



Лідер. Еліта. Суспільство

Leader. Elite. Society



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**LEADERSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL-POLITICAL AND
RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF ANCIENT EGYPT**

Abstract. *The influence of the leadership management paradigm of class societies on the formation of mechanisms of exercising power of the rulers of Ancient Egypt is analysed. It is shown that the ancient Egyptian pharaohs, claiming the status of mediators between pagan gods and humans, and subsequently their divine origin, were unable to abandon the sanctified traditions and beliefs of the requirements for rulers as leaders. Therefore, with the unlimited power of the Oriental tyrants, they continued to be accountable to the pagan gods and men for the observance of the principles of humanity, justice, and care for their subordinates. They demonstrated their exceptional qualities and abilities that gave them not only a formal right to operate them, but also to exercise them on the basis of authority.*

The history of the Ancient Egypt is full of the examples when the rejection from these underlying principles had deplorable effects for the whole country. Therefore, pharaohs of the country had to return to their reconsidering.

Key words: *leadership, ruling, social responsibility, ruler, leader, justice, trust, role model.*

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**ЛІДЕРСТВО В КОНТЕКСТІ СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНОГО ТА
РЕЛІГІЙНОГО РОЗВИТКУ СТАРОДАВНЬОГО ЄГИПТУ**

Анотація. Проаналізовано вплив лідерської управлінської парадигми докласових суспільств на становлення механізмів реалізації влади правителів Стародавнього Єгипту. Показано, що давньоєгипетські фараони, утверджуючи за собою статус посередників між богами й людьми, а згодом і своє божественне походження, не змогли відмовитися від освячених традиціями й віруваннями вимог до правителів як до лідерів. Відтак, маючи необмежену владу східних деспотів, продовжували нести відповідальність перед богами й людьми за дотримання в управлінні принципів гуманності, справедливості, піклування за своїх підлеглих. Вони демонстрували свої виключні якості й здібності, які давали їм не лише формальне право управляти ними, а й реалізовувати його на основі авторитету. Історія Стародавнього Єгипту переповнена прикладами коли відмова від цих засадничих принципів управління мала згубні для країни наслідки. Тому фараони країни вимушені були знову й знову повертатися до їхнього осмислення.

Ключові слова: лідерство, управління, соціальна відповідальність, правитель, лідер, справедливість, довіра, вплив, особистий приклад.

Олексій Нестуля, Світлана Нестуля

Розширена анотація для ознайомлення за цією темою:

**“Лідерство в контексті суспільно-політичного та релігійного розвитку
стародавнього Єгипту”**

Постановка проблеми в загальному вигляді та її зв'язки із важливими науковими чи практичними завданнями.

Кінець XX – початок XXI ст. в управлінському сенсі можна, без перебільшення, назвати епохою «Відродження лідерства». Численні публікації закордонних та вітчизняних дослідників, переконливо доводять: в епоху турбулентних соціально-економічних і технологічних трансформацій, зростання ролі знань, інновацій і їхніх носіїв та ініціаторів – людей – організації, установи та країни можуть успішно розвиватися лише в рамках лідерської управлінської парадигми.

Вдавшись до ретроспективного аналізу поглядів сучасних дослідників проблеми лідерства, автори пропонованої статті з'ясували, що багато з них ґрунтується на фундаментальних положеннях чи евристичних здогадках, висловлених їхніми попередниками. При чому ця закономірність «спрацьовувала»

для будь-якого покоління дослідників лідерства чи реальних лідерів, до якого ми ретроспективно занурювались – аж до найдавніших часів.

В результаті ми констатували очевидний факт: лідерство було першою за часом виникнення формою управління. В додержавну епоху стати на чолі об'єднань людей можна було лише на основі авторитету, суспільно значимих умінь, навичок, знань, поведінки, які й давали право на лідерство.

Освячену традиціями й релігією, саме таку практику управління не змогли зігнорувати правителі найдавніших цивілізацій. Маючи необмежену світську й релігійну владу, вони прагнули позиціонувати себе не просто правителями, а лідерами. На наше глибоке переконання, дослідження цього феномена мають сприяти не лише кращому розумінню механізмів функціонування влади й управління в минулому, а й їхніх базових принципів на сучасному етапі суспільного розвитку.

Аналіз останніх досліджень і публікацій, у яких започатковано розв'язання цієї проблеми і на які спираються автори, заслуговує на окреме дослідження. Власне, у попередніх публікаціях це й зробили автори статті, спираючись на узагальнюючі праці колег про основні теорії лідерства та етапи їхнього становлення й еволюції, а також концептуальні положення теорій лідерства, обґрунтовані на зламі другого й третього тисячоліть. Ця робота дозволила отримати методологічні та методичні інструменти аналізу моделей управління, які впродовж кількох тисячоліть розвивались у Стародавньому Єгипті, в контексті лідерської управлінської парадигми.

Вивчення робіт із історії давньоєгипетської цивілізації, особливостей її становлення та основних етапів розвитку дало можливість упевнитися в тому, що жодна з цих моделей не відповідала їй. Влада єгипетських фараонів була необмеженою в усіх найважливіших аспектах – політичному, релігійному, судовому, адміністративному. Населення Стародавнього Єгипту мало беззаперечно коритися волі божественних фараонів. Очевидно, саме тому, навіть називаючи фараонів лідерами давньоєгипетського суспільства, автори історичних розвідок тим самим наголошували лише на їхньому статусі як верховних правителів в ієрархії існуючої системи управління. При цьому не аналізували їхню діяльність із застосуванням інструментарію лідерології.

Врешиті-решт, вражаючи досягнення найвидатніших давньоєгипетських правителів змусили дослідників подивитися на них і в цьому контексті. Так з'явилися перші розвідки про фараонів Стародавнього Єгипту як його управлінських лідерів. Популярними стали тренінги та майстер-класи, на яких сучасним управлінцям тлумачилися уроки лідерства від правителів найдавнішої цивілізації. Тим самим відбулося осучаснення існую-

чої за стародавніх часів практики управління. Відтак, фараони Єгипту стали ледь не передвісниками сучасної лідерської управлінської парадигми.

Виділення не вирішених раніше частин загальної проблеми, котрим присвячується стаття. Насправді ж, вони діяли й управляли за конкретно-історичних умов, і швидше відчували тиск і вплив минулого, ніж далекого й незрозумілого майбутнього. У зв'язку з цим, насамперед, важливо зрозуміти яким чином і чому управлінські принципи докласового, додержавного ладу були імплементовані в систему управління державних утворень Стародавнього Єгипту. Яку роль вони відігравали в ній? Які риси, стилі поведінки давньоєгипетських правителів ідентифікувались суспільством як лідерські? Чому, маючи необмежену владу східного деспота, єгипетські фараони прагнули переконати суспільство, богів у дотриманні їх вимог до них як до лідерів?

Формулювання цілей статті (постановка завдання). У зв'язку з цим автори ставлять за мету на основі аналізу доступного корпусу документальних свідчень історичного існування давньоєгипетської цивілізації спробувати дати відповідь на поставлені питання.

Виклад основного матеріалу дослідження з повним обґрунтуванням отриманих результатів. У статті обґрунтована теза про те, що в докласових суспільствах влада функціонувала на основі авторитету, який визначався соціальною цінністю особистості керівника, його здатністю задовольняти очікування підлеглих. Такий характер стосунків між ними освячувався традиційними релігійними віруваннями стародавніх єгиптян. Оскільки ж релігія відіграла суттєву роль у становленні статусу фараонів в системі організації влади державних утворень в районі Нілу, їхні правителі змушені були перебрати на себе не лише функції захисту класових інтересів правлячої верхівки, а й соціального захисту

низів давньоєгипетського суспільства. Цей обов'язок залишався за ними навіть після того, як вони стали врівень з богами, а потім – богами. Відтак, демонстрація лідерства стала одним з інструментів легітимізації влади фараонів. Ось чому вони так старалися демонструвати його.

Від епохи Раннього (32-29 ст. до н.е.) та Стародавнього царств (28-23 ст. до н.е.) до наших днів дійшли документи, в яких правителі наголошують на їхньому піклуванні про своїх підданих. А «Повчання Ахтоя» – фараона доби I Перехідного періоду (середина 22 – середина 21 ст. до н.е.) – це своєрідний звіт вимог до володаря-лідера: гуманного, справедливого, добродісного, захисника бездолевних, відповідального, далекоглядного, мудрого, рішучого, стриманого, великодушного слуги богів і людей.

Ці ж риси правителя визнаються актуальними у документах доби Середнього царства (2005-1715 рр. до н.е.): життєписі номарха Аменемхета, написі фараона Сенусерта III, придворному романі «Мандри Синухета». Занепад Єгипту за доби II Перехідного періоду (сер. 18 – сер. 16 ст.) автор «Речення Інувера» пояснює саме порушенням правителями освячених богами принципів управління країною. Натомість, їхня реінкарнація такими фараонами як Тутмос III (1504-1450 рр. до н.е.), Рамсес II (1317-1251 рр. до н.е.), Тутанхамон (1354-1345 рр. до н.е.), Рамсес III (поч. 12 ст.) та ін. визначила велич Стародавнього Єгипту за Нового царства (сер. 16 ст. – кінець 11 ст.). Тому від них не змогли зрестися не лише фараони, а й місцеві царі періоду Пізнього царства, який закінчився 332 р. до н.е. Тоді Єгипет завоював Олександр Македонський, який прийняв титул фараона, але відкрив новий, елліністичний етап його історії.

Висновки з даного дослідження та перспективи подальших розвідок у

Problem setting. The end of the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst century in the managerial sense can be referred to, without

даному напрямку. Таким чином, впродовж усього історичного існування Стародавнього Єгипту влада фараона продовжувала зберігати за собою вищий священний авторитет і релігійний статус. Заступаючи на престол, фараон отримував, по суті, статус рівний з богами, але мав виконувати їхню волю. Вона полягала, насамперед, у підтримці віри єгиптян у силу богів і їх настановлень. З іншого боку – правитель Єгипту мав дотримуватись божественних заповідей гуманності, справедливості, добра тощо у ставленні до своїх підлеглих, забезпечувати їх усім необхідним для життя і діяльності та виконувати зобов'язання перед богами. Інші функції правителя виступали як додаткові чи похідні й мали узгоджуватися зі встановленими традицією вимогами до нього.

Значною мірою саме впливом традицій як втілення ідейно-релігійних підвалин давньоєгипетського суспільства, на наш погляд, і пояснюється живучість ідеалу правителя як обраного Богом слуги, батька, захисника людей, лідера. Фараони не могли відмовитися від нього, оскільки саме через релігію відбувалась легітимізація їх світської влади.

Такі попередні результати дослідження поставленої проблеми, які потребують продовження. Зокрема, потрібно проаналізувати як вплинуло на позиціонування правителя Єгипту його завоювання Олександром Македонським. Окрема проблема – роль давньоєгипетських жерців у становленні й підтриманні традиційних для Єгипту сприйняття й вимог суспільства до фараона. На особливу увагу заслуговує дослідження ієрархічної системи управління Стародавнім Єгиптом, з'ясування чи були характерними для неї елементи лідерської управлінської парадигми.

exaggeration, the era of “Leadership Revival”. Numerous publications of foreign scientists, first of all, those American and Western

European, which the national researchers have made their contribution to, prove: in the era of turbulent socio-economic and technological transformations, the growing role of knowledge, innovations and their carriers and initiators – people – organizations, institutions and countries can only grow successfully within the leadership paradigm.

Unlike administration and management, leadership is based on mutual trust and responsibility between the manager and his subordinates, which enables them to become leaders and followers. A leader builds relationships with his/her followers based on the authority and influence rather than power and coercion, expressing the deep interest in developing each individual's potential. For this reason, he/she is ready to abandon the established managerial stereotypes, because his/her goal is not to “force”, but to “engage” followers in creative joint activities in order to achieve common goals.

Therefore, he/she is internally motivated to fulfil the role of a mentor, an assistant, a servant of followers, who expresses empathy, openness, listening skills, honesty and courage. The leader mobilizes followers, inspiring them with vivid images of the future, initiating change (individual and organizational) that, through the means of communication, corporate culture, teamwork, and delegation of authority to the followers, makes them active agents of transformations, transmitters of leadership and leaders as a result.

Going back to the retrospective analysis of the views of the contemporary researchers on the problem of leadership, the authors of the given article have found out that many of them are based on the fundamental assumptions or heuristic assumptions made by their predecessors. At the same time, this pattern “has worked” for any generation of the researchers of leadership or the real leaders, to which we have retrospectively plunged into – up to the ancient times.

As a result, we stated the obvious fact that leadership was the first form of government to emerge. In the pre-state era, it was possible to lead the community only on the basis of the authority, socially significant skills, abilities, knowledge, behavior, which gave the right for leadership.

Consecrated by traditions and religion, this kind of management practice could not be ignored by the rulers of ancient civilizations. Having unlimited secular and religious power, which relied on the branched state bureaucratic apparatus, they sought to position themselves not just as rulers but as leaders [23, p. 5-8].

In this regard, it is our deep conviction that studies of this phenomenon should contribute not only to a better understanding of the mechanisms of power and governance in ancient civilizations, but also of their basic principles at the present stage of social development. Therefore, they have not only theoretical but also the applied value.

Recent research and publications analysis wherein solving problem was suggested which is the hallmark for the authors' work [23; 24], require an additional research. Actually, this is what the authors of the article did [23; 24], keeping in mind the generalizing works on the basic theories of leadership and stages of their formation and evolution, as well as the conceptual positions of the theories of leadership, grounded at the turn of the second and the third millennia [2; 4; 14; 19].

This work made it possible to obtain methodological tools for analysing the model of governance that had been developing in the ancient Egypt for thousands of years, identifying and evaluating those elements, principles of functioning that correspond to the leadership management paradigm in its modern interpretation.

The study of works on the history of the ancient Egyptian civilization, peculiarities of its formation and stages of development, traditions and religious beliefs

influence, natural-climatic and geographical, socio-economic, cultural, political, military and other factors [1; 3; 5; 7; 13; 21; 22; 28; 34] were equally important. It made it possible to trace the evolution of systems of the state, public and economic governance on the territory of the Ancient Egypt. It is clear that none of them fit the current leadership paradigm. Therefore, even the authors who call the ancient Egyptian rulers as the leaders do not analyze how much they corresponded to this status by their essential rather than purely formal features.

Some leaderologists and leadership trainers have tried to fill this gap [11; 35; 36; 39]. However, they followed the way of updating the existing management practices in ancient times. Thus, the pharaohs of Egypt were almost the forerunners of the modern leadership paradigm.

Paper objective. In fact, they acted and governed under specific historical conditions, which were more likely to feel the pressure and influence of the past rather than the distant and uncertain future. In this connection, it is, first of all, important to understand how and why the governing principles of the pre-class, pre-state administration were implemented in the system of government of the state structure of the Ancient Egypt. What role did they play in it? What traits and behaviours of the ancient Egyptian rulers were identified as leader possessing in the society?

Why having the unlimited power of the Eastern tyrants did the Egyptian pharaohs seek for persuading the society, the pagan gods to meet their demands as leaders? The answer to these questions is to be tried to find in this article.

Paper main body. *Leadership in ancient history.* Leadership as a cognitive fiction and social phenomenon, inherent to every human community, followed the development of society at all stages. Clearly, there were different forms of its exertion on each of them. The relationships between a

leader and its followers were understood and valued differently by different participants of social interaction.

The simplest and at the same time the least mediated they were in times of ancient history, when the first human communities arose (later merged in tribes, tribal groups and clans, basing on blood ties), which functioned according to commonly developed and, during the joint activity, approved social norms, had a common language, religious cult and the ordinances related to it. While all the tribe and genus members were equal by the origin and social status, the leadership positions could only be held by those, who, due to their own skills or gained experience, have played a key role in various kinds of activities, vitally important for a tribe or a clan. Only the most experienced and dexterous hunter could become a leader in hunting, the most skillful fisher – in fishing, etc. In terms of a short average life expectancy, which highly depended on diseases, constant wars with neighbors for a «place under the sun», different other external threats etc., the skills and abilities, which were necessary for a tribe have often been identified with an experience and the most convincingly revealed in those, who managed to live to old age. That is why the leadership positions in life of one or several clans – tribes – were usually held by elderly people or elders. As lives of people became more versatile, covering more new areas of activity, the structure of leadership has also become more complicated. It revealed in so called councils of the most respected and experienced in performing certain socially significant functions elders, and acknowledgment of the most influential among them – first at a level of clan, and eventually – a tribe.

Despite such a complication of social management mechanisms, they continued to be built on the basis of leadership, as there was no other way to the top of management and regulatory power, than a way of leader

endowed with a collective authority in the important field of activity. As the researchers of a tribal social system repeatedly emphasized, the power in such kind of a system comes only out of the authority. In terms of management it was a time of power of authority and leadership, based on the authority [26, p.20–21].

At the same time researchers note the evolution of the foundations of leadership. It initially occurs on the basis of social and biological hierarchy, as a result of natural clan severance by generations. Each of such a generation was doing whatever it could for the clan, but the significance of their actions differed. Clearly, that older people had more experience and opportunities, that is why they were becoming the cultural leaders. They performed this role objectively, according to their qualities, however at the same time they could play it, just to give an impression they have these qualities. It is already then a religion and related cults, served by the elders, have strengthened this hierarchy, as a survival of a clan also depended on it.

Eventually this hierarchy gets more social and cultural character, as from the division to elderly and young it turns to a division for higher and lower ones. The higher ones receive management privileges and authority to deal with distribution, religious cult, military actions and other important kinds of cases for a clan. Consequently leadership becomes a public function, public power, which had to exist regardless of the wishes of certain clan members, unite everyone around their common interests, and sometimes – make them yield to those interests. However, the mechanisms of usurpation of power by the leader have not yet existed [25, p. 28–30].

They appear later, when socially cultural hierarchy transforms into the economically social one. It was founded on the successes in producing products and emergence of their surpluses. Fighting for

them, the elderly leaders were in a better position. Their power gets institutionalized. Although, wealth has not yet affected the access to power, but influenced the status of a leader and the attitude of people to it.

With the lapse of time, when tribal system reached the peak of its development – a military democracy stage – military chiefs were among the first to become the leaders of clans and tribes. Previously, they have mostly been acknowledged only during military clashes with neighbors, but in times of military democracy war becomes a constant circumstance of the human societies. The welfare and survival of clans and their groups have often depended on its results. Therefore, military leaders have become an authority in society. They have been praised, given special characteristics and virtues that equilibrated them with the gods, and often adored. It is exactly such kind of a leader was described by the ancient Greek poet Homer in his immortal works «The Odyssey» and «Iliad» [9; 10].

The term «military democracy» accurately conveys the trends and a content of social transformations that have occurred in the last stage of the tribal system, first democracy as a mechanism for mobilizing resources to wage war, and later – the democracy only for those who lead this war professionally as a major, and often – the only activity. Then gradually the main results of war – the power and loot appear to be in hands of professional soldiers and their leaders – military chiefs.

The troops of well trained and equipped soldiers, professionals in the hands of their leaders become the very effective means of strengthening their sole authority over not only conquered, but the own tribes' population. However, there is redistribution and social benefits for military leaders and their immediate environment, which ultimately formed the ruling class. Instead of government authority, comes the power of authority. It forms a special mechanism, which through the

institutions of governance and violence, laws and religion provides the interests of ruling elite and its leader, who headed the apparatus of coercion – the state [5].

There was another way to form a state – the rebirth of elected religious and economic leader. Basing on his assets and groups of warriors, he usurps the authorities (previously leadership functions) on carrying the responsibilities in providing religious cult duties (to fulfill and interpret the will of gods, to organize sanctuaries, religious ceremonies, to bring sacrifices, etc.) and establishing the common public economy [25, p. 61–62].

It is clear that within new social and economic realities, division of the society into unequal social groups and classes, having the authority was not enough to become a leader. On the other hand, the state entities were often led by those, who didn't have the authority and popularity among wide public masses, and relied mainly on military and administrative power. But at least among its carriers, who seized the leading positions in the society and state, the leadership had to be built on authority. Otherwise, no one was assured from the emergence of new leaders, more convincing in their struggle for power. All this led to the fact that, to the opinion of rulers and philosophers of the first early class societies, the issues of leadership were influenced not only by new historical realities of its functioning, but also by the traditions of earlier times.

Leadership in the history of Ancient Egypt. One of the first human civilizations, with high level of agriculture, crafts, writing and trade development, own unique class division, cities and state, was a Egyptian one, which arose along the Nile River. Surrounded by deserts, impenetrable for the Egyptian enemies, the river gave tremendous opportunities for local people to conduct highly effective agriculture based on irrigation, facilitated communication among the population of the valley. The researchers

of the history of Ancient Egypt are unanimous in their assessment of the huge impact, that river had on the socio-economic and political development of the country.

Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom. The first permanent settlements emerged along the banks of the Nile River at late 6th–5th millennium BC. The efficiency of irrigation system has contributed to a rapid population growth, separation of the handicrafts from agriculture, trade development and, consequently, to property and social differentiation of people and the emergence of slavery. Even though, the majority of population was still consisting of free community members, in the middle of the 4th millennium BC, the community itself became not a tribal, but a territorial one. Among the wealthiest of its members, priests and tribal notables, the ruling class began to form.

The increasing complexity of social structure and the relationships in society have led to merging of people within small areas (nomes). An important factor of their appearance was also a need to maintain the irrigation systems. Eventually it led to uniting of nomes, first within the Nile Delta (Lower Egypt) and its valley (Upper Egypt), and between the 4th – 3th millennium BC – to a single state. According to the legend, it was done by a ruler named Min in about 3 000 BC. As it is said, his own dog drove him into a lake near the Nile. However, he was saved by the crocodile (this image often displays the gods), which brought Min to the other side of the lake, where he founded Memphis – the capital of unified Egypt, built dams and channels, making Nile to serve the people. Therefore, gods' chosen ruler, the pharaoh becomes responsible not only for organizing an economic life, but also for the accumulation of power, necessary to maintain the unity of a state, which the efficiency of a single irrigation system along the Nile flow depended on [26, p. 74].

This process continued during the Early Dynastic Period (33rd – 29th centuries

BC) accompanied by the constant wars, which also helped to strengthen the power of state rulers – the pharaohs.

The strengthening of their positions was also influenced by the process of religious cults «centralization» in Egypt. Ancient Egyptians filled everything – plants, animals, mountains, water, etc. – with the spirits of gods. Each region had its own gods. Besides the local gods, Egyptians also worshiped the cosmic gods: the God of the Sun (Ra), the God of the Moon (Iah), and the God of the Nile River (Hapi). Many regions identified their own gods with some of these. Eventually, Ra becomes the main one, and gets recognized as the creator of everything, including people. He rules them for a few thousand years in a row, but when Ra gets old, people stopped obeying him. Cruelly punishing them for disobedience he rises up to the sky. The power goes to the couples born by Ra, who, after centuries of ruling, have also risen to the sky.

Finally, the authority appears in the hands of Osiris and Isis, who start to bring people up, teach and educate them. Confronting to it, Set kills Osiris, but his son – Horus comes into the fight for the honor of his father. As a consequence, gods divide Egypt between them, giving north to Horus and south to Set.

Kings were the heirs of gods. It was believed that Ra ordered that. Moreover, pharaoh was heir not only as a descendant in a few generations of people, but also directly: the queen was giving birth directly from the supreme God. At first, only from Horus or Set, and eventually – from Ra. Thus, pharaohs became gods and everyone had to kneel to them [34, p. 177–198; 27, p. 254–259].

However, another aspect of the divine status of the pharaohs, which yet B. Turayev drew an attention to, becomes obvious: «The gods are kind, compassionate and righteous, and therefore pharaohs had to also possess these qualities, and the best among them

have really liked to emphasize the height of their destiny and responsibilities of their status. That is why; despite all of the extremes, the ruling of pharaohs had a kind, wise and patriarchal nature» [34, p. 198].

As the researchers of civilizations' history note: «The pharaoh in Egypt was not just an intermediary between gods and people. He was the force, which provided integration between them, between the nature and society, the force which ensures peace and prosperity of the lands of Nile. Thus, the pharaoh becomes a guarantee, that the gods of Egypt... do care for their people» [26, p. 75]. In response to that, people had to acknowledge his right for the absolute power and leadership, and obey him in everything.

During the Old Kingdom (28th – 23rd centuries BC) such nature of relationships between the pharaoh and his subordinates has already been perceived as traditional. The tremendous pyramids, temples, built at the time have become a great evidence of this. Both, the slaves, and free community members have worked on their construction, however the last ones were still totally dependent on the owners of royal, temple and noble households. All of them had to also perform other duties and pay taxes to the pharaoh, who controlled the irrigation system and therefore – the whole life of a state.

Such situation has led to the unlimited power of nomarchs – the governors of nomes – based on branched bureaucracy in the center and in the communities, and on the army. Pharaoh becomes not only the embodiment of power of the Egyptian state, but also the embodiment of god in a human form, a God-man. Therefore his orders acquire the nature of unquestionable instructions [13, p. 26–40].

At the same time, there was a certain balance of interests between the direct producers, concerned with socio-economic stability, maintaining of an irrigation system, security of trade routes and borders, meeting the religious needs, provided by the central

government, and the interest of last one in collecting taxes, carrying on duties and execution of orders.

On the walls of the tomb of nomarch Neferk the Middle, the representative of the first 14th Upper Egyptian nome nomarchs' dynasty, who ruled in times of Pepi II (2246–2152 BC.), saved an inscription, that convincingly demonstrates the prevailing views on the destiny of rulers, the gods whom they embodied, and the relationship between them and public: «Oh, people, who pass to the north or south! How right it is that king lives for you, how right it is that God in front of whom you stand, lives for you, so pay me back with bread and beer of what you have, and make it with your own hands!». Therefore, the ruler has a right to be acknowledged by his subordinates through the material reward for performing the socially important functions on their behalf, literally «lives» by them. That is why nomarch does not require a reward, but essentially asks for it, convincing subordinates by explaining them, why he is exactly the one, who is supposed to rule them: «I am the spirit, provided better, than any other spirit, honorable more than any other nobles ever existed» [12, p. 15].

The other inscription, written on the ceiling of Iti from Gebelein: «I feed Gobelein in difficult years: 400 people became... own, [besides] I have not captured a man's daughter, neither took over his plow land.

...I gave a plow land and a house, filled with ... everything wonderful, [moreover] people say: «He is free [innocent] from robbing another» [12, p. 16].

Despite the orientation of early class societies on protecting the interests of ruling elite their leaders were obviously aware of the importance of wider social support for strengthening their positions at the authoritative Olympus. It is not by an accident in many teachings of state leaders to their children and subordinates, as a red line permeates the thought of the need for

humane treatment of ordinary people, considering their interests while making management decisions, protecting the principles of justice.

First Intermediate Period. «*Teachings of Achthoes*». This aspect of the ancient Egyptian pharaohs' activity became important, at times of so-called First Intermediate Period (mid. 22nd – mid. 21st century. BC). Enormous appetites of the central and local authorities have caused extensive social disturbance and protests of wide masses of population, which were against of breaking the traditional relations with authorities. The strengthening of local elite have caused a disorder in centralized state and the irrigation system it provided, weakening the country and its seizure by the foreign enemies [13, p. 41-42].

The «*Teachings of Achthoes*» or «*The Instruction Addressed to King Merikare*» does also belong to this period (22nd century BC). Its author, Achthoes III considers a humane and righteous king, who would have the honor and respect of its subordinates, and will be their acknowledged leader, to be the ideal ruler. That is why he tells his son: «Do not be evil, be friendly. Strengthen your monuments with love to yourself. Increase [the wealth of your city dwellers] and they will be thankful to you. The gratitude for your kindness comes to you, and [they] pray for your health to god Henti-heti... Let the time of your life pass with integrity, let the hapless to love the land he lives on... Make silent those, who cry, do not oppress the widow, banish a person because of his father's property» [17, p. 32]. Follow maat [justice – auth.], – emphasizes Achthoes, – and you will stay on earth for a long time», «encourage with your good temper to stand up [for you]» [12, p. 18].

Humanity and justice for Achthoes III are the duties of king, sent to him by God, who created the sky and the earth upon the request of people. That's why, as a messenger of God, the king has to serve him

and people, following his commandments of integrity and justice, by the behavior, praise, gratitude to be worthy of its destiny. «Honor the God on his path, – writes Achthoes, – made of stone, carved of copper... Decorate your homes in the west, your place in necropolis with an integrity, as one, who creates the truth. Let your heart lean on it. The virtue of righteous is accepted more, than a bull of sinner. Create for God and he will give you similar by the sacrifices, which fill the altar.

The inscriptions on a stone will keep your name, as God knows the one, who creates for him.

Care for people, the flock of God, as he created the sky and the earth for them, destroyed the darkness of waters, and gave an air for their noses to be filled with. They are his similarity, which came out of his body. He rises up to the sky upon their wish, created the plants, animals and birds to feed them. He killed the enemy and destroyed its children for their hostile intentions. He created the light upon their request and floats the sky on the boat to see them. He built a sanctuary for himself behind them, and hears when they cry. He gave them a ruler to support the back of weak...

Do not cause the sufferings. My mouth gives you the laws for the king. Uncover your face to rise up as a human. Let you reach me with no one to complain about you. Do not kill anyone, who is close to you, whom you praised. Gods are watching the king. Let people love you, and remember you for your integrity. Avoid the evil, and you'll say: The time of sufferings is destroyed due to those, who come from the House of Achthoes... Look, I'm telling you my thoughts, excellent from the bottom of my heart to stand in front of you» [17, p.35].

Considering a significant importance of religion and the cult of gods for ancient Egyptians, all the above mentioned arguments of the necessity of decent behavior for rulers had to have a tremendous

impact on them. Because, according to the teachings, they are not just created by gods, as well as other people, but sent by them to help others, to be a support for them. It is their direct responsibility before people and the gods, i.e. the divine nature of the kings', rulers' and eventually – the pharaohs' power is an additional argument not only for the benefit of their right to power, their right to rule, but also a reminder of their responsibilities before people and the gods. Therefore they could be god-like only by executing the will of gods – serving people.

Another translation of the same place in teachings gives much shorter interpretation of this thought: «Create for god, and he will create the same for you,... that means – your name will be invited to the sacrificial viands. God knows how to care for those, who create for him [12, p. 21].

Achthoes warns his son, that gods «will not be lenient in days of trial over the poor [deceased – auth.], in times of executing the charter (for the property of buried ones). It is hard, when the prosecutor is a sage; do not hope for the length of years, they see time (of life) as one hour; a person stays (alive) after death, only when its (good) deeds are near, as supplies. Staying there – is an eternity and the one, who acts against its will – is a fool; as for the one, who took it without a sin, he will exist there, as God, walking freely, as ruler of eternity» [12, p. 18].

Therefore, serving God and people – is the main duty of a leader. Such leader's behavior – is the basis not only for credibility of the subordinates, but also social peace and harmony among themselves. «Who does not have things – writes Achthoes – is greedy to what the others have... The one, who is rich in his house is not prejudiced, he is the owner of things and is not in poverty. The poor man does not tell the truth. The one, who says: «Oh, I wish I'd have». He cares for the one, who owns his alms» [17, p. 32].

Regarding this, Achthoes advises his

son: «Give the welfare to your people; (thus) strengthen your border and (people's) commitment to you; it is good to create for the future... The one (ruler), who wants to own (everything) in the country is miserable [...] and greedy when others own, – is unwise. [The life] on the earth (is) fleeting, it is not continuous, but a (good) memory on it – is the (eternal) youth. It is inappropriate for the owner of Two Lands to own something that belongs to millions of people; whether there is [...] someone to live forever? The one, who comes into the hands [of Osiris] leaves (the earth), just like the one, who has lost everything he was enjoying» [12, p. 18].

Therefore, the real ruler is the one, who cares not as much of own wealth, but of the welfare of its subordinates: «Increase the number of [...], attached to the city, to glorify god for distributing (food), sent to your [name]» [12, p. 18]. That is why, Achthoes calls to be restrained in collecting taxes. Thus, he relies on both – a tradition, and the personal experience: «It is good for you, when the carriers of rural taxes come to you from the south side with gifts. But I was acting like my ancestors, when she had no barley to give me. Thou you also be generous to their weakness (to pay) you, feed yourself with your bread and your beer» [12, p. 19].

Achthoes advises to pay special attention to the entourage of the ruler – the nobles: «Honor your nobles, – advises he his son – enrich your nobles and they will follow your laws... The great is the one, whose nobles are great; the king who owns his nobles – is victorious, (really) capable one – is rich in his nobles». In the relationships with them a ruler has to also be guided by the principles of justice (*maat*) and integrity. «Speak *maat* in your realms and the nobles, who handle the country, will favor you; when the righteousness of heart evidences of the divine ruler, the palace calls out the awe at the borderlands» [12, p. 18].

Achthoes advises to treat warriors, especially the young ones, with the same

attention, picking up loyal guards among them, and providing them with all the necessities: «Call your young men to the service and the capital will love you. Increase the number of your supporters from the youth of conscripted age; look, your cities are full of new reinforcements... Enrich your nobles, lift them up [...], increase the number of young warriors of your guard, provided with the lists (of workers), gifted with plow land and awarded with cattle» [12, p. 19].

All of this is essential for the ruler in performing his military (protecting borders of the state from the external enemies), institutional and economic (building cities, promoting the crafts and agriculture producing, management, construction of dams, temples, monuments to gods, etc.) functions. Achthoes describes them with a special care and attention, emphasizing that a ruler has to be an architect, not a destructor. «Distraction, – writes he – is a filth, there is no one, whom it would be useful to strengthen (for himself) something that he destroyed, renew (for himself) something that he ditched. Beware of this! A punch will be paid by a punch» [12, p. 21]. The love and respect are not conquered by destruction. «The name of a human is imperishable, due to its achievements», – reminds Achthoes [12, p. 20]. That is why, the duty of a ruler's power is to remember: «Attached to its monuments by one (the king), whom other takes care of; a human creates for its predecessor, wishing that the one who follows, would care for what has been done» [20, p. 21]. That means that the real leader is equally responsible for both, the past and the future. And he has to always remember that.

Achthoes has clearly realized one more important peculiarity of leadership: leader's responsibility is always personal. Modern scientists also write that only one can be a leader, and he is always alone. Achthoes also warns his son about that: «The power of the king, – he writes, – is an excellent service,

although it doesn't have a son or brother» [12, p. 21]. Leader has to be ready to it, remembering the words of Achthoes: «Everything that has to be done, – is (our) indispensable destiny» [12, p. 21]; «There is no piety hidden (in inactivity)» [12, p. 19]. Thus, leader has to be a source of inspiration and the example for its subordinates, showing outstanding personal qualities: «Look, – writes Achthoes, – the king is a lord of joy, [...] you have to act as an example, you have to create with your (own) muscle» [12, p. 20]. He must not demonstrate the weakness in any way, but vice versa – show the strength and persistence toward achieving your goal: «Honor the God, do not say that your heart is weak, do not drop your hands, and it will be achieved with joy» [12, p. 20].

Teachings distinguish a number of other features, which were especially appreciated in leaders. Achthoes III pays special attention to wisdom and knowledge. «Wisdom, – he wrote, – is [a shelter] for nobles. No one attacks a sage, knowing his wisdom. No lies happen in his time, because the truth comes to him purified», as it is said in the speeches of ancestors». Thus, the king claimed that there is no wisdom without knowledge, and that is why, he emphasized the importance of constant learning, and updating of knowledge. «The wisdom is created by knowledge» – is emphasized in the «Teachings» of Achthoes. Thus he advises his son: «Deploy your scrolls, follow the great wisdom, as the one who learns will become skillful». Everyone involved in administrating, and especially a leader, has to strive for people to say: «There is nothing that you don't know» [17, p.31–32]. «... [The] ruler of Two Lands, – emphasizes Achthoes, – is the one, who knows, a king – the master of his nobles is not an ignoramus, he is already wise at his appearance from the (mother's) maw, god raises him in front of millions of people» [12, p. 21].

The vision of a ruler, his restraint,

patience, goodwill and mercy – are the sings of his wisdom. «Do not be angry or evil, as great is the kindness, which continues the life of your monuments with (people's) love to you... They honor the life of sagacious, the arrogance will turn into a suffering... Beware of punishing hastily! Do not kill – there is no use for you in it, punish by beating and imprisonment; thereby this country will be populated... God knows the obstinate, but punishes for (the useless) blood; the merciful [continues] the time (of his life). Do not kill a human, of the dignities of whom, you have learned yet, when you read the writings in a singsong» [12, p. 18].

To Achthoes' opinion, the significant quality of an ideal ruler – is his speaking skills, the ability to persuade and to convey his thoughts to his subordinates. His orders and instructions have to be clear and reasonable and understandable for implementing them. «Be skillful in your speeches, and your power will be [great]. A tongue – is a sword, a word is stronger, than a weapon» – taught Achthoes III his son [17, p. 31]. Emphasizing the importance of the relationships between the noble rulers and their direct subordinates – the nobles, he advises his son: «Do not make a difference between the son (of a noble) and an ordinary man; bring the man close to you for the deeds of his hands, and any deal will be fulfilled [...] for the (royal) holder of power» [17, p. 19].

Despite such humane and clear, in the context of management and administrative tasks which leaders have to deal with, requirements to them, not only those requirements had significance in determining their status. Subjugating the state apparatus in asserting their authority, the kings, supreme rulers and nobles also relied on force. Therefore, one of the most significant features outlined in the Ancient Egyptian and other texts of that time was a cruelty of leaders. Achthoes III, who was just concerned of complying with the principles

of justice in leaders' actions, at the same time was giving the instructions of how a king should behave in relations to those, who could limit his power or influence, especially to those rebels, who by the force of their influence, can undermine the stability of social relationships and power. Achthoes III calls such people Achthoes III «harmful» and urges to ruthlessly suppress them. «A harmful man is an incite. Destroy... kill him, wipe his name, [destroy] his supporters... Rebel is distemper for the city dwellers, as he creates two squads of young warriors from his subordinates. If you find a city dweller and his deeds are known to you, report to your subordinates and they will destroy him – he is an enemy. A harmful man is the incite for the city. Suppress the crowd, destroy the flame, that comes out of it [17, p. 31].

However, the demand to be decisive in fighting against rebels, who break the social peace and undermine the foundations of ruler's power, which the teachings of Achthoes III begin with, is limited by the number of other requirements to a leader: do not give in to the emotions, be objective and restrained, fair, generous and forgiving. «Be merciful [...], when punish, [... people] in joy. Deserve the blessings of God; let people even in your absence say that you punish only according to the guilt. A good temper – is a sky of a person, and not the onerous vilification of the embittered heart.

Achthoes III advises to always give person a chance to acknowledge its mistakes and be generous to those, who ready to correct them: «If you find that he is the [main] one in the settlement or a ruler of (a large clan), assign him (a work) for yourself... Do not ravage a human, who fulfills prescriptions [...].

...a month will pass [...] and he will say, he thought about it and will awake; «let me be in good health on the earth» [...] be merciful to him, when your heart is in joy, and all the people will say: «it is his second

birth» [17, p. 17].

The teachings of Achthoes III – a unique set of requirements to the ruler, who would fulfill socially significant functions, taking advantage of the respect and support of its subordinates, i.e. would be their leader, and not just a carrier of power. Not by an accident in historical documents, which reflect the activity of next generations, dynasties of rulers, pharaohs and nomarchs, they are sometimes repeated word by word – either as recommendations to the rulers, or as reports on their activity, which met these requirements.

Middle Kingdom. This is one of the key characteristics of the Middle Kingdom period (2055–1715 BC), when pharaohs restored the unity of the country, the common irrigation system, connecting new regions and even conquered territories to it. Due to that a number of crafts, trade and agriculture have risen to a completely new level (in particular, the bronze has been mastered). The cities prospered. On the background of royal households' reduction, the role of noble and temple estates, and especially – small and middle-sized households of the community members, who also started to use the work of slaves, has contrary increased. Although pharaohs failed to eliminate the independence of nomes and their rulers completely, their power and credibility to it seem to correspond with the vision of Achthoes III [13, p. 42–46].

The terminology of Achthoes III is almost word by word repeated in a biography of nomarch Amenemhat (Amenemhet), dated by the end of Senusret's I reign (1971–1962 BC). It had to confirm the compliance of leadership status with the hero of the story. «There were plenty of love and commitment addressed to me – read we in a biography, – I was a prince, who loved his city... I ruled the Ma-hedj nome to its borders, countless times visiting [all areas for a personal supervision].

Never did I harm a daughter of poor,

oppressed a widow, there was no poor around me, no hungry at my time...

I gave a widow the same as one, who had a husband. Never I raised a junior over senior in everything I gave [them]» [12, p. 24].

Same motives sound in the teachings of king Amenemhat:

«... I was giving to the poor, I lifted up a small one. I was available to the poor, same as to the rich one...

...never new I a calamity, there was no one equal to me in valor. I went to Elephantine, went down to the Delta. I stood on the borders of my country, saw its boundaries, stretched the power of my hand and my strength to its borders. I cultivated grains and cereals, honored Nepri (or Neper). The Nile was in favor to me in all of its valleys – there was no hunger, no drought in times of my reign, and lived in peace due to my deeds, and glorified me. Everything I showed was to the point. I tamed lions and brought crocodiles, conquered the Uauat, captured the people of Mudgee, I kicked Asians out like the dogs. I built a palace and adorned its chambers with gold» [18, p. 122-225].

At the same time, ancient written sources greatly complement the image of an ideal leader, describing its real or desirable skills and abilities in other spheres of activity. In the classic Ancient Egyptian source, court novel of the 20th century BC, called «The Story of Sinuhe» the focus is shifting to the qualities of king-warrior king-defender of borders, king-conqueror of the neighboring nations. «He is truly – a God, – says as Sinuhe, an author of the novel about the ruler – there is no one equal to him, and there was no one equal to him before. He is the holder of wisdom: his ideas are great, his orders are excellent. The ones are sent and returned upon his order. He was the one to conquer foreign countries, while his father stayed in the palace... He is the hero, acting by his hand, a brave one, who has no equal to himself, attacking the Asians and engaging in battle. He is the one who

bends down the horns and weakens the hands [of enemies], so they cannot close their combat formations. He is the one who is vigilant, he breaks the crown, and no one can stand next to him. He is the one, who steps destroying the outlaws, countless are those, who show him their backs. He is strong in his heart in time of attack. He returns [others], but does not show his back. He is brave in heart in front of many [enemies], does not let the weakness get into his heart... He is fearless, [when] sees the Easterners. His joy is – attacking Asians. When he grabs his shield, despising his [enemies], he does not repeat his strike, killing them. There is no one, who would escape from his arrow, no one to pull his bow. Asians run away from his hands, as from the Great Power. He fights without stopping, without sparing anyone.

He is – the lord of charm, great by his sweetness and conquers with love. His city loves him more, than it loves itself, and worships him more, than its God. Men and women pass, congratulating him – he is the king! He was winning [already] in mother's maw... his face was directed to it from the birth. He increases those, born with him. He is the only, given by god. How glad is the country, which he rules! He is the one, who broadens its borders, and conquers the southern lands..., [as] he is the one, who is created to win... Certainly, Egypt prospers, knowing his strength» [12, p. 26–27; p. 44–45; 16, p. 36–37].

Inscriptions that reached us from the time of the Middle Kingdom show that in the eyes of their contemporaries the credibility and authority of ancient rulers were foremost affected by their military successes, which considered to be the evidence of a special military talent and a god's choice of the leaders. Not by an accident the messages about military campaigns, the victories gained, the trophies obtained, the valor exerted in protecting state borders – a favorite topic of «letters» from the distant

past leaders and their chroniclers. For example, the pharaoh of 12th Egyptian dynasty Senusret III (1888–1850 BC) wrote: «I made my border, [when] sailed to the south [further than] my parents. I increased what I have got. I am the king, who says and does! I implement, what my heart has conceived; fierce to conquer; determined to fulfill successfully; the one, who doesn't let the deeds sleep in my heart; thinking of poor...; not humble to an enemy, which attacks; who attacks, [when] gets attacked...

A wonderful son – is an advocate of his father, which strengthens border for someone who gave birth to him!

As for the one, who will leave his [border] and will not fight for it, he is not my son, he is born not for me» [17, p. 37].

The leaders of the Middle Kingdom were, as previously, valued for their managerial talents in organizing the construction and irrigation works, regulating the rivers' and channels' spills. Rim-Sin, the king of Larsa (18th century BC), for example, proudly announces, that he made a channel, «which provided drinking water to numerous people... which gave a huge amounts of grain» [20, p. 87].

Thus, the recognition of society received foremost the socially significant actions of state rulers. Breaking these principles by the pharaohs of a united Egypt or by the momarchs of local nomes, extremely negatively affected the social, economic and political development of the country, its defense and military capacity.

Second Intermediate Period. «Ipuwer Papyrus». The Second Intermediate Period in Egypt (mid. 18th – mid. 16th century BC) has become a good convincing evidence of this. Economic achievements of the previous period were accompanied with increasing taxes and duties, related to an active urbanization, building channels, temples, maintaining army of the pharaohs, their military campaigns. It has led to a tremendous insurrection, which destroyed

the social, political, administrative and military fundamentals of the country. The rulers of the local nomes, who could not resist the wild warlike Hyksos tribes by themselves, have openly taken a separatist position regarding central authorities. By 17th century BC they have occupied not only the Lower, but the Upper Egypt [13, p. 46-47].

The «Papyrus» of Ipuwer («Ipuwer Papyrus»), who lived in 18th century BC, and thoughts of which about the country's fortune have reached us from the inscriptions of New Kingdom (1300 BC), show us a stunning picture of calamities of people, whose rulers have failed to reach that level of responsibility and the requirements of society to a leader.

Ipuwer describes the picture of economy's decline, of hunger, which swept the country: Hunger is all over the country. Blood is everywhere. Death is not removed, not cleaned; many dead bodies are buried in the flow [in the Nile River]. The river [turned] into a tomb, [and] a place for embalming. People [eat] grass and wash it down with water. They can't find fruits [on the trees] and grass for the birds [anymore]. The swipes are taken out of the pigs' mouths...

...grain dies on all the ways. People are deprived of their dresses, ointments and oils. Everybody say: «We have nothing». Granaries are destroyed.

...roads [are empty], as there are ambushes on them. People sit in the bushes and wait for a night traveler to grab his carriage. Everything he is at is taken...

...no craftsman works. The enemies of the country have stolen its crafts» [17, p. 43, 45, 48].

Ipuwer tells us about a destruction of ordinary social and property relations system, which has previously been a basis for stability and prosperity of the country: «A man sees an enemy in his son... Inhabitants of the desert [barbarians] have become Egyptians... The lands with the best soils are in the hands of gangs..., ordinary

commoners have become the owners of jewelry... nobles are in sorrow, commoners – in joy. Every city says: «Let us beat the strong [wealthy] ones among us»... A robber has become an owner of wealth: [a wealthy one] [turned into] robbers... the children of nobles are crashed into the walls... the ones, who have been ruled, have become the owners of slaves. The one, who has been a messenger, now sends the other one. Look, the one, who did not have his own bread [has become] an owner of granary. His pantry is filled with the property of other one», etc.

The traditional system of managing a country appeared to be ruined: «There is nowhere a man of yesterday; nobles do not share with people [their] joys... The palace of a king got empty... the right and the law in the country [exist only] by their name... a wonderful trial chamber. Its acts are stolen, its storages are deprived of their secrets... its magic formulas became well-known... its archives got open. Authorities are killed..., [their] tax declarations are stolen. Their documents are taken away..., the scrolls of laws of the trial chamber are thrown out and people walk on them on the crossroads. The poor break its seals on the streets. Indeed: the poor reached the status of Ennead, [as] the state of business in the House of Thirty has lost its insularity... The poor freely come in and leave the Great palaces.

... The king is captured by poor... Look: depriving the country of the royal power has begun, by the people who do not know the law, they began to revolt against Uraeus, [the eyes] of Ra, who pacified the Two Lands... The secrets of the rulers of Upper and Lower Egypt have become well-known to all. The capital is concerned with its needs. Everyone is seeking to start a civil war, and there is no opportunity to resist. The country is tied up by packs of robbers... The owner of awards is in a misery... all posts are not at their places, as a frightened flock without shepherd... the powerful [the noble ones] are not [reported of the current state] of

people. [Everything] is close to collapse».

Ipuwer has no doubt that the reason of all the disasters in the country is a lie, hatred and inactivity of God's viceroy on earth – the king. As «God – he writes – «is a shepherd for everyone». That is why it [the calamity] would not come if gods were among them [people]... A warrior would come out to destroy the evil, which they have given birth to. But there was no ruler at their time, Where is he [even] today? Is he sleeping? Look, his strength was not seen [so far]. I could not find you, when we were dying. [The king] does [not see anyone, except] the enemies... The words of him [the king] is that something, what raises a distemper [more, than] a stick of rapist... The one, who has done nothing between the sky and earth, is afraid of everything. What has he done? What have we achieved? It [a human] stands against something, you don't want to destroy. Intelligence, truth and knowledge are with you. And turmoil, along with the noise of feud, you send all over the country. Look, one commits violence to the others. [People] stand against your orders... Is there a shepherd, wishing [his flock] to die? Oh, if you ordered to answer this question! The one, who loves – is one person and the one, who hates – another. Their lives are dying in all ways. You were doing [everything] to cause it. You were telling lies. The country has become a poisoned grass, which kills people... Oh, if you try [at least] a little bit of misfortune, than you would say...».

Here text of Ipuwer's appeal to the ruler ends. However, from the context of his story, is not hard to guess, what its author, who further describes the future prosperity of his country, its military power, renewing borders and the impact on neighbors, has hoped for [17, p. 43–53]. For restoring the strength and power of God's viceroy on earth, which would personify the traditional qualities of a true leader («a man of yesterday»), would fulfill the hopes of

subordinates for social peace, stability and justice, would be able to restore the laws and traditions («oh, if the country stopped crying, and there was no distemper»), organize a country's defense against the external enemies («Oh, [where is he], the one who will repel the attacks of our enemies?»), which means – it is all about implementing the leader's functions, put on him by the ancient Egyptian tradition, and a divine personality of a leader itself, which would meet all the requirements.

Obviously, Ipuwer informed us about the tragic events of so called Second Intermediate Period in the history of Ancient Egypt, when nomadic tribes of Hyksos dominated over its territory.

New Kingdom. Fight against them was quite long, and ended up with a victory, only in the middle of 16th century BC, when the rulers of 18th dynasty freed and strengthened Egypt. Thus, a period of New Kingdom, when Egypt turned into the world power, began. It became possible due to centralization of country's management, allocation of military strata as a separate social group, which pharaohs relied on in their successful conquering policy. It allowed not only to expand the borders of the state, strengthen its material and financial resources, but made slavery quite a common. Not only nobles and rich have become the owners of slaves now, but even ordinary warriors and community members. Giving lands to the serving people, pharaohs have strengthened their military, administrative and political positions. The bulk of Egyptian population has also felt the improvement of situation. The era of New Kingdom has become one of the most successful in the history of Egypt.

However, a lot of social contradictions, called by increasing taxes and duties for the great construction works conducted by the pharaohs, providing the cult of gods and rulers, military campaigns have been accumulated over a time. Especially this oppression felt when the

conquering plans of pharaohs were failing. Local nobles and the servants of cult immediately tried to get advantage of the mass discontent, to limit the power of God – pharaoh. Eventually, by the end of 11th century BC they managed to achieve this. The era of New Kingdom has come to its end [13, p.48–64].

Documents of this period emphasize only those features of pharaohs, which determined their military successes. Thus, Thutmose III (1504-450 BC) goes at his «first victorious raid, [to destroy the assailants] of Egypt's borders, with valor, strength, power and triumph». He defined his place and role for everyone in the campaign, while «leading his troops on his own» and making «strong» the hearts of his warriors. The characteristics of Amenhotep III (1450–1425 BC) are also significant: «His face is ferocious, like [the face of] Bastet, like the face of Sutekh in the hour of his anger... like the ferocious lion, running through the dessert». King «circles» over his enemies, like a divine falcon». He was strong like Sekhmet is strong, like Moktu of Thebes».

The enemies just could not stand against such a leader: «They got desperate and their hearts got weak, [when] they started falling to the knees of their friends one by one, including their commander, and there was no one with his majesty, but [him] and his mighty sword. His majesty destroyed them with arrows, and went away with a joyful heart». In other fight «his majesty got so furious, like a divine falcon and his combat draw gear was flying as a falling star from the sky». Capturing a lot of captives «his majesty was guarding them till morning, [moreover] his ax was at his right shoulder. He was alone, as his troops were just on their way, and they heard [only] the call of pharaoh». So, it's not by an accident, the defeated appealed to him as to the ruler of all foreign countries, emphasizing not only his features of a warrior, but a divine nature of his power: «oh, the son of Ra, Amenhotep, the god and ruler of Heliopolis, the ruler of

all rulers, the ferocious lion» [17, p. 71–74].

The most definitive features, of a military guide, a leader in the Poem of Pentaur, the contemporaries have gave to the pharaoh Ramses II (1317–1251 BC), who protected Egypt from the invasions of Hittites and made peace with them: «His majesty is a young ruler, active like no other, there is no one similar to him by strength, he is brave as Montu at his power, beautiful as Atum, seeing the beauty of which (everyone) rejoices, he is great by his victories in all foreign countries, (moreover) no one knows, when he starts to fight. A wall of his warriors is strong, so is their shield in the day of battle. A bow carrier, who has no similar. He is stronger, than a hundred thousand (warriors) together. Goes forward, acts as many. His heart is filled with strength. He is mighty in heart during the melee... Thousands of people cannot stand in front of him, and hundreds of thousands pine, when see him. The lord of horror, famous by his combat roar among all countries – makes [the hearts of strangers] tremble as a ferocious lion in the valley (among) the beasts. He commands valiantly... does not speak boastfully. He is wonderful in his intentions and kind in his instructions. Find the best in his speeches... His heart is like a mountain of copper».

It is clear, why «the ruler of Hittites was standing among his troops, what happened to him and why he did not come out to fight, out of the fear for his majesty». When the enemies saw Ramses in battle, one of them has yelled to another: «It's not a human, the one among us! It's Set, great in his power! Baal has settled in his body! People cannot do what he does: one defeats hundreds of thousands; moreover there are no foot troops, neither chariot troops with him. Leave faster, run in front of him, and we'll find a life for ourselves and will breathe the air in. Look, who comes (to us) to weaken everyone's hands. They cannot hold the bow and the spear when see how he

rushes down the road!» [18, p. 122–138; 15, p. 120, 123; 16, p. 58–71].

At the same time, the senior management functions, traditionally related to maintaining the irrigation systems, sizing and collecting taxes, helping the poor, providing the cults, building temples, cities and fortresses, providing conditions for the development of handicrafts and trade, continued to associate with leader. Although the pharaoh did not conduct management functions directly (they were concentrated in the hands of highest official and its subordinates), he controlled their activity, so that it does not contradict the traditions and principles, related to them. Not by an accident, among the duties of the supreme dignitary of 15th century BC («tjati») was written: «Then will he come to greet the ruler, who shall be alive, unharmed and healthy. [He?] will report him on the state of Two [Egyptian] Lands at his home daily» [12, p. 80].

The instructions of the pharaoh to newly appointed senior state dignitary (in interpreter's terminology – vizier) are also quite remarkable: «His majesty told him: «Supervise for the place of vizier's presence, be aware of everything that is happening there: the order of the whole country depends on it. The post of vizier is not pleasant. It is bitter from the beginning. It is copper, surrounding gold for the house of its master. It requires not to pay attention to princes neither to dignitaries or nobles, does not allow to make slaves of any people, tries for him, not for another.

When a petitioner (besecher) from the Upper or Lower Egypt or from any other land all over the earth appears, take care for everything around to be done according to law. For everything to be done as it should and (anyone) could find justice. Because the prince is for all to see – water and wind disclose everything that he does. As what he did never remains unknown. Considering the case of a (petitioner), he should not rely on

the word of subordinate, but should know basing on his own opinion, and say in the presence of his subordinate: «I have nothing here to have a voice for – I will send a petitioner with his case to another dignitary or prince». The safest for a dignitary is to act upon prescription, fulfilling what was told to. The petitioner after a decision should not say: «I was not given a justice».

The words of king – his instructions to the vizier are given in the Memphis ceremonial: «... (beware) of what is said about the vizier of Achthoes». And the following is being said: «he oppressed his own in favor of others for the fear of someone to say, that he is passionate to his own. But that is already an over-justice». «Do not forget to decide fairly. God does not like prejudice... Treat an acquainted as well as a stranger, the one who is close to the king – the same as one, who is far from (his palace). The prince, who acts this way, will be strong at its place...»

Do not be angry at anyone without a reason... the prince is a prince, which calls out fear, but the respect to prince appears only, when he makes truth. If the prince has a respect, the fear will throw a liar to his knees, but you will gain the respect only by making a truth at your position.

Ones expect making a truth from the vizier's behavior, as – it is a real law from the times of God» [34, p. 225–226].

However, the authorities could not embrace the pharaoh other, than like a God. Moreover, the pharaoh itself was constantly demonstrating his belonging to the host of gods. The inscription of Ramses II, saved in Abydos gives us an appeal of Ramses to his deceased father Seti I: «You went up to heaven, you are in the retinue as those, who stay there near Osiris, the lord of ages. Your hands reach Atum in heaven and on earth, like immutable and eternal stars».

In other case, it is already Ramses II, who acts as god, with the same kind of claims, giving orders to his dignitaries to pave the way to gold-bearing Anita. Hearing him, they respond: « You are similar to Ra in

all his actions; everything that your heart desires is fulfilled. We see innumerable miracles of yours, since you appeared to be our king». Everything that comes out of your mouth is like the words of Horus on the horizon. Is there something that you don't know? Who is the creator, similar to you? Is there a place, you would not see? There is no country, you would not conquer. You ruled, yet being in the egg, in your rank of a young prince. The state of Two Lands has been reported to you, yet when you were a boy with curls. There was no monument, which would not be in your jurisdiction, there was no order, without your authorization. You were the «supreme voice of the army, when you were a boy of ten years old. If you tell a water: «Go to the mountain», the ocean comes under your voice, as you are – the embodiment of Ra, Khepri in its true essence. You are – a living semblance of your father Atum of Heliopolis [34, p. 333–334].

So, the divine origin and a corresponding status of the pharaoh got recognized yet for over two thousand years after the inception and approval of exactly such kind of its perception. However, yet after two thousand years, the tradition had still seen «the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, living by the truth» [27, p. 90].

The return of Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamun (1354–1345 BC) to such a tradition has determined his popularity in Egypt. «The good ruler, who does good for his parents [ancestors] and all the gods – read we on the ceiling, set at his time in Karnak – he strengthened everything that has fallen into decay among the sights of eternity. He destroyed the falsehood in Two Lands. The truth appeared [in its place]. He made that evil become an object of abomination. The country [has come] to its original state.

...And now his majesty has shone as a king...

Egypt and the foreign lands are under his care. The whole country bent to his power.

There [was] his majesty in his palace,

located in his house of «Aaheperkara», as Ra in the sky. And his majesty cared for this country and for everyday needs of Two Lands [of Egypt].

And his majesty was pondering the plans by his heart, looking for any excellent deal...

He increased everything, existing before, followed everything that was done by his ancestors» [17, p. 97–99; 15, p. 113,115].

In the second half of the 14th century BC pharaoh Horenheb «came with honor» and «filled «the Two Lands» [of Egypt] with his beauty. As for this kind God, he was born for Ra... makes the truth within Two Lands...

The thoughts of his majesty – [is] a great vault, which rejects the furious around...

Here his majesty is awake for the whole day, looking for good of Egypt, examining things... ».

Horenheb's order of the middle of 14th century BC establishes the norms of responsibility for violating justice, while collecting taxes and other various fees for local rulers and authorities (which is not typical for the pharaohs, as judicial functions were concentrated in the hands of dignitaries and the servants of cult). To maintain justice Horenheb had also appointed judges «terse, highly moral, the ones, who can judge, hearing the king's speech and the laws of judicial chamber... I settled them in large cities of Upper and Lower Egypt... I gave them prescriptions and laws... I taught them on their life path and directed them to the truth. My guidance to them is: «Do not get along with others, do not take the bribes from others... Is it right to do untruths against the righteous? As to any local prince, dignitary or noble, of whom would be heard that he sits there to make justice, making untruth instead, it will be treated as a crime, which deserves death. My majesty has done it for the laws of Egypt to be enforced well, for the life of those, who live there prospered

[17, p. 101–102; 15, p. 116, 118].

Pharaoh of the 20th dynasty (beginning of the 12th century BC), who became famous due to his successful military operations considered his other achievements to be the main ones: «I planted all the land by the trees and bushes; I gave inhabitants the opportunity to sit under their shade; I made it possible for women to go anywhere with a raised veil and do not feel offended by strangers on their way. I made my infantry and cavalry sit in the villages, with nothing to do; there is no fear anymore, no enemies of Kush and Syria. Bows and arrows are peacefully lying in pantries. People are fed and satisfied; their wives are with them, their children are near them; they do not look back (with the fear), their hearts are in peace; – I am their defender, I feed all the land, release everyone from trouble and save from the strong» [34, p. 314].

In his testament he also adds strengthening the unity of a country and the royal power, establishing social peace and creating conditions for its economic development to his achievements. However, the most of all he is proud of the devotion of his subordinates. «Their hearts are satisfied, – read we in the text of a testament, – as I was with them, defending and protecting... I freed the men from his trouble, and gave him breath. I freed him from the stronger and more influential one. I gave all people to live in peace in their cities... I was doing good deeds for both – gods and people. I spent [my] reign on earth as the ruler of Two Lands, and you [were] the servants at my feet, and I was not trampling you.

You were desired to my heart, according to your useful deeds, as you zealously fulfilled my orders and prescriptions».

It is necessary to mention that the requirements of gods and people to the pharaohs were quite fair and humane; care of the subordinates combined with rather strict requirements to the last ones. Ramses III

quite sufficiently and concisely notifies about them, appealing to Egyptians with a request to obey his successor: «Fall at his feet, kiss the ground before him, bend before him and follow him all the time, glorify him, praise him, exalt his beauty, as you do it for Ra every morning! Give him your donations [in] his great palace! Bring him gifts of the [Egyptian] and foreign lands. Follow his commands and orders as I am among you! Obey his prescriptions and you will prosper under his power! Work for him [all] as one in any case! Make the creation of your own hands for him, – and you will fall at his favor every day!» [34, p. 114].

So, in an exchange for care, help and protection, conditions for life and work, which a divine, righteous and kind pharaoh had to guarantee, all Egyptians, regardless of the type of their activity and status in the society, fall into complete dependence and had to unconditionally obey him. However, it could not be different, as pharaoh was acknowledged equal to gods, which in ancient societies had the absolute power over people.

Late Period. The tendencies towards strengthening the role of local princes and dignitaries, which revealed already at the end of the New Kingdom period, became dominant during the Late Period of the history of Egypt (1075–332 BC). Even those rulers of nomes, who managed to unite Egypt under their power at least for some time, could not neutralize their impact.

The external enemies were successfully using this. In 10th century BC the Libyans seized control over the country, at the end of 8th century BC – the Kubyans, which ruled Egypt till 664 BC. Later they were replaced by Assyrians. Egyptians regained control over the country and renewed its unity only at the times of 26th Saite dynasty (664–525 BC). But immediately after its end, Egypt became a part of Persian Empire (525–404 BC). Only in unity Egyptians could get rid of them. However, in 343 BC Egypt was conquered

by Persians again, and in 332 BC – by Alexander the Great, who accepted the title of pharaoh and opened the new – Hellenistic Period in its history [13, p. 65–73].

The other invaders did in the same way, trying to use Egyptian tradition of relationships between rulers and subordinates to strengthen their power. It is not by an accident, the king of ancient Kushite, Piye (once transliterated as Piankhi), engaging the throne in 740 BC, inscribed on the ceiling: «Listen, I have done more than ancestors. I am the king, semblance of God, living image of Atum, who came out of the womb, remarked as a ruler, whom other rulers are afraid of; the father of whom and mother of whom knew, that he will become a ruler, yet when he was in the egg, kind God, dear to Gods, the son of Ra, created by his own hands, Amun – Piankhi».

And the tradition worked out well. The subordinates of a divine god-king, pharaoh-god continued to perceive him that way. As stated in an inscription on the Piankhi's ceiling, after hearing his words, «fell they down on their bellies in front of his majesty, shouting: «The name of yours is giving us strength! Your reminding is ruling your troops. Your bread is in our stomach on any way. Your beer is quenching our thirst. Your power is giving us strength. The ones are afraid of mentioning your name. The troops, commander of which is coward are deficient. Who is equal to you out there? You are the victorious king, acting by your own hands; leader of the military actions» [15, p. 150, 152].

However, the real power of pharaohs has tremendously weakened, and appeared to be in the hands of supreme servants of cults, senior authorities and local nomarches. The text of king's of Kush Aspelta (593–568 BC) «Election Stela» clearly illustrates this. After the death of his predecessor and brother Anlamani, he did not inherit the status of a king, but was chosen by the military chiefs and nobles of the royal palace, who applied to the «servants of Amun-Ra». They have reported the will of God, who pointed at Aspelta: «He is your king, he will revive

you, he will build all the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt, he will set the sacrifice to them». At the same time, giving the king all the authority, Amun-Ra meaningfully notes: «[I have gave you] all of this. And [you] should not say: «Oh, I wish it would be forever» [17, p. 135–136].

Therefore, the tradition of the divine origin of the ruler and his duties to the society acted even in the face of the real weakening of his political power.

Conclusions of the research and prospects of further studies in this direction. Thus, for several millennia, the existence of statehood on the territory of the Ancient Egypt the power of the pharaoh continued to retain the highest sacred authority and religious status. Engaging the throne, pharaoh was receiving the status equal to gods, but had to fulfil their will. It primarily lies in maintaining the faith of the Egyptians in gods' power and the strength of their prescriptions, complying with all the rituals and obligations, related to their cults, including those, related to building of temples and maintaining their servants. On the other hand – the ruler of Egypt had to comply with the divine commandments of humanity, kindness, justice, etc. regarding his subordinates, provide them with all the necessities for life and work, and fulfilment of their obligations to the gods. Administrative, military and political functions of the ruler served only as additional or derived ones, and had to coincide with the requirements, established for a ruler by the tradition.

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To a great extent, it is exactly by an influence of a tradition, as ideological and religious foundation of the Ancient Egyptian society, to our opinion, the vitality of an ideal ruler as God's chosen servant, father, the defender of people, their leader, could be explained. In many cases, the reality appeared to be much more cruel. Demanding unconditional obedience from their subordinates, in exchange for the «divine» patronage, pharaohs have frequently forgotten of its ideal meaning. However, preparing to stand before the court of gods, none of them have dared to frankly refuse from their responsibilities before people, defined by gods. A lot of them have also demonstrated the personal qualities and behaviour, which corresponded not only with the past, but also a modern leadership paradigm.

These are the preliminary results of the problem study. It is clear that it needs to be continued. In particular, it is necessary to analyse how it influenced the positioning of the ruler of Egypt by his conquest of Alexander the Great. A particular problem is the role of ancient Egyptian priests in the establishment and maintenance of the traditional and Egyptian perceptions and demands of society towards Pharaoh. Particularly noteworthy is the study of the hierarchical system of governance of Ancient Egypt, ascertaining whether the elements of the leadership paradigm were characteristic of it.

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