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## Manners and Traits of the Ancient Egyptians during the New Kingdom

Hebatallah Sobhy Ibrahim Abdou Sadat City University

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### **Abstract**

The research focuses on some traits that reflect the core of the social life in ancient Egypt. The chosen sample was the New kingdom community of Deir el-Madina. It is taken as an example as it is considered a comprehensive community, which provides us with various source evidences that explain the relations between the villagers and their behaviours. This study discussed different traits, and qualities, and a mix between good and bad manners. These traits were clear in texts concerning villager's problems in Deir el-Madina. The main aim is to illustrate the complete picture of the community way of thinking and the social life in ancient Egypt. The manners which are discussed here are: fear, jealousy, hatred, greediness, laziness, disobedience and rebelliousness of these villagers. These manners were discussed through sources found on both papyri and ostraca from Deir el-Madina.

### Introduction

There is no clear source or evidence depicting the way of life and feelings among the villagers of Deir el-Madina community. There are some disputes, illnesses and thefts which were recorded depicts their way of life, and explain their manners and attitude toward the problems. Explaining whether the Egyptians had fears, and what is their way of expressing their fear and panic, and their various feelings toward each other, showing their jealous or hatred. Some of their manners are prohibited these days, but it was accepted to a certain limit in its time. This is similar to the greediness in drinking alcohol, and its consequences. This may also led to their laziness and ignorance of work, which cause some troubles, and disobedience of the villagers and their way of expressing their anger.

### Fear and Anxiety

Feelings of fear and anxiety were commonly documented traits among the villagers. The Egyptians were a particularly god-fearing people and their religious beliefs are apparent in numerous texts. The excessive religiously influenced their texts and monuments from Deir el-Medina. This proves their faith and their trust in their pantheon, consisting of both of local and national deities. The workmen were especially interested in keeping religious relation with the gods through their prayers. Good examples of the extent of these practices can be found in many letters found at the village:

"[The scribe] Nakhtsobek to the workman Amennakht, in life, prosperity and health and with the praise of Amenre, king of the Gods, as follows -I speak to Amun, Mut and Khons, and (to) [all] the Gods of Thebes and (to) every God and Goddess who reside on the west of the city, to give life to you, to give health to you and to give you a long [lifetime] and a great old age, whilst you are in the praise of Amenophis, the Lord of the Village, your Lord, to look after you every day." 1

The concept of mutuality between mortals and the divine is proved in the prayers such as that of Harnefer: "Said by Harnefer to his God, Amenre, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: 'If I see that you cause (yourself) to be with me, (then) I shall make for you a mnt-jar of sermet of Qedy,, and also a [jar] of beer and al[so] my man with [........... I loaves and white bread".<sup>2</sup>

The Egyptians were careful not to anger their deities for fear of divine revenge. In the text of the draftsman Pay (i) had insulted a god in some way.<sup>3</sup> His punishment was symbolised by blindness and abandonment by the god.<sup>4</sup>

This is clearly shown in the problem of Nakhtamun (iii), son of the draftsman Nebre (i), whose illness resulted from a sin he committed against Amun.<sup>5</sup> Similarly the workman Neferabu (i), who was swearing falsely before Ptah, was "caused to see darkness by day" by the interference of the god.<sup>6</sup> A common request in the prayers of the villagers was to be granted a long and peaceful life.<sup>7</sup> The writer of a letter to the scribe Neferhotep was obviously worried about the possibility of being orphaned: "May Ptah allow you to spend a long lifetime and a good old age, you being with me as a father forever without my ever being an orphan by you".<sup>8</sup>

The breaking of oaths sworn in the name of a particular deity was a serious cause for anxiety. A villager had broken his oath to stop consuming portions of meat; the craftsman Khons turned to his mother asking her to negotiate on his behalf with the god to whom the oath had originally been made. The villagers were without doubt well aware of the consequences that were to be suffered from wrong doings of this nature. The inhabitants of Deir el-Medina were particularly fearful of the undesirable divine power that could be turned against them.

An interesting example of illogical behaviour is recorded in O. DM 25, the text states: "Please make for me a Great One (wrt) since the one which you made for me has been stolen and it/she may perform the manifestation (biw) of Seth against me". It is possible that the wrt was a cultic figure, or amulet, of the goddess Taweret. The author was apparently concerned about the possibility of the thief being able to invoke the anger of Seth through the magical properties of the wrt.

Alternatively, it was suggested that the loss of the cultic object or an amulet prevented the writer of the text from performing his ritual duties for the goddess, so suffering her anger. The stimulation, of the bAw, or the 'manifestation', of a god brought with it threatening and negative consequences. Borghouts said: "the "bau", another form of and term for magic, was thought to appear as a vexation sent by the gods to ventilate their discontent over something", In the letter of Leipzig 11 it says that the recipient's son has been threatened with a divine manifestation by a certain woman, the identity of whom is not known. In order to avoid this danger the writer advises her correspondent to make his peace with the woman. In a detailed discussion of this text Borghouts suggests that the unknown woman was possibly a goddess or a deceased relative of the recipient. The terrifying effects of a "manifestation of the god" were probably enough to encourage the workman Huy to cancel his statement before the court that he was not in possession of Khaemseba's belongings. A "manifestation" may have played a similar role in the actions of the woman, Nubemnehmet, during the local investigations into a theft, the text states:

"(On) this day approaching the court of magistrates by the workman Nebnefer, son of Nakhy. He reported (against) the citizeness Heria. What the workman Nebnefer said - As for me, I buried a chisel of mine in <my> house after the hostilities<sup>15</sup> and someone took it. I caused them to swear,

namely everyone who is in the village, concerning my chisel. Now after many days the citizeness Nubemnehmet came and said to me — "A manifestation of the god has occurred. I saw Heria when she took your chisel" - so she said". As a result of this divine visit Nubemnehmet, who had previously sworn that she knew nothing about this crime, came forward with this critical evidence against Heria. It seems that the fear of justice by the god had played on the guilty conscience of Nubemnehmet.

The Egyptians were strong believers in the concept that the course of man's fate was fixed by divine forces. After the death of his two children the workman Qen(hir)khopshef anxiously expected to get news of his own fate and that of his wife. As Letellier suggests, <sup>17</sup> that Qen(hir)khopshef's thought that the same divine force, which had early interfered in the lives of his children, might return to threaten his life, as well as his wife's life.

Villagers' anxieties were not different to those in modern societies. Everyday events, both in the village and at the royal work sites, appear to have concerns at one time or another. One of the causes of anxiety among the workmen was the prompt delivery of their monthly rations. The workmen's fear of starvation is well illustrated in a letter written by the scribe Neferhotep to the vizier: "Another greeting to my Lord as follows - We are extremely weak. All the supplies for us which (cone) from the treasury and from the granary and from the storehouse have been allowed to become exhausted. The carrying of a dnw-stone is not light. Six oipe of grain have been taken away from us also in order that they be given to us as six oipe of dirt! May my Lord grant for us a condition of staying alive, for indeed we are dying also, and we cannot live at all! It (=our needs) has not been given to us in any form whatsoever!" 18

During illness the villagers were especially anxious to have nutritious food provided for them. The sick were also haunted by the fear of rejection. In one of the Ramasside letters, the scribe Thutmose (ii) reveals his fears of dying away from his home town of Thebes: "Please speak to Amun of the thrones of the two Lands and to Mertseger, to bring me back alive (from) Yar<sup>21</sup> of Namkhay ........ Please speak to Amun to bring me back since I was ill when I arrived north, and I am not at all in my (normal) condition! Do not turn your mind to (another) thing ............. and you shall cajole him to rescue me "22" When Thutmose (ii) left Thebes on business, thoughts immediately turned towards the safe well-being of his family and friends. In one letter Thutmose (ii) writes candidly to his son Butehamun (i) and Shedemdua: '[I cannot] sleep at night nor (during) the day since I am concerned about you" In another letter to the same couple, the scribe attempts to show their anxieties concerning his own welfare: "And do not worry about me for my chief has done ever good (thing) for me". On another occasion Thutmose (ii) s joy at hearing news of his son is overwhelming:

"This letter of yours reached me by the hand of the messenger Thuthotep in year 10, the first month of Shomu, day 25.I received it and I asked him about you and he told me that you are alive and that you are alright. My heart was alive, and my eye(s) opened up and I raised up my head although I had been ill'.<sup>25</sup> These feelings of insecurity were equally seen among members of Thutmose (ii)'s family. In a letter to the troop-commander Shedsuhori, Butehamun (i) writes:

"Indeed, you are a good (person) to whom my father belongs. Be a pilot for the scribe of the tomb, Tjaroy (=Thutmose (ii)). You know that (he is) a man whose strength is not with him at all for he has never made these journeys before on which he is. Give him a hand in the boat and look vigilantly at night as well". <sup>26</sup> Butehamun (i) was particularly skilful in easing Thutmose (ii)'s concerns about the treatment of one of the Theban women: "And as for your telling me the

matter of the woman in Ne, saying – "Do not show neglect to her [like] the chief brewer, Khonspatjau, who was a man who showed neglect to his own sister" - I, for my part, will do everything which you say. Do not worry about them".<sup>27</sup>

Similarly, the villagers hoped that their personal business contacts with their neighbours and colleagues would be reasonably achieved. However, it has been shown that many of these commercial transactions remained unresolved months, or years, after the original agreements were made. <sup>28</sup> In these cases, the victim had concerns. In one letter a middle man who has been employed to purchase an ox shows his worrying employer: "Do not let your heart stop, for I shall buy you an ox and the (other things) of which you spoke". <sup>29</sup> Despite the convincing tone of these words, there were still many troublemakers who were willing to go back on such promises in the hope that they might profit from their business partners.

### **Jealousy and Hatred**

Clear or straight forward examples of jealousy or hatred are not common among the records of Deir el- Medina. But there are few examples that include a speech of complain because of jealousy or hatred. In the letter from the draftsman Prehotep to his superior, the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i), there are definite tones of jealousy. One can have sympathy for the poor draftsman who has fallen victim to the abuse of the cruel scribe. Prehotep's anger is expected at Qenhirkhopshef (i), because of his refusal to invite him to his drinking parties, the text states:

"What is this evil manner which you have shown (done) towards me? To you I am (just) like the donkey - if there is work, bring the donkey, and if there is food, bring the ox, and if there is beer you do not look for (me), (but) if there is work you do look for (me)". 30

Another example is shown in the letter of Amek to his mother Hemt-neter, in which the workman Amek terribly complains that a soldier, who has had recently trades with him, is allowed to attend the royal Sed-festivities in Memphis.<sup>31</sup> A reasonable explanation of Amek's hatred towards the soldier could be the disappointment he felt after the end of their business together. Envy of the achievements and position of other villagers is far less distinctive.

It is not possible to mistake the lines of Amennakht (vii)'s accusation of the chief workman Paneb (i) as anything other than jealousy, the text states:

"[The workman] Amennakht [speaks] as follows: "I am the son of the chief workman Nebnefer. My father died [and the workman] Neferhotep, my brother, [was appointed] in his place. Then the enemy killed Neferhotep, [and though I am] his brother, Paneb gave five of my father's servants to Preemheb who was vizier, [and he placed him in the place of my] father, although it was not his place at all".<sup>32</sup>

The text explains the anger of Amennakht (vii), who obviously felt that his family was supposed to claim the office of chief workman through hereditary right.

In year twenty nine of Ramesses III, the workman Penanuqet got charges of theft and disloyalty against three officers, they are: Userhat, Pentaweret and Qenna (iv) son of Ruta.<sup>33</sup> Penanuqet's accusation of these three officers relates to the fact that his (fore) father, Paneb (i), had been dismissed from his job for exactly the same crimes. It has also been suggested that Penanuqet's bitterness relates to the fact that the position or the office of "chief workman" was not inherited in his family after the accusation of his fore-father Paneb (i).<sup>34</sup> This means that his hatred to the officers led him to accuse them to get rid of them

### **Greediness and Laziness**

Beer in ancient Egyptian society was one of the bases of the daily diet. Therefore it would hardly be surprising if there were not a few workmen who drank, particularly at festive occasions. There is unfortunately no evidence to indicate the effect that stress and anxiety may have had on the levels of alcohol consumption in the village. In a letter addressed to the scribe Qenhirkhopshef (i), the workman Prehotep complains that he has been discriminately was not invited to the scribe's drinking parties. There is a doubt in Prehotep's words "if I am a man of bad character because of beer, do not look for (me)". The reason for his exclusion from Qenhirkhopshef's party may be due to the effects that alcohol had on his character. This seems to have been true of the chief workman Paneb (i), who was frequently do violent actions: "Charge concerning his regular beating of the work crew at a night party. And it came about that he climbed up to the top of the walls and threw bricks at (the) people". 36

Similarly, excessive eating may have caused problems. In a letter the guardian Khay (iv) is warned for consuming much fat. <sup>37</sup> Additionally, a craftsman, Khons, who had broken his oath not to eat certain parts of an animal feared divine anger. In a letter he asks his mother Nofretkhau, to appeal the god on his behalf: "I swore that I would not eat the haunch nor the stomach, but see, I did eat them, though I shall not do it again. Ask for mercy from the god to whom I swore". Posener has suggested that this self-denial was possibly intended to persuade the god to relieve an illness suffered either by Khons himself or his mother. <sup>38</sup> He further suggests that the animal parts in question may have belonged to a ram, an animal which was particularly sacred to Amun. <sup>39</sup>

There are cases in which the records show that watchmen drank whilst on duty, the first incident belongs to an unnamed watchman: "given to him at the guard post of the tomb when he came drinking there with the scribe of the treasury Pa[des(?)]". 40 The second example involves not only several of the workmen but also a woman: "Account of the [work]man, [... P/N ...] who was there drinking with Ta'anu, the sister of Tahenut, Panekhuemopet and Amenkhau, for they were drinking <at> the guard post of the tomb, whilst the crew was working in this place (i. e., the royal tomb)". 41 Unfortunately it is not clear whether such behaviour was tolerated or punishable by the authorities. Borghouts certainly believes that this second record was firmly dealt with. 42

However, there is an opposite evidence from the tomb journal to suggest that drunkenness by the workmen was severely punished by the local authorities: "Ruta [absent (?)] .....for a beating, he being drunk.<sup>43</sup> Another work-journal chronicles the daily activity of one of the workmen. Over a period of four consecutive days during the third and fourth months of Shomu, he went drinking in the village. Now when the work crew went up to the work, he was idle in the village".<sup>44</sup>

In the opening lines of the same text it appears that the local court punished an unnamed workman for some unspecified wrongdoing. There is every likelihood that this was the same man. Furthermore a few days later, he was found to have spent the day sleeping in the v[alley](?), being idle.<sup>45</sup>

Laziness, which led to the carelessness of duties, was most probably a common problem among the workmen. One of the most memorable stories belongs to a certain workman called lb. Following the advice of his father, the draftsman Maaninakhtuf (i), Pabaki (i) decided to allow lb to assist him. However it turned out to Pabaki (i)'s disappointment that lb was neither the most reliable, nor willing of assistants: "Now see he spends all day bringing the water-jar, and there

is no (other) task before him each and every day ............ See the sun has set and he is (still) far off <with> the water-jar". 46 It is unlikely that Pabaki (i) ever sought the services of lb in the future.

In O.DM 126 the chief workman Neferhotep (ii) and the workman Pennub were accused of neglect of duties by their failure to investigate a death in the village. In a letter to the scribe, Thutmose (ii), the Mayor of Thebes voiced his concerns over a beating that one of his messengers had received at the hands of one of the work crew. Furthermore, it become obvious that presumably the same workman had been neglecting his work duties.<sup>47</sup>

### **Disobedience and Rebelliousness**

Another serious misbehaviour which threatened to disturb the workplace was rebelliousness. During the food shortages at the end of the reign of Ramesses III indiscipline amongst the workmen was common. In one case the work gang staged a sit-in in the temple of Tuthmosis III despite the requests of their chiefs for them to return to work:

"Year 29, 2nd month of Peret, day 10 - on this day passing the 5 walls of the tomb by the workforce saying – "We are hungry because 18 days have (already) elapsed in the month". And they sat down at the back of the temple of Menkheperre. Coming by the scribe of the restricted tomb, the 2 chief workmen, the [2] deputies and the 2 officers who summoned them, saying – Come (back) in! But they took great oaths, [saying] - Come (in)? Yourselves! We have matters for Pharaoh. Spending the day in this place and spending the night in the tomb (necropolis)". 48

Two days later they spent the night in protest at the Ramesseum.<sup>49</sup> One of the chief characters and supporters of the workmen's cause was the chief Medjay, Montumose (i), who used his influence among the crew to provoke feelings of anger towards both the local and higher authorities by organising a protest at the memorial temple of Seti I in the 2nd month of Peret, day 13.<sup>50</sup>

Another undated entry was on the 3rd or 4th month of Peret records a similar obvious display of disobedience from the workmen. They left the borders of Deir el-Medina, the crew intentionally ignored the demands of their chiefs to return to the village. The cause of their complaint was told to the chiefs: Indeed, it was not at all because of our hunger that we passed (the walls), (but) we have a serious accusation to be made. Indeed, wrong has been committed in this place of Pharaoh,<sup>51</sup>

The bond between the three chiefs in the face of these irregular violations was finally broken when matters came to a head on the 2nd day of the 1st month of Shomu.<sup>52</sup> Although the workmen had just received part of their rations, the chief workman Khons (v), who was evidently not content with this payment, evoked his colleagues by advising them to voice their complaint to the vizier about these injustices. However, calm was returned by the interference of the scribe Amennakht (v) who warned the men: "Do not pass on to the river-bank. Indeed, I have (just) given you 2 sacks of emmer in this (very) moment. Now (if) you go (on) I shall cause that you are (found) guilty in any court to which you may go". And I Amennakht) brought them back up"<sup>53</sup> Frandsen sums up Amennakht (v)'s actions briefly: "Thanks to his intervention, Khonsu's breach of authority - the real heart of the matter - did not upset things or lead to a general disequilibrium.<sup>54</sup>

Another probable example of disobedience in connection with the delivery of rations to the workmen is recorded in Late Ramesside Letters 38. This letter was written by the leader of the

In another of the Late Ramesside Letters, the general Piankh angrily warn the scribe of the tomb, Thutmose (ii), for interfering with the delivery of bread to the Meshwesh people:

"What is the matter of [......] of the tomb who used to give bread-rations to the Meshwesh nearby (?)<sup>55</sup>but you do not let them give their bread-rations now. When my letter reaches you, you shall see the one who used to give bread-[rations) to the Meshwesh nearby, and you shall hand them over to Akhmenu in order to let him exact the bread-rations for the Meshwesh from them".<sup>56</sup>

It is not clear why the west theban authorities were handing bread over to the Meshwesh, who were frequently present in the Theban area during the late 20th Dynasty.<sup>57</sup> Haring suggests that such payments to the Meshwesh may have been in lieu of their services in Piankh's campaign in Nubia, or some other military recruitment.<sup>58</sup>

Finally mention must be made of the remarkable text of O. OIC 12074, which has been the focus of several studies.<sup>59</sup> The main purpose of this document appears to have served as a warning by the draftsman Menna (i) to his unruly son, Pairy, who is better known as Merysekhmet (iii). There is little argument that the text should be recognized as a literary composition. <sup>60</sup> However there is no doubt the true existence of the leaders and also that the description of Pairy's disobedient behaviour is consistent with what we know of his character from other sources.<sup>61</sup> It is therefore possible that this was a literary version, to be used in the teaching of local children, of Menna (i)'s original letter to his son.<sup>62</sup> Despite Menna (i)'s bad experiences with his trouble son, the lessons learned from these events were undoubtedly used to good effect in the education of the village children. Pairy's desire to travel was a breach to the standard father advice for the child to remain at home and to follow a stable career within the village. No matter how strongly this advice was said, Pairy frequently chose to disregard the admonitions of his father for a less restricted lifestyle, in the company of bad companions. One finds it easy to sympathise with Menna (i)'s moral problem in his struggle to raise such a disobedient son.

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### **Endnote**

Medina see Lichtheim, Maat, p. 77.

Hemsheri: 'I am alright and I am healthy, (so) do not worry about me. You are the one whom I wish to see and whose condition (I wish) to hear about daily'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pap. DeM 4, retro 1-5. The relationship between man and god has been represented in details by Sadek, *Popular Religion*, pp. 218 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Theban Ostraca* I, 310. Cf. O. DM 437: in which a workman is assured that if he does not argue with his colleague he will be rewarded by the god Ptah. On mutuality see: Sadek, *Popular Religion*, pp. 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> O. Berlin P. 11247.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Hornung, *Nacht und Finsternis im Weltbild der alter Ägypter*, pp. 76-77, would explain such cases of blindness as metaphorical expressions of disgrace, see also Griffiths, *Pyramid Studies*, p. 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Berlin stela 20377 (K*RI*; III: 653-55).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Stela BM 589 (K*RI* 1117: 71-72). Cf. the case of the sculptor Qen (ii) who swore a false oath concerning his wife, Nefertari (vi) (stela DM 320: K*RI* 1116: 87). As a result he was witness to a manifestation of the god. To pacify the anger of the god(s), Qen (ii) begged forgiveness from a number of different deities. For further texts from Deir el-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sadek, *Popular Religion*, pp. 223-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> O. Berlin P. 10630, retro 5-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Pap. DeM 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Borghouts, in *Gleanings*, p. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Borghouts, in *Pharaoh's Workers*, p. 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Borghouts, in *Pharaoh's Workers*, p. 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Borghouts, in *Gleanings*, p. 20-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> O. CGC 25572, retro 12-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> McDowell, in Village Voices, pp. 107-108, presumes that this refers to the war of the usurper Amenmesses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> O. Nash 1, retro. 1-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Letellier, "La Destinee de Deux Enfants, Un Ostracon Ramesside Inddit", in IFAO: *Livre du Centenaire*, 1880-1980, p. 133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> O. OIC 16991, verso 7-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> O. DM 581, 7 ff.; O. DM 562, retro 7-vso. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> O. DM 562, vso. 3-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Wente, *LRL*, p. 19, note, (j), assumes that Yar is used figuratively, cf. Wente, *Letters*, p. 178, in which he translates Yar as the wild.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Wente, LRL 1, retro 9 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Wente, *LRL* 2, verso 2-3.

 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$  Wente, LRL 4, retro 12-13; cf. Wente, LRL 6, no. 5-6, in which Thutmose (ii) writes to Butehamun (i) and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Wente, *LRL* 9, retro 5-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Wente, *LRL* 29, retro 6-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Wente, *LRL* 8, retro 16-verso 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Wente, *LRL*, pp. 345-50,394-97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> O. DM 563, 3-4.

- <sup>30</sup> Ostracon Deir el-Medina (O.DM). 303, recto 2-5.
- <sup>31</sup> O.DM 446, verso 6.
- <sup>32</sup> Pap. Salt 124, recto 1: 1-4.
- <sup>33</sup> Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, pp. 57: 6-58: 6.
- <sup>34</sup> Eyre, *JEA* 70 (1984), p. 94.
- <sup>35</sup> O. DM 303, retro 5-6.
- <sup>36</sup> Pap. Salt 124, verso 1: 4-5.
- <sup>37</sup> O.Gardiner 5, 5.
- <sup>38</sup> Posener, "Un voue d'abstinence", in Heerma Van Voss et al. (eds. ), *Studies in Egyptian Religion Presented to Professor Jan Zandee*, p. 123.
- <sup>39</sup> Posener, Studies in Egyptian Religion, p. 124-127.
- <sup>40</sup> Pap. Turin 1907+1908, retro 2: 1-2. (Janssen, *JEA* 52 (1966)), p. 85, note (1))
- <sup>41</sup>O. DM 570, 2-7.
- <sup>42</sup> Borghouts, in Gleanings, p. 89, n. 77. Janssen's description of this events does not tend to suggest that anything wrong was going on (SAK 8 (1980) p. 146).
- <sup>43</sup> O. Gardiner 37, retro 1-2.1
- <sup>44</sup> O. IFAO 1357, retro 4-7.
- <sup>45</sup> O. IFAO 1357, retro 8-9.
- <sup>46</sup> O. DM 328, retro 4-verso. 3.
- <sup>47</sup> Wente, *LRL* 26, verso 1-5.
- <sup>48</sup> Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, pp. 52: 14-53: 3. During a similar walk-out the work crew refused to obey an order to return to the village. However, on this occasion their cause of complaint was not due to the shortage of food but because evil has been done in this place of Pharaoh: Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 55: 5-14.
- <sup>49</sup>Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 53: 6-7.
- <sup>50</sup> Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, p. 55: 5 ff.
- <sup>51</sup>Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, p. 55: 11-13.
- <sup>52</sup> Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, p. 56: 8 ff.
- <sup>53</sup> Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, p. 56: 14-16.
- <sup>54</sup> Frandsen, in Studies in Egyptology, p. 192.
- <sup>55</sup> Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. 52, note (a).
- <sup>56</sup> Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 19, retro 2-verso. 3.
- <sup>57</sup> Haring, "Libyans in the Late Twentieth Dynasty", in *Village Voices*, pp. 71-80.
- <sup>58</sup> Haring, in *Village Voices*, p. 78. *Village Voices*, pp. 71-80.
- <sup>59</sup> Janssen, in *Gleanings*, pp. 120-21; Goedicke, *RdE* 38 (1987), pp. 63-80.
- <sup>60</sup> Goedicke, *RdE* 38 (1987), p. 77; cf. Janssen, in *Village Voices*, p. 87.
- <sup>61</sup> O. BM 5625; Pap. DeM 27.
- <sup>62</sup> Foster, *JSSEA* 14 (1984), p. 89.





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# صفات وخصال المصرى القديم في الدولة الحديثة

هبة الله صبحي إبراهيم عبده كلية السياحة و الفنادق، جامعة مدينة السادات

### اللخص

# معلومات المقالة

### الكلهات المنتاحية

الصفات؛ الخوف؛ الغيرة؛ الجشع؛ الكراهية؛ الكسل؛ العصيان؛ التمرد.

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# ركز البحث على بعض الصفات والخصال عند المصريين القدماء والتي تعكس جوهر الحياة الاجتماعية في مصر القديمة، العينة المختارة هي نصوص الدولة الحديثة في مجتمع العمال بمنطقة دير المدينة، قد اختيرت هذة المنطقة كمثال لأنها تعتبر مجتمعًا شاملًا، مما يوفر لنا أدلة ومصادر مختلفة تشرح العلاقات بين الأفراد أو سكان المدينة وسلوكهم تجاه بعضهم البعض. ناقشت الدراسة الصفات المختلفة، وهي مزيج بين الأخلاق الحميدة والآداب السيئة. لا يوجد نصوص صريحة عن صفات المصريين القدماء ولكن دراسة هذه الصفات واضحة في النصوص المتعلقة بمشاكل الأفراد في دير المدينة التي تعكس أسلوب تفكيرهم وخصالهم. الهدف الرئيسي من الدراسة هو توضيح الصورة الكاملة لطريقة التفكير المجتمعي والحياة الاجتماعية في مصر القديمة. ومجموعة الأخلاق التي نناقشها في البحث هي: الخوف، الغيرة، الكراهية، الجشع، الكسل، العصيان، والتمرد عند المصريين، وقد نوقشت هذه الأخلاق من خلال المصادر المتاحة من البردي والقشافات من دير المدينة.