 12) immediately after having been called by Ay (l. 10) and tasked by him with the construction of the speos (l. 11), but Neferti starts his prophecy (III^f) after having been summoned by Snefru and having talked with him (IIⁱ–III^e). Therefore, the *dd.in=f* introducing Nakhtmin's eulogy (l. 12) certainly corresponds in the *Prophecy* to the *dd.in=f* introducing the first words of Neferti (III), but these first words are an answer to the king, who asks him to be entertained with some fine words (IIⁱ), not the prophecy itself, introduced later in the text by a *dd=f* form (III^f).

Having deleted the dialogue between the wise man and the king, the author of the inscription needed to restructure this section. To that end, he inserted two *wn.in=f* constructions not found in the *Prophecy*: one, already mentioned, to express Nakhtmin's summons (l. 10), which opens the section and builds the transition with the project for Akhmim, and one to express his appointment (l. 11). In a way, the former substitutes for the order uttered by Snefru to fetch Neferti, introduced by a *dd.in=f* (II^f), whilst the latter substitutes for the whole dialogue between the prophet and the king (III–III^e). Then, he kept only three forms and locutions from the *Prophecy*: (1) the *št.in.tw(=f)*, which apply to Neferti and Nakhtmin (II^g and l. 11); (2) the *wn.in=f hr h.t=f* also applying to both dignitaries and immediately following the preceding forms (II^h and l. 11); (3) the *dd.in=f* introducing in both texts the first words of both wise men (III and l. 12), just examined. It is worthy to note that these forms and locutions are not only the same and in the same order in both texts, but that they also introduce identical episodes in their respective narratives: (1) and (2) = entering and paying their respect by both men; (3) = first speech of both of them. This, actually, can be observed since the *dd.in=f* forms in II^a (*Prophecy*) and in

l. 9 (inscription), since the speeches that they introduce deal with presenting the right man to entertain the king/suggesting the appointment of the right overseer to build the speos. In any case, for the summons of Nakhtmin, one can consider the high number of *wn.in=f* constructions and their immediate succession certainly characterizing this short section, speeding up the narrative.

It is to be noted that when describing the summons of Nakhtmin (l. 10), the author added to the greeting expression a preposition not found after any of the greeting expressions in the *Prophecy*: *m-di=f*, which seems to set the eulogy uttered by Nakhtmin in an undisclosed setting. In the *Prophecy*, although this is not specified, one understands that Neferti is uttering his prophecy in the presence of the *knb.t*³⁹. Here, in contrast, *m-di=f* gives the impression that Ay and Nakhtmin are alone or, at least, that the construction business is strictly between the king and his overseer of works.

In summary, the role of the *sdm.in=f* forms and especially of the *wn.in=f* constructions in the layout of the inscription is decisive. Its author used them to structure the first part of the text (ll. 2–12), dividing it up into three sections: the ideological statement, the presentation of the king's project for Akhmim, and the summons of Nakhtmin. Most importantly, by retaining only some of those found in the *Prophecy*, disregarding others, and inserting further ones, he succeeded in conceiving an original composition, although close enough to the *Prophecy* to call it to the mind of the reader. Then, is it possible, not only to point out structural matches between both texts, but also a common lexicon?

The Inscription of el-Salamuni and the *Prophecy of Neferti*: A Lexical Comparison

Actually, a search for a common lexicon and common motifs between both texts gives poor results. Let us start with the lexicon⁴⁰. First, encouraging his heart to hear the

³⁹ Considering this, it might be relevant that in the *Prophecy*, Neferti's speech is introduced by *dd=f* only, whereas in the inscription, the addressee is specified: *[d]d.in=f hft hm[=f]*.

⁴⁰ To the lexemes to be discussed now, one may add *hd* “destruction”, which appears twice in the inscription (l. 6 and l. 22), the verb *hd(i)* “to destroy”, being used three times in the *Prophecy* (Va, VIIa and Xc). However, *hd(i)* is usual in texts dealing with a catastrophic description of Egypt, so that its use in el-Salamuni's inscription is not necessarily to be explained by inspiration that its author would have found in the *Prophecy of Neferti*; see for example *Urk. IV, 2027*,

still-to-come catastrophic description of the eastern Delta, Neferti addresses it: *m wrd(.w) m=k st hft-hr=k* “Do not tire! As it is before you.”⁴¹ (IVa). Likewise, speaking to Ay about the Nine Bows, Nakhtmin says: *m wrd(.w) [...]* “Do not tire [...]!” (I. 17). If this form is correctly analysed⁴², then the same negative imperative would be used in both texts to express encouragements. Second, describing how violence substitutes for dialogue⁴³, with *mdw.t* as the lexeme, Neferti says: *hn [n] md(w).t hr-ib mi h.t* “a speech is felt like fire” (XIa)⁴⁴. At the opposite, in l. 4 of the inscription, it is said about the gods: *[ršš]=šn hft [md]w=f* “It is according to his [speech] that they [were rejoicing]”. Likewise, with *pr-n-r*, “utterance”, as the lexeme, Neferti foretells: *nn whd.n=tw pr-n-r{-i}* “Nobody will be able to stand (any) utterance” (XIa), but, again in contrast and about the gods: *h[^c]=šn hr prw-n-r=f*, “It is because of his utterance that they were exulting!” (l. 4), and about Egypt: *nh t3.wy [t]m[w m] prw-n-[r]=k* “Huma[nity] lives [from] your [utter]ance” (l. 13). Let us continue with the common motifs.

The first motif, if one refers to their order in the *Prophecy*, is the people feeling the *ršw*-joy, which frames the section about the king’s enemies (XIVa–XVf): *rš.y rmt n.t h3w=f s3 n s r ir.t rn=f r nhh hn^c d.t*, “Rejoice (o) people of his time, (for) the son of a man will make his name forever and eternally!” (XIVa–b); *ršy gmh.t[y=fy wn]n.t(y)=fy hr šmš nšw*, “The one who [will] watch (this) and the one who will be following the king shall rejoice” (XVf)⁴⁵. In the inscription, this motif is found in the ideological statement: *t3 nb [h]r rš[w]*, “The whole country was [in] joy” (l. 5), and in Nakhtmin’s eulogy, although it relates to the past state of the two

banks being unable to be in joy (l. 19). As for the motif of following the king, combined with joy in the *Prophecy*, as we just saw, it is found at the beginning of the eulogy: *t3.wy m šmšw[=k]*, “(so that) the two lands are in [your] suite” (l. 13)⁴⁶.

A further motif is the *snđw*-fear felt by the enemies. In the *Prophecy*, the sentence referring to it is: *w3y.w r đw.t k3y.w sbiw šhr.n=šn r.w=šn n snđw=f*, “Those who fall into⁴⁷ evil and those who plan rebellion, they will then have put an end to their talks because of the fear of him”⁴⁸ (XIVc–d)⁴⁹. In the eulogy, one finds: *šwd=f n=k i3w.t=f n đ.t Pd.wt psđ.t m ks.t n [šnd]w=k* “... who assigns to you his office eternally, the Nine Bows being in submission because of [the fear] of you” (ll. 16–17). In the inscription, the Nine Bows replace the rebels and other wrongdoers of the *Prophecy*, but it is also because of the *snđw*-fear that the king arouses, that they submit⁵⁰.

As said at the beginning of this section, the lexicon and motifs common to the *Prophecy of Neferti* and el-Salamuni’s inscription are by far less impressive than their structural matches, even though a few can be pointed out. Could this mitigated situation be the sign that the inspiration sought by the author of el-Salamuni’s inscription in the *Prophecy* is restricted to structural features? In fact, most of Neferti’s prophecy consists of the catastrophic description of the eastern Delta (III–XIIg), the description of Ameny’s deeds being very limited in comparison (XIIIa–XVf), whereas the whole inscription of el-Salamuni glorifies Ay’s deeds, the description of the bad state of Egypt being reduced to a few words in the ideological statement (l. 3). This difference may explain why there are only a few matches. Would an examination of Ay’s deeds actually confirm this explanation?

l. 20 (*hd*; Tutankhamun’s *Restoration Stela*). See also Stauder 2013, 349–351 and 353, for the common lexicon between the *Prophecy* and literary texts, as well as 351–52, 357, and 419, for the question of the “clusters of language and imagery” (for which see also below, footnotes 112 and 122). The case of *ng3* “to suffer from lack”, which can probably be restored at the beginning of the inscription (l. 3; see also above, n. b to the transliteration), whilst *g3w* “lack” is used at least three times by Neferti (Ve, VIg, VIIIb, and perhaps VIIIc), might also be put forward. The notion is central in the *Prophecy*, though; see below, p. 187; Parys 2018, 7–8 (although with a debatable interpretation).

41 On this expression and its use in further texts, see Stauder 2013, 424, (iii).

42 See above, n. t to the translation.

43 For this substitution, see Posener 1956, 42–43; Assmann 2006², 84 and 82–85, for the chapter dealing with this topic. See also Neferti Xh-i, for two further passages describing the substitution of dialogue by violence not quoted here.

44 On *hr-ib* in this sentence, see Posener 1956, 153–154, E 49.

45 For Stauder 2013, 431, “the people [...] ‘rejoice’ in response to the king’s advent”, but the fact that the two sentences describing this joy frame the section on the enemies may certainly allow for refining the reason for the *ršw*-joy to be felt.

46 *šmšw* may also be restored in l. 15, but this is uncertain; see above, n. x to the transliteration. On this notion in relation to the king, see Posener 1956, 58–59.

47 Translation of *w3(i) r* after Franke 1998, 53, who quotes the sentence.

48 I follow Malaise, Winand 1999, 353, ex. 792, both for the translation of the sentence and the value of the *sdm.n=f*.

49 On the *snđw*-fear in the *Prophecy*, see Stauder 2013, 426.

50 In the inscription, the Nine Bows are also mentioned in the presentation of Ay’s project for Akhmim, about Horus (ll. 8–9) and at the very end of the inscription (l. 25). On the *snđw*-fear and its relation to royal authority, see Eyre 2017, 109.

The Inscription of el-Salamuni: Ay's deeds

The speos of el-Salamuni as an exemplification of what being *ꜥh* means

First, the examination of Ay's deeds reveals the importance of the notion of "benefactions", *ꜥh.t*, which appears as early as the very beginning of the text: "One of these days had come, (when) His Majesty was seeking benefactions (*hh.y ꜥh.t*)" (l. 2). According to inscriptions related to coronation scenes, being *ꜥh*, "beneficent", is an essential quality of the king. Indeed, at his coronation, the king compels himself to be beneficent for the gods, for which purpose they bestow him with gifts, such as life, valour, fear, etc. More concretely, and also according to these inscriptions, being *ꜥh* means building the temples of the gods, shaping their cult statues, providing their altars with food, etc.; it means taking care of the gods' welfare⁵¹. Now, this is what the ideological statement is partly about. Thus, three primary aspects of this welfare are mentioned as the objectives of the king's pursuit for benefactions: to satisfy (*shtp*) all the gods, to embellish (*smnh*) their sanctuaries, and to make their offering festive (*shb*) "on earth" (ll. 2–3). Among these three aspects, the notion of "embellishment" (*smnh*) plays the most important role⁵².

Indeed, this notion is found again at the end of the ideological statement, as the third wish expressed by "everyone": "... [so that he may embellish] his monuments, them being firm, [enduring] and strong eternally!" (l. 5), and, then, in the presentation of the king's project for Akhmim, together with the notions of satisfaction and exaltation: "I will embellish [his] (= *Min*'s) temple [with] works of eternity! I will satisfy for him [his mother], who [created] his person, Isis [...], god's mother, dwelling in *Ipu*! I will exalt for him Horus, [pro]tector-of-his-father, who subdues for me the Nine Bows united together!" (ll. 8–9). Here, embellishment, satisfaction, and exaltation are combined with "building (*ir(i)*) great monuments" for *Min* (l. 7), a decision resulting from Ay's longing of heart "for the city of [his] father, *Min*, whose feathers are high, who is in the *Senet*" (ll. 6–7). Thus, using in the presentation of the project for Akhmim the same notions as in the ideological statement,

⁵¹ See Lurson 2016, 146, 153–157, and 195. This notion is linked with the notion of *ndty*, "protector", also to be found in the presentation of Ay's project for Akhmim: "(For) I am their protector (*ndty*), in [charge of their] possessions, their effective son, [devoted (*ꜥh-ib*) to] them!" (l. 9).

⁵² For this translation of *smnh* instead of "to restore", compare with Malek 1992, 65. I am grateful to H.-W. Fischer-Elfert for this reference.

makes it clear that building the speos of el-Salamuni is an exemplification of what being *ꜥh* means. This is confirmed by the resurgence of the notion of *ꜥh*, twice still in the presentation of the project, and twice in the section dealing with Nakhtmin's appointment.

In the last sentence of the king's speech in the section dealing with his project, Ay says: "(For) I am their protector, in [charge of their] possessions, their effective son, [devoted (*ꜥh-ib*) to] them!" (l. 9). Then, in the speech of the court to him at the end of the section, the noblemen and companions tell him: "(O) lord, may [Your] Majesty lph command to appoint an overseer of works, to execute what came out from your mouth, and it is in your [name], that your [monument will be established, like] a king who does benefactions (*ir ꜥh.t*)!"⁵³ (l. 10). Lastly, for describing Nakhtmin's appointment, the text relates: "Then, [His Majesty] laid charge upon [him] [...] *n=f* [...] as well as overseer of works, to construct monuments within *Ipu* as a seeking for [deeds of] benefaction ([*sp.w n*] *ꜥh.t*), to s[...] [*m*] [...] the gods of his city, (for) he knows that their hearts are satisfied with making [benefactions] (*hr ir.t ꜥh.t*) for the future" (ll. 11–12). Here, let us point out the extension of the notion, as benefactions are said to be performed for the future, which, according to the text, seems to please the gods even more. However, although the notion of *ꜥh* and the construction of the speos are emphasised in the first part of the inscription up to and including Nakhtmin's appointment, they are under-represented in the eulogy.

First, in the present state of the inscription, the notion of embellishment (*smnh*) is not to be found at all in the eulogy, whilst the notion of *ꜥh* occurs only once: "You are pleasant [at the portal] of the two horizons, according as you do benefactions (*iry=k ꜥh.t*) eternally at [your place]" (l. 20). Second, Ay's building activity is brought up only at the very beginning and at the end of the eulogy. At its opening, the sentences are: "[May the] own [works] (*kꜥ.wt*) of [Your] Majesty [be praised]! May their [hearts] recompense [you] with millions of years, (for) you are their son, whose deeds are successful! It is upon [your] breast that Maat has set!"⁵⁴ (ll. 12–13). Here, the mention of Ay's works

⁵³ The notion of having his name established in the temple as a reward is already mentioned right after Ay declares that he will "build great monuments, [millions of] times" for *Min*: "and it is [like] the name of Atum in the *Hut-ser*, that my name will be [in his temple] of the necropolis, being magnified as a great reward, millions of times!" (ll. 7–8), with the repetition of the expression "millions of times" to be pointed out.

⁵⁴ Compare this last sentence with the following passage of Seti I's Abydos Dedicatory Stela for Ramses I: *stp.w=i n=f Mꜥ.t rꜥ nb fꜥ.y=i šw ti šw hr šnb.t=i* [...], "I chose for him Maat every day and I carried it, as it was on my breast [...]" ; see KRI I, 111, ll. 11–12 (quoted by Grimal 1986,

is not only aimed at glorifying them, but also at calling on the king the favours of the gods, with the king's works being alluded to with the lexeme *k3.wt*, which not only refers to the title of Nakhtmin, *imy-r k3.wt*, but also to a sentence in the presentation of the king's project quoted above: "I will embellish [his] (= *Min*'s) temple [with] works (*k3.wt*) of eternity!" (l. 8). At the end of the eulogy, it is on the city of the god that Nakhtmin focuses: "May you [erect] *Ipu* anew, the city [of your] father, *Min*, whose feathers are high, dwelling in *Ipu*!" (l. 23). This sentence is followed by further wishes, such as "May you be happy, so that you [may lead] the two lands, them being stable!" (l. 25), which, like at the beginning of the eulogy, were most likely concluded by an appeal of Nakhtmin to the gods to bestow gifts upon Ay: "[...] life, stability and dominion, while making [your] arm strong against [the Nine Bows, like] *Re*, [eternally]!" (l. 25). Let us note that the mention of *Ipu* not only echoes Ay's heartfelt longing for the city at the beginning of the presentation of his project (ll. 6–7), but also the first sentence of the court's answer to it: "May [it] be done [for] [his] <your> [fathers], the lords of *Ipu*, as you said!" (l. 9).

In summary, from the ideological statement until the end of the eulogy, one can follow the conceptual frame of building the *speos* of el-Salamuni: an exemplification of what being *3h* means. However, when considering the under-representation of this topic in the eulogy, although it frames its body, the construction of the *speos* does not appear to be its real subject. In that case, what is the eulogy about, and why does Ay deserve such praise?

A collection of deeds?

In addition to the first and last chapters of the eulogy just addressed, which, respectively, deal with Ay's construction (ll. 12–13) and consist of wishes (ll. 22–25), the eulogy can be divided into five further chapters. They can be individualised based on the deconstruction of the text proposed above, and they differ from each other in terms of topics. Let us review what they tell us about Ay's deeds.

The second chapter is very short (l. 13), and I will return to it in the next section. The third chapter is about Ay conducting divine feasts (ll. 14–16), the king being called "the leader of the feast(s) of [the Ennead]"⁵⁵ (l. 14).

301, n. 943); Clère 1957, 21, for the recutting of the section *šw ti šw*; KRITA I, 94, who understands *ti šw hr šnb.t-i* as a subordinate clause to a following independent clause lost in the lacuna.

55 Ay already bears this "title" during his pre-royal career, as shown by the ivory pawn Turin 6446 coming from a *senet* on which it is inscribed; see Hari 1976, 267, 268 and pl. XIV, no. 3.

The text focuses on the "Festival of [Eternity], established under [Ay's] name", which involves Amun's bark. The Opet Festival could be meant here⁵⁶, in any case a festival during which Ay's kingly status may have been established or confirmed, an interpretation that the following passage may sustain: "[They] see [...] your [...] during the night, (and) they [celebrate you] in the bark in which are their figureheads (*šh[b]=šn [tw] m wi3 [i]my h3.wt=šn*), as [your] Majesty mingles with that what is in them (*šnšn hm[=k] m im.t=šn*), as you [appear] like them, [your] appearance being [their appearance]" (l. 15).

First, this passage is strongly reminiscent of typical utterances of Amun-Re to the king usually found in connection with the procession of the god, such as: *hnm=i h'w=k bi3y.wt n h3ty=i n hr=k nfr šnšn w3dty n hr(y).t-tp=k*, "I unite with your body, the wonders of my figurehead being for your beautiful face, while the uraei mingle with your head"⁵⁷. Second, this latter utterance clarifies what is meant in el-Salamuni's inscription: by leading Amun's procession, Ay appears as the bark's figurehead itself, with its uraei and probably also the *atef*-crown, according to a description of the Userhat dating from Amenhotep III⁵⁸. Third, it is the very mingling with the uraei that certainly alludes to the king's coronation⁵⁹. This chapter ends with a quotation of the people in adoration.

The fourth chapter is about Ay being assigned (*šwd*) his office, the submission of Egypt's enemies to him, and how he saved Egypt from drowning (ll. 16–19)⁶⁰. Since some of the sentences mentioning the mingling with the

56 As for a potential allusion to the Opet Festival, the description of something happening during the night (*m wh(3)*) is to be taken into consideration, as the eve (*h3wy*) of this festival was celebrated; see Medinet Habu III, pl. 153–154, List 28; Darnell 2010, 1. Let us also note that in Amarna, wine jar docketts attest a *hb hh* "Festival of Eternity", about which Krauss 1998 proposes that "Wegen der gleichen Terminierung [...] das *h3b nhh* sowie das damit synonyme *h3b dt* mit dem *mswt-Jtn*-Fest identisch ist". For the occurrences, see Pendlebury 1951a, 174 (chapter by H. W. Fairman) and 1951b, pl. 92, no. 195, 196 and 198.

57 Architrave of Karnak Great Hypostyle Hall; see Rondot 1997, 26 (translation), 27, n. e, (commentary and further examples), pl. 6 (text). See also Volokhine 2001, 376–378, who gathered even more examples (the Karnak architrave is quoted on p. 377, no. 3).

58 see *Urk.* IV, 1653, ll. 3–6. Volokhine 2001, 378–379, n. a, points out the link between the epithet *nfr-hr* and the fact of wearing a crown, but does not refer to the description of the bow and of the stern of Amun's bark dating from Amenhotep III mentioning explicitly their *atef*-crown along with the uraei, which may enable a conclusion to be drawn regarding the kind of crown that may be more specifically meant here. See also l. c., 380, n. c.

59 See Volokhine 2001, 379–380, n. b, about the god's utterances.

60 The image of the land having drowned is also met in the first part of the *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*; see RIK III, pl. 18, col. 31; Caminos 1958, 44, n. h.

uraei combines it with the submission of the enemies⁶¹, the third and fourth chapters of the eulogy may be thematically related through the god's procession. Unfortunately, this part of the inscription has many lacunas. The power of Ay over the foreign countries is nevertheless unambiguous, as we already saw above with the *sndw*-fear. This chapter ends with a statement involving Maat (ll. 18–19), to which I will return in the next section.

The fifth chapter (ll. 19–21) of the eulogy seems to open with a sentence about personnel assigned to the palace being transferred to the temple: “The servants, which had been servile personnel assigned to the palace, have been consecrated to their lord, [like] the First [Time]” (ll. 19–20). Because of the loss of the central part of lines 16 to 20, the precise limit between the third, fourth and fifth chapters remains admittedly unclear, but with this sentence about the personnel, a new theme is undoubtedly tackled, which concerns the welfare of the gods. In Tutankhamun's *Restoration Stela*, a similar statement about the consecration of staff appears among the other actions taken by the king towards the gods⁶².

The sixth chapter seems to be devoted to the king as a judge and a listener: “[Humanity] is in [feast, as you are the one who judges] the private individual (*nm[h](y)*), [who does not cease] to [listen to the] single private individual (*nmh(y) w['](w)*), who heals affliction, it [...] *w/m(?)* [...] (so that) [the heart] of [...] is joyful” (ll. 21–22)⁶³.

In summary, the eulogy seems to be listing a collection of deeds without explicit relationship neither with each other, nor with the notion of *3h*. These deeds can be historically founded though, as they fit with the suppression of the liturgies of Amun under Akhenaten's reign with regard to the celebration of the festival, with the description of the unsuccessful military campaigns in Tutankhamun's *Restoration Stela*⁶⁴ with regard to the restoration of Egypt's power over the foreign countries, and, with regard to Ay judging the *nmh(y)*, with the legal measures promulgated in the *Edict of Horemheb*⁶⁵. Can it really be so, however,

⁶¹ See Volokhine 2001, 376–378, for the examples gathered by the author.

⁶² See *Urk.* IV, 2030, ll. 6–11, for the consecration of staff (see above, n. x to the translation for ll. 6–7) and *Urk.* IV, 2028, l. 7–2030, l. 11, for all the actions taken by Tutankhamun to the benefit of the gods.

⁶³ For the restorations, see above, n. jj, ll and mm to the transliteration.

⁶⁴ For the historicity of the unsuccessful military campaigns of Tutankhamun, see for example Brand 2008, 109; Popko 2009, 28–31, who also recalls the reality of Tutankhamun's restorations of the temples. See also below, footnotes 66, 69 and 73.

⁶⁵ See Kruchten 1981, 210–211. For the possibility, still to be considered, of a usurpation of the *Edict* by Horemheb, which would then date from Tutankhamun, see Kruchten 2003, 487–488 and 499.

that there is no relation between the construction of the speos as an exemplification of what being *3h* means and the deeds for which the king is praised, even though Ay's constructions are mentioned in the first and last chapter of the eulogy? Moreover, the question of the small number of lexical matches has not found a definitive answer either. In fact, an answer to both questions can be found in Ay's major and dominant deed, which happens to encompass all of the aspects under discussion: the restoration of communication.

The Inscription of el-Salamuni: Restoring Communication by a Messianic King

Restoring communication with the gods as Ay's pivotal deed

To identify this pivotal deed, the eulogy has to be considered in relation to the ideological statement. Indeed, two almost exact same sentences show that they correlate. In conclusion of the ideological statement, let us first point out the following sentence, which has no equivalent in the *Prophecy* (see Table 2): “Indeed, as for the good god, lord of the crowns, Itnetjer-Ay-[netjerheqawaset], he could not possibly have been content with wrongdoing, (for) his abomination was the destruction of [rectitude]” (l. 6). Let us also point out the particular emphasis given to this sentence by the initial particle *istw* and the preposition *ir*, as *istw* marks it, whilst its subject is topicalized by *ir*. Let us highlight now the following sentence at the end of the eulogy: “[You shall] not [be content with] the destruction of rectitude, (for) your abomination is wrongdoing!” (l. 22).

The ideological statement has already been investigated as the background for the construction of the speos. This, however, is only a part of it, as the king, then the gods, then “everyone” succeed each other as its subjects – the ideological statement is indeed written like a narrative – while the notion of embellishment (*smnh*) is not exclusively related to the construction of the speos. Let us follow the narrative up to this point. Ay is seeking benefactions to satisfy (*shtp*) the gods, embellish (*smnh*) their sanctuaries and make their offering festive (*shb*). They had suffered from lack and had fallen into disappearance, but Ay had established his (own) daily offerings, and the *ym.w*-statues had been shaped anew.

At this point, it is interesting to pause and notice that if the establishment of the daily offerings is clearly described

with the suffix pronoun third singular person =f as having been done by Ay himself, the shaping of the *ḥm.w*-statues is just said to have happened, with a stative as predicate of a pseudoverbal construction. This might reflect the action taken by Tutankhamun to restore the *ḥm.w*-statues⁶⁶. After almost ten years of such a policy, it may indeed be so, that the essential of the work was done. In any case, this formulation and the brevity of the statements on the situation of the gods show that re-establishing the daily offerings and shaping cult statues are not specific to King Ay's action. In fact, they are rather used as the background to introduce Ay's major deed.

First, in the wake of these remarks about the daily offerings and the *ḥm.w*-statues, one notices a change of predication and subject in the following clauses, with an aorist *sdm=f* of which the subject is “the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt”, followed by two *mrr=f* forms and a *sdm.n=f* used as the verb form of a relative clause. Second, these clauses describe a situation that from the logical sequence necessarily builds upon the preceding remarks. They are: “(Thus), the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, from Elephantine to the Delta marshes, [were talking] to him face-to-face, [as] a father talks [with his son, saying] what is in their hearts, he having been placed [upon earth] to implement it. It is because of his utterance that they were exulting! It is according to his [speech] that they [were rejoicing], which gladdened humanity!” (ll. 3–5). At last, the high number of lexemes belonging to the same semantic field of verbal communication for so few sentences, namely *mdw* (three times⁶⁷) and *prw-n-r* (once), enables us to recognise Ay's pivotal deed: the restoration of communication, with the focus being here on the communication between the king and the gods. Then, it may even be so that the idea of building the speos results from a dialogue between Ay and the gods, this monument implementing (*ir.t*) their will⁶⁸.

It is noteworthy to compare this description with the description of the temples in Tutankhamun's *Restoration Stela*: “The sanctuaries of the gods and goddesses from Elephantine [to] the lagoons of the Delta [...] [fallen] into

ruin”⁶⁹. It is difficult not to see intertextuality in this proximity, which tells us a lot about the improvement of the situation from Tutankhamun's reign up to Ay's reign, from ruined temples to divinities now happy to be able to talk with the king. Thus, from Tutankhamun to Ay, there seems to be a sound continuity of the policy⁷⁰, Ay's restoration of communication building upon Tutankhamun's restoration of monuments and statues, as talking with the gods necessitates having temples where they can be addressed and statues in which they can dwell. This secondarily pleads again for the reality and success, after almost one decade, of the restoration works undertaken under Tutankhamun.

Also worth noticing is the rich lexicon related to joy and gladness: *ḥ(i)*, *ršw*, and *šndm-ib*. Altogether, this is indeed reminiscent of the lexical similarities between the inscription and the *Prophecy of Neferti*, namely *mdw*, *prw-n-r* and *ršw*. Admittedly, the *ršw*-joy is neither specific to the *Prophecy* nor to el-Salamuni's inscription; it is even a usual topic for royal inscriptions⁷¹. It is nonetheless important to identify the notion(s) with which joy and gladness are combined, to understand their specific cause in the texts in which such emotions are described⁷². In the *Prophecy*, the *ršw*-joy is caused by the action of Ameny against Egypt's enemies; in el-Salamuni's inscription, it is caused by the action of Ay restoring verbal communication with the gods. Thus, when put in the narrative and the discourse proper to the inscription, the scarcity of the lexical matches between the *Prophecy* and the inscription can also be explained by the essence of Ay's action, namely the restoration of communication, indeed completely different from Ameny's action.

Verbal communication is not a notion entirely absent from the *Prophecy of Neferti*, though. It is even the reason why Neferti is called in the first place: Snefru wishes to be entertained (*d3(i) hr*) by hearing (*sdm*) some words (*mdw.t*) and sentences/verses (*ts.w*) to be told (*dd*) by an expert (ll-m and llj-k). Moreover, Neferti criticises the fact of being

⁶⁶ See *Urk.* IV, 2029, l. 2, for the passage of the *Restoration Stela* mentioning the *ḥm.w*-statues; above, footnote 64; below, footnotes 69 and 73.

⁶⁷ For the restoration of two of the occurrences of the lexeme, see above, n. e and g to the transliteration.

⁶⁸ In Tutankhamun's *Restoration Stela*, the king is said to “take counsel with his heart” (*w3w3 šh ḥn*ḥ* ib=f*; see *Urk.* IV, 2028, 9). Since the expression also occurs in other royal inscriptions such as the *Edict of Horemheb* (see Kruchten 1981, 20, 24, n. F, 26, n. 34 and 213), the decision process described in el-Salamuni's inscription may well be unusual.

⁶⁹ *Urk.* IV, 2027, 3–4. See also above, footnotes 64 and 66; below, footnote 73.

⁷⁰ See Schaden 1977, 259; Brand 2008, 112. In contrast, the description of the king's deeds towards the gods in Horemheb's *Coronation Inscription* gives the impression that nothing happened since Akhenaten; see *Urk.* IV, 2119, l. 10–2120, l. 11.

⁷¹ On this notion, which can be felt by the gods and the people, see Grimal 1986, 613–616.

⁷² In Horemheb's *Coronation Inscription*, for example, the *ršw*-joy results from seeing Horemheb: by Amun-Re when he arrives to be crowned and by the people when he appears, being crowned; see *Urk.* IV, 2117, ll. 4–7, 2118, l. 16–2119, l. 7. Other lexemes belonging to the same semantic field, such as *ḥ(i)* and *šndm-ib* are also to be encountered. On the *ršw*-joy in the context of the religious festivals, see also Ragazzoli 2018, 385, for a brief commentary.

silent (*gr*) about the state of the country at the beginning of his prophecy (IIIg-IIIh and Va), describes the people as being deprived of the sun, which is indeed lacking (*gʒw*), as being deaf (*id(i)*; Ve), and the garrison as not hearing (*šdm*) the invader(?) because of the lack(?) (*gʒw?*) of a fortress (VII f). Yet, the acme of the expression of the notion comes later in the text, in the form of a saying: “See, the one who (should) be hearing is being deaf, and the silent one is in front!” (*ptr [š]dm hr idw iw gr hf<t>-hr*; VIII d). In the *Prophecy*, however, deficient communication is the consequence of various lacks. And it is the ultimate lack of a king that is going to be filled with the arrival of Ameny, whose programme is, therefore, to restore royal authority and territorial integrity, so that it is his action as a king against Egypt’s enemies that arouses *ršw*-joy, as we just saw. On the other hand, Ay’s programme is the restoration of verbal communication itself; it is what is lacking. Yet, in that case this should be a recurring theme in the text.

As a matter of fact, the restoration of the communication with the gods also extends to the people. Still in the ideological statement, following the sentences about the gods, the author changes again the predication, making use of adverbial sentences and pseudoverbal constructions, which is accompanied (again) by a change of subject: “The whole country was [in] joy, every person [was] offering to his god, (and) every god was receiving what [one] was [praying] him (for) [...]” (l. 5). Thus, the communication is also restored between the people and the gods, a dimension introduced in the previous clause: “It is according to his [speech] that they [were rejoicing], which gladdened humanity!” (l. 5). This kind of communication, however, is not the same as between the king and the gods. There is no father/son conversation, but there is the offering (*wdn*) by the people and the receiving (*šsp*) by the gods of what the people are praying for (*nh(i)*)⁷³. Yet, the consequence is the same: the *ršw*-joy is all over the country. As a matter of fact, addressing the divinities, offering to them and praying to them by private individuals was common religious practice⁷⁴, so that being deprived of it may certainly have led to unhappiness.

⁷³ Compare again with Tutankhamun’s *Restoration Stela*, about the gods and goddesses not answering the prayers, but with other verbs to be used; see *Urk.* IV, 2027, ll. 15–18. *wdn* is also the verb used in *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* for describing the offerings to the gods made by private persons; see pLeiden I 344 recto, 8,7 and 8,13 = Helck 1995, 38 (C 30) and 40 (C 37). See also above, footnotes 64, 66 and 69.

⁷⁴ See Luiselli 2011, especially 39–44, 82–84, and 180–187. As an example of a verbal address to a deity, one may mention oDeM 1262, verso, 2: “I will raise my voice, so that Thoth may listen”; see Fischer-Elfert 1986, 68–69. This practice is attested not only after, but also before and during the Amarna Period; see Bickel 2003, 39–43

At this point, it is important to underline the place given to the people in the inscription. First, except in the presentation of Ay’s project for Akhmim⁷⁵, it is mentioned on an unusually large scale for a royal inscription. Second, the lexicon for designating the people is very rich: *s nb* (ll. 5, 13), *ir.t-nb* (ll. 5, 13), *hr-nb* (ll. 13, 15), *bw-nb* (l. 22), *h.t nb.t* (l. 23), *t3.wy-tmw* (ll. 4, 13, 18), *tmw* (l. 21)⁷⁶. In the present state of the inscription, the absence of *rm̄t* is noteworthy. A comparison with the *Restoration Stela* is again very significant, as the people are simply not mentioned. The business is only between the king and the gods, with Tutankhamun describing in detail, for example, the statues he shaped for them. Likewise, when mentioning the unsuccessful prayers to the gods and goddesses, the author even uses the indefinite pronoun *=tw*, not a word for designating the people, whereas joy and jubilation are said to be felt by the gods, the banks (*idb.w*) and the country (*t3*), without an explicit mention of Egypt’s inhabitants⁷⁷. Therefore, Ay’s central deed which underpins his political discourse is not only the restoration of communication with the gods, but also the place given to the people of Egypt in this restoration, which is certainly a very original feature.

To conclude the ideological statement, the author quotes the people: “Everyone [was] saying: “[May] the ruler [...] [be kept healthy], (and) [may] the holder of kingship [last], [so that he may embellish] his monuments, them being firm, [enduring] and strong eternally!”” (l. 5). These wishes are certainly addressed to the gods for the sake of the king. It is here that the notion of embellishment (*smnh*) is not exclusively related to the construction of the speos of el-Salamuni as an exemplification of what being *ʒh* means. The sentences preceding these wishes let us indeed understand that the embellishment of his mon-

(in particular 43), but also 43–44, for the “Schauen und Sprechen”; Ragazzoli 2018, 375–376, 378–379, and 394, but who focuses on the wish to see the god.

⁷⁵ Alone the lexeme *imy.w-h̄t* is to be encountered in this section of the text (l. 12).

⁷⁶ One may also add: *t3.wy* (ll. 13, 21, 25), *t3 nb* (l. 5), *idb.wy* (ll. 18, 19), and *Km.t Dšr.t* (l. 23). H.-W. Fischer-Elfert points out to me that a series of similar lexemes is found in the hymn to Amun-Re of pChester Beatty IV = pBM 10684 recto 8,4 and 9,1 = *hr-nb*; 8,7 = *ib*; 8,8 = *hʒty.w*; 8,13 = *hʒty.w h.wt*; 9,2 = *ir.t-nb.t* (personal communication); see Gardiner 1935, pl. 14–16. I am grateful to Burt Kasparian for having provided me with a copy of the plates of this book.

⁷⁷ See *Urk.* IV, 2027, 15–18 (unsuccessful prayers) and 2030, 13–19 (joy and jubilation). In Horemheb’s *Coronation Inscription*, the tone is also very official, but the lexeme *t3-tmw* recurs nevertheless five times; see *Urk.* IV, 2114, 1 and 9, 2115, 1, 2116, 5, 2119, 4; above, footnotes 71, for bibliography about feeling the *ršw*-joy, and 72, also about Horemheb’s *Coronation Inscription*.

uments by Ay will enable the people to once again have contact with the gods; it will allow the people to fulfil their desire to interact with the gods. In this frame, the speos of el-Salamuni can be defined as a place where the king and the gods, as well as the people and the gods, communicate again with each other. If this is interpreted correctly, then the restoration of communication should be the reason why the king is praised in the eulogy, being the “common denominator” between the speos and this “collection of deeds” described in the eulogy. Let us investigate the latter again along this line.

Restoring communication by Ay as a messianic king

In the previous section, the second chapter of the eulogy had not been addressed, as it actually deals in its entirety with the notion of communication: “Huma[nity] lives [from] your [utter]ance. [Everyone] [...] according to your statement (and) everybody according to your [dictum], (so that) the two lands are in [your] suite” (l. 13). Again, the number of words belonging to the semantic field of verbal communication is determining: *prw-n-r*, *wšb*, and *r*, while “accompanying the king (*šmš*)”⁷⁸ is combined with the notion of communication. Yet, a noticeable difference between the kind of communication to be praised here and the communication said to be restored in the ideological statement is that it is between the king and the people, thereby extending it to another sphere. This is a further step in Ay’s political discourse, but with the people being deeply involved once again.

Even more interesting is the statement issued by the people at the end of the chapter: “[Every person] says: ‘The one whose coming was awaited has fallen to doing Maat!’” (l. 13), an expression of which use for a king is, to my knowledge, unique⁷⁹. In any case, the messianic nature of Ay cannot be more clearly exhibited than with this sentence, whilst the historical context of the inscription strongly contributes to make Ay an even more credi-

ble personification of the prototypical figure of Ameny⁸⁰. As a matter of fact, this sentence ascertains the objective of the recourse to the *Prophecy of Neferti* by the author of el-Salamuni’s inscription: making Ay a messianic king⁸¹. Then, in the argumentation developed in the eulogy, the position of this utterance after praising the effect of Ay’s works and words, makes it clear that restoring communication is exactly what the people were waiting for. In a way, Ay appears more as the people’s hero than the hero of the gods; he is not only a messianic king, he is the saviour of the people.

As for the reference to Maat, it enables us to understand its specific meaning in this particular political discourse: Maat as “kommunikative Solidarität/Reziprozität” with “Sprache als Paradigma kommunikativen Handelns”, one of the poles of Maat pointed out by Assmann when investigating the wrongdoings against Maat. According to the author, “die Sprache [ist] für das Prinzip der Kommunikation das leitende Paradigma”, whilst for social life “gibt für den Ägypter die Sprache das leitende Paradigma ab, und hier wiederum, pars pro toto, das *Zuhören*”⁸². It is striking to see how the communicative dimension developed in el-Salamuni’s inscription with the speos as its tool, matches this aspect of Maat as developed in the Middle Kingdom compositions, the texts investigated by Assmann.

There is no specific lexicon relating to communication to be found in the chapter about the festival and the procession, but as Assmann states on Egyptian festivals, “Die Feste begründeten die soziale Identität eines Ägypters. [...] und diese fundamentale Zugehörigkeitsstruktur fand ihren Ausdruck in den großen Prozessionsfesten der Stadt”⁸³. Celebrating a festival could therefore be equated with the restoration of social ties. And, if this festival is (also) about

⁷⁸ Like the *ršw*-joy (see above, footnotes 71–72), this notion is neither specific to the *Prophecy of Neferti*, nor to the inscription; see for example *Urk.* IV, l. 20, l. 10, for Ahmose’s Karnak Eulogy; *Urk.* IV, 35–36, for the notion expressed for different kings by a private person (Ahmes). More generally, see Stauder 2013, 431–432.

⁷⁹ For the expression, see Engsheden 2009, 119–120, n. k, with bibliography. Compare with the inscription of the Speos Artemidos, cols. 34–35: ‘Every [god] says to himself: “One who will achieve eternal continuity has come, whom Amun has caused to appear as king of eternity on Horus’s throne”.’; see Allen 2002, 5 (translation given here), 12–13 (commentary), and pl. 2 (text).

⁸⁰ When presenting Ameny, Neferti insists on the fact that he is from the South, with three lexemes being used: *Ršy*, *T3-šty*, *Hn-nhn* (XIIIa–XIIIb). Since it has been suggested that the area of Akhmim may be Ay’s place of birth (see for example Gabolde 2013, 200, with n. 103; Gabolde 2015, 455 and 465), the fact that the inscription is engraved on the façade of the speos of el-Salamuni might echo this section of the *Prophecy of Neferti*, thereby stressing Ay’s southern origin.

⁸¹ This sentence thereby essentially opposes Assmann 1983, 345, for whom “Jeder König ist kraft Amtes fast ein Messias: bis auf den Umstand, daß er nie Gegenstand der Erwartung ist”. However, see also l. c., 351, as well as 361, n. 75, about Amenemhat I, said to be “ein wirklicher König, tatsächlich Gegenstand der Erwartung”.

⁸² Assmann 2006², 70–71 for the quotation; 69–85 for the chapter on “Ma`at als kommunikative Solidarität/Reziprozität” (85: “Wenn die Ma`at aus der Welt verschwindet, hört das Zueinander-Reden und Aufeinander-Hören auf”); 69–73 for the section on “Sprache als Paradigma kommunikativen Handelns”. See also Assmann 1983, 356–357.

⁸³ Assmann 1996, 253; Assmann 2006², 86–87.

the king's coronation, then it could be equated with a societal celebration of Ay's royal status. Yet, celebrating this festival by Ay can also be seen as one of the most tangible signs of the communication between him and the gods, and, among them, Amun in particular, whose theological links with Min of Akhmim are well-known.

When they are not simply praising him, working (*b3k*) for the king of Egypt (ll. 16–17) can certainly be considered the normal kind of communication between him and the foreign countries. The lines of text that follow are partly lost, but one section needs to be addressed: “It is not in [this] country (anymore), [Maat] having [greatly] spread out throughout the two banks, as you reject the [period/enemy/rebel, during which/because of whom] the two banks could not happen to be in joy [...]” (ll. 18–19)⁸⁴. This passage is very important because of *w3f*, here translated “reject”, which clearly expresses Ay's personal disowning of Akhenaten's policy, as the verb has a strong volitional dimension. The personal history of Ay, who was a preeminent person under Akhenaten's reign, may explain the insertion of this statement here; it makes it clear that his reign does not mean a return to a situation when “the two banks could not happen to be in joy”.

The lack of communication with the gods, and especially Amun, is a very well-known characteristic of the Amarna Period. Texts dating from the post-Amarna Period mention the non-access to the god during that time, even though they focus on his invisibility⁸⁵. We can, therefore, not only comprehend the ideological and historical roots of Ay's political discourse, of a king who declares that he wants the two banks to be in joy again, but also how they make his discourse extremely effective, as they build upon a real distress, upon an unfulfilled desire and a very bad memory left by the Amarna Period in Egyptian society. Yet, it might of course appear cynical of someone who nowadays is suspected of having been one of the “inventors” of the Amarna theological-political system⁸⁶ to present himself as the champion of the restored communication

with the gods and Amun especially through the celebration of a festival.

As a matter of fact, the communication between the king and the gods is again the topic of the fifth chapter of the eulogy, although it is addressed from another point of view than the celebration of a festival, the focus being on the consecration of staff, maybe to the speos: “The servants, which had been servile personnel assigned to the palace, have been consecrated to their lord, [like] the First [Time]” (l. 20). Then, the following sentences express the divine contentment and the importance of Ay's deeds to restore peace throughout the country: “You are pleasant [at the portal] of the two horizons, according as you do benefactions eternally at [your place], to do [Maat] for the Lord of Eternity, (according as) you do what makes [this] country serene like [before], (so that) [the two lands] have been pacified in peace”⁸⁷ (ll. 20–21). Concluding this chapter, the description of Ay making “[this] country serene like [before]” is reminiscent of the positive effect of Ay's rejection of the Amarna policy, linking this chapter with the preceding one.

Then, in the sixth chapter, after a lacuna of four and a half squares, the topic of verbal communication is again explicitly addressed with the description of Ay judging and listening to the *nmh(y)* (ll. 21–22), as we saw above. Now, this side of verbal communication, listening, has also been pinpointed by Assmann as “Kunst des Hörens”: “Die Welt steht auf dem Kopf, denn ein Richter, der nicht zuhört – und dieser Fall liegt ja nach Ansicht des Oasennannes hier vor –, ist für den Ägypter der Gipfel der Perversion”⁸⁸.

That the *nmh(y)* is given so much heed in this passage must be underlined as, according to David, “In New Kingdom sources, *nmh* is used in the context of divine verbal protection, as opposed to silence: the voiceless one is dependent on adequate intercession by a mandated authority, and when the state does not fulfil this duty divine intercession is hoped for from Amun-Re”⁸⁹. This

⁸⁴ This passage is thoroughly studied in Lurson 2018, of which careful conclusions (l. c., 165) happen to be more strongly supported when the passage is considered in relation to the whole inscription and not in isolation.

⁸⁵ I refer here especially to the graffito for Pawah in TT 139 and to oBM 29559; see Assmann 1994; Luiselli 2011, 340–343; Ragazzoli 2018, 377–378. On the “Schauen und Sprechen”, see above, footnote 74.

⁸⁶ Thus, for Popko 2009, 31, “Vielleicht war er [...] mitverantwortlich für die Entstehung der Amarnareligion, denn in seinem Grab in Achetaton fand sich der einzige Vertreter des »Großen Atonhymnus'«. See also Gabolde 2015, 402, who is even more positive on that point.

⁸⁷ Let us also underline the mention of Maat and the rare expression *šgrh b3.wy*, “to pacify the two lands”, which seems to be more usual under the reigns of Amenhotep III, Tutankhamun and Seti I; see Grial 1986, 317.

⁸⁸ Assmann 2006², 73 for the quotation, and 73–77 for the whole argumentation; above, footnote 82.

⁸⁹ David 2011, 78 (see the whole discussion, l. c., 78–79) and 74, n. 7, who states that H. K. Havice, “more appositely argues that the noble or king has a responsibility to provide his inferiors with the basic necessities of life, as well as ensuring the impartial administration of justice for them” (I could not access Havices's study quoted by David). David 2011, 74, addresses also the “communicational” assistance due to the *nmhy*, but the quoted documentation dates from the Middle Kingdom, with *nmh* meaning “orphan”. On the *nmhy* in

remark fits well with the depiction of a king listening to those who are weak. This portrays a king who is turned towards his people, creating a landscape whereby there is communication between the king and the gods, the people and the gods, the people listening to the king, as well as the king judging and listening to the weak⁹⁰.

The chapter continues with the notion of joy: “(so that) [the heart] of [...] is joyful (*h'(i)*)” (l. 22), which recurs a few lines below: “May you realise your plans [(o) leader] in front of [the Nobles] *n* [...] *k m* [...], (so that) the Black One and the Red One are in [jubilation] (*thhw.t*), everybody (*h.t nb.t*) being filled with [the love of you] [...]!” (ll. 22–23). This wish can be compared with remarks by Assmann on the end of *Ptahhotep*, about “„Hören“ und „Liebe“, denn genau darum geht es ja dem Oasenmann, wenn er sagt, daß der für die Ma`at Taube keinen Freund habe: Er ist zur Liebe (im Sinn von *philia*) unfähig”⁹¹. This not only gives again the strong impression that to Ay, the love of his people is almost more important than the love of the gods, but also confirms the author’s deep knowledge of the Middle Kingdom compositions and their ethics⁹².

Considering this deep knowledge of him, let us now investigate what he saw in the *Prophecy* that was so relevant to the meaning of the inscription.

The Inscription of el-Salamuni and the *Prophecy of Neferti*: Speech acts and true prophecy

The witnessing dimension of Neferti’s and Nakhtmin’s speech acts

We saw above that having a eulogy uttered by a named private person in a royal inscription is exceptional, so that it must be considered a crucial characteristic of el-Salamuni’s inscription. Let us then remember the double depiction of Nakhtmin on both sides of the door, kneeling, with hands raised in adoration, in a posture of someone uttering a praise. This depiction of him could indeed be related to the eulogy of the inscription. It is more likely, however, that he was shown adoring the king and the divinities of the *speos*⁹³. Unfortunately, the inscriptions pertaining to these depictions are very badly preserved⁹⁴.

The fact that Nakhtmin is mentioned in the inscription, utters the eulogy, and is depicted on both sides of the door of the *speos*, can otherwise be seen as one of the advantages of being “overseer of works”. He would not be the first to use such a position to leave a personal trace in a royal monument; Senenmut did it before⁹⁵. It may even be assumed that Nakhtmin is not only responsible for the construction of the *speos*, but that he is also the author

general, see Assmann 1980, 5–6; Kruchten 1981, 31–33 (in the *Edict of Horemheb*); Gnirs 1989, 104–110; Lorton 1993, 76; David 2011, 75 (during the Eighteenth Dynasty), with further bibliography on p. 73, n. 1; Ragazzoli 2018, 374.

⁹⁰ Interestingly, Gnirs 1989, 92, also underlines the importance of the *nmhy.w* in the *Edict of Horemheb*, but, following Kruchten 1981, 211–212, sees in this importance propagandistic views (see however Gnirs 1989, 99). After all, considering the recurrence of the topic and the fact that el-Salamuni’s inscription was most probably not intended for the *nmhy.w*, as we will see below, the latter may have been a real subject of concern for the elites and the kings of the post-Amarna Period.

⁹¹ Assmann 2006², 76. The notion of verbal communication may be addressed again at the very end of the inscription, but only the beginning of the sentence is preserved: “The mouth/dictum of [...]” (l. 25).

⁹² About the *Instruction for Merikare*, Lorton 1993, 73, already noted its “influence on governance in Amarna period [...], on what thinkers of that period chose to stress in regard to it”, underlining, l. c., 78, that “Akhenaton and his followers had, after all, received a traditional education and were steeped in the traditions of their culture”.

⁹³ Such “double” adoration to the king and the divinities by private persons is indeed usual in graffiti as well as in stelae; see for example *Urk.* IV, 2075–2076, no. 795 (stela of the vice-king Huy; reign of Tutankhamun); Caminos 1974, pl. 28 (graffito of Khaemtjetri; reign of Merenptah).

⁹⁴ See above, footnote 21, for bibliography. In relation to this eulogy and to Nakhtmin’s depictions, it is worth pointing out the last sentence of the following section of the inscription engraved on his twin stelae Berlin 2074 and Louvre C 55, which is not to be found in the other versions of the conventional text engraved on them: “(*Nakhtmin*) who gives the divine offerings to the gods (and) a *pr(.t)-hrw* to the *akhu*, for (*hr-tp*) life, dominion and health (to be given) to the King of Upper and Lower-Egypt [Kheperkheperure-irmaat], lph, (so that) he may be stable and he may endure like the sky, so that he may see like the one who is within it, who prays (*nh(i)*), so that he may be healthy for the millions of years of all the gods! The true king’s acquaintance, whom he loves, Nakhtmin”; see *Urk.* IV, 1523, ll. 5–8.

⁹⁵ See Beaux 2012, 187–193 (with n. 2–4 on p. 193 for the other depictions of Senenmut in Deir el-Bahari Temple and a further example concerning the vice-king Nehy at Buhen) and pl. 44–67; Dorman 1988, 156, ad. See also Lurson 2005, 253, for the depiction of a dignitary, unfortunately anonymous, but who might be the vice-king of Kush, who stands behind Ramses II in a scene showing the procession of the king’s bark in the temple of Derr. More generally, see Bickel 2013, 205–213, for the representation on the temple walls of identified individuals during the Old Kingdom and the Eighteenth Dynasty.

of the inscription under study. One might also see in this eulogy the reflection of a ‘Teaching of King Ay’, comparable to the *Loyalistische Lehre Echnatons*, the existence of which was postulated by Assmann based on a hymn to Akhenaten and a hymn to Khonsu⁹⁶. Both hypotheses are admittedly interesting and the latter certainly exciting. However, the recourse to the *Prophecy of Neferti* by the author of the inscription compels us to contemplate Nakhtmin’s eulogy, his speech act, in relation to Neferti’s speech act, as both of them make their own texts so special, so that we have a suitable instrument to investigate the reason why the author of the inscription used the *Prophecy* and not another text.

First, Neferti’s and Nakhtmin’s speech acts have both a fundamental witnessing dimension. In the *Prophecy*, Neferti’s account of the still-to-come events is based on thoughts about them, of which the process is described with the verbs *mh(i)* and *šh3*: *[iw]=f mh=f hr hpr.t{y} m t3 iw=f šh3=f k{n}i n t3bt.t* ‘He pondered on that what will happen in the country (and) he called to (his) mind the situation of the Eastern’ (IIIa–b). No temporality is expressed in these sentences, the action being described by two aorist forms; only the translation requires the use of a past tense. This echoes the initial question of Neferti to Snefru, when he asks the king whether he would prefer to hear about past events or events to come (III–m and II n for the king’s answer), as if there were no essential difference. As a matter of fact, neither *mh(i)* nor *šh3* are preferentially used with past, present, or future matters⁹⁷, so that the process described in the *Prophecy* may be seen as a kind of remembrance independent from the temporality of the matters in question⁹⁸. As such, it can be said that Neferti is narrating events that he is witnessing, even though they still have not happened when he is telling them. As for Nakhtmin, he is the obvious witness of what he relates.

A real person, certainly known from the inhabitants of Akhmim, who implemented the king’s building programme in Akhmim as ‘overseer of works’⁹⁹, Nakhtmin is surely the witness par excellence to Ay’s action. This

quality of his thereby turns his eulogy into the testimony of King Ay’s astounding deeds. In a way, he is one of the *šms.w* Neferti’s prophecy mentions, although in this case, it is not Ameny’s, but Ay’s. Along with the use of the *sdm.in=f* forms, inserting a eulogy and the sentence about Ay being awaited, would certainly have been enough to build the relation between the inscription and the *Prophecy of Neferti* and make Ay into a new Ameny. Its author, however, went further by keeping the witnessing function of Neferti’s speech act. As such, he certainly demonstrates a deep reflection of the *Prophecy* and the meaning of its different parts¹⁰⁰. Yet, more importantly, he did not simply keep the same witnessing function, he changed its temporality, a profound transformation that may be the key to the relationship between both texts.

Past, present, future, and true prophecy

As shown by the *sdm.in=f* forms in the first part of the *Prophecy* and of el-Salamuni’s inscription, the narrative frame to Neferti’s and Nakhtmin’s speech acts is set in the past (see Table 2). However, in Neferti’s speech act, even though the tense of every clause is not the future, the temporality of the related events is the future. This is made clear by Neferti himself, who, when he expresses again the nature of his account, says: *iw=i r dd nt{y}<t> hf[t]-hr=i n šr.n=i ntt n iy* ‘I will tell what is before me; I do not announce what does not happen’ (Vf)¹⁰¹. Consequently, subsequent witnesses to these events are contemporaries of Ameny and from the time of Ameny’s reign onwards.

About the former, he says: *ršy gmh.t[y=fy wn]n.t(y)=fy hr šms nšw*, ‘The one who [will] watch (this) and the one who will be following the king shall rejoice’ (XVf), with the lexeme *gmh* being unambiguous as for the notion at stake here, being an eyewitness, supplemented by the notion of ‘following the king’. As for the witness from the time of Ameny’s reign onwards, he is mentioned in the last sentence of the text, and happens to be its addressee: *iw rh-ḥ.t*

⁹⁶ See Assmann 1980, 1–32 (in particular 20–32); Lorton 1993; Bickel 2003, 28. See also Gnirs 1989, 96–98, about Horemheb and his *Edict*. A teaching (*sb3(y)[.t]*) of Ay is mentioned in the tomb of Neferhotep, in a scene showing the king rewarding him, but this mention could be purely formal; see de Garis Davies 1933, p. 21 et pl. IX.

⁹⁷ See *Wb* II, 120 (*mh(i)*) and *Wb* IV, 232–233 (*šh3*). On *šh3*, see also Moers 2002, 300.

⁹⁸ For Posener 1956, 41, before describing the eastern Delta’s situation, Neferti ‘médite sur ce qui va arriver dans le pays’, translating in this way IIIa, while for Burkard, Thissen 2003, 138, ‘Neferti beginnt mit einer Selbstreflexion’.

⁹⁹ For Nakhtmin’s fame, see Gabolde 2015, 464–465. See also above, footnote 21.

¹⁰⁰ Compare with Fischer-Elfert 2003, 120, for similar remarks about the ‘quotation of ancient texts’ by Egyptian authors, which ‘can only be fully appreciated when it is accepted that there was an inner-circle practice of critical discourse about what one was reading and writing or reproducing and creating’. I am grateful to the author for having provided me with a copy of his paper.

¹⁰¹ Quoting this sentence and based on the verb *šr*, Stauder 2013, 425, draws a parallel with the announcement of Hatshepsut’s kingship in the Red Chapel ‘Historical Text’. However, considering the quantity of text between this sentence and the passage of the text in which the coming of Ameny is addressed, it is doubtful that this sentence really relates to it. See also below, footnote 114.

r st.t n=i mw m33=f ddt.n=i hpr(.w), “the learned man will pour water for me¹⁰², when he will see that what I said has happened” (XVg; version writing board CGC 25224). The notion of being a witness is stressed again, although with the lexeme *m33*, which seems to describe here a process of comparing his knowledge – the addressee of the text is a *rh-h.t*, “learned man”¹⁰³ – of his country’s history with the events related in the text¹⁰⁴. What he is witnessing is, therefore, not so much the events related but the accuracy of the prophecy.

Like Neferti, Nakhtmin also mentions at the beginning and at the end of his eulogy something that has not yet been realised when he speaks about it: the king’s constructions in Akhmim (ll. 12–13 and 23–25). Likewise, in the section dealing with Nakhtmins’ appointment, Ay himself explicitly refers to the “witnesses of the future” to his still-not-built monuments, in the form of an exclamation of wonder by the future generations coming and gazing at the speos: “... so that the posterity will say when they come: “How favoured was the time (*3.t*)¹⁰⁵ of [the ruler] “He-whose-crowns-are-dazzling”!” (l. 12). Being an eyewitness is again the way of witnessing the events. This exclamation can also be compared with the following sentence of Neferti’s prophecy: “Rejoice (o) people of his time (*h3w*), (for) the son of a man will make his name forever and eternally!” (XIVa–b). But despite this, Nakhtmin does not relate events from the future, nor from the past, but from his present, as he praises a king for his ongoing action concerning verbal communication in general, not for building the speos specifically, even though the latter is a tool for communicating with the gods.

This difference of temporality with the *Prophecy* also needs to be considered in relation to the assimilation of Ay with Ameny and with Snefru. In the inscription, Ay is

¹⁰² On this libation, see also Posener 1956, 36.

¹⁰³ For the *rh-h.t*, as “umfassend gebildete Vertreter der geistigen Elite”, see Simon 2013, 267.

¹⁰⁴ Compare with the use of *m33* and the pair it forms with *rh* in Amenhotep II’s Amada and Elephantine stela about the offerings being instituted anew (*Urk. IV*, 1294, ll. 9–12), but also, below in the text, with the corpse of the seventh enemy being sent to Napata for the victories of the king to be seen (*Urk. IV*, 1297, l. 13–1298, l. 4), a more literal meaning of the verb likewise found in Amenhotep III’s stela Cairo CG 34025 about the *rekhyt* seeing the pylon built by the king and praising him for that (*Urk. IV*, 1651, ll. 2–5).

¹⁰⁵ But see above, n. v to the transliteration, where Kuhlmann restores another word instead of *3.t*, and so translating this as ‘Blessed be Horus, the ruler’. See Bickel 2014, 28, for a comparable sentence in the text related to Hatshepsut’s Expedition to Punt in Deir el-Bahari, which the author translates: “I will cause that one will say in the future: ‘How good is what has come into being through her’.” (*Urk. IV*, 350, ll. 8–9).

the messianic king, “the one whose coming was awaited”, being assimilated with Ameny, but he is also the king before whom Nakhtmin utters his speech act, thus taking over the position of Snefru, and the king being praised in the eulogy. Beyond the change of temporality consecutive to this, the effect of the assimilation between Ay and Snefru also results in a “proof of truth” and in a “proof of authenticity” different from those in the *Prophecy*.

In the *Prophecy*, the events related by Neferti are found to be true by the reader when he compares Neferti’s account with his own knowledge of Egypt’s history, so that he should be in awe of the accuracy of Neferti’s words and pour water for him, as Neferti is in fact the true hero of the story. As for Nakhtmin’s eulogy, its truth is ascertained by the speos itself, as the tangible example of Ay’s action, so that the reader of the inscription should be in awe of Ay’s deeds and so glorify him. This difference has an important impact on the reception of the time of Neferti’s and Nakhtmin’s speech acts. For the readers of the prophecy, the events related by Neferti are necessarily anchored in the past, but for the readers of the inscription, the speos anchors Nakhtmin’s eulogy in their own time, making Ay’s deeds present and immediate to them, and thereby also comparable with those of their own king. Let us remember the exclamation of posterity: “How favoured was the time (*3.t*) of [the ruler] “He-whose-crowns-are-dazzling”!” (l. 12). Thus, the speos synchronizes the present of Nakhtmin’s eulogy with the time of its reader. The speos actualizes it for all time, “presentifies” it, a quality that this inscription, in fact, shares with the other inscriptions mentioned above, among which Hatshepsut’s inscription at the Speos Artemidos is probably the most striking parallel, with the king’s speech to the *payt* and the *rekhyt*¹⁰⁶.

It is worth noting that all information necessary to ascertain the truth of Neferti’s prophecy is found in the text, whereas for the inscription the same information is extratextual, notably the speos itself. The same can be said for establishing the authenticity of Neferti’s prophecy and Nakhtmin’s eulogy. They are admittedly both established by a king, Snefru for the prophecy, who puts himself in writing Neferti’s spoken words (IIo–IIq), as

¹⁰⁶ Hatshepsut indeed sets the ideological frame of her deeds in her address to the *payt* and the *rekhyt*, but after having described the foundation of Pakhet’s temple along with other realisations, so that the Speos Artemidos ascertains its truth: “So listen, all you elite and multitude of commoners. [...] I have raised up what was dismembered beginning from the time when Asiatics were in the midst of the Delta, (in) Avaris, with vagrants in their midst toppling what had been made”; translation by Allen 2002, 5 and see pls. 1–2, cols. 19–22 and 35–40, for the construction of Pakhet’s temple and the address to the *payt* and the *rekhyt*, respectively.

Posener already stated¹⁰⁷, and Ay for the eulogy, as a part of a royal inscription. However, if the role of Snefru is part of the narrative, the inscription also needs the monument to be displayed and thereby to gain its authenticity. This not only reflects the respective addressees of these compositions: the lettered man for the *Prophecy* and the visitor of the speos, but also defines the special relationship between the addressee of the inscription and the speos used as its medium, which its display on its façade enables, similarly as for the other inscriptions mentioned in the introduction to this study. It shows that the support of the texts, papyrus for the *Prophecy* and speos for the inscription, plays a role in the process of establishing their authenticity. Using its support as a criteria for classifying or not a composition as a literary text should, therefore, be made with great caution, as the support can be a constitutive piece of the text, having nothing to do with the literary nature of the composition¹⁰⁸.

Let us present in the following list the correspondences between the *Prophecy* and the inscription of el-Salamuni, based on the comparison between Neferti's and Nakhtmin's speech acts:

Prophecy of Neferti:		Inscription of el-Salamuni:
Snefru	↔	Ay
Puts Neferti's prophecy in writing	↔	Lets a royal inscription be engraved
Proves the authenticity of the prophecy	=	Proves the authenticity of the eulogy
Neferti	↔	Nakhtmin
Witnesses deeds of the future	↔	Witnesses deeds of his present
Ameny	↔	Ay
Messianic king	=	Messianic king
Reader	↔	Visitor
Papyrus	↔	Speos
Knowledge proves the truth of the prophecy	=	Speos proves the truth of the eulogy
anchoring it in the reader's past	↔	anchoring it in the visitor's time
Author Neferti as the hero of the <i>Prophecy</i>	↔	King Ay as the hero of the inscription
Wonders the accuracy of the prophecy	↔	Wonders Ay's deeds

As this list shows, three features are identical, although they do not result from the same process. In the *Prophecy*, Neferti's speech act is authenticated as a prophecy by Snefru writing it down and found true by its reader

¹⁰⁷ See Posener 1956, 33, as well as 31–33 and 51–52 for the choice of Snefru.

¹⁰⁸ See Loprieno 1996b, 295 with n. 77 and compare also with the remarks by Ragazzoli 2016, 76.

when he appeals to his knowledge of Egypt's history, so that the messianic quality of Ameny is established. In the inscription, the messianic quality of Ay is built through his assimilation with Ameny, the format of the royal inscription engraved on the speos used for describing his deeds authenticating the eulogy, and the speos on which it is engraved proving its truth. Now, that the assimilation of Ay with Ameny, and thereby his messianic quality, can be built only through the use of locutions and verb forms specific to the *Prophecy*, reveals why the author of the inscription had recourse to *Neferti*, and what he saw in it that was so relevant for him: he considered this text to be a true prophecy. He must have been sure that Neferti's prophecy was authentic and true to use this text for building the messianic quality of Ay, Ay, his objective or otherwise this would not have worked; it would have been absurd and even counterproductive to use a text known as a fake¹⁰⁹. This raises the question of the genre of the *Prophecy of Neferti* and of el-Salamuni's inscription, as well as the question of the foundation of their relationship.

The Epideictic Mirror of Ay

The *Prophecy of Neferti* as a true prophecy

The *Prophecy of Neferti* is commonly considered a lament¹¹⁰. Based on this classification, Stauder notes that “Fischer-Elfert observed that hymns to the Nileflood provide an important element of intertext for Middle Egyptian literary laments, with the latter reversing the positive imagery of the former down to details”¹¹¹. Here, the situation may be similar, with Neferti focusing on the catastrophic situation of the eastern Delta, whereas Nakhtmin focuses on the country's recovery, an opposition that would fall within the same frame, which one may specify as pessimistic literature vs. optimistic literature.

¹⁰⁹ This might also sustain a dating of the *Prophecy* before the Eighteenth Dynasty, old enough in any case so that the author of the inscription could sincerely believe that it is a true prophecy. A dating of the *Prophecy of Neferti* in the early Eighteenth Dynasty is proposed by Stauder 2013, 337–433 (see 418, for a synopsis of this dating); Stauder, forthcoming, with n. 26 for further bibliography. Very recently, Spalinger 2018, 172, suggested that *Neferti* might be older than the Kamose Stelae.

¹¹⁰ See for example Burkard, Thissen 2003, 137–141. For Assmann 1983, 357–361, however, *Neferti* is a “politische Prophezeiung”, a view on the composition already put forward by Posener 1956, 21–22 and 28–29 especially.

¹¹¹ Stauder 2013, 428. The study quoted by Stauder is: Fischer-Elfert 1986, 45, n. 1, but the author mentions only *Ipuwer*.

This could be the foundation of the relationship between the inscription of el-Salamuni and the *Prophecy of Neferti*. However, the “important element of intertext” on which Stauder stresses the opposition between the *Prophecy* and the hymns to the Nile flood is lexical¹¹². Now, there is only a very few lexical matches between el-Salamuni’s inscription and the *Prophecy*, so that such an opposition based on this criterium is not fit for explaining the relationship between both texts. Yet, if this opposition is not working, it may be because the *Prophecy* is classified as a lament, which would prevent us from grasping the foundation of the relationship between it and el-Salamuni’s inscription.

As Moers points out, “Genres are modern constructs, even though they are used as a basic category in Egyptology”¹¹³. The question here is not of real authorship, of real date of composition, or of genre according to literature studies, but of how the ancient Egyptian readers may have understood the *Prophecy*, so that we can in turn understand why the author of el-Salamuni’s inscription chose it. Then, why should we not in the first place follow him and, as he seems to have, also consider *Neferti* a true prophecy? A good reason would be the necessity to preclude circular


112 See Stauder 2013, 428–430, for the whole argument. Still in the frame of his investigation of the *Prophecy* as a lament, Stauder also compares it with the so-called “restoration inscriptions”, as for him “*Neferti* has restoration inscriptions as one of its subtexts”, and with “royal eulogy and its literary reversal: Ahmose’s *Karnak eulogy*”; see Stauder 2013, 430 and 431 for the quotations, 430–433 for the whole argument. Let us note that for this investigation, the author disregards Middle Kingdom restoration inscriptions; see l. c., 430, with n. 325. Motifs are compared, among which the notion of *rs.w*-joy, common to the restoration inscriptions and royal eulogies, is focused on. The inscription of el-Salamuni also shares this notion with the *Prophecy of Neferti*, as we saw above, but also with most of the inscriptions glorifying a king; see above, footnotes 71–72. Therefore, for the question of the genre of the *Prophecy* and of el-Salamuni’s inscription, such analogies are not convincing, and may be in fact further examples of the “clusters of language and imagery”, on which existence the author calls attention; see above, footnote 40 and below, footnote 122.

113 Moers 2010, 687 (see also the observations by Widmaier 2017, 528–529, about Gumbrecht’s warning concerning the use in Egyptology of literature theory/ies, for which see Gumbrecht 1996, 16). Below on the same page, the author also writes: “Collections of texts in single manuscripts such as P. Harris 500 or P. Chester Beatty I also warn us against overrating genre as a fundamental analytical category. Compilations such as these indicate that it can be problematic to regard genres in the modern sense as fixed social institutions with well-defined cultural settings which may imply distinct groups of users for different types of New Kingdom literary texts”. One may add here the remarks by Bickel, Mathieu 1993, 48, as the individual has also a role to play and not only groups of users, like Amennakht, whose “production littéraire [...] est étroitement liée à ses différents domaines d’activité. [...] Amennakht s’est essayé à des genres littéraires très différents”.

reasoning, as regarding *Neferti* as a true prophecy results from our comparison between *Neferti*’s and Nakhtmin’s speech acts, but would also be the reason why the author of the inscription would have chosen this text in the first place, and inserted a speech act. Yet, since the author of Papyrus Chester Beatty IV verso also seems to have considered *Neferti* a true prophecy, this interpretation of him would show that this classification was shared among the ancient Egyptian lettered persons, allowing us to avoid circular reasoning. Let us consider the relevant passage of this text.

After Hordjedef, Imhotep, Neferti, Khety, Ptahemdjehuty, Khakheperreseneb, Ptahhotep and Kairse have been mentioned, the text continues: “The(se) <learned men> (*{hrtywt}<rh.w-h.t>*), who foretold (*śr*)¹¹⁴ the future (*iy.t*)¹¹⁵: What came out from their mouth has happened (*hpr*). One verifies (*gm(i)*)¹¹⁶ (this) as verses (*ts.w*), written down in {his}<their> papyrus rolls (*śfd.w*)”¹¹⁷. And, since the same notion of prophesying in relation to ancient authors is also

114 I do not follow Moers 2002, 299–300, who understands the verb *śr* as “to repeat prospectively” instead of “to have a prophetic vision”. See indeed for example Bickel 2014, 28, for the unambiguous meaning of the verb as “prophesy, foretell” in Hatshepsut’s inscriptions, with the author also mentioning the *Prophecy*; above, footnote 101.

115 Despite the second determinative of the word, , I translate *iy.t* “future” and not “trouble”, according to Morenz 1966, 147, who deals with this passage. I am grateful to H.-W. Fischer-Elfert for having pointed me to this contribution.

116 For this meaning of *gm(i)*, see Vernus 1995, 4, who translates BM EA 5645, recto 4 (= beginning of *Khakheperreseneb*), “... afin que les successeurs puissent en apprécier la pertinence”, and 11–12, n. (i), where he proposes « vérifier », « trouver bon », with further bibliography; Vernus 2012, 404–408, for the cognitive process described by the verb. This meaning reinforces the idea that the reader checks on the truth of the prophecy by comparing the told events to his knowledge of history. This may challenge the interpretation of the beginning of *Khakheperreseneb* put forward by Vernus 1995, 15–19, § 6.

117 pChester Beatty IV = pBM 10684 verso 3,5–7 for the writers and 7–8 for the passage translated here; see Gardiner 1935, pl. 19. On this list of authors, see recently Simon 2013, 266–271. Along with other authors, *Neferti* seems to be also mentioned on pAthens 1826 recto; see Fischer-Elfert 2002, 176–179; Fischer-Elfert 2003, 128–129. Quirke 2004, 35, raises doubts as to the possibility that *Neferti* and other authors are really meant, as “there is no clear connection between the names as given here and extant literary compositions” (quoted by Simon 2013, 275), but since *Neferti* is supposed to utter a prophecy that Snefru puts in writing, with such a distinction between saying and writing also made in pChester Beatty IV, this process can make him its author, as long as only his speech act is considered (which may also answer the concerns of Simon 2013, 267, about the mention of *Neferti* among the writers in pChester Beatty IV verso 3,7–8). Compare with Coulon 1999, 117. On the question of authorship of the *Prophecy*, see also Posener 1956, 34, who proposes that the real author was unknown, so that the name of *Neferti* was used by default in the New Kingdom.

mentioned in pChester Beatty IV verso 2, it seems beyond any doubt for its author¹¹⁸. As Fischer-Elfert states on this, “the sentence “those who foretold the future/what was to come” in vs. 2,6 (cf. also 3,7–8) certainly refers to sages like Neferti whose final prediction of the epiphany of a royal saviour figure in the person of Amenemhet I reaches its fulfilment¹¹⁹. Thus, the quotation of a complete verse may evoke its derivation from a prophetic text in the reader’s/listener’s mind who has no generic term for what we call a ‘prophecy’”¹²⁰.

This detour through Papyrus Chester Beatty IV certainly sustains the view that the author of el-Salamuni’s inscription chose *Neferti* because he read it as a true prophecy, so that this text could be used to build the messianic quality of Ay very convincingly. Actually, considering *Neferti* a true prophecy can also explain its relationship to the hymns to the Nile flood, since all these compositions are about something or someone of which or whose coming will happen with certainty or has already happened¹²¹. We will therefore follow the author of the inscription, look at *Neferti* as a true prophecy, and consider this quality of the text the foundation of its relationship to the inscription. In the frame of this relationship, to which genre could el-Salamuni’s inscription belong?

For Kuhlmann, el-Salamuni’s inscription is ‘ein weiteres typisches Beispiel für die Textgattung königlicher Restaurierunginschriften’, in which, ‘Nach Art einer „Königsnovelle“ entscheidet sich der König vor dem versammelten Hofrat zur Rückkehr zur alten polytheistischen Weltordnung und befiehlt die Wiederherstellung der unter Echnaton dem Verfall preisgegebenen Tempel des Landes, insbesondere Achmims’¹²². However, since no restoration

of monuments is explicitly evoked in the inscription¹²³, it is rather difficult to follow this view. As for a classification of the inscription as a *King’s Novel*, which is also supported by Gabolde¹²⁴, the text admittedly exhibits features usual to this kind of text¹²⁵, but this view cannot be taken on either, even though Ay is the hero of the text, since the inscription borrows these features from the *Prophecy of Neferti*, which is not classified as a *King’s Novel*¹²⁶. Is the relationship between *Neferti* as a true prophecy and el-Salamuni’s inscription potentially more fruitful for defining a genre to which the latter could belong?

To the *Prophecy of Neferti*, the inscription of el-Salamuni is surely a mirror, staging King Ay as the new Ameny, Nakhtmin as the new Neferti, and the current wonderful situation of Egypt against its past deplorable situation; it is surely a kind of fulfilment of the *Prophecy*. It is doubtful, though, that this mirroring situation is likely to contribute to defining a genre to which the inscription would belong. If the *Prophecy of Neferti* was used as a true prophecy by the author of the inscription, it was to build the messianic quality of Ay. But the inscription is not for all that a “counterprophecy”. As a matter of fact, a similar remark can be

footnote 36. According to the scholar, the author of the inscription would indeed have resorted to the *Prophecy* as a representative of restoration texts, having happened in a historical context favourable towards this. See also above, footnotes 40 and 112.

123 As Kuhlmann 2007, 181, implicitly underlines, as he notes that the inscription is “leider ohne besonderen historischen oder archäologischen Wert, denn der Text geht nicht auf Einzelheiten zum Speos an sich, das dortige Kultgeschehen und die Zusammenhänge mit dem Steinbruch ein, noch werden Details zu des Königs Bautätigkeit in der Stadt erwähnt”.

124 Gabolde 2015, 461 and 658, n. 108, for further bibliography.

125 If only a consensus could be found on the features that would be specific to this kind of text and on which one can base to classify a text as a *King’s Novel*; see e.g. Jansen-Winkel 1993, 106–110; Loprieno 1996b, 281–282 and 294–295; Hofmann 2004, 289–329. See also Stauder, forthcoming and the following footnote.

126 See for example Assmann 1974, 124, n. 3; Blumenthal 1982, 381; Jansen-Winkel 1993, 108: “Natürlich sind nicht alle propagandistischen Texte Teil dieser Gruppe (*King’s Novels*). Ausgeschlossen sind zum Beispiel die literarische (im engeren Sinne) Königspropaganda des Mittleren Reichs (Lehre des Amenemhet, loyalistische Lehre, Sinuhe etc.): Der Rezeptionsweg ist ganz anders (über die Schule), die Texte mithin nicht zur öffentlichen Anbringung bestimmt. Außerdem ist auch der König keineswegs immer die Zentralfigur, der Held der Erzählung (man denke an den Sinuhe!). Deshalb ist natürlich der Neferti keine Königsnovelle” (see also l. c., 104, n. 10). As a matter of fact, Hofmann 2004, does not investigate the text. Concerning the so-called “Prologue” of the *Prophecy*, Stauder 2013, 347–348, 420 and 431, speaks of the “format of the ‘Royal Tale’” (l. c., 431). This certainly shows the difficulty of defining a *King’s Novel* by basing it on formal criteria; see the reference to Loprieno in the preceding footnote. At the opposite, Spalinger 2018, 170, supports the view that *Neferti* is a *King’s Novel*.

118 Verso 2,6; see Gardiner 1935, pl. 18.

119 One might therefore wonder, whether the basic meaning of *mdw.t nfr.t*, encountered in the *Prophecy* in II and IIj, might not be “accurate words”, thereby having less to do with aesthetics and beautiful speech than with pertinence and reliability. Compare with Coulon 1999, 114–117 and Moers 2002, 297–298 and 305, n. 84 (where the author quotes Coulon), who also discuss the expression.

120 Fischer-Elfert 2003, 127.

121 Compare with Bickel, Mathieu 1993, 42, who, about the difference of two months between the date of a eulogy to Ramses IV written by Amennakht to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the king’s coronation and the date of this enthronement, propose as an explanation “la volonté d’Amennakht d’attendre l’apparition de la crue pour faire de son eulogie une double célébration et associer ainsi la nouvelle accession au trône au renouveau de la fertilité naturelle”.

122 Kuhlmann 2007, 181 and 183, n. 2, where the author refers to Grallert 2001, as the work of reference for the kind of inscription that he means with “Restaurierunginschrift”. Stauder, forthcoming, seems to understand the notion more broadly, as he considers *Neferti* a restoration text, of which topic is kingship. For him, this could explain the “*Neferti*-ismes” of the inscription of el-Salamuni; see above,

made about *Neferti*. If its readers from the New Kingdom regarded this text as a true prophecy, it does not mean that it was written as a prophecy or to be a prophecy, that this should be the genre to which it does belong; it is only how these readers understood it¹²⁷. It is not, consequently, in its relationship to *Neferti*, although close and extraordinary, that clues can be found to define the genre of the inscription of el-Salamuni. For this, we should rather consider the content of the inscription, namely a praise to King Ay, and its situation on the façade of the speos, which shows that it was displayed for being read. This laudatory content and this intention are indeed the basic features of an epideictic text.

The inscription of el-Salamuni as an epideictic text

By this, I mean a text coming under the rhetorical epideictic genre. I do not mean ‘rhetoric’ either as non-factual, or as an equivalent to eloquence and a social distinctive mark¹²⁸, nor understand it through the prism of literary studies, such as the investigation of figures as stylistic criteria defining a text as literary¹²⁹. I mean ‘rhetoric’ as the art of the persuasive discourse, under which notion I understand any verbal statement, oral or written, intended for convincing an audience¹³⁰. In the case of el-Salamuni’s

127 As long as the historical context in which the *Prophecy of Neferti* has been composed remains unclear, in other words its real date of composition, assessing its aim remains a gamble. However, the analysis of this text such as conducted by Posener, 1956, 21–60, which the scholar calls a “political writing” (l. c., 65), could easily become the strong foundation of a rhetorical analysis of this composition, in which one may propose to see a deliberative text, even though Posener sees in it a piece of propaganda; see l. c., 59–60 especially. Compare also with Bleiberg 1985/86, especially 5–6, for the definition that he gives of the same notion.

128 This approach is developed especially by Coulon 1999, 103–132. Compare with Moers 2002, 297–301, about the notion of “rhetorical literature”.

129 For this kind of rhetoric, of which one of the eminent figures is Genette, see Molinié 1992, 7; Reboul 1994², 3–4 and 96–97. For its application in Egyptology, see for example Loprieno 1996a, 43, for whom fictionality is a “textual category whereby an implicit mutual understanding is created between author and reader to the effect that the world presented in the text need not coincide with the real world [...]. This tacit agreement [...] is generated by formal and stylistic criteria”. Among those stylistic criteria, the author includes “specific stylistic devices” such as “oratorical style, prosodic structure or *parallelismus membrorum*”, as well as “rhythm or rhetorical figures”. See also Junge 1984, cols. 251–252; Guglielmi 1986 and Guglielmi 1996, for an inventory of such figures in ancient Egyptian texts.

130 Definition after Reboul 1994², 4 and 79–80. About the possibility of having a written composition considered a piece of epideictic genre, see also Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 2008⁶, 63.

inscription, this discourse, this written statement, is the whole text, in which Nakhtmin’s eulogy is one constitutive element. This definition falls in within the Aristotelian rhetoric and involves the existence of a rationally founded argumentative system¹³¹.

For realistically establishing the classification of el-Salamuni’s inscription as an epideictic text, much more distinctive features are needed, though; being laudatory and intended for being read are necessary, but not enough. The inscription should exhibit the essential characteristics of this genre according to the doctrine of the Aristotelian rhetoric. This, of course, does not mean going through Aristotle’s, Isocrates’s, or Cicero’s writings, and checking if el-Salamuni’s inscription has been written according to their instructions. It means using Rhetoric in its hermeneutic function, as a theory aimed to understand, to interpret a discourse¹³².

A real audience, a repetitive *kairos* and a fictive audience

The first of the characteristics to look for is a specific audience to which el-Salamuni’s inscription would be intended. Is it possible to define one? The situation of the inscription on the façade of the speos is certainly the primary criterium for this, as this display makes it theoretically legible to any visitor to the monument. Yet, this inscription is not effectively readable by any visitor, but, considering the recourse to the *Prophecy of Neferti*, ideally by the literate, dis glossic and lettered visitor. Based on these criteria, the audience of the text can be first defined as the local intelligentsia, which certainly overlays the civil servants working for the temple and the palace administrations of the province of Akhmim. Second, this audience consists of adults belonging to an age group that had most probably grown up under Akhenaten’s rule and surely lived under Neferneferuaten’s and Tutankhamun’s reigns. With them, the statement about Ay’s personal dis-

131 Despite the broad field of application given to the ancient Egyptian rhetoric by Junge 1984 in the article of the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, such a notion does not really belong to the Egyptological vade mecum (see also the remarks by Guglielmi 1996, 465), probably for historiographical reason proper to literature studies on the one hand, and to Egyptology on the other hand. For the only rhetorical analysis conducted along the lines of a methodology founded on the patterns of the classical rhetoric and aimed at disclosing the way in which the examined texts are built to be persuasive, see Fischer-Elfert 1983, 45–65.

132 After Reboul’s definition; see Reboul 1994², 9, and 8–9 more generally for the hermeneutic function of the rhetoric.

owning of Akhenaten's policy discussed above, for which *w.s.f* is used, may surely have deeply resonated. Third, this audience shares the same main motivation to come to the speos: meeting the deity.

Now, this motivation plays an important role, as it defines the rhetorical *kairos* of the reading of the inscription, the “opportune occasion”¹³³ by which this reading shall happen. Then, the main topic of the text, that is, the restoration of verbal communication with the gods by Ay, is perfectly fitting with this *kairos* and an audience seeking the gods. Yet, the speos is not going to be visited only once by the audience, so that this *kairos* has the particularity of not being a unique occasion, but one that can happen again and again. Then, having an inscription engraved on the speos to praise Ay for having restored verbal communication with the gods, instead of a text on papyrus, ensures the accessibility of the audience to this text throughout time. Lastly, since this *kairos* does not define a judicial or deliberative situation for the audience to take part in, it also sustains the view of el-Salamuni's inscription being an epideictic text.

So far, we have been dealing with the real audience of the inscription, but there are also fictive audiences and speakers: the noblemen and companions, addressed by Ay, then Ay, addressed by them, then Ay again, but addressed by Nakhtmin. Labelling Ay as a fictive audience or Nakhtmin as a fictive speaker does not mean that they are not historical figures. It means that its real audience is not directly addressed in the inscription, its author having instead chosen to relate to this real audience words supposed to have been exchanged between Ay, the court, and Nakhtmin. This rhetorical figure is called dialogismus¹³⁴, but in el-Salamuni's inscription, it is more than a simple figure, it structures the text. Yet, in this dialogismus, Nakhtmin's speech has a special position. Not only is it the longest, but it is not an answer to a question that Ay asked him, although Ay is his fictive audience. From a rhetorical point of view, this speech is an encomium in the form of a *sermocinatio*¹³⁵, that the author strongly highlighted by making it break the dialogismus. But then, why have a dialogismus if the intention is to break it? Beside the surprising effect of the break itself for the reader, since Neferti's words are not breaking the dialogismus of the *Prophecy*, does this give a persuasive dimension to the encomium?

¹³³ As called by Nicolas 2009, 117.

¹³⁴ For this figure, see Molinié 1992, 114–115. This figure does not rule out the possibility for Nakhtmin being the author of the inscription, as the rhetorician can stage himself as a fictive speaker. See also Junge 1984, col. 251.

¹³⁵ For this figure, see Molinié 1992, 298–299. See Fischer-Elfert 1983, 58–59, for the figure in the “Soldatencharakteristik”.

Nakhtmin's ethos

As a matter of fact, Nakhtmin's credibility and authority are built through the dialogismus. This is not about the authenticity and truth of the inscription, but about Nakhtmin's character, his rhetorical ethos, a notion meaning how the discourse makes the speaker appear to the audience, so that the audience will trust him. For the encomium to be persuasive, this is essential¹³⁶. Now, Nakhtmin utters his encomium as the overseer of works appointed for building the speos, but unlike Neferti, he is not first nominated by the court as the ideal candidate, he is appointed directly by the king, which precisely happens in the frame of the dialogismus. This appointment contributes to his prestige and his legitimacy, as it shows that he is known by the king himself as an expert (at this time, Ay has obviously not been outlawed), which makes of him a figure of authority, worthy of being trusted and believed.

Yet, more can be added if one also takes into consideration the titles he bears in the inscription, but above all his depictions and titles on both sides of the door of the speos, which could not be missed by the audience. These titles are very badly preserved¹³⁷, but if one refers to his titles on his stelae Berlin 2074 and Louvre C 55 as well as on his statue found in Akhmim, Nakhtmin clearly belongs to the group of local senior civil servants¹³⁸. And if one considers now the style of his encomium, especially its *soigné* Middle Egyptian, and of course his knowledge of the Middle Kingdom compositions it exhibits, then Nakhtmin is revealed to be a *disglossic* and lettered local civil servant. Thus, Nakhtmin's ethos is built in such a way that he appears as a member of the very same audience to which the inscription is intended. Then, who better than the trustworthy and educated Nakhtmin to praise Ay¹³⁹? With such an ethos, Nakhtmin becomes almost a rhetorical figure himself: the impersonation of the lettered civil servant, if not an impersonation of the audience.

But why, since Nakhtmin was certainly known by the inhabitants of Akhmim, was it necessary to set his ethos in stone through image and text? It is because of what “the posterity will say when they come” (l. 12). Hence, for how long will Nakhtmin remain in the memories of Akhmim's

¹³⁶ See Aristotle, *Rhet.* I.2, 1356a1–13. On the ethos and its importance, see for example Amossy 2010², 13 and 61–81; for the authority more specifically, see Molinié 1992, 68.

¹³⁷ For his titles in the inscription, see above, n. q to the transliteration; for the double depiction of Nakhtmin, see above, footnote 21.

¹³⁸ See *Urk.* IV, 1522, l. 4, 1523, l. 8, 1530, l. 3, 1535, l. 4, and 1538, l. 6 (stelae); el-Sawi 1984–1985, 87, fig. 3 and 88, fig. 4 as well as Van Siclen III 1992, 112, fig. 1 and 113, fig. 2 (statue); *supra*, footnote 99.

¹³⁹ Compare with Nicolas 2009, 127–134 and 140.

inhabitants? What about the audience from a century after his time? This is an obvious support to the repetitive *kairos* of the inscription. As one can see, the audience, the rhetorical ethos of Nakhtmin, and this *kairos*, are intertwined and closely answering each other. It has also been proposed to see the restoration of verbal communication as the main topic of the text, Ay's major and dominant deed, and thereby the reason why Ay is praised by his overseer of works. Then, is it also possible to evidence a rhetorical argumentation aimed at persuading the audience of the inscription that Ay should be praised for this?

A preliminary agreement, an enthymeme, a thesis and a complex figure

Although the inscription of el-Salamuni begins like the *Prophecy of Neferti*, its author structured its first part very differently. Instead of starting at once with a “story”, he inserted an ideological statement (ll. 2–6). This may have surprised the readers, especially those who knew the *Prophecy of Neferti*. Its narrative style gives in any case a vivid and lively frame to this description of Ay's values. Indeed, we learn in the first part of this statement that Ay is a king with values: he is a king who seeks benefactions (*ʒh.t*) for the gods. In the second part, the gods and the king are said to be talking (again) with each other. In the third part, introduced by “The whole country was [in] joy” (l. 5), his restoration of communication with the gods is extended to the people. And, in the same way as this statement opens, it ends with a declaration on Ay's values, although in the form of an epiphonema¹⁴⁰: “Indeed, as for the good god, lord of the crowns, Itnetjer-Ay-[netjer-heqawaset], he could not possibly have been content with wrongdoing, (for) his abomination was the destruction of [rectitude]” (l. 6). Thus, two different sets of values are displayed: seeking benefactions when it is about the king acting for the gods; wrongdoing and rectitude when it is about the restoration of communication with the gods.

Beyond the appearance of pure cliché, the ideological statement has an essential argumentative function. For being effective, an argumentation must indeed build on an agreement with the audience, have a common place as a starting point¹⁴¹. Now, setting such an agreement is exactly what is done at the beginning of the statement, by presenting Ay as a king acting as it is expected for a king to act: “seeking benefactions” for the gods. This agreement

exhibits itself in the form of an enthymeme: a king seeks benefactions, Ay is a king (l. 2), then Ay seeks benefactions (l. 2), with the major premise not being formulated. That being said, the communicative dimension of Ay's action can be introduced and the actual thesis of the discourse expounded, namely that if communication is restored with the gods, it is not because of values usual to kings, but thanks to Ay's personal values: not being content with wrongdoing, because he loves rectitude. As a matter of fact, *ʒh* is a common kingly value¹⁴², but the expression about *dʒ.yt* and *nty* does not seem to have any parallel¹⁴³. It is worth remembering that these values are strongly highlighted by the initial particle *istw* and by the topicalization of the subject of the sentence, whereas *hh.y ʒh* is given no special depth as the predicate of the *wn.in=f* form.

For exposing this thesis, the author used different figures. Thus, the speech of “everyone” that ends the ideological statement is a sermocinatio (l. 5)¹⁴⁴. And for the last part of this statement especially, he shaped a complex figure of repetition, a kind of polyptoton¹⁴⁵, combined with synonymy, synecdoche, consonance, homonymy, and anadiplosis between the second and the third sentences: *tʒ nb [h]r rʒ[w] / s nb [hr] w[d]n n ntr=f / ntr nb hr ʒsp [n]h[h]=t[w] n=f [...n] / [ir].t-nb [hr] dd / ʒ[s]n[b] pʒ <nty> [m] hʒʒ [...] / [ʒwʒ]h nb nʒy.t / [smnh=f] mnw.w=f mn(.w) [wʒ] h(.w) rwd(.w) n d.t*. One might consider these figures purely stylistic devices, but this would be underestimating the function of the figures in the argumentation¹⁴⁶. Thus, as for the basic contribution of the figures of repetition to an argumentation, it is to make the events present to the audience¹⁴⁷. Now, with these figures built on *ntr* and on *nb*, of which an extensive use is made in lexemes referring to the people as well as to the king, that is, to the three main actors of the restoration of verbal communication, it is difficult not to see form and content merging here. But what

142 See above, footnote 51.

143 The only approaching formulation I know of is to be found on the stela BM 574 dating from the Middle Kingdom and coming most probably from Abydos; see DZA 31.540.480 = HTBM II, 6 and pl. 9, l. 9 (l. 19 of the whole inscription): *n ir=i dʒ(y).t*, where the notion seems to be opposed to the expression *hnm ntr m Mʒ.t* (ll. 19–20).

144 A sermocinatio is also used at the end of the summons of Nakhtmin (l. 12) and later in the encomium (l. 16), which contribute to build Nakhtmin's authority; for this kind of proof, see Molinié 1992, 319–322 (although in the rhetorical judicial genre essentially); Reboul 1994², 61–62.

145 For this figure, see Molinié 1992, 274. The most part of the figures of repetition mentioned here is attested in other ancient Egyptian texts; see Guglielmi 1986, cols. 23–26; Guglielmi 1996, 467–469, 472–475 and 476–478.

146 On this important question, see Amossy 2010³, 179–193.

147 See Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 2008⁶, 236–238.

140 For this figure, see Molinié 1992, 139–140.

141 On this important point, see Olbrechts-Tyteca 2008⁶, 87–153, especially 99–107, §§ 18–19; Reboul 1994², 171–172.

kind of argumentation is used, since we are actually still dealing with its premises?

Argumentation by induction for the preliminary agreement and an encomium for the thesis

Since one can recognize an argument by example¹⁴⁸, this example of what *ʒh* means for King Ay being the speos of el-Salamuni itself, one can identify an argumentation by induction. After the rhetorical ethos of Nakhtmin, we meet the logos of the discourse. This example of Ay's action is related in his presentation of his project for Akhmim (ll. 6–10). As a matter of fact, neither does this section mention the people, nor Ay's personal values, while the noblemen and companions conclude their speech to the king, as well as this section, by mentioning his *ʒh*-quality only: "... and it is in your [name], that your [monument will be established, like] a king who does benefactions (*ir ʒh.t!*)" (l. 10). The same can be said of the summons of Nakhtmin (ll. 10–12), appointed "to construct monuments within *Ipu* as a seeking for [deeds of] benefaction (*[sp.w n] ʒh.t*)" (l. 11).

Actually, this situation has already been brought up above, as we noted that Ay's *ʒh*-quality is not the topic of Nakhtmin's encomium. We even noted the link between the ideological statement and Nakhtmin's speech, as revealed by the repetition of Ay's personal values at the end of it (l. 22). This might give the impression of a text made of disjointed parts, just put one after the other. But these parts appear to correspond with and develop the topics of the ideological statement separately: the project for Akhmim and the summons of Nakhtmin with the initial agreement about Ay's *ʒh*-quality; the encomium of Nakhtmin with the thesis about Ay's personal values. Thus, having half of the inscription devoted to the thesis is understandable, since a thesis is nothing else but a proposition, with which nobody is going to agree by principle, but only after having been convinced of its accuracy. Yet, considering the argumentative strategy consisting in having an impersonation of the local lettered civil servant, namely Nakhtmin, uttering his encomium for his peers of the audience, it may have been that this was considered a difficult task. How should Nakhtmin's encomium have as a result the audience adhere to the thesis?

First, to introduce the subject of communication in the second chapter, the author used the same complex figure

of repetition built on *nb* as in the last part of the ideological statement, although without homonymy and a mesodiplosis between the first and the second sentences: [...] [*ir.t-nb*] *hft* [*w*] *ʃfb=k* / *hr-nb hft* [*r*]=*k* / *ʔ.wy m ʃmʃw[=k]* / [*s nb*] *hr* / *s3-r-iit-f h(3.w) hr M3[ʔ].t* (ll. 13–14). By duplicating this construction¹⁴⁹, the encomium is immediately tied with this part of the ideological statement, and the audience made aware of the thesis addressed.

Second, at the end of the encomium, the mention of the constructions focuses on Akhmim and appears among a series of subjunctive forms concluding it, expressing wishes for the success of Ay's action and for his sake (ll. 22–25)¹⁵⁰. It is also there that Ay's personal values reappear: "[You shall] not [be content with] the destruction of rectitude, (for) your abomination is wrongdoing!" (l. 22). In this sentence, the negated subjunctive shows that the deeds praised in the eulogy have proven this statement to be true¹⁵¹. At this point, then, the audience should have connected with the thesis in such a way that it would be enthusiastic about it, which should be the function of the chapters of the encomium. What is Nakhtmin's argumentative strategy?

Argumentation by induction and pathos for the encomium

Since these chapters illustrate in different manners the same restoration of communication, the argumentation of the encomium is again by induction, thereby founded on the logos. In Nakhtmin's encomium, however, pathos is also a powerful tool. The chapters of the encomium have been examined above, let us therefore focus on the pathos, with representative examples.

Pathos defines the use of emotions and passions by the speaker to move his audience; it is an essential part of the convincing process, inseparable from the logos¹⁵². On the one hand, there are emotions explicitly expressed. We mentioned above the rich lexicon related to joy in the inscription, which results from Ay's action. Indeed, this emotion occurs four times in the ideological statement

¹⁴⁹ Compare with Fischer-Elfert 1983, 55–56.

¹⁵⁰ It is uncertain, however, that in the sentence [*di*]=*k* [*ʃ*] *nb.w* ..., the verb form is a subjunctive; see above, n. z to the translation.

¹⁵¹ See above, n. oo to the transliteration, for the possibility of restoring a *sdm.n=f* form instead of a subjunctive. Negated with *nn*, the value of such a *sdm.n=f* would not change the interpretation put forward here, though; see Malaise, Winand 1999, 403, § 644.

¹⁵² See Aristotle, *Rhet.* I.2, 1356a14–7. On pathos, see Molinié 1992, 326–327 ("toucher") and 250–265 ("passions"); Amossy 2010³, 157–178.

¹⁴⁸ On this kind of argument, see Aristotle, *Rhet.* I.2, 1356a34–1356b25; Perelman, Ollbrechts-Tyteca 2008⁶, 471–480.

(l. 4: *h'(i)*; l. 4 and 5: *ršw*; l. 4: *šndm-ib*), and, in its present state, four times in the encomium (l. 18: *šndm*; l. 19: *ršw.t*; l. 22: *h'(i)*; l. 23: *m tḥḥw.t*). Other emotions are also mentioned, such as the *šndw*-fear felt by Egypt's enemies: "the Nine Bows being in submission because of [the fear] of you" (l. 16–17), which opposes the happiness of humanity. On the other hand, there are the emotions that the discourse itself creates, which really corresponds to what pathos is. Here, the discourse creates trust in Ay and shapes admiration for him by means of exaggeration. This strategy is called amplification, a strategy suited to the epideictic genre¹⁵³. It takes the form of the auxesis, the positive hyperbole¹⁵⁴, its role being to give "une direction à la pensée, de l'orienter dans l'appréciation de cette direction", to quote Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca¹⁵⁵. This starts as soon as the ideological statement, with the use of synonymy, one of the ways to exaggerate, but is particularly noticeable in the encomium, to which it is characteristic.

Thus, in the ideological statement, synonymy is used to describe twice the same geographical area pertaining to the gods talking to the king: "the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, from Elephantine to the Delta marshes" (ll. 3–4)¹⁵⁶. In the sixth chapter of the encomium, synonymy is found concerning Ay judging and listening: "[as] you are the one who judges] the private individual, [who does not cease] to [listen to] (*iwtw b3{w}g{3}<g>=f šd]m.w*) [the] single private individual" (l. 21), whereby exaggeration also occurs with the expression *iwtw b3gg=f*, with the fact that the king is supposed to be listening without interruption. In relation to this duplication, of note is surely the lexeme *šdm*, as it means "to hear" and "to judge".

The synecdoche is also a tool of the hyperbole, here extending to the entirety of a realia the reach of Ay's action. Thus, in the complex figures of repetition of the ideological statement and of the second chapter of the encomium, the use of *nb* to shape this figure highlights the extent of Ay's action, which includes the whole country, everyone, and every god¹⁵⁷. In the chapter on Ay as the leader of the

¹⁵³ See Molinié 1992, 109–110; Reboul 1994², 58, 68 and 70; Nicolas 2009, 125–126.

¹⁵⁴ See Molinié 1992, 46 ("amplification"), 69 ("auxèse"), 166 ("hyperbole"); Reboul 1994², 130–131 and 180; see Guglielmi 1986, cols. 28–30 as well as Guglielmi 1986, 484–487 and 488, for the metaphor, the comparison, the synecdoche, and the hyperbole, in ancient Egyptian texts.

¹⁵⁵ Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 2008⁶, 390 for the quotation, 390–394 for the hyperbole.

¹⁵⁶ Compare with Posener 1956, 35–36 and 47–49, for the way in which Neferti and Ameny's geographical origin are described in the *Prophecy*.

¹⁵⁷ Compare with Bleiberg 1985/86, 12, about the « band-wagon device ».

divine festivals, the same synecdoche is met: "all the gods (*ntr.w nb.w*) united" (l. 14), "everybody (*hr-nb*) [awakes]" (l. 15). A similar synecdoche is encountered, although with (*t3.wy-*) *tmw*: "it is with a [wish] of [their] hearts that [he] made [humanity] happy (*šndm.n=k [t3.wy]-tmw*) [...]" (l. 18). Actually, this last sentence repeats the idea of another from the ideological statement, although with more emphasis and a second tense: *šndm.n=f ib n t3.wy-tmw* (l. 4). Let us also point out the following two sentences: "Huma[nity] (*t3.wy-[t]m[w]*) lives [from] your [utter]ance" (l. 13), and "[Humanity] (*[t]m[w]*) is in [feast]" (l. 21).

Exaggeration is also encountered in "the project for Akhmim" and in the first words of Nakhtmin, to magnify the construction of the king, where it is about greatness, quantities and time. Ay shall indeed "build great monuments, [millions of] times" (l. 7), "embellish [his] (= *Min*) temple [with] works of eternity" (l. 8) and, for this, his name will "be [in his temple] of the necropolis, being magnified as a great reward, millions of times" (ll. 7–8). Exaggeration is found again in the fourth chapter, as his office is assigned to Ay "eternally" (*d.t*) (l. 16) and his name is hailed "[as high] as the sky" (l. 19). Again, at the beginning and at the end of the encomium, when mentioning the constructions of the king, Nakhtmin uses the same kind of exaggeration, since the gods shall reward Ay with "millions of years" (ll. 12 and 25).

In the chapter on Ay as the leader of the divine festivals, the hyperbole is essentially about Ay's appearance, and works by means of an amazing description of his person and of comparisons: he is "beautiful (*n*) in [front of Am]un" (l. 14); he mingles (*šnšn*) with the figure-heads of his bark, so that he "[appears] (*[h'(i)]*) like them (*mi-kd-šn*)", his "appearance (*ti.t*) being [their appearance] (*[ti.t]*)" (l. 15). This builds admiration for him, his charisma, his closeness with the divinities, so that the moon-god is adored, "according as [he] gave birth" to him (l. 16), as a quotation in the form of a sermocinatio lets us know.

In the next chapter, another tool of the hyperbole is metaphor, more precisely naval metaphors, used for expressing Ay's life-saving role: "You [put] (*ts*) all the country [together], (when) it had fallen into disappearance (*w3(.w) šw r f[d]kw*). You moored (*mni*) it to the ground, (when) it was drowning (*mh(i)*) them" (ll. 17–18). This precedes a statement on Maat, which has "[greatly] spread out throughout the two banks" (ll. 18–19). Let us make three remarks here: (1) although the combination of *ts* and *mni* in sentences expressing the good rule of the king allows for restoring *ts*¹⁵⁸, the combination of *ts* and

¹⁵⁸ See above, n. dd to the transliteration.

fdk on the one hand¹⁵⁹, and of *mni* and *mḥ(i)* on the other hand, show that their meaning in el-Salamuni's inscription is not the same as in those expressions. In fact, these sentences are strongly reminiscent of two passages in *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*: *fdk=k n-m ts=f*, "You divide—who will then reconcile?" (B1 288 = B2 10) and *mni mḥ nb šd bgʒw*, "Lander of all who drown—rescue the wrecked" (B1 168–169)¹⁶⁰; (2) in one of the inscriptions of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall architraves combining *ts* and *mn(i)*, a statement about Maat similarly follows¹⁶¹, which may show that we are dealing here with a topos; (3) in *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, the couple of antinomic lexemes *fdk* and *ts* appears in verses in which *wʒf* is used, which also appears below in el-Salamuni's inscription, in combination with the statement about Maat¹⁶². Let us also point out that the same locution is used in the ideological statement and here: *wʒ.w r fdkw*, "(it/them having) fallen into disappearance". In the statement, it is used about the gods (l. 3), whilst here, it is about "the country" (l. 17). As one can see, allusions to this first part of the inscription are noticeable throughout Nakhtmin's encomium.

In the fifth chapter, "eternally" is met twice (l. 20). Yet, the hyperbole builds here essentially upon a mythical dimension of Ay's action. Thus, he consecrates the servants "to their lord, [like] the First [Time]" (l. 20), and he is "pleasant [at the portal] of the two horizons" (l. 20). At the same time, the encomium presents his action in the frame of a comparison with the past, as he makes "[this] country serene like [before], (so that) [the two lands] have been pacified in peace" (l. 21).

Summing up

At the end of this examination, it can be said that the distinctive features of a rhetorical discourse according to the doctrine of the Aristotelian rhetoric have been highlighted. This text has a specific audience, which does not merge into the mass, and a definable *kairos*. Nakhtmin, the speaker supposed to utter the encomium, is provided with an appropriate ethos by the text. The discourse builds on a preliminary agreement, the values on which a king's

action are established, and a thesis, how Ay's restoration of communication with the gods bases on personal values. The discourse exhibits an argumentation founded on the logos, with an enthymeme and induction, combined with pathos, in the form of emotions explicitly formulated, and emotions created mainly by the encomium: admiration for Ay and trust in him. The characteristic features of an epideictic text are also met. Let us mention the fact that Nakhtmin relates events from his present, and that the *speos* synchronizes Nakhtmin's time with the time of the audience of the text, as epideictic texts essentially deal with the present. There are also the values proper to the epideictic genre, which are central in this inscription: virtue and vice¹⁶³. When looking back at Ay's, they certainly belong to the first category.

To these features, the plan of the text, its rhetorical *dispositio*, can be added. Four of its expected parts can indeed be clearly singled out in the same arrangement and with the same topics as taught in the doctrine¹⁶⁴: the *exordium*, with the preliminary agreement in the form of an enthymeme and the thesis (ll. 1–6); the *narratio*, which relates the decision of building in Akhmim, with an argumentation by induction in which the *speos* is the example (ll. 6–12); the *confirmatio*, with an argumentation by induction founded on five examples illustrating the thesis and combined with amplification (ll. 12–22); the *peroratio*, which corresponds with the last chapter of the encomium (ll. 22–25). As a matter of fact, this chapter stands out through the series of subjunctives, with which Nakhtmin expresses wishes. It can be divided up into three sections: (1) two wishes about the success of Ay's action framing the repetition of his personal values (ll. 22–23). One finds in the first one a metaphor of Ay as a "steering-oar, whom the lord of Hermopolis, [Thoth, has] made" (l. 22), the mention of the god recalling a passage above in the encomium about the moon-god having given birth to him (l. 16). Everyone being healthy (l. 22), jubilation all over "the Black One and the Red One" (l. 23), and "everybody being filled with [the love of]" the king (l. 23), are the awaited results of Ay's action. (2) three sentences about the king's building policy in Akhmim, a very local concern, about which Nakhtmin's local roots also gives him authority¹⁶⁵. (3) further wishes, but here for the sake of the king, such as happiness (l. 25), not directly for the success of his action.

¹⁵⁹ For this couple of antonymic words, see Franke 1998, 54, about this passage; Parkinson 2012, 230–231.

¹⁶⁰ For B1 288 = B2 10, see Parkinson 1991, 36 and Parkinson 2012, 230–231 (for the translation and a commentary); for B1 168–169, see Parkinson 1991, 27 and Parkinson 2012, 143–144 (for the translation and a commentary).

¹⁶¹ See Rondot 1997, 1*, no. 1 sup.

¹⁶² *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, B1 288: see Parkinson 1991, 35–36; Parkinson 2012, 230–231.

¹⁶³ On both these features, see Aristotle, *Rhet.* I.3, 1358b13–19 and I.9; Molinié 1992, 107–111 ("démonstratif"); Reboul 1994², 57; Nicolas 2009, 116.

¹⁶⁴ For the *dispositio* of rhetorical discourse, see for example Reboul 1994², 65–71.

¹⁶⁵ As Neferti's origin in the eastern Delta gives authority to him for speaking about its situation to come; see Posener 1956, 36.

Conclusion

The inscription of el-Salamuni is a remarkable text. The recourse to the *Prophecy of Neferti* for making Ay into a messianic king, its stylistic achievement as well as the inventiveness of its author, with an expression such as “The one whose coming was awaited has fallen to doing Maat!”, certainly contribute to its unique position among the royal inscriptions. As an epideictic composition, el-Salamuni’s inscription offers an exceptional insight into the political rhetoric of the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty: a programme centred on the restoration of verbal communication with the gods, in which the people are particularly involved, exhibited by an argumentation combining ethos, logos, pathos, and a thesis putting forward Ay’s original and personal values: not being content with “wrongdoing” (*ir.t d3y.t*) and having the “destruction of rectitude” (*hd mt(y)*) in abomination.

This should lead to a reassessment of the notion of ‘propaganda’, often said to characterise ancient Egyptian royal inscriptions. Indeed, propaganda defines itself as persuasive techniques addressing the mass by means of mass media¹⁶⁶. In contrast, el-Salamuni’s inscription is addressing a specific audience, and offers to it an argumentation built upon a preliminary agreement, the necessary point of departure of a convincing process. This text thereby engages in a dialogue with the audience, it is not striking the mass with some truth. The numerous elements of intertextuality, especially related to inscriptions from Tutankhamun’s reign and Middle Kingdom compositions, also engages in a dialogue, but with other discourses. Then, the bombastic statements about the king usually considered propagandistic means, are perfectly in tune with the figures of amplification appealing to the audience’s pathos. Surely, it would be very naive to imagine that ancient Egyptian royal inscriptions cannot have been aimed at manipulating the audience, but this should not for all that be confused with propaganda. Thus, ridding ourselves of this notion when considering ancient Egyptian royal inscriptions and regarding them as texts engaging in a dialogue with the audience, as rhetorical discourses, even though we are dealing with an absolute monarchy,¹⁶⁷ would certainly avoid an anachronistic view of them.

¹⁶⁶ See Reboul 1994², 94–96; Olbrechts-Tyteca 2008⁶, 68–72; Zoberman 2003, in particular 101–102, who proposes to speak of personal-ity cult about King Louis XIV, a notion certainly worth being considered when dealing with ancient Egyptian royal texts.

¹⁶⁷ Compare with Assmann 1984, 109, who states that as early as after the Old Kingdom, “Königliches Handeln ist konsensbedürftig geworden; entsprechend gilt jetzt als oberste Tugend des Königs, daß

Most importantly, considering el-Salamuni’s inscription an epideictic text enables the reinstating of it as a long-term socio-political discourse. Indeed, epideictic texts not only have immediate goals, but also give directions for decisions to be made in the future; they have an educational dimension¹⁶⁸. Understanding el-Salamuni’s inscription as an epideictic text entails, therefore, seeing in it a composition admittedly aimed at establishing absolute confidence of the audience in Ay¹⁶⁹, but also at reinforcing social cohesion and cultural identity. Its aim is to win over the audience in order to trigger compliance with the king and with the institution of monarchy, a function probably required after the Amarna Period. For achieving this, the argumentation does not simply consist of demonstrating what the *3h*-quality of a king means with the speos as an example, but puts forward a thesis that Ay’s action is founded on a set of original and personal values, whereby his action extends to the people. Along these lines, the foundation of its relationship to the *Prophecy of Neferti* is highly political and rhetorical, drawing from the past an archetype, Ameny, the assimilation with whom gives to the required compliance with Ay’s values the taste of a revival. Whether these values were supposed to drive the audience to adhere to Ay’s rule, or to propose an amendment to the traditional values of ancient Egyptian monarchy, or both, is beyond the reach of this study. Whether they evidence a reflection on the institution and show the need to convince audiences to support the king’s action, seems beyond doubt.

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er zu überzeugen versteht”, with the author, l. c., 109–113, giving two examples of texts dealing with construction and war.

¹⁶⁸ On this function, see Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 2008⁶, 62–72, §§ 11–12, summarized by Reboul 1994², 58–59. The closeness between the epideictic and the deliberative genres is already addressed by Aristotle, *Rhet.* I.9, 1367b36–1368a9, quoted by Nicolas 2009, 135, in the frame of his analysis of the long-term function of the genre, for which see l. c., 134–141. About Hatshepsut’s discourse, Bickel 2014, 29, writes that “Construction work, laws, and her entire royal action were presented as being oriented toward the future. All of Hatshepsut’s enterprises were shown as being relevant to those who will come. This discursive strategy [...] seems principally destined to convince the contemporary public of the centrality and significance of the current period” (see l. c., 28–29, for the examples and the argumentation). Like the sentence “How favoured was the time (*3.t*) of [the ruler] “He-whose-crowns-are-dazzling”!”, uttered by the future generation in the stela of el-Salamuni (l. 12), such sentences may also be understood in direct relation to the educational dimension of the epideictic texts.


¹⁶⁹ Compare with Zoberman 2003, 105.

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Figure 1. The Façade of the Speos of el-Salamuni (Photograph Courtesy DAI Cairo).

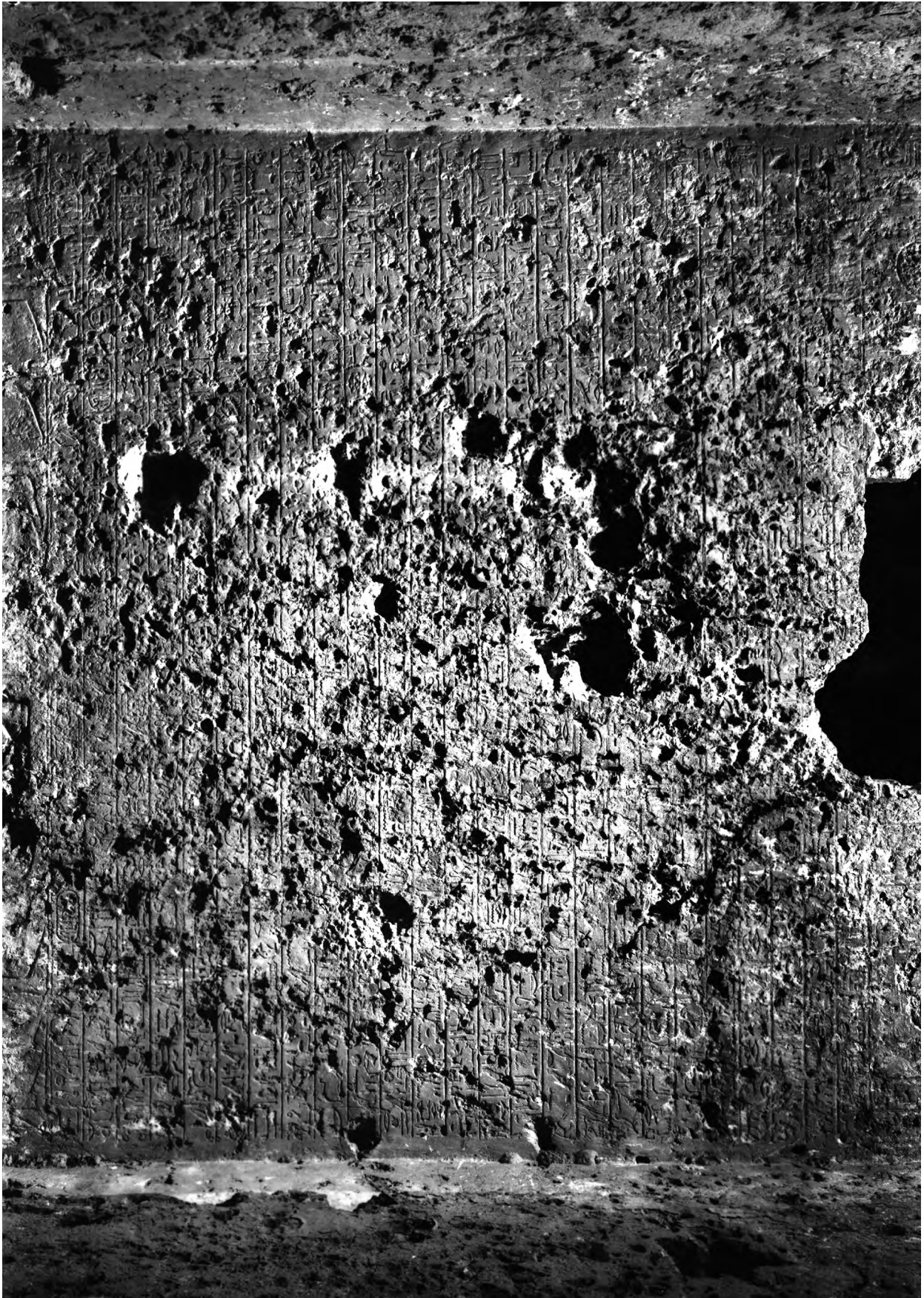


Figure 2. The Inscription of the Speos of el-Salamuni (Photograph Courtesy DAI Cairo).