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Եգիպտագիտության առաջընթաց

Հիմնադրվել է 2010թ.

Գլխավոր խմբագիր՝ Քրիստիան Թութունջյան դը Վարդավան
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<<Եգիպտագիտության առաջընթաց>>-ը (“Advances in Egyptology”) Եգիպտագիտության հայկական կենտրոնի գիտահետազոտական հանդեսն է, որտեղ հրատարակվելու են Եգիպտագիտության բնագավառում նոր խոսք հանդիսացող հոդվածներ: Առաջին հատորում զետեղված են Եգիպտագիտությանը և լեզվաբանությանը (հիերոգլիֆներին) նվիրված վեց հոդված՝ հինգ տարբեր երկրի վեց համալսարանից:

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KEPER'S APPEAL BEFORE RAMESSES III – OR THE MOTIVATION BEHIND KILLING UNARMED ENEMIES

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Abstract

A passage in the Medinet Habu account of Ramesses' III second Libyan war is analyzed and the crucial term , *t3k* is investigated. It is argued that the killing of surrendering Libyans at the hand of Pharaoh is to be explained by their *t3k*-like behaviour.

On the north wing of the first pylon at Medinet Habu² there is a textual composition known as the ›Triumphal Poem of Year 11‹.³ The text commemorates »in highly rhetorical style«⁴ the victory of Ramesses III during the second Libyan war. In the course of this campaign the Egyptians succeeded in capturing the Libyan chief, Mešer.⁵ His father, Keper, thereupon offers his own life in exchange for his son's. However, instead of showing mercy, Pharaoh Ramesses III not only slays Keper but also the disarmed Libyan army. The passage in question (KRI V, 70, 4-10) reads as follows:



Kpr jj.w r šrm m šhr n t3k w3h=f h^cw=f r t3 hm^c,›

Keper⁶ came to make 'shalom' (i.e. to surrender) in the manner of a Tjak. He put his weapons to the ground together with



mš^c=f jry=f d^cq r hr.t r dbh s3=f (j)^cb.t(w) rd.wj=f(j) dr.t=f^ch^c m s.t=f,

his army. He made a cry to heaven in order to beg for his son. (But) his feet and his hand(s) were 'united',⁷ standing where he was.‹

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² Cf. the plan given by Cifola (1991: 12).

³ MH II (1932: pl. 84 (photo) & pls. 85-86 (linedrawing)). For translations cf. Edgerton / Wilson (1936: 87-94); Peden (1994: 53-62).

⁴ Kitchen (1979: 453).

⁵ At Medinet Habu, Mešer appears in a battle scene on his chariot (MH II, 1932: pls. 71f.), as well as captured and fettered in a scene showing Ramesses III examining prisoners (MH II, 1932: pl. 75).

⁶ For this Libyan name cf. Schneider (1992: 4 with n. 16) and Rössler (1952: 133 no. 25): The etymology of this personal name stems from the root *kpr*, meaning ›proud, energetic, audacious but also ›recalcitrant‹.



p3 ntr p3 ntj rh n3y=f jmj.w-h.wt hm=f h3j.w hr tp=sn mj dw n m3t,

»(Only) God was the one who knew his innermost thoughts (and so) His Majesty descended upon their heads like a mountain of granite!»



qdh(.w) ths(.w) dmj.w n s3tw snf=sn hr s.t=sn mj nwy n3y=sn,

»(They were) ground up, pulverized and cleaving to the ground; their blood, in the place where they were, was like floodwaters! Their



h3[.w] ptptr hr s.t dgs.w mh(.w) m Kpr jnj(.w) sm3(.w) m3^c=f wn jb=sn hn hr=f,

»corpses lay crushed in the (very) place they had walked (before). Keper was seized upon, brought away and slain was his army whose hearts had relied upon him»



r šdj.w sm3(.w) q3s(.w) (<kbs) ˚.wj=f(j) dnh(.w) mj 3pd phd(.w) hr brj.t,


»to save them. (He was) slain, his arms bound, pinioned like a bird and (finally) he was made prostrate on the chariot»




hr nmt.t hm=f,

»under the tread of His Majesty.«

The “Year 11” inscription has been regarded as the most reliable source among the three war accounts of Ramesses III that are recorded at Medinet Habu.⁸ Thus, despite

⁷ Maybe this reflects the traditional pose of bound captives, who have their feet and arms tied together behind the back, as in the hieroglyph .

⁸ Cf. Spalinger (2005: 257): »The narrative of the year eleven campaign of Ramesses III against the Libyans is the most reliable of all three war accounts at Medinet Habu. This is overtly rendered by means of year,

its »flowery language«⁹ and a story element whose »literary quality« is reminiscent of the Iliad,¹⁰ the episode of the capture and killing/murder of Keper should be taken at face value. It goes without saying that its content is somewhat repellent to the modern reader; after all killing surrendering enemies constitutes a war crime according to modern legal standards. However, as no Geneva Convention was in place at that time, the murder of captured hostile leaders should not be interpreted as an act of (particular) cruelty – back then it was just common practice.¹¹ Nevertheless, some scholars have felt uneasy about »cet épisode dramatique«¹² and even dismissed the ferocity of Ramesses III as »unegyptian.«¹³ One wonders what could have provoked such strong reactions. The key to a better understanding may be found in the rather obscure word , *ḥk*, which describes Keper's behavior towards Pharaoh. The expression *ḥk* was thought to be of Semitic origin – with good reason, as the text of the »Triumphal Poem« is replete with words that have Semitic roots.¹⁴ Unfortunately, this framework does not further elucidate *ḥk*. Different translations have been proposed, ranging from

month, and day. More importantly, the scenes that accompany the lengthy royal narrative are far more realistic with regard to the numbers of enemy slain or captured. [...] The location of the year eleven campaign is connected to the actual military clash, and thus the account sheds welcome light upon the system of border posts that were established earlier under Ramesses II. [...] Ramesses III's success in this second Libyan war was different than in the first, with the battle depictions and accompanying captions more vivid.« Furthermore, cf. Cifola (1991: 20): »All of this seems to confirm once more our assumption: the two Libyan war reports are more realistic than that of the Sea Peoples' campaign.« For the historicity of the war accounts in general cf. Noort (1994: 104-112).

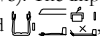
⁹ Thus the characterization of the text according to Gardiner (1961: 287). Regarding its style cf. also Wilson (1930: 24-33).


¹⁰ Cf. Drioton / Vandier (1946 : 422): »Un épisode touchant nous a été conservé dans une autre inscription: le vieux roi Kaper vint, en personne, supplier Ramsès III d'être clément envers son fils Meshesher. Tel, plus tard, Priam réclamera à Achille la dépouille de son fils Hector. Mais moins heureux que Priam, Kaper fut fait lui-même prisonnier et Meshesher fut tué.«





¹¹ This leads to the somewhat paradoxical statement that the decapitation of dead enemies is a more severe act of cruelty than the beheading of living captured leaders (!); cf. Müller (2002: 1223f.); id. (2009: 126): »While the beheading [of] rebel leaders cannot be classified as cruelty because it is the customary punishment for this type of people, the beheading of dead soldiers is a different matter and does constitute an act of cruelty«. For Helck (1980: 786), the capture of enemies, to turn them into sor-anx-prisoners-of-war in order to later kill them with relish, was an original motivation behind Egyptian warfare. For a recent re-examination of the term sor-anx cf. Fazekas (2006: 59-64).


¹² Cf. Grandet (1993: 212).

¹³ Cf. Lalouette (1985: 315): »Une scène à l'antique, cruelle et malheureuse. Ce réalisme brutal, peu dans la manière égyptienne habituelle, témoigne de la crainte ressentie devant ces invasions successives et du désir intense de sauver l'Égypte. Des exemples sanglants paraissaient alors nécessaires et utiles.«

¹⁴ In our passage alone we encounter *šrm*, »to beg for peace, to surrender« (cf. Galán 1997: 37-44), *Dao*, »to cry out (for help)« (cf. Hoch 1994: 381 nr. 570), *qDH*, »to cut of, to break; to grind« (cf. ID., op. cit., p. 312f. nr. 451), *ḥs*, »to crush, pulverize« (cf. Hoch 1994: 361f. nr. 535; Sauneron 1988: 175). The impetus to search for Semitic loanwords in the text, however, has misled scholars before: the word , *kms* that was traced back to Akkadic *kamas/šu*, »to bow, kneel« and Ugaritic *kms*, »throw oneself down« (Görg 1975: 75-77) turned out to be just simply a misshapen writing for Egyptian *gn*s, »violence, outrage« (Jasnow 1994: 201f.).

»a blindfolded man«¹⁵ »a blind man(?)«¹⁶ »a supplicant«¹⁷ to »one who is hedged-in(?)«¹⁸. The first two suggestions seem to be mere educated guesses with regard to the -determinative, and neither has the translation »a supplicant« received any comment by Galán¹⁹ nor Kitchen's »one who is hedged-in(?)«²⁰.

The solution to the problem lies in the well-known but often overlooked , *T(3)k*, which occurs several times in the Wilbour Papyrus,²¹ where it functions as an ethnonym for Libyans who possessed land in Middle Egypt at that time. It is likely that they were soldiers since one of the *Tk* was a standard bearer.²² In addition to this, Spiegelberg (1904: 30f.) argued some one hundred years ago that these *Tk*-people should be identified with the *Tktn* () who are mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi IV²³ as well as on the famous »Israel stela« of Merenptah ()²⁴. Shortly before and independently of Spiegelberg, Lefébure had arrived at the ingenious conclusion that the *Tktn* of Papyrus Anastasi IV constitutes a Berber plural form of a word *tek* or *teka* (of whose existence, however, he had no idea whatsoever).²⁵ Another toponym , *Tk*, on the other hand, should be distinguished from the above mentioned Libyans. This toponym refers to a town²⁶ or the district in which Tell er-Retaba and Tell el-Maskhuta lay²⁷ and might be identified with the Biblical *Sukeoth*.²⁸




¹⁵ Edgerton / Wilson (1936: 91 with n. 27^a): »Cf. , »cover, shelter«; but this is the merest guess«. This translation was adopted by Janssen (1948: 39): »en geblinddoekte (?)«



¹⁶ Peden (1994: 59). Similarly, Grandet (1993 : 212): »à la manière d'un aveugle (?)«.

¹⁷ Galán (1997: 41).

¹⁸ Kitchen (2008: 54).

¹⁹ Cf. Galán (1997: 41 n. 27): »The term *Tk* / *S(t)k* is taken as a Semitic term of uncertain meaning«.

²⁰ Is this translation based on the Semitic root *škr*, taking the eye for a misunderstood ? Words with this root translate as »bolt, lock« and »to lock (up), to shut (up)«; in Egyptian texts we find , »tower gate« (cf. Hoch 1994: 371f. nr. 555 and Grandet 1994: 15 n. 67). However, if such emendation is allowed for, we might just as well consider the word as a very unlucky writing of , »Tjekeru« (e.g. MH I, pl. 46,18), i.e. the Sea People who, according to the 22nd-dynasty(?) story of *Wenamun* (1,8-9), populated the Palestinian town Dor at that time - cf. Gardiner (1947: 199*f.); Schipper (2009: 34f.; 45; 137; 212)).

²¹ The writing is ; cf. Gardiner (1941: pl. 21 (46,28); pl. 27 (58,43); pl. 33 (70,11); pl. 37 (77,45.46.48); pl. 43 (89,17)) and the commentary in Gardiner (1948: 81 n. 1). Besides the Wilbour Papyrus, the same ethnonym seems to be attested already on the fragment Louvre A 18, a list of subjugated countries from the reign of Amenhotep III, as , PA-škw; cf. Varille (1935: 166 & pl. IV).

²² It is conceivable that they were either stationed in garrisons in the area or had received the land as a gift once they had retired from active duty; cf. Katary (1999: 69-71); O'Connor (1972: 695).















²³ P. Anastasi IV, 10,9; 10,11; 11,3; 11,6. Cf. Caminos (1954: 176f.).

²⁴ CG 34025 verso., l. 24 (= KRI IV, 18, 9), cf. the parallel passage on the Karnak stela of Merenptah (KRI IV, 18, 10).













²⁵ Cf. Lefébure (1900: 151f.): »... la terminaison *tana* ou *tinu* est un suffixe, non égyptien, ce qui indique qu'il y a là un mot *tek* ou *teka*, étranger ou non, avec un pluriel étranger en *tana*, *tinu*, *ten*: c'est parce que le singulier était *teka* que les Égyptiens ont affixé au groupe complet les déterminatifs qu'il a. Quant au pluriel *tana*, *tinu*, c'est vraisemblablement une forme berbère [...]« For Berber plurals see also Idrissi (2000: 101-124); Saib (1986: 109-133; *non viso*).

²⁶ Tallet (2003: 475) voted for a city at the entrance of the Wadi Tumilat.




²⁷ Cf. Kitchen (1999: 108ff.); Thiers (2007: 3-6) and Jansen-Winkel on www.wibilex.de s.v. »Pithome«.

Let us now consider our word's unusual determinatives. First of all, it is interesting to note that the word *T(3)k* did neither in the Wilbour Papyrus nor in the Medinet Habu inscription retain any of the common determinatives to designate foreign peoples (e.g. , ,  or the like). Instead, we find  – in the case of the Wilbour Papyrus – and only the -determinative in our Medinet Habu passage. While Lefébure reckoned that the former were added by the Egyptians because the word stem of *Tktn* reminded them of   , *dg3*, 'to go' and   , *dgj*, 'to see, behold', another interpretation was put forward by Karola Zibelius-Chen. She saw a connection between the determinatives and the occupation of the *Tk(m)*, who seem to have worked as scouts for the Egyptians.²⁹ This can be inferred from a reference to the *Tktn* in Papyrus Anastasi IV, where by a Royal edict Pharaoh strictly forbids the removal of any of the *Tktn* scouts 'who were engaged spying(?)' (  , *ntj hr smt*).³⁰ While Kitchen interpreted the *Tk(m)* as some kind of Libyan auxiliaries (mercenaries?),³¹ Müller took them to be some sort of (secret?) border police.³² Spiegelberg, on the other hand, perceived them as spies working for the Egyptian 'secret service'.³³ Whatever the expression under discussion might have once referred to, the word *T3k* as mentioned in the Ramesside documents appears to have undergone a semantic transformation starting as a reference to a distinct ethnic group and ending

²⁸ To identify *Tk* with *Sukkoth* is virtually a *communis opinio* which can be found in Brugsch (1875: 8), Helck (1965: 35f.) and Spalinger (2008: 147f.). This does not answer the question, however, if the *Sukkiim* mentioned in 2 Chron. 12:3 as forming part of Shoshenq's army had something to do with the *Tk(m)*-Libyans; cf. Spiegelberg (1904: 30f.); Kitchen (1986: 295 n. 291); Wilson (2005: 84) and Winnicki (2009: 72).

²⁹ Zibelius-Chen (1972: 188 s.v. *tk, tktn*): »Es ist aber auch möglich, dass  sowie die Determinative  und  mit der Verwendung der *Tktn* als Kundschafter und Wächter zusammenhängen.« For the combination of  and  in the case of the Papyrus Wilbour spelling (  ) cf. the comments of David (2006: 29; 2007: 8-10). Instructive is the use of the classifier couplet   in Middle Kingdom literary context: In *Simbe*, the *Dialogue of a Man with his Ba* and the *Eloquent Peasant*, the pairing occurs in only a handful of words; but in all three stories is, *thj*, 'to transgress', one of them (David 2007: 9). Thus, in the eyes of the Egyptians, the determination of the ethnonym of the *Tktn*, who were scouting along the desert edge, might have already been regarded as being close to the 'metaphor 'CRIME IS MOTION'' (David 2007: 10). This much can be inferred from the classifier couplet  . In the dichotomy between 'righteousness' and 'transgression', the *Tktn* belonged to the latter category only because of their habitat at the periphery of the Egyptian world and the classifiers of their ethnonym, or, to say the same thing in linguistic phrasing (David 2007: 10): »the righteous proceeds on a straight path from which the transgressor strays, crossing the limits between right and wrong territories. The offender tramples the rule. His criminal action is a movement towards a criminal goal that escapes (at least for a short time) the constraints imposed by the law. The prototypical members of the [MOTION] category such as 'to walk' and 'to go' are present at its core, whereas abstract members such as 'to transgress' appear at the periphery.«

³⁰ Pap. Anastasi IV, 10,11; cf. Gardiner (1937: 46); for translations e.g. Caminos (1954: 175; 178 n. to 10,11): »the Tjukten that scout«; Wente (1990: 35 nr. 32): »the Tjukten who are engaged in reconnoitering« and Erman (1927: 203): »the Tekten that can spy«.

³¹ Kitchen (1966: 159); id. (1986: 295 n. 291). Recently, Rosmorduc (2009: 143-146) convincingly demonstrated that the word   , *Aaa* {*.t*}, in line 22 of the Israel stela is a collective term ('barbarian mercenary') for the different groups of barbarian auxiliary troops mentioned afterwards, the *Md3y.w*, *Tktn* and *N3w* (cf. here n. 33).

³² Müller (1898: 31).

³³ Spiegelberg (1896: 22): »Die *N3w* und *Tktn3* sind uns aus Pap. Anastasi 10/8 ff. als Bewohner der libyschen Oasengegend bekannt, welche, wenn ich recht verstehe, den Ägyptern Spionendienste leisteten.«

as a term used to describe an occupation.³⁴ This is corroborated by the phraseology of the Medinet Habu passage, which informs us that Keper came along in the manner of a *T3k* (*m shr n T3k*).³⁵ Further comparative phraseology can be found in other texts which also support the view that such *m-shr-n*-characterizations of hostile (and even friendly) elements were either employed in a pejorative and mocking fashion, or to relate to unseemly behavior:

- In the Karnak account of Merenptah's Libyan war of year 5 we find the enemy leader compared to a dog:



p3y=sn wr m shr n jw3w s tw3 jwty h3tj=f,

›their chief is in the manner of a dog – a beggar and a fool.‹³⁶

On the famous Pije stela, the king requests his own army to fight a ›clean‹³⁷ war in Egypt without resorting to dirty tricks:

³⁴ Such a shift in meaning, from ethnonym to occupational characteristics, may also be observed in the case of the Medjay people as early as the Middle Kingdom; cf. Petacchi (2007: 311-317). Quite telling for our argumentation is the mention of the *Tktn* after *NAw* and *Md3y.w* in lines 23-24 of Merenptah's ›Israel stela

(KRI IV, 18, 9): *N3w.w Tktn.w m s3.w (n) 3bb=sn*. With regard to content, Hornung (1983: 232) very fittingly translated this passage as follows: ›Grenztruppen und Wüstenpolizei, sie streifen im Fruchland umher.‹ For different translations cf. e.g. Lichtheim (2006: 77) and Kitchen (2003: 15). Hornung's translation is favoured here as it focuses on the occupation of *Tktn* and *N3w*, not on their affiliation to a particular tribe or ethnicity. The passage of the ›Israel stela‹ alludes to the fact that while these people seem to have patrolled the border regions of the desert in critical moments, they were allowed to roam the Nile Valley at will in times of peace (remember the *Tk* mentioned in Papyrus Wilbour who possessed land in Middle Egypt). Interesting in this respect is a passage in the description of the ›idle scribe‹ in P. Anaszasi

IV, 2,6f.: *tw=k mj ss3w m w3r mntw=k nww n t3 h3s.t md3y n t3 jmnt.t*, you are like an antelope

(hartebeest, *Alcelaphus buselaphus*) in flight, you are a hunter/scout of the desert, a *md3y* of the west! (for the text cf. Gardiner 1937: 36, for translations e.g. Brunner 1957: 172; Iversen 1986: 183; Tacke 2001: 54; Pernigotti 2005: 89). In this comparison, the antelope, the *nww*-hunters and *md3y* (Tacke 2001: 54 interprets them as ›Fallensteller‹, i.e. ›trappers) share the ›habitat‹ in the desert and a lifestyle that is obviously incompatible with the ideal of self-control typical for a scribe, or, as Goedicke (1968: 129) has put it: ›the consistent main feature is the life in the desert. Connected with it is the unlimited desire for freedom and the horror of any restriction.‹ As far as the *nww*-hunter is concerned, his lifestyle is commented on in the Late Period wisdom text of P. Brooklyn 47.218.135: the wife of a *nww*-hunter is childless since her husband is away hunting for half of the year (cf. Jasnow 1992: 96).

³⁵ Problematic is not only *T3k* but also the word *shr*: ›Defining *shr* is a formidable task‹ (Goelet / Levine 1998: 265), based on the term's ›bewildering range of meanings‹ (*ibid.*). As it is ›a polysemic term, whose meaning is determined by its context‹ (Shupak 1993: 43), for *m shr n Tk* translations like ›with the intention of a *T3k*‹ or ›in the usual way of a *T3k*‹ are also feasible. For discussions of ›*shr*‹ cf. Knigge (2006: 94; 282f.); Junge (2003: 213; 228; 230; 260); Goelet / Levine (1998: 262-271), Doxey (1998: 50f. and *passim*); and Shupak (1993: 42-45).

³⁶ KRI IV, 5, 1-2; for translations cf. Davies (1997: 157): ›Their chief is in the manner of a dog – an evil and heartless man‹; Kitchen (2003: 5): ›Their chief is just like a dog – an inferior man and a fool‹; Manassa (2003: 34): ›their chief being in the manner of a dog, a wretched man, without his heart. The dog-like characterization may refer to an unspecific submissive behaviour of defeated enemies (von der Way 1992: 30; Manassa 2003: 36f. n. e; Goldwasser 2002: 107), or it is a reference to a practice mentioned elsewhere, namely that subdued enemies were made to crouch and do the ›dog-walk‹ (Brunner 1979: 147).

³⁷ On the aspired notion of waging a ›just‹ or ›holy war‹ cf. Assmann (2009: 227ff.).

m h(3j) m grh m shr n h' b h3 tn hft m33,

do not attack during the night in the way of a 'trickster'³⁸, (but rather) fight when you can be seen.³⁹

A passage in the Nauri decree of Sethy I featuring legalistic content prohibits any fort commander to misuse belongings of the fort for himself in an arbitrary manner (*m shr n wstn*):

r tm rdj.t jt3 jmj-r3 htm nb hpr.tj=f(j) hr p3 htm n (Sthy mry.n Pth) nty m Shmt(?) (j)h.t nb.t jm=sn m nbw m šd.w m jn[w nb] n htm m (j)h.t nb.t n.(t) w[ʿw?] m shr n wstn r nhh hn' d.t, >...

to prevent any future fortress-commander who shall be in charge of the Fort of (Sethy I beloved of Ptah) which is in Sekhmet, from seizing any property from them (*i.e.* passing ships), (whether) of gold, of pelts, (or) of any of the tribute/income of the fort, (or) of any property (even) of a [sail]or(?) in an arbitrary manner, eternally and forever.⁴⁰

Summing up, I would like to suggest translating the key phrase *m shr n T3k* as »in the manner of a (Libyan) spy« or »with the intention of a (Libyan) spy«. The -determinative of *T3k* is therefore highly suggestive insofar as it points to the activity of spying rather than focusing on Keper's Libyan descent.⁴¹

³⁸ For the word *h' b*, »to play a game«, cf. the comments by Grimal (1981: 30 n. b).

³⁹ Pije stela I. 9-10. For translations cf. *inter alia* Gardiner (1935: 219): »Attack not the enemy by night after the way of gamblers, but fight when you can be seen«; Grimal (1981: 24): »Ne foncez pas dans la nuit comme au jeu, mais combattez quand vous voyez«; Kausen (1985: 562): »[Greift den Feind] nicht bei Nacht an nach der Art der Glücksspieler: Ihr sollt kämpfen, wenn man euch sehen kann«; Holton Pierce (1994: 70): »Don't attack by night in the manner of one who plays a game, (but rather) fight when you can see«; Ritner (2009: 479): »do not attack at night in the manner of a game, you should fight when there is sight.«

⁴⁰ Nauri decree I. 83-86 (=KRI I, 56, 7-9). For translations cf. Griffith (1927: 203): »in the manner of a privilege (?)«; Edgerton (1947: 225): »in the manner of liberty«; Kitchen (1993: 48): »in taking a liberty«; Davies (1997: 301): »in an arbitrary manner«; David (2006: 90): »in an arbitrary plan«.

⁴¹ Another, although somewhat far-fetched interpretation proposed that the Egyptian scribe of the Medinet Habu text did no longer associate the word *t(3)k* with a Libyan tribe and its spying role at all. Rather he may have connected the term with a word he knew, quite in the same fashion as modern translators tried to look for a possible Semitic origin to make sense of the word. Here an Egyptian candidate is the word *Tk*, predecessor of Demotic *tk/dq* (etc.) and Coptic **ТОК**, **ТФК**, **ТОК**^b, which means »knife, razor« (cf. Andreu 1979: 166f.). So far, this word is attested three times in Ramessid documents, *i.e.* on O. Nash 1, v^o 9 (as); cf. Černý/Gardiner 1957: pl.46; Menu 2002: 43), Weight IFAO 5110 (); cf.) and O.

Varille 19, III 6 (); cf. Janssen 2009: 96) – not including the enigmatic of O. DeM 347 (cf. Janssen 1975: 325). In later Demotic sources a term *dq* denotes a sword blade (cf. Hoffmann 1996: 191 n. 211; in addition, Lippert/Schentuleit 2006: 169). What if the scribe of the Medinet Habu text mistakenly took the »Libyan« *T3k* with -determinative to be an »Egyptian« metaphor »razor-eyed«?

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Համառոտ

Ներկա հոդվածում քննարկվում է Մեդինա Հարուի արձանագրության մի հատված, որտեղ խոսվում է Ռամզես III-ի լիբիական 2-րդ պատերազմի մասին: Արձանագրության այս հատվածն ուշագրավ է 't3k' վիճահարույց տերմինով, որն էլ սույն հոդվածի խնդրո առարկան է: Հոդվածում արծարծվում է այն գաղափարը, որ հանձնված լիբիացիներին Փարավոնի հրամանով սպանելը պայմանավորված էր վերջիններիս 't3k' վարքագծով: