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## Narrative in the Medinet Habu War Inscriptions

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Historical discourse is typified by narrative structure<sup>1</sup> which employs narrative verbal formations<sup>2</sup> in order to indicate progression in it. Narrative structure, in turn, has been defined as that of a story, a sequence of events, possessing a beginning, a middle and an end.<sup>3</sup>

These generalities have direct bearing upon the Medinet Habu (MH) texts describing the wars of Ramesses III, since, in part, they are perceived as narratives, and are also widely known as "historical texts"<sup>4</sup> or texts possessing a "historical core".<sup>5</sup> In spite of this, the complex issue of these texts' historical value is still under debate. It may therefore prove useful to reevaluate the nature of narrative in the MH texts, establish which inscriptions are narrative in character, and thus create a corpus of texts which should bear closer scrutiny in terms of their historical merit.

Several scholars have addressed themselves to the problem of narrative in the MH texts, but each has approached the problem from a different angle, and each employs the term 'narrative' in a slightly different context. Wilson<sup>6</sup> understands narrative as something which reflects fact as opposed to 'pretentious poetry' which is used for royal glorification. He concludes that the so-called "historical section" of the text pertaining to the war of year

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<sup>1</sup> For a summary of the discussion on this topic, see Carr, *Time Narrative*, 7-17.

<sup>2</sup> Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 14.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Carr, *Time Narrative*, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cifola, *Orientalia* 57 (1988), 277-278; Edgerton - Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*; Piccione, *Serapis* 6 (1982), 103.

<sup>5</sup> Spalinger, *RdE* 39 (1988), 107 n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson, in: *Medinet Habu Studies*, 26.

11, in MH, is not given in narrative form but rather constitutes a "historical poem". Cifola<sup>7</sup>, in dealing with a formal analysis of the commemorative MH inscriptions, has concluded that the MH texts are made up of "narrative movements" which form the frame for the text's "narrative sequence". She also makes some distinction between rhetorical parts of the texts and the narrative sequences on the basis of textual marks,<sup>8</sup> and discusses grammatical differences in a short note.<sup>9</sup> Spalinger<sup>10</sup> has provided us with a study of the narrative verbal formations within what he terms as the MH "historical narrative core". Wente<sup>11</sup> deals specifically with verbs of motion in Late Egyptian, and identifies the narrative verbal formation used with verbs of motion within the MH texts.

In short, it may be said that the above-mentioned scholars have approached 'narrative' in the MH inscriptions either from the aspect of "narrative structure" (e.g., Wilson, Cifola) or from the aspect of "narrative verbal formations" (e.g., Spalinger, Wente), and that they largely base their examination upon the so-called longer texts describing the wars of years 5, 8, and 11.

Apart from the longer war texts appearing within the MH temple, we also find shorter texts which refer to the same battles. These inscriptions are interspersed with speeches made by Ramesses III to his courtiers and officials. Speeches are not particular to the shorter texts. In some cases, we find speeches which form an integral part of the longer texts as well (e.g., the Great Inscription of Year 11 which contains a speech made by the king, *KRI V*, 66, 6-15). In the shorter texts, the speeches are remarkable in that they provide a somewhat more condensed version of the sequence of events depicted in the longer texts. As opposed to the latter, however, the shorter texts in general, and the speeches in particular, are usually regarded as formulaic laudatory statements which do not constitute any form of narrative and therefore do not provide concrete historical information. It is our wish to reexamine some elements in them.

As a basis for our discussion, we should like to review several examples appearing within the longer texts, on the one hand, and within the speech segments, on the other. Through these examples, it may be possible to define the nature of narrative with regard to the MH war texts somewhat more conclusively.

Three verbs of motion recur in both the speeches and the longer texts. These are the verbs *ii*, *iw* and *pri*. Because verbs of motion often indicate advanced action (by advanced

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<sup>7</sup> Cifola, *Orientalia* 57 (1988), 275-305.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 291 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 291 n. 24.

<sup>10</sup> Spalinger, *RdE* 39 (1988), 107-129.

<sup>11</sup> Wente, *The Syntax of Verbs of Motion*.

action we mean to say an action which takes place in a chain of consecutive actions and which indicates a development in the plot) and a turn of events, they seem ideally suited to an examination of the question of narrativity. In order to focus our discussion, we have chosen to regard these verbs in one of the contexts particular to them. Among their other uses, both *ii* and *iw* also serve to indicate the arrival of the enemy – a most central event. *pri*, on the other hand, may refer to the king's rushing forth against the enemy in retaliation.

### 1 The Verb *ii*

#### (1) KRI V, 17, 5-6



*nhmw n.tn r k3 n pt dh.n hpš.i thnw i.ii hr*

"Rejoice, ye, to the height of the sky, my strong arm having felled Tehenu who came prepared."

#### (2) KRI V, 33, 3-5



*ptr n.tn t3 phty '3.t n it.i imn-r' n3 h3s.wt i.ii m t3.sn m iw.w hry-ib w3d-wr iw.sn n hr.w r t3 mri iw ib.sn hn hr 'wy.sn grg n.sn i3dt r sht.w*

"Observe, ye, the great strength of my father Amon-Re! As for the foreign lands who came from their land in islands in the midst of the sea, they proceeding towards Egypt, their heart being confident in their two arms, a net was set up for them in order to capture them."

#### (3) KRI V, 36, 5-7



*di.k šfyt.i wr.t m ib wr.w.sn hry.i sndt.i n hr.sn in.n.i n3y.w phrr.w dnḥ m hf'.i r ms.w n k3.k it.i spš dh hpš.i n3 i.ii r tni.tw.w*

"You have instigated awe of me, it being great in the heart of their leaders. Dread of me and

fear of me are before them, since I have captured their runners, they being pinioned in my fist in order to present them to your *ka*, my august father. My strong arm has felled those who came with the intent of distinguishing themselves."

(4) KRI V, 40,15-16



*n3 spr r tšš.i n prt.sn ib.sn b3.sn skm r nhḥ dt n3 ii twt n hr.w hr p3 w3d-wr p3 h3wt mh r ḥ3t.sn hr n r.w ḥ3.wt*

"As to those who approached my border, their seed is not. Their heart and their *ba* are destroyed forever and ever. As for those who came together, proceeding upon the sea, the flame is full before them upon the river mouths."

All of the above examples have been extracted from speech segments of Ramesses III which take place after a given battle and give an account of it. The main objective of the speeches is to explain the here and now, i.e., the 'present' situation which is the direct result of the victory over the enemy. This is explicitly stated by the king in two of the speeches. (KRI V, 33,7; KRI V, 39, 8-9).

*ii* in all of these examples takes the form of the participle; Exx. (1)-(3) make use of the Ramesside prothetic *i*<sup>12</sup>. This participle serves to qualify its antecedent, the enemy. Therefore, it does not indicate advanced action, but rather takes the arrival of the enemy as an already established fact. This is further enhanced by the use of the frontal extraposition in (2) and (4), making reference to the enemy as something which is already known, and the use of the definite article *n3* as an antecedent in Exx. (3)-(4), without specifying who it was who came.

In other words, both in terms of structure and in terms of verbal formations, these speeches show no sign of being narratives in the traditional sense.

## 2 The verb *iw*

(5) KRI V, 22,11-13



<sup>12</sup> Černý - Groll, *LEG*, § 48.1.1.



*pḥty.f r-ḥst.sn mi mnti mḥ3y rn.f nri.f t3.w ḥ3s.wt p3 t3 tmḥ iw dmd m bw w' m rbw spd mšwš ...n3y.w ḥ3.w hn ḥr šḥr.w iw ib.w mḥ i(w).n r dh3.n*

"His strength is before them like that of Mont. His name and fear of him have burned the flat-lands and the hill-countries. The land of Temeh came, united in one place, that is to say, Rebu, Seped, Meshwesh...Their warriors who trusted in their plan came, their heart being full: 'We will advance ourselves'."

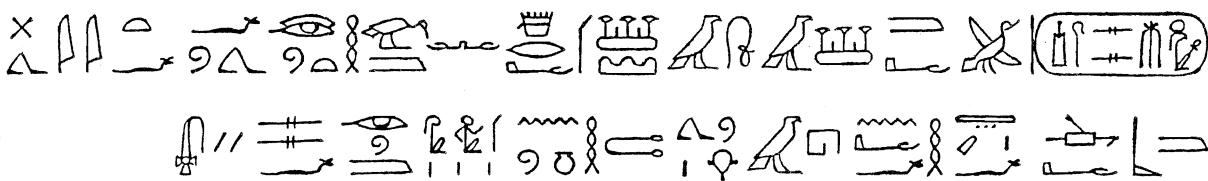
(6) KRI V, 40, 1-2; 4-5



*fh.w rmt.tw.f t3.f mi nty nn ḥpr st iw iw p3 rkḥ grg r ḥst.sn m ḥr.w r t3-mri...w3ḥ.w drt.w ḥr t3.w r šn t3 ib.sn hn mḥ šḥr.w.n ḥpr*

"They slew his people. His land is like that which does not exist. They came, the flame prepared before them, they proceeding towards Egypt...They laid their hand upon lands in order to encircle (the) earth, their heart trusting and full: 'our plans have come about'."

(7) KRI V, 60,6-7



*(r'mss ḥk3 iwnw) p3 mšwš dr-' n gmḥ.tw.f iw tfy m bw w' t3.f hn' f ḥ3.w ḥr thnw ir.w m ssfy*

"(Ramesses III). The Meshwesh, previously, before he had been spied, came, having leapt into one place, his land with him, having descended upon Tehenu who were made into ashes."

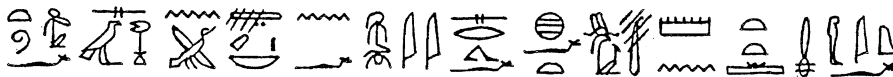
The above passages appear within the longer war texts in MH. In each of these examples, the arrival of the enemy is indicated by the First Present construction employing the old perfective *iw*.

These segments differ from the speeches in that they are regarded as narrative, both in structure<sup>13</sup> and in verbal formations<sup>14</sup>. However, the actions described in them are very similar to those appearing in Exx. (1)-(4). A logical conjecture at this point would be to state that because the speeches are speeches, they employ certain verbal formations, while the narratives employ different verbal formations because they are narratives. Hence the alternate depictions of the same actions.

Another factor should also be taken into account, however. In Exx. (1)-(4) the arrival of the enemy is taken as an already established fact, whereas in Exx. (5)-(7) it is perceived as a part of a sequence of events which led up to it. In order to add fullness to the description, the First Present construction is here followed by circumstantial clauses which provide details about actions concomitant with the arrival of the enemy. As a result, one receives an impression of recreated action, made complete by direct quotes. We shall return to this point later on.

### 3 The verb *pri*

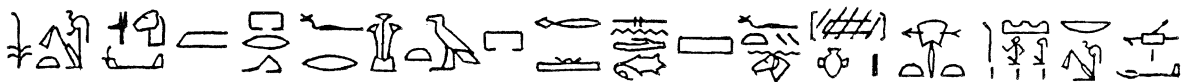
#### (8) KRI V, 26,8



*ki.f mitt mnti hft pr.f s'y n.f t3 nb n p3 sh3.tw.f*

"His image is like that of Mont when he proceeds, every land trembling because of him and at the mention of him."

#### (9) KRI V 29, 11-12



*nswt wsr ph m pr.f r h3t '3 snd šfyt m ib stty.w nb w'*

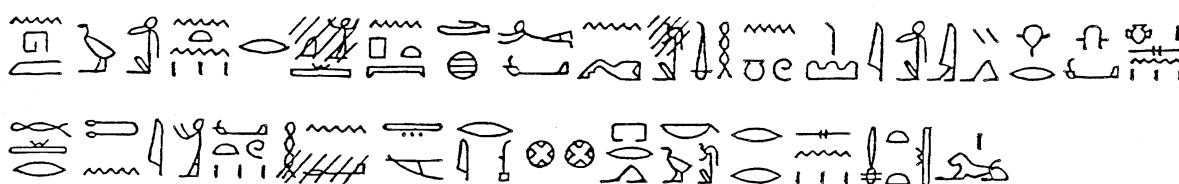
<sup>13</sup> Cifola, *Orientalia* 57 (1988), 279: "These narrative movements frame the entire narrative sequence structured according to the following pattern: insertion of a situation of disorder, then the king's restoring intervention, and finally, a normalized situation."

<sup>14</sup> In his discussion of narrative verbal formations, Wentz, *The Syntax of Verbs of Motion*, 74 and 83 mentions "gnomic narrative" in which the First Present employing an old perfective of a verb of motion is not confined to the initial statement of a given narrative sequence. The effect of this use of the First Present construction is "to reduce the dynamic quality of narrative and impart to it a nuance of permanence suitable for the expression of universal truths." In enumerating the various MH narrative formations, Spalinger, *RdE* 39 (1988), 111 indicates that verbs of motion usually appear within the First Present construction, both initially and non-initially.

"Mighty king, strong one when he proceeds forth, great of fear and awe in the heart of Asiatics, sole lord."

Although Ex. (8) is taken from the great inscription of year 5, and Ex. (9) from a shorter text pertaining to the Sea Peoples campaign of year 8, they are similar in that they contain circumstantial clauses (*m pr.f* and *hft pr.f*) elaborating the context in which the king's might becomes apparent. These circumstantial clauses form a part of the traits enumerated in these examples, and therefore do not convey advanced action. We have no narrative structure or verbal formations here.

(10) KRI V 17, 5-7



*nhmw n.tn r k3 n pt dh.n hps.i thnw i.ii hr ib.sn mh r tni.tw.w hn' t3 mri pr.kwi r.sn mitt m3iw*

"Rejoice, ye, to the height of the sky, my strong arm having felled Tehenu who came prepared, their heart full, in order to distinguish themselves with Egypt, I proceeding against them like a lion."

Ex. (10), taken from a speech, employs the circumstantial old perfective *pr.kwi* which forms a part of the background to the situation at hand. Again, as in Exx. (1)-(4) above, the king is speaking of the 'present' victory against the background of the actions which led up to it. Although these actions apparently took place consecutively (the enemy first attacked and then the king set forth against them), they are lumped together as circumstantial clauses. In this manner, they provide a detailed background against which the 'present' victory may be judged. Once again, narrative structure and narrative verbal formations are not apparent.

(11) KRI V 23,4-7



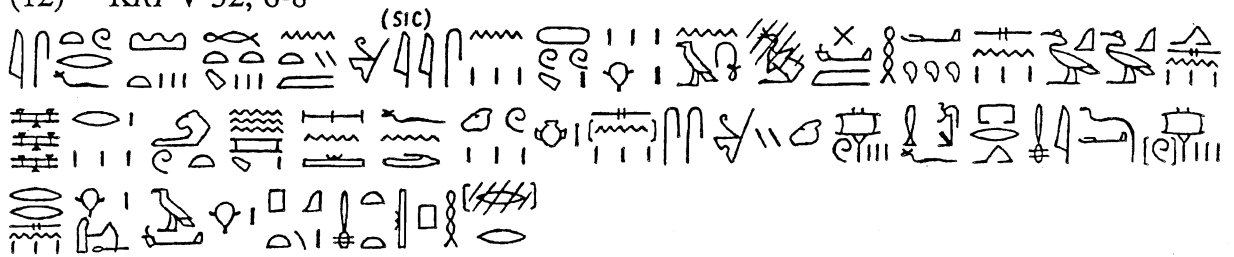
*ist ib n hm.f nh3 shm mi m3iw kp hr (r) 'wt grg sw mi k3 kn g3b.wy dm hn.ty r nhnh dw.w m s3 tkk sw fit n3 ntr.w n3y.sn shr.w di.w phty.f wn r th t3š.f hm.f pr r.sn mitt sdt*

"Now, the heart of his majesty is terrible and strong like that of a hidden lion, prepared for



trusting herds. He is like an ox, brave of arms, sharp of horns, in order to attack mountains in pursuit of he who attacks him. The gods foiled their plans, they providing his strength, it being against the one who attacked his border. His majesty proceeded against them like fire."

(12) KRI V 32, 6-8



*ist rf h3s.wt mh'tyt nty m n(3)y.sn iw.w hr nw3t m h'.sn 'k'k.sn mr.w r.w h3.wt kn fnd.w  
ib.sn ssny t3w hm.f pr mi d' r.sn hr 'h3 hr pkt mitt phrr*

"Now, the northern countries which are in their isles are quivering in their bodies. No sooner had they penetrated the channels of the river mouths, than their nose and heart ceased to breathe air. His majesty proceeded like a storm against them, fighting upon (the) field of battle like a runner."

Ex. (11) has been extracted from the longer text of the Libyan war of year 5. This section follows a description of the actions of the enemy which provoked the king's anger and led to battle. Here, the particle *ist* is followed by remarks establishing a general truth about the king. This provides a pause in the text which is ultimately continued by a First Present construction employing the old perfective of the verb *pri* and indicating advanced action.

Ex. (12) is an extract from a shorter text pertaining to the war of year 8. This passage also opens with the non-enclitic particle *ist* which is followed by a general truth about the enemy's fear as it is perceived from the 'present' viewpoint. In order to explain the situation, a description of the king's attack is provided. The king's advance is indicated by a First Present construction employing the old perfective of the verb *pri*.

Both (11) and (12) employ narrative verbal formations.

The above findings lead us to the following conclusions:

(A) In giving a general definition to 'narrative', Polotsky<sup>15</sup> and more recently Doret<sup>16</sup> state that narrative is an account of past events employing narrative verbal formations. With regard to MH, the verbal formation utilizing verbs of motion which has been recognized as narrative by scholars is the First Present construction. This construction, indicating advanced action, may only be found in the longer texts in MH – Exx. (5)-(7); Exx. (11)-

<sup>15</sup> Polotsky, in: *Pharaonic Egypt*, 157-161.

<sup>16</sup> Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 14.

(12) – and not in the shorter speech segments – Exx. (1)-(4) and (10). It should be noted, however, that Exx. (8)-(9) show that verbs of motion are not always a part of narrative verbal formations in the non-speech segments.

(B) The speech segments do not employ narrative verbal formations and have therefore been rendered as being devoid of narrative character. However, they, also, provide an account of past events. This account differs from that of Exx. (5)-(7) in that it is told from a 'present' viewpoint. That is to say, it provides an explanation of the 'here and now', a situation which is the direct result of a series of actions which led up to it.

It is possible to reconstruct a series of consecutive events from the speeches: 1) The enemy invaded. 2) The king advanced against them. 3) A battle ensued. 4) Victory was achieved. The speeches are directly linked to these events, and provide a commentary on the victory which is perceived as the culminating point of the process depicted. In other words, we find in the speeches an account possessing a beginning, a middle and an end in accordance with Carr's definition.

In this context, it seems necessary to reflect upon another factor when attempting to establish the narrative merit of the MH war texts: content, and more specifically the "perspective" of a text should also be taken into account. By "perspective" we mean to say the viewpoint from which events are related, based upon the intentions of a given text. It is not the purpose of the speeches to provide a straightforward past account of the battles of Ramesses III. The purpose of the speeches is to enhance and explain the victories achieved by him. In order to establish the significance of these victories, an account of past events must be provided.

It was Wentze<sup>17</sup> who recognized that the employment of the First Present construction containing a verb of motion, within the framework of the MH narratives, has the effect of stressing the individual importance of each event. Because the events related to the victories of Ramesses III are secondary to the impact of the victories themselves, straightforward narrative would not achieve the required effect. Hence the use of alternate grammatical formations which serve to place these events in the background. This fact stands out more clearly when one regards Exx. (11)-(12). These examples contain a statement expressing a general truth. In this, they are reminiscent of the speech segments. However, unlike the speech segments, they contain narrative verbal formations whose function is to elaborate upon the actions which provide proof for the truism presented at the head of the paragraph by means of the non-enclitic particle *ist*. Here, it is the actions themselves which are important. Hence the use of the First Present.

Even so, this does not lessen the fact that both the longer texts and the speeches deal with the same events and supply one with a series of sequential actions. Therefore, the

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<sup>17</sup> Wentze, *The Syntax of Verbs of Motion*, 91-92.

concept of 'narrative' in the context of the MH texts should be broadened to include *any reconstruction of past events describing coherent sequential actions* which is not necessarily dependent upon the use of specific grammatical formations.

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