Performance, translation, commentary: approaching Middle Egyptian poetry[1]

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For Barbara, of course.

Unknown oralities

Over recent decades it has increasingly been recognized that the surviving written texts from Ancient Egypt existed in an oral context, giving rise to studies on the interaction between orality and textuality and on performance. This issue poses intense difficulties for philology in a largely dead tradition, and such questions also allow us to reflect on our institutional limitations. Academic commentaries on poetry can deal easily with the technical textual details of reading the manuscripts, of verb-forms and lexicography, but texts can also be a hugely emotional work of art, and so we need to capture a phenomenological sense of what it might have felt like to its original audiences and convey this to modern audiences. I here present some remarks on these issues, from the experiences of being involved in preparing both a recorded performance and commentary of the *Memoirs of Sinuhe*.[2]

Egyptian literature was created and circulated in a culture where ritual texts, administrative letters and tomb inscription are all documented as having been read out and "recited (Sdj)" aloud. Poetic works such as harpist's songs was performed, and visual art shows such musical performances, as when a performer sits beside the early 12th Dynasty High steward Meketre in two of his tomb-models, once solo and

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[1] My warmest thanks to Thierry-Louis Bergerot for suggesting this article and for waiting until the rigours of University work allowed time to write it, and my thanks to him also for the translation. As I hope this article makes clear, I owe an immense debt to Barabra Ewing, and here in particular for her comments on, and our discussions about, this paper.

[2] Many of the issues derive from R. B. PARKINSON, "Textes ou poèmes? Quelques perspectives nouvelles sur les texts littéraires du Moyen Empire", *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 3, 2003, p. 41–52. A more detailed discussion of the evidence and methodologies is in PARKINSON, *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry: Among Other Histories,* Chichester and Malden, MA, 2009, esp. p. 30–40.

once accompanied by a harpist,[3] but what of fictional literature? The *Discourse of Neferti*, from later in the long Middle Kingdom, famously provides a fictionalized version of its own composition and performance, when King Sneferu demands entertainment from a lector priest.[4] The rhetorical arts of the lector priest, liturgist, magician and literary reciter are presented in contemporaneous texts as a single art, but we have no direct evidence for the contexts or practices of ancient literary recitals, and no archaeological evidence for any physical spaces that could be dedicated auditoria. The unknown factors are multiple, and include time and spacing; whether a literary recital was impromptu or highly organized; the extent to which it was a differentiated and planned event. Traditional occasions for reciting epics in modern Egypt, for example, are varied and include informal recitations in coffee shops and at local celebrations; the most suggestive modern parallel for the ancient occasion is perhaps the private evening gathering.[5] But were the ancient works sung, and even if not, were they accompanied with instruments? In publications I have tried to narrate imagined performances, drawing on studies of period performance of European music, but theory is one thing and practice is another, especially when discussing the physical embodiment of an art form.[6]

Such transitory and emotional experiences of a performance are hard to quantify, even when we can clearly and directly witness one. As the medievalist Linda Marie Zaerr has commented, “the sequence of aural and visual events in a community context characteristic of performance is sharply distinct from the more homogenous experience of reading a written text … The heterogeneity of the performance

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[3] Meketre travelling boats Models O–P: Cairo JdE 46719 and MMA 20.3.1; see H. WINLOCK, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt From the Tomb of Meket-Rē` at Thebes*, PMMAEE 18, New York, 1955, p. 56–57; pl. 35–36, 38–39; https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544214.

[4] *The Discourse of Neferti* (ed. Helck) 1f–2s.

[5] See D. W. REYNOLDS, *Heroic Poets, Poetic Heroes: The Ethnography of Performance in an Arabic Oral Epic,* Ithaca and London, 1995, p. 104–24; A. RACY, *Making Music in the Arab World: The Culture and Artistry of* Tarab, Cambridge Middle Eastern Studies 17, Cambridge, 2003, p. 43–74.

[6] *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry*, p. 41–61.

experience includes infinitely variable tone of voice, dynamic volume, complex interactions between the rhythms of poetry and the rhythms of music, movement and gestures of varying amplitude and velocity, plastic facial expressions, and complex, often intuitive, communication among performers and between performers and audience".[7] How can philologists deal with these multifarious aspects of performance? How can we study them, and how can we integrate them into a commentary, and into our normal modes of teaching and research? Such factors are integral to the meaning and reception of a text. In terms of literary form, *Sinuhe* is modeled on the culturally central Egyptian genre of the tomb autobiography,[8] and the anonymous poet arguably plays with this in order to test the cultural norms of this official discourse against Sinuhe's imagined experiences. The poem's complex meaning is created with subtle changes in register, style and genre, all of which will have been experienced and felt by ancient audiences, but which are unrecognizable and inaccessible to modern audiences, and need careful reconstruction. Parallels and footnotes in a commentary can try to reconstruct a sense of these intertexts and contexts for a specialist reader, but such devices destroy the sensuous immediacy of the original, and in this way an academic commentary inevitably betrays the force of the poem that it is attempting to serve.

Reading The Memoirs of Sinuhe

Over the past decades I have done some experimental philology, trying to learn from trained actors, whenever opportunities presented themselves. These performances have often been staged as "popularising" events in museums rather than academic seminars, but nevertheless have built up

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[7] L. M. Zaerr, "*The Weddynge of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell*: Performance and Intertextuality in Middle English Popular Romance", in E. Vitz et al. (ed.), *Performing Medieval Narrative*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 195. See now Zaerr, *Performance and the Middle English Romance*, Cambridge, 2012.

[8] See, e.g., P. Vernus, "Autobiography versus Biography in the Second Person and Biography in the Third Person: Textual Formats, Authorship, and Apocryphal/Pseudepigraphic Works", in J. Stauder-Porchet, E. Frood and A. Stauder (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Biographies: Contexts, Forms, Functions*, Wilbour Studies in Egyptology and Assyriology 6, Atlanta, 2020, p. 163–203.

into thought-provoking series that can inform research. An early instance was a semi-staged version of *Sinuhe* in Brooklyn in 2002, where four actors were used together with extensive movement, to soften the demands on the modern audience who are un-used to a single voice reciting a relatively long narrative poems. Gradually, the experiments moved towards a single voice, as the positive reactions of various audiences encouraged me to become a little bolder and closer to what I hypothesise the original practises might have been, with a single performer.[9] This "period practice" approach is very different from that presented by the Young Vic, London, who in 2021 staged a boldly re-imagined version of *Sinuhe* by Ben Okri, entitled *Changing Destiny*. This developed the ancient storyline into an action-filled drama, which explored the themes of migration and alienation, and of spiritual links with home and communities, addressing the concerns of contemporary audiences, and stressing that "the urge to alter one's destiny, in a world over which one has little control, is as old as humanity itself".[10] Okri's re-working avoided any culturally alien forms of expression, and so inevitably shifted the focus away from the original poem's presentation of its own specific culture. Despite a vibrant production and Okri's eloquent assertion that the poem is about "the mystery that makes us human",[11] the play was not universally well received, suggesting the difficulties that

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[9] An account of these performances is published in *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry*, p. 267–270, and in "What 'Makes The Gun Go Off'?: The Role of the Voice in Two Middle Kingdom Poems", in E. Meyer-Dietrich (ed.), *Laute und Leise: Der Gebrauch von Stimme und Klang in historischen Kulture*, Reihe Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften 7, Bielefeld, 2011, p. 19–23. Other readings known to me include one with Ursula Verhoeven, "Lesung der Geschichte des Sinuhe am 19. Februar 2013" (https://www.freundeskreis-aegyptologie.uni-mainz.de/2013/02/19/sinuhe-lesung/), and one with Chloé Ragazzoli and Thibaut Corrion, of Papyrus Prisse (https://essentiels.bnf.fr/fr/audio/4080a631-9fb7-4321-a921-8676d1825aca-transcription-papyrus-prisse).

[10] B. OKRI, *Changing Destiny,* Methuen Drama, London and New York, 2021, p. [ix]. A major source for the play was apparently the re-telling by R. L. GREEN in *Tales from Ancient Egypt*, Harmondsworth, 1970.

[11] B. OKRI "What makes us human?": https://www.youngvic.org/blog/what-makes-us-human-changing-destiny.

are encountered when re-shaping a work from a remote culture and translating it into a form accessible for modern audiences.[12]

While starting research for a new commentary on Sinuhe,[13] I worked with the New Zealand actress and author Barbara Ewing on a recital of the poem. Ewing is a classically trained actress (Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, London), but she is also an author, whose historical novels include one about the Rosetta Stone,[14] and we have shared historical interests. A conference of experimental archaeology at the University of Swansea in 2010 allowed us to devise a semi-staged version of *The Dialogue of a Man and his Soul*, which was subsequently recorded as an audio podcast,[15] and we have since worked together on lectures. This long standing professional relationship and friendship ensured our absolute trust in each other's skill-sets and professionalism, and our ease in working together. During rehearsals, Ewing and I discussed what meanings of *Sinuhe* could be re-imagined from the surviving textual world of the Middle Kingdom and the degree to which these might be communicated to modern audiences, based initially on a translation that I had published earlier. From the start, there were several minor alterations to this translation to help gloss and clarify the sense for listeners unfamiliar with the details of Egyptian texts, such as 'War-god' instead of "Montu" in e.g. B 142. Nevertheless, we kept close to the original phrases as possible in order to preserve the original distinctive texture of feeling. Ewing was highly aware of the difficulties created by the remoteness of the style and the changes in genre, but while the meaning of translated words can remain remote, an actor's voice can convey their emotional tone and intensity, and translate the long-lost visceral force of an ancient passage into expressive immediacy. Performance thus offers one way of minimizing what is often lost in a

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[12] E.g. C. DAVIS, "History without Heart", *The Times* 2.8.2021.

[13] *The Life of Sinuhe: A Reader's Commentary to the Middle Kingdom Version(s)*, to be published with Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica.

[14] Trans. Gérard Marcantonio, *La pierre de Rose*, Paris, 2009.

[15] PARKINSON, "What 'Makes the Gun Go Off'?", 2015, p. 30–31; later recorded as "Talking with the Soul: A Dialogue about Life and Death": podcasts.ox.ac.uk/talking-soul-dialogue-about-life-and-death, 2019.

translation or buried under what the English poet Stevie Smith termed the "vile slime of commentary".[16] Ewing initially expressed reservations about telling "a man's story" with an actress' voice, but this was unproblematic for me, since we were focussing on the human, rather than specifically gendered, aspects of the narrative. Ewing was determined that the poem should not sound falsely grandiose, and wanted to keep the narrative very internal and understated through the series of emotional crises, in a manner suitable for an audio- recording; it was conceived a reading rather than a performance, but that still allows intensity and intimacy. After several months of general discussion about the text and interpretation, we spent three days rehearsing in London, and then Ewing came for a full day's recording in a studio at Oxford University Media Services on 20th September 2016. The unedited recording, made by Karen Carey, lasted 1:46 and included repeats, various retakes and variations. The final cut is 41 minutes long and is published on Oxford University's podcast website and iTunes.[17]

In rehearsal, Ewing and I had discussed what phrases "worked" for her voice and our expectations of their intelligibility for the intended audiences. This interactive approach to translation ensured that we were both happy with the eventual text as an accurate and performable rendering of the ancient words. Although the translation and interpretation were technically mine, the result was collaborative, and that process was revelatory for me. The later Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom manuscripts of the poem show quite extensive textual variations from the earliest manuscripts, that have been hypothesized to relate to changing roles of the text in Egyptian culture.[18] When Ewing insisted on certain changes to the translation in order to clarify the meaning for audiences, I was struck that many of her alterations exactly mirrored the manuscript variations in the 13th Dynasty manuscripts, supporting the

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[16] S. SMITH, *Over the Frontier*, London, 1980 [1938], p. 54.

[17] "The Life of Sinuhe": podcasts.ox.ac.uk/life-sinuhe. This recording and that of the *Dialogue* were enabled by a grant from The Griffith Egyptological Fund, Oxford.

[18] E.g. *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry*, p. 13–218.

suggestion that these ancient variations were also interpretative interventions, probably made when the original poem was beginning to become remote from its ancient audiences. For Middle English romances, Zaerr has similarly noted that the manuscript variations ran parallel to variations introduced by a modern performer when reciting from memory, “the modern performance may thereby provide clues to the generative process behind some manuscript variants”,[19] and the variations between the different 12th Dynasty manuscripts were also matched by many of the variations introduced to my original published translation while preparing it for the recording.

More generally, performance can open up the sense of a text’s potential meanings and intensity, often in sharp contrast to the text on a page. The entire poem of *Sinuhe* can be analysed as a repeatedly thwarted attempt to re-establish the formal voice of the autobiographical narrator from the start, making it in Marguerite Yourcenar’s phrase, a “portrait d’une voix”,[20] and it is thus a highly performative monologue. This aspect is particularly palpable where Sinuhe narrates his apparent triumph firstly in the expected past tense, and then moves to a present narration, addressing himself and the poem’s actual audience, rather than any audience within the poem, and making this passage operate like a soliloquy in much later dramas:

So, God shall act so as to be gracious to one with whom he was offended,[21]

whom he led astray to another country.

Today, he is satisfied.

A fugitive takes flight because of his surroundings;

(but) *my* reputation is in the Residence. (B 147–50)

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[19] ZAERR, op. cit. p. 193; see further p. 196–197.

[20] YOURCENAR, *Oeuvres romanesques*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 303; Paris, 1991, p. 527.

[21] The reading of the tense is complicated: see now PARKINSON, “A Small Stroke of Hieratic and the Grace of God: A Note on Sinuhe B 147–8”, in S. Gerhards et al. (ed.), *Schöne Denkmäler sind entstanden: Studien zu Ehren von Ursula Verhoeven,* Heidelberg, 2023, p. 497–506.

The word "today" shifts the narration into the mode of the reflective lyrics of *The Dialogue of a Man and his Soul*; there is no sense of reported past speech, but here the narrator's mind is changing as he speaks. His tightly structured lyric ends with the verse "memory of me is in the palace" (B 156) as a reaffirmation of his current prosperity. But this verse is syntactically ambiguous; the ostensible and reassuring meaning is that "memory of me is in the palace", a claim to have a desirable reputation, as when official and gods are said to be the "possessor of a fair memory in the palace".[22] It can, however, also mean "my memory is in the palace", undermining his assertion of happiness in the Levant, and implying a nostalgia for Egypt that he only later voices directly. For all his prosperity, the verse can say, Sinuhe still thinks of Egypt. The grammatical ambiguity is psychologically dramatic, and marks a turning point in the hero's self-awareness: at this point of the poem, Sinuhe breaks into a desperate prayer to be returned to Egypt. The ambiguity of the syntax expresses the uncertainty of his self-awareness, his meaning shifts as he speaks, and he realises that he has spoken more accurately than he thought: he has meant more than he said, and after he says this, he knows his own heart.

The syntactic ambiguity works only in the original Egyptian, and this is a problem which the translator can explain and gloss with commentary. The syntactic ambiguity of the original, however, cannot be conveyed in an English translation, so other means need to be used to convey some sense of the emotional and transformative moment of self-realisation. At a reading in the British Museum in 2020, the actor Gary Pillai made an impact with a raised hand and a pause before the word "palace", which he held for as long as possible, gauging the audience's response (a full five seconds). For the Oxford audio recording, Ewing had no option of gestures, and she started the phrase triumphantly "memory

[22] For example, the official Bebi is "lord of a good memory in the palace" (CCG 20254 A l. 4–5), as is Osiris in a well-attested Middle Kingdom hymn (e.g. Queen's College stela 1 l. 12: P. SMITHER and A. N. DAKIN, "Stelae in the Queen's College, Oxford", *JEA* 25, 1939, pl. 20; E. BLUMENTHAL, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches* I: *Die Phraseologie*. ASAW 61.1, 1970, p. 311 [G3.80]).

of me is in the p…", then broke off, paused, sobbed and then repeated and completed the whole phrase in a radically different tone.[23] Different performers have used techniques to express the same general interpretation of the passage in this case, but in other cases, an intentional ambiguity in the original demands an interpretative choices. Ambiguities and uncertainties can be noted impartially in a commentary, but a performer (like a translator) has to make a more decisive choice for the single immediate moment event.

Famously, Sinuhe delivers an extended, effusive and virtuosic eulogy of Senwosret I which is an alien genre for modern audiences (and one which was wisely omitted from Okri's re-working). His foreign rescuer, the Levantine ruler Amunenshi, replies very tersely, and the text of this reply reads simply:

> Well, Egypt is certainly happy,
> since she knows of his success.
> 7 But look, you are here,
> and you will stay with me. I shall do you good. (B 75–7)

In this dramatic context, the brevity of this ostensibly reassuring response is striking, so much so that Philippe Derchain detected in Amunenshi's words "une ironie féroce": "on devine l'imperceptible plissement des lèvres, l'éclair soudain dans l'oeil".[24] Other interpretations are possible, and Ewing kept the tone of these remarks more veiled, suggesting something underneath the words but without revealing Amunenshi's emotions fully to the audience, and her tone was not as angry as Derchain had imagined. All performances and readings are inherently varied, and even in a carefully regulated tradition, performance-choices can reshape the work and subvert any ostensibly intended meanings. In this sense, as the Shakespearian scholar Stephen Orgel remarked, "actors are the original poststructuralists".[25]

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[23] EWING, "Life of Sinuhe", 17:15–39.
[24] P. DERCHAIN, "Sinouhé et Ammounech", *Göttinger Miszellen*, 87, 1985, p. 7.
[25] S. ORGEL, *The Authentic Shakespeare and Other Problems of the Early Modern Stage*, New York and London, 2002, p. 10.

The ancient poems are tightly and often concentrically structured works that do not obviously suggest possibilities for improvisation, and so extensive spontaneous variation and embellishment of the words of the text are perhaps unlikely in ancient performances. However, the phrase Hmwt-rA "artistry of the mouth" is used to mean "etcetera" or "improvisation" in magical and ritual texts designed for recitation,[26] and the same expression is used as a noun for a "magical spell", which suggests that a degree of artful vocal improvisation was valued. Ewing's repetition of "palace" with its sob seemed to me to be comfortably within the possibilities of historically informed practice. A similar issue about how freely to treat the text arose when Sinuhe narrates how the queen cried out when she realised his identity (B 264–6). We debated whether Ewing should improvise an actual scream, as she had done to great effect in an academic lecture about this couplet,[27] or whether she should instead keep strictly to the text of the papyrus and try to convey the shocked and shocking cry with only the words as written. Which might be truer to the original practices? From a philological point of view, the syntax of the passage as a whole suggested to me an onward movement of clauses, without any marked hiatus that would have allowed a possible intervention. We experimented with several takes of both options, and when I listened to the unedited recording I felt (rather unexpectedly) that Ewing's words alone could convey the scream without it needing to be acted out.[28]

Other Egyptological issues were raised by these practical experiences. In the New Kingdom version of the poem, rubrics divide the poem into stanzas, and these are only partly attested in the Middle

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[26] E.g. in the execration spells of P. Ramesseum C vso (P. Meyrat, *Les papyrus magiques du Ramesseum: recherches sur une bibliothèque privée de la fin du Moyen Empire*, BdE 172, p. 26–41, 296–306), and in the Coffin Texts (R. VAN DER MOLEN, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts,* PdÄ 15, 2000, p. 383). As a term for spell, see e.g. S. SCHOTT, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im Alten Ägypten: Verzeichnis der Buch- und Spruchtitel und der Termini technici*, Wiesbaden, 1990, p. 313 [no. 1428b].

[27] PARKINSON and EWING, "The Queen Shrieks: The Shock of Ancient Egyptian Poetry": podcasts.ox.ac.uk/queen-shrieks-shock-ancient-egyptian-poetry.

[28] EWING, "Life of Sinuhe", [35:20–27].

Kingdom manuscript, raising the question as to whether they are they part of the original structure, and if so, do they still work for a performer?[29] The stanzas breaks probably involved a pause in recitation, and these can come at significant moments. Ewing accepted some as meaningful to her sense of structure, but she down-played others; the lengths of her pauses varied, according to her judgement of the dramatic sense of the moment. Philologists often forget that silence itself can be as effective and meaningful as words, and I was confident in trusting to her judgement about these issues. Overall, I particularly valued her ability to suggest a sense of interiority, even though she said that she found it difficult to find a back-story in the poem that would allow her to "get underneath the words", to use E. M. Forster's phrase, of Sinuhe's story.[30] The way in which her sensibility shaped and embodied the translated text in ways different to my own was, for me, an indication of the fact that the meaning of a single text varies for different people and for different cultures, and is always multiple, contingent, and negotiable.

Implications

Performance is by its nature immediate, and so can be intangible in the remoteness of the academy, and all these events are now quite distant memories. The translation that we used represented my understanding of the text at that point, which has inevitably altered in a few passages as work on the commentary has proceeded. The recordings have proved to be invaluable in teaching students, and my work with Ewing has shaped the ongoing commentary: I return to the recording to check my memories against it, and think about the possibilities in an embodied manner. Performance is, after all, another embodiment of the text as much as any surviving manuscript or modern edition. Working with a skilled performer can often enable a more holistic sense of textuality than is provided by

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[29] Classic account: J. ASSMANN, "Die Rubren in der Überlieferung der Sinuhe-Erzählung", in M. Görg (ed.), *Fontes atque Pontes: Eine Festgabe für Hellmut Brunner*, ÄAT 5, 1983, p. 18–41.

[30] See the recorded interview, "Ancient Egyptian Poetry: The Tale of Sinuhe": www.youtube.com/watch?v=SpxVxa0ex-Y&ab_channel=TheBritishMuseum.

editorial procedures or academic theory. And it can have a utterly transformative effect on our reactions to an ancient work, allowing us to feel a visceral and emotional force that can remind us of the potential of the ancient work, and encourage a more phenomenological form of reading. Such examples of transformative experiences can be multiplied in musical settings: I think of recent performances by Anthony Roth Costanzo of Philip Glass' version of the Great Hymn to the Aten,[31] and by Fatma's Said of a cycle of New Kingdom love songs by James Whitbourn.[32]

More broadly, material philology and performance can remind us that these ancient writers, characters and audiences were *real*., and were not simply the objects of study by the modern "l'automate philologique", in Bernard Cerquiglini's magnificent phrase.[33] No single translation, performance or analysis of these complex works of art can ever be definitive; meanings are multiple because they speak to us subjectively, individually, personally. Copyists, performers, editors and audiences all interact to create a poem's meaning, and meaning is always diverse, continually shifting in a work's different embodiments. Experiences with both the physical manuscripts and with performances thus argue against the traditionally authoritative and entitled stance of the academic commentator, who has usually been a Euro-American male intent on rescuing an ancient text from its messy transmission history at the hand of supposedly incompetent copyists. The scribe who copied the main early papyrus of the *Memoirs od Sinuhe* in 12th Dynasty Luxor certainly wrote messily and made many corrections, but any close examination of these physical features shows that he was not incompetent, but engaged with the creation and transmission of the

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[31] Costanzo spoke about his role in *Akhnaten* during a Torch Visiting Fellowship in Oxford as part of the exhibition "Tutankhamun: Excavating the Archive": https://www.torch.ox.ac.uk/performing-the-past-opera-and-ancient-egypt.

[32] J. WHITBOURN, "Zahr al-Khayal", libretto by R. B. Parkinson; world premiere at Konzerthaus Berlin 11.3.2023: https://www.arte.tv/de/videos/113179-000-A/unterwegs-nach-aegypten/ [12:30].

[33] B. CERQUIGLINI, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philology*, 1989, p. 61–2.

poem's meaning as he copied.[34] Such considerations can be a step towards decolonizing textual studies and re-valuing the ancient copyists and writers. As a commentator, I am no different from that ancient copyist or from Ewing as a modern performer, all of us having a shared aim of mediation, helping the poem to interact with new audiences and create new meanings. The role of a commentator is thus an inherently humble one, of simply telling the reader, to paraphrase Stevie Smith, here is the poem as it seems to me; read it and work it out for yourself!

Images:

1. Performers sitting beside the High Steward Meketre in the cabin of his travelling boat. Metropolitan Museum of Art 20.3.1. © MMA.
2. Actress and author Barbara Ewing. © Kerry Underhill.
3. The 12th Dynasty manuscript of *Sinuhe*, with the central soliloquy (P. Berlin 3022, Frame E). © Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; photographer: Lisa Baylis, the British Museum.
4. A stela with a hymn to Osiris who has a 'fair memory in the palace', with the dedicatee Khentikhetyemhat shown in the posture of a reciting. Queen College Collection 1109; © the Provost and Fellows of the Queen's College, Oxford.

[34] E.g. PARKINSON, *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry*, p. 90–102.