



失落的玛阿特

古代埃及文献《能言善辩的农民》研究

The Loss of *Maat*

Studies on *The Eloquent Peasant*

王海利 著



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FOREWORD

The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant has proved a revealing text about the reception of Ancient Egyptian literature in the modern world. The main two manuscripts of this Middle Kingdom poem were discovered at Luxor around the 1830s, and were quickly translated. *The Eloquent Peasant* is a masterpiece of poetry composed in classical Middle Egyptian. As such it has been published largely in German, French and English, and the poem's early publication history is dominated by the European figures of Friedrich Vogelsang (1877–1914/18) and Sir Alan Gardiner (1879–1963). The latter, however, infamously remarked that it was a 'clumsy and turgid' piece of writing, revealing some limitations in his engagement with the aesthetic qualities of the original text. This Eurocentric dominance has been so extensive that when the Egyptian film maker Shadi Abd al-Salam (1930–86) wrote the script in Arabic for his film of the poem, he is said to have had to use English translations to realise it. His film, *Shakawa al-fallah al-fasih*, is a superb and poetic work, and won the Grande Prix CIDALC at the Venice International Film Festival in 1970; it has now been restored by the World Cinema Foundation in 2010. It conveys a quiet, intense and involving passion that sets its reception of the poem apart from many academic ones.

Egyptian literary studies have often operated within the framework of traditional European philology. The original poem was highly engaged with ethical issues, and the social problem of corruption. It is one of the most explicit meditations on the ideal of social solidarity, *Maat*, which has been considered to be the central value of Egypt's high culture. The poem proclaims the enduring and supreme triumph of absolute justice, but it also engages with the problem of its loss within the world of the Herakleopolitan dynasty: this dynasty was probably the relatively recent past for the original audiences, and so this dark mediation has an almost contemporary setting, making it potentially a very political document for the original audiences. The poem's concerns are embodied in a highly stylised way, with elaborate rhetoric and poetic imagery

that, however, sustain and do not negate the passion of its protests. The genres of much Egyptian poetry are very alien to the western ideas of style, which were determined by the literary legacy of the classical Mediterranean world; while closer parallels lie in the familiar works of the sacred texts of the Old Testament, this comparison has not always been a productive one, causing the Egyptian poems to be judged as ‘extra-Biblical’ texts, despite some notable exceptions, such as the inclusion of the tale in Sinclair Lewis’s *The Cry for Justice: An Anthology of the Great Social Protest Literature of All Time* (New York, 1963). It seems that there has been a tendency among philologists, in the tradition of Alan Gardiner, not to appreciate that other styles of literature than their own can be truly literary or poetic. Over the past few decades, however, the study of Ancient Egyptian literature has emerged into the sphere of comparative literary studies, and Egyptian works are included in recent editions of broad-ranging anthologies of world literature, such as those published by Longman (2004) and Norton (2012). In very recent years *The Eloquent Peasant* has been cited as relevant to the Egyptian Revolution of 2011, as noted by the Egyptian novelist and commentator Ahdaf Soueif. Egyptologists should remember that the poem exists beyond the framework of traditional philology, which has often tended to assume the role of a universal science, perhaps forgetting that it is itself shaped within a specific historical culture. Philology remains a vital tool, but a broader perspective is needed to place such works within a world context.

The concerns of the poem are in many ways common to many of the world’s cultures and societies. For example, John Milton’s *Paradise Regained* was published in 1671, in the years after the failed attempt to create an English republic. In this poem, Milton’s quietly heroic Christ denounces his satanic tempter with the words

For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.

Yet thou pretend’st to truth ... (Book I, 429–30)

The couplet is a remarkably close parallel to the peasant’s denunciation of corrupt judges:

Those hearers and winnowers are a basket,

but their fodder is speaking falsehood ... (B1 164–5)

There is, of course, no possible direct link between these poems, but they suggest how texts that deal with such common themes of the human condition are valuable tools with which to study how different cultures have embodied and considered such issues.

Despite the claims of the academic community to be global and international, it is a shock to realise that one usually expects any translation of an Ancient Egyptian text to be into one of the mainstream languages of Europe. As a philologist who has worked on this poem for over 25 years, it is a pleasure to realise that this Ancient Egyptian text now exists beyond a narrowly European or American framework, and it is an honour to see the text edition originally published by the Griffith Institute now included in this book by my colleague Wang Haili. On a visit by Wang Haili in the British Museum in 2004 to see a 12th Dynasty fragmentary papyrus of *the Eloquent Peasant* (P. Butler, P. BM EA 10274), I was struck that when he read out to me a short passage of the poem in Chinese I found I could identify which passage of the original he was reading from the rhythm and the repetition of words. Poetry it seems, as the poet W. H. Auden claimed for music in 1947, can be indeed ‘international’. And international insights allow us to escape from the European colonialist legacy of Egyptological philology and move towards an understanding of world literature in world terms. This book provides a wider perspective on Egyptian literature and culture, and thanks to it there will now be new readers with new insights for the ancient peasant’s portrayal of truth and justice.

R. B. Parkinson
Professor of Egyptology
University of Oxford

ABSTRACT

The Eloquent Peasant is currently the longest literary text to survive complete from the Middle Kingdom of Egypt. It is one of the masterpieces of Middle Egyptian literature, containing grandiose language and abounding in metaphors.

The Eloquent Peasant concerns the political, economic, religious and social aspects of the Middle Kingdom. It is an outstanding work, reflecting the magnificent literary achievement of ancient Egyptians. This text provides us most important materials for the study of ancient Egyptian society, and is of particular academic value in Egyptology.

Although this text has been studied by a large number of western Egyptologists, a comprehensive study has not yet been previously undertaken in China. This present study involves a thorough analysis of this text, by consulting works of modern western scholars, in order to fill in the gap in China.

The chapters are arranged as follows:

Chapter One includes firstly the transliteration and the Chinese translation of the text by using the international latest orthography of ancient Egyptian, secondly the semiotic analysis on Egyptian hieroglyphs by adopting the Chinese traditional theory of *Bushou*, in comparison with ancient Chinese characters, and thirdly a terminology is also provided.

Chapter Two gives the analysis of the linguistic techniques, the characters, and the stylistics of the text both from western and Chinese perspectives.

Chapter Three deals with the background of the law, the authority of the law, the procedure of the law, and the duty of judges as far as these are reflected in this text.

Chapter Four provides an explanation for the dating of the text, and the political, economic and religious background of this text.

The book concludes that *The Eloquent Peasant* praises the pursuit of seeking truth and upholding justice by ancient Egyptians, and strongly

condemns dark aspects of ancient Egyptian society. The text is, to some extent, also a eulogy to the ruling class represented by the ancient Egyptian king, who upheld truth and defended justice. The ancient Egyptians' expectation of eliminating corruption as well as seeking truth and upholding justice still has a very instructive meaning for us today.

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导 言

《能言善辩的农民》是古埃及中王国时期流传下来的一篇重要的文献。保存至今的共有 4 篇纸草残片，它们都是中王国时期的抄本。虽然每篇纸草上所记载的故事内容都不完整，但拼合在一起就构成了一篇完整的故事。这 4 篇纸草文献都是使用古埃及祭司体文字书写的。它们分别是柏林 3023 号纸草 (P. Berlin 3023, 以下简称 B1)、柏林 3025 号纸草 (P. Berlin 3025, 以下简称 B2)、柏林 10499 号纸草 (P. Berlin 10499, 以下简称 R)、巴特勒 527 号纸草 (P. Butler 527), 即不列颠博物馆 10274 号纸草 (P. British Museum 10274, 以下简称 Bt)。

B1 和 B2 两篇纸草于 1830 年左右由阿塔纳斯 (Giovanni d'Athanas) 发现于底比斯的埃及古墓。与这两篇文献同时发现的文献还有《辛努海的故事》和《一个人与其灵魂的对话》，这几篇作品可能是墓主人的个人收藏。B1 和 B2 两篇纸草保存都比较完整。B1 文献抄写到农民的第八次申诉，因为纸草上没有了足够的空间就结束了。B1 文献的抄写者书写速度较快，抄写过程中还不断进行修改。B2 文献的抄写者看起来与 B1 文献的书写者不是同一个人，因为书写不如 B1 文献工整。R 纸草由英国考古学家奎贝尔 (J. E. Quibell) 于 1896 年前后发现于第 13 王朝晚期的一个坟墓中。坟墓主人的身份不甚清楚，很可能是一名高官，也可能是一名祭司^①。该纸草的背面上抄写的是《辛努海的故事》。由于受潮，该纸草破损严重。Bt 纸草正面上保存下来的文献比较短，记载的只是该故事的开端部分，内容与 B1 中记载的内容十分接近。该纸草背面上抄写的是古埃及文学中的另一篇作品《捕

^① Simpson 1972, 第 66 页。

获者的讲述》。B1 和 B2 撰写于第 12 王朝末期，B2 很可能稍晚一些。Bt 很可能是撰写于第 13 王朝早期的作品^①，也就是说 Bt 书写的的时间比 B1 和 B2 可能要晚近百年。

《能言善辩的农民》这篇文献语言典范，技巧丰富，措辞讲究，文采飞扬，堪称古代埃及文学的经典之作。尤其是文献中引譬设喻，点缀了很多的文字游戏，耐人寻味。但可能正是由于这些原因，使得整篇文献晦涩难懂。下面，我们简单回顾一下该文献的研究历史。

法国学者沙巴 (F. Chabas) 很可能是研究该文献的第一人。1863 年，他翻译了近 90 行文献^②。沙巴认为该文献中的申诉部分涉及“哲学本性”(de nature philosophe)^③。1882 年，法国埃及学家玛斯佩罗 (G. Maspero) 尝试对文献进行了翻译^④，但是翻译的内容仅仅局限于从文献开始到第二申诉之间。1895 年，英国埃及学家皮特里 (W. F. Petrie) 在《埃及纸草文献故事》中也翻译了该文献的部分内容^⑤。1898 年，德国埃及学家埃尔曼 (Adolf Erman) 也对该文献的部分内容进行了翻译^⑥。

20 世纪初期，德国埃及学学者福格尔桑 (F. Vogelsang) 以《能言善辩的农民疏证》为题，撰写了博士学位论文。1908 年，福格尔桑与英国埃及学家加德纳 (A. H. Gardiner) 合作把该文献的三个不同版本 (B1、B2、R.) 连贯起来，尝试进行了较为完整的翻译^⑦。1911 年，法国埃及学家玛斯佩罗编辑出版的《古代埃及的通俗故事》(Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne) 收录了该文献的法语译文。1913 年，福格尔桑出版了他修订的译文和疏证^⑧。虽然该译文称不上完美，但其重要价值不容忽视。1914 年，英国东方学者巴奇 (E. Budge) 参考福格尔桑与玛斯佩罗的版本，对该文献进

① Parikinson 1991, 第 xxvi, xxviii 页。

② Chabas 1863, 第 294—303 页。

③ Chabas 1863, 第 15 页。

④ Maspero 1882, 第 173—184 页。

⑤ Petrie 1895, 第 60—74 页。

⑥ Erman 1899, 第 61—80 页。

⑦ Vogelsang und Gardiner 1908。

⑧ Vogelsang 1913。

行了比较灵活而自由的翻译^①。1923年，加德纳以前人的译文为基础，并参考原始的纸草文献，对该文献进行了重新翻译。他的译文主要侧重的是语言，对该文献的美学特点没有进行充分的考虑^②。同年，埃尔曼编辑出版的《埃及人的文学》^③中也收录了该故事的德语译文。

20世纪40年代末，荷兰埃及学学者德·巴克在对该文献进行圣书体文字转抄整理时，对该文献中比较晦涩难懂的地方做了大量的删节，他整理的抄本^④只相当于整个原文献的三分之一。该版本内容很不完整，只适合练习古埃及语阅读使用，而无法进行严肃的学术研究。随着学术界对古代埃及语研究的进展，包括对其词汇的不断破译，以及对其语法研究的不断深入和完善，为我们进一步研究该文献提供了契机。

1955年，普里查德（J. B. Pritchard）编辑的《古代近东文献》，收录了由美国埃及学学者威尔森（J. Wilson）翻译的《能言善辩的农民的故事》^⑤。1972年，辛普森（W. K. Simpson）编辑的《古埃及文学》收录了该故事的英语译文^⑥。次年，利希泰姆（M. Lichtheim）编辑的《古代埃及文学读本》第一卷中，同样收录了该故事的英语译文^⑦。1986年，约翰斯·霍普金斯大学（Johns Hopkins University）的佩里（E. Perry）以《能言善辩的农民：一个批评研究》^⑧为题目，完成了博士学位论文。1988年，英国牛津大学的帕金森以《能言善辩的农民的故事：一个疏证》^⑨为题，完成了博士学位论文。同年，德国埃及学学者布鲁纳（H. Brunner）编辑的《古埃及的智慧》一书中，也收录了《能言善辩的农民的故事》^⑩的德语译文。1991年，帕金森参照原始纸草文献，对该故事进行了重新整理，并出版了《能言善辩的农民

① Budge 1914, 第 169—184 页。

② Gardiner 1923, 第 5—25 页。

③ Erman 1923。后来被布莱克曼（A. M. Blackman）翻译成英文版，参见 Blackman 1927。1966年美国纽约进行了再版，出版了“火炬丛书”版。参见 Erman 1966。本书作者手中使用的即为该版本。

④ 本书作者手头可见到是该书的第二版，参见 Buck 1948。

⑤ Wilson 1955, 第 407—410 页。

⑥ Simpson 1972, 第 31—49 页。

⑦ Lichtheim 1973, 第 169—184 页。

⑧ Perry 1986。

⑨ Parkinson 1988。

⑩ Brunner 1988, 第 358—367 页。

的故事》^①的圣书体文字版转抄本，为埃及学学者详细研究该文献提供了便利。本书作者对该文献的分析和阐释即是以帕金森的版本为基础进行的。1997年，帕金森出版的《辛努海的故事与其他古埃及诗歌》一书中也收录了《能言善辩的农民的故事》。^②

随着时间的推移，该文献越来越受到国际埃及学界的关注。1997年3月27日至30日，美国洛杉矶的加利福尼亚大学（UCLA）围绕《能言善辩的农民的故事》为主题，召开了国际埃及学会议。仅就一篇古埃及文献为题，召开国际学术研讨会，这在埃及学研究的历史中还是第一次。

《能言善辩的农民》这篇文献内容讲的是三角洲地区的一个埃及农民，用驴子驮着本地区的物产，去交换所需要的生活必需品，在路上遇到了一个叫奈姆提·奈赫特的小官僚，他抢劫了农民的驴子和物产，还把农民毒打了一顿。农民迫于无奈，只好去京城向长官廉西申诉所遭受的冤屈，以求得到真理和公正。农民凭借他优秀超群之口才，能言善辩之特长，机智巧妙之申辩，最终取得了胜利。

从某种角度上讲，该文献可以说是一桩典型的诉讼案，它通过农民之口谴责了当时埃及社会的黑暗，发出了对社会正义的呼唤，深刻反映了古埃及当时的社会现实。另外，该文献如同一面镜子，向我们呈现了有关古埃及政治、经济以及社会发展的各个方面，为我们研究古埃及中王国时期的历史与社会提供了一个窗口。

^① Parkinson 1991。

^② Parkinson 1997，第54—88页。

第一章

文献翻译与语义解析