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Texts from the Amarna period and their position in the development of Ancient Egyptian

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Addresses

Texts from the Amarna period and their position in the development of Ancient Egyptian

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The subject of Late Egyptian grammar has not gone without considerable investigation, categorization, and analysis over the years, and Polotsky, who has contributed much to our knowledge of Egyptology, has also summarized the state of studies during the one hundred year period 1872-1972.[1] Among the many scholars who have produced monographs on the grammar of this period are Erman[2] and Korostovstev[3] and more recently, Davis,[4] Groll,[5] Frandsen,[6] and Satzinger.[7] Of course, these works are but a few of the studies dealing with this subject. These same scholars and scores of other Egyptologists, many of whom participated in the Crossroads conferences, have been responsible for the numerous articles, studies, and reviews focusing on some aspect of Late Egyptian grammar.[8] Considerable scholarly research has, therefore, taken place, and the reasons for this concentration may well be the availability of the material, its quantity, the analytical nature of its structure

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[1] Polotsky, in: *Textes et Languages de l'Égypte Pharaonique*, 133-141.

[2] Erman, *NäG*.

[3] Korostovstev, *Grammaire du Neo-égyptien*.

[4] Davis, *Syntax of the Negative Particles* bw *and* bn *in Late Egyptian*.

[5] Černý - Groll, *LEG*; Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns*; Groll, *Negative Verbal System*.

[6] Frandsen, *Outline*.

[7] Satzinger, *Neuägyptische Studien*.

[8] One hardly needs to catalogue the work of Polotsky, Groll, Wente, Hintze, Vergote, Borghouts, Gardiner, Černý, and Caminos.

in comparison to the synthetic structure of earlier periods, the clearer distinctions among the genres of texts, or a host of other possibilities - or all of them together for that matter.[9]

During the last two decades, the grammatical studies have tended to use sources from among a defined group of particular texts, sometimes organized by genre, sometimes by date, by style, or by other criteria.[10] In some analyses a combination of two or more of these criteria is used. This more defined approach permits the researcher to see trends, usages, and relationships that may not be apparent in a collection that includes many diverse texts. Earlier grammarians, who followed the latter methodology, tended to be much more encyclopedic in regard to their source material. Now, because of the later synchronic and genre-oriented studies as well as the subsequent diachronic comparisons, researchers have been able to learn the forms, constructions, and patterns that were unique to each category and to recognize those forms that could be shared.[11] Further, it was possible to see how or whether a pattern, form, or construction changed from one genre to another, from one time period to another, or from one category (whatever had been chosen) to another.[12]

While these approaches have provided considerable new information on the status of Late Egyptian, they have tended to use textual material (more non-literary than literary) from the Nineteenth Dynasty and, even more so, from the Twentieth Dynasty.[13] Such studies have ordinarily omitted the earlier texts of the Eighteenth and the early Nineteenth Dynasties. The more traditional grammar of Erman utilized these earlier texts, but that of Korostovstev tended to de-emphasize them in favor of the later ones, noting in particular that while Erman had used the Amarna Texts, "dans notre grammaire ces textes n'ont pas été utilisés, car les éléments n.é. (Late Egyptian) n'y sont pas en prédominance. Les textes d'el Amarna sont plutôt des textes m.é. (Middle Egyptian) avec une addition considérable d'éléments n.é."[14]

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[9] See the remarks by P. Vernus in his review of Černý-Groll, *LEG*, in *Orientalia* 50 (1981), 429-430.

[10] See Callender, *Orientalia* 42 (1973), 56.

[11] See for example Groll, *OLP* 6-7 (1975-76), 237-246. For a further list of some "shared" constructions, see Silverman, in: *Festschrift Westendorf*, 196.

[12] See Groll, *OLP* 6-7 (1975-76), 237-38.

[13] See Groll, *Negative Verbal System*, V, who refers to Černý's concept "that the non-literary texts of the Twentieth Dynasty display the most elaborate verbal system and that one should deal separately with literary and non-literary texts of the XIXth and the XXth Dynasty." Note also the remarks of P. Vernus cited above, n. 9.

[14] Korostovtsev, *Grammaire du Néo-Egyptien*, 4.

Just how Late Egyptian the Amarna Texts are, I think, is still questionable. Studies of the material, such as Behnk's grammar[15] are certainly useful, as is the recent work of Israeli,[16] but no one has yet investigated these texts with this particular question in mind. Behnk had remarked on the frequency of Late Egyptian forms in all types of texts from Amarna,[17] but did not note whether they appeared with the same consistency within them, nor how they related to the use of such forms in texts slightly before and after the Amarna Period. Israeli presented a systematic grammatical analysis organized by verbal forms, verbal syntax, and verbal and non-verbal clause construction; she did not, however, distinguish as to whether the constructions were either Late or Middle Egyptian in nature. Kroeber's unpublished dissertation appeared in 1970, and it dealt with the Late Egyptianisms that occurred prior to the Amarna Period. Its very title suggests implicitly that texts of the Amarna Period and later were ostensibly Late Egyptian enough to be excluded from the study. Indeed, Kroeber admits that while the Ramesside Period saw the arrival of a developed Late Egyptian, it was the reign of Amenhotep IV that saw the advent of this new style.[18] Despite these conclusions, scholars working on Late Egyptian over the following two decades have not included Amarna texts in their studies.

In 1985, Junge, in his treatment of the subject *Sprache* in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, redefined and reorganized the categories referring to the stages of Ancient Egyptian. Working from the ground breaking study made forty years earlier by Stricker,[19] he interspersed many intermediary phases and, thereby expanded the traditional tri-partite division. His text sources were arranged in four distinct *Sprechhandlungen* (speech acts): theological, official, literary, and daily life. What he calls *Late Egyptian* are only those texts that have pure Late Egyptian sentence structure, forms, and orthography. Furthermore, he proposes a preceding and a sometimes contemporaneous category called *Medio-Neuägyptisch*, marked by extensive Late Egyptian sentence structure, together with numerous Middle Egyptian syntactic and morphological features.[20] According to his analysis, such a

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[15] Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus El-Amarna*.

[16] Israeli, in: *Papers for Discussion*, 279-304. See also elsewhere in this volume, T. Ritter, "The Distribution of Past Tense Verbal Forms in 18th Dynasty Narrative Texts," who notes that he has included Amarna Texts in the larger study upon which the present one is based. The majority of his quoted examples, however, derive from Urk. IV. I have not yet had access to Tobin's study on the Amarna texts which was brought to my attention by Orly Goldwasser. One looks forward to the announcement that S. Groll will soon publish a grammar on these texts.

[17] Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus El-Amarna*, 1-2.

[18] Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit*; see especially XVII.

[19] Junge, in: *LÄ* V, 1190-91 and Tafel 2; Stricker, *OMRO* 25 (1945), 12 ff.

[20] Cf., however, Stricker's grouping of texts with a high degree of speech from the Second Intermediate Period and the early New Kingdom: *OMRO* 25 (1945), 36.

stage began at the advent of the Eighteenth Dynasty, terminated at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, and included texts from only three *Sprechhandlungen*: daily life (letters and ostraca), official documents (monumental texts), and literary inscriptions (stories). Among the randomly selected texts in this phase, only the *Sprechhandlungen* of religious texts is not represented. Presented in order of decreasing Middle Egyptianisms (and an apparent chronological order as well), his characteristic texts list Amarna ostraca and the later boundary stelae immediately after letters of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Only one other Amarna Text, *The Great Hymn of the Aten*,[21] appears on Junge's scheme. He designates it a theological text and places it in another phase, *Late Middle Egyptian I*, that is characterized by occasional Late Egyptian forms, along with Middle Egyptian sentence structure and orthography. This stage of the language, according to Junge, included the four *Sprechhandlungen* and spanned a period from the end of the First Intermediate Period into the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Having noted the viewpoints held by some Egyptologists regarding the phase in which the Amarna texts belong, I would like now to turn my attention to the texts themselves. It is only after a careful analysis of them that one can evaluate adequately the remarks of Kroeber and the new phases and divisions suggested by Junge.[22] It is perhaps best to reexamine the inscriptions from Amarna in order to determine what are the most appropriate groups into which the texts should be placed. Each group should first be treated separately and then compared with others. Eventually, all the inscriptions from the period should be included, even those not listed specifically by Junge, such as the later boundary stelae,[23] the few Amarna letters,[24] and the tomb inscriptions.

The letters would appear to be an appropriate category to begin with in the present discussion, for the group is small and consists of only a few papyri and ostraca.[25] (See figures 1-3) Wente has translated these documents, and, in his brief commentary, he observed that the two letters inscribed on papyri contain the earliest occurrence of the epistolary

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[21] Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, 93-96.

[22] See further his remarks in: *Lingua Sapientissima*, 47-48, and the references listed in n. 3.

[23] I refer the reader here to the recent work on this subject by C. C. Van Siclen III and William Murnane.

[24] See the translations by Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 94-96; note also Bakir, *Ancient Egyptian Epistolography*, 9.

[25] In contrast to the note by Caminos, in: *LÄ* I, 858, letters written on ostraca were not restricted to the Theban area. See also Wente, *Letters*, 89. Note also Junge, in: *Lingua Sapientissima*, 49, who implies that the language of the early New Kingdom letters and ostraca is already Late Egyptian. I would not include among this group the letter found at Gurob that was written during the early years of Amenhotep IV (Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* , 147-48), since the scribe has followed the classical format and has limited his use of "Late Egyptianisms." See Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 28 for a translation.

expressions that are later found in letters written during the Ramesside Period.[26] Interestingly enough, these two letters also regularly use the Late Egyptian conjunctive form *mtw.k*,[27] rather than the intermediary stage *ḥn' ntf sḏm*. If we analyze these texts further, we find that the grammar includes in fact constructions that are common in later non-literary Late Egyptian. The orthography, however, for the most part tends to be more Middle Egyptian, although in at least a few cases (pMond I, 11 and II, 21 and 25), a later writing does occur.

In a Late Egyptian text, one would expect to find the consistent use of the definite article and the possessive adjective, and such is the case in these letters; the few instances where a bare noun or a suffix occur prove to be within the patterns typical for Late Egyptian texts, according to Černý-Groll's *Late Egyptian Grammar*.[28] In terms of analytic tenses, the First Present occurs regularly both in main clauses[29] and in circumstantial/adverbial clauses introduced by dependent *jw*.[30] The Continuative of the Past, *jw.f ḥr stp*, makes an appearance,[31] and there is an example of the Second Perfect marked by *j.jr*.[32] The Third Future occurs in its typical pattern.[33]

In terms of negations used in the letters, the situation is not so clear cut, since characteristic negations with both *bw* and *nn* occur. Letter II has *bw* and *nn*, while Letter I has only the latter. The passages where *bw* appears are, unfortunately, damaged; one case seems to have the negative perfect *b[w pw]y* + bare noun + *stp.f* after circumstantial *jw*;[34]

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[26] Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 89. Unfortunately, there is no accompanying grammatical commentary.

[27] See also Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit*, 169-70, who notes that while *mtw* is used in this letter, it is absent from pCairo 58053-5. The latter group of letters is generally considered to be from the early Nineteenth Dynasty (Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, #133-135, 113-116). See also Junge, in: *Lingua Sapientissima*, 47.

[28] The possessive suffix occurs after *sn* in pMond I, 1 and II, 25, but this situation is not unusual in family relationships according to Černý-Groll, *LEG*, 65. In pMond II, 5 it occurs after *snb* (cf. ibid., 63). A bare noun occurs in a title before a proper name (pMond I, 18 and II, 1), but this practice is attested (ibid., 74) as is that of a bare noun in an expression of possession (pMond I, 11; ibid., 395) and that of a bare noun of time (ibid., 69-71).

[29] See for example, pMond II, 1, 5, 7 and II, 2, 5.

[30] pMond II, 3, 8, 11, and 26.

[31] pMond II, 13 and 14.

[32] pMond II, 6. The text is *j.jrj.j tm h3b n*.... "It was that I have not written to...."

[33] After *nty* in pMond I, 14 and II, 20 and not after *nty* also in II, 20.

[34] pMond II, 8 (cf. Černý-Groll, *LEG*, chapter 15 and ex. 635).

another follows what is undoubtedly interrogative *js*,[35] but the following section of papyrus is missing. A third has *bw rḫ.f stp*, probably the negative counterpart for *tw.j rḫ.kwj*.[36] There is another questionable example, where *bw* (?) is restored before *jr n.f*.[37]

The scribe of both letters used Middle Egyptian 𓂝𓏛 to introduce a negative expression of possession: *nn wn* + bare noun + *m-dj.f*.[38] Any similarity to Middle Egyptian patterns is, however, superficial, for this expression is rarely found in classical Middle Egyptian texts. It is, however, attested in later non-literary texts, such as letters and reports,[39] and it is also commonly used in later literary texts.[40] That *nn* was not to be understood as a Middle Egyptianism despite its orthography is clear from its appearance elsewhere in Letter II. In one case, it is written apparently for interrogative *jn*,[41] an occurrence noted also frequently in Wenamun. Another example is the collocation of *nn*, *n3*, and *m* at the head of what appears to be an interrogative or conditional cleft sentence.[42] *Tm* occurs as the negation of the nominalized infinitive,[43] the negation of the verb in a second tense,[44] the negation of a non-initial prospective,[45] and other uses as well.[46] As would be

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[35] pMond II, 11. Another *js* appears on II, 12, but the passage is damaged; it may be an example of non-interrogative *js*, found more commonly in literary texts (Erman, *NäG*, § 676).

[36] pMond II, 18. Černý - Groll, *LEG*, 311-313 and ex. 881.

[37] pMond II, 19. It is not clear whether the fragments of signs are *b* and *w* and, if so, whether they are to be taken as the negative or part of a preceding word. Perhaps *bw jrj.w jr n.f* was meant and even that *jr* has its full lexical meaning (cf. ibid., ex. 866: "It is not done for me.")

[38] pMond I, 11; II, 18.

[39] See pCairo 58058, 5, and Wenamun 1x + 23.

[40] For examples, see Erman, *NäG*, § 756. See also, Davis, *Syntax of the Negative Particles* bw *and* bn *in Late Egyptian*, 163-64. Groll, *Negative Verbal System*, 21, notes that *nn wn* O-A *m-dj.f* is a pattern used in literary texts.

[41] pMond II, 9. See also pCairo 58056, 8 for *nn* before *bn*.

[42] pMond II, 22: *nn n3 m t3y.j s3t j.dd n.k* "Is it my daughter who has said to you...?" It may well convey the sense of a condition as Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 98, has translated it. It is possible that *nn n3* stood before the cleft sentence introduced by *m*. For a discussion of *jn* and *jnn* see Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions*, 109-11. There are other possible interpretations, such as *n3* for past *wn*.

[43] pMond I, 6; II, 26. II, 16 also has the negated infinitive.

[44] pMond II, 4.

[45] pMond II, 10.

[46] pMond I, 15 and II, 10.

expected in letters, negative imperatives are not infrequent, and they take the typical form *m jr*.[47]

A few of the epistolary expressions common in other letters occur here as well, such as *jn jw.k m šs*.[48] This phrase can be found in other letters that can be dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty, or perhaps a bit later.[49] The interrogative *jn* followed by an *jw* construction indicating present time continues in use and does occur even in later letters, not necessarily in this type of formulaic expression.[50] Another epistolary expression, one that begins with *ḫft* followed by a *stp.k*, occurs in pMond II, 15. The concluding phrase in later parallels of this formula generally utilizes the construction *jw.f ḥr stp.f*;[51] here, however, the papyrus is damaged, and it is not certain whether the same phrase does in fact occur. Further on, in the same letter, the scribe uses what appears to be a similar epistolary formula.[52] The introductory phrase occurs in a damaged context, but the concluding clause is a Third Future.

Among other features of note also are the frequent appearances of the prothetic *j* before the participle and the use of typical Late Egyptian phrases, such as *p3 wn*, *m t3 wnwt*, *ky dd* and *st-ḥmt*. A particular type of nominal sentence pattern, *jḫ pw p3y.k tm h3b*, occurs in both letters; it follows the tri-membral pattern noted by Groll.[53]

The letters on ostraca (figure 3) are shorter and in some cases less well preserved than those on papyri; they are, therefore, much less informative. The remains, however, contain some isolated features that seem to indicate less extensive, or at least, less consistent use of Late Egyptianisms. For example, while the definite article is used, *pw* can also occur.[54] The scribe of another ostracon placed the prothetic *j* before the imperative, but used the intermediary conjunctive introduced by *ḥn' ntk* rather than *mtw.k*.[55] Interestingly, the scribe of another ostracon composed his text with more Late Egyptian expres-

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[47] See for example pMond II, 16, 18, and 22.

[48] pMond I, 2 and II, 2(?).

[49] See Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions*, 113.

[50] Ibid., 114.

[51] Bakir, *Ancient Egyptian Epistolography*, pl. VI; pCairo 58058, 11, 1-2. See also ibid., 79-80 and Černý - Groll, *LEG*, 435.

[52] pMond II, 20.

[53] pMond I, 6 and II, 6 (with *p3y.t*). Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns*, 8, ex. 27.

[54] Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten. II*, pl. LVII, no. 2.

[55] Ibid., no. 6.

sions, such as the conjunctive with *mtw*, past *wn* introducing a First Present, an empha-
sizing independent pronoun and *jw.f ḥr stp.f*.[56] Other features common in letters on papy-
rus, such as the polite command *jḫ stp.k* and the First Present construction, also occur.[57]

In regard to all of these letters, one might be justified concluding that the two
papyri, if not the ostraca as well, display sufficient Late Egyptian orthography, a significant
amount of Late Egyptian grammatical features, and enough epistolary phrases typical of
later letters to distinguish them from the other letters of the Eighteenth Dynasty. They are
clearly distinct from the Gurob letter written earlier in the pharaoh's reign wherein the
classical epistolary phrases are used, and the orthography, grammar, and religious content
are traditional.[58] In fact, they have more elements in common with letters of the early Nine-
teenth Dynasty,[59] and they should perhaps be seen as an early or developmental stage of
Late Egyptian letters. It may be noteworthy also that many of these same "Late Egyptian
features" as pointed out above can in fact be found also in the literary texts. The latter, for
stylistic reasons, tended to utilize a larger repertoire of constructions, some classical forms,
some non-literary ones, and some purely literary ones.[60]

It is possible to expand the category of letters by including those texts that contain
similar language. Based on evidence from earlier periods, one might assume that some of
the inscriptions in the tombs of private individuals might have been composed in a similar
style. In other words, expressions and phrases that would fall into the category of *reden*
and *rufe*. Unfortunately, the program of texts and decoration in the Amarna tombs is quite
distinct from that in earlier tombs, and what may appear to be the actual colloquial speech
of an individual may not necessarily be so. The center of the attention is the king, his
family, and the Aten, and the activity that is pictured relates primarily to these figures. Any
scenes that represent the daily life of the individual do so only in so far as they relate to
royalty or the deity. Probably for that reason, the informal dialogue amongst the individuals
was not recorded.

The texts recorded in these tombs usually refer to the tomb owner's duties or
actions in regard to the king, the Aten, or even the city. On a superficial level such infor-

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[56] Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten. III*, pl. LXXXIV, no. 1.

[57] Ibid., no. 2 and no. 3. The latter also makes use of the conjunction *ḥnꜥ ntk rdjt*.

[58] See Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, 147-48, and Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*,
28. Note that the First Present with a noun subject + an adverbial or a pseudo-verbal predicate can occur and
that the definite article marks the royal and divine establishments and offerings for the deities. Classical
constructions are more common, such as a negative adverbial clause introduced by *n js*.

[59] There admittedly are such examples. See those noted by Bakir, *Ancient Egyptian Epistolography*, 91-
92, and Caminos, in: *LÄ* I, n.38.

[60] See above, notes 11 and 12.

mation is similar to that which one might find in biographical inscriptions during earlier periods, where the official style of language predominated and the idiom was classical. At Amarna, perhaps some of this tradition remained intact, even though the content and the means of expressing it was now distinct. When the king spoke to the tomb owner regarding the presentation of awards or when the individual addressed the king or the deity, the speech recorded was expressed in a different style. While clearly not "classical" Middle Egyptian, the language was hardly an intermediary or early phase of Late Egyptian. Even the "speeches" of the lower officials are found to be directed to the tomb owner or the king, and they reflect the type of language just described. The constructions employed are for the most part Middle Egyptian, and there does not appear to be any real consistency in the use of the definite article or the possessive adjectives, although they do occur more frequently than before. There are a few examples of the relative forms with prothetic *j*, but they ordinarily appear without it. *Stp.n.f* is used as it is in the earlier periods, but the later construction *bw rḫ.f stp* is attested as well. While the Late Egyptian negatives are employed, Middle Egyptian ones are more common. The First Present, introduced with a pronominal compound, exists side by side with an independent clause whose subject and adverbial predicate is introduced by *jw*. There is no marked increase in analytical forms; there are few examples of later orthography; and *jw* is not a consistent marker of a dependent clause.

One might see in the language of these texts a new official style that was coordinated with the new doctrines of the period.[61] It was a hybrid in which Middle Egyptian constructions and orthography shared the limelight with features of Late Egyptian that were now occurring more frequently. On the surface, such a style would seem to have had much in common with the style of later literary texts.

There is, however, one text from the reign of Amenhotep IV that appears to have been written in the vernacular style, although it still retains a few elements of the classical. It is from the Theban tomb of Parennefer (TT 188) which dates to the transition period in the pharaoh's reign.[62] In the scene, the tomb owner bends forward with his hand to his mouth, in a gesture of speech (figure 4) and he is apparently speaking to the king:

> "He says: As for Pre; he knows the servant who pays attention to the temple offerings. Now as for the servant who does not pay attention to the offerings for the Aten he will put him in your charge because one will measure..."

In the short text, there is a positive First Present, and there follows a negated relative First Present that is to be read *nty bn sw ḥr rdjt*, though the negation written is *n*. *Ḥr* plus initial prospective occurs, and the definite article occurs more often than not. The expression *p3 wn* appears, but so does *sḏm.tw*, indicating a simple present. There is no doubt that the

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[61] See Silverman, in: *Ancient Egyptian Kingship: New Investigations*, forthcoming.

[62] N. de G. Davies, *JEA* 9 (1923), pl. XXV.

language here is closer to that of the letters discussed earlier than to that of the inscriptions in the Amarna tombs. This observation is not surprising, since Akhenaten's revolution was only in its beginning stages at this time, and some of the traditional tomb iconography and decoration was still being used. Therefore, the accompanying texts could still follow the tradition of closely reflecting the spoken language.

At Amarna, apparently, the situation was different. Akhenaten's new religious doctrines were introduced along with new manners of expression in art, architecture, city planning, and apparently also in language. In regard to the last, however, it is not the vernacular language, or one close to it, that Akhenaten chose to record his new beliefs and the documents associated with them. He created a new official language, one that was as unique to him as were the other aspects of his revolutionary movement.[63] Although it had strong roots in the style of the past, it was quite distinct from it. This was not, however, a universal language of the period, as the letters well attest. Kroeber had felt that "Late Egyptian" had its origin at Amarna, but it is clear that vernacular Late Egyptian occurred in only very limited use there. One can see it only in the letters and to a lesser extent in the ostraca. The isolated *Rede* in the tomb of Parennefer actually belongs to the period of transition. The style of language used in these letters can be seen as a bridge that spans the gap between the other letters of the Eighteenth Dynasty and those of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. The tomb inscriptions and boundary stelae do not belong in the same category. They conform to one of official/religious royal literature. It may be possible to understand as Junge has, that they should be dealt with separately. It is equally possible, however, to view them rather as a homogeneous unit of royal-related official texts that, despite being composed over a short period of time show a clear line of development. In regard to this latter suggestion there is possible support from parallel developments in Amarna art, architecture, city planning and even in the content of Akhenaten's religious documents themselves. Each aspect of the Amarna revolution, as distinct from the past as it appeared to be, has been shown to have had roots in the past. It may well be that the language of the period was no exception.

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[63] See Silverman, in: *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 75-87.

Figure 1

Silverman, David P.: Texts from the Amarna period and their position in the development of Ancient Egyptian
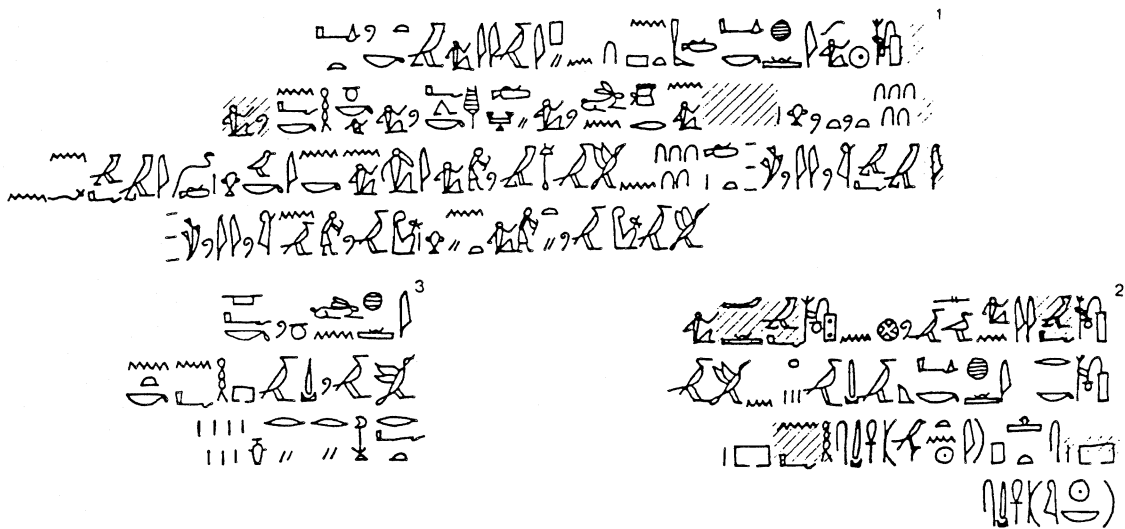
Figure 2

Figure 3

Ostraca after J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten* III, pl. LXXXIV.

Ostraca after H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten* II, pl. LVII.

Figure 4

Tomb of Parennefer, after N. de G. Davies, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* IX, pl. XXV.
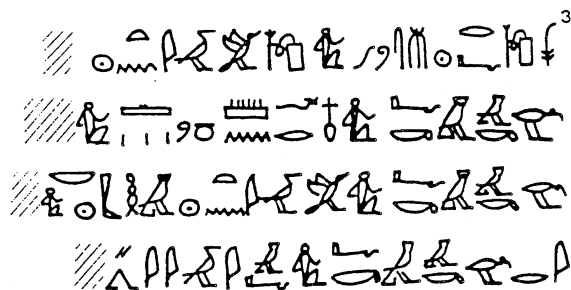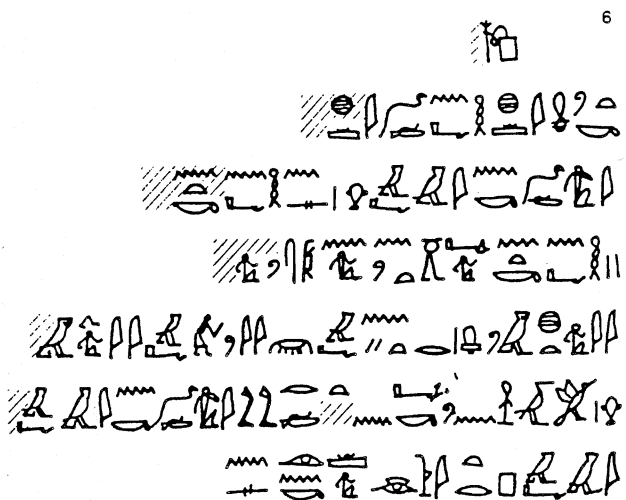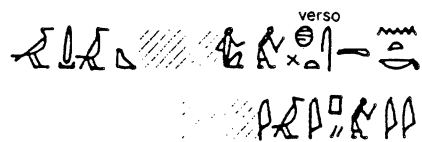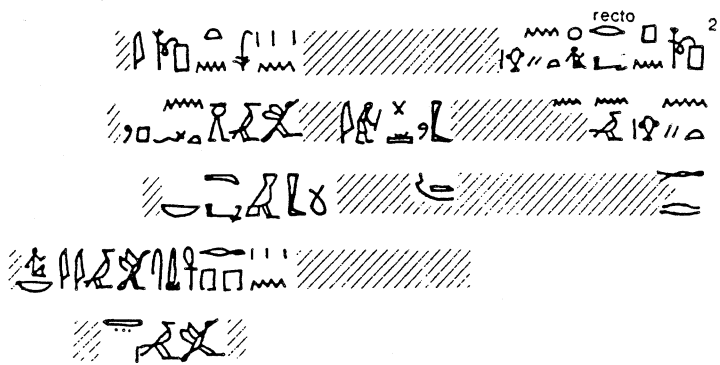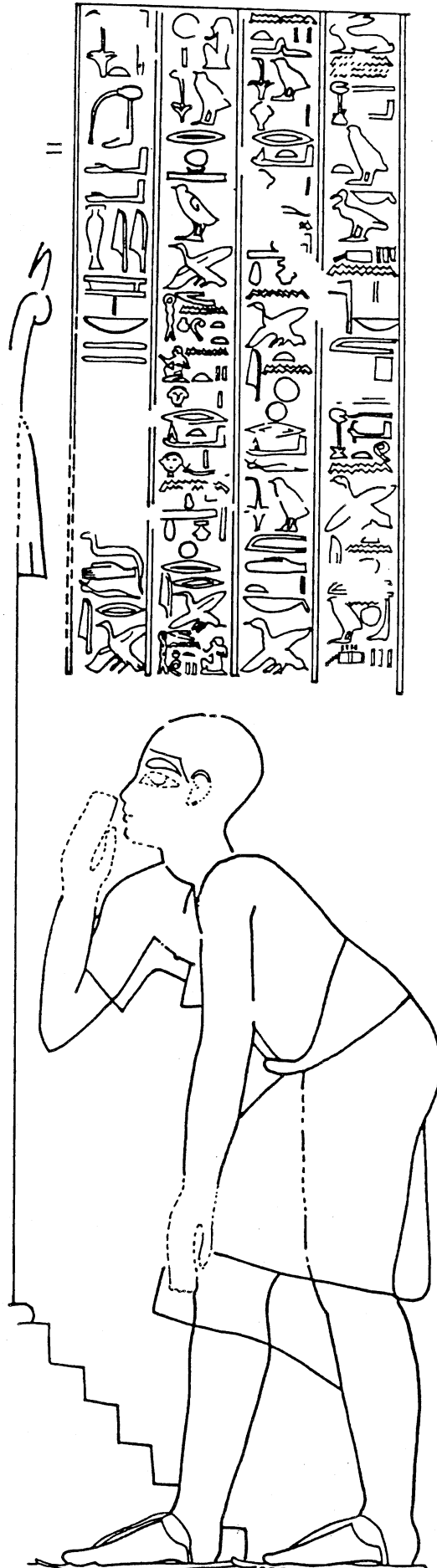
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