

‘SADNESS’ IN THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN LEXICON:
A LEXICAL-SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF THE LEXEME *ind*

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Summary

The social constructionist position on emotions argues that emotions are, to an extent, *constructed* by the cultural and temporal contexts in which they are evoked. In the context of the ancient past, this insight is perhaps even more crucial: as the world of the ancient Egyptians is culturally and temporally removed from the 21st Century context, it cannot be presumed that ancient Egyptian emotions mirrored modern understandings. A method that takes this new insight into perspective is thus needed. The History of Emotions approach aims to examine how emotions (particularly, though not exclusively, via emotion words in textual sources) were conceptualised, triggered and expressed in the past. Considering that the understanding of much of the Egyptian emotional lexicon is imprecise, this Master of Research (MRes) thesis explores the usage of emotion vocabularies in the ancient Egyptian textual record by employing the rigorous analytical apparatus of lexical semantics. Through a case study approach, this research examines a single lexeme belonging to the SADNESS semantic field, namely *ind* (*Wb* 1, 102.16-18), and in doing so, directly responds to the limitations in the understanding of the Egyptian emotional lexicon by sharpening its definition. This thesis first elucidates the precise meaning of the lexeme, before examining the usage of *ind* in the textual record. Such close contextual analysis illuminates how the emotion concept(s) denoted by *ind* could have been linguistically conceptualised, such as the contextual situations that motivated its usage, the potential experiencers of *ind*, as well as how *ind* was expressed and described to be alleviated. Key theoretical concepts from the History of Emotions approach then frame the insights of the lexical-semantic analysis by highlighting the limitations and biases of the Egyptian documentary record. In sum, this research contributes to the growing field of emotion research in Egyptology by shedding light on emotion concepts that are expressed in the Egyptian textual record.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

(Signed)_____

Date: 24/11/2020

Madeline Jenkins

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Abbreviations

<i>ADAIK</i>	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK) Ägyptologische Reihe, (Glückstadt/Mainz/Berlin)
<i>BIFAO</i>	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO), (Cairo)
<i>EDAL</i>	Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives, Libraries, (Milano)
<i>IFAO</i>	l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) du Cairo, (Berlin/Cairo)
<i>MÄS</i>	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, (Berlin/Munich/Mainz am Rhein)
<i>MDAIK</i>	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK), (Mainz/Cairo/Berlin/Wiesbaden)
<i>MIFAO</i>	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) du Cairo, (Berlin/Cairo)
<i>RAPH</i>	Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire (IFAO), (Cairo)
<i>RdE</i>	Revue d'Égyptologie, (Paris)
<i>SAK</i>	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, (Hamburg)
<i>TLA</i>	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae, (Berlin)
<i>Wb</i>	Erman, A. and Grapow, H., <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 5 Volumes, (Berlin: Akademie), 1971 [1926–31].
<i>ZÄS</i>	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, (Berlin/Leipzig)
<i>caus.</i>	Causative verb
<i>intr.</i>	Intransitive verb
<i>tr.</i>	Transitive verb

Transliteration Notation

.	Separates word stem from grammatical ending
=	Separates suffix pronoun from word stem
///	Lacuna
()	Added by translator for grammatical clarification
[]	Damaged text in the original, but added by translator
{ }	Text considered by the translator to be an error
< >	Text emended/added by the translator
Bold Text	Rubric (red text)

1 INTRODUCTION

Emotions cannot be identified without words, and words belong to one particular culture and carry with them a culture-specific perspective

Wierzbicka, "Sadness" and "Anger" in Russian: The non-universality of the so-called "basic human emotions" (1998), p. 25

1.1 Why Should We Study Emotions?

The universality of human emotions has been recently contested.¹ The 'basic' emotions approach, which assumes the existence of six 'basic' emotions (anger, happiness, sadness, fear, surprise and disgust) that are universally conceptualised, triggered, expressed and recognised,² has been challenged by neurobiological evidence,³ as well as the observed diversity in human conceptualisations and expressions of emotion.⁴ If emotions are not universal phenomena, they must be, to some extent, *constructed*. A school of thought ascribing to this notion is, for instance, social constructionism, which argues that emotions are *socially constructed*.⁵ In other words, this

¹ It is beyond the scope of the present introduction to provide an overview of the vast field of emotion research. For a comprehensive historical overview of emotion research, see, for example, J. Plamper, (Trans. K. Tribe), *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2015, pp. 75-250; W.M. Reddy, "The Unavoidable Intentionality of Affect: The History of Emotions and the Neurosciences of the Present Day," *Emotion Review* 12.3 (2020), pp. 168-178.

² The 'basic' emotions approach has been a dominant theory in emotion research since the 1970s. The main proponents of this theory are P. Ekman, W.V. Friesen, and C.E. Izard. For discussions of the 'basic' emotions approach, see, for example, P. Ekman and W.V. Friesen, "Constants across cultures in the face and emotion," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 17 (1971), pp. 124-139; P. Ekman, "Basic Emotions," in T. Dalgleish and M. Power (eds.), *Handbook of Cognition and Emotion* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd), 1999, pp. 45-60; C.E. Izard, *Human Emotions* (New York: Plenum Press), 1977.

³ For a discussion of the lack of neurobiological evidence for 'basic' emotions, see L.F. Barret, *How Emotions are Made: The Secret Life of the Brain* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt), 2017, pp. 1-24; Reddy, "The Unavoidable Intentionality of Affect," pp. 172-173.

⁴ Anthropological studies of emotion have shed light on the diverse ways in which emotions are conceptualised and expressed in different cultures. See key anthropological studies, including J.L. Briggs, *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1970; R. Levy, *Tabitians: Mind and Experience in the Society Islands* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press), 1975; C.A. Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll & Their Challenge to Western Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1988; L. Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honour and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press), 1986.

⁵ Several variations of the social constructionist position have emerged. The radically relativist or 'strong' perspective maintains that all emotions are social products that exist in the socio-cultural domain and are not natural states. The 'weak' perspective concedes to the existence of a small range of emotional responses that may have emerged as adaptive functions, but how they are conceptualised, triggered, expressed and valued is culturally contingent. The 'weak' perspective is adopted in this research. For an overview of the social constructionist approach and the 'strong' and 'weak' perspectives, see, for example, C. Armon-Jones, "The Thesis of Constructionism," in R. Harré (ed.), *The Social Construction of Emotions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.), 1986, pp. 32-56; R.

approach maintains that our emotions, namely how we conceptualise them, the situations in which they are evoked, and how they are expressed, are contingent upon the attitudes, values and beliefs held by the socio-cultural context in which we live.⁶ In the context of the ancient past, this awareness is perhaps even more crucial: the world of the ancient Egyptians is culturally and temporally distant from the 21st Century context, and as such, it cannot be presumed that ancient Egyptian emotions mirrored modern understandings. Therefore, a method of studying ancient Egyptian emotions that takes this insight into account and allows us to explore how emotions were expressed and how they might have been conceptualised *within* their historical-cultural context, is necessary.

One possible candidate is the History of Emotions approach, which aims to examine “how [emotions] were experienced, what aroused them, in what form, and with what effects”.⁷ A key method of History of Emotions research is examining how emotion lexicons are used in textual sources, as the close analysis of the textual situations surrounding the use of emotion lexemes allows us access to the constructed “emotional universe” of a past culture.⁸ However, we have to be aware of the “slipperiness of emotion words”, namely that emotion lexemes seldom have exact equivalents across languages.⁹ The scholarship on ancient Egyptian emotions in textual sources, as well as the Egyptian dictionaries, rarely consider the variability of emotion lexicons. Rather, the dominant method in these works is to uncritically apply modern emotion vocabularies to the Egyptian terms.¹⁰ This gloss method is problematic because it presumes an equivalence between the ancient and modern emotion concepts and hides the distinct nuances

Harré “An Outline of the Social Constructionist Viewpoint,” in R. Harré (ed.), *The Social Construction of Emotions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.), 1986, pp. 10-14.

⁶ Armon-Jones, “The Thesis of Constructionism,” pp. 32-37; Harré “An Outline of the Social Constructionist Viewpoint,” pp. 10-14. For a critique of the social constructionist perspective, see, for example, Plamper, (Trans. Tribe), *The History of Emotions*, pp. 114-117.

⁷ R. Boddice, “The History of Emotions: Past, Present, Future,” *Revista de Estudios Sociales* 62 (2017), p. 11.

⁸ A. Wierzbicka, *Emotions across Languages and Cultures. Diversity and Universals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1999, pp. 28-29; B.H. Rosenwein and R. Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge: Polity Press), 2018, p. 12; B.H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithica and London: Cornell University Press), 2006, p. 194; R. Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press) 2018, p. 35.

⁹ Boddice, *The History of Emotions*, pp. 53-58; G. Györi, “Cultural variation in the conceptualisation of emotions: a historical study,” in A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska (eds.), *Speaking of Emotions. Conceptualisation and Expression* (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter), 1998, p. 105; Wierzbicka, *Emotions across Languages and Cultures*, pp. 24-31.

¹⁰ English, German and French emotion lexemes are the modern emotion lexicons that I have encountered in this research, on the basis of the fact that the lexica in the discipline of Egyptology have predominantly been written in these languages. See 2.1 below for discussion of Egyptological approaches to studying emotion in textual sources. See 2.2 below for example of the usage of modern emotion lexemes to gloss Egyptian emotion vocabularies.

of the Egyptian emotion lexemes. Considering that our understanding of much of the ancient Egyptian emotional lexicon is imprecise, this thesis explores the meaning and usage of emotion lexemes in the Egyptian documentary record by employing the rigorous analytical apparatus of lexical semantics. This thesis takes a case study approach and examines a single lexeme traditionally ascribed to the SADNESS¹¹ semantic field, namely *ind* (*Wb* 1, 102.16-18), and addresses the following objectives:

1. To critically evaluate the applicability and usefulness of key concepts from the History of Emotions approach for ancient Egyptian textual evidence by discussing how the concepts may be modified and transferred to meaningfully contribute to Egyptological studies of emotion.
2. To elucidate the precise and nuanced meaning of the lexeme *ind* through comprehensive lexical-semantic analysis.
3. To employ the (modified) History of Emotions concepts to frame the results of the lexical-semantic analysis and examine how the emotion concept(s) denoted by *ind* could have been *linguistically* conceptualised, such as its valence, linguistic framing, the contextual conditions that motivated the usage of *ind*, the potential experiencers of *ind*, as well as how *ind* was described to be expressed and alleviated in the Egyptian textual record.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the concept of ‘emotion’ is not a “transcultural historical constant”.¹² In fact, no lexeme for the category of phenomena referred to as ‘emotion’ has survived from the Egyptian documentary record.¹³ Consequently, any identification of Egyptian lexemes as ‘emotion’ lexemes is a “theoretical artifice allowing modern research to take place”.¹⁴ Despite the potential anachronism of using the term ‘emotion’ in relation to ancient Egyptian evidence, I employ ‘emotion’ within this thesis to designate “aspects of

¹¹ To acknowledge and mitigate issues with the translatability of emotion terms across languages, English emotion concepts, such as SADNESS, are written in small capitals within this thesis to signal that they are *English* emotion concepts. See 1.3 below for further discussion thereof.

¹² D. Cairns and D. Nelis, “Introduction,” in D. Cairns and D. Nelis (eds.), *Emotions in the Classical World. Methods, Approaches and Directions* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017), p. 9.

¹³ This phenomenon has been noted in several Egyptological works. See, for example, E.J. O’Dell, “Excavating the Emotional Landscape of Ancient Egyptian Literature,” PhD Dissertation, Brown University, 2008, p. 34; I. Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian. Möglichkeiten eines kognitiv-semantischen Zugangs zum altägyptischen Wortschatz am Beispiel des Wortfelds [WUT]*, SAK 18, (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag), 2016, p. 81.

¹⁴ M. Jaques, “The Discourse on Emotion in Ancient Mesopotamia: A Theoretical Approach,” in S. Kipfer (ed.), *Visualising Emotions in the Ancient Near East* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 2017, p. 187.

experience that reflect a living entity's inner life that may be expressed physically through gesture, posture, or facial expression, or verbally, which are subject to considerable cultural glossing".¹⁵

1.2 How Can We Study Emotions in the Past? Sources, Methods and Approaches

In the past thirty years, the study of history has taken an "emotional turn", as the emotions of past cultures have become an avenue of inquiry in historical and archaeological research.¹⁶ As emotions are highly embodied, personal experiences, the question must be asked: *how can we study emotions in the past?* Since the inception of the field in 1985, the History of Emotions approach has seriously considered this question in its aim to examine past emotions within their historical-cultural contexts.¹⁷ It is impossible to access and reconstruct experiential aspects of emotion, such as neurobiological processes, from the archaeological record. However, historical textual material offers a rich source of information about how emotions are expressed and described. In light of this, a core method of History of Emotions research is examining how emotion lexicons are used in textual sources.¹⁸

History of Emotions theorists have acknowledged that "no source offers free access to the soul", and have importantly developed four key concepts, namely *emotionology*, *emotives*, *emotional regimes* and *emotional communities* that frame and delineate the scope of historical emotions research.¹⁹ However, as the vast majority of History of Emotions scholarship centres on

¹⁵ This definition follows the working definition proposed in A. McDonald, "Emotions," in W. Wendrich, A. Austin, E. Frood and J. Baines (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (2020), p. 2.

¹⁶ J. Plamper, "The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns," *History and Theory* 49 (2010), p. 237.

¹⁷ Although historical research on emotions was conducted before 1985 (see, for example, J. Huizinga, (Trans. R.J. Payton and U. Mammitzsch), *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1996; L. Febvre (Trans. K. Folca), "Sensibility and History: How to Reconstitute the Emotional Life of the Past," in P. Burke, (ed.), *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre* (New York: Harper & Row), 1973, pp. 12–26 and N. Elias, (Trans. E. Jephcott), *The Civilizing Process. The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers), 1994), the modern inception of the History of Emotions field is largely understood to begin with the 1985 article of P.N. Stearns and C.Z. Stearns, namely P.N. Stearns and C.Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *The American Historical Review* 90.4 (1985), pp. 813–836. For an overview of historical emotions research conducted before 1985, see, for example, Plamper (Trans. Tribe), *The History of Emotions*, pp. 40–74; Rosenwein and Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* pp. 31–33.

¹⁸ Boddice, *The History of Emotions*, p. 35; Rosenwein and Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* p. 12; Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 194.

¹⁹ K. Barclay and S. Crozier-De Rosa, "Intersectional Identities," in K. Barclay, S. Crozier-De Rosa and P.N. Stearns (eds.), *Sources for the History of Emotions. A Guide* (New York: Routledge), 2020, p. 192. For emotionology, see Stearns and Stearns, "Emotionology," pp. 813–836; C.Z. Stearns and P.N. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago: University of

medieval and modern Europe and the recent history of North America, these key concepts were created in relation to the available written source material from these historical periods and geographic regions.²⁰ Considering the ancient Egyptian documentary record differs from the textual sources used to develop the concepts of emotionology, emotives, emotional regimes and emotional communities, critical consideration and theoretical recalibration of these concepts are necessary *before* they can be employed to frame ancient Egyptian emotion research.

1.3 Emotions in Textual Sources: Problems and Possibilities

As emotional lexicons play a vital role in historical emotion research, it is imperative to acknowledge that emotion lexemes rarely have exact equivalents across languages.²¹ Rather, emotion lexemes “belong to one particular culture and carry with them a culture-specific perspective”.²² Although Anglophone emotion lexemes are typically used as “emotional anchor points” in emotion research, the English emotion lexeme and concept of ‘sadness’, for example, is not universal.²³ Rather, ‘sadness’ is an English “cultural artefact” and not a “culture-free analytical tool” that we can uncritically apply to emotion lexemes in other contemporary and past cultures.²⁴ It is essential, therefore, that we understand the precise and nuanced meaning of emotion lexemes *within* their historical-cultural contexts. This aim is challenging when working with ‘dead’ languages, as it is necessary to employ modern emotion vocabularies to make sense of and describe ancient emotion lexicons.²⁵ In an attempt to mitigate the abovementioned issues with the translatability of emotion terms across languages, English emotion concepts, such as SADNESS, are written in small capitals within this thesis to signal that they are *English* emotion concepts. Further, English emotion concepts are employed attributively in this study to *describe*

Chicago Press), 1986. For emotives, see W.M. Reddy, “Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions,” *Current Anthropology* 38.5 (1997), pp. 327-351; W.M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2001. For emotional communities, see Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*; B.H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling. A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2016.

²⁰ Plamper, (Trans. Tribe), *The History of Emotions*, p. 64.

²¹ Boddice, *The History of Emotions*, pp. 53-58; Györi, “Cultural variation in the conceptualisation of emotions: a historical study,” p. 105; Wierzbicka, *Emotions across Languages and Cultures*, pp. 24-31.

²² A. Wierzbicka, “Sadness” and “Anger” in Russian: The non-universality of the so-called “basic human emotions,” in A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska (eds.), *Speaking of Emotions. Conceptualisation and Expression* (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter), 1998, p. 25.

²³ Boddice, *The History of Emotions*, p. 33.

²⁴ Wierzbicka, “Sadness” and “Anger” in Russian,” p. 7.

²⁵ For a discussion of similar issues faced when studying the emotional lexicon of the Hebrew Bible, see P.A. Kruger, “Emotions in the Hebrew Bible: A Few Observations on Prospects and Challenges,” *Old Testament Essays* 28.2 (2015), pp. 415-416.

aspects of Egyptian emotion lexemes, without presuming an equivalence between the English and Egyptian emotion concepts.














1.4 The Ancient Egyptian Emotional Lexicon

The ancient Egyptian emotional lexicon is poorly understood. In recent years, a handful of studies on a limited number of emotion lexemes have emerged.²⁶ However, as noted above (1.1), the vast majority of the Egyptian emotional lexicon has been uncritically glossed with modern emotion lexemes. This gloss method generates significant issues if we attempt to examine Egyptian emotions in textual sources, as we are anachronistically projecting modern (often Western) emotion concepts onto the Egyptian emotion lexemes. This problem can only be remedied through the rigorous analytical apparatus of lexical semantics. A comprehensive study of a lexeme's sense(s), as well as its diachronic and genre-specific usages, generated through lexical-semantic analysis, is essential if we are to understand *Egyptian* emotions. It is only after we become aware of the nuances of meaning of an emotion lexeme that we can utilise the History of Emotions approach to frame the exploration of the emotion concept(s) it may denote.

1.4.1 Ancient Egyptian SADNESS Lexemes

13 Egyptian lexemes and phrases are traditionally ascribed to the SADNESS semantic field and are typically glossed as, “to be sad” and “sadness, sorrow” and “traurig sein, betrübt sein” and “Traurigkeit”.²⁷ The Egyptian SADNESS lexemes have different etymologies and orthographies, as well as diverse lifespans and contexts of use, which indicates that they differ in meaning. Although an onomasiological analysis, which would take into consideration the entirety of lexemes belonging to the SADNESS semantic field, would be ideal to identify the precise meaning

²⁶ See, for example, Köhler, who conducts a detailed analysis of the ANGER semantic field, and C. Gobeil who examines JOY lexemes that are used in anthroponyms. See, Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*; C. Gobeil, “La joie pour identité” Les modalités d’emploi des termes liés à la joie dans l’anthroponymie égyptienne,” in Y. Gourdon and A. Engsheden (eds.), *Études d’onomastique égyptienne. Méthodologie et Nouvelles approches*. RAPH 38, (Cairo: IFAO), 2016, pp. 179-234.

²⁷ The compiled list of SADNESS lexemes listed in A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache. Sechster Band. Deutsch-Aegyptisches Wörterverzeichnis* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag), 1950, pp. 158-159; R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Deutsch-Ägyptisch (2800-950 v. Chr.)* (Mainz: Philip von Zabern), 2000, p. 1311 and the *TLA* are:  *sh* (Wb 1, 12.2-3),  *ind* (Wb 1, 102.16-18),  *ikm.w* (Wb 1, 136.18),  *nhrhr (hr)* (Wb 2, 313.1),  *nkm* (Wb 2, 344.4-5),  *hs.ty* (Wb 3, 400.15),  *s.ind* (Wb 4, 40.2),  *snm* (Wb 4, 165.6-9),  *m3w/m3t* (Wb 2, 34.17-21),  *mg3(.t)* (Wb 2, 164.10),  *gm.w* (Wb 5, 169.16),  *gp* (Wb 5, 166.3),  *dw.t-ib* (Wb 5, 549.23).

of all these lexemes in relation to each other and generate a comprehensive picture of the Egyptian linguistic conceptualisation of SADNESS, the present study is necessarily limited due to the restrictions on the length of a Master of Research (MRes) thesis.

1.5 The Present Study

This thesis constitutes a case study analysis of a single lexeme ascribed to the SADNESS semantic field. The resulting semasiological analysis thus encompasses the entire semantic span of the lexeme. The lexeme *ind* was selected according to four criteria outlined by E.E. Guerry in her 2010 dissertation, “Terms for Transgression”, namely frequency, varied distribution, non-predictable usage and limited understanding of meaning.²⁸ First, *ind* possesses a moderate frequency of nominal, verbal and adjectival attestations, which enables the lexeme to be treated comprehensively within the scope of this thesis. Secondly, the use of *ind* is varied, as it is distributed across diverse periods and genres. Thirdly, *ind* is seldom employed in standard phraseology before the Greco-Roman Period and examining *ind*’s usage in earlier periods can shed light on the linguistic conceptualisation of this lexeme. Finally, *ind* has not received extensive treatment in the existing literature and there is great potential to generate new insight into this lexeme.²⁹ The multi-level “lexical trail” method outlined by S. Polis and J. Winand in “Structuring the Lexicon” is adopted to structure the systematic lexical-semantic analysis of *ind*.³⁰ In employing this framework, I also interrogate what the consideration of morphematic, graphematic, phonematic, syntagmatic and semantic axes of the lexeme contributes to the understanding of *ind*.

This thesis directly addresses the deficiency in the current comprehension of the Egyptian emotional lexicon by sharpening the definition of *ind* through comprehensive lexical-semantic analysis. Moreover, this research innovatively combines Egyptian lexical semantics with the History of Emotions approach to generate theoretically grounded insight into the emotion concept(s) denoted by *ind*, as expressed in the Egyptian textual record.³¹ By critically engaging with the previously modern and Eurocentric History of Emotions approach, and applying key

²⁸ E.E. Guerry, “Terms for Transgression. A Lexical Study of Ancient Egyptian Words for Wrongdoing and Evil,” PhD Dissertation, Macquarie University, 2010, p. 83.

²⁹ See 2.2 below for a review of the existing scholarship on *ind*.

³⁰ S. Polis and J. Winand, “Structuring the Lexicon,” in P. Kousoulis and N. Lazaridis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes, 22-29 May 2008. Volume II* (Leuven: Peeters), 2015, pp. 1503-1512.

³¹ It must be noted that this research exclusively examines attestations of *ind* and hence explores what the literal usage of this lexeme reveals about emotion concepts.

concepts to the ancient Egyptian textual record, this research expands the scope and applicability of History of Emotions research both geographically and temporally. More broadly, however, this thesis contributes to world-wide studies of emotion, as it challenges universalising and Eurocentric approaches to emotion by creating a culturally contextualised and nuanced picture of the Egyptian emotion lexeme and concept of *ind*.

1.5.1 Limitations

It is essential to briefly acknowledge the limitations of the ancient Egyptian documentary record, as it poses challenges for conducting lexical-semantic analyses and has implications for how the key History of Emotions concepts can be modified and utilised.

The Egyptian textual record is “remarkably uneven and partial”, distorted by accidents of preservation.³² Consequently, the analysis of word meaning can only be based on preserved attestations. As there is a particular bias in the diachronic and genre distribution of Egyptian texts, we cannot determine the extent to which the surviving tokens of a lexeme accurately reflect its original distribution in the documentary record, diachronically, geographically and across genre.³³ The interpretive nature of translation, coupled with the flawed understanding of the Egyptian lexicon must also be considered, as it challenges our ability to completely ascertain the intended lexical and conceptual meaning of a term.³⁴ This is made more difficult as the present research explores emotion lexemes, where the relationship between *sign*, *concept* and *significatum* is intangible and cannot be reconstructed.³⁵ In other words, we cannot access and reconstruct what physiological and psychological experiences may have been associated with *ind*. However, we can explore how this emotion lexeme was used in the constructed ‘emotional universe’ of textual sources. As noted above (1.2), the aforementioned limitations must also be kept in mind when evaluating the usefulness and applicability of the History of Emotions

³² C. Eyre, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2013, p. 17.

³³ There is a particular bias in the diachronic distribution of textual material. A large volume of material dates to the New Kingdom and Ramesside Periods, as well as the Greco-Roman Period due to building activity during these periods. Moreover, there is a genre bias, as many of the surviving textual sources relate to the religious domain, namely funerary and temple contexts. For further discussion of the biases of the Egyptian documentary record, see, for example, Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*, pp. 86-89; Eyre, *The Use of Documents*, pp. 19, 21-22.

³⁴ V.M. Leper and R. Enmarch, “Introduction,” in R. Enmarch and V.M. Leper (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2013, p. 2.

³⁵ C.S. Pierce, “Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs,” in R.E. Innis (ed.), *Semiotics: An Introductory Anthology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 1985, 1-23; F. de Saussure, “The Linguistic Sign,” in R.E. Innis (ed.), *Semiotics: An Introductory Anthology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 1985, pp. 24-46.

approach for Egyptological research, as it is necessary to critically consider and recalibrate these modern and Eurocentric concepts *before* they can be utilised to frame studies of Egyptian emotion.³⁶

1.6 Structure of Thesis

The following chapter reviews key Egyptological studies of emotion in Pharaonic textual sources, with a particular focus on the aims, source materials and methodological approaches employed in the works. Chapter Two additionally elucidates the current understanding of the lexeme *ind*. Chapter Three outlines the methods and approaches utilised in this study. First, the adopted lexical-semantic method is detailed. Secondly, the History of Emotions concepts of emotionology, emotives, emotional regimes and emotional communities are critically evaluated, before discussing how they can be recalibrated and transferred to meaningfully contribute to the examination of Egyptian material. Chapter Three also details the practical application of these concepts in the present research. Chapter Four presents the comprehensive lexical-semantic analysis of *ind*. Morphematic, graphematic, phonematic, syntagmatic and semantic axes of the lexeme are examined to generate a fine-grained understanding of *ind*'s meaning. Diachronic and genre-orientated investigations of *ind* are also conducted. Drawing upon the lexical-semantic analysis of *ind*, Chapter Five explores what the usage of this lexeme reveals about how the emotion concept(s) behind *ind* could have been linguistically conceptualised, such as the contextual factors that motivated its usage, the potential experiences of *ind*, how it was expressed, and how it was described as having been alleviated. This discussion is framed by the recalibrated History of Emotions concepts. Chapter Six synthesises the findings and implications of this thesis, evaluates the success of the methodological approach employed and additionally identifies fruitful avenues for future research.

³⁶ See 3.2 below for a critical discussion of History of Emotions concepts of emotionology, emotives, emotional regimes and emotional communities.

2 THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

Chapter Two explores the current state of Egyptological discourse on emotion. The first part of this literature review evaluates key works that examine emotions in Pharaonic textual sources. In her recent survey of Egyptological emotion research, A. McDonald describes the scholarship as having taken a “piecemeal” approach, in comparison with the studies of the emotions of other ancient cultures,³⁷ particularly Classical emotions.³⁸ As the ‘piecemeal’ approaches and methodologies employed to examine Egyptian emotions are *precisely* the issues that this thesis aims to address, I interrogate the aims, approaches, source materials and analytical methods employed in the literature (2.1). The success and validity of the conclusions presented are also assessed. This scholarship is treated chronologically to enable trends and developments to be identified. In the second part of this review, I elucidate the current understanding of *ind* by examining the glosses of the lexeme presented in the main Egyptian dictionaries, as well as philological commentaries in which *ind* is discussed (2.2).

³⁷ McDonald, “Emotions,” p. 2; For Near Eastern emotions see, for example, S. Kipfer (ed.), *Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East* (Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 2017; P. Mander, “Joy and Exhilaration in the Literary Texts from Mesopotamia,” *Ming Qing Yanjiu* (2003-2004), pp. 253-269; S.-W. Hsu and J. L. Raduà (eds.), *The Expression of Emotions in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia* (Leiden and Boston: Brill), 2021. For Biblical emotions see, for example, Kruger, “Emotions in the Hebrew Bible,” pp. 395-420; A. Wagner, *Emotionen, Gefühle und Sprache im Alten Testament. Vier Studien* (Waltrop: Spenner), 2006; S. Schroer and T. Staubli, “Emotionswelten,” *Katechetische Blätter* 132.1 (2007), pp. 44-49. For Early Christian emotions see, for example, S.C. Barton, “Eschatology and the Emotions in Early Christianity,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 130.3 (2011), pp. 571-591. For Coptic emotions, see, for example, A. Crislip, “Emotional Communities and Emotional Suffering in Shenoute’s White Monastery,” in D. Brakke, S.J. Davis and S. Emmel (eds.), *From Gnostics to Monastics: Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bentley Layton* (Leuven, Paris, Bristol: Peeters), 2017, pp. 331-357. For Late Antique emotions see, for example, B. Sidwell and D. Dzino (eds.), *Studies in Emotions and Power in the Late Roman World* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press), 2010.

³⁸ See, for example, D. Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 2006; R. Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2000; S. Braund and G.W. Most, *Ancient Anger: Perspectives from Homer to Galen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2009; D. Cairns, and D. Nelis, (eds.), *Emotions in the Classical World. Methods, Approaches and Directions* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag), 2017; A. Chanotis (ed.), *Unveiling Emotions. Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag), 2012.

2.1 Studies of Emotion Expressed in the Ancient Egyptian Textual Record

2.1.1 Early Studies: 1975-1988

Two of the earliest studies of Egyptian emotions focus on the lexical expression of FEAR,³⁹ in relation to the king and afterlife beliefs. S. Morenz, in “Der Schrecken Pharaos” (1975), analyses Middle Kingdom epithets of the king that contain the FEAR lexemes *nrrw*, *hrrjt*, *šꜥt* and *snd*.⁴⁰ Morenz identifies that FEAR was conceptualised as a concrete potency that emanated *from* Pharaoh and made him the bearer of fearfulness.⁴¹ Of particular importance is Morenz’s grammatical/syntactic interpretations of epithets containing suffix pronouns. He argues that phrases such as *snd=f*, should be understood as *genitive subjectivi* and translated as “the fear, which proceeds from the king”, as this translation emphasises the objective magnitude of FEAR which projected *from* Pharaoh rather than the subjective experience of an individual.⁴² Morenz’s brief discussion highlights the issues surrounding the translation of emotion phrases across languages, and consequently, the necessity of closely considering the syntactic arguments in which emotion lexemes are used.

In her 1988 article “Furcht und Schrecken in den Sargtexten,” S. Bickel examines the FEAR semantic field in the Coffin Texts in relation to Egyptian afterlife beliefs.⁴³ She identifies approximately 250 attestations of the FEAR lexemes *nrrj/nrrw*, *snd*, *sd3*, *šꜥt* and *šꜥšft*, which are typically employed as epithets of the divine and the deceased, and in the statements “*A* is afraid of *B*” and “the fear of *B* is in *A*”.⁴⁴ Although Bickel does not conduct lexical-semantic analyses of the FEAR lexemes, she acknowledges that the difficulties in comprehending the Egyptian material directly stem from the flawed understanding of the Egyptian emotional lexicon, as the FEAR lexemes are typically glossed with identical terms.⁴⁵ Bickel identifies an interesting paradox in the Coffin Texts: although the Egyptian afterlife was described as a terrifying place, the Coffin Texts do not express FEAR on the part of the deceased. Rather, the deceased is the salient source of FEAR for otherworldly beings and the FEAR that the Egyptians experienced of these beings

³⁹ Small capitals are used throughout this literature review to signal *English* emotion concepts, although they are not used in the Egyptological works discussed. Quotations containing emotion lexemes will be copied verbatim (or translated into English) from the secondary scholarship and will thus not be written in small capitals.

⁴⁰ S. Morenz, “Der Schrecken Pharaos,” in E. Blumenthal and S. Hermann (eds.), *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Köln und Wien: Bohlau), 1975, pp. 139-150.

⁴¹ Morenz, “Der Schrecken Pharaos,” pp. 141-143.

⁴² “Schrecken, Furcht, Entsetzen, die vom Könige ausgehen”. See Morenz, “Der Schrecken Pharaos,” pp. 140-143, 146-147.

⁴³ S. Bickel, “Furcht und Schrecken in den Sargtexten,” *SAK* 15 (1988), pp. 17-25.

⁴⁴ Bickel, “Furcht und Schrecken in den Sargtexten,” pp. 17-19, 22-24.

⁴⁵ Bickel, “Furcht und Schrecken in den Sargtexten,” p. 18.

was believed to transform into energetic powers that emanated from the deceased as protection.⁴⁶ Bickel's article highlights the capacity of linguistic emotion research to illuminate cultural values and religious beliefs, as well as the potent influence of these beliefs on the expression of emotion in textual sources.

2.1.2 A Proliferation of Studies: 2003-2016

A proliferation of Egyptological studies of emotion emerged in the early 2000s; these feature diverse aims, approaches, methods and source materials. M.I. Toro Rueda's 2003 dissertation "Das Herz in der ägyptischen Literatur", explores idiomatic and metaphorical expressions relating to emotion that employ the lexemes *jb* "heart, mind, wish" and *h3tj* "heart" in a selection of wisdom texts, love songs and stories dating from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom.⁴⁷ She grounds her research by discussing the nature of and relationship between cognition, language, metaphor and emotion by engaging with the fields of psychology, emotion studies and cognitive linguistics.⁴⁸ In the first part of this thesis, Toro Rueda identifies the similarities between the conceptualisation of the heart in diverse ancient and modern languages and uses this similarity to mitigate the challenges with translating and comprehending the Egyptian material.⁴⁹ Of significance is Toro Rueda's creation of an "Egyptian Emotion Dictionary".⁵⁰ She categorises Egyptian emotion lexemes and expressions relating to emotion into ten groups and lists the gloss(es) of each lexeme/expression from the *Wb*, as well as documenting the classifiers of the lexemes/expressions and the dates when they are attested.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Bickel, "Furcht und Schrecken in den Sargtexten," pp. 18-20, 25.

⁴⁷ M.I. Toro Rueda, "Das Herz in der ägyptischen Literatur des zweiten Jahrtausands v. Chr. Untersuchungen zu Idiomatik und Metaphorik von Ausdrücken mit *ib* und *h3tj*," PhD Dissertation, Georg-August Universität Göttingen, 2003, pp. 2-9. See also M. Salah El-Kholi, "Das Herz in der Bedeutung "Verstand" und "Gefühl" (2003), who examines the role of the "heart" (*ib* and *h3.tj*) in relation to the linguistic expression of emotions, such as FOLLY, GRIEF, SORROW, WORRY, JOY and TRUST. M. Salah el-Kholi, "Das Herz in der Bedeutung "Verstand" und "Gefühl" in N. Grimal, A. Kamel and C. May-Sheikholeslami (eds.), *Hommages Fayza Haikel* (Cairo: IFAO), 2003, pp. 165-175.

⁴⁸ Toro Rueda, "Das Herz in der ägyptischen Literatur," pp. 41-90.

⁴⁹ Toro Rueda examines the conceptualisation of the heart in Latin, Greek, Hittite, Akkadian, Biblical Hebrew, Classical Arabic and Coptic, as well as German and Spanish. She argues that the "heart" has six main senses in all ancient languages, namely (i) heart as a body part; (ii) heart as mind; (iii) heart as wish; (iv) heart as character; (v) heart to designate feelings; and (vi) heart as an inner centre. See Toro Rueda, "Das Herz in der ägyptischen Literatur," pp. 13-39, 317-318, 326.

⁵⁰ Toro Rueda, "Das Herz in der ägyptischen Literatur," pp. 90-115.

⁵¹ The ten categories are as follows, Freude, Trauer, Haßen, Angst, Sorge, Liebe, Milde, gutes Gefühl, schlechtes Gefühl and Zustände. See Toro Rueda, "Das Herz in der ägyptischen Literatur," pp. 90-115. I use the term 'classifier', as outlined by O. Goldwasser in *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes*, rather than 'determinative' as used by Toro Rueda in her thesis. See, O. Goldwasser, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes: Wor(l)d Classification in Ancient Egypt. With an appendix by Matthias Müller* (Göttinger

In the second part of the thesis, Toro Rudea transliterates, translates and discusses passages of the wisdom texts, love songs and stories that relate to the heart and emotion.⁵² In her analysis, Toro Rudea identifies that negative emotions are attested more frequently and are described in greater detail than positive emotions in the wisdom texts, love songs and particularly the stories.⁵³ She suggests that the detailed description of negative emotions emphasised the emotional state of the characters.⁵⁴ However, she does not further consider the implications of this linguistic negative bias for comprehending the Egyptian emotional landscape. Although Toro Rudea does not aim to conduct lexical-semantic analyses of the heart/emotion expressions, she presents revised interpretations of the expressions *hr-jb*, *jꜥj jb*, *wꜥh jb*, *snḏm-jb* and *ḏw-jb*.⁵⁵ This thesis substantially contributes to the understanding of how Egyptian emotions were linguistically conceptualised in relation to the heart in the Wisdom Texts, Love Songs and Stories. However, the conceptualisation of emotions that are not employed in conjunction with *jb* and *hꜥtj*, as well as the literal and metaphorical expressions of emotions in other genres, require further investigation.

Using similar literary sources to Toro Rudea, E.J. O'Dell in her 2008 dissertation, "Excavating the Emotional Landscape of Ancient Egyptian Literature", examines FEAR, ANGER, COURAGE, HAPPINESS, JOY, GRIEF, HATRED, SHAME, PRIDE, DISGUST and PITY/SYMPATHY in a selection of Middle Egyptian, Late Egyptian and Demotic literary texts.⁵⁶ Although the scope of this research is extensive, the treatment of the texts is not exhaustive. O'Dell specifically examines "literary passages that are especially revealing of the differences between ancient Egyptian emotion and our own".⁵⁷ O'Dell draws on the work of O. Goldwasser and considers the classifiers associated with emotion lexemes and discusses the positive or negative connotations of the classifiers.⁵⁸ For each studied emotion, O'Dell lists the relevant emotion lexemes attested in Old, Middle

Orienforschungen IV. Reihe Ägypten 38; *Classification and Categorisation in Ancient Egypt Volume. 3.*), (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag), 2002.

⁵² Toro Rueda, "Das Herz in der ägyptischen Literatur," pp. 117-208, 209-248, 249-308.

⁵³ Toro Rueda, "Das Herz in der ägyptischen Literatur," pp. 327-329.

⁵⁴ Toro Rueda, "Das Herz in der ägyptischen Literatur," pp. 327-329.

⁵⁵ Toro Rueda glosses *hr-jb* as "nach Dafürhalten von" ("according to the opinion of"); *jꜥj jb* as "sich Entlastung verschaffen," ("to get relief"); *wꜥh jb* as "Zurückhaltung an den Tag legen" ("to show restraint"); *snḏm-jb* "mit einer guten Nachricht beglücken" ("to bless with good news"); and *ḏw-jb* "von einer schlechten Nachricht erschüttert sein" ("to be shaken by bad news"). See Toro Rudea, "Das Herz in der ägyptischen Literatur," pp. 333-334.

⁵⁶ O'Dell, "Excavating the Emotional Landscape of Ancient Egyptian Literature," pp. 12-14.

⁵⁷ O'Dell, "Excavating the Emotional Landscape of Ancient Egyptian Literature," p. 12.

⁵⁸ I use the term 'classifier', as outlined by Goldwasser in *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes*, rather than 'determinative' as used by O'Dell in her thesis. O'Dell, "Excavating the Emotional Landscape of Ancient Egyptian Literature," pp. 79-99.

and Late Egyptian, as well as Demotic.⁵⁹ Although she provides conventional glosses of the terms, O'Dell acknowledges the pressing need for lexical research on Egyptian emotion lexemes.⁶⁰ As the chapter "Grief and Sadness" is most pertinent to the present thesis, the findings from this chapter are discussed. O'Dell identifies that Egyptian literary texts preserve lexemes relating to GRIEF and MOURNING, SADNESS and MELANCHOLIA, as well as the behaviours of wailing and weeping.⁶¹ She examines selected passages in which SADNESS and GRIEF are attested and determines that these emotions affected all members of Egyptian society, including royalty and the divine.⁶² O'Dell identifies that GRIEF was evoked by death and loss; whereas, SADNESS could be triggered by "false imprisonment, infertility, homesickness and disobedient children".⁶³ Although these findings are interesting, her method of analysis poses limitations. O'Dell exclusively employs W.K. Simpson's English translation of the texts and seldom engages with the Egyptian material to differentiate between the diverse emotion lexemes.⁶⁴ This lack of direct engagement with the primary sources conflates the English and Egyptian emotion concepts, and hides the nuanced meanings of the various SADNESS and GRIEF lexemes, as well as the particular contexts in which they are employed.

The Middle Egyptian literary tale 'Sinuhe' is the focus of A. Verbovsek's 2009 study "Er soll sich nicht fürchten...!" as she examines the causes, manifestations and consequences of FEAR in 'Sinuhe'.⁶⁵ Before examining the linguistic expression of FEAR in this tale, Verbovsek discusses contemporary psychological, sociological and literary theories on the cultural and linguistic processing of FEAR.⁶⁶ She adopts a social constructionist position in this work and explores the "canon of culture-specific fear codes," in the Egyptian cultural context.⁶⁷ Of significance is

⁵⁹ See, for example, O'Dell, "Excavating the Emotional Landscape of Ancient Egyptian Literature," pp. 198-206.

⁶⁰ See, for example, O'Dell, "Excavating the Emotional Landscape of Ancient Egyptian Literature," pp. 12, 198-206.

⁶¹ O'Dell, "Excavating the Emotional Landscape of Ancient Egyptian Literature," pp. 198-206.

⁶² O'Dell, "Excavating the Emotional Landscape of Ancient Egyptian Literature," p. 210.

⁶³ O'Dell, "Excavating the Emotional Landscape of Ancient Egyptian Literature," p. 234.

⁶⁴ See, for example, O'Dell, "Excavating the Emotional Landscape of Ancient Egyptian Literature," pp. 211-213.

⁶⁵ A. Verbovsek, "Er soll sich nicht fürchten...!" Zur Bedeutung und Funktion von Angst in der Erzählung des Sinuhe," in M. Görg and S. Wimmer (eds.), *Texte – Theban – Tonfragments. Festschrift für Günter Burkard. Ägypten und Altes Testament 76* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag), 2009, pp. 421-433. A. Verbovsek also discusses the relationship between ritual, emotion and literature in A. Verbovsek, "The correlation of rituals, emotions and literature in ancient Egypt," in A. Chaniotis (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean. Agency, Emotion, Gender, Representation* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag), 2011, pp. 235-262.

⁶⁶ Verbovsek, "Er soll sich nicht fürchten...!" pp. 421-431.

⁶⁷ Verbovsek, "Er soll sich nicht fürchten...!" p. 422.

Verbovsek's discussion of the profound impact of genre on the expression of FEAR in Egyptian texts. She compares the results of Bickel's analysis of FEAR lexemes in the Coffin Texts, in which a "normative code of conduct" restricted the expression of FEAR, with literary narratives, in which the fictional nature of the genre enabled a "break with the normative and decorum".⁶⁸ She highlights that the expression of human FEAR is "strikingly dense and intensive" and, moreover, that the emotion of FEAR is a driving force in 'Sinuhe'.⁶⁹ Verbovsek's insightful comparison between the expression of FEAR in the religious and literary genres demonstrates the powerful influence of genre and decorum on the expression of emotions in Egyptian texts.

R. Nyord in *Breathing Flesh* (2009), critically employs theories and methods from cognitive linguistics and anthropology, particularly conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) and phenomenology, to examine the linguistic conceptualisation of the body in the Coffin Texts.⁷⁰ Whilst emotions are not the focus of this work, Nyord discusses emotions in his examination of the lexemes *ib* "heart, mind, wish", *ḥṣty* "heart", and *ḥt* "belly, womb".⁷¹ He determines that emotion lexemes, such as those for LOVE, ANGER and FEAR, were linguistically conceptualised as physical entities that resided *within* these bodily spaces, which is reflective of a CONTAINER schema.⁷² Nyord examines the FEAR semantic field in detail and discusses the collocations of FEAR lexemes with particular verbs and prepositions, which are instrumental in signposting potential conceptual schemas.⁷³ For example, in his discussion of prepositions, he identifies that FEAR lexemes were linguistically conceptualised as physical objects that could be directed against individuals (*r*, PATH schema), placed in entities (*m*, CONTAINER schema), as well as being a 'burden' or 'load' on affected parties (*ḥr*, VERTICALITY schema).⁷⁴ Although his treatment of emotion is limited, Nyord's effective engagement with CMT is of salient value, as this methodology could be employed to examine the linguistic and metaphorical conceptualisation of the entire Egyptian emotional lexicon.

⁶⁸ Verbovsek, "Er soll sich nicht fürchten..." pp. 425-427.

⁶⁹ Verbovsek, "Er soll sich nicht fürchten..." pp. 428-432.












⁷⁰ R. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh. Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press), 2009.

⁷¹ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, pp. 55-78.

⁷² Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, pp. 55-78.

⁷³ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, pp. 404-417.

⁷⁴ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 412.

N. Beaux has published several works on emotions since 2012.⁷⁵ However, the most relevant of these for this thesis is her 2012 article, “Joie et Tristesse en Égypte Ancienne”, in which she aims to elucidate the distinct nuances of various JOY and SADNESS lexemes that are used in religious texts dating from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom.⁷⁶ She analyses the lexemes in two ways, by considering the homophones of the terms and examining the classifiers associated with the JOY and SADNESS semantic fields.⁷⁷ Of direct relevance to this research is Beaux’s discussion of the SADNESS lexeme *ind*. She proposes, “*jnd*, à rapprocher de *jndw* “sac”, et *jntt* “liens”, suggère la sensation d’être noué, ligoté”.⁷⁸ However, it is unclear from this brief commentary whether she is hypothesising that *jnd*, *jndw* and *jntt* are derivations of the same root, or whether they are related by sound symbolism. The first interpretation is challenged by the *Egyptian Root Lexicon* (in progress) produced by H. Satzinger (Principal Investigator), K. Hütter and D. Stefanović (Researchers) of the Institut für Ägyptologie, Universität Wien, which does not confirm that these lexemes are derivations of a common root.⁷⁹ Moreover, Beaux does not support her assertion with textual evidence in which the sense “to be tied up, bound” is appropriate to the context. Beaux additionally identifies the range of classifiers associated with the SADNESS semantic field, such as  (D3),  (D9),  (A28),  (G37) and  (E20) and determines that the lexemes in this word field were explicitly marked, and therefore, conceptualised as negative.⁸⁰ Conversely, she asserts that JOY lexemes were unmarked in terms of value, suggesting that  (A2),  (A28),  (A32),  (D19),  (E5) and  (V12) did not have explicitly positive or negative connotations.⁸¹ Consequently, Beaux concludes that JOY and SADNESS were not conceptualised as antonymic emotions.⁸² However, an examination of the usage of JOY and SADNESS lexemes in the textual record does not support this conclusion, as JOY

⁷⁵ See, for example, N. Beaux, “Écriture des émotions en égyptien,” in N. Tersis and P. Boyeldieu (eds.), *Le langage de l’émotion : variations linguistiques et culturelles* (Louvain-Paris: Peeters), 2017, pp. 227-241; N. Beaux, “Representations of Human and Animal Emotions in the Old Kingdom,” in P. Piacentini (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology International Conference. Università degli studi di Milano, 3-7 July 2017. EDAL 6.1*, (Milan: Sala Napoleonica-Palazzo Greppi), 2017, pp. 42-57.

⁷⁶ N. Beaux, “Joie et Tristesse en Égypte Ancienne. Archéologie de l’Émotion,” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’année - Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 156.4 (2012), pp. 1565-1590.

⁷⁷ Beaux, “Joie et Tristesse en Égypte Ancienne,” pp. 1565-1566.

⁷⁸ English translation: “*jnd*, to be related to *jndw* “bag” and *jntt* “ties”, suggests the feeling of being tied, tied up.” N. Beaux “Joie et Tristesse en Égypte ancienne,” p. 1573.

⁷⁹ Personal communication with H. Satzinger and D. Stefanović 05/2020. See 4.2 Morphematic Axis below for discussion of the derivations of the root *ind*.

⁸⁰ Beaux, “Joie et Tristesse en Égypte Ancienne,” pp. 1573-1575, 1588-1589.

⁸¹ Beaux, “Joie et Tristesse en Égypte Ancienne,” pp. 1585-1589.

⁸² Beaux, “Joie et Tristesse en Égypte Ancienne,” pp. 1588-1589.

and SADNESS lexemes *are* employed in direct opposition.⁸³ Although this work attempts a much needed onomasiological analysis of the JOY and SADNESS semantic fields, Beaux’s analytical methods pose limitations, which results in the precise meanings of the JOY and SADNESS lexemes not being convincingly clarified.

C. Gobeil, in “La joie pour identité” (2016), employs a distinctly different set of textual data, as he explores the use of JOY lexemes in anthroponyms from a lexicographical and anthropological perspective.⁸⁴ He identifies that only 13 of the 91 lexemes and expressions relating to JOY are employed in anthroponyms.⁸⁵ Gobeil notes that the current understanding of the JOY semantic field is flawed, as the diverse JOY lexemes are glossed uniformly.⁸⁶ As such, he conducts a brief semantic analysis of the 13 JOY lexemes/expressions used in anthroponyms by examining their classifiers.⁸⁷ He determines that the lexemes/expressions that employ \varnothing (F34) denote interiorised JOY, whereas those classified with 𓆎 (A2), 𓆏 (A28), 𓆐 (D19) and 𓆑 (D54), for example, refer to outward expressions of JOY.⁸⁸ In his comparative analysis of divine, royal and non-royal anthroponyms, Gobeil identifies a lexical trend, namely that royal and divine names utilise lexemes/expressions denoting an interiorised JOY, whereas ‘profane’ names employ the gestural JOY lexemes/expressions.⁸⁹ This study highlights an interesting distinction between the appropriateness of emotion lexemes in anthroponyms for different social echelons, which is likely indicative of a system of decorum surrounding the usage of emotion lexemes.

The most extensive investigation of a single emotion in the Egyptian textual record is I. Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian* (2016).⁹⁰ In this monograph, Köhler utilises cognitive linguistic approaches

⁸³ See, for example, J. Assmann’s identification of an antonymic relation between *ind* “traurig” and *ršw.t* “Freude”. J. Assmann, “Weisheit, Loyalismus und Frömmigkeit,” in E. Hornung and O. Keel, (eds.), *Studien zur altägyptischen Lebenslehren (Orbis Biblicus et Orient 28)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 1979, p. 57.

⁸⁴ Gobeil, “La joie pour identité,” pp. 179-234.

⁸⁵ The JOY lexemes/expressions employed in anthroponyms are: *ꜥw(t)-jb*, *rš(wt)*, *jꜥ(w)-jb/jꜥ(w)-hꜥsty*, *jhy*, *ꜥy*, *ꜥꜥꜥ*, *ndm-jb*, *hnw*, *hꜥg*, *hꜥꜥ(wt)*, *sbt*, *snꜥ-jb* and *thth*. See, Gobeil, “La joie pour identité,” pp. 179-180.

⁸⁶ Gobeil, “La joie pour identité,” pp. 179-180.

⁸⁷ I use the term ‘classifier’, as outlined by Goldwasser in *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes*, rather than ‘determinative’ as used by Gobeil in this work; Gobeil, “La joie pour identité,” pp. 180-201.

⁸⁸ Gobeil, “La joie pour identité,” pp. 182-194.

⁸⁹ Gobeil, “La joie pour identité,” pp. 212.

⁹⁰ Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*. For a detailed treatment of this work, see R. Nyord, “Ines Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian: Möglichkeiten eines kognitiv-semantischen Zugangs zum altägyptischen Wortschatz am Beispiel des Wortfelds [WUT]*,” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur Beiheft 18*, Hamburg: Helmut Buske 2016 (ISBN 978-3-87548-785-5, Hardcover, xii + 442 pages, € 178,” *LingAeg* 26 (2018), pp. 263-270.

to examine the literal and metaphorical conceptualisation of ANGER across a range of textual genres from the Old Kingdom to the Roman period.⁹¹ Before examining the Egyptian material, Köhler provides an overview of the social constructionist approach to culture and language, which underpins her study, and additionally outlines the cognitive theories she employs, particularly CMT.⁹² Further, Köhler carefully considers the nature and limitations of Egyptian textual evidence and discusses the salient challenges for interpreting Egyptian texts on diachronic and synchronic levels.⁹³ Köhler examines 14 lexemes belonging to the ANGER semantic field.⁹⁴ She first explores the metaphorical conceptualisation of ANGER using CMT and identifies that ANGER lexemes are used in several conceptual metaphors and metonyms, such as ANGER IS IN THE HEART, ANGER IS AN ELEMENTARY FORCE, ANGER IS HEAT AND FIRE and ANGER IS AN OPPONENT.⁹⁵ Secondly, Köhler conducts lexical-semantic analyses of the ANGER lexemes. For each studied lexeme, Köhler lists its traditional gloss(es) from the *Wb*, before paraphrasing the meaning of the lexeme with a prototypical scenario,⁹⁶ and listing the senses of the verbal and nominal attestations with illustrative examples.⁹⁷ Köhler focuses, in particular, on verbal lexemes and examines each verb from a diachronic perspective to elucidate developments in its sense(s).⁹⁸ She additionally maps the relationship between the polysemous senses of verbal lexemes using a radial network.⁹⁹ Through her onomasiological analysis, Köhler also examines the relationship between the members of the ANGER semantic field and conducts diachronic analyses of the changing composition of the field from the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period.¹⁰⁰ In addition to being the most comprehensive study of ANGER in the Egyptological

⁹¹ For example, Köhler examines autobiographies, funerary spells, lamentations, letters, magical-medical texts, mythological texts, narrative tales, ritual texts and temple inscriptions. See Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*, pp. 1, 317ff; Nyord, “Ines Köhler,” p. 263.

⁹² Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*, pp. 5-53; R. Nyord, “Ines Köhler,” p. 263.

⁹³ Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*, pp. 86-89.

⁹⁴ Köhler examines the following ANGER lexemes: *ššn*, *špt/hpt*, *hčn*, *ʔt*, *nhṯ*, *nhz*, *nšn*, *hsz*, *hʕr*, *s:hʕr*, *s:knt*, *knt*, *čnt*, *tnṯn*. See Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*, pp. 83-86, 282-314.

⁹⁵ Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*, pp. 90-276.

⁹⁶ The following is an example paraphrase for the lexeme *ʔt* “X (jemand) denkt, dass Y (jemand anderes) ein negatives Ereignis Z verursacht. X will Z nicht und will jetzt Y etwas (Sehr) schlechtes tun. X ist dabei einen Moment lang wie ein Krokodil”. See Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*, p. 283.

⁹⁷ In addition to providing illustrative examples throughout her lexical-semantic analysis, Köhler transliterates and translates several attestations of each studied lexeme from the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period, Late Period and Greco-Roman Period in the Appendix. See Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*, pp. 319-385.

⁹⁸ Köhler determines whether the verbal lexemes are verbs of “motion”, “emotion” or “change” and explores the evolution of these categories over each verb’s lifespan of use. See Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*, pp. 282, 285, for example of lexeme *ʔt*.

⁹⁹ See Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*, p. 285, for example of lexeme *ʔt*.

¹⁰⁰ Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*, pp. 309-314.

literature, this work is of salient value because it establishes an effective model for future lexical and conceptual studies of emotions, as expressed in Egyptian textual sources.

2.1.3 Turning Point: 2015-2017

The recent work of S. Eicke constitutes an important turning point in the study of Pharaonic emotions, as he innovatively engages with the History of Emotions approach in his examination of FEAR in religious texts.¹⁰¹ In his 2015 and 2017 articles “Ende mit Schrecken oder Schrecken ohne Ende?” and “Affecting the Gods”, Eicke insightfully connects the Egyptological notion of decorum with the History of Emotions concept of emotionology, which refers, as shall be explored in 3.2.1, to “the attitudes or standards that a society or definable group within a society maintains towards basic emotions and their appropriate expression; the way that institutions reflect and encourage these ideals in human conduct”.¹⁰² He postulates that the emotionology in Egyptian society was established by literate elite authors, who normalised the standards for expressing FEAR within the funerary context.¹⁰³ This regulation was encapsulated *within* the decorum of representation.¹⁰⁴ Like Verbovsek, Eicke discusses the potent impact of genre on the expression of emotion, as funerary texts functioned to “magically preserve the depicted or mentioned being for eternity”.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, if the deceased expressed FEAR of the hereafter in their funerary texts, they may be vulnerable to the dangers of the afterlife.¹⁰⁶ The dominant emotionology, therefore, *prohibited* the expression of human FEAR in funerary texts due to the

¹⁰¹ S. Eicke, “Ende mit Schrecken oder Schrecken ohne Ende?” Zur Verwendung sprachlicher Ausdrücke für Furcht im Totenbuch,” in G. Neumert, H. Simon, A. Verbovsek and K. Gabler (eds.), *Text: Wissen – Wirkung – Wahrnehmung. Beiträge des vierten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (MAJA 4) 29.11 bis 1.12.2013*. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz), 2015, pp. 151-166; S. Eicke, “Affecting the Gods: Fear in Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts,” in A. Storch and J. Benjamins (eds.), *Consensus and Dissent: Navigating Emotion in the Public Space* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company), 2018, pp. 229-246. A new article by Eicke, where he additionally utilises the concept of emotionology, will appear in the forthcoming volume, S-W. Hsu and J.L. Raduà (eds.), *The Expression of Emotions in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia* (2021). Though, the article has not yet been made accessible, Eicke’s inclusion of emotionology is noted in the introductory overview of the work. See, S-W. Hsu and J.L. Raduà, “The Expression of Emotions in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia: An Introduction,” in S-W. Hsu and J. L. Raduà (eds.), *The Expression of Emotions in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia* (Leiden and Boston: Brill), 2021, pp. 1-22; S. Eicke, “History of Horror: A Diachronic Overview of Fear(s) in Ancient Egyptian Texts,” in S-W. Hsu and J. L. Raduà (eds.), *The Expression of Emotions in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia* (Leiden and Boston: Brill), 2021, pp. 25-51.

¹⁰² For discussion of emotionology, see 3.2.1 below; Stearns and Stearns, “Emotionology,” p. 813; Eicke, “Ende mit Schrecken oder Schrecken ohne Ende?” pp. 162-165; Eicke, “Affecting the Gods,” pp. 239-242.

¹⁰³ Eicke, “Affecting the Gods,” pp. 241-242.

¹⁰⁴ Eicke, “Affecting the Gods,” p. 239.

¹⁰⁵ Eicke, “Affecting the Gods,” pp. 230-231.

¹⁰⁶ Eicke, “Affecting the Gods,” p. 239.

functionality of the genre.¹⁰⁷ Eicke's effective engagement with the History of Emotions approach heightens the awareness of the limitations of the Egyptian source material, namely that "the actual emotions of the owners of tombs, coffins and papyri (and moreover the feelings of the non-elite people), as well as those of the historical pharaoh are not really graspable through the documents themselves".¹⁰⁸ Rather, the expression of emotion in Egyptian texts reflects the "emotional standards" of literate elite authors and was heavily influenced by the purpose of textual compositions.¹⁰⁹ Despite Eicke's successful engagement with History of Emotions concepts, this theoretical approach has not been subsequently adopted to frame studies of Pharaonic emotions. In fact, many Egyptological works in the forthcoming publication on Egyptian emotions, S-W. Hsu and J.L. Raduà, (eds.), *The Expression of Emotions in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia* (2021), do not explicitly engage with the History of Emotions approach.¹¹⁰

The first part of this review has highlighted the 'piecemeal' nature of Egyptological emotion scholarship by examining the diverse aims, approaches, source materials, analytical methods and conclusions presented in the literature. Despite this, several trends can be observed. First, the powerful impact of genre on the expression of emotion has been demonstrated. However, Eicke takes this correlation further by innovatively linking the regulation of emotional expression in religious texts with the History of Emotions concept of emotionology. Although Eicke's application of emotionology has exemplified the usefulness of this theoretical approach to frame Egyptological discussions of emotion, History of Emotions concepts have been underutilised in investigations of Pharaonic emotions.¹¹¹ Secondly, cognitive linguistic approaches, particularly CMT, have been successfully employed to generate a deepened understanding of

¹⁰⁷ Eicke, "Affecting the Gods," p. 239.

¹⁰⁸ Eicke, "Affecting the Gods," p. 242.

¹⁰⁹ Eicke, "Affecting the Gods," p. 242.

¹¹⁰ As I have been unable to access the vast majority of chapters in this work, this assertion is based on the introductory chapter, which provides a succinct overview of the articles. See Hsu and Raduà, "The Expression of Emotions in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia," pp. 1-22. The most relevant of these works for the present thesis is S-W. Hsu, "I Wish I Could Die": Depression in Ancient Egypt". In this article, Hsu explores whether ancient Egyptians suffered from DEPRESSION, as it is understood in modern Western medicine, by examining Egyptian medical texts and a corpus of "pessimistic literature". As I have only recently had access to this article (November 2020), I have been unable to thoroughly engage with this work and incorporate it into the present review. See, S-W. Hsu, "I Wish I Could Die": Depression in Ancient Egypt," in S-W. Hsu and J. L. Raduà (eds.), *The Expression of Emotions in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia* (Leiden and Boston: Brill), 2021, pp. 52-87.

¹¹¹ However, as noted in 1.2, a critical evaluation of how the key concepts can be adapted for the Egyptian documentary record is essential *before* they are employed to shape the analysis of Egyptian emotions.

the metaphorical and metonymic conceptualisations of emotions, particularly in relation to the lexemes *ib* and *h3.ty*. Consequently, our understanding of the metaphorical conceptualisation of emotions far surpasses our awareness of the literal meaning of emotion lexemes. Although the flawed understanding of the Egyptian emotional lexicon is acknowledged in the literature, few studies conduct lexical-semantic analyses of emotion lexemes. Rather, the dominant trend in the reviewed works is the uncritical use of modern emotion glosses, which not only conceals the nuances and complexity of the Egyptian emotion lexemes but actually undermines the aim of examining how *Egyptian* emotions were linguistically conceptualised.

2.2 Current Understanding of the SADNESS Lexeme *ind*

The lexeme *ind* has not received extensive treatment in the existing literature. Table 1 (below) lists the diverse glosses of *ind* presented in key Egyptian dictionaries. Regarding *ind* (verb), the *Großes Handwörterbuch* identifies three senses relating to (i) emotional distress, (ii) torment (or, more colloquially, in reference to self-recrimination) and (iii) infertility, though the latter two are marked as “unclear”.¹¹² The *Wörterbuch der Medizinischen Texte* identifies two senses relating to emotional distress and physical pain.¹¹³ Conversely, the *Wb* and *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* only provide glosses relating to emotional distress.¹¹⁴ Both the *Wb* and *Großes Handwörterbuch* suggest that the verbal lexemes *ind* and *ind* are probably identical, and relate to sickness and injury.¹¹⁵ *ind*(.w) (abstract noun) is typically glossed with emotion lexemes relating to emotional distress.¹¹⁶ *ind*(.w) (deverbal noun denoting an individual) is glossed as “afflicted one” and the *Großes Handwörterbuch* suggests that this designates childless individuals or mourners.¹¹⁷

¹¹² R. Hannig marks the senses of “(2.) *quälen, = quäle nicht!” and “(3.) *kinderlos, unfruchtbar sein” with asterisks, which, according to the “Aufbau der Artikel” signals that the meaning is unclear. R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.) Die Sprache der Pharaonen – Marburger Edition* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern), 2009, pp. XXXIV, 91.

¹¹³ H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter. Band VII 1: Wörterbuch der Medizinischen Texte. Erste Hälfte* (Berlin: Akademie), 1961, p. 63.

¹¹⁴ *Wb* 1, 102.16-18; L.H. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian. Second Edition. Volume I* (Massachusetts: Fall River Modern Printing Co.), 2002, p. 36.

¹¹⁵ *Wb* 1, 102.16-18; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, p. 91.

¹¹⁶ *Wb* 1, 102.16-18; R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute), 1962, p. 24; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, p. 91; P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (Leuven: Peeters), 1997, p. 88.

¹¹⁷ Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 24; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, p. 91.

Table 1 Glosses of *ind* in the Egyptological Dictionaries

	<i>Wb</i> ¹¹⁸	<i>MedWb</i> ¹¹⁹	<i>HGHW</i> ¹²⁰	<i>FCD</i> ¹²¹	<i>LLE</i> ¹²²	<i>WPL</i> ¹²³
<i>ind</i> (verb)	betrübt sein, traurig sein	betrübt sein; Schmerz empfinden	(1) heimgesucht sein; betrübt, traurig sein (2) *quälen, = quäle nicht! (3) *kinderlos, unfruchtbar sein		to vex, to be sad; to be distressed	
<i>ind</i> (verb)	krank? verwundet? vgl. <i>ind</i>		* krank, verwundet sein [wohl identisch mit <i>jnd</i>]	be afflicted		
<i>sind</i> (caus. verb)	(kaus.) traurig stimmen		[kaus] traurig machen, traurig stimmen	caus. make miserable		
<i>ind(.w)</i> (noun)	die Trauer, das Trauern (ob eigtl. “krank” und mit <i>ind</i> identisch?)		Heimsuchung; Trübsal, Betrübnis	misery		misery, sadness ¹²⁴
<i>ind(.w)</i> (deverbal noun)	der Betrübte		der Betrübte (*Kinderloser od. Jemand der über einen Verlust od. Fehlen e. Person trauert)	afflicted man		

¹¹⁸ *Wb* 1, 102.16-18; *Wb* 1, 102.20; *Wb* 4,40.2.

¹¹⁹ Von Deines and Westendorf, *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, p. 63.

¹²⁰ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, pp. 91, 667.


¹²¹ Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, pp. 24, 213.

¹²² Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian. Second Edition. Volume I*, p. 36.

¹²³ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, p. 88.

¹²⁴ Wilson notes that *ind* is “usually an adjective qualifying *ib* or *ibw* (hearts)”, though it is also used nominally. See Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, p. 88.

Various aspects of *ind* have been briefly addressed in philological commentaries, such as its glosses, Coptic equivalents, syntagmatic relations and syntactic usages, as well as associated classifiers. The earliest gloss of *ind*, as “betrübt,” is by A. Erman in “Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt”, as *ind* appears on Berlin Stela No. 20377.¹²⁵ As discussed above (2.1), Beaux, in “Joie et Tristesse in Égypte Ancienne,” unsuccessfully attempts to derive the meaning of *ind* from its homophones *ind.w* “bag” and *int.t* “fetter.” D. Meeks, in *Année Lexicographique Tome I* identifies that the Coptic equivalent of *ind* is **ENTOT** and he references W. Westendorf’s *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* in which **ENTOT** is glossed as “Schmerz”.¹²⁶ However, the semantic relationship between the senses of *ind* and **ENTOT** is not addressed.

R.A. Caminos discusses a phrase in the ‘Chronicle of Prince Osorkon’, in which *ind* appears: *d.t=i p(3)ki(.w) int(.kw)* “My body is thin, I am afflicted”.¹²⁷ Caminos highlights the syntagmatic association between the physical condition of “thinness” and the suffering of *int* “affliction”, and postulates that Prince Osorkon’s mental state *caused* his physical condition.¹²⁸ J. Assmann in “Weisheit, Loyalismus und Frömmigkeit” notes the antonymic relationship between *ind* “traurig” and *ršw.t* “Freude” and lists several texts in which this relation is attested.¹²⁹ J.F. Borghouts, in *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* briefly comments on the syntactic usage of *ind*, noting that it is used transitively in Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside magical-medical texts, though this usage is not recognised in the *Wb* (See Table 1 above).¹³⁰ Borghouts additionally comments on the classifiers associated with *ind*, namely that *ind* is classified with  (G37) in magical-medical texts, whereas it is often classified with Δ (D55) in the Greco-Roman Period.¹³¹ Further, A. McDonald in “A Metaphor for Troubled Times” and N. Allon in

¹²⁵ A. Erman also notes that *ind* appears on the Metternich Stela and in the Edfu temple inscriptions but does not comment on the meaning of *ind* in these texts. The work of Erman is referred to by C.M. Ransom-Williams in *The Stela of Menthu-Weser* (1913), stating “on the meaning of *ind*, see Erman”. See A. Erman, “Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt,” *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 49 (1911), p. 1089; C. M. Ransom-Williams, *The Stela of Menthu-Weser* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art Publications), 1913, p. 16.


¹²⁶ English translation “Pain”. D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique Tome I 1977* (Paris: Librairie Cybele), 1980, p. 35; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag), 1965-1977, p. 499.

¹²⁷ R.A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon (Analecta Orientalia 37)* (Roma: Pontificio Ist. Biblioco), 1958, pp. 93-94, §138.o.

¹²⁸ Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, pp. 93-94, §138.o.

¹²⁹ Assmann, “Weisheit, Loyalismus und Frömmigkeit,” p. 57.

¹³⁰ J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden: Brill), 1971, p. 192, §483.

¹³¹ Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 192, §483. A David in *De l’infériorité à la perturbation* (2000) lists that *ind* and *s:ind* are frequently classified with  (G37). See, A. David, *De*

“Seth is Baal”, identify that *ind* is classified with 𐍎 (E20) in First Intermediate Period texts and discuss the association of 𐍎 (E20) with the semantic field of illness and suffering.¹³²

The second part of this review has illuminated the scattered nature of the scholarship on *ind* and thus the incomplete understanding of this lexeme. The diverse glosses listed in Table 1 (above) suggest that *ind* is likely a polysemous lexeme, however, there is no consensus regarding *ind*'s senses. Comprehensive lexical-semantic analysis is essential to elucidate the core meaning of *ind*, whether it is indeed polysemous and, if so, the number of distinct senses it possesses. Diachronic dimensions of *ind* have not been addressed. There is no discussion of the lifespan of the proposed senses of *ind* and how they may evolve, as well as when the different word classes of *ind* are attested. Genre-specific senses and usages of the lexeme have also not been considered. Diachronic and genre-orientated investigations are essential to address these gaps in our understanding of *ind*. Perhaps more crucially, lexical-semantic analysis is vital to elucidate the precise meaning of *ind* in the Egyptian cultural context, and whether *ind* resembles the English emotion concept of SADNESS.

This chapter has highlighted that our picture of the Egyptian linguistic emotional landscape has begun to be compiled, though there are significant gaps. In particular, Egyptian emotion lexemes have been largely overlooked as objects of inquiry, which perpetuates the flawed understanding of the Egyptian emotional lexicon, and thus *Egyptian* emotions. Consequently, there is a pressing need for a robust and theoretically grounded method for elucidating the precise meaning of Egyptian emotion lexemes and the emotion concepts they may denote, which takes into consideration the culturally-specific nature of emotions, the ‘slipperiness’ of emotion lexemes, as well as the biases and limitations of the Egyptian documentary record. Such an approach is outlined in the following chapter.

L'infériorité à la perturbation L'oiseau du « mal » et la catégorisation en Égypte ancienne (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag), 2000, p. 6.

¹³² A. McDonald, “A Metaphor for Troubled Times: The Evolution of the Seth Deity Determinative in the First Intermediate Period,” *ZÄS* 134 (2007), pp. 26-39; N. Allon, “Seth is Baal. Evidence from the Egyptian Script,” *Ägypten und Levante* 17 (2007), pp. 15-22. For a detailed treatment of Seth, including an overview of the terms classified with the Seth-animal classifier, see H. Te Velde, *Seth: God of Confusion: A Study of his Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*, *Problem der Ägyptologie* 6 (Leiden: Brill Archive), 1967. The lexeme *ind* is listed, though not discussed on p. 22.

3 RESEARCH METHODS AND APPROACHES

Chapter Three presents a comprehensive and theoretically informed method for examining Egyptian emotion lexemes by innovatively combining the rigorous analytical apparatus of lexical semantics with key concepts from the History of Emotions approach. I first detail the lexical-semantic method adopted in this thesis to examine *ind* (3.1), before critically evaluating the History of Emotions concepts of emotionology, emotives, emotional regimes and emotional communities. In doing so, I also consider how these concepts can be adapted and transferred for Egyptological emotion research (3.2). This chapter concludes by outlining the practical application of History of Emotions concepts in the present research, namely how the results of the lexical-semantic analysis of *ind* can be meaningfully framed by these concepts to shed light on the emotion concept(s) designated by *ind* (3.3).

3.1 Lexical-Semantic Analysis

The lexical-semantic analysis of *ind* endeavours to be exhaustive in two regards. First, it is comprehensive in its data collection. The method of data collection outlined by Guerry in “Terms for Transgression” is followed.¹³³ All available nominal, verbal and adjectival attestations of *ind* have been gathered from all textual genres dating from the Old Kingdom to the Greco-Roman Period. Secondly, it is exhaustive in its lexicological practice. The multi-level “lexical trail” approach sketched by Polis and Winand in “Structuring the Lexicon” is adopted, and morphematic, graphematic, phonematic, syntagmatic and semantic axes of *ind* are analysed to generate a comprehensive picture of lexeme meaning.¹³⁴ Moreover, diachronic and genre-orientated analyses of *ind*’s meaning and usage are conducted. The methods of data collection and analysis are outlined below.

3.1.1 Data Collection

Nominal, verbal and adjectival attestations of *ind* are identified from the following list of databases and resources:¹³⁵

- i. The *TLA* and the *Digitalisierte Zettelarchiv (DZA)*.¹³⁶

¹³³ Guerry, “Terms for Transgression,” pp. 83-86.

¹³⁴ Polis and Winand, “Structuring the Lexicon,” pp. 1503-1512.

¹³⁵ List of resources largely following Guerry. See Guerry, “Terms for Transgression,” pp. 83-86.

¹³⁶ Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Altägyptisches Wörterbuch, Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, (2020), < <http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html> >, Accessed 01/01/2020.

- ii. R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I and II*.¹³⁷
- iii. R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*.¹³⁸
- iv. L.H. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*.¹³⁹
- v. P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*.¹⁴⁰
- vi. S. Cauville, *Dendara Traduction. Vols. I-XV*.¹⁴¹
- vii. D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique. Tomes I, II and III*.¹⁴²
- viii. R. van Der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*.¹⁴³
- ix. C. Leitz, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VII. Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*.¹⁴⁴
- x. *The Online Egyptological Bibliography*.¹⁴⁵
- xi. The *Wortdiskussionen* website of the “Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel”.¹⁴⁶

Positive attestations of *ind* are documented according to the following criteria:¹⁴⁷

- a) If *ind* appears multiple times in the same passage, each positive attestation is recorded as a separate entry.
- b) If several copies of the same text are preserved, each positive attestation of *ind* is recorded as a separate entry.
- c) If *ind* is likely to have appeared in a text but is obscured by a lacuna, it is only recorded if there are surviving traces of the lexeme. The damaged lexeme is signalled by [square] brackets.

¹³⁷ R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich Und Erste Zwischenzeit* (Mainz: Philipp Von Zabern), 2003; R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit* (Mainz: Philipp Von Zabern), 2006.

¹³⁸ Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*.

¹³⁹ Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian. Second Edition. 2 Volumes*.

¹⁴⁰ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*.

¹⁴¹ S. Cauville, *Dendara: Traduction, Vols. I- XV* (Leuven: Peeters), 1998-2012.

¹⁴² Meeks, *Année Lexicographique Tome I*; D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique Tome II 1978* (Paris: Librairie Cybele), 1998; D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique Tome III 1979* (Paris: Librairie Cybele), 1998.

¹⁴³ R. van Der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Leiden: Brill), 2000.

¹⁴⁴ C. Leitz, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VII. Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom* (London: British Museum Press), 1999.

¹⁴⁵ University of Oxford, *Online Egyptological Bibliography: Incorporating Annual Egyptological Bibliography, Bibliographie Altägypten and Agyptos*, (2020), < <http://oeb.griffith.ox.ac.uk/default.aspx> >, Accessed 30/04/2020.

¹⁴⁶ Ägyptologisches Seminars der Universität Basel, *Wortdiskussionen* (2020), < <https://aegyptologie.unibas.ch/werkzeuge/wortdiskussionen> >, Accessed 03/04/2020.

¹⁴⁷ These criteria largely follow the criteria outlined by Guerry in her dissertation. However, due to the scope of the present MRes thesis, emendations have been made. See Guerry, “Terms for Transgression,” pp. 84-86, for comparison.

- d) If *ind* is “assumed to be intended but another [lexeme] is mistakenly written in its place”, it is not recorded as a positive attestation.¹⁴⁸
- e) If *ind* is positively attested but “it can be confidently ascertained that it was written mistakenly in place of a different word, it is still recorded”.¹⁴⁹ The erroneous lexeme, in accordance with the Leuven philological transcription method, is signalled by {curly} brackets, and the ‘correct’ lexeme is inserted in <angular> brackets.

Contentious attestations of *ind* are discussed in Appendix B.

Each positive attestation is transliterated, translated and recorded in a spreadsheet. Additional contextual information is also documented, such as the date and genre of the text, the script, orthography and classifier(s) of *ind*, syntactic/grammatical arguments, and collocations in the co-text.

3.1.2 Data Analysis

The positive attestations of *ind* are examined in several ways.

3.1.2.1 Morphematic Axis

Polis and Winand describe that the morphematic axis relates to the “family of words a lexeme belongs to”, which involves, “establishing the derivational patterns, and if possible, connecting the lexeme with its Afro-Asiatic cognates”.¹⁵⁰ The following questions are considered:

- (i) What is the root of *ind*?
- (ii) What are the derivations of the root?
- (iii) What is the Coptic equivalent(s) of *ind*? How does the sense(s) of the Coptic lexeme(s) relate to the sense(s) of *ind* identified in the semantic axis?

Due to the restrictions on the length of an MRes thesis, other potential Afro-Asiatic cognates of *ind* are not considered.

3.1.2.2 Graphematic Axis

The graphematic axis refers to the script, namely the “relations words can have with iconography”.¹⁵¹ This thesis focuses on the classifiers associated with *ind*. O. Goldwasser, in *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes*, and other works, hypothesises that all terms marked by a certain

¹⁴⁸ Guerry, “Terms for Transgression,” p. 85.

¹⁴⁹ Guerry, “Terms for Transgression,” p. 85.

¹⁵⁰ Polis and Winand, “Structuring the Lexicon,” p. 1507.

¹⁵¹ Polis and Winand, “Structuring the Lexicon,” pp. 1506-1507.

classifier constitute a “conceptual category”, which accurately maps Egyptian knowledge-organisation.¹⁵² I calculate the percentage distribution of classifiers associated with *ind* across word class, historical period and genre to explore the following questions:¹⁵³

- (i) Which classifiers are most frequently attested with the nominal, verbal and adjectival attestations of *ind*?
- (ii) What are the connotations of the ‘conceptual categories’ to which *ind* belongs?
- (iii) Is the usage of particular classifiers restricted to specific word classes, genres, geographic locations or scripts?
- (iv) Is there a diachronic development in classifier usage? Is this semantically motivated?

3.1.2.3 Phonematic Axis

The phonematic axis refers to all variants in the “spellings of a lexeme”.¹⁵⁴ The attested orthographies of *ind* are catalogued according to historical period and word class. This research examines the positive attestations in light of the following questions:

- (i) Does the spelling of *ind* evolve?
- (ii) Does script impact the spelling of *ind*?
- (iii) Do changes in the spelling of *ind* correlate with different senses of the lexeme identified in the semantic axis?

3.1.2.4 Syntagmatic Axis

Polis and Winand argue that the syntagmatic axis is “clearly instrumental in the quest for meaning”.¹⁵⁵ The present research examines the syntactic usage of verbal, nominal and adjectival attestations of *ind* to investigate:

- (i) When are the verbal, nominal and adjectival attestations of *ind* attested?
- (ii) What is the *Aktionsart* of the verbal lexeme?

¹⁵² Goldwasser, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes*, pp. 1-2, 25; O. Goldwasser and C. Grinevald, “What are “Determinatives” good for?” in E. Grossman, S. Polis and J. Winand (eds.), *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian* (Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag), 2012, pp. 17-53; O. Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor: Studies in the Semiotics of the Hieroglyphs (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 142)* (Fribourg: University Press Fribourg Switzerland), 1995.

¹⁵³ To calculate the percentage distribution, I identified the number of attestations with a particular classifier and divided this number by the total number of positive attestations belonging to a particular word class, historical period, genre, etc.

¹⁵⁴ Polis and Winand, “Structuring the Lexicon,” p. 1507.

¹⁵⁵ Polis and Winand, “Structuring the Lexicon,” p. 1507.

- (iii) Are the verbal lexemes transitive or intransitive? Does transitivity change over time or exhibit genre-specific usages?
- (iv) What argument structures do verbal, nominal and adjectival attestations of *ind* occur in?

Polis and Winand note that the syntagmatic axis also entails the systematic analysis of the collocations of the studied lexeme.¹⁵⁶ A table of *ind*'s key collocations that are manually extracted from its positive attestations is presented, and the sense of *ind* based on these collocations is described. The manually-identified collocations are briefly compared with the results of the 'collocations' function of the *TLA*. *ind*'s collocations are further discussed in the semantic axis.

3.1.2.5 Semantic Axis

According to Polis and Winand, a comprehensive semantic description “obviously starts with a list of all possible meanings of the word under study”, after which “the senses must be organized a meaningful way”.¹⁵⁷ Each positive nominal, verbal and adjectival attestation of *ind* is analysed to identify the sense of the lexeme *within* each attestation. The attestations are then grouped into identified sense categories, namely *physical suffering*, *general suffering* and *emotional distress*.¹⁵⁸ Sub-senses within the overarching sense categories, such as *exhaustion* within *physical suffering*, are also identified. Due to the length restrictions of an MRes thesis, only the most semantically informative attestations of *ind* exhibiting these senses are discussed.¹⁵⁹ Attestations of the same word class in the identified senses categories and sub-senses are treated together and in chronological order. The results of the lexical-semantic analysis are synthesised to generate a detailed description of the meaning of *ind*.

¹⁵⁶ Polis and Winand, “Structuring the Lexicon,” p. 1507.

¹⁵⁷ Polis and Winand, “Structuring the Lexicon,” p. 1507.

¹⁵⁸ The identified senses and sub-senses of *ind* are written in *italics* in this thesis.

¹⁵⁹ By semantically informative, I refer to positive attestations of *ind* which are well preserved and illuminate the sense and connotation of *ind* within the co-text. By semantically uninformative, I refer to positive attestations of *ind* which are in a poor state of preservation or the co-text is unclear in signalling the sense of the lexeme. Where several versions of the same text are preserved, or the same phraseology is attested in multiple texts, only one attestation is discussed in detail with parallel attestations noted in the footnote. See Appendix A for hieroglyphic transcription, transliteration and translation of all of *ind*'s positive attestations.

3.1.2.6 Diachronic Analysis

To examine diachronic developments in the meaning and usage of *ind*, the positive attestations of *ind* are grouped and analysed according to broad historical periods.¹⁶⁰ This research first explores the diachronic development of sub-senses within the overarching sense categories of *physical suffering*, *general suffering* and *emotional distress*. By calculating the percentage distribution of attestations exhibiting these senses over *ind*'s lifespan of use, I secondly examine the changing frequency in the diachronic distribution of these sense categories.¹⁶¹ A diachronic semantic map of *ind* is presented to visualise the possible relationships between *ind*'s senses.¹⁶²

3.1.2.7 Genre-Orientated Analysis¹⁶³

To analyse genre-specific usages of *ind*, the positive attestations of *ind* are grouped according to identified genre categories and the percentage distribution of attestations exhibiting the senses of *physical suffering*, *general suffering* and *emotional distress* within the genres is calculated.¹⁶⁴ As demonstrated by Bickel, Verbovsek and Eicke (2.1 above), the function of a genre has a potent impact on the usage of emotion lexemes. Due to the restricted scope of the MRes thesis, I consider the functionality of selected genres and discuss the impact of these genres on the usage of *ind*.

¹⁶⁰ This thesis largely follows the chronology established by I. Shaw: Old Kingdom (Dynasties 3-8), First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 9-11), Middle Kingdom (Dynasties 11-14), Second Intermediate Period (Dynasties 15-17), New Kingdom (Dynasty 18), Ramesside Period (Dynasties 19-20), Third Intermediate Period (Dynasties 21-25), Late Period (Dynasties 26-30) and Ptolemaic-Roman Period. See I. Shaw, "Chronology," in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2000, pp. 479-483.

¹⁶¹ To calculate the percentage distribution, I identified the number of attestations exhibiting a particular sense (i.e. *emotional suffering*) within a specific historical period, divided by the number of total positive attestations from that historical period.

¹⁶² For discussion of semantic maps, see E. Grossman and S. Polis "Navigating polyfunctionality in the lexicon. Semantic maps and Ancient Egyptian lexical semantics," in E. Grossman, S. Polis and J. Winand (eds.), *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian* (Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag), 2012, pp. 175-225.

¹⁶³ R. Parkinson notes that "universal genres are not attested across west-east or the ancient-modern divides". Consequently, the identification and categorisation of Egyptian texts into 'genres' in the present research is artificial. See R. Parkinson, "Types of Literature in the Middle Kingdom," in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), 1996, pp. 279-298.

¹⁶⁴ The artificially identified genre categories are autobiographical texts, ex-voto, funerary spells, funerary prayers and wishes, hemerological texts, 'historical' narratives, lamentations, letters, magical-medical texts (papyri and cippi), mythological texts, narrative tales, ritual texts, satirical texts and temple inscriptions. To calculate the percentage distribution, I identified the number of attestations exhibiting a particular sense (i.e. *emotional suffering*) within a specific genre category, divided by the total number of positive attestations from that genre category.

3.2 History of Emotions: Critical Evaluation of Key Concepts

As discussed above (1.2), it is necessary to critically evaluate how the key History of Emotions concepts of emotionology, emotives, emotional regimes and emotional communities can be adapted and transferred to shape the analysis of Egyptian textual material. The works in which these concepts are established are treated chronologically to explicate developments in the concepts. In particular, I examine the definition of each concept and the source material employed to develop or ‘test’ the concept, as well as considering its salient limitations. Following this, I evaluate the usefulness of each concept for Egyptological research and discuss how they can be adapted to meaningfully contribute to studies of Egyptian emotion. This conceptual recalibration is conducted in reference to the nature and limitations of the Egyptian documentary record discussed above (1.5.1).

3.2.1 Emotionology

P.N. Stearns and C.Z. Stearns’s pioneering article, “Emotionology” (1985) and their monograph *Anger* (1986) explore the critical impact of cultural attitudes on emotional expression.¹⁶⁵ They follow the ‘basic’ emotions approach in understanding emotions to be universal, however, they propose that the standards by which emotions are evaluated and expressed are fluid.¹⁶⁶ Stearns and Stearns develop the concept of emotionology to differentiate between biological (universal) and social aspects of emotion, and define emotionology as “the attitudes or standards that a society or definable group within a society maintains towards *basic emotions* and their appropriate expression; the way that institutions reflect and encourage these ideals in human conduct”.¹⁶⁷ Stearns and Stearns argue that the emotionology in every society is “dominated by the values of certain key groups” who establish conventions that regulate the appropriate expression of emotions, which may differ depending on the age, gender and social status of an individual.¹⁶⁸

In their study *Anger*, Stearns and Stearns examine the development of the emotionology surrounding ANGER¹⁶⁹ from the Seventeenth- to the Twentieth-Century in the United States.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Stearns and Stearns, “Emotionology,” pp. 813-836; Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*.

¹⁶⁶ Stearns and Stearns, “Emotionology,” p. 813; Rosenwein and Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* p. 33.

¹⁶⁷ *Italics* not present in original quote but added for emphasis. See Stearns and Stearns, “Emotionology,” pp. 813, 824.

¹⁶⁸ Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*, pp. 16-17; Stearns and Stearns, “Emotionology,” p. 827.

¹⁶⁹ Small capitals are used throughout this critical evaluation of History of Emotions concepts to signal *English* emotion concepts, although they are not employed in the History of Emotions works discussed. Quotations containing emotion lexemes will be copied verbatim from the literature and will thus not be written in small capitals.

¹⁷⁰ Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*, p. 241.

Two corpora of material are utilised in this study.¹⁷¹ First, Stearns and Stearns conduct a diachronic analysis of popular advice manuals which explicate the appropriate expression of ANGER in the home and workplace to identify developments in the emotionology of ANGER. Secondly, they examine contemporary private letters and diaries to elucidate the impact of emotionology on personally recorded emotional experiences. This study focuses on the “personal sphere of ordinary men and women”, as for Stearns and Stearns, emotionology can only be identified in non-elite source material.¹⁷² B.H. Rosenwein critiques Stearns and Stearns’s restriction on the material that can be used to identify emotionology, as “virtually nothing from the pre-modern period can be considered true emotionology” because “no medievalist or pre-modernist is going to find the sorts of materials that will allow for what the Stearnses call ‘genuine emotionology’”.¹⁷³ Stearns and Stearns’s constraint on the concept of emotionology may be partly attributed to their uncritical following of the “up from childhood” grand narrative in their work, as they determined that emotional restraint, and therefore, emotionology, did not exist before the modern period.¹⁷⁴ However, the “up from childhood” grand narrative has been heavily criticised by historians of the Early Middle Ages, who highlight that emotional restraint was not an invention of modernity.¹⁷⁵

The study of emotions in the Egyptian textual record would be enhanced by utilising the concept of emotionology, as it heightens the awareness that Egyptian sources record the emotional standards of a dominant social group. However, it is necessary to expand Stearns and Stearns’s original application of emotionology in three ways before it can be applied to the

¹⁷¹ Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*, pp. 10-12, 36ff; Rosenwein and Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* p. 33.

¹⁷² Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*, p. 12; B.H. Rosenwein “Worrying about Emotions in History,” *The American Historical Review* 107.3 (2002), pp. 824-825.

¹⁷³ Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions in History,” pp. 824-825.

¹⁷⁴ The “up from childhood” or “childhood of man” narrative was discussed in the 1919 work of J. Huizinga, (*The Autumn of the Middle Ages*) and bolstered in the 1939 work of sociologist N. Elias (*The Civilizing Process*). Huizinga describes the Medieval world as having a “fairy-tale quality,” in which “every experience had that degree of directness and absoluteness that joy and sadness still have in the mind of a child”. Elias’s work is concerned with the development of the manners, behaviours and emotional expressions which are the “hallmark of ‘civilized’ man” by examining the period from the Middle Ages until the early Twentieth Century. Using a Foucauldian framework, Elias establishes an “up from childhood” grand narrative. He determines that there is a historical process of a “psychological growing up” in Western society and examines the development of societies from being “more childlike” (Medieval period) to “more grown-up” (Modern period). See Huizinga, (Trans. Payton and Mammitzsch), *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, pp. 1-10; Elias, (Trans. Jephcott) *The Civilizing Process*, pp. xi-xii; Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*, pp. 12, 21-23, 25. For a further discussion of the “up from childhood” narrative, see Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions in History,” pp. 824-825; Plamper, (trans. Tribe), *History of Emotions*, pp. 58-59; Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 5-10.

¹⁷⁵ See, for example, Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 5-16.

Egyptian material. First, it must be acknowledged that emotional restraint existed before the modern period. Secondly, emotionology must be seen as being able to be identified in non-elite *and* elite source material. Thirdly, emotionology would need to be conceptualised as being explicit or implicit in textual sources. In the Egyptian textual record, for example, there are explicit discussions of appropriate emotional expression in didactic literature.¹⁷⁶ However, emotional management may also be implicit in other textual genres. As discussed above (2.1), Eicke paved the way for the meaningful application of emotionology in Egyptology by innovatively linking emotionology and decorum. Eicke suggests that emotionology is encapsulated *within* the “Egyptian decorum of texts and images”.¹⁷⁷ In his study of religious texts, Eicke proposes that the priests who composed the material were “responsible for establishing and/or maintaining the emotional standards negotiated within these texts”.¹⁷⁸ This conclusion may be expanded to all textual genres, as they were composed by and largely for the literate elite.¹⁷⁹ It can be reasonably concluded that literate elite authors established and maintained the emotionology in the ancient Egyptian context, and it is the attitudes regarding emotion held by this group that are preserved in textual sources.

¹⁷⁶ For example, there are salient character tropes in didactic literature, such as the “heated” and “hot-mouthed person” (uncontrolled emotions), and the “silent one” (controlled emotions). For discussion of these tropes, see H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Weisheit. Lehren für das Leben* (Zürich and Munich: Artemis), 1988, pp. 26-27. See translations of Egyptian didactic texts, such as, ‘The Maxims of Ptahhotep’, in W.K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry. Third Edition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 2003, pp. 129-148.

¹⁷⁷ Eicke, “Affecting the Gods,” p. 239. The visual and textual representation of emotion was restricted to certain contexts and genres, and was directed to, and expressed by particular individuals. For discussions of the impact of genre on emotional expression in textual sources, see review of Bickel, Verbovsek and Eicke in 2.1 above. For discussion of the impact of decorum on the expression of emotion in visual sources, see, for example, C. Riggs, “Mourning women and decorum in ancient Egyptian art,” in E. Froom and A. McDonald (eds.), *Decorum and Experience: Essays in Ancient Culture for Prof. John Baines* (Oxford: Griffith Institute), 2013, pp. 156-162; J. Baines, “Epilogue: On Ancient Pictorial Representations of Emotion: Concluding Comments with Examples from Egypt,” in S. Kipfer (ed.), *Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East* (Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 2017, pp. 263-285; and Beaux, “Representations of Human and Animal Emotions in the Old Kingdom,” pp. 42-57.

¹⁷⁸ S. Eicke, “Affecting the Gods,” p. 242.

¹⁷⁹ The surviving textual sources only “provides direct evidence for a very small proportion of the population...the core elite”. The precise literacy rate in ancient Egypt is disputed, though it is argued that in most periods “not more than 1 per cent of the population were literate”. Undoubtedly, however, several levels of literacy existed, including varying degrees of competence in comprehending and composing material. For discussion of the elite bias of textual sources and literacy, see, for example, J. Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2007, pp. 35, 49-50.

3.2.2 Emotives and Emotional Regimes

W.M. Reddy in “Against Constructionism” (1997) and *The Navigation of Feeling* (2001) furthers the History of Emotions field by theorising the concepts of emotives and emotional regimes.¹⁸⁰ Reddy utilises research from the anthropology of emotions and cognitive psychology in an attempt to bridge the gap between social constructionist and universalist approaches to emotion.¹⁸¹ Of salient value is his differentiation between the cognitive and psychological *sensations* of emotions and the “translation” and *expression* of emotions in an observable way through utterances and gestures.¹⁸² Building on J.L. Austin’s “speech act theory”, Reddy introduces the concept of emotives, which he defines as a “type of speech act different from both performative and constative utterances, which both describes and changes the world”.¹⁸³ In other words, emotives “are directly influenced by, and alter, what they ‘refer’ to”.¹⁸⁴ Reddy hypothesises that “first-person, present tense emotion claims” (“I am sad”) are affective utterances that impact the emotional experience of an individual, and may confirm, disconfirm, intensify or attenuate the emotion claimed in the utterance.¹⁸⁵ He also identifies five expression types that relate to first-person, present tense emotives, namely (i) “first person, past tense emotion claims” (“I was angry at you”); (ii) “first person, long term emotion claims” (“I have always loved you”); (iii) “emotionally expressive gestures, facial expressions, word choices and intonations”; (iv) “other claims about the states of the speaker” (“I am thinking it over”); and (v) “second- and third-person emotion claims” (“he is afraid”).¹⁸⁶ Reddy considers the first four of these to have a transformative impact on the speaker, and thus constitute emotives. However, he argues that second- and third-person emotion claims are *not* emotives, as they do not affect the speaker; rather, they are purely descriptive.¹⁸⁷

Due to the transformative impact of emotives on emotional experiences, Reddy hypothesises that establishing and maintaining normative emotional expressions is essential to the stability of political regimes. He introduces the concept of emotional regimes, which he defines as “the set of normative emotions and the official rules, practices and emotives that express and inculcate them”.¹⁸⁸ For Reddy, “emotives are engines of conversion”, as the waxing and waning of

¹⁸⁰ Reddy, “Against Constructionism,” pp. 327-351; Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*.

¹⁸¹ Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 110; Plamper, (Trans. Tribe) *The History of Emotions*, p. 254.

¹⁸² Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, pp. 88-108.

¹⁸³ Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, pp. 96-108, 128.

¹⁸⁴ Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 105.

¹⁸⁵ Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, pp. 100-105.

¹⁸⁶ Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, pp. 105-108.

¹⁸⁷ Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, pp. 105-108.

¹⁸⁸ Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 129.

emotional regimes, emotional suffering,¹⁸⁹ and emotional refuges,¹⁹⁰ are agents of historical change.¹⁹¹ Reddy applies these concepts in his exploration of “sentimentalism”, “romantic passions” and “personal desires” in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century French material, namely literature, letters and speeches.¹⁹²

Although the logocentrism of emotives has been challenged, aspects of this concept can meaningfully contribute to the study of Egyptian emotions.¹⁹³ Of salient value is Reddy’s distinction between the internal feeling and outward expression of emotions, as it delineates what information can be ascertained from historical texts. Historians do not have access to a past individual’s inner thoughts and feelings; rather, textual sources record an individual’s attempt to “translate” emotional sensations into emotion lexemes and utterances in a culturally appropriate way. Although Reddy’s discussion of the transformative power of emotives to affect emotional experience is theoretically sound, it must remain hypothetical in relation to the Egyptian material. It is not possible to ascertain what impact emotives may have had on the emotional experience of ancient Egyptians, as such cognitive and physiological processes cannot be reconstructed from the textual, visual or archaeological records. Whilst Reddy’s discussion of the waxing and waning of emotional regimes and refuges as being catalysts for historical change is interesting, the concept of “emotional regimes” relates to modern Western notions of political regimes and is thus not relevant to the ancient Egyptian context.¹⁹⁴

3.2.3 Emotional Communities

The most recent development in the History of Emotions approach has come from Rosenwein in *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (2006) and *Generations of Feeling* (2015).¹⁹⁵ Critiquing Reddy’s concept of emotional regimes as being “clearly tied to state formation and

¹⁸⁹ Reddy argues that emotional suffering can arise when the prevailing emotional norms established by emotional regimes come into conflict with an individual’s emotional experiences and desired modes of expression. See Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, pp. 123, 126-129.

¹⁹⁰ Reddy defines emotional refuges as “a relationship, ritual or organisation (formal or informal) that provides safe release from the prevailing emotional norms and allows relaxation of emotional effort...which may shore up or threaten the existing emotional regime”. See Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 129.

¹⁹¹ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 19, 21; Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, pp. 122-128; W.M. Reddy, “Emotional Liberty: Politics and History in the Anthropology of Emotions,” *Cultural Anthropology* 14 (1999), pp. 256-288.

¹⁹² Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, pp. vii, 141ff.

¹⁹³ For critique of the concept of emotives see, for example, Plamper (Trans. Tribe), *The History of Emotions*, pp. 261-262.

¹⁹⁴ For critique of the emotional regimes concept, see, for example, Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 23; Plamper (Trans. Tribe), *The History of Emotions*, pp. 261-262.

¹⁹⁵ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*; Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling*.

hegemony”, Rosenwein theorises the concept of emotional communities, which she defines as “groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value – or devalue – the same or related emotions”.¹⁹⁶ She postulates that multiple emotional communities existed contemporaneously and individuals may have belonged to more than one emotional community at any given point in time.¹⁹⁷ Evoking the image of a large circle within which smaller circles are unevenly distributed, she explains the multiplicity of emotional communities as, “the large circle is the overarching emotional community, tied together by fundamental assumptions, values, goals, feeling rules, and accepted modes of expression. The smaller circles represent subordinate emotional communities...they too may be subdivided”.¹⁹⁸ Rosenwein investigates evidence for distinct emotional communities in Early Middle Age textual material by examining the usage of emotion words and expressions in dossiers that “point to” identifiable groups, such as epitaphs, letters, charters, chronicles and hagiographies.¹⁹⁹

A significant feature of Rosenwein’s work is her critical acknowledgement of the limitations of the Early Middle Age material. She treats written sources as “social products” that reflect normative emotional expressions within particular emotional communities, rather than objective windows through which an individual’s emotional ‘reality’ in the past can be viewed.²⁰⁰ Rosenwein recognises that she cannot access “what historians would look for in modern periods – diaries, memoirs, interviews” to study emotion.²⁰¹ However, she perceptively highlights that the value placed on these sources as being reflective of ‘genuine’ emotion reflects “our own emotional community” in prizing these sources for “conveying intimate and sincere emotional expression”.²⁰² In her textual corpus, Rosenwein admits that the expression of emotions may be fabricated and fictitious but argues that this insincerity illuminates emotional ideals, namely “how people were supposed to feel”.²⁰³ Rosenwein additionally acknowledges the biased distribution of the source material, as the preserved writing “echoes only the voices of the elites – and the clerical elites at that”.²⁰⁴ Consequently, this material allows historians to “begin to

¹⁹⁶ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 2, 20-31.

¹⁹⁷ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 23-25.

¹⁹⁸ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 24.

¹⁹⁹ For example, Rosenwein examines emotion words in funerary epitaphs, the writings of Pope Gregory the Great, the writings of two friends (Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus), as well as anonymous works. See Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 26, 57-78, 77-99, 100-130 and 163-189, respectively.

²⁰⁰ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 27-28.

²⁰¹ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 26.

²⁰² Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 26.

²⁰³ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 28-29.

²⁰⁴ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 26.

know how some members of certain ascendant elites thought they and others felt or, at least, they ought to feel”.²⁰⁵

The concept of emotional communities is significant for historical emotions research, as it acknowledges the fluidity, multiplicity and variability of emotional experiences in the past. This concept would be of salient value for examining the expression of emotions in Egyptian textual corpora that can be attributed to geographically and temporally bound groups, such as the workers’ community at Deir el Medina. However, it is more limited in its applicability to the present thesis. This research conducts a lexical-semantic analysis of all positive attestations of a single emotion lexeme, rather than examining the emotional lexicon employed in a textual corpus pertaining to a discrete group. Moreover, the positive attestations of *ind* come from diverse historical periods and geographic locations, which challenges the ability of this thesis to identify discrete emotional communities who may have understood, valued and employed the emotion concept(s) denoted by *ind* in different ways. Consequently, it is only possible for this research to discuss the professed values surrounding *ind* of the literate elite emotional community as a broad group.

Despite the limited usefulness of the emotional communities concept in this thesis, Rosenwein’s discussion of the value of ‘insincere’ sources for understanding emotional attitudes is particularly relevant. Many attestations of *ind* come from textual genres that are not “narratives of the self”, such as religious, mythological and satirical texts.²⁰⁶ Instead of ignoring this material as being unreflective of ‘real’ emotional experiences, ‘fictional’ sources can be examined to reveal emotional *ideals*. Acknowledging the biased distribution of source material is also of crucial importance when examining Egyptian emotions, as it highlights that textual sources reflect the constructed emotional values of literate elite authors. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that these values were socially enacted within the elite or non-elite context or were an accurate representation of the ‘real’ emotional experiences of ancient Egyptians.

²⁰⁵ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 196.

²⁰⁶ “Narratives of the self” refer to texts that are deemed ‘sincere’ by modern Western standards, namely written sources that provide a “personal perspective into how individuals named, made sense of and communicated what they felt in connection to the self and others”. See M.J. Borges, “Narratives of the Self,” in K. Barclay, S. Crozier-De Rosa and P.N. Stearns (eds.), *Sources for the History of Emotions. A Guide* (New York: Routledge), 2020, p. 99.

3.3 Practical Application of History of Emotions Concepts

The results of the lexical-semantic analysis of *ind* can be framed by the concepts of emotionology, emotives, and to a lesser extent, emotional communities, to generate a balanced and theoretically grounded understanding of the emotion concept(s) seemingly denoted by *ind*. Critical engagement with these concepts draws attention to the biases and limitations of the Egyptian documentary record, and consequently, what we can actually ascertain about emotions from examining Egyptian texts. This research cannot access or reconstruct the emotional experience of *ind*, such as physiological and psychological sensations that may have been associated with the lexeme. However, by closely examining the positive attestations of this emotive, I can explore how the emotion concept could have been linguistically conceptualised according to the emotionology established by the emotional community of literate elite authors. It is through this theoretical frame that the following questions are asked of the positive attestations of *ind* to generate a picture of the emotion concept(s) designated by the lexeme:

- (i) What was the valence of *ind*?
- (ii) How was *ind* linguistically framed?²⁰⁷
- (iii) What contextual situations motivated the use of *ind*?
- (iv) Who was described to be affected by *ind*?
- (v) What parts of the body were described to be affected by *ind*?
- (vi) How was *ind* expressed? What expressions are related to *ind*?
- (vii) How was *ind* described to be alleviated and/or removed?

This chapter has outlined the theoretically grounded method that is employed to examine *ind* in the following chapters, namely its meaning (Chapter Four) and the emotion concept(s) it designates (Chapter Five).

²⁰⁷ This question draws upon theories in cognitive linguistics, particularly CMT. In short, CMT proposes that metaphor is a *cognitive process* by which one phenomenon is conceptualised in terms of another. Metaphor, therefore, is understood as a mapping between a ‘source domain’ (concrete concept) and a ‘target domain’ (abstract concept). This research identifies and discusses instances where *ind* is used in linguistic metaphors that may be realisations of particular conceptual metaphors. For a discussion of cognitive linguistics and CMT in Egyptology, see, for example: R. Nyord, “Cognitive Linguistics,” in W. Wendrich, J. Dieleman, E. Frood (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, (2015), pp. 1-11; C. Di Biase-Dyson, “Metaphor,” in W. Wendrich, J. Dieleman, E. Frood (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, (2017), pp. 1-17.

4 LEXICAL-SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF *ind*

Chapter Four presents the comprehensive lexical-semantic analysis of *ind*. To be precise, it explores morphematic (4.2), graphematic (4.3), phonematic (4.4), syntagmatic (4.5), and semantic axes (4.6) of the lexeme and in doing so, briefly considers what the examination of each axis contributes to the understanding of *ind*. Following this analysis, a description of the meaning of *ind* is offered (4.7). Further, diachronic and genre-orientated analyses are conducted to elucidate how the senses and usage of *ind* evolved and changed according to the genres in which the individual cases are used (4.8).

4.1 Summary of Attestations

As the Egyptian documentary record is incomplete and we cannot determine the extent to which the surviving attestations of *ind* accurately reflect the original distribution of the lexeme, the following discussion reflects the relative distribution of *surviving* tokens.²⁰⁸

In the textual record, *ind* has 62 positive attestations.²⁰⁹ There are 34 verbal tokens, including a single token of the causative *s:ind*, 17 nominal tokens and 11 adjectival tokens. *ind* is positively attested from the First Intermediate Period through to the Greco-Roman Period, though there are no surviving tokens from the Second Intermediate Period. *ind* appears in diverse textual genres, namely autobiographical texts, ex-voto, funerary spells, funerary prayers and wishes (statue), hemerological texts, ‘historical’ narratives, lamentations, letters, magical-medical texts (papyri and cippi), mythological texts, narrative tales, ritual texts, satirical texts and temple inscriptions. Figures 1-4 (below) present the distribution of *ind*’s positive attestations across historical period and genre.

Initial statistical analysis reveals that *ind* is most frequently attested from the Ramesside Period onwards, with 82% of attestations dating from then to the Greco-Roman Period.²¹⁰ The high frequency of *ind*’s attestations in the Ramesside Period (31%) is the result of it appearing in

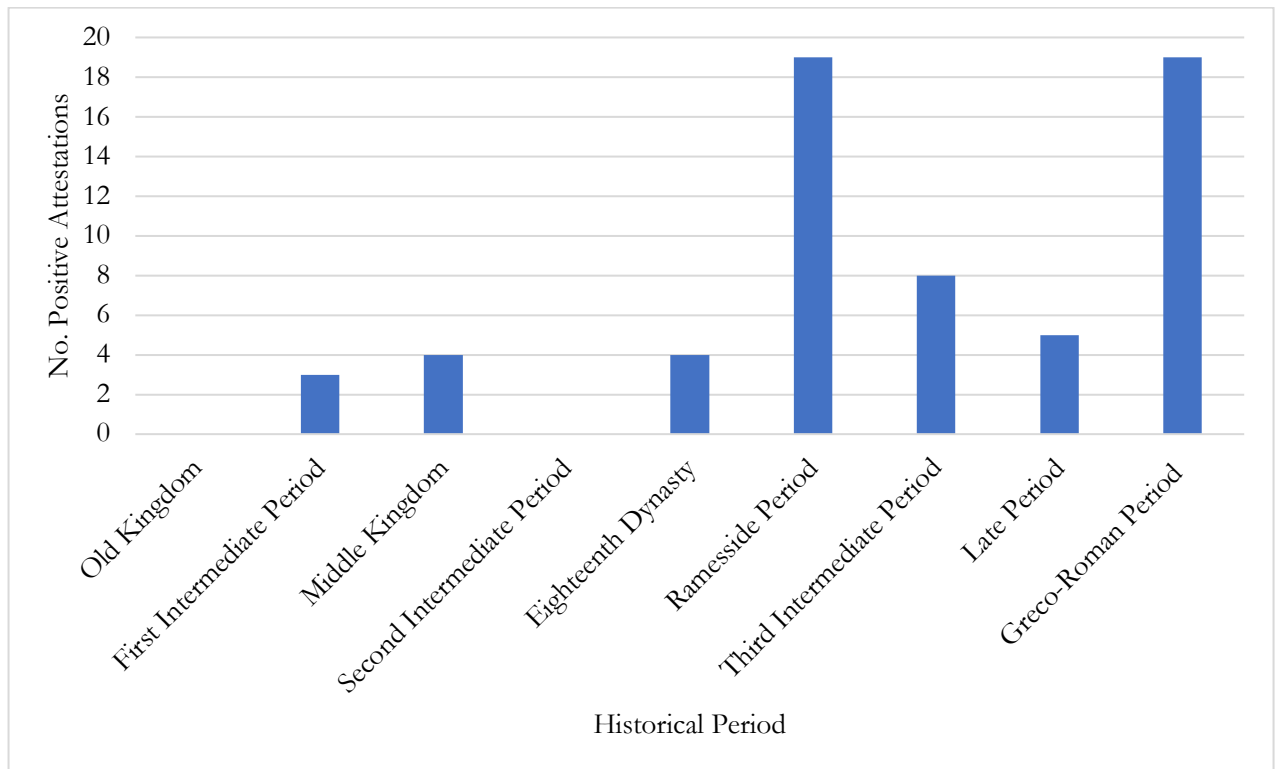
²⁰⁸ See 1.5.1 above for a further discussion of limitations of Egyptian documentary record.

²⁰⁹ Four attestations of *ind* are contentious and have, therefore, been excluded from the statistical breakdown and discussion of positive attestations. See Appendix B for discussion of contentious attestations.

²¹⁰ It is plausible that the frequency of *ind*’s attestations in these periods is also symptomatic of the biased diachronic distribution of the surviving textual material. See 1.5.1 above for a discussion thereof.

several surviving copies of the ‘Satire of the Trades’ where it is employed in the description of three professions.²¹¹ The large volume of Greco-Roman Period attestations (31%) is the result of the adjectival usage of *ind* in this period becoming ‘fossilised’ and three phraseology types containing *ind* being employed as royal and divine epithets in temple inscriptions.²¹² Perhaps unsurprisingly, *ind* is most frequently attested in the temple inscription genre (35%).

Figure 1. Number of Positive Attestations per Historical Period



²¹¹ See Ex.9 in 4.6 and Nos. 9, 19-24 in Appendix A.

²¹² See Ex.25-27 in 4.6 and Nos. 53, 55-56, 58-62 in Appendix A.

Figure 2. Percentage Distribution of Positive Attestations per Historical Period

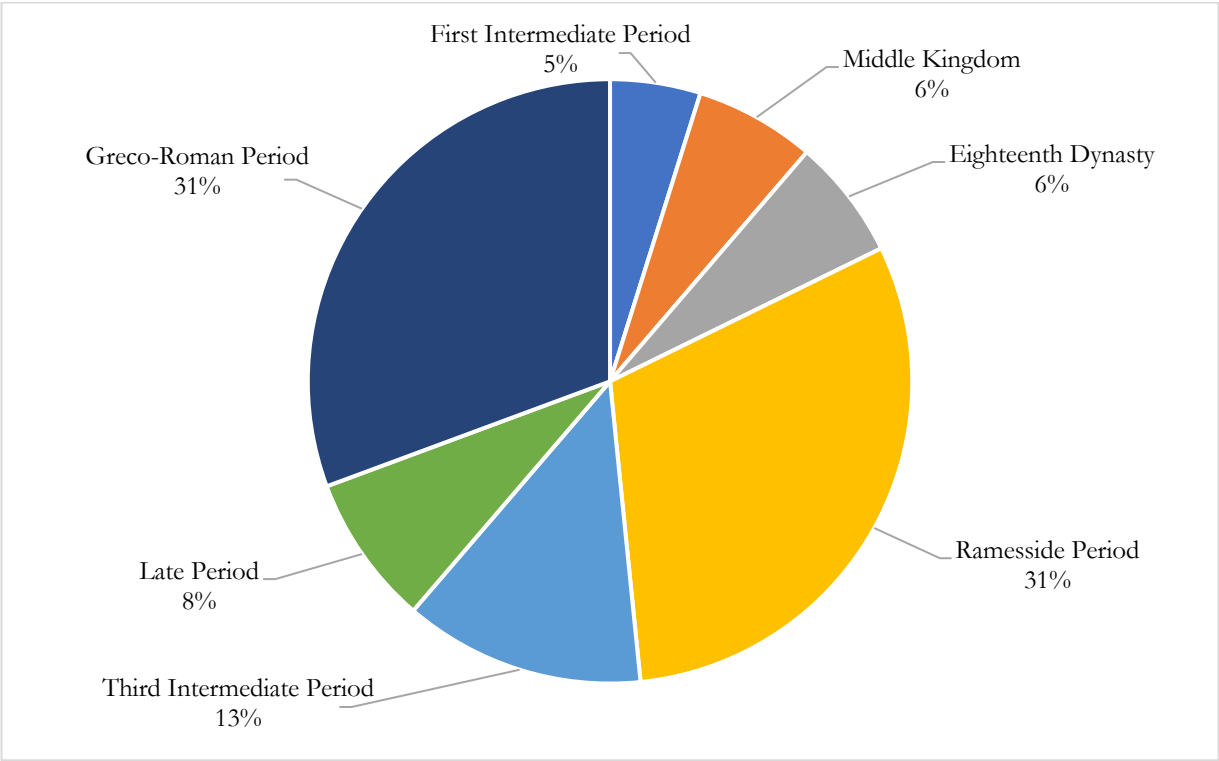


Figure 3. Number of Positive Attestations per Genre

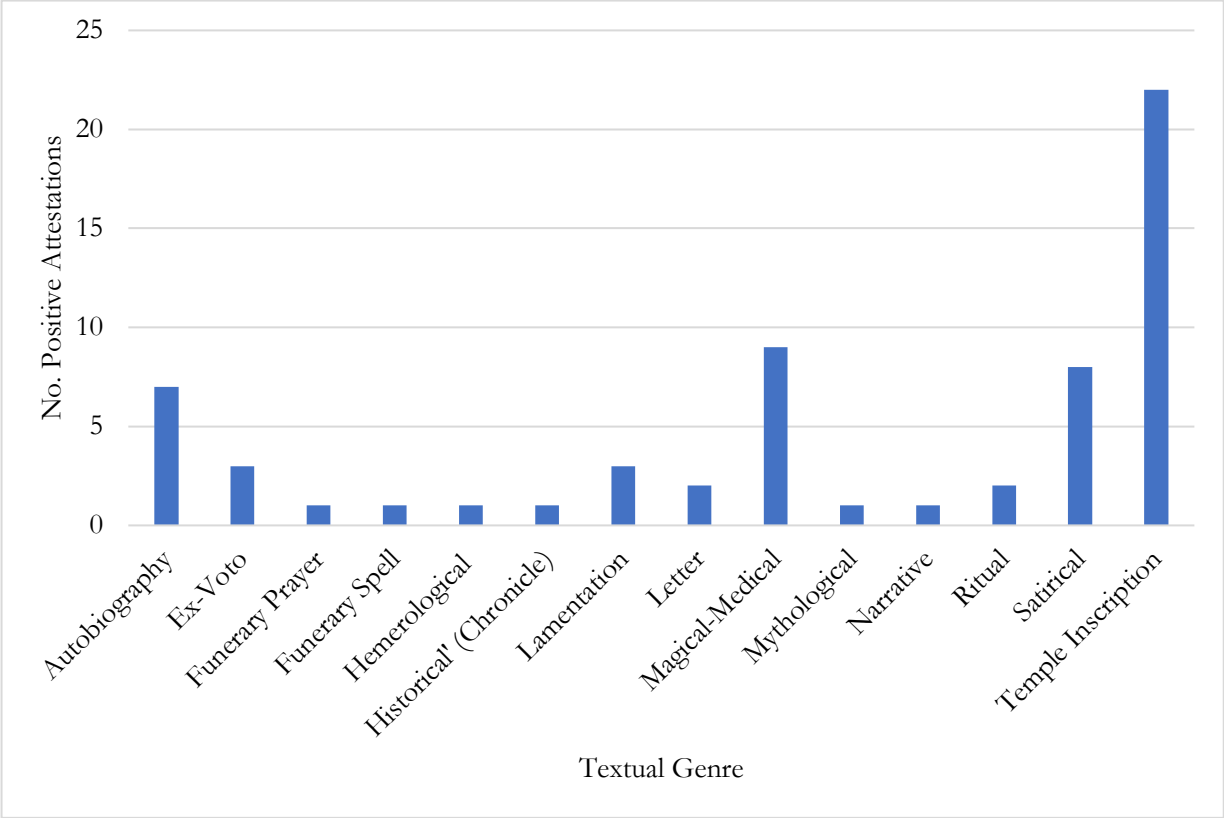
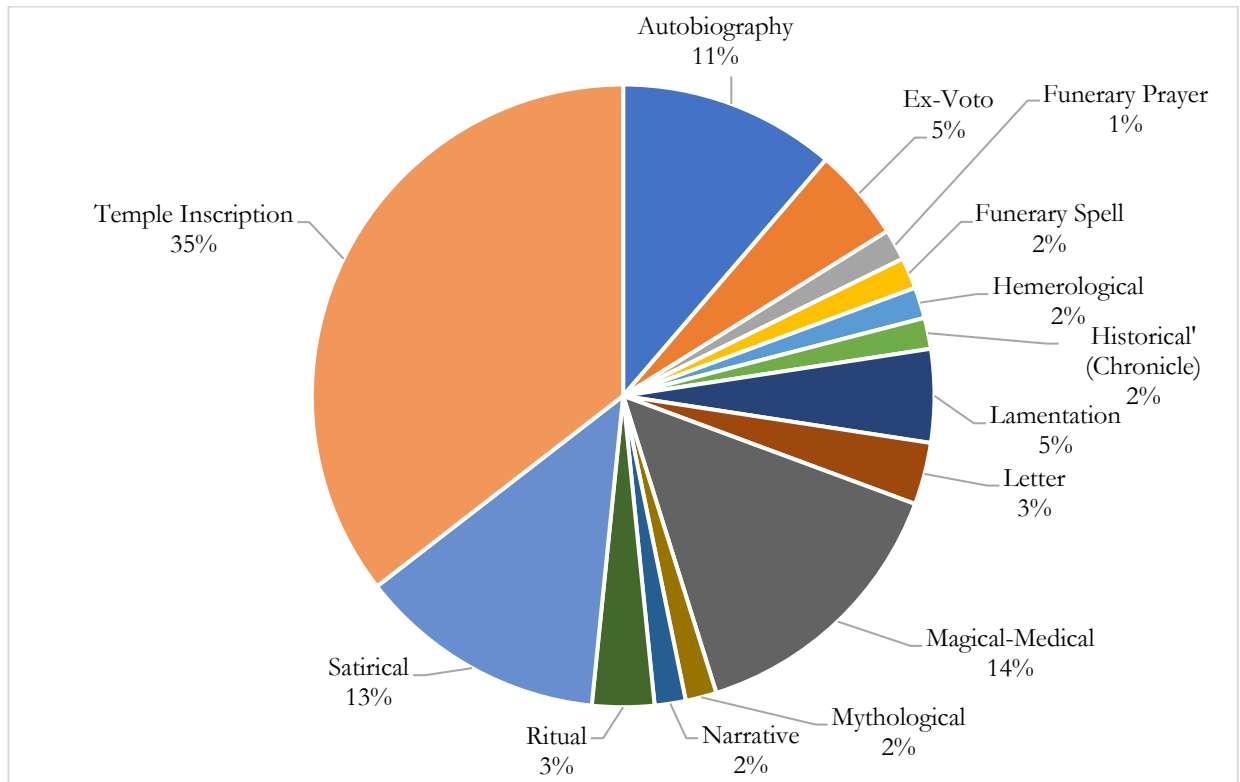


Figure 4. Percentage Distribution of Positive Attestations per Genre



4.2 Morphematic Axis

4.2.1 Root and Derivations

According to the *Egyptian Root Lexicon* (in progress), produced by Satzinger, Hütter and Stefanović of the Institut für Ägyptologie (Universität Wien), the root of the lexeme *ind* is *ind* “to be sad”.²¹³ This root lexicon identifies five derivations of *ind*, namely (i) *ind* (verb) “to be vexed, sad, sick”, (ii) *ind* (noun) “afflicted man”, (iii) *ind* (noun) “misery”, (iv) *ind.t* (noun) “grief, sorrow” and (v) *s:ind* (verb) “to make sad”.²¹⁴ However, the semantic analysis of the unique attestation ‘*ind.t*’ in this study strongly suggests that *ind.t* is *not* a legitimate derivation of *ind*, but is rather an erroneous writing of the lexeme *ni.t* “wrongdoing” (*Wb* 2, 201.7).²¹⁵

4.2.2 Phonetic Doublet

The *Egyptian Root Lexicon* also indicates that *i3d* “to suffer, make suffer” (*Wb* 1, 35.9-12) is a plausible phonetic doublet of *ind*.²¹⁶ The semantic analysis of *ind* in this study has produced

²¹³ Personal Communication, H. Satzinger and D. Stefanović 05/2020.

²¹⁴ Personal Communication, H. Satzinger and D. Stefanović 05/2020.

²¹⁵ See Ex.C in Appendix B for discussion of *ind.t* and *ni.t*.

²¹⁶ Personal Communication, H. Satzinger and D. Stefanović 05/2020.

















support for this identification, as the core sense of *ind* similarly relates to suffering and distress, and *ind* is also attested with a transitive-causative sense.²¹⁷ Further, *ind* and *isd* are collocated on one occasion, as *ind* is described as affecting the *isd* “sufferer, miserable one” in a Ramesside Period autobiographical stela.²¹⁸

4.2.3 *ind* and ENTOT

As noted in 2.2 (above), Meeks identifies that the Coptic equivalent of *ind* is ENTOT, which is typically glossed as “Schmerz”.²¹⁹ This sense of ENTOT directly relates to the sense of *ind* denoting *physical suffering* identified in the semantic analysis below. However, it is unclear whether ENTOT also denotes *emotional distress*, as *ind* possesses this sense in the Pharaonic period.²²⁰

Exploring the morphematic axis of *ind* illuminates how its root relates to the broader Egyptian and Coptic lexicon. However, it is the analysis of morphematic aspects in conjunction with the semantic axis that generates the most significant insight into the lexeme, as it enables the identification of illegitimate derivations of the root, provides support for the identification of phonetic doublets, and clarifies the semantic relationship between Pharaonic Egyptian lexemes and Coptic equivalents.

4.3 Graphematic Axis




The root *ind* is attested with a range of classifiers, namely  (G37),  (Aa2),  (C7),  (D54),  (D55), as well as the combinations   (G37+A1),   (G37+D55),    (G37+Z1), and     (G37+Z2/Z3).²²¹ Occasionally *ind* is unclassified, and there are instances where the attestation

²¹⁷ See Ex.4 and 13 in 4.6 and Nos. 25-26 in Appendix A for examples of the transitive-causative usage of *ind*.

²¹⁸ See Ex.10 in 4.6. The precise date of this stela in the British Museum collection is uncertain, although it likely dates to the Late Eighteenth or Early Nineteenth Dynasty. I have been in contact with curator Dr Susanne Beck at the British Museum and she has been unable to locate this object in the museum database. This stela has been included as a Ramesside Period (Nineteenth Dynasty) attestation in the present research.












²¹⁹ English translation “Pain”; Meeks, *Année Lexicographique Tome I 1977*, p. 35; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 499.





²²⁰ Although a comprehensive analysis of the usage of ENTOT in Coptic texts would be a fruitful avenue of enquiry, this analysis is beyond the scope of the present research.

²²¹  (Z4) has not been considered as a classifier in this study. Z4 appears in the orthography of *ind* in attestations dating to the Ramesside, Third Intermediate and Greco-Roman Periods. F. Junge states that the combination of  and  is an attested writing of the phonogram ‘d’. D. Kurth notes that Z4 (23.2 *Geometrische Figuren*) can function as a phonogram for ‘t’. It is unlikely, therefore, that Z4 is being activated as a classifier in these attestations. See, F. Junge (Trans. D. Warburton), *Late*

is damaged and the classifier is not preserved. Figure 5 (below) presents the percentage distribution of classifiers associated with *ind*'s positive attestations and Figure 6 (below) details the distribution of classifiers according to word class. Figures 7-9 (below) exhibit the distribution of classifiers across historical period and genre, respectively.

4.3.1 'Conceptual Categories'



Figure 5 (below) reveals that *ind* is most frequently classified with  (G37). 53% of *ind*'s positive attestations feature this classifier or a combination of  (G37) and another classifier, such as  (A1),  (D55),  (Z1) or  (Z2/3) (henceforth termed  (G37)-combination). As such, it is pertinent to consider the 'bad-bird' 'conceptual category' and what *ind*'s membership to this category reveals about its possible connotations. The most exhaustive study of  (G37) is A. David's *De l'infériorité à la perturbation*.²²² David conducts a diachronic analysis of the lexemes classified with  (G37) from the Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period and demonstrates that the sense of  (G37) evolved from SMALL in the Old Kingdom to BAD/INFERIOR in the First Intermediate Period.²²³ As *ind* is frequently classified with  (G37) from the Middle Kingdom onwards, it is enveloped into the BAD/INFERIOR 'conceptual category' and presumably had connotations of something 'bad' and 'undesirable'.

ind may also be considered a "fringe member" of the SETH-ANIMAL and PUSTULE 'conceptual categories', which have connotations of illness and suffering.²²⁴  (C7) is uniquely employed to classify verbal attestations of *ind* in the First Intermediate Period autobiographical graffiti at Hatnub, and  (Aa2) classifies nominal and verbal attestations of *ind* in the Third Intermediate Period temple inscriptions at Medinet Habu.²²⁵ The semantic analyses of the Hatnub and Medinet Habu attestations below suggest that the usage of  (C7) and  (Aa2) may have been semantically motivated, as these attestations have the distinct sense of *physical suffering* relating to *medical ailments* and *female infertility*, which obviously relate to illness and suffering.²²⁶

Egyptian Grammar. An Introduction. Second English Edition (Oxford: Griffith Institute), 2005, p. 42; D. Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische. Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken. Teil 1* (Hützel: Backe-Verlag), 2009, p. 442.

²²² David, *De l'infériorité à la perturbation*.

²²³ David, *De l'infériorité à la perturbation*, pp. 15ff.

²²⁴ For discussion of  (C7) and  (Aa2), and their association with illness, see McDonald, "A Metaphor for Troubled Times," pp. 26-39; Allon, "Seth is Baal," pp. 15-22.

²²⁵ See Ex.1-3 and Ex.7-8 in 4.6 and Nos. 33-34, 36-37.

²²⁶ See Ex.1-3 and Ex.7-8 in 4.6 and Nos. 33-34, 36-37.

Figure 5. Percentage Distribution of Classifiers

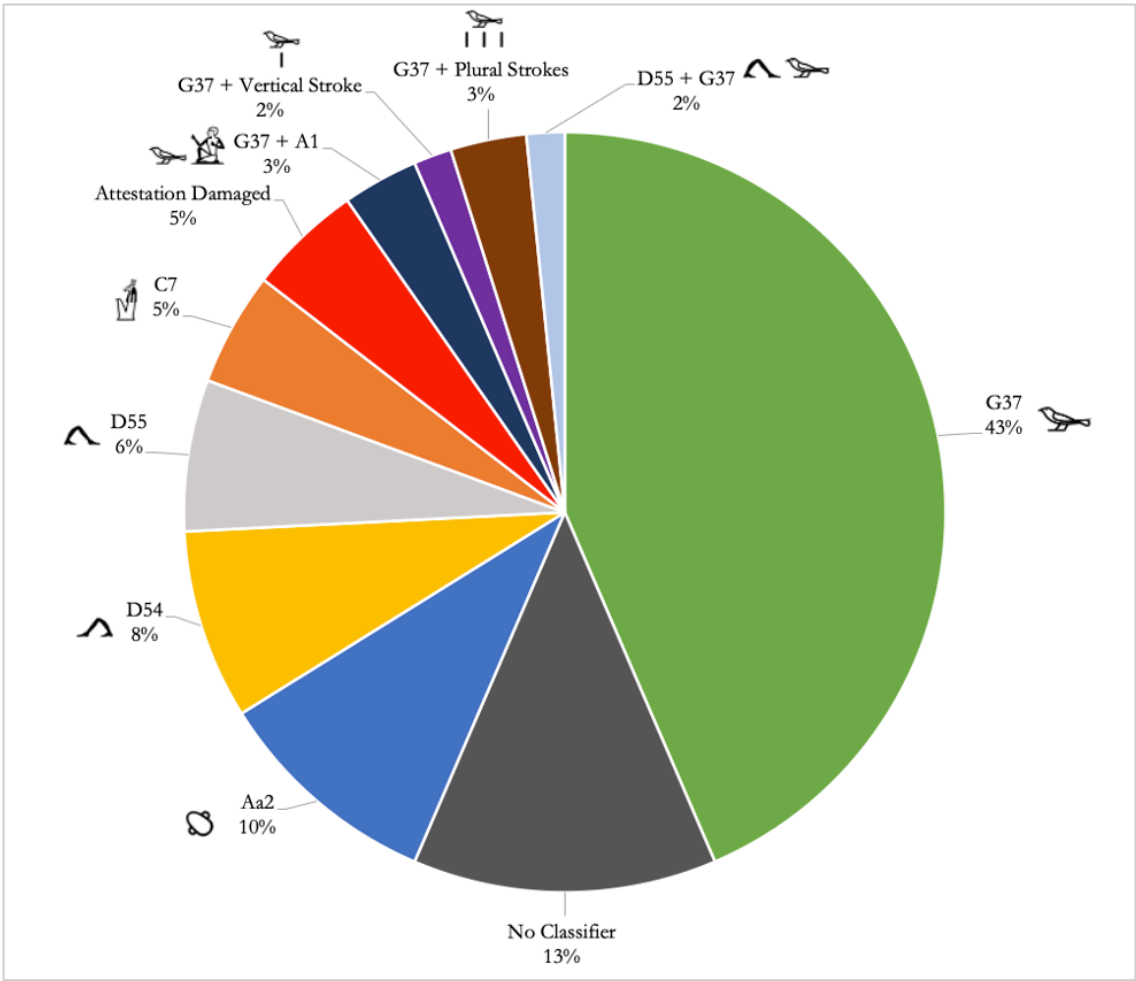


Figure 6. Distribution of Classifiers Across Word Class

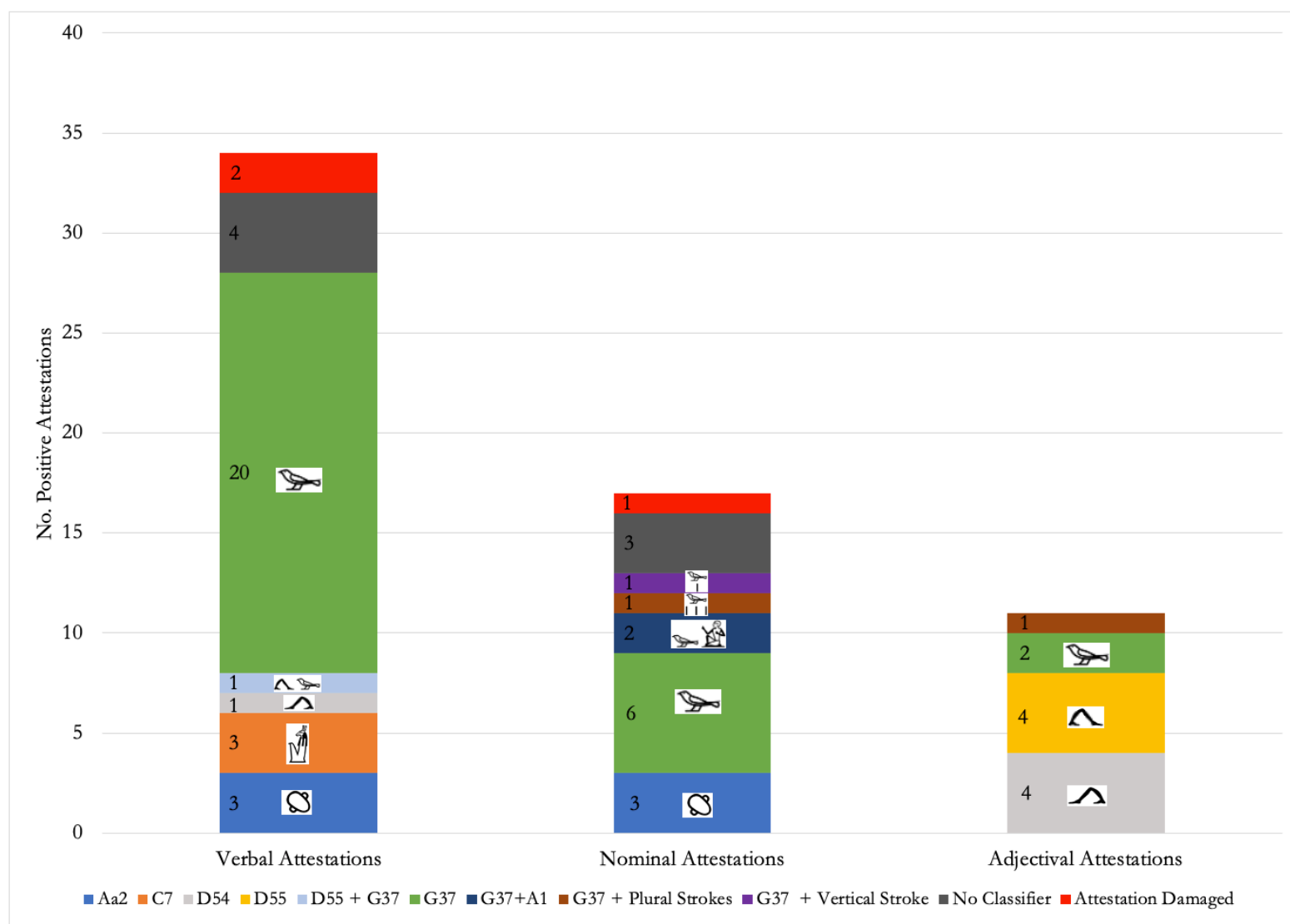


Figure 7. Distribution of Classifiers Per Historical Period

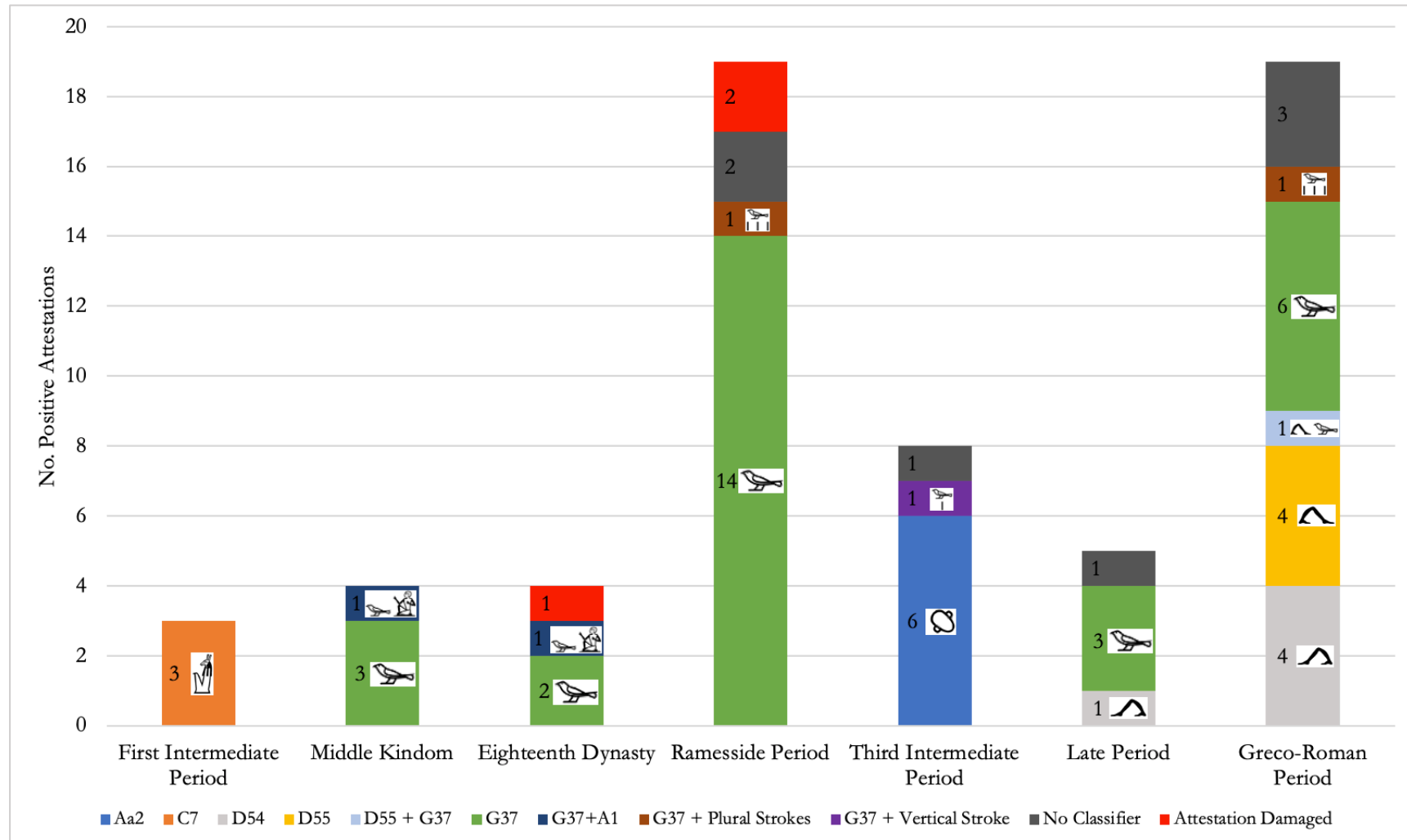


Figure 8. Distribution of Classifiers Per Genre: Autobiography – Lamentation

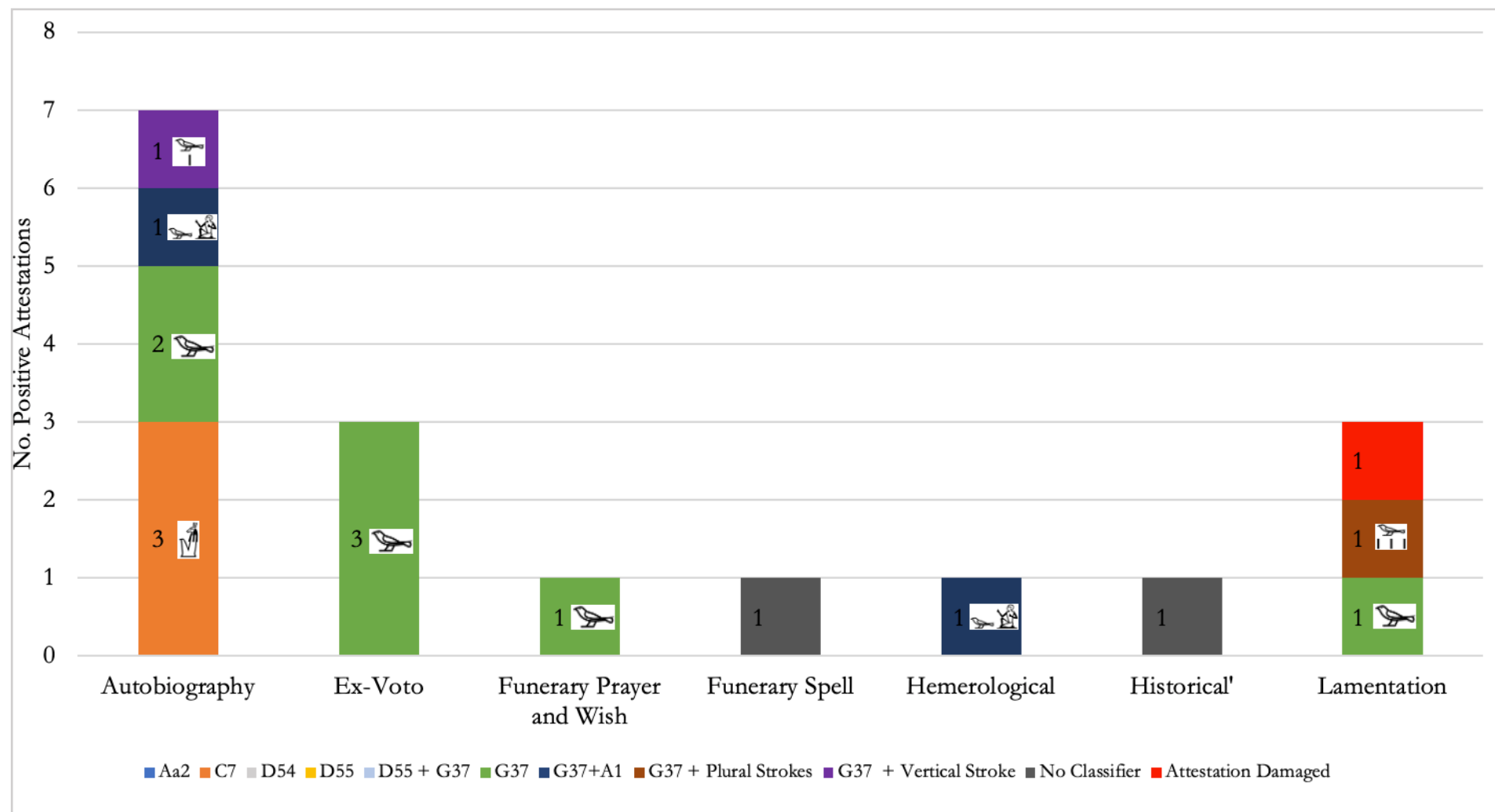
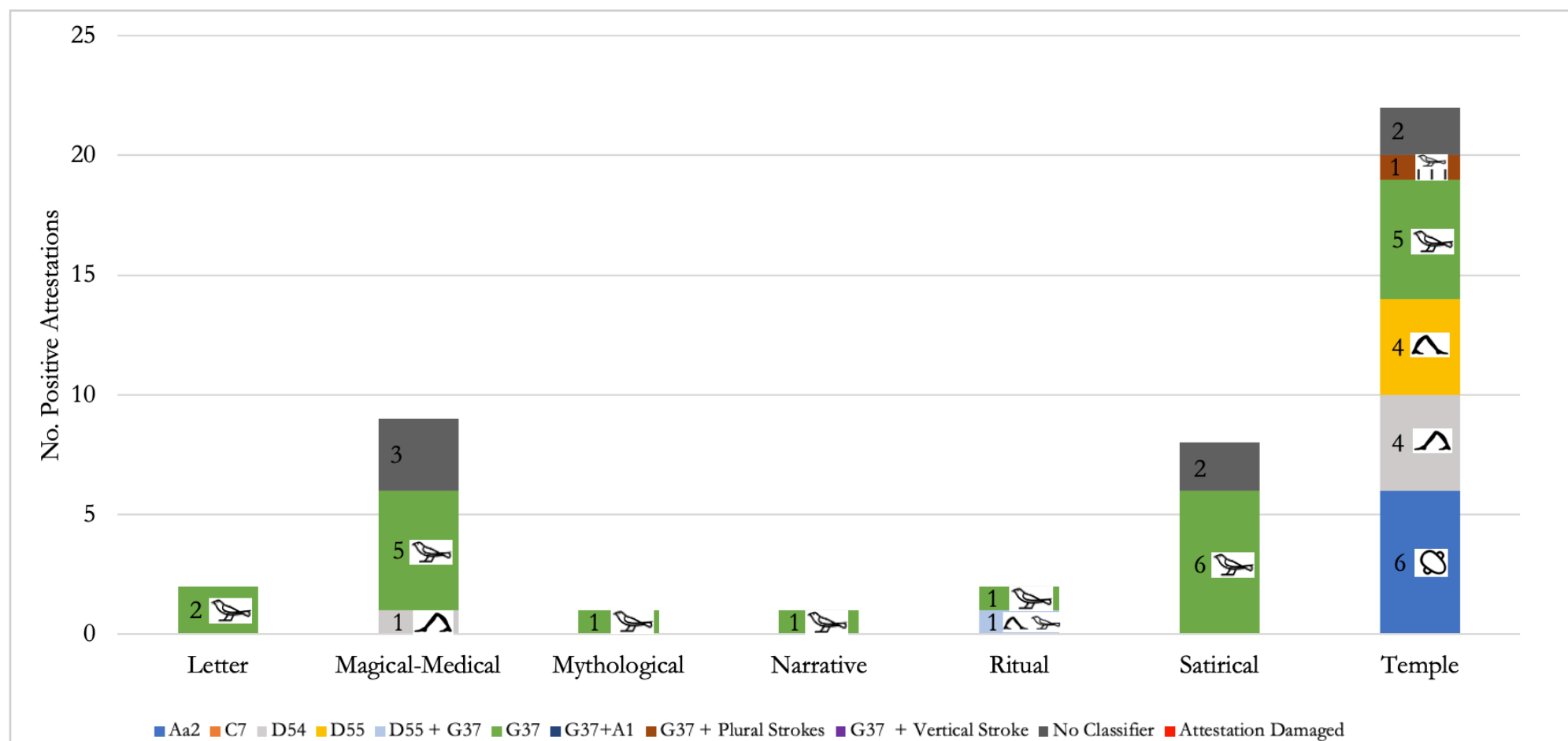






















Figure 9. Distribution of Classifiers Per Genre: Letter – Temple Inscription








4.3.2 Classifier Usage: Word Class






Figure 6 (above) highlights that 61% of verbal and 59% of nominal attestations of *ind* are classified with  (G37)/ (G37)-combination. Interestingly, however,  (G37)/ (G37)-combination is employed with only 18% of adjectival attestations, as  (D54) and  (D55) are more frequently attested.²²⁷   (G37+A1) is exclusively used to classify deverbal nouns that denote an individual, namely “the one who is *ind*”.²²⁸ As noted above,  (C7) exclusively classifies verbal attestations and  (Aa2) is employed for both nominal and verbal attestations.



4.3.3 Classifier Usage: Diachronic Considerations

Figure 7 (above) and Table 2 (below) reveal that *ind* is regularly classified with  (G37)/ (G37)-combination from the Middle Kingdom to the Greco-Roman Period in both the hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts. However, it is possible to observe a general decrease in the frequency of  (G37)/ (G37)-combination from the Third Intermediate Period onwards. This decrease correlates with the increased usage of  (D54) and  (D55) in the Late and Greco-Roman Periods, as 20% of Late Period and 42% of Greco-Roman Period attestations feature these MOVEMENT classifiers. The use of  (D54) and  (D55) is restricted to the hieroglyphic script.²²⁹ One Greco-Roman Period attestation in the hieratic script features the classifier combination   (D55+G37).


D. Kurth proposes that *ind* takes the classifier of *int* “to keep back” (*Wb* 1, 102.2-4), namely  (D55), to “express the wish that grief be driven away”.²³⁰ However, Kurth’s hypothesis is entirely speculative. Whilst it is plausible to link *ind*’s classification with  (D54) and  (D55) to its homonym *int*,²³¹ the prevalence of these MOVEMENT classifiers can be explained by considering

²²⁷ See 4.3.3 for discussion of the usage of  (D54) and  (D55).

²²⁸ Whilst   (G37+A1) is exclusively used in the word class of deverbal nouns, attestations of “the one who is *ind*” are also classified with  (G37) and   (G37+Z1).






²²⁹ The increased popularity of  (D54) and  (D55) in Late Period hieratic texts is demonstrated in G. Chantraine and C. Di Biase-Dyson’s examination of pBM EA 10474 ‘The Instruction of Amenemope’. This phenomenon has also been observed in the hieroglyphic script in this study. See G. Chantraine and C. Di Biase-Dyson, “Making a Case for Multidimensionality in Ramesside Figurative Language,” in D.A. Werning (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Egyptian-Coptic Linguistics (Crossroads V) Berlin, February 17–20, 2016* (Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag, 2018), pp. 41-66.

²³⁰ Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische. Teil I*, p. 93, n. 1.





²³¹ H. Brunner comments on this phenomenon, namely that the classifiers of more frequently attested lexemes can be employed to classify homonymic lexemes. It is plausible that *ind* is classified with  (D54)

broader trends in classifier usage, namely, that the use of Δ (D54) and Δ (D55) is a decisive feature of Late Period orthography.²³² It is unlikely, therefore, that these MOVEMENT classifiers contribute semantic information, as Kurth suggests. Further, the semantic analysis below has not identified a correlation between the usage of Δ (D54) and Δ (D55) and changes in the sense of *ind* in the Late and Greco-Roman Period attestations.

Table 2. Relationship Between Classifiers and Script

<i>Classifier</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Dates Attested</i>
 (Aa2)	Hieroglyphic	Third Intermediate Period
 (C7)	Hieratic	First Intermediate Period
Δ (D54)	Hieroglyphic	Late Period, Greco-Roman Period
Δ (D55)	Hieroglyphic	Greco-Roman Period
Δ  (D55+G37)	Hieratic	Greco-Roman Period
 (G37)	Hieroglyphic	Middle Kingdom, Ramesside Period, Third Intermediate Period, Late Period, Greco-Roman Period
	Hieratic	Middle Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty, Ramesside Period, Late Period
 (G37+A1)	Hieroglyphic	Middle Kingdom
	Hieratic	Eighteenth Dynasty

4.3.4 Classifier Usage: Genre Considerations

Figures 8-9 (above) highlight that  (G37)/ (G37)-combination is the dominant classifier across the textual genres in which *ind* is attested. However, only 27% temple inscription attestations feature  (G37)/ (G37)-combination. As many of the temple inscriptions date to

(D54) and Δ (D55) because its homonym *int* “to keep back” is classified with these MOVEMENT classifiers. See H. Brunner, “Bildliche Ausdrücke und Übertragungen” in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz), 1975, pp. 805-811; Chantrain and Di Biase-Dyson, “Making a Case for Multidimensionality in Ramesside Figurative Language,” p. 43 n. 10.

²³² Chantrain and Di Biase-Dyson, “Making a Case for Multidimensionality in Ramesside Figurative Language,” pp. 41-66.

the Greco-Roman Period, the prevalence of Δ (D54) and Δ (D55) (36%) is not surprising.²³³ The frequency of \circ Aa2 (27%) is the result of *ind* appearing with this classifier in three copies of two phrases at Medinet Habu.²³⁴

Considering the graphematic axis, particularly the classifiers associated with *ind*, creates a deepened understanding of *ind*'s location within Egyptian knowledge organisation, namely the 'conceptual categories' to which *ind* belongs, as well as its possible connotations. Examining this axis in conjunction with the semantic axis sheds meaningful light on *ind* by distinguishing between instances of classifier usage which may be semantically motivated and those that are not semantically motivated, but rather reflect broader diachronic developments in classifier usage.

4.4 Phonematic Axis

The spelling of *ind* exhibits several variations.²³⁵ Tables 3 and 4 (below) present a diachronic overview of *ind*'s spellings according to word class and script, respectively. It is necessary to first consider whether the spelling *ind*, as attested in the First Intermediate Period, is a variant of *ind* or whether *ind* and *ind* are separate lexemes. As noted in 2.2 (above), the *Wb* and *Großes Handwörterbuch* propose that *ind* and *ind* are probably identical lexemes.²³⁶ However, a semantic analysis of these attestations clarifies this matter. In the First Intermediate Period Hatnub graffiti, *ind* is associated with "healing medicine" and "nurses", which suggests that it relates to physical/medical ailments.²³⁷ *ind* similarly exhibits this sense in the magical-medical papyri of the Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside Period, as it is associated with burns and infection.²³⁸ This continuity of sense suggests that *ind* is a variant spelling of *ind*, and this interpretation is followed in the present research.

Tables 3 and 4 (below) reveal variations in the spelling of *ind* beginning in the Third Intermediate Period. From the Third Intermediate Period onwards, *ind* is spelled intermittently

²³³ See 4.3.3 for discussion of Δ (D54) and Δ (D55) as being decisive features of Late Period orthography.

²³⁴ See Ex.7-8 in 4.6 and Nos. 33-34, 36-37.

²³⁵ This lexeme will be transliterated in 4.6 as *ind*, *ind* or *int* to reflect its spelling within each attestation.

²³⁶ *Wb* 1, 102.16-18; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, p. 91.

²³⁷ See Ex.1-3 in 4.6.

²³⁸ See Ex.4 in 4.6 and Nos. 25-26 in Appendix A.

Table 4. Relationship Between Spellings and Script

<i>Spelling</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Dates Attested</i>
<i>ind</i>	Hieroglyphic	Middle Kingdom, Ramesside Period, Third Intermediate Period, Late Period, Greco-Roman Period
	Hieratic	Middle Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty, Ramesside Period, Late Period, Greco-Roman Period
<i>int</i>	Hieroglyphic	Third Intermediate Period, Greco-Roman Period
	Hieratic	Greco-Roman Period
<i>ind</i>	Hieroglyphic	Third Intermediate Period, Greco-Roman Period
	Hieratic	First Intermediate Period

Whilst examining phonematic aspects of *ind* is perhaps the least informative axis in isolation, when considered alongside the semantic axis, it enables this research to clarify that *ind* and *ind* are variant spellings of the same lexeme and identify that diachronic changes in *ind*'s spelling are not semantically motivated; rather, reflect broader trends in the development of the script.

4.5 Syntagmatic Axis²⁴¹

4.5.1 *ind* (verb) Attested: First Intermediate Period - Greco-Roman Period

The verbal attestations of *ind* exhibit a syntactic evolution. Prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty, *ind* is exclusively attested as an intransitive adjective verb that expresses a state (*Aktionsart*).²⁴² Perhaps unsurprisingly, *ind* appears as an Old Perfective in 65% of verbal attestations and the seeming preference for this form suggests that *ind* was linguistically conceptualised as a state or condition that could be *experienced*.²⁴³ *ind* is also employed as an Aorist *sdm=f*,²⁴⁴ a Subjunctive

²⁴¹ This thesis has adopted the grammatical terminology outlined in B.G. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian. Third Edition* (Darmstadt/Mainz: Philipp von Zabern), 2012.

²⁴² M. Van Lambalgen, and F. Hamm, *The Proper Treatment of Events* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd), 2005, pp. 90-92.

²⁴³ See Ex.1-3, 9, 11-12, 16-21 in 4.6 and Nos. 9, 14, 18-24, 45 in Appendix A. It is plausible that No.15 in Appendix A is also an Old Perfective. However, as there is a lacuna preceding *ind*, it cannot be conclusively determined what form *ind* is. No.15 has been considered a verbal attestation in this research. Junge proposes that Old Perfectives are not employed for verbs indicating a mental or emotional state. However, the semantic analysis below identifies that one of *ind*'s senses denotes an emotional state, namely *emotional distress*. See Junge, (Trans. Warburton), *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 83; For discussion of this form, see Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, pp. 51-53, §81.

²⁴⁴ See Ex.5 in 4.6; For discussion of this form, see Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, pp. 36-38, §70.

sdm=f,²⁴⁵ a Negated *sdm.n=f*,²⁴⁶ and as an Infinitive in a Pseudo-Verbal Construction.²⁴⁷ From the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, *ind* is used intransitively – a continuation of its original usage – and as a transitive verb, where it expresses a *causative* state (*Aktionsart*). *ind* is employed transitively as the Negative Complement in the Negation of the Imperative,²⁴⁸ and as an Infinitive in a Pseudo-Verbal Construction.²⁴⁹

The relative distribution of the transitive and intransitive usage of *ind* is highly uneven.²⁵⁰ As only 12% of *ind*'s surviving verbal attestations are transitive, it is difficult to determine whether this usage was restricted to particular historical periods or genres. The transitive attestations occur in Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside magical-medical papyri and in a Greco-Roman temple inscription.²⁵¹ In these attestations, demonic and divine forces are described as causing, or perhaps inflicting the experience of *ind*.

4.5.2 *s:ind* (verb) Attested: Middle Kingdom

There is a unique attestation of the causative *ind*, expressed with the 'causative *s*' in the Middle Kingdom tale, 'The Dialogue between a Man and His Ba', where it is employed as an Infinitive following a preposition in an adverbial expression.²⁵² Plausibly, the syntactic range of *ind* expanded to include a transitive-causative sense from the Eighteenth Dynasty, which caused the causative *s:ind* to fall out of use.

²⁴⁵ See Ex.7 in 4.6 and Nos. 33-34 in Appendix A; For discussion of this form, see Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, pp. 44-45, §75.

²⁴⁶ See Ex.10 in 4.6; For discussion of this form, see Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, p. 81, §138.

²⁴⁷ See Ex.28 in 4.6; For discussion of this construction, see Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, pp. 56-58, §86-88.

²⁴⁸ See Ex.4 in 4.6 and Nos. 25-26 in Appendix A; For discussion of this form, see Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, p. 79, §135.

²⁴⁹ See Ex.13 in 4.6; For discussion of this construction, see Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, pp. 56-58, §86-88.

²⁵⁰ The causative *s:ind* has not been included in the following statistical breakdown of the transitive and intransitive attestations of *ind*, as it possesses a transitive-causative sense, signalled through the 'causative *s*'.

²⁵¹ See Ex.4 and Ex. 13 in 4.6 and Nos. 25-26 in Appendix A.

²⁵² See Ex.15 in 4.6; For discussion of this construction, see Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, pp. 53-56, §82-85.

4.5.3 *ind* (noun) Attested: Middle Kingdom - Greco-Roman Period

ind is attested nominally in adverbial expressions (verbal and non-verbal sentences),²⁵³ the Negation of Non-Verbal Sentences,²⁵⁴ Expressions of Non-Possession,²⁵⁵ and the Predicate of *pw*-Sentences.²⁵⁶

4.5.4 *ind* (adjective) Attested: Greco-Roman Period

The adjectival usage of *ind* is highly restricted, as it is exclusively employed as an attribute of *ib* in Greco-Roman temple inscriptions.²⁵⁷

4.5.5 Collocations

The collocations of a lexeme are instrumental in signposting its sense, and as such, are discussed in 4.6. Table 5 (below) presents key collocations of *ind* that were manually extracted from all positive attestations and categorised into groups of related lexemes. This table highlights that *ind* is related to negative emotional states and expressions, as well as evil and suffering. Moreover, *ind* is opposed with medicine and health, as well as positive emotional states and expressions. These collocations suggest that *ind* has the general sense of an undesirable and negative emotional and/or physical state. The ‘collocations’ function of the *TLA* yielded similar results to those identified in the manual analysis.²⁵⁸ However, as the present research identified attestations of *ind* additional to those recorded in the *TLA*, the manually identified list of collocations is larger and more varied.

²⁵³ See Ex.6, 23-24, 29-34 in 4.6 and Nos. 7-8 in Appendix A. It is plausible that the attestation of *ind* in No. 30 in Appendix A is also used in an adverbial expression, as the lexeme possibly follows the preposition ‘*n*’. Enmarch suggests that this attestation may parallel the use of *ind* in 6,8. Ex.30 has been considered a nominal attestation in the present research. See R. Enmarch, *A World Upturned. Commentary on and Analysis of The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2008, p. 208.

²⁵⁴ See Ex.14 in 4.6; For discussion of these constructions, see Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, pp. 27, 29, 31, §47, 52, 55.

²⁵⁵ See Ex.8 in 4.6 and Nos. 36-37 in Appendix A; For discussion of this construction, see Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, p. 32, §59.

²⁵⁶ See Ex.22 in 4.6; For discussion of this construction, see Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, p. 30, §53-55.

²⁵⁷ See Ex.25-27 in 4.6 and Nos. 53, 55-56, 58-62 in Appendix A.

²⁵⁸ The collocations function of the *TLA* identified the following collocations *ind*, for example, *ms.w* “*Hr.w* “Horuskinder”, *sbh* “Schreien; Geschrei”, *mn.t* “Krankheit; Leiden”, *s.t* “Frau”, *kni* “Umarmung; Schoß; Brust”, *rš.wt* “Freude”, *spr* “gelangen nach; kommen zu; erreichen”, *m* “nicht (Imperativ des Negativverbs *imī*)”, *nn* “[Negationspartikel]”, *rwi* “fortgehen; verlassen; vertreiben”, *pr.w* “Haus”, *hrw* “Stimme, Geräusche; Zank; Krach”, *fzi* “holchheben; tragen; (sich) erheben”, *ib* “Herz; Verstand; Charakter; Wunsch”, *s3r* “Wunsch; Bedürfnis”, *m33* “sehen; erblicken”, *bin* “schlecht sein; böse sein”, *ls* “[Partikel]”.

Table 5. Key Collocations Manually Identified

<i>Related to</i>			<i>Opposed to</i>
<u>Negative Emotion Lexemes and Expressions</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Evil and Suffering</u>	<u>Medicine/Health</u>
<i>iskb</i> “to GRIEVE”	<i>i3d</i> “miserable one”	<i>isf.t</i> “disorder”	<i>3ty.t</i> “3ty.t-nurse”
<i>im</i> “lamentations”	<i>bṯn.w</i> “rebels”	<i>bin</i> “evil”	<i>phr.t-snb.t</i> “healing medicine”
<i>nh3.t-ib</i> “SADNESS”	<i>m3r</i> “wretched person”	<i>bw.t</i> “abomination”	<i>mn̄.t</i> “mn̄.t-nurse”
<i>nh.wt</i> “lamentations”	<i>ms.w Hr.w</i> “Children of Horus”	<i>mn.t</i> “suffering”	<i>snb</i> “to be healthy”
<i>rmy.t</i> “tears”	<i>mḥi.w</i> “drowning one”	<u>Places and Abstract</u>	<u>Positive Emotion Lexemes and Expressions</u>
<i>ḥ3y</i> “to MOURN”	<i>nb-sp</i> “the unfortunate”	<i>ib</i> “refuge”	<i>nhm</i> “to REJOICE”
<i>ḥwt</i> “to lament”	<i>nmḥ</i> “deprived one”	<i>pr.w</i> “house”	<i>ndm (ib)</i> “to be GLAD”
<i>sbḥ</i> “cry”	<i>n.ty mḏ</i> “one in the depths”	<i>m r3-w3.t</i> “vicinity”	<i>ršī</i> “to REJOICE”
<u>Actions and States</u>	<i>ḥm.wt</i> “women, wives”	<i>rk</i> “time”	<i>rš.w</i> “JOY”
<i>iri s3r</i> “make provisions”	<i>ḥft.y</i> “enemy”	<i>ḳrs.w</i> “burial”	<i>ḥi</i> “to REJOICE, be HAPPY”
<i>w3si</i> “to be ruined”	<i>ḥsy</i> “vile one”	<i>tpḥ.t-ḏ3.t</i> “cavern of the Netherworld”	<i>ḥc</i> “JOY, REJOICING”
<i>p3ḳi</i> “to be thin”	<i>s.t</i> “woman”	<u>Negations</u>	<i>sndm</i> “to make pleasant, rest”
<i>f3i m ḳni</i> “to carry in an embrace”	<i>sn.ty</i> “two sisters”	<i>n</i> (negation)	<i>shṯp</i> “to please”
<i>m33 r</i> “to watch over”	<i>dr</i> “the oppressed one”	<i>m</i> (imperative of the Negative Verb <i>imi</i>)	<i>thḥ</i> “to EXULT”
<i>mḥs</i> “to be impotent”	<u>Parts of the Body</u>	<u>Qualifiers/Emphasisers</u>	
<i>mḏd šm.t</i> “journey pressed hard”	<i>ib</i> “heart, mind, wish”	<i>is</i> “truly”	
<i>rḏi</i> “to give”	<i>ḥr</i> “face”		
<i>spr</i> “to return”	<i>ḥrw</i> “voice, call”		
<i>sḏr</i> “to be bedridden”			
<i>ḳsn</i> “to be difficult”			

Exploring the syntagmatic axis of *ind* enables a deepened understanding of the syntactic usage of verbal, nominal and adjectival attestations of *ind*. Identifying the changing transitive/intransitive usages of the verbal lexeme, and the periods in which this occurred is of particular importance, as this information is lacking in the Egyptological dictionaries (See Table 1 above). The brief consideration of *ind*'s key collocations also illuminates the general sense of the lexeme.

4.6 Semantic Axis²⁵⁹

The semantic analysis of *ind* reveals that it is a polysemous lexeme, the core sense of which relates to *suffering* and *distress*. The positive attestations of *ind* exhibit a gradation of senses from *physical suffering* (4.6.1) and *general suffering* (4.6.2), to *emotional distress* (4.6.3), which is signalled by collocations in the co-text and the textual context. Additionally, *ind* is attested as a deverbal noun that denotes an individual. Although these attestations are not semantically distinct from the abovementioned senses, attestations of “the one who is *ind*” are treated separately in the discussion below (4.6.4), as the co-texts are unclear in signalling which of *ind*'s senses are being evoked.

4.6.1 *ind* and Physical Suffering

ind possesses the sense of *physical suffering* relating to *medical ailments*, *infertility* and *exhaustion* in 22 attestations dating from the First Intermediate Period to the Late Period.

4.6.1.1 Physical (Medical) Ailments: Verbal Attestations

The association between *ind* and medical afflictions is exemplified in the First Intermediate Period autobiographical graffiti at Hatnub, as the authors of the graffiti stress their capacity to treat *ind*. In Graffiti No.20, the author describes himself as:

Ex.1.  260

sn(.w) pr.w=f (12) n iyi.w snd(.w) rꜥ.w n(.y) ḥꜣꜥ.yt phr.t snb.t n{.t} iyi.w ind(.w)

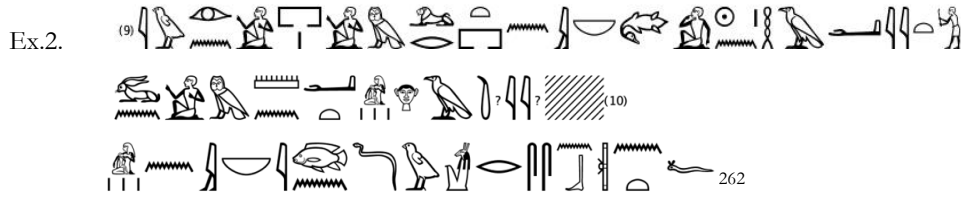
“One who opens his house (12) to the one who came being AFRAID (on) the day of turmoil, healing medicine for the one who came being *ind*”.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ Unless otherwise stated, all transliterations and translations are author's own.

²⁶⁰ Hieroglyphic transcription after G. Möller and R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub: Nach den Aufnahmen Georg Möller* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs) 1928, p. 43, Pl. 18.

²⁶¹ This thesis has adopted the transliteration method and grammatical terminology outlined in Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*.

Similarly, the author of Graffiti No.16 declares:



(9) *iw iri.n=i pr.w=i m rw.t n iyi(.w) nb snd(.w) r^c.w n(.y) h3^c.yt wn=i mn^c.t hr 3ty[.t]*

(10) *n iyi(.w) nb ind.w r s:snb.nt(w)=f²⁶³*

“(9) I made my house as a gateway for anyone who came being AFRAID (on) the day of turmoil. I was a *mn^c.t*-nurse and an *3ty[.t]*-nurse (10) for anyone who came being *ind* until he was made to be healthy”.

Graffiti No.12. plausibly refers to the magical treatment of an ailment afflicting the *hr* “face”:



iw hk3.n(=i) hr ind(.w) (14) sni.t=i n st

“(I) have enchanted the face being *ind*,²⁶⁵ (14) my conjuring being for the smell”.

In Ex.1-3, *ind* is described as an ailment which could be treated by medical and magical means. The references to the “day of conflict (*h3^c.yt*)” likely refers to civil unrest.²⁶⁶ It is possible that *ind* is used metaphorically to denote metaphysical suffering caused by civil strife, as opposed to physical injury experienced in conflict.

In Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside magical-medical papyri, *ind* is associated with severe burns. The historiola of Incantation 43 (= Wreszinski Incantation 55) in pBM EA 10059 XI,9 (Eighteenth Dynasty) describes that Horus’s body is “blackened with charcoal” and Isis commands the “vile one”:


²⁶² Hieroglyphic transcription after Möller and Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, p. 36, Pl. 16.

²⁶³ For preposition *r* + *sdm.n=f* see A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs. Third Edition Revised* (Oxford: Griffith Institute), 1957, pp. 119-120, §156.

²⁶⁴ Hieroglyphic transcription after Möller and Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, p. 29, Pl. 15.


²⁶⁵ Möller and Anthes suggest that *hr* functions as a preposition and translate the phrase as “I conjured up an *ind*-person”. However, as this attestation does not parallel other attestations in which *ind* denotes an individual (see Ex. 32-24 in 4.6.4), I have interpreted this phrase as a noun and an Old Perfective, describing the state or condition of the face. See Möller and Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, p. 31.

²⁶⁶ Möller and Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, pp. 91-96.

- Ex.4. (9)  267
 (9) *m [i]nd(.w) sp 2 hs(y).w m iri(.w) dm.t m iri(.w) shd.wt m iri(.w) fnt.w*
 (9) “Do not *ind*, do not *ind*!”²⁶⁸ O vile one! Do not make a sting! Do not make whitenings!
 Do not make maggots!”

The references to stings, maggots and whitening plausibly denote infection associated with severe burns. *ind* likely refers to the physical suffering linked to these afflictions, which Isis pleads to the “vile one” not to inflict on Horus.


Lethargy or immobility, as a physical symptom of *ind*, is attested in a Late Period mythological papyrus. In pBrooklyn 47.218.84 x+13, 3, the *sm*-priest of Geb needed to be physically supported when he experienced *ind*:

- Ex.5. (x+13, 3)  269
 (x+13, 3) *f3i.ntw=f m kni hft ind=f*
 “(x+13, 3) (That) he has been carried around (lit. in the arms/in an embrace) (is) when he was *ind*”.

The direct association between being “carried around” and *ind* suggests that *ind* was associated with, or perhaps manifested in, lethargy or immobility.

4.6.1.2 Physical (Medical) Ailments: Nominal Attestations

The link between *ind* and immobility is earlier attested in a Ramesside Period letter (pBerlin 11252, AS 4-5), as the female author describes the symptoms associated with *ind*:

- Ex.6.  270
iw=i (hr) sdr (4) hr ind.w=i iw bn (5) w^c r di.t mw n=i

²⁶⁷ Hieroglyphic transcription after Leitz, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VII*, p. 75, Pl. 36.

²⁶⁸ Alternative translation: “Do not be *ind*! Do not be *ind*!” It is possible to understand *ind* as an intransitive verb, with Isis commanding Horus to not *experience ind*. However, I have chosen to interpret *ind* as having a transitive-causative sense in this attestation, due to the parallel phraseology in pLeiden I 348 Vso 3,4 (Ramesside Period) in which *ind* clearly possesses a transitive-causative sense: (4) *m ind=f m ind=f [m iri(.w)] mw hw3 m iri(.w) mw h4 m iri(.w) fnt.w* “(4) Do not *ind* him (Horus)! Do not *ind* him (Horus)! [Do not make] a foul liquid! Do not make a white liquid! Do not make maggots!” See Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, Pl. 17; Nos. 25-26 in Appendix A.

²⁶⁹ Hieroglyphic transcription after D. Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta d'après le papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84* (Cairo: IFAO), 2008, Pl.13-14A, p. 483, §32.

²⁷⁰ Hieroglyphic transcription after Fragment Berlin P 11252, *Deir el Medine Online 2002-2009*, München, <<http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/fragment.php?id=250>> Accessed 27/5/2020.

“I was bedridden (4) because of my *ind*, but (5) no-one will give me water!”²⁷¹

The woman explicates that the reason she was “bedridden” (*sdr*) was because she was experiencing *ind*. As *ind* takes the first-person singular suffix pronoun, it suggests that *ind* was conceptualised as an entity that an individual could possess. The woman’s lament that no one gave her water signals that an individual experiencing *ind* required physical assistance.

The association between *ind* and “healing medicine” (*phr.t-snb.t*), *mn^c.t* and *sty.t*-nurses, burns, infection and the physical symptoms of being bedridden (*sdr*) and needing physical support (*f3i m kni*), suggests that *ind* denotes *physical suffering because of medical ailments*. The following glosses are proposed, (*intr. verb*) “to be physically suffering (because of an ailment)” [Ex.1-3, 5], (*tr. verb*) “to cause someone to physically suffer (because of an ailment)” [Ex.4], and (*noun*) “physical suffering (because of an ailment)” [Ex.6].

4.6.1.3 Infertility: Verbal Attestations

ind possesses the sense of *female infertility* in the Third Intermediate Period pylons preceding the Chapels of the Divine Adoratrices of Amun, *Imn-ir-di=s*, *Šp-n-wp.t* and *N.t-ikr.t*, at Medinet Habu.²⁷² These attestations relate Hathor’s ability to inflict *ind* on, and alleviate *ind* from women. The reader is addressed:

Ex.7. ⁽³⁾  ²⁷³

⁽³⁾ *ir {h}gr(t) nn dd mdw nn iw hn.wt imn(.tt) r rdi(.t) mhs=sn ind hm.wt=sn*

“⁽³⁾ But if there is no saying these words, then the Mistress of the West will cause that they may be *mhs* (infertile/impotent), and their wives may be *ind*”.

²⁷¹ Alternative translation: “there not being (5) one to give water to me”.

²⁷² G. Daressy notes, “A Médi-net-Habou, les trois portes percés dans les pylones précédant les chapelles d’Armeniritis, Chap-n-apt et Nitocris sont surmontées du texte suivant, ou le nom de la défunte est seul variable”. As the text is presumably identical across all three attestations, only one attestation is discussed. See G. Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l’archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 20 (1898), p. 74.

²⁷³ Hieroglyphic transcription after K. Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit Teil III: Die 25 Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag), 2009, p. 267; See Nos. 33-34 in Appendix A.

4.6.1.4 Infertility: Nominal Attestations

Instructions are given to the readers and their wives:



(5) *iri* [*hm.wt=tn*] *n* *Hw.t-Hr.w* *hn.wt* [*imn.tt dī=s msi(.w)=sn n=tn tzy.w hm.wt nn*]
mr n(.y) /// (6) *nn hq.t ib=tn im=[sn nn n=sn ind nn n=tn] mhs*

“(5) [Your wives] will perform for Hathor, Mistress of the [West, and she will cause that they may bear for you boys and girls. There will be no] suffering of ///*, (6) there will be no damaging of your *ib* (“heart, mind, wish”)²⁷⁵ because of [them. *ind* does not belong to them and] *mhs* (infertility/impotence) [does not belong to you]”.*

The inverse relationship between bearing children and not possessing/experiencing *ind* and possessing/experiencing *ind* and presumably *not* having children, strongly suggests that *ind* relates to *female infertility*. This conclusion is supported by *ind*’s association with *mhs*, glossed as “impotent, zeugungsunfähig sein”,²⁷⁶ which also was a state that Hathor could inflict or alleviate. As both *mhs* and *ind* are classified with ◻ (Aa2), it may suggest that they were conceptualised as illnesses.²⁷⁷

The glosses (*intr. verb*) “to be suffering from female infertility” [Ex.7] and (*noun*) “female infertility” [Ex.8] are proposed.

4.6.1.5 Physical Exhaustion: Verbal Attestations

Identical phraseology containing *ind* is employed to describe the sorry-lot of the fieldworker, arrow-maker, and courier in the ‘Satire of the Trades’, where it possesses the sense of *physical exhaustion*. The description of the courier is discussed as an example of this phraseology.²⁷⁸ The

²⁷⁴ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriben der Spätzeit Teil III*, p. 266; See Nos. 36-37 in Appendix A.

²⁷⁵ The lexeme *ib* has several senses. It can denote a *metaphorical heart* and relate to an individual’s mind, character, desire, intellect and morality. It also denotes the *stomach/interior body/heart region* of an individual. Due to the difficulties in translating this term, the lexeme *ib* is left in transliteration within this thesis. See Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, pp. 55-68 for a detailed overview of the scholarship on *ib*.

²⁷⁶ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, p. 377.

²⁷⁷ See 4.3.1 above for a discussion of the association between ◻ (Aa2) and the illness-suffering ‘conceptual category’.

²⁷⁸ See Nos. 9, 19-20, in Appendix A for hieroglyphic transcriptions and translations of the fieldworker and arrow-maker.

earliest copy of the ‘Satire of the Trades’, Tablet Louvre 693 (Eighteenth Dynasty) describes that the courier experiences FEAR in his profession because of wild animals and Asiatics:




(Vso 1) *shh.ty hr pri.t r h3s.t swd.n=f (i)h.wt=f n ms.w=f*
snd.w hr m3i hn' 3m.w rh=f [sw] (i)r=f i[w]=f hr Km.t
spr=f r pr.w=f ind.w mdd.(Vso 2)n sw šm.t
iw pr.w=f m d3i.w m db.t nn iyi(.t){=f} sndm-ib

“(Vso 1) The (express) courier goes forth to the desert, he having assigned his property to his children, being AFRAID because of the lion and Asiatics. (That) he really knows [himself] (is) when he is in Egypt. (That) he arrives at his house being *ind* (is) the journey having pressed hard (Vso 2) on him. Whether his house is of cloth or of bricks; there is no HAPPY returning”.²⁸⁰

The courier arrives home in the state of *ind* because his journey “pressed hard” (*mdd*) on him, which suggests that *ind* relates to *physical exhaustion* brought about by hard physical labour and long-distance travel. Moreover, *ind* is associated with the absence of a “HAPPY returning” (*iyi.t sndm-ib*) and this inverse relationship suggests that *ind* may also be linked to a negative emotional state.²⁸¹

Interestingly, *ind* is not attested in all copies of the ‘Satire of the Trades’ describing the courier, fieldworker and arrow-maker.²⁸² Rather, a majority of copies contain the phrases

 *spr=f r pr.w=f <m> m3r.w...* “(That) he arrives to

²⁷⁹ Hieroglyphic transcription after S. Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien* (Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie), 2004, pp. LVII-LXI.

²⁸⁰ For parallel attestations, see Nos. 21-24 in Appendix A.

²⁸¹ See 4.6.3 for discussion of *ind* exhibiting the sense of *emotional distress*.

²⁸² For copies of the ‘Satire of the Trades’ describing the ‘fieldworker’ that do not feature *ind*, see pSallier II, pAnast. VII, ODeM 1518, oDeM 1534, oK 25217, oDeM 1029, oDeM 1058, oDeM 1536, oDeM 1533, oDeM 1537 in Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, pp. LI-LII. For the ‘courier’, see pSallier II, pAnast. VII, oDeM 1525, oBodmer, oDeM 1543 in Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, pp. LIX-LX. For the ‘arrow-maker’, see pSallier II, pAnast. VII, oDeM 1529, oDeM 1525, tLouvre 693, oDeM 1179, oDeM 1540, oTur. 57316, oDeM 1541 in Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, pp. LVI-LVII.

“(I know whereon the god lives,) I speaking out (lit. give my mouth) that (I) may speak up for the miserable one, (my) *ib* not resting (lit. having slept) when he is *ind*”.

ind is described as affecting the *isd* “miserable one”.²⁸⁸ The stela owner highlights that he acted benevolently towards the “miserable one” by “speaking out” and “speaking up” for them, which presumably had a positive impact on the “miserable one’s” experience of *ind*. Failing to do so had negative consequences for the stela owner’s conscience, as it caused his *ib* to be restless. This stela sheds light on the ideal moral obligation of the elite to assist those experiencing *ind*.²⁸⁹

The Ramesside Stela of Nebre (Berlin No.20377) expresses the confidence of Nebre in Amun and emphasises the compassion of the god to those who call to him. *ind* is attested twice on this stela. The upper part of the stela describes Amun as follows:



ntr špsy sdm(.w) nh.t iyi(.w) hr hrw (4) nmḥ ind(.w) dd(.w) t3.w <n> n.ty g3b.y

“The August god who hears prayer and who comes at the voice of (4) the needy who is *ind*. One who gives breath <to> the one who is deprived”.

ind described to affect the “needy one” (*nmḥ*) in particular, which may suggest that *ind* was associated with or perhaps ‘triggered’ by deprivation and lack.²⁹¹ Presumably, Amun “coming to” the “needy one” would have alleviated their experience of *ind*.

On the lower part of the stela, it is Nebre himself who experiences *ind*:



*ntk Imn(.w) p3 nb n(.y) gr(.w) iyi(.w) hr hrw nmḥ iš=i n=k iw=i ind.[kw tw](5)=k
iyi.ti šdi=k wi di=k t3.w <n> n.ty g3b.y šdi=k wi wnn nti(.w)*

²⁸⁸ See 4.2.2 above for discussion of the relationship between *isd* and *ind* as possible phonetic doublets.

²⁸⁹ See 4.6.4 for other attestations of this motif.

²⁹⁰ Hieroglyphic transcription after K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical Volume III* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd), 1980, p. 653.

²⁹¹ Cf. Ex.33 for association between *ind* and lack, as the tomb owner describes: “I having fulfilled [the need] for the one who is *ind*”.

²⁹² Hieroglyphic transcription after Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical Volume III*, p. 654.

“You are Amun, the lord of the silent one, who comes at the voice of the needy, I called to you when I was *ind* and ⁽⁵⁾ you came and you rescued me. You give breath <to> the one who is deprived. You rescued me, one who existed, oppressed”.

The co-text reveals that Nebre “called” to Amun *because* he was experiencing *ind*, and Amun came and “rescued him” (*šdi*), which presumably denotes the easing of *ind*. In Ex.11-12, *ind* is juxtaposed with references to giving breath, being deprived of breath and being oppressed, which may be indicative of a metaphorical or experiential connection between the experience of *ind* and these sensations.

The end door of the northern corridor at Kom Ombo (Greco-Roman Period), preserves a unique attestation of *ind* that describes the power of the divine:

Ex.13.  293


Twn.ty hr ind išt.yw=f šmr hr šꜥd hr.yw=f

“Twenty makes *ind* his mutilated ones; Shemer slaughters his enemies”.

ind is used transitively and possesses a transitive-causative sense. The association between the “slaughtering of enemies” and *ind* suggests that it was a destructive action that the divine could inflict on the enemies of the king.

4.6.2.2 *ind* and General Suffering: Nominal Attestations

The east staircase in the Edfu temple preserves a nominal attestation of *ind* in which the power of the king against his enemies is extolled:

Ex.14. (I 559, 81)  294

(I 559, 81) *ḥd=k pw dr bṯn.w=k ḥꜥ {ns} <sn> ḥꜥ=k pri{nb} <=k> r-ḥ3 (n)n ind m r3-w3.t=k*

“(I 559, 81) It is your *ḥd* which expels your rebels; your fist seizes them when you go forth; there is no *ind* in your vicinity”.

The co-text describes a correlation between the expulsion of rebels and seizing of enemies, and the non-existence of *ind* in the vicinity of the king. This indicates that *ind* was associated with

²⁹³ Hieroglyphic transcription after J. De Morgan, U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, G. Jéquier, A. Barsanti, *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de L’Égypte Antique. Tome Troisième. Kom Ombo. Deuxième Partie* (Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen), 1909, p. 247.

²⁹⁴ Hieroglyphic transcription after E. Chassinat and M. de Rochemonteix, *Le Temple D’Edfou I,4*. Second Revised Edition by S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle (Cairo: IFAO), 1987, p. 559.

the activities of enemies and was a negative entity or potency that could invade the king's vicinity.


The collocations and co-texts associated with *ind* in Ex.10-14 highlight that it was undesirable and potentially destructive. The following glosses are proposed (*intr. verb*) “to be suffering, distressed” [Ex.10-12], (*trans. verb*) “to cause someone to suffer, be distressed” [Ex.13], and (*noun*) “suffering, distress” [Ex.14].

4.6.3 *ind* and Emotional Distress

ind has clear connotations of *emotional distress* relating to the English emotion concepts of SADNESS, ANXIETY, MISERY, EMPATHY and GRIEF in 29 attestations dating from the Middle Kingdom to the Greco-Roman Period.

4.6.3.1 *ind* SADNESS, ANXIETY, MISERY, and EMPATHY: Verbal Attestations

The earliest attestation of *ind* with the sense of *emotional distress* is the causative *s:ind*. As noted above (4.5.2), *s:ind* is uniquely attested in the Middle Kingdom tale, ‘The Dialogue Between a Man and His Ba’ (pBerlin 3024). In his third speech, the Ba addresses the preceding laments of the Man and reminds him of the suffering associated with negative rumination:

Ex.15.  (55) *iw wpt̃.n n=i b3=i r3=f wš* (56) *b=f dd.tn=i ir sh3=k krs.w n* (57) *h3.t-ib pw iñ.t rmy.t*
pw m s:in (58) *d si šdi.t si pw m pr.w=f h3(.w) hr* (59) *k33*

“(55) My Ba opened his mouth to me that (56) he might answer that which I said, “If you remember a burial, it is (57) a SADNESS; it is a bringing of tears through (58) making a man *ind*. It is taking a man from his house, he being cast upon (59) a hill”.

The co-text describes that the man's experience of *ind* was caused by “remembering a burial” and is associated with crying (*iñ.t rmy.t*). This situation is described as a “SADNESS” (*nh3.t-ib*). As *ind* is not attested with the sense of “to GRIEVE (for someone)” before the Greco-Roman Period, where it is exclusively associated with the death of Osiris, it is unlikely that *s:ind* has the sense of “to cause someone to GRIEVE” in this Middle Kingdom attestation.²⁹⁶ Rather, the gloss

²⁹⁵ Hieroglyphic transcription after J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature. Eight Literary Works of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2015, p. 339.

²⁹⁶ See Ex.28-31 for attestations of *ind* exhibiting the sense of *emotional distress relating to* GRIEF.

“to cause someone to experience acute emotional distress relating to MISERY” is more appropriate for Ex.15.

Emotional distress ‘triggered’ by concern for a loved one’s wellbeing is exemplified in the Ramesside magical-medical papyrus pBM EA 9997. Incantation Three, 17-18 documents the distress of Isis for Horus after he was bitten by a snake.²⁹⁷



ḏḏ.in im.yw-ht ntr in iwr is pw n(.y) m3r in (18) sbḥ is pw n(.y) s.t ind.ti 3s.t pw s3=s' r hpt=s' psh.n sw im.y{w} i3d.{w}t=f

“**Then said** those who are in the following of the god, “Is it the lament of the needy? Is it the (18) cry of a woman who is *ind*? It is Isis. Her son will embrace her after “the one who is in his mound” has bitten him”.

ind is collocated with *sbḥ* “cry out”, which explicitly associates the state of *ind* with the physical behaviour of crying out or wailing.²⁹⁹

The Third Intermediate Period ‘historical’ tale, the ‘Chronicle of Prince Osorkon’, preserved in the Bubastite Portal at Karnak, describes his concern about witnessing the misconduct of an anonymous ruler:



(9) *ḥk3=s w(.w) <m> 3bd ḏ.t=i p(3)ki(.w) int.(kw)*

“(9) ...her ruler being alone <for> a month, my body is thin, I am *int*”.

As discussed in 2.2 (above), Caminos suggests that the emotional distress of Prince Osorkon about the anonymous ruler, designated by *ind*, “has begun to tell on his physical condition”, manifesting in *p3ki* (“thinness”).³⁰¹ *ind* conceivably relates to ANXIETY in this attestation.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Ex.18-20 and No. 14 in Appendix A for similar motif of afflicted children.

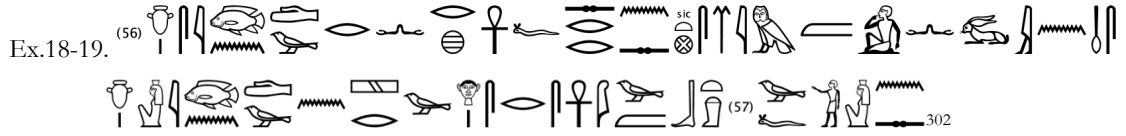
²⁹⁸ Hieroglyphic transcription after Leitz, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VII*, Pl. 3.

²⁹⁹ Cf. Ex. 15 for association between *ind* and “the bringing of tears” (*ini.t rmy.t*), and Ex. 19 for association between *ind* and “lamentations” (*im*).

³⁰⁰ Hieroglyphic transcription after The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak. Volume III. The Bubastite Portal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1954, Pl. 21.

³⁰¹ Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, pp. 93-94, §138.o.

The historiola in Saying Six of the Late Period Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85) records the tale of a woman whose son is stung by a scorpion and then experiences burns. Isis describes the behaviour of the mother whose son is afflicted and then relates her own reaction to the situation:

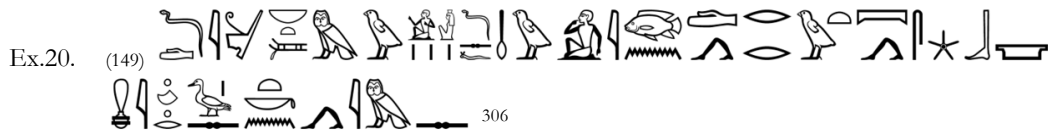


(56) *ib=s ind(.w) {r} <iw> n rh<=s> 'nh=f s{rr} <h3h> .n=s' niw.t {s} m im n wn
iyi(.w) n hrw=s ib=i ind(.w) n šri hr=s r s:nh šw m bt3=(57)f nis=i n=s*

“(56) Her *ib* was *ind* because <she> not knowing whether he may live. (That) she hurried through the city (was) with lamentations, (but) there was none who came at her call. My (=Isis) *ib* was *ind* for her (the mother) because of the child, (and) in order to cause the one free from wrong to live, (57) I called to her”.

In both attestations, *ind* is collocated with *ib*, which indicates that *ind* is a state/condition that affects the *ib* in particular. In the first attestation, *ind* is ‘triggered’ by the mother witnessing the suffering of her son and her deep concern for his wellbeing.³⁰³ *ind* is collocated with *im* “lamentations” and is, therefore, associated with the vocal behaviour of lamenting.³⁰⁴ In the second attestation, Isis’s *ib* experiences *ind* because she observes the distress of the mother for her son and this ‘trigger’ suggests an association between *ind* and EMPATHY.

The Late Period magical-medical Stela of Djed-Hor (OI 10589) records the distress of Isis, who turns to various deities for assistance after Horus was bitten by a snake:³⁰⁵



(149) *dd.in nb tm.w ds=f hrw ind(.w) r-rw.t(y) sb3 mī šdi s3=s tkn(=f) im=s*

“(149) Then the Lord-of-All said himself, “A voice that is *ind* is outside the gate like (that of) the one who rescued her son after (he) approached it”.

³⁰² Hieroglyphic transcription after C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstela*. Analecta Aegyptiaca VIII (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard), 1956, pp. 37-38.

³⁰³ Cf. Ex.16 and 20 and No. 14 in Appendix A for similar motif of afflicted children.

³⁰⁴ Cf. Ex.15 for association between *ind* and “the bringing of tears” (*ini.t rmy.t*), and Ex.16 for association between *ind* and “crying out” (*sbh*).

³⁰⁵ Cf. Ex.16, 18 and No. 14 in Appendix A for similar motif of afflicted children.

³⁰⁶ Hieroglyphic transcription after E. Jelinkova-Reymond, *Les Inscriptions de la Statue Guérissante de Djed-Her-Le-Saveur* (Cairo: IFAO), 1956, p. 72. This text is paralleled on the Ramesside Period magical-medical papyrus p BM EA 9997. However, the text is in an incomplete state of preservation and only the (G37) classifier of *ind* is preserved. See Leitz, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VII*, pp. 13-15, Pl. 6, Vso 1-2 and No. 14 in Appendix A.

ind is collocated with *hrw* “voice”, which suggests that the voice could be affected by, or perhaps *express ind* through vocal behaviour.³⁰⁷

The Greco-Roman Period ‘Ritual for the Transfiguration of Osiris’ describes the dependence of humanity and the divine on Osiris. pLouvre I 3079, 110, 8-9 relates:



(110,8) *ntr.w rmt.w ʿ.wy=sn kzi(.w) {iw}<r> h3h=k mi s3 m-s3 mw.t=f iyi=k n=w*
ib.w=w int.(w) [di=k] pri=w m rši idb.w Hr.w m (110,9) hʿ iz.wt n Sty hr(.w) n snd=k
 “(110,8) Gods and men, their arms are raised so that you hasten like a son after his mother.
 May you come to them, their *ibs* being *int*, and [may you cause] that they may go forth
 in JOY; the banks of Horus (are) (110,9) in JOY (and) the Mounds of Seth being overthrown
 because of the FEAR of you”.

Humankind and the divine appeal to Osiris and he comes quickly with the speed of a child who runs after its mother. This attestation describes the capacity of Osiris to transform *ibs* that are experiencing *ind* into “JOY” (*rši*, *hʿ*) by “coming to” humanity and the divine. *ind* clearly denotes a state of *emotional distress*, as it is explicitly opposed with HAPPINESS lexemes.

4.6.3.2 *ind* SADNESS and MISERY: Nominal Attestations


The ‘Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage’ preserved on pLeiden I 344 (Ramesside Period), describes a period of social upheaval and preserves several nominal attestations of *ind*.³⁰⁹ The narrator, Ipuwer, contrasts the states of order and disorder and directs this complaint at an unknown king. In one lament, Ipuwer presents an “attack on cult offerings” and asks a series of rhetorical questions:³¹⁰

³⁰⁷ *ind* is associated with the vocal behaviours of “crying out” (*sbh*) and “lamentations” (*im*). See Ex.15, 18.

³⁰⁸ Hieroglyphic transcription after “J-C. Goyon, Le Cérémonial de Glorification d'Osiris du Papyrus du Louvre I. 3079 (Colonnes 110 à 112),” *BIFAO* 65 (1965) pp. 95, 142, Pl. XVIII. For parallel attestation, see No. 45 in Appendix A.

³⁰⁹ Henceforth abbreviated to ‘Admonitions’. Although *ind* is attested on three occasions in the ‘Admonitions’, only two of the attestations are discussed as the third attestation is fragmentary. See No. 30 in Appendix A for third attestation.


³¹⁰ Enmarch, *A World Upturned*, p. 109.

Ex.22. 
i[n iw] ^(5,9) *m iwh n pth iṯ.t i[3.t]* ³¹² *dd=tn n=f hr m n(n) ph sw ind.w is pw dd=tn n=f* ³¹¹

“(5,9) [Is it] namely libating for Ptah and seizing the *i[3.t]*-offerings? Why do you give to him, without reaching him? That you give to him is indeed *ind*”.

Ipuwer is questioning why humankind bothers giving offerings to Ptah when he is distant, and one cannot get through to him. The act of giving to Ptah *is ind*, because, as R. Enmarch suggests, this action “only cause[s] humanity more deprivation through appalling waste”.³¹³ *ind* is emphasised by the enclitic particle *is* “indeed”.

In another lament, Ipuwer presents an “attack on the knowledge and records of the elite”, bewailing Egypt’s dire social situation:³¹⁴

Ex.23. 
“(6,8) [*iw m*]*s* [*sh3.w sm3{m}*].*tw šdi(.w) sh3.w=sn bin.wy n=i n ind.w m { } <r>k* *ir.y*

(6,8) [**Indeed**], [scribes are slain], and their writings are removed. How evil it is for me because of the *ind* of the respective time”.

The co-text explicates that *ind* is associated with, or perhaps ‘triggered’ by the destruction of traditional knowledge. *ind* is collocated with *bin* “evil”, and this destruction is particularly immoral for Ipuwer, as a member of the scribal elite.³¹⁶ Moreover, *ind* is collocated with “time” (*rk*), which suggests that *ind* was conceptualised as a ‘label’ that could be attributed to a particular period of time when undesirable events occurred. Interestingly, in Ex.22-23, *ind* does not describe a character’s emotional experience; rather, it is a feature of social upheaval.

Horus is called to “wake up” so that he can perform beneficial activities in the Late Period Metternich Stela:

³¹¹ Hieroglyphic transcription after R. Enmarch, *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All* (Oxford: Griffith Institute), 2005, p. 35.

³¹² Alternate interpretation “*w.t* “herds, flocks” (*Wb* 1, 170.7-171.1).

³¹³ Enmarch, *A World Upturned*, p. 110.

³¹⁴ Enmarch, *A World Upturned*, p. 118.

³¹⁵ Hieroglyphic transcription after Enmarch, *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All*, p. 37.

³¹⁶ Cf. Ex.26 for association between *ind* and “abomination” (*bw.t*) and “disorder” (*isf.t*).

Ex.24.  ³¹⁷

{*hrw.w*} <*mdw.w*> *Hr.w r t⁽²³⁴⁾si ib.w shtp.n=f wn(.w) m ind ndm ib=tn im.yw nw.t*

“The words of Horus will ⁽²³⁴⁾ raise up the *ibs*, he having pleased that which is *ind* (lit. exists in *ind*). Let your *ibs* be GLAD, (namely) the ones who are in Nut!”


ind is the direct object of the verb “to please” (*shtp*), as “that which is *ind*” could be remedied through “pleasing”. Plausibly, this action enabled the *ibs* to “be GLAD” (*ndm*), which would suggest that *ind* and *ndm* are opposite emotional states.³¹⁸

4.6.3.3 *ind* and SADNESS: Adjectival Attestations

The adjectival usage of *ind* is restricted to Greco-Roman Period temple inscriptions, where it is exclusively employed as an attribute of *ib* in three royal and divine epithets.³¹⁹

4.6.3.3.1 Epithet One

The inside perimeter wall in the Edfu temple describes the king as one:

Ex.25. (VI 283,5)  ³²⁰

(VI 283,5) *rwī mn.t m ib.w int(.w)*

“(VI 283,5) ... who drives away suffering from the *ibs* that are *int*”.

ind is collocated with “suffering” (*mn.t*) and, conceivably, the presence of “suffering” in the *ib* is related to the experience of *ind*. The king has the capacity to “drive away” (*rwī*) suffering *from* the *ib*, which presumably also dispelled *ind*. This attestation describes the *ib* as a *container* for “suffering”.³²¹

4.6.3.3.2 Epithet Two

The south side of the east tower in the Edfu temple describes Osiris (as the *Iwn*-pillar) as one:

³¹⁷ Hieroglyphic transcription after Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstele*, p. 67.

³¹⁸ Cf. Ex.27 where “*ibs* that are *ind*” is the direct object of the verb *snḏm* “to make pleasant”.

³¹⁹ Several tokens of each of these phraseology types are attested, however, only one attestation of each type is discussed. For all attestations see Nos. 52-62 in Appendix A.

³²⁰ Hieroglyphic transcription after E. Chassinat, *Le Temple D'Edfon. Tome Sixième* (Cairo: IFAO) 2009 [revised edition of the 1931 1st edition], p. 283; See No. 53 in Appendix A for parallel attestation.

³²¹ See 5.2 Linguistic Framing of *ind* below for more detailed discussion of the CONTAINER schema.

Ex.26. (VIII 120,22)  ³²²

(VIII 120,22) *bw.t(=f) isf(.t) di(.w) rš.w m ib.w int(.w)*

“(VIII 120,22) ... whose abomination is disorder, who places JOY in the *ibs* that are *int*”.

ind is directly opposed to “JOY” (*rš.w*) and it is conceivable that the action of “placing JOY in the *ib*” alleviated *ind*. Similarly, to Ex.25, the *ib* is described as a *container* for “JOY”. Further, *ind* is associated with “abomination” (*bw.t*) and “disorder” (*isf.t*), which suggests that *ind* was antithetical to the ordered world and something deities ought to remove.³²³ There are several tokens of this phraseology type which contain variations in the surrounding co-text. The action of “placing JOY in the *ibs* that are *ind*” is linked to “EXULTING” (*thh*),³²⁴ and is associated with the positive activities of re-establishing what was ruined and offering protection to humankind.³²⁵ Moreover, the experience of *ind* is related to the state of *ksn* “to be difficult”.³²⁶

4.6.3.3.3 Epithet Three

In the fourth register of the south-west pillar of the Mammisi in the Edfu temple, Amun proclaims:

Ex.27. (M 131,1)  ³²⁷

(M 131,1) *rdi=i nh šr.t nbw.t ntr.w sndm=i ib.w int(.w)*

“(M 131,1) I give life to the nose of ‘the golden one of the gods’ (Hathor), I make pleasant the *ibs* that are *int*”.

The “*ibs* that are *ind*” is the direct object of the verbal action “to make pleasant” (*sndm*). This opposition suggests that this action alleviated *ind*, and that *sndm* and *ind* have an antonymic relationship.³²⁸

The collocations, co-texts and contexts of Ex.15-27 clearly indicate that *ind* denotes a negative emotional state relating to SADNESS, MISERY, ANXIETY and EMPATHY. *ind* is opposed with HAPPINESS lexemes (*ndm (ib)*, *h*ˁ*i*, *h*ˁ*ˁ*, *rši*, *rš.w*, *thh*), as well as actions of pleasing and

³²² E. Chassinat, *Le Temple D'Edfou. Tome Huitième* (Cairo: IFAO) 2009 [revised edition of the 1933 1st edition], p. 120. See No. 55-56, 59-62 in Appendix A for parallel attestations.

³²³ Cf. Ex.23 for association between *ind* and “evil” (*bin*).

³²⁴ See No. 55 in Appendix A.

³²⁵ See Nos. 61-62 in Appendix A.

³²⁶ See Nos. 59-60 in Appendix A.

³²⁷ Hieroglyphic transcription after E. Chassinat, *Le Mammisi d'Edfu* (Cairo: IFAO), 1939, p. 13. See Ex. 58 in Appendix A for parallel attestation.

³²⁸ Cf. Ex.24 for antonymic association between *ind* and *ndm (ib)* “to be GLAD”.

placating (*snḏm*, *shṯp*). *ind* is also associated with “tears” (*rmy.t*) and the physical behaviours of “crying out” (*sbḥ*) and “lamenting” (*im*). Moreover, it is related to “evil” (*bin*), “disorder” (*isf.t*), “abomination” (*bw.t*), and “suffering” (*mn.t*), which signals that *ind* was negative, undesirable and antithetical to the ordered world. Consequently, the king and the divine sought to remove *ind*. In contrast to the attestations of *ind* denoting *physical suffering* and *general suffering*, *ind* is often collocated with *ib* when it has the sense of *emotional distress*. This association suggests that the *emotional distress* denoted by *ind* affected, or was perhaps localised in, the *ib*. The following glosses are proposed: (*s:ind trans-caus. verb*) “to cause someone to experience acute emotional distress relating to MISERY” [Ex.15], (*ind intr. verb*) “to experience emotional distress relating to SADNESS, ANXIETY and EMPATHY” [Ex.16-21] (*ind noun*) “emotional distress relating to SADNESS and MISERY” [Ex.22-24], and (*ind adjective*) “exclusively associated with *ib* to describe an attribute of emotional distress, relating to SADNESS” [Ex.25-27].

4.6.3.4 *ind* and GRIEF: Verbal Attestations

The sense of *emotional distress* narrows to an emotion concept related to GRIEF in the Greco-Roman Period.

A copy of Book of the Dead Chapter 168 (Pleyte), preserved on pLeiden T31, calls Osiris to “rise” alongside other deities following his death. The reactions of the Children of Horus are described:



(65) *ms. w Hr. w hr ind im=f* (66) *tṣi tw m tḫ.t dṣ.t*

“(65) The Children of Horus *ind* for him. (66) Rise up in the cavern of the netherworld!”

Although *ind* is used intransitively, this action is directed towards the third-person masculine singular suffix pronoun, which presumably refers to Osiris. The association between *ind* and the “cavern of the netherworld” (*tḫ.t dṣ.t*) and the broader context of the Osiris myth suggest that *ind* relates to GRIEF.

³²⁹ Hieroglyphic transcription after the hieratic facsimile in W. Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts 162 à 174. Traduction et Commentaire* (Leiden: E.T. Brill), 1881, Pls. 150-151.

4.6.3.5 *ind* and GRIEF: Nominal Attestations

The second chamber of Osiris in the Edfu temple preserves several nominal attestations of *ind* that relate to GRIEF. These texts describe the “MOURNING” of Osiris by the “two sisters” Isis and Nephthys:



(l 215,32) *i{w}n sn.ty hzy sn.ty s///=sn t{p} <w> i(z)kb///* (l 215,33) *hw{y} <t>=s <n> tw zh.hr bz=k ini=sn n=k ib.w nb(.w) m ind s:zh kw ntr.w m nb=sn*

“(l 215,32) It is the two sisters who MOURN, the two sisters, they /// you. [They] GRIEVE (l 215,33) (and) they lament you. Then your Ba is effective, they bringing all *ibs* that are in *ind* to you, and the gods glorify you as their lord”.



(l 211) *ini.t(w) n{nb} <=k> ib.w{=k} <nb.w> {nb.wy} <m> ind i(z)kb(=i) im=k k.w sbi(.w) n rmy(.t) m nh.w <t> n ind*

“(l 211) Every *ib* that is <in> *ind* is brought to you. (I) GRIEVE for you, while the provisions are sent for those who cry in lamentations because of *ind*”.

In Ex.29-31, *ind* is explicitly related to the GRIEF semantic field, as it is collocated with lexemes, such as “to MOURN” (*hzy*), “to GRIEVE” (*ikb*), “to lament” (*hwt*) and “lamentations” (*nh.wt*), as well as “tears” (*rmy.t*). *ind* is consistently collocated with *ib* in these attestations, as “*ibs* that are in *ind*” are brought to Osiris. This phraseology describes *ind* as a *container* for the *ib*.³³²

The co-texts Ex.28-31 signal that *ind* relates to the emotion concept of GRIEF, due to the overarching theme of the Osiris myth, and the collocations of *ind* with the “cavern of the netherworld” and various lexemes belonging to the GRIEF semantic field. The following glosses are offered: (*intr. verb*) “to experience emotional distress relating to GRIEF (for someone)” [Ex.28]; and (*noun*) “emotional distress relating to GRIEF” [Ex.29-31].

³³⁰ Hieroglyphic transcription after E. Chassinat, and M. de Rochemonteix, *Le Temple D'Edfou I,2*. Second Revised Edition by S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle, (Cairo: IFAO), 1987, p. 215.

³³¹ Hieroglyphic transcription after Chassinat and de Rochemonteix, *Le Temple D'Edfou I,2*, p. 211.

³³² See 5.2 Linguistic Framing of *ind* below for a discussion of the CONTAINER schema.

4.6.4 “The one who is *ind*” : Deverbal Noun

ind denotes an individual rather than an abstract concept on five occasions in the textual record, dating from the Middle Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period. The above analysis has highlighted the polysemous nature of *ind*, and it must be considered, therefore, what sense of *ind* is being evoked when it refers to an individual. However, as noted above (4.6), the co-texts surrounding these attestations are uninformative in signalling the sense of *ind* beyond highlighting that the “one who is *ind*” requires assistance.

The Middle Kingdom Stela of Montuwerer (MMA 12.184) preserves an autobiographical text that details his benevolence:



dd=f ⁽⁴⁾ *ink m33.w r ind krs.w mw.ty dd(.w) (i)h.wt n n.ty-iw.ty snni.w*

“He says, ⁽⁴⁾ I am one who watches over (lit. looks towards) the one who is *ind*, who buries the dead, who gives things to the one who is in need”.

C.M. Ransom-Williams convincingly describes the sense of the phrase *m33 r*, namely that Mentuwerer did not pass by the *ind*-one indifferently, but “watched over” them and, presumably, offered assistance.³³⁴ This action is related to other acts of service that are typical of the ‘ideal autobiography’ namely burying the deceased and providing material goods.³³⁵

Although fragmentary, the Middle Kingdom autobiography in the tomb of Sarenput I, Aswan, similarly describes his good nature:



⁽²⁰⁾ /// *(i)h.wt si (i)r=f iri.n(=i) [s3]r n ind n gnf=i spr(.w) n im3h.w S3-rn-pw.t*

³³³ Hieroglyphic transcription after Ransom-Williams, *The Stela of Menthu-Weser*, p. 16, Pl. II.

³³⁴ Ransom-Williams, *The Stela of Menthu-Weser*, p. 16; *Wb* 2, 9.7-8 offers the gloss “mit blicken nach... hin (mit Person oder Sache)” for *m33 r*.

³³⁵ For a discussion of the “ideal autobiography” or “moral self-presentation”, see M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom. A Study and an Anthology* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 1988, pp. 5-7.

³³⁶ Hieroglyphic transcription after K. Sethe, *Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches. Abteilung VII. Heft I.* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung), 1935, pp. 1-5. See also transcription and translation in A.H. Gardiner, “Inscriptions from the tomb of Si-Renpower I., Prince of Elephantine,” *ZÄS* 45 (1909), pp. 123-140, Pl. VII.

(20) ///possessions of a man regarding him, (I) having fulfilled (lit. made) [the need] for the one who is *ind*. I did not rebuff the one who petitioned to the honoured one Sarenput”.

E. Edel reconstructs the damaged lexeme preceding *ind* with *s3r* “need” (*Wb* 4, 18.17-19.4), which would give the translation “I having fulfilled (lit. made) the need for the one who is *ind*”.³³⁷ This reconstruction is logical and consistent with the sense of other attestations in which the “one who is *ind*” is associated with lack and requires assistance.³³⁸

The autobiographical text on the Third Intermediate Period Block Statue of Harwa (No. 8163) emphasises his compassionate character. Harwa employs a series of metaphors to describe his benevolence:



ib ⁽⁹⁾ *n ind db(z) n mħi.w m(z)k.t n n.t(y)t md.w* ⁽¹⁰⁾ *mdwi{.t} ħr m3r i-snfi(.w) nb-sp t3b(.w) dr(.w) m sp=f ikr*

“(I am) ⁽⁹⁾ a refuge for the one who is *ind*, a reed-float for the one who drowns, and a ladder for the one who is in the depths. ⁽¹⁰⁾ (I am) one who speaks for the wretched-person, who comforts the unfortunate, who helps the oppressed-one through his excellent deed”.

Harwa equates himself with a “refuge” (*ib*) for the *ind*-one, which suggests that the “one who is *ind*” required and benefited from respite in some capacity, which Harwa provided. Further, he likens himself to a “reed-float” for those drowning and a “ladder” for those in the depths. The association between *ind*, drowning and being in the depths may be indicative of an experiential or metaphorical connection between these sensations.³⁴⁰ Harwa also describes his beneficial activities for the “wretched-person” (*m3r*), “the unfortunate” (*nb-sp*) and the

³³⁷ Edel comments “Meines Erachtens bietet sich hier das Wort “Wunsch, Bedürfnis” für eine befriedigende Ergänzung an, umso mehr, als auch die Verbindung *iri s3r* Wunsch befriedigen schon seit alter Zeit belegt ist, z.B. in Urk I 129,8 “Seine Majestät wird deine zahlreichen Wünsche erfüllen.” Das paßt vor allem auch im Hinblick auf den nachfolgenden Satz: “Ich erfüllte den Wunsch des Betrübten; nicht wies ich ab den, der mich hilfesuchend angegangen hatte, (mich) den geehrten *S3-rnpwt*.”” See E. Edel, *Beiträge zu den Inschriften des Mittleren Reiches in den Gräbern der Qubbet el Hawa* (Berlin: B. Hessling), 1971, p. 18; See also *Wb* 4, 19.2 for *s3r* “mit 3 Wünsche erfüllen”.

³³⁸ See Ex.11 for association between *ind* and lack or deprivation, namely the “deprived one”. See Ex.5-6 for association between *ind* and the necessity for physical assistance.

³³⁹ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit Teil III*, pp. 288-289.

³⁴⁰ See Ex.11-12 for association between *ind* and the sensations of being breathless and oppressed.

“oppressed-one” (*dr*). Plausibly, the “one who is *ind*” occupied a similar situation to that of these individuals.

The co-texts in Ex.32-34 emphasise that the “one who is *ind*” required assistance in some capacity, which the elite provided. As autobiographical texts containing verbal attestations of *ind* also stress the ability of the author to assist individuals experiencing *ind* that seems to denote *physical suffering because of medical ailments*,³⁴¹ and *general suffering*,³⁴² it is plausible that the “one who is *ind*” describes an individual experiencing *physical* or *general suffering*. This tentative conclusion is supported by the fact that when *ind* relates to *emotional distress*, it is only alleviated by the divine.³⁴³ The following gloss is proposed “one who is (*physically* or *generally*) suffering and requires assistance” [Ex.32-34].

4.7 Defining *ind*

The above semantic analysis has revealed that *ind* is a polysemous lexeme, the core sense of which relates to *suffering* and *distress*. The following description of *ind*’s meaning is proposed:

ind (*verb*)

1. Physical suffering [First Intermediate Period – Late Period]
 - a. *intr.* to be physically suffering because of a medical ailment (injury, burns, infection), associated with immobility and lethargy.
[First Intermediate Period – Late Period]
 - b. *trans.* to cause someone to physically suffer because of a medical ailment (burns, infection).
[Eighteenth Dynasty – Ramesside Period]
 - c. *intr.* to be physically exhausted.
[Eighteenth Dynasty – Ramesside Period]
 - d. *intr.* to be suffering from female infertility.
[Third Intermediate Period]

³⁴¹ See Ex.1-3.

³⁴² See Ex.10.

³⁴³ See Ex. 21, 25-27 and Nos. 18, 45, 53, 55-56, 58-62 in Appendix A.

2. General suffering, distress [Ramesside Period – Greco-Roman Period]
 - a. *intr.* to suffer, be distressed, associated with sensations of breathlessness and oppression.
[Ramesside Period]
 - b. *trans.* to cause someone to suffer, be distressed.
[Greco-Roman Period]

3. Emotional distress [Ramesside Period – Greco-Roman Period]
 - a. *intr.* to experience emotional distress relating to SADNESS, ANXIETY and EMPATHY, associated with “crying out” (*sbh*) and “lamentations” (*im*).
[Ramesside Period – Greco-Roman Period]

 - b. *intr.* to experience emotional distress relating to GRIEF.
[Greco-Roman Period]

s:ind (*causative verb*) [Middle Kingdom]
trans. to cause someone to experience acute emotional distress relating to MISERY, associated with “tears” (*rmy.t*) and “SADNESS” (*nh3.t-ib*).
 [Middle Kingdom]

ind (*noun*)

1. Physical suffering [Ramesside Period – Third Intermediate Period]
 - a. Physical suffering because of a medical ailment, associated with being bedridden (*sdr*) and requiring physical assistance.
[Ramesside Period]

 - b. Female infertility.
[Third Intermediate Period]

2. Suffering, distress [Greco-Roman Period]

3. Emotional distress [Ramesside Period – Greco-Roman Period]
 - a. Emotional distress relating to SADNESS and MISERY.
[Ramesside Period – Late Period]
 - b. Emotional distress relating to GRIEF, associated with “MOURNING” (*ḥzy*), “GRIEVING” (*i3kb*) “lamenting” (*ḥwt*), “lamentations” (*nh.wt*) and “tears” (*rmy.t*).
[Greco-Roman Period]
4. Individual who is (physically or generally) suffering and requires assistance.
[Middle Kingdom – Third Intermediate Period]

ind (adjective)

Exclusively associated with *ib* to describe an attribute of emotional distress, relating to SADNESS.

[Greco-Roman Period]

As the purpose of analysing the semantic axis of a lexeme is to identify, categorise and describe its sense(s), this research identified the senses of (i) *physical suffering*, (ii) *general suffering* and (iii) *emotional distress* for *ind*. However, this division of *ind*'s senses does not intend to impose an assumption that *physical suffering* was distinct from *emotional distress* in Egyptian cognitive space. The diachronic semantic map below (4.8.1.3) visualises the possible relationships between the identified senses. The bidirectional relationships between the senses depicted on the map attempts to represent that *physical suffering* can present as *emotional distress* or conversely, that *emotional distress* can manifest in somatic ways. Recent studies of pain decry “that there is a strict separation between the physical and mental” and argue that physiological and psychological distress are frequently intermingled.³⁴⁴

³⁴⁴ J. Corns, “Introduction. Pain research: where we are and why it matters,” in J. Corns (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Philosophy of Pain* (London and New York: Routledge), 2017, p. 7. See other works in this volume for further discussion of this theory, such as, A. C. de C. Williams, “Psychological Models of Pain,” in J. Corns (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Philosophy of Pain* (London and New York: Routledge), 2017, pp. 143-153; T. Hadjistarvropoulos, “Biophyschosocial models of pain,” in J. Corns (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Philosophy of Pain* (London and New York: Routledge), 2017, pp. 154-164.

4.8 Diachronic and Genre-Orientated Considerations

As discussed above (1.5.1 and 4.1), the incomplete nature of the ancient Egyptian documentary record makes a diachronic and genre-orientated analysis of lexemes difficult. Consequently, the following discussion of diachronic and genre-specific senses and usages of *ind* is based on trends in the surviving attestations.

4.8.1 Diachronic Considerations

As lexemes are seldom static over time, it is unsurprising that we can identify changes in the senses of *ind* over its lifespan of use. The following discussion examines the diachronic development of sub-senses *within* the overarching sense categories of *physical suffering*, *general suffering* and *emotional distress*, as well as the changing frequency in the relative distribution of these sense categories over time.

4.8.1.1 Diachronic Development of *ind* within Sense Categories

Figure 10 (below) presents the diachronic development of *ind*'s senses relating to *physical suffering*. The earliest attested sense of *ind* denotes *physical suffering because of medical ailments* and this sense is attested in the First Intermediate Period, Eighteenth Dynasty, Ramesside Period and Late Period.³⁴⁵ Immobility, lethargy and being bedridden are described as particular symptoms of *ind* in the Ramesside and Late Period attestations,³⁴⁶ which plausibly relates to, and is an extension of, the sub-sense of *exhaustion*, first found in the Eighteenth Dynasty.³⁴⁷ The sub-sense of *female infertility* is uniquely attested in the Third Intermediate Period, and it is conceivable that this sense is a restriction of the more general sense of *ind* relating to *medical ailments*.³⁴⁸ There are no surviving attestations of *ind* with the sense of *physical suffering* from the Greco-Roman Period.

The diachronic development of *ind*'s senses relating to *emotional distress* is outlined in Figure 11 (below). This sense is first attested in the Middle Kingdom, as the causative *s:ind*.³⁴⁹ It is possible to speculate that the abovementioned sense of *physical suffering* extended following the First Intermediate Period to also encompass *emotional distress*. The sense of *emotional distress relating to* SADNESS, ANXIETY, MISERY and EMPATHY is consistently attested from the Ramesside Period to

³⁴⁵ See Ex.1-6 in 4.6.

³⁴⁶ See Ex.5-6 in 4.6.

³⁴⁷ See Ex.9 in 4.6 and Nos. 9, 19-24 in Appendix A.

³⁴⁸ See Ex.7-8 in 4.6 and Nos. 33-34, 36-37 in Appendix A.

³⁴⁹ See Ex.15 in 4.6.

the Greco-Roman Period.³⁵⁰ It is possible to observe a semantic restriction of this sense in the Greco-Roman Period, as four attestations exhibit the sense of *emotional distress relating to GRIEF*.³⁵¹

ind first exhibits the sense of *general distress* in the Ramesside Period, and this sense is sporadically attested in the Late and Greco-Roman Periods.³⁵² However, no semantic change can be observed. It is plausible that this generalised sense extended from the more specific senses of *physical suffering* and *emotional distress*, though all three senses were employed concurrently up to the Late Period. Similarly, “the one who is *ind*” is intermittently attested in the Middle Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty and Third Intermediate Period, though no semantic development can be detected.³⁵³

³⁵⁰ See Ex.16-27 in 4.6 and Nos. 14-15, 18, 45, 53, 55-56, 58-62 in Appendix A.

³⁵¹ See Ex.28-31 in 4.6.

³⁵² See Ex.10-14 in 4.6.

³⁵³ See Ex.32-34 in 4.6 and Nos. 7-8 in Appendix A.

Figure 10. Diachronic Development: *Physical Suffering*

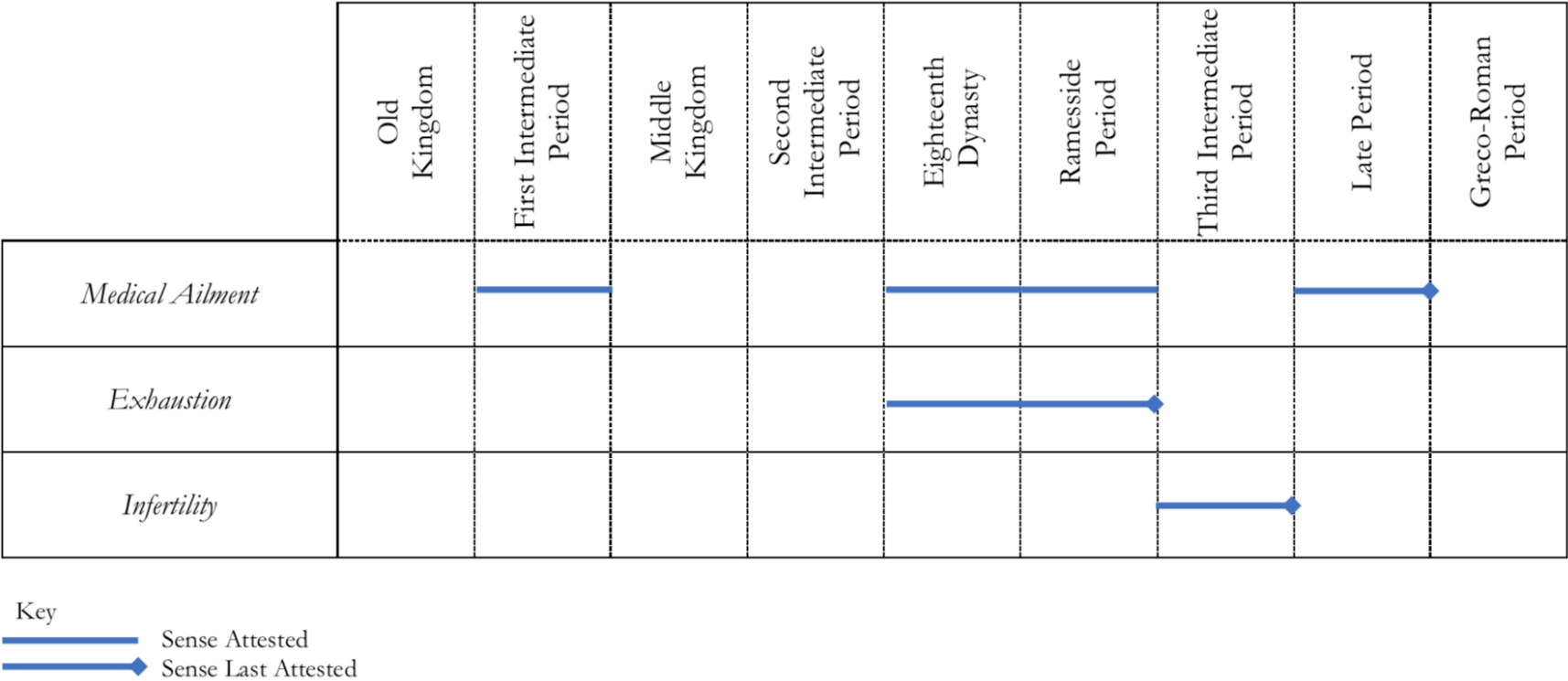
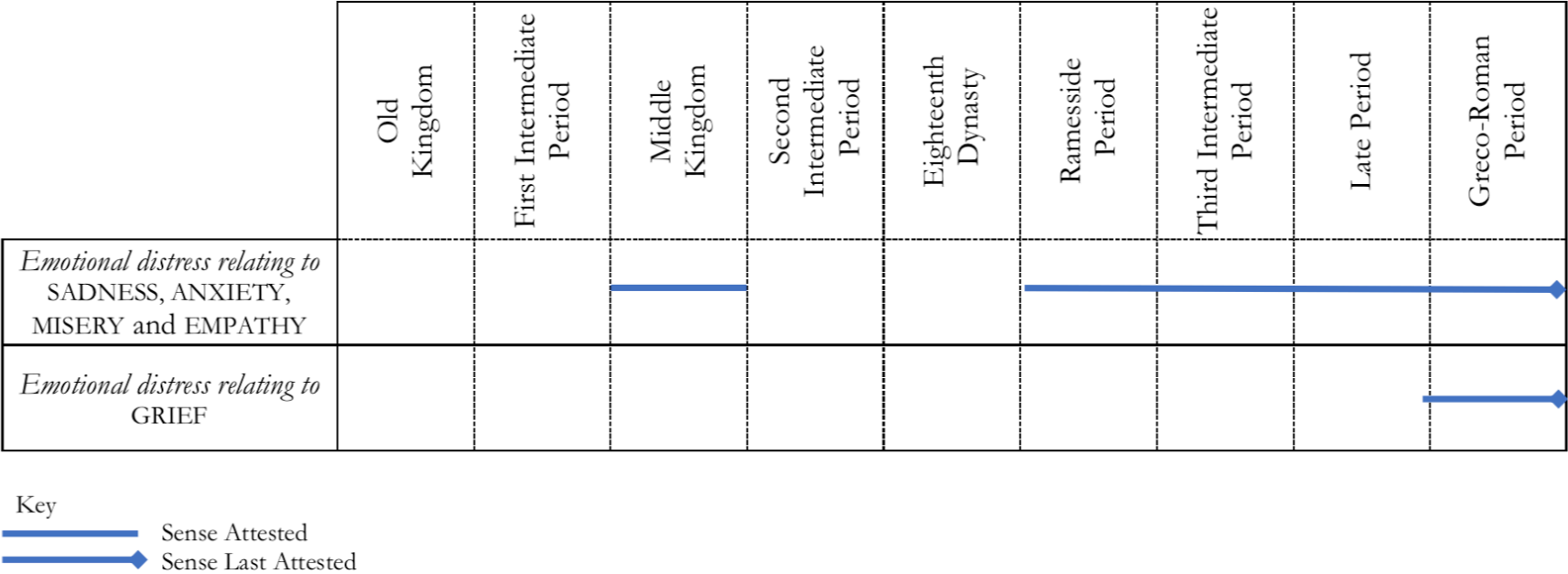


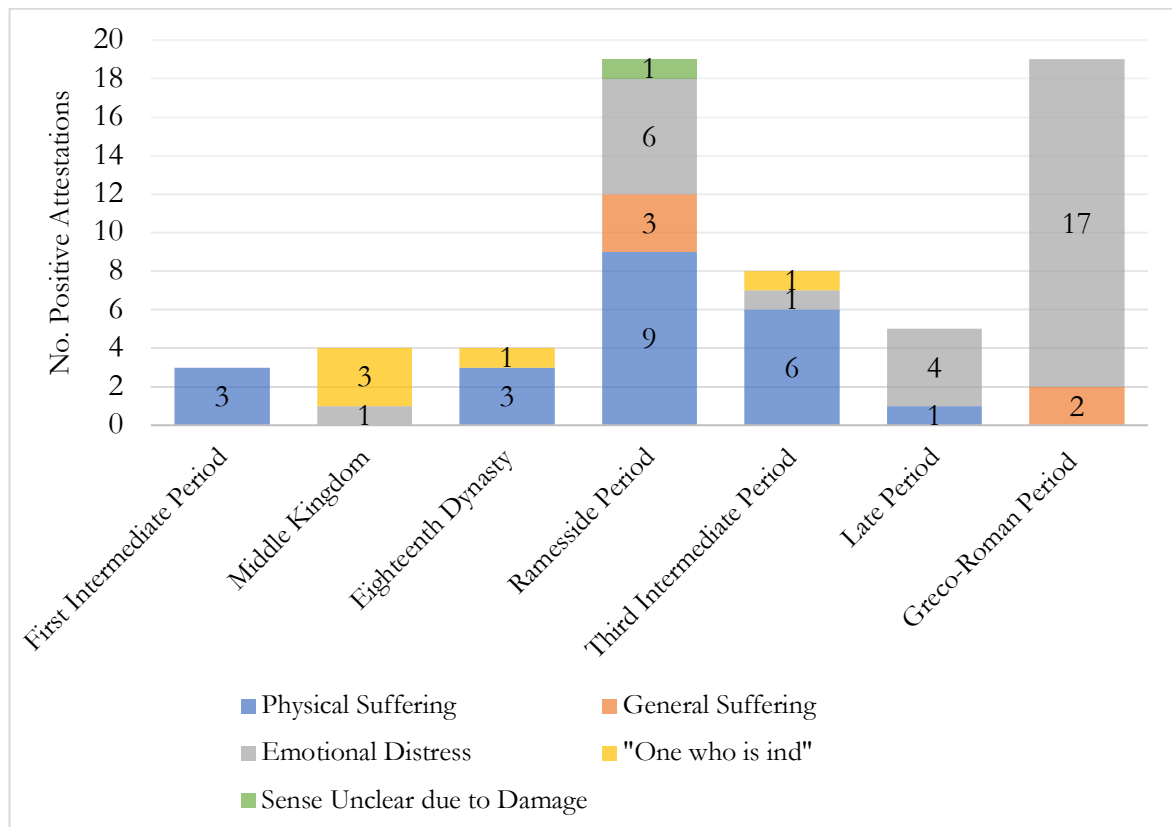
Figure 11. Diachronic Development: *Emotional Distress*



4.8.1.2 Diachronic Distribution of *ind* Sense Categories

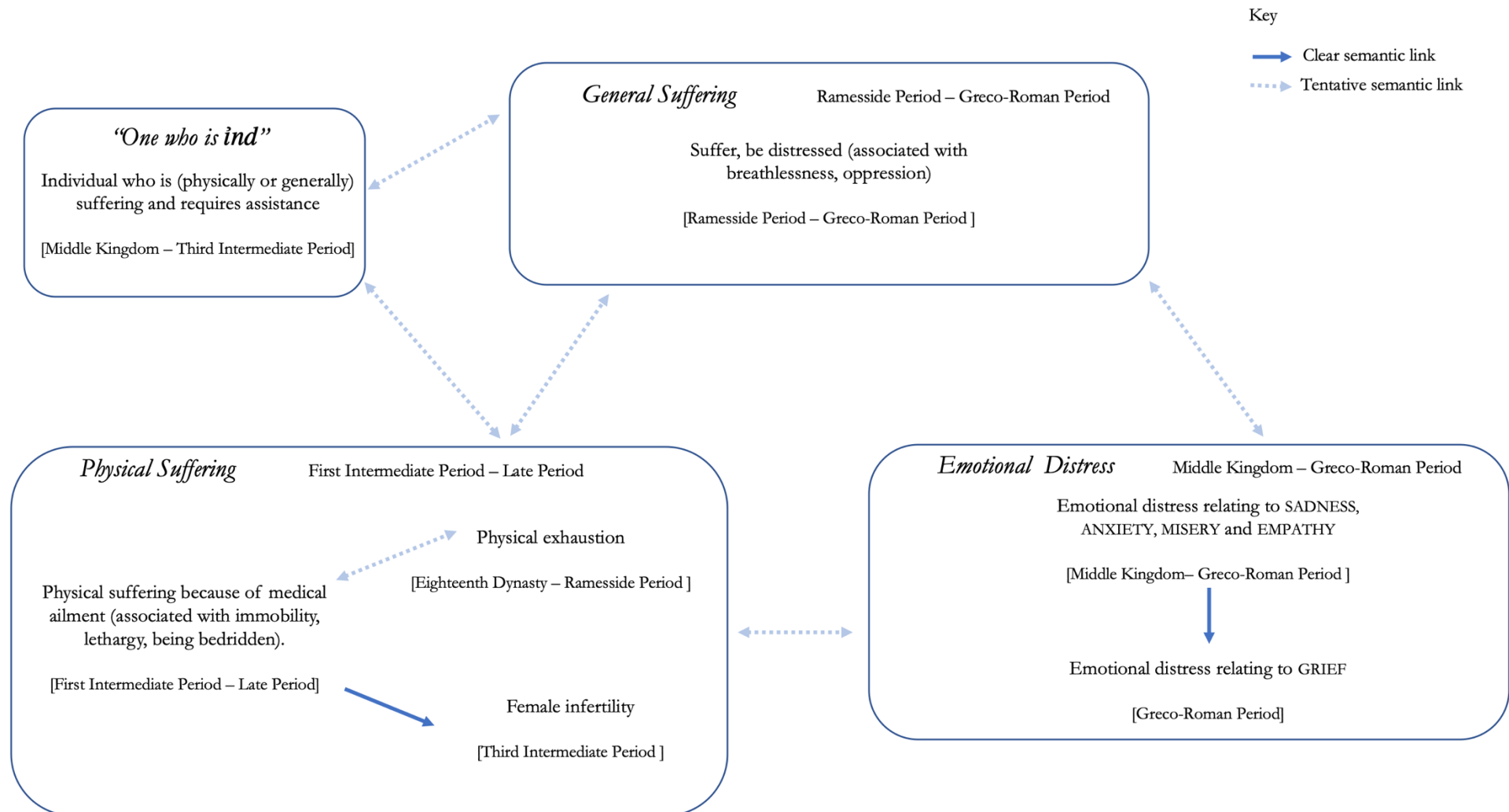
Two trends can be observed in the diachronic distribution of *ind*'s senses relating to *physical suffering* and *emotional distress*. Figure 12 (below) presents the relative diachronic distribution of *ind*'s sense categories. This figure exemplifies that the sense of *physical suffering* exhibits a general decrease in frequency, comprising 100% of attestations in the First Intermediate Period, 75% in the Eighteenth Dynasty, 47% in the Ramesside Period, reducing to 20% in the Late Period and 0% in the Greco-Roman Period. This is paralleled by an increased frequency in attestations exhibiting the sense of *emotional distress*. This sense constituted 0% of attestations in the First Intermediate Period, but gradually increased from the Ramesside Period onwards, with 32% of attestations in the Ramesside Period, 80% in the Late Period and 89% in the Greco-Roman Period.³⁵⁴ Plausibly this trend is indicative of an evolution in the semantic range of *ind*, as the senses of *emotional distress* and to a lesser extent, *general suffering*, 'took over' the sense of *ind* by the Greco-Roman Period.

Figure 12. Relative Diachronic Distribution of Sense Categories



³⁵⁴ The dominance of the sense of *physical suffering* in the Third Intermediate Period is the result of several copies of the same text containing *ind* being preserved at Medinet Habu. See Ex.7-8 in 4.6 and Nos. 33-34, 36-37 in Appendix A.

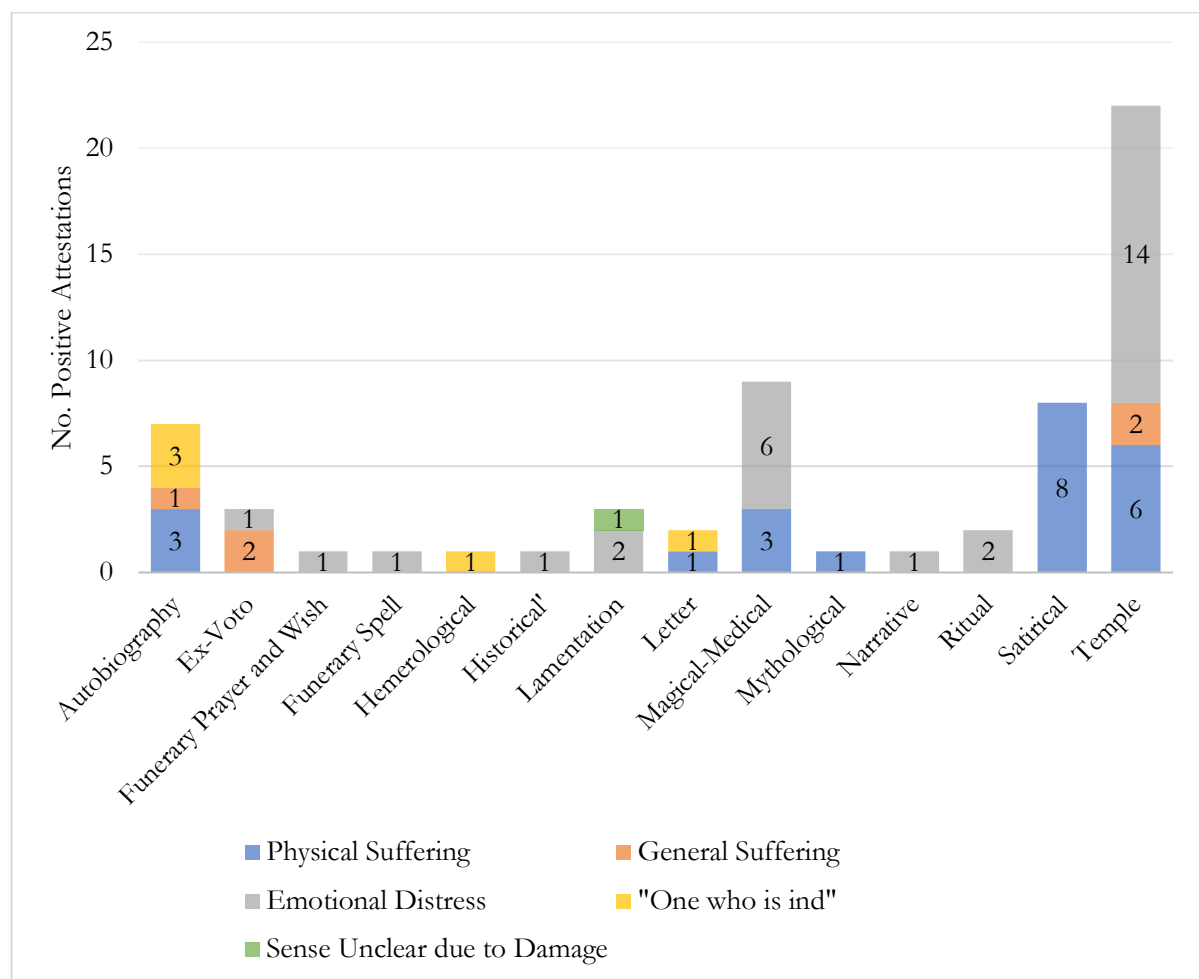
4.8.1.3 Diachronic Semantic Map



4.8.2 Genre-Orientated Considerations

As exemplified by Bickel, Verbovsek and Eicke in their examination of FEAR in religious and narrative texts (2.1 above), the function of a genre has a potent impact on how emotion lexemes are used. As it is difficult to extrapolate genre-specific trends from genres where there are few attestations, this discussion explores how the purpose of the autobiography, ex-voto, lamentation, satire and temple inscription genres impacted the usage of *ind*. This brief case study considers the influence of genre on the expression of *control* over *ind*, which presumably reflects and illuminates the emotionology held by the literate elite emotional community.

Figure 13. Relative Distribution of Senses According to Genre



Although various senses of *ind* are attested in the autobiographical genre (See Fig.13 above), the usage of the lexeme is largely homogenous. The autobiography functioned to present and perpetuate “essential aspects of [the author’s] life and person”, including their “moral

personality”.³⁵⁵ Perhaps unsurprisingly, *ind* is employed in the context of the ‘ideal autobiography’, as the authors stress their ability and willingness to assist individuals in the undesirable state of *ind* by healing, speaking on behalf of, providing for, and acting as a “refuge” for them.³⁵⁶ Through this declaration of morality, the author expressed their recognition and respect for the “inherent moral values” held by Egyptian society, and thus their upholding of *m3ʿ.t*.³⁵⁷

The ex-voto genre enabled individuals to express their confidence in deities to assist them in their misfortune and relate personal experiences of divine succour. The power and benevolence of the divine is extolled in this genre, as individuals in the unpleasant state of *ind* call out to deities to rescue them from *general suffering* and transform their *emotional distress* into “HAPPINESS” and “JOY”.³⁵⁸ Temple inscriptions similarly functioned to relate the power of the divine. The senses of *physical suffering*, *general suffering* and *emotional distress* are attested in two particular usages in this genre (see Fig.13 above). On the one hand, deities could inflict *ind* (*female infertility* and *general suffering*) on individuals who do not placate them, and Egypt’s enemies.³⁵⁹ On the other hand, deities could alleviate *ind* (*female infertility*), and “dispel suffering from”, “place JOY in” and “make pleasant” *ibs* that are experiencing *ind* (*emotional distress*).³⁶⁰ The undesirable and destructive force of *ind*, therefore, is described as being under the control of the elite and divine, and thus *controlled* within the ordered world.

Conversely, *ind* is not controlled in the satire and lamentation genres; rather, it is employed by literate elite authors to highlight the sorry lot of non-scribal professions and as an attribute of social disorder, respectively. The ‘Satire of the Trades’ functioned to promote the scribal profession and, therefore, “focused on the positive aspects of the scribal profession and portrayed all the other jobs available to Egyptians below the elite class as extremely undesirable”.³⁶¹ *ind* denoting *physical exhaustion*, is utilised in this composition to describe how the courier, arrow-maker and fieldworker arrive home after a day filled with hard physical labour, long-distance travel and FEAR: *ind* is an inevitable experience in these professions.³⁶² The

³⁵⁵ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*, pp. 5-7.

³⁵⁶ See Ex.1-3, 10, 32-34 in 4.6.

³⁵⁷ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*, pp. 5-7.

³⁵⁸ See Ex.11-12 in 4.6 and No. 18 in Appendix A.

³⁵⁹ See Ex.7, 13 in 4.6.

³⁶⁰ See Ex.8, 25-27 in 4.6 and Nos. 36-37, 53, 55-56, 58-62 in Appendix A

³⁶¹ D.P. Silverman, “Humour and Satire,” in D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2001, p. 129.

³⁶² See Ex. 9 in 4.6 and Nos. 9, 19-24 in Appendix A.

sense of *ind* denoting *emotional distress* is attested in the lamentation genre. This genre was a “response to the experience of civil strife...at times of disintegrating kingship”, functioning, therefore, to emphasise the necessity of firm kingship and traditional order following periods of social upheaval.³⁶³ In the ‘Admonitions’, *ind* is used to ‘label’ the distress and desolation of social upheaval for the elite.³⁶⁴ Therefore, *ind* could also be employed by literate elite authors as an *uncontrolled* and undesirable force in textual compositions to promote their ideals, namely the importance of the scribal tradition and the maintenance of social order.

Examining semantic aspects of *ind* is undoubtedly the most important axis for elucidating the sense of the lexeme. The systematic analysis of *ind*’s positive attestations, particularly the collocations and co-texts surrounding *ind* enables the identification and description of the lexeme’s polysemous senses. Diachronic and genre-orientated considerations also illuminate how the identified sense categories and sub-senses evolved, as well as the potent influence of genre on the use of *ind*. Moreover, as discussed above, a consideration of the semantic axis also meaningfully enhances the insight ascertained from examining the morphematic, graphematic and phonematic axes of *ind* (See 4.2–4.4).

The results of the lexical-semantic analysis generated in this chapter, particularly the revised and nuanced understanding of *ind*’s meaning, are employed in the following chapter to explore the emotion concept(s) that *ind* may denote.

³⁶³ M. Lichtheim, “Didactic Literature,” in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), 1996, p. 251.

³⁶⁴ See Ex.22-23 in 4.6.

5 ANALYSIS OF THE *ind* EMOTION CONCEPT

The lexical-semantic analysis conducted in Chapter Four revealed that only one of *ind*'s three senses clearly relates to 'emotion'. This finding is significant because it suggests that, linguistically, no clear distinction was made between *physical* and *emotional suffering*, as both experiences are associated with *ind*.³⁶⁵ It is clear from this discovery alone that *ind* does not neatly overlap with the English emotion concept of SADNESS. In this chapter, I (re)examine the entirety of *ind*'s positive attestations to illuminate the concept(s) seemingly denoted by the lexeme, namely its valence (5.1), linguistic framing (5.2), contextual 'triggers' (5.3), affected persons and body parts (5.4), related sensations and expressions (5.5), as well as concepts relating to its alleviation/removal (5.6). It must be acknowledged, however, that attempting to reconstruct ancient cognition and emotional experience from textual material is problematic, as linguistic expression does not directly equate with cognitive processes. With this limitation in mind, this chapter focuses on how *ind* could have been *linguistically* conceptualised based on its positive attestations in the textual record. The History of Emotions concepts of emotionology, emotives and emotional communities frame this discussion: as the Egyptian documentary record was largely composed by and for the literate elite, the conceptualisation, valuation and usage of the emotive *ind* in textual sources is reflective of the emotionology held by the emotional community of the literate elite.

5.1 Valence

Emotional valence refers to "the extent to which an emotion is positive or negative".³⁶⁶ The classifiers, collocations and co-texts of *ind* highlight that it was attributed with a *negative* valence. *ind* is regularly attested with the 'bad-bird' classifier 𓆎 (G37), which envelops the lexeme into the EVIL-INFERIOR 'conceptual category' and has obvious negative connotations.³⁶⁷ When *ind* denotes *physical suffering because of medical ailments* and *female infertility* it is also classified with the SETH-ANIMAL 𓆎 (C7) and PUSTULE 𓆎 (Aa2) classifiers, respectively. As noted by Allon, 𓆎 (C7) and 𓆎 (Aa2) are associated with the "illness-suffering cluster", which clearly carries negative connotations.³⁶⁸ As discussed in 4.3.3, *ind* is intermittently attested with the MOVEMENT

³⁶⁵ See 4.7 above for a reflection thereof.

³⁶⁶ F.M.M. Citron et. al. "Emotional valence and affect reading in an interactive way: Neuroimaging evidence for an approach-withdrawal framework," *Neuropsychologia* 56 (2014), p. 79.

³⁶⁷ See 4.3 above for discussion of 𓆎 (G37) and *ind*'s classifiers.

³⁶⁸ Allon, "Seth is Baal," p. 18.

classifiers Δ (D54) and Δ (D55), which is a decisive feature of Late Period orthography and likely does not signal a different valuation of *ind* in the Late and Greco-Roman Periods.

ind is consistently collocated with lexemes and phrases portraying negative and undesirable situations. When it denotes *physical suffering*, *ind* is associated with burns and infection,³⁶⁹ being bedridden (*sdr*) and immobile,³⁷⁰ impotence/male infertility (*mhs*),³⁷¹ and difficult journeys (*mdd šm.t*).³⁷² *ind*, relating to *general suffering* is associated with the “miserable one” (*izd*),³⁷³ the “needy one” (*nmh*),³⁷⁴ and “rebels” (*btn.w*).³⁷⁵ Further, when *ind* designates *emotional distress*, it relates to the “bringing of tears” (*ini.t rmy.t*), “SADNESS” (*nh3.t-ib*),³⁷⁶ “crying out” (*sbh*),³⁷⁷ “GRIEVING” (*izkb*), “MOURNING” (*h3y*), “lamenting” (*hwt*), “lamentations” (*im, nh.wt*)³⁷⁸ and “suffering” (*mn.t*),³⁷⁹ as well as “evil” (*bin*),³⁸⁰ “abomination” (*bw.t*) and “disorder” (*isf.t*).³⁸¹ Moreover, *ind* is directly opposed with several HAPPINESS lexemes, such as “to REJOICE, be HAPPY” (*h3i*), “JOY, REJOICING” (*h3*), “to REJOICE” (*nhm, r3i*),³⁸² “to EXULT” (*thh*),³⁸³ “to be GLAD” (*ndm (ib)*),³⁸⁴ and “JOY” (*r3.w*),³⁸⁵ when it denotes *emotional distress*. The co-texts and contexts in which *ind* is attested further highlight the negative valuation of this lexeme. *ind* is often treated by magical-medical means,³⁸⁶ and deities are called to rescue individuals from *ind* and transform it into “HAPPINESS” and “JOY”.³⁸⁷ The pervasive desire to remove *ind* highlights that it was considered an undesirable phenomenon that *ought* to be eradicated.

³⁶⁹ See Ex.4 in 4.6 above and Nos. 25-26 in Appendix A.

³⁷⁰ See Ex.5-6 in 4.6 above.

³⁷¹ See Ex.7-8 in 4.6 above and Nos. 33-34, 36-37 in Appendix A.

³⁷² See Ex.9 in 4.6 above and Nos. 9, 19-24 in Appendix A.

³⁷³ See Ex.10 in 4.6 above.

³⁷⁴ See Ex.11 in 4.6 above.

³⁷⁵ See Ex.14 in 4.6 above.

³⁷⁶ See Ex.15 in 4.6 above.

³⁷⁷ See Ex.16 in 4.6 above.

³⁷⁸ See Ex.18, 29-31 in 4.6 above.

³⁷⁹ See Ex.25 in 4.6 above and No. 53 in Appendix A.

³⁸⁰ See Ex.23 in 4.6 above.

³⁸¹ See Ex.26 in 4.6 above.

³⁸² See Ex.21 in 4.6 above and Nos. 18, 45 in Appendix A.

³⁸³ See No. 55 in Appendix A.

³⁸⁴ See Ex.24 in 4.6 above.

³⁸⁵ See Ex.26 in 4.6 above and Nos. 55-56, 59-62 in Appendix A.

³⁸⁶ See Ex.1-4 in 4.6 above and Nos. 25-26 in Appendix A.

³⁸⁷ See Ex.12, 21, 25-27 in 4.6 above and Nos. 18, 45, 53, 55-56, 59-62 in Appendix A.

5.2 Linguistic Framing of *ind*: From Language to Conceptual Structures

ind is attested in two linguistic metaphors that are potential realisations of particular conceptual metaphors in the Greco-Roman Period. It is significant to note that *ind* is exclusively employed in linguistic metaphors when it denotes *emotional distress*. Nyord identifies that “there is a very strong tendency for abstract and/or complex concepts to be structured in terms of more basic, experiential ones”, which plausibly explains why the abstract and complex notion of *emotional distress*, in particular, is conceptualised through metaphor.³⁸⁸ The metaphors constructed with *ind* are based on the low metaphoricity of certain prepositions, which are likely indicative of low-grade metaphors, such as ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE and IDEAS ARE OBJECTS. The preposition *m*, in particular, is employed in the linguistic framing of *ind*, which according to Nyord, “is indicative of some form of the CONTAINER schema”, whereby “the experience of one entity [is] (potentially) inside another”.³⁸⁹ In one linguistic metaphor, *ind* is an attribute of *ib*, which is described as a CONTAINER for other entities and emotion lexemes, as suffering is “driven away from (*m*) the *ibs* that are *ind*” and JOY is “placed in (*m*) the *ibs* that are *ind*”.³⁹⁰ In another linguistic metaphor, it is *ind* which is described as the CONTAINER for the *ib*, as Isis and Nephthys “bring every *ib* that is in (*m*) *ind*” to Osiris.³⁹¹ As *ind* is seldom framed through linguistic metaphor, particularly before the Greco-Roman Period, it is necessary to consider the contextual situations in which *ind* is used to shed further light on how it could have been conceptualised.

5.3 Situational ‘Triggers’

Close examination of the co-texts that motivate the use of *ind* reveals what situations *ought* to have evoked the various senses of the lexeme, according to the literate elite emotionology. The situational ‘triggers’ may be explicit or inferred from the co-text and broader context. However, in some instances, the co-text is uninformative in detailing what situation ‘provoked’ the usage of *ind*.

³⁸⁸ R. Nyord, “Prototype Structures and Conceptual Metaphor. Cognitive Approaches to Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian,” in E. Grossman, S. Polis and J. Winand (eds.), *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian* (Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag), 2012, p. 142.

³⁸⁹ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 49; Nyord, “Prototype Structures and Conceptual Metaphor,” p. 145.

³⁹⁰ See Ex.25-26 in 4.6 above and Nos. 53, 55-56, 59-62 in Appendix A. Nyord determines that *ib* is often conceptualised as a CONTAINER, and this schema is attested for several FEAR lexemes. Köhler additionally discusses that ANGER lexemes are verbalised as being located inside the *ib*. See discussion of Nyord, *Breathing Flesh* in 2.1, and Köhler, *Rage Like an Egyptian*, pp. 96-99.

³⁹¹ See Ex.29-30 in 4.6 above.

The meaning *physical suffering because of medical ailments* is associated with burns and infection. In the magical-medical papyri, the “vile one” is overtly described as the origin of *ind*, as Isis commands the demon “Do not *ind* (Horus)!”³⁹² *Female infertility* is explicitly ‘triggered’ by the will of Hathor, as she possessed the capacity to inflict *ind* on women.³⁹³ When *ind* relates to *physical exhaustion*, it is presumably caused by hard physical labour, long-distance travel and difficult journeys.³⁹⁴ The contextual situations that ‘provoked’ *ind*, referring to *general suffering*, are seldom explicit. An autobiographical stela implies that the action of “speaking up” and “speaking out” for the “miserable one” (*i3d*) alleviated their experience of *ind*.³⁹⁵ Presumably, therefore, *not* performing these actions exacerbated *ind*. Similarly, an Edfu temple inscription relates the seizing and expulsion of “rebels” to the non-existence of *ind* in the vicinity of the king.³⁹⁶ It is plausible, therefore, that *not* subduing rebels could cause or intensify *ind*. A temple inscription at Kom Ombo describes a specific ‘trigger’ and origin of *ind*, as the divine entity Iwenty is said to inflict *ind* on the “mutilated ones”.³⁹⁷

When *ind* relates to *emotional distress*, the contextual situations that motivated the use of the lexeme are often explicit. Whilst the meaning of *emotional distress relating to SADNESS, ANXIETY, EMPATHY and MISERY* is ‘triggered’ by ruminating on negative thoughts relating to death and burial,³⁹⁸ the *emotional distress* denoted by *ind* is most frequently ‘provoked’ by witnessing concerning events, such as the suffering of afflicted children,³⁹⁹ the actions of other rulers,⁴⁰⁰ and the neglect and destruction of tradition.⁴⁰¹ In their examination of Classical emotions, D. Cairns and D. Nelis identify the phenomena of “social pain”, namely the “emotional pain that an observer feels at the physical pain of another”.⁴⁰² When the usage of *ind* is motivated by witnessing the suffering of another, particularly afflicted children, *ind* may also be understood as a “social pain” and relate to EMPATHY.

³⁹² See Ex.4 in 4.6 above.

³⁹³ See Ex.7 in 4.6 above and Nos. 33-34 in Appendix A.

³⁹⁴ See Ex.9 in 4.6 above and Nos. 9, 19-24 in Appendix A.

³⁹⁵ See Ex.10 in 4.6 above.

³⁹⁶ See Ex.14 in 4.6 above.

³⁹⁷ See Ex.13 in 4.6 above.

³⁹⁸ See Ex.15 in 4.6 above.

³⁹⁹ See Ex.16, 18-20 in 4.6 above and No. 14 in Appendix A.

⁴⁰⁰ See Ex.17 in 4.6 above.

⁴⁰¹ See Ex.22-23 in 4.6 above.

⁴⁰² Cairns and Nelis, “Introduction,” p. 17.

ind, therefore, is described as a *reaction* to diverse stimuli that are largely beyond the control of the ‘experiencer’.

5.4 Affected Persons and Body Parts

The various senses of *ind* are depicted to affect diverse individuals and social echelons. The meaning of *physical suffering because of medical ailments* is described to be experienced by “every/anyone”,⁴⁰³ the child Horus,⁴⁰⁴ a *sm*-priest,⁴⁰⁵ and a woman.⁴⁰⁶ The experience of *ind* denoting *female infertility* and *physical suffering* is presumably gendered. Women are exclusively inflicted with *ind* (*female infertility*) by Hathor,⁴⁰⁷ whereas *physical exhaustion* affected the fieldworker, courier and arrow-maker in their professions, which were presumably, male-dominated.⁴⁰⁸ *General suffering* is described as afflicting both upper and lower social echelons, namely the “miserable one”,⁴⁰⁹ and the “deprived one”, as well as the literate elite.⁴¹⁰ Further, the divine could inflict *ind* on the “mutilated ones”, which plausibly refers to a form of punishment.⁴¹¹ The meaning of *emotional distress relating to SADNESS, ANXIETY and MISERY* is experienced by men and women, royal individuals and deities.⁴¹² The “social pain” or sense of EMPATHY associated with *ind* is exclusively experienced by females, and in particular, the goddess Isis.⁴¹³ *Emotional distress relating to GRIEF* is described to affect the Children of Horus,⁴¹⁴ and “every *ib*”.⁴¹⁵ Further, *ind* could be attributed to a particular “time” (*emotional distress*),⁴¹⁶ and could infiltrate the king’s vicinity (*general suffering*).⁴¹⁷ *ind* is not attested as affecting the animal world.

⁴⁰³ See Ex.1-2 in 4.6 above.

⁴⁰⁴ See Ex.4 in 4.6 above and Nos. 25-26 in Appendix A.

⁴⁰⁵ See Ex.5 in 4.6 above.

⁴⁰⁶ See Ex.6 in 4.6 above.

⁴⁰⁷ See Ex.7-8 in 4.6 above and Nos. 33-34, 36-37 in Appendix A.

⁴⁰⁸ See Ex.9 in 4.6 above and Nos. 9, 19-24 in Appendix A.

⁴⁰⁹ See Ex.10 in 4.6 above.

⁴¹⁰ See Ex.11-12 in 4.6 above.

⁴¹¹ See Ex.14 in 4.6 above.

⁴¹² See Ex.17 and 21 in 4.6 above Nos. 18, 45 in Appendix A.

⁴¹³ Isis’s association with *emotional distress* mainly relates to Horus, as she is said to experience *ind* when he is afflicted. This association plausibly relates to the Osiris myth, in which Isis brings up Horus in secret and guards him from danger. This motif of Horus being afflicted “becomes a frequent point of reference in magical texts concerning cures for children’s ailments, resulting from hazards like scorpion bites, or accidental scalds”. In the Metternich Stela, Isis experiences *ind* because she witnesses the concern of a woman whose son is afflicted with a scorpion bite and burns and perhaps relates this to her experience with Horus’s ailments. See G. Hart, *The Routledge Dictionary of Gods and Goddesses. Second Edition* (London and New York: Routledge), 2005, pp. 79-83.

⁴¹⁴ See Ex.28 in 4.6 above.

⁴¹⁵ See Ex.29-30 in 4.6 above.

⁴¹⁶ See Ex.23 in 4.6 above.

⁴¹⁷ See Ex.14 in 4.6 above.

Whilst *ind*, in all its senses, affected all human social echelons and the divine, it is interesting to note that, except for the child Horus, deities are not described as having been afflicted by the *physical* or *general suffering* denoted by *ind*. However, gods and goddesses, particularly Isis, were not immune to the *emotional distress* related to *ind*.

ind is described to affect particular body parts when it relates to *physical suffering* and *emotional distress*. *ind*, denoting *physical suffering because of medical ailments* affects the “face” (*hr*) on one occasion, which may refer to *ind* being expressed through facial expressions, or a medical ailment afflicting the face.⁴¹⁸ The meaning *emotional distress relating to* SADNESS, ANXIETY, MISERY and EMPATHY is described as impacting the “voice” (*hrw*), which suggests that *ind* could be expressed through vocal behaviour.⁴¹⁹ However, *ind* is most frequently collocated with the *ib*. This collocation is attested from the Ramesside Period onwards, and it is exclusively attested when *ind* denotes *emotional distress*.⁴²⁰ This association suggests that *ind* was linguistically conceptualised as something that was felt or perhaps resided within the body and/or cognitive/emotional apparatus.

5.5 Related Expressions and Sensations

ind is associated with several physiological sensations when it denotes *physical* and *general suffering*. When *ind* relates to *medical ailments*, it is linked to, or perhaps manifested in, the physical symptoms of being bedridden and immobile.⁴²¹ When it relates to *general suffering*, *ind* is coupled with the physical sensations of breathlessness and oppression.⁴²² Moreover, on one occasion, the experience of the “one who is *ind*” is juxtaposed with individuals who are “drowning” and “in the depths”.⁴²³ As noted in 4.6.2 and 4.6.4 (above), this may be indicative of an experiential or metaphorical relation between *ind* and these negative experiences. *ind*, denoting *emotional distress relating to* SADNESS, ANXIETY, MISERY and EMPATHY is linked to the state of being thin

⁴¹⁸ See Ex.3 in 4.6 above.

⁴¹⁹ See Ex.20 in 4.6 above and No. 14 in Appendix A. See Ex.15-16, 18 in 4.6 and 5.5 Related Expressions and Sensations for a discussion of *ind*’s association with vocal behaviours, such as “crying out” and “lamenting”.

⁴²⁰ See Ex.18-19, 21, 25-27, 29-30 in 4.6 above and Nos. 18, 45, 53, 55-56, 58-62 in Appendix A.

⁴²¹ See Ex.5-6 in 4.6 above. *ind* denoting *physical exhaustion* (Ex.9 in 4.6 and Nos. 9, 19-24 in Appendix A) is presumably associated with lethargy. It is plausible that this sense became an associated ‘symptom’ of *ind*, manifesting in immobility and being bedridden. See 4.8.1.1 above for a discussion thereof.

⁴²² See Ex.11-12 in 4.6 above.

⁴²³ See Ex.34 in 4.6 above.

(*p3ḳi*),⁴²⁴ as well as the behaviours of crying (*sbḥ* “crying out” and *rmy.t* “tears”),⁴²⁵ and lamenting (*im* “lamentations”).⁴²⁶ When it relates to GRIEF, *ind* is associated with “MOURNING” (*ḥ3y*), “GRIEVING” (*i3ḳb*), “lamenting” (*ḥwt* and *nh.wt*) and “tears” (*rmy.t*).⁴²⁷

5.6 Alleviation and Removal

The varied senses of *ind* are described as being alleviated and removed in different ways. When it denotes *physical suffering because of medical ailments*, *ind* is ‘treated’ by “healing medicine”, the attention of *mnṣ.t*-nurses and *3ty.t*-nurses, enchantments, as well as magical-medical recipes and spells.⁴²⁸ *Female infertility*, on the other hand, could only be alleviated (and perhaps prevented) by the will of Hathor, particularly if one placated her through recitations.⁴²⁹ The divine is called upon to remove the experience of *general suffering* and *emotional distress*. In particular, Amun is said to “come to” and “rescue” individuals from *ind* when it denotes *general suffering*.⁴³⁰ Further, when it relates to *emotional distress*, *ind* could be relieved by the *ib* “entering into” the divine, which may refer to an encounter with the numinous.⁴³¹ Deities were called upon to transform *ind* into HAPPINESS, which suggests that *ind* and HAPPINESS were opposite emotional states.⁴³² This is particularly prevalent in the Greco-Roman Period, as deities “expelled suffering from”, “placed JOY in” and “made pleasant” *ibs* that were experiencing *ind*.⁴³³ These actions presumably had the impact of alleviating *ind*. The autobiographical texts also describe an elite obligation to assist individuals experiencing *ind*, by “watching over”,⁴³⁴ “fulfilling the needs”,⁴³⁵ “speaking up” and “speaking out” for them,⁴³⁶ as well as acting as a “refuge” for the one who is *ind*.⁴³⁷ Failure to do so is described in one attestation to plague the conscience of the elite, by causing his *ib* to be “restless”.⁴³⁸

⁴²⁴ See Ex.17 in 4.6 above.

⁴²⁵ See Ex.15-16 in 4.6 above.

⁴²⁶ See Ex.18 in 4.6 above.

⁴²⁷ See Ex.29-31 in 4.6 above.

⁴²⁸ See Ex.1-4 in 4.6 above and Nos. 25-26 in Appendix A.

⁴²⁹ See Ex.8 in 4.6 above and Nos. 36-37.

⁴³⁰ See Ex.11-12 in 4.6 above.

⁴³¹ See No. 18 in Appendix A.

⁴³² See Ex.21, 25-27 in 4.6 above and Nos. 18, 45, 53, 55-56, 58-62 in Appendix A.

⁴³³ See Ex. 25-27 in 4.6 above and Nos. 53, 55-56, 58-62 in Appendix A.

⁴³⁴ See Ex.32 in 4.6 above.

⁴³⁵ See Ex.33 in 4.6 above.

⁴³⁶ See Ex.10 in 4.6 above.

⁴³⁷ See Ex.34 in 4.6 above.

⁴³⁸ See Ex.10 in 4.6 above.

Although *ind* is typically glossed as a SADNESS lexeme, the analyses conducted in Chapters Four and Five have demonstrated that *ind* does *not* neatly overlap with modern English conceptions of SADNESS. Rather, *ind* seemingly denotes a much broader concept that encompasses *physical suffering* and *general suffering*, as well as an intensely negative *emotional state relating to* SADNESS, ANXIETY, MISERY, EMPATHY *and* GRIEF. As *ind* is associated with diverse negative physical and emotional situations, it is plausible that *ind* is a peripheral rather than a central member of the SADNESS semantic field and may overlap with other semantic domains, such as FEAR/ANXIETY and PAIN/SUFFERING. Comprehensive lexical-semantic analysis of the entirety of the SADNESS lexemes and related semantic fields would clarify this relationship.

6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summation

By having an awareness of the socially constructed nature of emotions and the ‘slipperiness’ of emotion lexemes, this research explored the central thesis that the dominant method of uncritically applying modern emotion glosses to the Egyptian emotional lexicon is problematic and undermines the aim of examining *Egyptian* emotions. To explore the depiction of Egyptian emotions in textual sources in the appropriate amount of depth requires a different approach. This thesis outlined a robust methodology by which emotion lexemes can be examined in a comprehensive and theoretically grounded way by innovatively combining the rigorous analytical apparatus of lexical semantics with key concepts from the History of Emotions approach. This method was applied to the emotion lexeme *ind*, as a case study, to examine whether it is a useful approach to generate a more nuanced understanding of emotions, as expressed in ancient Egyptian texts.

The multi-level “lexical trail” method established by Polis and Winand and employed in Chapter Four has proven to be a particularly effective method for analysing *ind*, as it facilitated the structured and systematic analysis of morphematic, graphematic, phonematic, syntagmatic and semantic axes of the lexeme. Examining these axes in isolation enabled diverse facets of *ind* to come to light, as discussed in 4.2–4.6. However, the *combined* insight from these axes generated a fine-grained understanding of *ind*’s meaning and usage. This analysis revealed that *ind* does not neatly overlap with the English concept of SADNESS; rather, *ind* is a polysemous lexeme encompassing *physical suffering* and *general suffering*, as well as acute *emotional distress relating to* SADNESS, ANXIETY, MISERY, EMPATHY *and* GRIEF. In fact, the progress of this thesis, to a great extent, depended on the precise identification of *ind*’s polysemous senses, *before* the emotion concepts it denotes was explored. If the understanding of *ind*’s meaning was not as detailed as that established in this thesis using the “lexical trail”, or indeed, if this research relied on the conventional glosses of *ind* presented in the dictionaries, the picture of the emotion concepts that *ind* denotes would be inaccurate.

By critically engaging with the previously modern and Eurocentric History of Emotions approach in dialogue with the nature and limitations of the Egyptian documentary record, this thesis has demonstrated the usefulness of History of Emotions concepts for Egyptological emotion research. Moreover, the successful employment of these concepts within this thesis

has expanded the scope and applicability of the History of Emotions approach both geographically and temporally. The concepts of emotionology, emotives and emotional communities, in particular, meaningfully contributed to this research by drawing attention to the limitations and biases of the source material and thus delineating what insight could actually be ascertained about emotions from examining Egyptian texts. The results of the lexical-semantic analysis of *ind* were effectively shaped by these concepts in Chapter Five, which generated a detailed and theoretically grounded picture of the emotion concepts seemingly denoted by *ind*, according to the emotionology held by the literate elite emotional community. At a broader level, however, this thesis has contributed to world-wide emotions research by challenging universalising and Eurocentric approaches through the creation of a culturally contextualised and nuanced picture of the Egyptian emotion lexeme and concept of *ind*.

6.2 Outlook

This thesis has sharpened the understanding of the meaning of *ind* and illuminated how this emotion lexeme could have been linguistically conceptualised according to literate elite authors. However, *ind* is not the sole member of the SADNESS semantic field, and as discussed in Chapter Five, is likely not a central member of this field. Onomasiological analysis of the entirety of lexemes belonging to the SADNESS semantic field, employing the methodology established in this thesis, would illuminate the precise meaning of all of these lexemes in relation to each other, in addition to the diachronic development of the SADNESS semantic field. The results of the lexical-semantic analyses of the SADNESS lexemes could be framed by the concepts of emotionology, emotives and emotional communities to generate a comprehensive and theoretically informed picture of the Egyptian linguistic conceptualisation of SADNESS. Furthermore, cognitive linguistic approaches, particularly CMT, could be employed to examine how SADNESS was metaphorically and metonymically conceptualised in Egyptian texts. This rigorous analytical methodology could be extended to examine the entirety of the Egyptian emotional lexicon, which would undoubtedly bolster our understanding of the constructed ‘emotional universe’ of the ancient Egyptian textual record.

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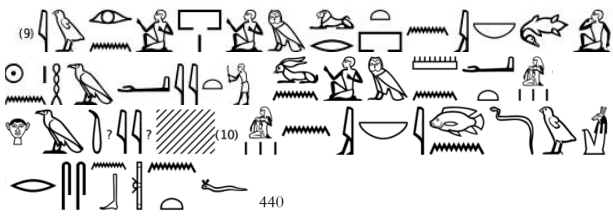

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CONCORDANCE

Example in Text	Attestation No. in Appendix A
Ex.1.	No. 1.
Ex.2.	No. 2.
Ex.3.	No. 3.
Ex.4.	No. 11.
Ex.5.	No. 42.
Ex.6.	No. 27.
Ex.7.	No. 32.
Ex.8.	No. 35.
Ex.9.	No. 10.
Ex.10.	No. 12.
Ex.11.	No. 16.
Ex.12.	No. 17.
Ex.13.	No. 47.
Ex.14.	No. 48.
Ex.15.	No. 4.
Ex.16.	No. 13.
Ex.17.	No. 31.
Ex.18.	No. 39.
Ex.19.	No. 40.
Ex.20.	No. 43.
Ex.21.	No. 44.
Ex.22.	No. 28.
Ex.23.	No. 29.
Ex.24.	No. 41.
Ex.25.	No. 52.
Ex.26.	No. 54.
Ex.27.	No. 57.
Ex.28.	No. 46.
Ex.29.	No. 49.
Ex.30.	No. 50.
Ex.31.	No. 51.
Ex.32.	No. 5.
Ex.33.	No. 6.
Ex.34.	No. 38.

APPENDIX A

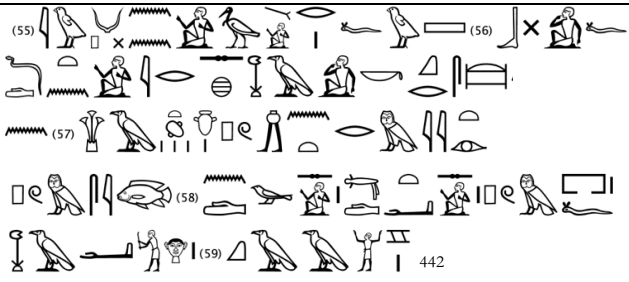

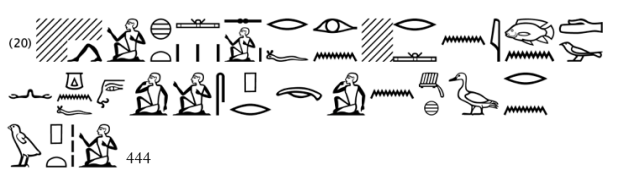
Positive Attestations of *ind*

No.	Source	Date and Genre	Part of Speech	Transcription	Transliteration and Translation
1 (Ex.1)	Graffiti No. 20, Hatnub, 11-12	First Intermediate Period Autobiography	Verb		<i>sn(.w) pr.w=f (12) n iyi.w snd(.w) r^c.w n(.y) ḥz^c.yt phr.t snb.t n{.t} iyi.w ind(.w)</i> “One who opens his house (12) to the one who came being AFRAID (on) the day of turmoil, healing medicine for the one who came being <i>ind</i> ”.
2 (Ex.2)	Graffiti No. 16, Hatnub, 9-10	First Intermediate Period Autobiography	Verb		<i>(9) iw iri.n=i pr.w=i m rw.t n iyi(.w) nb snd(.w) r^c.w n(.y) ḥz^c.yt wn=i mn^c.t hr sty[.t] (10) n iyi(.w) nb ind.w r s:snb.nt(w)=f</i> “(9) I made my house as a gateway for anyone who came being AFRAID (on) the day of turmoil. I was a <i>mn^c.t</i> - nurse and an <i>sty[.t]</i> -nurse (10) for anyone who came being <i>ind</i> until he was made to be healthy”.
3 (Ex.3)	Graffiti No. 12, Hatnub, 13-14	First Intermediate Period Autobiography	Verb		<i>iw ḥkz.n(=i) hr ind(.w) (14) šni.t=i n st</i> “(I) have enchanted the face being <i>ind</i> , (14) my conjuring being for the smell”.

⁴³⁹ Hieroglyphic transcription after Möller and Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, p. 43, Pl. 18.

⁴⁴⁰ Hieroglyphic transcription after Möller and Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, p. 36, Pl. 16.




⁴⁴¹ Hieroglyphic transcription after Möller and Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, p. 29, Pl. 15.

4 (Ex.15)	‘The Dialogue Between a Man and his Ba’, pBerlin 3024, 55-59	Middle Kingdom Narrative Tale	Verb		<p>(55) <i>iw wpi.n n n=i b3=i r3=f wš(56)b=f dd.tn=i ir sh3=k krs.w n(57)h3.t-ib pw ini.t rmy.t pw m s:in(58)d si šdi.t si pw m pr.w=f h3(.w) hr (59) k33</i></p> <p>“(55) My Ba opened his mouth to me that (56) he might answer that which I said, “If you remember a burial, it is (57) a SADNESS; it is a bringing of tears through (58) making a man <i>ind</i>. It is taking a man from his house, he being cast upon (59) a hill”.</p>
5 (Ex.32)	Stela of Montuweser, MMA 12.184, 3- 4	Middle Kingdom Autobiography	Noun		<p><i>dd=f (4) ink m33.w r ind krs.w mw.ty dd(.w) (i)h.wt n n.ty-iw.ty snni.w</i></p> <p>“He says, (4) I am one who watches over (lit. looks towards) the one who is <i>ind</i>, who buries the dead, who gives things to the one who is in need”.</p>
6 (Ex.33)	Autobiography in Tomb of Sarenput, Aswan, 20	Middle Kingdom Autobiography	Noun		<p>(20) <i>/// (i)h.wt si (i)r=f iri.n(=i) [s3]r n ind n gnf=i spr(.w) n im3h.w S3-rn-pw.t</i></p> <p>“(20) <i>///</i> possessions of a man regarding him, (I) having made [the need] for the one who is <i>ind</i>. I did not rebuff the one who petitioned to the honoured one Sarenput”.</p>

⁴⁴² Hieroglyphic transcription after Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, p. 339.

⁴⁴³ Hieroglyphic transcription after Ransom-Williams, *The Stela of Menthu-Weser*, p. 16, Pl. 11.

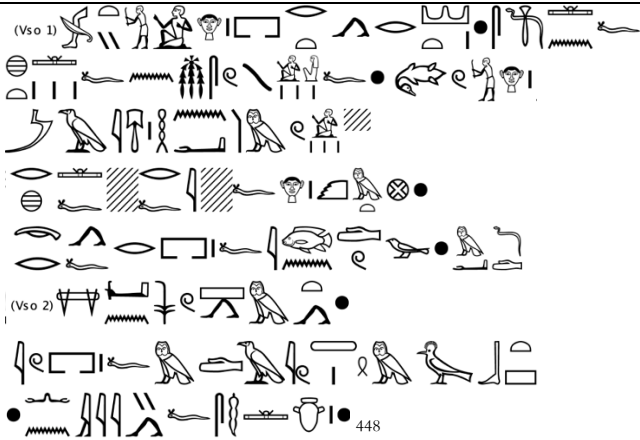


⁴⁴⁴ Hieroglyphic transcription after Sethe, *Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches*, pp. 1-5.

7	Letter of Nehyeni to the Overseer of the Temple, Hori, UC 32214, 23-28	Middle Kingdom Letter	Noun		<p>(23) <i>swd3-ib r-n.tt</i> /// (24) <i>dmd.yt iri.tn</i> /// (25) <i>hft(.y)=k m 3h.t</i> /// (26) <i>m-^c.w ind i</i>/// (27) <i>hn^c nd-hr</i>/// (28) <i>swd3-ib [pw hr=s]</i></p> <p>“(23) Message as follows “/// (24) the total which /// made /// (25) your enemy in the field /// (26) from the one who is <i>ind</i> /// (27) and greet /// (28) [this is] a message [concerning it]”.</p>
8	Omina Calender, Wooden Tablet, 7-8	Eighteenth Dynasty Hemerological	Noun		<p>(7) <i>3bd 1 pr.t šsmt.t</i> (8) <i>nb.t Pwn.t ir pri=k m pr.w=k nd.tw šsm=k <in> ind m33=k inm n^c(.w) tw=tw r mw.t n r-^c.w w^cb</i></p> <p>“(7) 1st Month of <i>pr.t</i> (harvest), <i>šsmt.t</i> (8) Mistress of Punt. If you go forth from your house and your guidance is being asked <by> the one who is <i>ind</i> while you see smooth skin, then one will die because of the activity of the w^cb-priest”.</p>
9	‘Satire of the Trades’, Tablet Louvre 693, 8	Eighteenth Dynasty Satire	Verb		<p>(8) <i>wth=f wd3{.n}=f m-^c.w [m3i.w mr dbi.w] ir=f h3w.ti m hmt.[nw=sn pri]=f m /// r3 spr=f <r> pr.w=f in[d.w] /// mdd.n sw</i></p> <p>“(8) (That) he flees (is so that) he remains safe from [the lion, and the hippopotamus is evil] against him, and the hamster is there as the third [of them when he goes forth] from the hole. That he arrives <at> his home being <i>ind</i> (is) ///having pressed hard on him”.</p>

⁴⁴⁵ Hieroglyphic transcription after M. Collier and S. Quirke, *The UCL Labun Papyri: Letters* (BAR International Series 1083) (Oxford: Archaeopress), 2002, LVII, p. 146.

⁴⁴⁶ Hieroglyphic transcription after P. Vernus, “Omina calendériques et comptabilité d'offrandes sur une tablette hiératique de la XVIIIe dynastie,” *RdE* 33, (1981), p. 119, fig. 1.


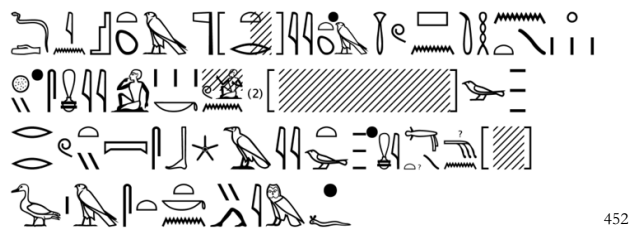
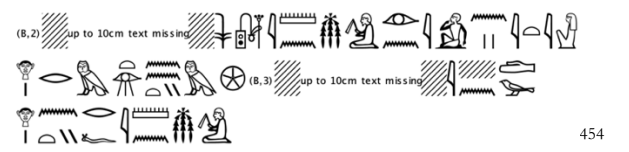
⁴⁴⁷ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, pp. L-LII.

10 (Ex.9)	'Satire of the Trades', Tablet Louvre 693, Vso. 1–2	Eighteenth Dynasty Satire	Verb	 <p>(Vso 1) <i>shh.ty hr pri.t r h3s.t swd.n=f (i)h.wt=f n ms.w=f snd.w hr m3i hn^c 3m.w rh=f [sw] (i)r=f i[w]=f hr Km.t spr=f r pr.w=f ind.w mdd. (Vso 2) n sw sm.t iw pr.w=f m d3i.w m db.t nn iyi(.t){=f} sndm-ib</i></p> <p>“(Vso 1) The (express) courier goes forth to the desert, he having assigned his property to his children, being AFRAID because of the lion and Asiatics. (That) he really knows [himself] (is) when he is in Egypt. (That) he arrives at his house being <i>ind</i> (is) the journey having pressed hard (Vso 2) on him. Whether his house is of cloth or of bricks; there is no HAPPY returning”.</p>	<p>(Vso 1) <i>shh.ty hr pri.t r h3s.t swd.n=f (i)h.wt=f n ms.w=f snd.w hr m3i hn^c 3m.w rh=f [sw] (i)r=f i[w]=f hr Km.t spr=f r pr.w=f ind.w mdd. (Vso 2) n sw sm.t iw pr.w=f m d3i.w m db.t nn iyi(.t){=f} sndm-ib</i></p> <p>“(Vso 1) The (express) courier goes forth to the desert, he having assigned his property to his children, being AFRAID because of the lion and Asiatics. (That) he really knows [himself] (is) when he is in Egypt. (That) he arrives at his house being <i>ind</i> (is) the journey having pressed hard (Vso 2) on him. Whether his house is of cloth or of bricks; there is no HAPPY returning”.</p>
11 (Ex.4)	Incantation 43, pBM EA 10059, XI, 9	Eighteenth Dynasty Magical- Medical	Verb	 <p>(9) <i>m [i]nd(.w) sp 2 hs(y).w m iri(.w) dm.t m iri(.w) shd.wt m iri(.w) fut.w</i></p> <p>(9) “Do not <i>ind</i>, do not <i>ind</i>! O vile one! Do not make a sting! Do not make whitenings! Do not make maggots!”</p>	<p>(9) <i>m [i]nd(.w) sp 2 hs(y).w m iri(.w) dm.t m iri(.w) shd.wt m iri(.w) fut.w</i></p> <p>(9) “Do not <i>ind</i>, do not <i>ind</i>! O vile one! Do not make a sting! Do not make whitenings! Do not make maggots!”</p>
12 (Ex.10)	Un-numbered British Museum Stela, 19-20	Ramesside Period Autobiography	Verb	 <p><i>di=i rz=i w3b(=i) isd n sdr ib(=i) ind=f</i></p> <p>“(I know whereon the god lives), I speaking out (lit. giving my mouth) that I may speak up for the miserable one, (my) <i>ib</i> not resting (lit. having slept) when he is <i>ind</i>”.</p>	<p><i>di=i rz=i w3b(=i) isd n sdr ib(=i) ind=f</i></p> <p>“(I know whereon the god lives), I speaking out (lit. giving my mouth) that I may speak up for the miserable one, (my) <i>ib</i> not resting (lit. having slept) when he is <i>ind</i>”.</p>

⁴⁴⁸ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, pp. LVII-LXI.

⁴⁴⁹ Hieroglyphic transcription after Leitz, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VII*, p. 75, Pl. 36.

⁴⁵⁰ Hieroglyphic transcription after *Digitalisierte Zettelarchiv* slip DZA 20.943.950.




13 (Ex.16)	Incantation 3, pBM EA 9997, 17-18	Ramesside Period Magical- Medical	Verb		<p><i>dd.in im.yw-ht ntr in iwr is pw n(.y) m3r in</i> (18) <i>sbh is pw n(.y) s.t ind.ti 3s.t pw sz=s' r hpt=s' psh.n</i> <i>sw im.y{w} i3d.{w}t=f</i></p> <p>“Then said those who are in the following of the god, “Is it the lament of the needy? Is it the (18) cry of a woman who is <i>ind</i>? It is Isis. Her son will embrace her when “the one who is in his mound” has bitten him”.</p>
14	Incantation 5, pBM EA 9997, Vso 1-2	Ramesside Period Magical- Medical	Verb		<p><i>dd.in 3s.t ntr.yt w3d n(.y) thn.t sp 2 smi=k wi n</i> (2) <i>[it=i nb tm.w dd.in nb tm.w ds=f hrw ind.w] r-rw.ty</i> <i>sb3{.yt} mi šdi.t n /// sz=s' tkn(=f) im=f</i></p> <p>“Then the divine Isis said, “Amulet of Faience, Amulet of Faience! May you announce me to (2) [my father, the lord of all. Then the Lord-of-all himself said “a voice which is <i>ind</i>] is outside the gate like (that of) the one who rescues /// her son after (he) approached it”.</p>
15	Statue of Amenmose, EA 137, B2-B3	Ramesside Period Funerary Wish/Prayer	Verb(?) ⁴⁵³		<p>(B,2) /// up to 10cm text missing /// <i>sh3.w nsw Imn(.w)-ms</i> <i>iri(.w) n Iny.t hr rmi.t n n.ty m d3.t</i> (B,3) /// up to 10cm text missing /// <i>ind(.w) hr n.ty (i)r=f Imn(.w)-ms</i></p> <p>“(B,2) /// The Royal Scribe, Amenmose, born to Inyt, crying for the one who is in the netherworld (B,3) /// being <i>ind</i>(?) because of the one who is against him, Amenmose”.</p>

⁴⁵¹ Hieroglyphic transcription after Leitz, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VII*, Pl. 3.

⁴⁵² Hieroglyphic transcription after Leitz, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VII*, pp. 13-15, Pl. 6.

⁴⁵³ This attestation has been considered a verbal attestation in this thesis.



⁴⁵⁴ Hieroglyphic transcription after T.G.H. James (ed.), *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc. Part 9* (London: Trustees of the British Museum), 1970, p. 59, Pl. XLV, No. 137.

16 (Ex.11)	Stela of Nebre, Berlin 20377, upper part, 3-4	Ramesside Period Ex-Voto	Verb		<p><i>ntr špsy sdm(.w) nh.t iyi(.w) hr hrw (4) nmh ind(.w) dd(.w) t3.w <n> n.ty g3b.y</i></p> <p>“The August god who hears prayer and who comes at the voice of (4) the needy who is <i>ind</i>. One who gives breath <to> the one who is deprived”.</p>
17 (Ex.12)	Stela of Nebre, Berlin 20377, lower part, 4-5	Ramesside Period Ex-Voto	Verb		<p><i>ntk Imn(.w) p3 nb n(.y) gr(.w) iyi(.w) hr hrw nmh iʕš=i n=k iw=i ind[kw tw](5)=k iyi.ti šdi=k wi dī=k t3.w <n> n.ty g3b.y šdi=k wi wnn nti(.w)</i></p> <p>“You are Amun, the lord of the silent one, who comes at the voice of the needy I called to you when I was <i>ind</i> and (5) you came and you rescued me. You give breath <to> the one who is deprived. You rescued me, one who existed, oppressed”.</p>
18	Turin Stela 1454, 3-4	Ramesside Period Ex-Voto	Verb		<p><i>p3 ʕ(.w) n=k ib=f ind(.w) (4) {n} pri=f hʕi(.w) hr nhm{.w}</i></p> <p>“The one who enters to you when his <i>ib</i> is <i>ind</i>, (4) he goes forth being HAPPY and JOYFUL”.</p>

⁴⁵⁵ Hieroglyphic transcription after Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical Volume III*, p. 653.


⁴⁵⁶ Hieroglyphic transcription after Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical Volume III*, p. 654.

⁴⁵⁷ Hieroglyphic transcription after M. Tosi and A. Roccati, *Stele e Altre Epigrafi di Deir el Medina n. 50001 - n. 50262. Volume 1* (Torino: Edizioni d'arte Fratelli Pozzo), 1972, pp. 83-84, 281.

19	Satire of the Trades, o BM EA 29550 + o DeM 1546, Rto.4-5	Ramesside Period Satire	Verb		<p><i>iri. w-^ch3. w fn=f sw rsy hr pri(.t) r</i> (Rto. 4) [<i>h3s.t</i>] <i>wr dd.t=f n (i)^c3. t=f r k3. wt=s^t r-s3 ir.y wr dd.t=f n</i> <i>im.yw š3. w dd.y sw hr w3. t</i> (Rto. 5) <i>spr=f r pr. w=f</i> <i>ind(.w) {wd^c.n} <mdd.n> sw šm.t</i></p> <p>“The arrow-maker, he weakens himself greatly, going forth to (Rto. 4) [the desert]. That which he gives to his donkey is greater than its work thereafter. That which he gives to the ones who are in the meadow, who get him on the way is great. (Rto. 5) (That) he arrives to his house being <i>ind</i>, (is) the journey having <pressed hard> on him”.</p>
20	Satire of the Trades, oG 361, 4-5	Ramesside Period Satire	Verb		<p>(4) <i>/// pri(.t) r h3s.t wr dd[.t=f]</i> <i>///</i> (5) <i>///[spr]=f r pr.w=f</i> <i>ind(.w) ///</i></p> <p>“(4) <i>///</i> goes forth to the desert. That which (he) gives <i>///</i> (5) <i>///</i> [That] he [arrives] at his house being <i>ind</i> <i>///</i>”.</p>



⁴⁵⁸ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, pp. LV-LVII.

⁴⁵⁹ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, pp. LV-LVII.

21	Satire of the Trades, oBM EA 29550, Rto. 5–8	Ramesside Period Satire	Verb		<p> <i>shh.ty hr pri(.t) r h3s.t swd.n=f (i)h.wt(=f) (Rto.6) n ms.w=f snd.w hr m3i hn' 3m.w rh=f sw (i)r=f iw=f hr Km.t (Rto.7) [spr]=f r pr.w=f ind(.w) {wd' } <md'> .n sw {wd' } <sm.t> iw{=f} {pri} <pr.w=f> {di=f} <m> d3i.w m [db.t] (Rto.8) n(n) iyi(.t){=f sw} sndm- ib⁴⁶¹ </i> </p> <p> ⁴⁶⁰ “The (express) courier goes forth to the desert, he having assigned his (Rto.6) property to his children, being AFRAID because of the lion and Asiatics. (That) he really knows himself (is) when he is in Egypt. (Rto.7) [That] he [arrives] at his house being <i>ind</i> (is) the <journey> having <pressed hard> on him. Whether <his house> <is of> cloth or of [bricks]; (Rto. 8) there is no HAPPY returning”. </p>
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⁴⁶⁰ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, pp. LVII-LXI.

⁴⁶¹ Text emended after Tablet Louvre 693, Vso 1-2. Jäger notes “*dj=f* (Binde- und Trenndigression; ebenfalls als Digression anzusehen, weil sowohl die form *iw=f prj(.w) dj=f d3j.w m db.t* als auch die Form *iw pr.w=f dj=f d3j.w m db.t* inhaltlich wenig Sinn ergibt. Flüchtigkeitsfehler)”. Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, p. xxvi.

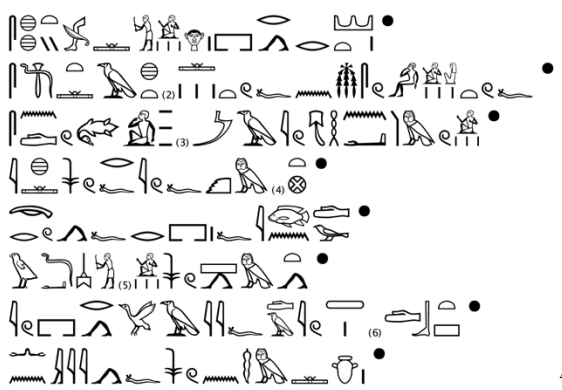
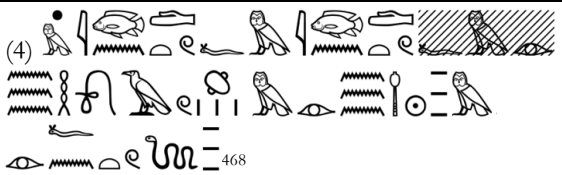
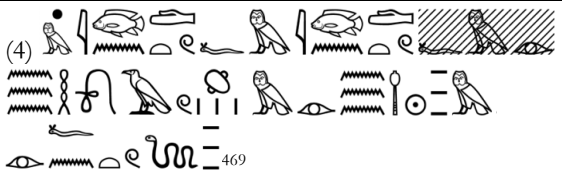
22	Satire of the Trades, oDeM 1179, 4-6	Ramesside Period Satire	Verb		<p><i>shh.ty hr pri(.t) r h3s.t swd<.n=f> {3}<i>h.wt (5) [n ms.w=f] snd(.w) (hr) m3i hn< 3m.w rh(=f) sw {n=f} iw=f hr Km.t (6) [spr=f r pr.w]=f ind(.w) {wd<} <mdd.n> [s]w sm.t iw{=f} {pri} {p3y=f} <pr.w=f> <m> (7) d3i.w m db.t nn iyi(.t){=f} /// r sndm-ib⁴⁶³</i></p> <p>“The (express) courier goes forth to the desert, <he having> assigned (his) property (5) [to his children], being AFRAID (because of) the lion and Asiatics. (That he) really knows himself (is) when he is in Egypt. (6) [That he arrives at his house] being <i>ind</i> (is) the journey having <pressed hard> on him. Whether <his house> <is> of (7) cloth or of bricks; there is no HAPPY returning”.</p>
23	Satire of the Trades, oPetrie 70, 1-5	Ramesside Period Satire	Verb		<p>(1) <i>shh.ty hr [pri.t h3s.t swd.n=f ih.wt n] (2) ms.w=f snd.w hr m3i hn< [3m.w] (3) rh.n=f sw iw=f hr Km.t spr r pr.w=f in[d.w] (4) {wd<} <mdd.n> [sw sm.t] i[w] pr.w=f {di=f} <m> d3i.w (5) m db.t nn iyi(.t){=f sw} sndm-ib⁴⁶⁵</i></p> <p>“(1) The (express) courier [goes forth to the desert, he having assigned his property to] (2) his children, being AFRAID because of the lion and [Asiatics]. (3) (That) he really knows himself (is) when he is in Egypt. (That) he arrives at his house being <i>ind</i> (4) (is) [the journey] having <pressed hard> [on him]. Whether his house <is> of cloth (5) or of bricks; there is no HAPPY returning”.</p>

⁴⁶² Hieroglyphic transcription after Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, pp. LVII-LXI.

⁴⁶³ Text emended after Tablet Louvre 693, Vso 1-2. Jäger notes “*p3j=f* (Binde- und Trenndigression; der Satz ist sinnlos und offensichtlich neuägyptisch beeinflusst Neuägyptizismus)” Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, p. xxvi; See n. 461 above.

⁴⁶⁴ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, pp. LVII-LXI.

⁴⁶⁵ Text emended after Tablet Louvre 693, Vso 1-2; See n. 461 above.



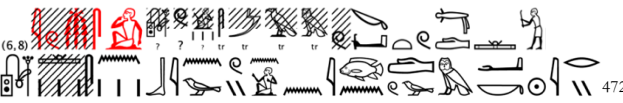

24	Satire of the Trades, o Colin Campbell 12 (=o Glasgow D.1925.77), 1-6	Ramesside Period Satire	Verb		<p>(1) <i>shh.ty hr pri(.t) r h3s.t swd <.n=f></i> <i>{3} <i> h.wt(2)=f n ms.w=f snd.w (hr) (3) m3i hn^c</i> <i>3m.w {i} <r> h(=f) sw (i)r=f iw=f (hr) Km. (4)t spr=f r</i> <i>pr.w=f ind(.w) {wd^c} <mdd.n> (5) sw sm.t iw {pri}</i> <i>{p3y=f} <pr.w=f> <m> d3i.w <m> (6) db.t nn</i> <i>iyi(.t){=f sw} sndm-ib⁴⁶⁷</i></p> <p>“(1) The (express) courier goes forth to the desert, <he having> assigned his (2) property to his children, being AFRAID (because of) (3) the lion and Asiatics. (That) he really knows himself (is) when he is in (4) Egypt. (That) he arrives at his house being <i>ind</i> (is) the journey having <pressed hard> on (5) him. Whether <his house> <is of> cloth or <of> (6) bricks; there is no HAPPY returning”.</p>
25	Incantation 38, pLeiden I 348, Vso 3,4	Ramesside Period Magical- Medical	Verb		<p>(4) <i>m ind=f m ind=f [m iri(.w)] mw h3w3 m iri(.w) mw</i> <i>hd m iri(.w) fut.w</i></p> <p>“(4) Do not <i>ind</i> him (Horus)! Do not <i>ind</i> him (Horus)! [Do not make] a foul liquid! Do not make a white liquid! Do not make maggots!”</p>
26	Incantation 38, pLeiden I 348, Vso 3,4	Ramesside Period Magical- Medical	Verb		<p>(4) <i>m ind=f m ind=f [m iri(.w)] mw h3w3 m iri(.w) mw</i> <i>hd m iri(.w) fut.w</i></p> <p>“(4) Do not <i>ind</i> him (Horus)! Do not <i>ind</i> him (Horus)! [Do not make] a foul liquid! Do not make a white liquid! Do not make maggots!”</p>

⁴⁶⁶ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, pp. LVII-LXI.

⁴⁶⁷ Text emended after Tablet Louvre 693, Vso 1-2. See n. 461 and 463 above.

⁴⁶⁸ Hieroglyphic transcription after Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, Pl. 17.

⁴⁶⁹ Hieroglyphic transcription after Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, Pl. 17.

27 (Ex.6)	Letter of Woman, pBerlin 11252, AS, 4-5	Ramesside Period Letter	Noun	 (5) 470	<i>iw=i (hr) sdr</i> (4) <i>hr ind.w=i iw bn</i> (5) <i>w^c r di.t mw n=i</i> “I was bedridden (4) because of my <i>ind</i> , but (5) no-one will give me water!”
28 (Ex.22)	Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, pLeiden I 344, 5,9	Ramesside Period Lamentation	Noun	 471	<i>i[n iw]</i> (5,9) <i>m iwh n pth iti.t i[3.t] dd=tn n=f hr m n(n) ph sw ind.w is pw dd=tn n=f</i> “(5,9) Is it namely libating for Ptah and seizing the <i>i[3.t]</i> -offerings? Why do you give to him, without reaching him? That you give to him is indeed <i>ind.w</i> ”.
29 (Ex.23)	Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, pLeiden I 344, 6,8	Ramesside Period Lamentation	Noun	 472	(6,8) <i>[tw m]s [sh3.w sm3{m}].tw sdi(.w) sh3.w=sn bin.wy n=i n ind.w m {3} <r>k ir.y</i> “(6,8) Indeed , scribes are slain, and their writings are removed. How evil it is for me because of the <i>ind</i> of the respective time”.
30	Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, pLeiden I 344, 15,6	Ramesside Period Lamentation	Noun(?) 473	(15,6)  474	(15,6) <i>/// n in[d ///]</i> “(15,6) <i>///</i> for/because of <i>ind ///</i> ”





⁴⁷⁰ Hieroglyphic transcription after Fragment Berlin P 11252, *Deir el Medine Online* 2002-2009, München, <<http://dem-online.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/fragment.php?id=250>> Accessed 27/5/2020.

⁴⁷¹ Hieroglyphic transcription after Enmarch, *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All*, p. 35

⁴⁷² Hieroglyphic transcription after Enmarch, *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All*, p. 37.

⁴⁷³ This attestation has been considered a nominal attestation in this thesis.

⁴⁷⁴ Hieroglyphic transcription after Enmarch, *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All*, p. 57.




31 (Ex.17)	The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, Bubastite Portal at Karnak, 9	Third Intermediate Period 'Historical' Narrative	Verb		(9) <i>hḳ3=s w(.w) <m> sbd ḡ.t=i p(3)ḳi(.w) int.(kw)</i> “... (9) her ruler being alone <for> a month, my body is thin, I am <i>int</i> ”.
32 (Ex.7)	Chapels of the Divine Adoratrice of Amun, <i>Imn-ir-di=s</i> , Medinet Habu, 3	Third Intermediate Period Temple Inscription	Verb		(3) <i>ir {h}gr(.t) nn ḡd mdw nn iw ḥn.wt imn(.tt) r rḡi(.t) mḥs=sn ind ḥm.wt=sn</i> “(3) But if there is no saying these words, then the Mistress of the West will cause that they may be <i>mḥs</i> (infertile/impotent), and their wives may be <i>ind</i> ”.
33	Chapels of the Divine Adoratrice of Amun, <i>Šp-n-wp.t</i> , Medinet Habu, 3	Third Intermediate Period Temple Inscription	Verb		(3) <i>ir {h}gr(.t) nn ḡd mdw nn iw ḥn.wt imn(.tt) r rḡi(.t) mḥs=sn ind ḥm.wt=sn</i> “(3) But if there is no saying these words, then the Mistress of the West will cause that they may be <i>mḥs</i> (infertile/impotent), and their wives may be <i>ind</i> ”.
34	Chapels of the Divine Adoratrice of Amun, <i>N.t-iḳr.t</i> , Medinet Habu, 3	Third Intermediate Period Temple Inscription	Verb		(3) <i>ir {h}gr(.t) nn ḡd mdw nn iw ḥn.wt imn(.tt) r rḡi(.t) mḥs=sn ind ḥm.wt=sn</i> “(3) But if there is no saying these words, then the Mistress of the West will cause that they may be <i>mḥs</i> (infertile/impotent), and their wives may be <i>ind</i> ”.

⁴⁷⁵ Hieroglyphic transcription after The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak. Volume III*, Pl. 21.

⁴⁷⁶ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit Teil III*, p. 267.

⁴⁷⁷ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit Teil III*, p. 267.




⁴⁷⁸ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit Teil III*, p. 267.

35 (Ex.8)	Chapels of the Divine Adoratrice of Amun, <i>Imn-ir-di-s</i> , Medinet Habu, 5-6	Third Intermediate Period Temple Inscription	Noun	 <p>479</p>	<p>(5) <i>iri [hm.(w)t=tn] n Hw.t-Hr.w hn.wt [imn.tt di=s msi(.w)=sn n=tn tzy.w hm.wt nn] mr n(.y) ///</i> (6) <i>nn hq.t ib=tn im=[sn nn n=sn ind nn n=tn] mhs</i></p> <p>“(5) [Your wives] will perform for Hathor, Mistress of the [West, (and) she will cause that they may bear for you boys and girls. There will be no] suffering of ///, (6) there will be no damaging of your <i>ib</i> because of [them. <i>ind</i> does not belong to them and] <i>mhs</i> (infertility/impotence) [does not belong to you]”.</p>
36	Chapels of the Divine Adoratrice of Amun, <i>Šp-n-wp.t</i> , Medinet Habu, 5-6	Third Intermediate Period Temple Inscription	Noun	 <p>480</p>	<p>(5) <i>iri [hm.(w)t=tn] n Hw.t-Hr.w hn.wt [imn.tt di=s msi(.w)=sn n=tn tzy.w hm.wt nn] mr n(.y) ///</i> (6) <i>nn hq.t ib=tn im=[sn nn n=sn ind nn n=tn] mhs</i></p> <p>“(5) [Your wives] will perform for Hathor, Mistress of the [West, (and) she will cause that they may bear for you boys and girls. There will be no] suffering of ///, (6) there will be no damaging of your <i>ib</i> because of [them. <i>ind</i> does not belong to them and] <i>mhs</i> (infertility/impotence) [does not belong to you]”.</p>
37	Chapels of the Divine Adoratrice of Amun, <i>N.t-ikr.t</i> , Medinet Habu, 5-6	Third Intermediate Period Temple Inscription	Noun	 <p>481</p>	<p>(5) <i>iri [hm.(w)t=tn] n Hw.t-Hr.w hn.wt [imn.tt di=s msi(.w)=sn n=tn tzy.w hm.wt nn] mr n(.y) ///</i> (6) <i>nn hq.t ib=tn im=[sn nn n=sn ind nn n=tn] mhs</i></p> <p>“(5) [Your wives] will perform for Hathor, Mistress of the [West, (and) she will cause that they may bear for you boys and girls. There will be no] suffering of ///, (6) there will be no damaging of your <i>ib</i> because of [them. <i>ind</i> does not belong to them and] <i>mhs</i> (infertility/impotence) [does not belong to you]”.</p>

⁴⁷⁹ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriben der Spätzeit Teil III*, p. 266.

⁴⁸⁰ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriben der Spätzeit Teil III*, p. 266.


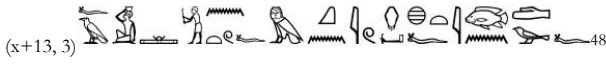

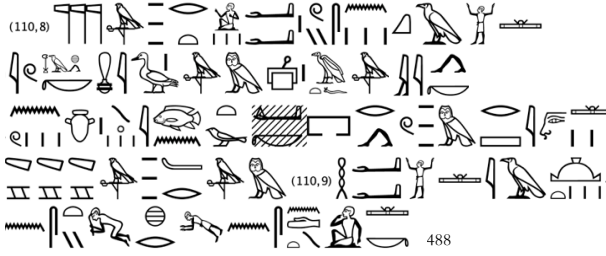
⁴⁸¹ Hieroglyphic transcription after Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriben der Spätzeit Teil III*, p. 266.

38 (Ex.34)	Block Statue of Harwa, Berlin Museum 8136 (=Louvre A84), 8-10	Third Intermediate Period Autobiography	Noun		<p><i>ib</i> (9) <i>n ind db(z) n mḥi.w m(z)k.t n n.t(y)t md.w</i> (10) <i>mdwi{.t} ḥr m3r i-snfī(.w) nb-sp t3b(.w) dr(.w) m sp=f ikr</i></p> <p>“(I am) (9) a refuge for the one who is <i>ind</i>, a reed-float for the one who drowns, and a ladder for the one who is in the depths. (10) (I am) one who speaks for the wretched-person, who comforts the unfortunate, who helps the oppressed-one through his excellent deed”.</p>
39 (Ex.18)	Metternich Stela, MMA 50.85, Spell Six, 56-57	Late Period Magical- Medical	Verb		<p>(56) <i>ib=s ind(.w) {r} <iw> n rh<=s> ḥnh=f s{rr} <h3h> .n=s' niw.t {s} m im n wn iyi(.w) n ḥrw=s ib=i ind(.w) n šri ḥr=s r s:ḥnh šw m bt3=(57)f nis=i n=s</i></p> <p>“(56) Her <i>ib</i> was <i>ind</i>, she not knowing whether he may live. (That) she hastened through the city (was) with lamentations, (but) there was no who came at her call. My (=Isis) <i>ib</i> was <i>ind</i> for her (the mother) because of the child, (and) in order to cause the one free from wrong to live, (57) I called to her”.</p>
40 (Ex.19)	Metternich Stela, MMA 50.85, 56-57	Late Period Magical- Medical	Verb		<p>(56) <i>ib=s ind(.w) {r} <iw> n rh<=s> ḥnh=f s{rr} <h3h> .n=s' niw.t {s} m im n wn iyi(.w) n ḥrw=s ib=i ind(.w) n šri ḥr=s r s:ḥnh šw m bt3=(57)f nis=i n=s</i></p> <p>“(56) Her <i>ib</i> was <i>ind</i>, she not knowing whether he may live. (That) she hastened through the city (was) with lamentations, (but) there was no who came at her call. My (=Isis) <i>ib</i> was <i>ind</i> for her (the mother) because of the child, (and) in order to cause the one free from wrong to live, (57) I called to her”.</p>

⁴⁸² Hieroglyphic transcription after Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit Teil III*, pp. 288-289.

⁴⁸³ Hieroglyphic transcription after Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstela*, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁸⁴ Hieroglyphic transcription after Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstela*, pp. 37-38.

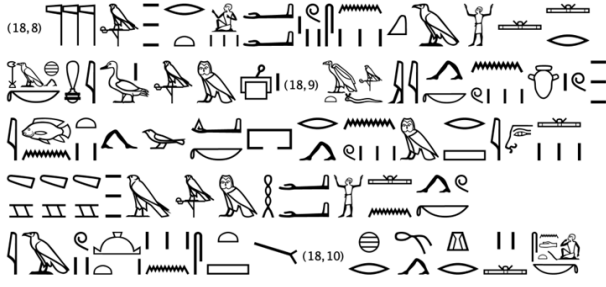



41 (Ex.24)	Metternich Stela, MMA 50.85, 234	Late Period Magical- Medical	Noun		<i>{hrw.w} <mdw> Hr.w r t(234)si ib.w sh̄tp.n=f wn(.w) m ind ndm ib=tn im.yw nw.t</i> “The words of Horus will (234) raise up the <i>ibs</i> , he having pleased that which is <i>ind</i> (lit. that which exists in <i>ind</i>). Let your <i>ibs</i> be GLAD, (namely) the ones who are in Nut”.
42 (Ex.5)	pBrooklyn 47.218.89, x+13, 3	Late Period Mythological	Verb		<i>(x+13, 3) f̄si.ntw=f m kni hft ind=f</i> (x+13, 3) “(That) he has been carried around (lit. in the arms/in an embrace) (is) when he was <i>ind</i> ”.
43 (Ex.20)	Stele of Djed- Hor, OI 10589, 149	Late Period Magical- Medical	Verb		<i>(149) dd.in nb tm.w ds=f hrw ind(.w) r-rw.ty sb̄s m̄ šd̄i s̄s=s tkn(=f) im=s</i> “(149) Then the Lord-of-All said, himself, “A voice which is <i>ind</i> is outside the gate like (that of) the one who rescued her son after (he) approached it”.
44 (Ex.21)	Ritual for the Transfiguration of Osiris, pLouvre I 3079, 110, 8-9	Greco-Roman Period Ritual	Verb		<i>(110,8) ntr.w rmt̄.w ̄wy=sn k̄zi(.w) {iw}<r> h̄zh=k m̄i s̄s m-s̄s mw.t=f īyi=k n=w ib.w=w int(.w) [d̄i=k] pri=w m r̄ši idb.w Hr.w m (110,9) h̄c̄ īz.wt n Sty hr(.w) n snt=k</i> “(110,8) Gods and men, their arms are raised so that you hasten like a son after his mother. May you come to them, their <i>ibs</i> being <i>int</i> , may you cause that they may go forth in JOY, the banks of Horus (110,9) (are) in JOY (and) the Mounds of Seth being overthrown (because of) the FEAR of you”.

⁴⁸⁵ Hieroglyphic transcription after Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstela*, p. 67.

⁴⁸⁶ Hieroglyphic transcription after Meeks, *Mythes et 131 legends du Delta d'après le papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84*, Pl.13-14A, p. 483, §32.

⁴⁸⁷ Hieroglyphic Transcription after Jelinkova-Reymond, *Les Inscriptions de la Statue Guérissante de Djed-Her-Le-Saveur*, p. 72.

⁴⁸⁸ Hieroglyphic transcription after Goyon, “Le Cérémonial de Glorification d'Osiris du Papyrus du Louvre I. 3079,” pp. 95, 141-142, Pl. XVIII.


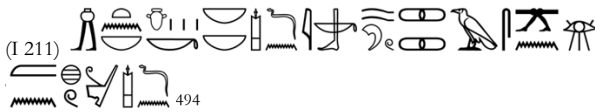
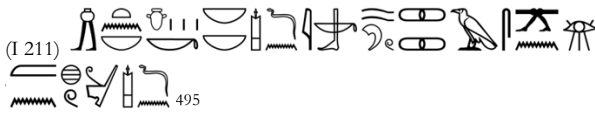

45	Ritual for the Transfiguration of Osiris, p MMA 35.9.21, 18, 8-10	Greco-Roman Period Ritual	Verb	 <p>(18,8) (18,9) (18,10) 489</p>	<p>(18,8) <i>ntr.w rmt.w ʿ.wy=sn kzi(.w) r h3h=k mī s3 m-s3</i> (18,9) <i>mw.t=f iʿi=k n=w ib.w=w int.(w) di=k pri{.n}=w m rši idb.w Hr.w m hʿ n iwi(.t)=k iz.wt n Sty</i> (18,10) <i>hr(.w) n snt=k</i></p> <p>“(18,8) Gods and men, their arms are raised so that you hasten like a son after (18,9) his mother. May you come to them, their <i>ibs</i> being <i>int</i>, may you cause that they may go forth in JOY, the banks of Horus in JOY because of your coming (and) the Mounds of Seth (18,10) being overthrown (because of) the FEAR of you”.</p>
46 (Ex.28)	Book of the Dead Chapter 168 (Pleyte), pLeiden T31, 65-66	Greco-Roman Period Funerary Spell	Verb	 <p>(65) (66) 490</p>	<p>(65) <i>ms.w Hr.w hr ind im=f</i> (66) <i>tsi tw m tph.t d3.t</i></p> <p>“(65) The Children of Horus <i>ind</i> for him. (66) Rise up in the cavern of the netherworld!”</p>
47 (Ex.13)	Inscription at the End Door of the Northern Corridor, Kom Ombo, De Morgan, 247	Greco-Roman Period Temple Inscription	Verb	 <p>491</p>	<p><i>Twn.ty hr ind ist.yw=f šmr hr šʿd hr.yw=f</i></p> <p>“Twenty makes <i>ind</i> his mutilated ones; the Shemer slaughters his enemies”.</p>
48 (Ex.14)	East Staircase, Edfu, I 559,81	Greco-Roman Period Temple Inscription	Noun	 <p>(I, 559, 81) 492</p>	<p>(I 559, 81) <i>hd=k pw dr bʿn.w=k hf {ns} <sn> hf=k pri {nb} <=k> r-h3 (n)n ind m r3-w3.t=k</i></p> <p>(I 559, 81) “It is your <i>hd</i> which expels your rebels; your fist seizes them when you go forth; there is no <i>ind</i> in your vicinity”.</p>

⁴⁸⁹ Hieroglyphic transcription after Goyon, *Le Papyrus d'Imouthés Fils de Psintaês Au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New-York (Papyrus MMA 35.9.21)* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art), 1999, Pl. XVII-XVIA.

⁴⁹⁰ Hieroglyphic transcription after hieratic facsimile in Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts 162 à 174*, Pls. 150-151.

⁴⁹¹ Hieroglyphic transcription after De Morgan, Bouriant, Legrain, Jéquier, Barsanti, *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de L'Égypte Antique. Tome Troisième*, p. 247.

⁴⁹² Hieroglyphic transcription after Chassinat and de Rochemonteix, *Le Temple D'Edfou I,4.*, p. 559.






49 (Ex.29)	Second Chamber of Osiris, Edfu, I, 215, 32-33	Greco-Roman Period Temple Inscription	Noun	 <p>(I 215,32) <i>i{w}n sn.ty h3y sn.ty s///s=sn t{p} <w></i> <i>i(z)kb/// (I 215,33) hw{y} <t>=s <n> tw 3h.hr b3=k</i> <i>ini=sn n=k ib.w nb(.w) m ind s:3h kw ntr.w m nb=sn</i></p> <p>“(I 215,32) It is the two sisters who MOURN, the two sisters, they /// you. [They] GRIEVE (I 215,33) (and) they lament you. Then your Ba is effective, they bringing all <i>ibs</i> that are in <i>ind</i> to you, and the gods glorify you as their lord”.</p>
50 (Ex.30)	Second Chamber of Osiris, Edfu, I, 211	Greco-Roman Period Temple Inscription	Noun	 <p>(I 211) <i>ini.t(w) n{nb} <=k> ib.w{=k} <nb.w></i> <i>{nb.wy} <m> ind i(z)kb(=i) im=k k.w sbi(.w) n</i> <i>rmy(.t) m nh.w <t> n ind</i></p> <p>“(I 211) Every <i>ib</i> that is <in> <i>ind</i> is brought to you. (I) GRIEVE for you, while the provisions are sent for those who cry in lamentation because of <i>ind</i>”.</p>
51 (Ex.31)	Second Chamber of Osiris, Edfu, I, 211	Greco-Roman Period Temple Inscription	Noun	 <p>(I 211) <i>ini.t(w) n{nb} <=k> ib.w{=k} <nb.w></i> <i>{nb.wy} <m> ind i(z)kb(=i) im=k k.w sbi(.w) n</i> <i>rmy(.t) m nh.w <t> n ind</i></p> <p>“(I,211) Every <i>ib</i> that is <in> <i>ind</i> is brought to you. (I) GRIEVE for you, while the provisions are sent for those who cry in lamentation because of <i>ind</i>”.</p>
52 (Ex.25)	Inside Perimeter Wall, Edfu, VI 283, 5	Greco-Roman Period Temple Inscription	Adjective	 <p>(VI 283,5) <i>rwi mn.t m ib.w int(.w)</i></p> <p>“(VI 283,5) ... who drives away the suffering from the <i>ibs</i> that are <i>int</i>”.</p>

⁴⁹³ Hieroglyphic Transcription after Chassinat, and de Rochemonteix, *Le Temple D'Edfou* I,2., p. 215.

⁴⁹⁴ Hieroglyphic Transcription after Chassinat, and de Rochemonteix, *Le Temple D'Edfou* I,2., p. 211.

⁴⁹⁵ Hieroglyphic Transcription after Chassinat, and de Rochemonteix, *Le Temple D'Edfou* I,2., p. 211.

⁴⁹⁶ Hieroglyphic Transcription after Chassinat, *Le Temple D'Edfou. Tome Sixième*, p. 283.

53	South Side of East Tower, Edfu VII 279,5	Greco-Roman Period Temple Inscription	Adjective	(VII 279,5)  497	(VII 279,5) <i>rowi mn(.t) m ib.w ind(.w)</i> “(VII 279,5) ...who drives away the suffering from the <i>ibs</i> that are <i>ind</i> ”.
54 (Ex.26)	South Side of the East Tower, Edfu, VIII 120,22	Greco-Roman Period Temple Inscription	Adjective	(VIII 120,22)  498	(VIII 120,22) <i>bw.t(=f) isf(.t) di(.w) rs.w m ib.w int(.w)</i> “(VIII 120,22) ...whose abomination is disorder, who places JOY in the <i>ibs</i> that are <i>int</i> ”.
55	Column, Esna Temple, LD IV 82a	Greco-Roman Period Temple Inscription	Adjective	(LD IV 82a)  499	(LD IV 82a) <i>di(.w) rs.w m ib.w int(.w) t[hh].w{y} /// n bw-nb.w {g} <h> r=sn</i> “(LD IV 82a) who places JOY in the <i>ibs</i> that are <i>int</i> ; who exults /// to/for everyone under them”.
56	North Wall, West Half (External Face of Enclosure Wall), Edfu VII 89,9-10	Greco-Roman Period Temple Inscription	Adjective	(VII 89,10)  500	(VII 89,10) <i>di(.w) rs.w /// m ib.w int(.w)</i> “(VII 89,9) ... who places JOY /// in the <i>ibs</i> that are <i>int</i> ”.
57 (Ex.27)	Fourth Register of the South-West Pillar of the Mammisi, Edfu M 131,1	Greco-Roman Period Temple Inscription	Adjective	(M 131,1)  501	(M 131,1) <i>rdi=i nh sr.t nbw.t ntr.w sndm=i ib.w int(.w)</i> “(M 131,1) I give life to the nose of “the golden one of the gods” (i.e. Hathor) I make pleasant the <i>ibs</i> that are <i>int</i> ”.

⁴⁹⁷ Hieroglyphic Transcription after Chassinat, *Le Temple D'Edfou. Tome Huitième*, p. 279.

⁴⁹⁸ Hieroglyphic Transcription after Chassinat, *Le Temple D'Edfou. Tome Huitième* p. 120.

⁴⁹⁹ Hieroglyphic Transcription after C.R., Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Band IV* (Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung), 1849-1859, Pl. 82a.

⁵⁰⁰ Hieroglyphic Transcription after E. Chassinat, *Le Temple D'Edfou. Tome Septième* (Cairo: IFAO) 2009 [revised edition of the 1932 1st Edition], p. 89.

⁵⁰¹ Hieroglyphic Transcription after Chassinat, *Le Mammisi d'Edfu*, p. 131.

62	Right Series, New Year's Eve Court, Western Wall, Edfu I 442, 2	Greco-Roman Period Temple Inscription	Adjective		<p>(I 442, 2) <i>iw=f r grg wn(.w) w3si(.w) iw=f r di(.t) rs.w m ib.w ind(.w) iw=f r nd.t hr-nb</i></p> <p>“(I 442,2) He will establish that which was ruined. He will place JOY in the <i>ibs</i> that are <i>ind</i>. He will protect everyone”.</p>
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⁵⁰⁶ Hieroglyphic transcription after E. Chassinat, and M. de Rochemonteix, *Le Temple D'Edfon I,3*. Second Revised Edition by S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle, (Cairo: *IFAO*), 1987, p. 442.

APPENDIX B

Contentious Attestations of *ind*: Discussion

The four contentious attestations of *ind* in the textual record are discussed below.

Ex.A False Door of Nefer II (S576) Giza, Old Kingdom

On the False Door of Nefer II (S576), Giza, Nefer describes that his tomb was built in a fair and equitable manner:



iri.n(=i) nw m 3w.t i-iri.tn nb=i ir im3h(=i) hr=f n-sp hmw(.ty) i-nd hr=s

“(That) (I) have made this (was) through the gifts which my lord made according to (my) honour before him. Never did the craftsmen question it”.

The orthography of ‘*ind*’ in this attestation is unparalleled. H. Junker proposes that this inscription references parallel inscriptions in which craftsmen were adequately provisioned, and thanked the tomb owner for their generosity.⁵⁰⁸ The negative assurance on Nefer II’s false door, therefore, signals that the craftsmen were not underpaid or poorly treated and had no reason to dispute payment. If ‘*ind*’ were accepted as a token of *ind*, the sense of *distress because of being poorly treated and underpaid* might be appropriate for Ex.A. However, this sense does not clearly relate to later attestations and senses of *ind*. Alternatively, ‘*ind*’ may be interpreted as *i-nd hr* “to question something”.⁵⁰⁹ The translation “never did the craftsmen *question it* (payment)”, is logical and clearly relates to the positive assurances described by Junker, as the craftsmen had no reason to dispute their provisions.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁷ Hieroglyphic transcription after H. Junker, *Giza VII* (Wein and Leipzig: Hölder-Pilcher-Tempsky), 1944, pp. 146-149, Abb. 60, Taf. 19.

⁵⁰⁸ Junker states: “Der Sinn unserer Stelle ergibt widersich aus den häufigen positiven Versicherungen in parallelen Inschriften, nach denen die Handwerker (*hmwt*) als Entgelt für ihre Arbeit reichlich Nahrung und Kleidung erhielten und dem Grabherrn für seine Freigebigkeit dankten”. See Junker, *Giza VII*, p. 148.

⁵⁰⁹ *Wb* 2, 370-371.14; Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I*, p. 685.

⁵¹⁰ E. Edel translates this phrase as “nie klagte(?) ein Handwerker deswegen”. He comments “Das ständige Fehlen des *j*-Augments in diesen Fällen mag Zufall sein; möglicherweise liegt in... "nie klagte(?) ein Handwerker deswegen"... ein solches vor, doch ist der Ansatz des Verbs unsicher. In den PT *ist n sp sdmf* nie belegt, sodass sich auch aus diesen Texten nichts über ein *j*-Augment in dieser Konstruktion entnehmen lässt”. See E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik I* (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum 204), 1955, p. 218, §474, aa.

Ex.B. Stele of the Seal-Keeper *ꜥb/ib*, Middle Kingdom

Gobeil, in “La joie pour identité” identifies that several JOY lexemes are frequently used in anthroponyms.⁵¹¹ The Middle Kingdom Stele of the Seal-Keeper *ꜥb/ib* (N°49) lists his children and dependents.⁵¹² One of the male dependents on the fourth register is designated as:


Ex. B  513

šms.w ind=f mꜣꜥ hrw

“The follower, may he be/he will be *ind*(?), true of voice”.

H. Ranke tentatively translates this name as “*er is betrübt(?)*”.⁵¹⁴ As *ind* is unclassified in this attestation, it is uncertain whether the lexeme *ind*, relating to *distress* and *suffering*, is intended. It is plausible that *ind=f* is an erroneous writing of another name.


Ex.C. Coffin Text Spell 335, Coffin of , Middle Kingdom

A Middle Kingdom version of Coffin Text Spell 335, preserved on the Coffin of , features a unique attestation of the spelling ‘*ind.t*.’ In this spell, the deceased relates:

Ex.C.  515

shr(=i) dw.t=i dr(=i) {ind.t} <ni.t>=i

“(I) overthrew my evil, (I) expelled my <wrongdoing>”.

The Coffin of  is the only attestation of Coffin Text Spell 335 in which *ind.t* is attested. Rather, in other copies of Spell 335, the lexeme *ni.t* “wrongdoing” (*Wb* 2, 201.7) is attested in place of *ind.t*.⁵¹⁶ It must be seriously considered, therefore whether *ind.t* is an erroneous writing of *ni.t*. A brief examination of the attestations of *ni.t* in the *TLA* sheds interesting light on this issue, as it reveals that *ni.t* appears in largely identical phraseology in Coffin Text Spell 335 and

⁵¹¹ Gobeil, “La joie pour identité,” pp. 179-234; See discussion of this work in 2.1 above.

⁵¹² Museumskatalog S.46 N°49 in the *Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*. See No. 33 in W.D. Wijngaarden, and P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden. Bd 2* (Haag: N. Nijhoff), 1909, p. 9, Pl. XXI.

⁵¹³ Hieroglyphic transcription after Wijngaarden, and Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden. Bd 2, Taf XXI*.

⁵¹⁴ H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen Bd.1, Verzeichnis der Namen* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin), 1935, p. 38, no. 26.

⁵¹⁵ Hieroglyphic transcription after A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts IV. Texts of Spells 268-354* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications), 1951, p. 208.

⁵¹⁶ See, for example T1C^a, B9C^b, T1C^b, BIP, B5C, Sq7C, Sq1sW, M4C, L1N4, T2Be, T3L, M57C, M1N4 in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts IV*, pp. 208-209.

