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## I. A satirical letter.

**Sources of the text.** 1. The Papyrus Anastasi I (*Pap. Brit. Mus. 10247*) was purchased for the British Museum in 1839 from Signor ANASTASI, the Swedish Consul in Egypt. It measures  $8\frac{1}{4}$  metres in length; its height is 20.5 cm., i. e. it is of the normal height of literary papyri of the second Theban period. Both in respect of size and of calligraphy the papyrus is one of the finest specimens of a Ramesside book. The text, written upon the horizontal fibres, comprises 28 pages of 8 or 9 lines apiece; at the beginning there is a protecting strip of 10.5 cm. The *verso* is unscribed, save for a few large illegible signs at the back of the 19th. page. The papyrus contains but a single composition, which is complete except for the losses caused by lacunae; these are very abundant, especially in the earlier pages. The composition is divided into nineteen paragraphs, of which the first words are always written in red. Verse-points occur on the 9th. and 10th. pages. Corrections are to be found here and there; one written at the top of page 3 is probably due to a teacher's hand. The type of handwriting is closely similar to, but not identical with, that of Ennene, the scribe to whose industry we owe several of the finest of the London hieratic papyri. The papyrus *Anastasi I* may therefore be dated with approximate accuracy to the reign of Sethos II (see MÖLLER, *Paläographie* II 11)<sup>1</sup>. — A good hand-facsimile by J. NETHERCLIFT is published in the *Select Papyri in the hieratic character from the collections of the British Museum, London 1842*, plates XXXV—LXII<sup>2</sup>. In CHABAS' book *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien* the plates, comprising *Anast. I 8; 18,3—8; 19 to 28*, seem to have been merely reproduced from the official publication. — The transcript here given is based on that made by K. SETHE for the purposes of the Berlin hieroglyphic dictionary; this has been diligently collated with the original on several separate occasions<sup>3</sup>.

2. Ostrakon belonging to Professor Petrie (abbreviated O. P.). A slab of limestone 21×26 cm., containing a half-obliterated duplicate of *Anast. I 1, 1—4* with some additions. Unpublished.

3. Ostrakon in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (abbrev. O. B. N.), a limestone tablet containing *Anast. I 1,6—2,6* with numerous variants and additions. Published by W. SPIEGELBERG, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Papyrus Anastasi I* in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 44 (1908), 119—122 and Tafel V. VI, with (1) a photograph of the stone in its present much deteriorated condition, (2) a hand-copy of the hieratic made in 1892, and (3) a hieroglyphic transcription. My text is based on a comparison of these materials.

4. Ostrakon in the Brussels collection (abbrev. O. Br.), a broken potsherd containing portions of *Anast. I 2, 1—5* and closely following the ostrakon of the Bibliothèque

1) According to MÖLLER Ennene was a scribe of the Memphite school. The same would doubtless hold good of the writer of *Anastasi I*.

2) This is sometimes referred to in my notes upon the text as "the facsimile".

3) The proofs of this edition were finally compared with the original in September 1910.

Nationale in its text. Published here for the first time from a photograph and a transcription provided by Professor SPIEGELBERG<sup>1</sup>.

5. Ostrakon in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford (abbrev. O. Q. C.), a limestone fragment measuring 17,5×13 cm., containing the text of *Anast. I* 3,4—4,1 with sundry additions. Brought back from Egypt by BELZONI. Hitherto unpublished.

6. Ostrakon in the Turin Museum (abbrev. O. T.), a duplicate of *Anast. I* 6,5—7,3, on a fragment of limestone measuring 21×18 cm. Published PLEYTE-ROSSI, *Papyrus de Turin*, plate CXLIX. Collated with the original.

7. Ostrakon in the Louvre (abbrev. O. L.), a potsherd neatly inscribed with the text of *Anast. I* 8,3—9,2. An admirable facsimile is given by J. DE HORRACK, *Sur un ostrakon du Musée du Louvre* in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 6 (1868), 1—6, reprinted in the *Bibliothèque Egyptologique* t. 17, p. 60—69. Here transcribed from the publication.

8. Ostrakon Cailliaud (abbrev. O. C.), one of several inscribed fragments of limestone described as "trouvés dans les hypogées de Gournah à Thèbes", containing the same passage as the Louvre ostrakon in a slightly inferior but closely related version. At the end there is a mention of the Vizier To', who lived in the reign of Rameses III. An adequate facsimile is given in FRÉDÉRIC CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes* (deuxième partie, Paris 1862), pl. 25, no. 1; and thence CHABAS, *op. cit.*, pl. 12. Transcribed from the publications.

9. Ostrakon in the Berlin collection (abbrev. O. B.), a potsherd (P. 11236) containing the text of *Anast. I* 9,9—10,4, but with extensive lacunae. A small fragment of this potsherd which was acquired for the Leipzig collection together with other ostraca has now been joined to the larger portion in Berlin. Published in *Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Bd. III, Tafel 28. My transcript is made from the original.

10. Papyrus in the Turin Museum (abbrev. P. T.), a badly-written palimpsest, 21 cm. in height and 45 cm. in breadth, bearing upon the *recto*, i. e. upon the horizontal fibres, a duplicate of *Anast. I* 12,6—15,1. The *verso* gives the full titulature of Rameses IV. Published in facsimile PLEYTE-ROSSI, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. 62 (the *verso*, pl. 63). Collated for the present edition with the original.

**Bibliographical notice.** The third and last instalment (1844) of the *Select Papyri* (first series) contains some prefatory remarks, by Samuel BIRCH, on the manuscripts comprised in the entire work. Here we find *Anastasi I* characterised as a "continuous series of statements made apparently by a royal scribe in command of the troops", and the various paragraphs into which the papyrus is divided are briefly and somewhat vaguely summarized. Some years later Dr. HINCKS set himself to study the foreign place-names in the latter portions of the text, and in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* for 1848 was able to announce the discovery of the names of Berytus, Sidon and Sarepta. Consecutive translations, by Dr. BIRCH, of certain passages interesting for their geographical data were embodied in a paper entitled *Rephaim and their connexion with Egyptian History*, which Miss Fanny CORBAUX published in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for January 1852. In H. BRUGSCH's volume *Die Geographie der Nachbarländer Aegyptens* (*Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler*, zweiter Band, Leipzig 1858) constant reference is made to our papyrus, and many of the Syrian towns mentioned in it are brilliantly identified. A remarkable attempt to cope with the difficulties of the text was next made by GOODWIN in his epoch-making article on *Hieratic Papyri* in the *Cambridge Essays* of 1858; GOODWIN not only gives a short analysis of the entire composition from beginning to end, but also translates a considerable part of the last ten pages, often with astonishing accuracy and success. It is hardly to be wondered at if at this stage the literary tendency of the document was not yet recognized; GOODWIN

1) I am greatly indebted to M. CAPART for calling my attention to this ostrakon and giving me permission to publish it; and to Prof. SPIEGELBERG for surrendering his prior claim in my favour.



pronounced it to be the "biographical memoir of a scribe, written by his pupil, and addressed to the object of the memoir himself." Much the same view was taken by François CHABAS in his justly celebrated work *Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, en Palestine, &c; au XIVme siècle avant notre ère*, published with GOODWIN's collaboration in 1866. The book, a bulky quarto, is chiefly concerned with the last ten pages of the papyrus, which CHABAS regarded as the authentic narrative of a voyage in Syria retold to the scribe who had undertaken it by his pupil. This portion of the text is dealt with in great detail, the translation being accompanied by an elaborate philological commentary. For the earlier parts of the papyrus CHABAS is content to give translations or abstracts of the sense, though allowing himself occasional digressions on linguistic points. The importance of the book as a contribution to Egyptian philology was at the time of its appearance very considerable, its renderings marking a great advance on what had thitherto been achieved. CHABAS' conception of the text as a whole is superior to that of GOODWIN only in the recognition of the fact that the writer here and there complains of his correspondent's style, and when attacked defends himself against the latter's scathing comments. An ill-tempered review of CHABAS' *magnum opus* was printed by BRUGSCH in the *Revue Critique* of 1867<sup>1</sup>, and led to an acrimonious controversy between the two scholars. CHABAS' *Réponse à la Critique* (Chalon-sur-Saône and Paris, 1868; recently reprinted in *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, tome 11, p. 203—340) is not wholly lacking in scientific interest, but contains a preponderance of recrimination hardly to be excused by the fact that it certainly was not unprovoked. BRUGSCH's critique had the merit of showing the voyage recounted in the papyrus in a much truer perspective than theretofore; it was now seen to be no authentic relation of travels in Syria, but an imaginative picture of the perils attendant on such travels, the object being, as BRUGSCH thought, to deter the colleague addressed from fancying himself equal to heroic enterprises of the kind.<sup>2</sup> This approximates very closely to the view of the text that is now accepted. In a pamphlet which appeared in 1868 F. J. LAUTH, sought to prove that the Mohar, i. e. the Egyptian traveller whose adventures in Syria are described in *Anastasi I*, was none other than the biblical Moses (*Moses der Ebräer nach zwei ägyptischen Papyrus-Urkunden in hieratischer Schriftart*, München, 1868). This hypothesis, which was principally based on *Anast. I* 18, 2, has deservedly passed into oblivion, but the book merits more attention than it has received on account of the complete translations of *Anastasi I* and *Pap. Leiden 350* (recto) contained in its appendices; here LAUTH shows himself, according to his wont, as enterprising, acute, and unsound. Considerable portions of the first ten pages of the papyrus were translated by MASPERO in his thesis *Du Genre épistolaire chez les anciens Egyptiens* (Paris 1872), p. 106—114. For thirteen years after this no event of importance has to be recorded in the bibliographical history of the papyrus. An English version of CHABAS' and GOODWIN's translation by S. M. DRACH was printed in the *Records of the Past* (first series, no date) vol. 2, p. 107—116 under the title *Travels of an Egyptian*. A fragmentary papyrus in Turin and an ostrakon in the Louvre were recognized as containing portions of the text of *Anastasi I*; an ostrakon practically identical with that in the Louvre had long since been published by CAILLIAUD and used in CHABAS' book.<sup>3</sup> In 1885 Adolf ERMAN's work *Aegypten und ägyptisches Leben* appeared, shedding new light on almost every province of Egypto-

1) Also obtainable separately at the Librairie A. Franck in Paris under the title *Examen Critique du Livre de M. Chabas intitulé Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, en Palestine, &c. au XIVme siècle avant notre ère*.

2) See particularly p. 11 of the *Critique*. BRUGSCH is certainly right in translating the numerous sentences of the type *bw šm-k*, *bw ptri-k*, not as rhetorical questions (so CHABAS and ERMAN), but as simple negative statements "tu n'es pas parti" "tu n'as pas vu".

3) See above under the heading *Sources of the Text* for particulars as to the publication of these duplicates.

logical science. Here the first *Anastasi* papyrus obtained its due in the shape of an admirable analysis interspersed with translations (p. 508—513); and the real subject of the book was lucidly and convincingly proved to be a literary controversy between two scribes, the form adopted being that of a letter pretending to be the answer to an ill-worded and pretentious communication. ERMAN's general interpretation requires hardly any modification today, and his translations need but little change, though naturally the latter embrace only the more easily intelligible and picturesque passages.

For the past five and twenty years no new edition or translation has to be noted, so that for complete, or nearly complete, renderings of the papyrus recourse must still be had to the works of CHABAS and LAUTH. A hieroglyphic transcription of *Anast. I* 18,3 to 28,8 (the voyage) is given in E. A. W. BUDGE's *Egyptian Reading Book* (1888) p. 157—169, and in the larger edition of the same work (1896) p. 274—294. The geographical problems are minutely discussed in W. MAX MÜLLER's *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern* (1893), particularly pp. 172—175. MASPERO has dealt with two passages of the voyage in his articles *Entre Foppé et Mageddo* in the *Études . . . dédiées à M. le Dr. C. Leemans*, p. 4—6; and *Notes sur la géographie égyptienne de la Syrie, III* in the *Recueil de Travaux* 19, 68—73; SPIEGELBERG has given a rendering of, and commentary on, 9,4—10,6 under the title *Eine Probe der ägyptischen persönlichen Satire* in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Papyrus Anastasi I* (*Ä. Z.* 44 [1908], 118—125). A fine ostraca belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and supplementing the beginning of the papyrus is also published in the last-named article.

**General remarks.** The composition contained in the first *Anastasi* papyrus was written certainly not earlier, but probably also not later, than the reign of Rameses II, the name of that king occurring in several passages (12,3; 18,8; 27,3. 5). Of the ten ostraca and papyri preserving greater or less portions of the text none is of more recent date than about the middle of the 20th. Dynasty; and this quite unusual number of manuscripts, scattered over so brief a period, bears eloquent testimony to the popularity which the work enjoyed in the Ramesside schools. Nor is its popularity hard to explain, if the standards of taste current in those times are carefully borne in mind. In the first place the theme upon which the entire composition turns is the profession of the scribe, and no lesson was more assiduously instilled into the mind of the Egyptian schoolboy than the belief in the dignity and the advantages of that career. Thus from one aspect *Anastasi I* ought to be regarded as akin to the numerous effusions in which the student is bidden apply himself diligently to the art of writing<sup>1</sup>, or where other occupations are invidiously compared with the labours of the scribe<sup>2</sup>. Secondly, its wealth of topics and consequent variety of vocabulary must have given the text particular value as a model of style and as a means of teaching orthography. The abundant use made of foreign words and the display of erudition with regard to outlandish place-names agree well with what we know of the predilections of the age<sup>3</sup>. Lastly, the good-humoured raillery which is the dominant note of the papyrus springs from one of most attractive sides of the Egyptian temperament. Hints of the Egyptian's love of repartee and appreciation of irony may be found in the snatches of conversation written above the scenes on the walls of tombs, or in the paintings and sculptures themselves, or in the rare caricatures that have survived, and samples are to be found here and there in the literature<sup>4</sup>; but nowhere are these attributes more strikingly illustrated than in

1) See ERMAN, *Aegypten* p. 442 foll.

2) E. g. *Anast. IV* 9, 4 foll.

3) See ERMAN, *Aegypten* p. 683.

4) See especially the letter *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 198, 2 published by SPIEGELBERG, *Correspondances du Temps des Rois-Prêtres* p. 68—74.

*Anastasi I*. If it must be confessed that the quality of the wit is poor, and that the satirical vein is intolerably insistent, still, that a Ramesside author should so well have understood to use language in a way not immediately suggested by its plain face-value is an achievement to be respected.

The whole character of the book would make it impossible to translate satisfactorily into any modern language, even if its vocabulary were more familiar to us. As it is, our ignorance of many of the actual words often leaves the sense totally obscure; and the difficulties are further increased by the frequency of the lacunae and by the textual corruptions. In the rare cases where more than two manuscripts are preserved *Anastasi I* is as a rule found to stand alone in its readings; the Brussels ostracon agrees closely with that of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Cailliaud ostracon still more closely with that of the Louvre. Possibly the reason may be that *Anastasi I* is a Memphitic text<sup>1</sup>, whereas the ostraca without exception are of Theban provenance. Perhaps of all the sources the Louvre ostracon has the least corrupt text; the most corrupt is certainly the Turin papyrus. As for *Anastasi I*, in many passages it is obviously in error (see for a particularly glaring case 4,3); but it would not be wise in the present state of our knowledge to pronounce a very definite verdict on the degree of its inaccuracy. The language is similar to that of other literary texts of the period, i. e. a mixture between the vulgar spoken dialect and the old classical style.

**The argument.** (I) The scribe Hori, a man of great erudition and celebrity, employed in the Royal stables, (II) writes to his friend the scribe Amenemope, (III) wishing him all prosperity in this world and all happiness in the next. (IV) Hori writes to say that his friend's letter reached him at a moment of leisure; his joy at its reception was lessened by a perusal of the contents, which appeared to him to be very mediocre. (V) In spite of his having called many helpers to his aid, Amenemope has contrived to make a bad job of the commission he was called upon to perform. (VI) Hori will now reply in a letter of the same kind, and will excel Amenemope at every point, dealing with the very same topics. At the outset Amenemope has had the discourtesy to omit the usual salutations. (VII) He has also expressed his contempt of Hori's ability. The latter replies ironically, naming various persons who have attained to positions of ease and wealth in spite of some ludicrous moral or physical defect; the exact point of the answer is not clear. (VIII) Hori goes on to poke fun at his friend's pretensions to learning and ends by advising him not to meddle with ancient lore. (IX) Accused of having no right to his title of scribe, Hori refers Amenemope to the official registers. (X) An obscure competition between the rivals. (XI) Again accused of being no true scribe, Hori asks that the god Onuris shall be appealed to as arbiter. (XII) When commanded to undertake any difficult calculation, Amenemope either turns to others for advice, or else fails to give any answer; this is illustrated by several examples, the building of a ramp, (XIII) the transport of an obelisk, (XIV) the erection of a colossus, and (XV) the furnishing of supplies for the troops on a foreign military expedition. (XVI) Amenemope has laid claim to the title of Maher; Hori replies by enumerating a number of places in Northern Syria never visited by Amenemope, and an imaginary picture of the latter enduring the discomforts of the Maher's life is conjured up. (XVII) Amenemope is questioned as to the towns of Phoenicia (XVIII) and as to the towns further southwards. (XIX) Sundry other places frequented by the Maher are named, and Amenemope is imagined as experiencing the adventures of the Maher's life — the traversing of a precipitous region, the danger from wild beasts, the breaking of the chariot, the arrival at Joppa, and finally the repairing of the chariot and the start on a new journey. (XX) Hori cross-examines his friend as to the places on the high-road to Gaza, and finds him totally ignorant of them.

1) See above p. 1\*, footnote 1.

He regards his own superiority as now fully proved, and bids Amenemope not to be angry but to listen coolly; in this way he too will learn to discourse about foreign parts and the incidents of travel.

### I. The rank and qualifications of the writer.

The scribe of noble parts, patient in discussion<sup>1</sup>, at whose utterances men rejoice when they are heard, skilled in the hieroglyphs; there is nothing he does not know. He is a champion in valour and in the art of Seshyt<sup>2</sup>; servant of the lord of Khmūn<sup>3</sup> in the<sup>4</sup> hall of writing; assistant-teacher<sup>5</sup> in the office of writing<sup>6</sup>. First of his companions, foremost of his fellows, prince of his contemporaries, without his peer. His merit is proved<sup>7</sup> in every stripling. His hand goes forth(?)<sup>8</sup>, his fingers magnify the young(?)<sup>9</sup>. Noble, keen of wit<sup>9</sup>, adept<sup>1,5</sup> in knowledge; fortunate because of it(?)<sup>10</sup>. Protecting himself by his good qualities; beloved in (men's) hearts, without being repelled(?)<sup>11</sup>; men like to make a friend of him, they do not tire of him. Swift to inscribe<sup>12</sup> empty rolls. Youthful, eminent of charm, pleasant of grace<sup>13</sup>. Unravelling the obscurities of the annals like him who made them<sup>14</sup>. All that goes forth from his mouth is steeped in honey<sup>15</sup>; the heart is refreshed with it as it were with medicine. Groom<sup>16</sup> of his<sup>2,1</sup> Majesty, follower of the Sovereign, trainer of the steeds<sup>17</sup> of the king, ardent cultivator<sup>18</sup> of the stable<sup>19</sup>. The old man who doeth like him<sup>20</sup> is beaten(?)<sup>21</sup>. He

1) *Ndnd-rī* only here; perhaps read *nd-rī*, as the *Petrie Ostrakon* (*O. P.*) may have had; cf. too (*Lit. Texts*) p. 4, l. 6. 7.

2) The goddess of writing.

3) Thoth of Hermopolis Magna.

4) Variant *O. P.* "his hall".

5) *O. P.* obviously better "teacher of subordinates".

6) *O. P.* continues differently thus: "[skilled in(?)] his profession; knowing the secrets of heaven and earth . . . .; there is none who repels(?) . . . . in writing. First of his fellows in the midst of his neighbours; chief of his contemporaries, they are not equal [to him]; teacher of subordinates in the office of writing; his merit is proved in every stripling. Lamp . . . ." (end).

7) Literally: "one makes sure of him for every stripling", i. e. he is a successful teacher of the young; *iri mn m* cf. WEILL, *Sinai* 63,5. In *O. P.* this sentence more appropriately follows *sb3y n hrw-<sup>1</sup>*.

8) That *pr hr d-tf* is not to be taken with *hunw nb* ("every stripling who passes through his hands") seems probable from *O. P.* *Hr* should perhaps be omitted.

9) *ip d-t* "to apprehend, take stock of (one's own) body", an Egyptian phrase for "to have one's wits about one", cf. *Pyr.* 2084; *Leiden* V 93; *Urk.* IV 160. — The preposition *hr* is superfluous.

10) Emend *hr-s* referring to *s3r-t?*

11) The reading *iti* is rather uncertain.

12) Reading *sphr*, cf. 12, 1.

13) *'Im-t*, *3bw-t* "charm of appearance" "loveliness of appearance"; cf. esp. *Anast. III* 4,12; *Ostr. Brit.*

*Mus.* 29549. — *Twt*, a rare adjective meaning "pleasant" "delightful" or the like, cf. *Cairo, Hymn to Amon* 11,2; *twt h3-t*, epithet of Ptah, *MAR., Dend.* I 39c. 71; II 57d: *twt kd* epithet of Osiris, *ROCHEM., Edfoy* I 15, 37; I 317.

14) *Mi ir-sn*, cf. *Ostr. Brit. Mus.* 29549.

15) Variant *Ostr. Bibl. Nat. (O. B. N.)* "all that goes out over his limb (read "lip") is mixed with honey."

16) *Mri*, cf. BURCHARDT, *Altkanaanäische Fremdworte* (henceforth cited as BURCH.) no. 466.

17) *Shpr*, cf. *p ih n shpr*, PIEHL, *Inscr.* III 45. *Njrw*, wrongly determined in *Anast. I*; cf. *Piankhi* 64; *O. B. N.* variant *hri*.

18) *Mnti* cf. *Sall. II* 4, 9; *Pap. Turin* 147, col. 2, 12, and possibly *Pap. Kahun* 14, 5; here metaphorically.

19) Variant *O. B. N.* "excellent cultivator of his position."

20) An obscure phrase thus to be rendered literally; sense perhaps "outstripping all his olde colleagues".

21) *O. B. N.*, supported in part by the Brussels ostrakon, continues as follows: — "*wēb*-priest of Sekhme, excellent (?) beyond (?) men of the future (?); directing the two limits of time according to their needs(?); over the secrets of the horizons; keen in converse, never yielding (?); servant of *Wsrī*, admitted to sacred ground; not revealing (?) what he knows to the *H3w-nb*; *wēb*-priest of Sekhme, Hori son of Onnofre."

who looses the yoke, [Hori] son of Onnofre of the region of Abydos, island<sup>1</sup> of the just; born of Tewosre in the district of Belbeis<sup>2</sup>, singer of Ubast in *Sh[ut]-[utr]*<sup>3</sup>.

## II. He sends greetings to his friend, the scribe Amenemope.

He greets his friend, his excellent brother, the royal scribe in command of the victorious army<sup>4</sup>; noble of parts, goodly of qualities, adept in knowledge; who has not his equal in any scribe. Beloved of all men; beautiful to him  
2,5 who beholds his charm; like a flower of the marshes in the heart of others<sup>5</sup>. A scribe (writing) in every style(?)<sup>6</sup>; there is nothing that he does not know. Men inquire after his response in quest of choice words. Keen of wit<sup>7</sup>, patient of heart, loving mankind; rejoicing at deeds of Justice, he turns his back upon iniquity. (The scribe of steeds(?) . . . . . Amenemope, son of the steward Mose, the revered.)<sup>8</sup>

## III. Wishes for the welfare of the friend.

Mayest thou live and prosper and be hale, my excellent brother, well-equipped, strongly-established, without a wish; thy needs of life and of sustenance satisfied, joy and delight united in thy path. May (. . . . .<sup>9</sup>) come forth for  
3,1 thee in thy lifetime, and his(?) gate(?)<sup>10</sup> decay not; mayest thou see the rays of the sun and sate thyself with him; mayest thou pass [thy] term . . . . . thy gods pleased with thee<sup>11</sup>, not being wroth . . . . .; may thy reward be . . . . . after old age, thy love<sup>12</sup>(?) in the hearts of(?) the Just; mayest thou enter into thy tomb in the holy [ground] and mix with the noble spirits; mayest thou be judged among them and be acquitted in Busiris before Onnofre, being established in Abydos in the presence of Shu-Onūris<sup>13</sup>; mayest thou cross [to  
3,5 U-peqer]<sup>14</sup> in the train of the god<sup>15</sup>; mayest thou traverse the divine region in

1) For *tw mš'tw*, an epithet of Abydos, see below p. 15, l. 5; *Harhotep* 93. 506; *Toib. ed. Nav.*, 17, 24.

2) *Brs-t*, Belbeis on the border of the desert in the Bubastite nome, see NAVILLE, *Mound of the Jew* p. 22. 23.

3) The region of Bubastis, cf. BR., *Dict. Géogr.* 381; *Proc. S. B. A.* 13, 36.

4) The name of Hori's rival was read *Nht-stp* by ERMAN; the version of *O. B. N.* finally disproves this view. For *mš' nht* cf. below 17, 3; *Anast. II* 5, 1; *Urk.* IV 654. 659, there varying with *mš' n nhtw*, 654. 655.

5) Variant *O. B. N.*: — "Beloved of all men, without fault, charming, pleasant and praiseworthy (?) in the sight of others."

6) *M tw nb* "of all sorts", cf. *Koller* 4, 7; *Harris I* 72, 5; *Rec. de Trav.* 30, 216.

7) This and the following epithets are lacking in *O. B. N.*

8) Restored from *O. B. N.*

9) The name of a god (e. g. Nepri) must be supplied.

10) For this word cf. *Anast. III*, 5, 2; instead of "his" it is just possible to read "thy".

11) *Htp m'*, cf. *Anast. III* 4, 8.

12) Read *mr-t* for *mrh* (?). But *h3t-t* might be read *h3t-t* "finest oil"; then the sentence would read "thy oil being of the best [like(?)] the Just(?)".

13) Elsewhere always "Onuris-Shu"; he was "the son of Re" "with the high plumes" "lord of Thisin".

14) *W-pk(r)*, the burial-place of Osiris in Abydos, see SCHÄFER's article *A. Z.* 41 (1904), 107—110.

15) The ostracon in Queen's College, Oxford (*O. Q. C.*) here inserts: "mayest thou eat (?) bread and herbs (?) in the Region of Food (*i3-t df3*); may there be presented to thee offering-loaves made beside (the god?), besprinkled from the two *d3r-t* vases with the water of *T3w-wr*".

the train of Sokaris; mayest thou join the crew of the Neshmet bark<sup>1</sup>, without being turned back; mayest thou see the sun in heaven when he opens the year; may Anubis attach for thee thy head to thy bones<sup>2</sup>; mayest thou come forth from the Hidden Place<sup>3</sup>, without being destroyed; mayest thou [behold] the sheen<sup>4</sup> in the Netherworld as it passes by thee; may Nun<sup>5</sup> be abundant in thy domain, may he inundate thy path, may he overflow (the land to) seven ells (depth) beside thy tomb<sup>6</sup>; mayest thou sit at the river's brink in thy moment of repose; 4.1 mayest thou lave thy face and thy hand; mayest thou receive offerings; may thy nose inhale<sup>7</sup> the breeze; mayest thou relax thy throat; the clothes of Tayt(?)<sup>8</sup> . . . . .; may Nepri give thee bread, and Hathor beer<sup>9</sup>; mayest thou suck at the breast of the Cow *Sh3yt-Hr*<sup>10</sup>; may the best oils(?) be opened for(?) thee<sup>11</sup>; mayest thou enter . . . . ., mayest thou set him on his seat; may the Ushebti-figures receive thee(?) . . . . . carrying sand from the East to the West; mayest thou . . . . .<sup>12</sup> [the goddess in] thy sycamore, may she moisten thy throat; mayest thou repel [thy enemies(?); mayest thou be powerful(?)<sup>13</sup> on] earth, mayest thou be bright<sup>14</sup> . . . . ., mayest thou be justified in heaven<sup>15</sup> . . . . .; mayest thou descend to the . . . . ., without being 4.5 destroyed; mayest thou make thy transformations as thou listest like the Phoenix, every form of thine being a god when thou . . . . .

#### IV. Reception of a letter from Amenemope. *h h h h i*

Another topic. Thy letter reached me in an hour of leisure<sup>16</sup>. Thy messenger found me<sup>17</sup> as I sat beside the horse which is in my charge. I rejoiced

1) The boat of Osiris; CHASSINAT has given a good collection of references *Rec. de Trav.* 16, 121.

2) O. Q. C. adds: "mayest thou be pure, may thy flesh become divine before the brothers Horus and Seth, may Thoth and Harakhti(?) carry thy soul aloft."

3) *W-immn* only here; a name for the place of embalmment.

4) I. e. the sheen of the sun in his nightly journey through the Netherworld. *W(3)w(3w)*, see BR., *Wörterb.* 324; PIEHL, *Inscr.* I 118.

5) Nun is the god of the waters; *Nwt* in *Anast. I* is a wrong reading, as the suffix of *ihb-f* shows.

6) The "water of 7 ells (depth)" seems to have been proverbial, cf. *Anast. IV* 1b, 8.

7) For *hnm* in *Anast. I* the duplicate O. Q. C. has the rare verb *hnp(i)* "to breathe"; cf. *Rec. de Trav.* 27, 29; good examples in the Theban tomb of *Nbwunnf* (unpublished).

8) The goddess of weaving.

9) Nepri is the corn-god; for the connection

of Hathor with beer, cf. *Destruction of Mankind* (Sethos) 23.

10) *Snk m mnd* "to suck at the breast" cf. *Pap. Leiden* 343, recto 6, 11; "to suckle at the breast" *Urk. IV* 237. 239; and for the cow *Sh3yt-Hr* in this context cf. *Pyr.* 1375; CAPART, *Recueil* I 48.

11) Very doubtful; read *wn nk* instead of *wn-k n* (?).

12) *Šfd* "to grasp" occurs once on a *M. K.* coffin (*A. Z.* 47 [1910], 101); here meaning and construction are obscure.

13) Read *wsr-k* (?).

14) It is tempting to find in this damaged passage a variation of the common formula "mayest thou be bright (*i3h-k*) in heaven, mayest thou be powerful on earth, mayest thou be justified in the netherworld". In this case the spelling of *i3h-k* here would need some alteration.

15) One expects *dw3-t*; see last note.

16) Lit. "of resting for a while".

17) For *gm-i* "I found" emend *gm-wi* "found me" cf. *Sinuhe* R 19.

and was glad, I made ready to reply<sup>1</sup>. I entered into my stable<sup>2</sup> to examine thy letter. I found it consisted neither of praises nor of insults<sup>3</sup>. Thy utterances confuse this with that, all thy words are perverted, they are not coherent<sup>4</sup>. All thy writing is . . . . . mixing(?) [evil things] with choice, the best with . . . . . Thy sayings are [not(?)] sweet; they are not bitter. . . . . with honey; thou dost excel must mingled with un-mellowed wine<sup>5</sup>.

## V. The way in which Amenemope wrote his letter is described<sup>6</sup>.

I [send] to thee and bear witness unto thee like . . . . ., but not excellent(?). As for me, when [I] say [to] thee . . . . . speak coolly(?)<sup>7</sup>. Thy speeches . . . . . perturbed(?), to frighten me(?)<sup>8</sup>. But I feel no awe before thee, I know thy nature, I feel sure<sup>9</sup> that thou wilt answer it<sup>10</sup> alone by thyself<sup>11</sup>. But lo<sup>12</sup>, thy protectors<sup>13</sup> stand behind thee; thou hast assembled many . . . . . of(?) helpers<sup>14</sup> such as thou wouldst <collect(?)> for a bench of judges<sup>15</sup>. Thy looks are troubled, whilst thou standest coaxing the assistants(?)<sup>16</sup> and saying: "Come (join) with me and lend a hand to me!" Thou

1) *Hr r*, cf. especially R., I. H. 227, 62. — *Hsf* "to answer" a letter (*š<sup>c</sup>-t*), clear in *Pap. Leiden* 365 verso 3; 367, 6. Cf. too *Leipzig ostrakon* 5, verso; below 5, 5; 7, 4; 28, 5.

2) *Šmm-t* has more than one meaning: (1) "stable" cf. *Piankhi* 109. 113. 114; 'š n šmm(-t), a title, *Sall.* I 4, 10; (2) "granary", certain from *Pap. Turin* 51, 4 (fem.); cf. also *Pap. Turin* 100, 5. 7; 157, 3 (masc.); (3) as part(?) of a magazine full of sand employed in the erection of a colossus, below 16, 8.

3) The sense of *šhwri* as "insults" "offensive words" is fixed by 8, 2 and by *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 198, 2, recto 4; 6, 2 below is very obscure.

4) *Ṭs* lit., "tied" "connected".

5) *Pwr*, a kind of wine drunk by the servants cf. *Anast. IV* 16, 1 = *Anast. III* 8, 2; together with *trp* and *šdh*, *Anast. IV* 7, 4; in the *Golenischeff Vocabulary* (7, 7) next to *hmd* "vinegar".

6) No new paragraph is marked in the original, but I have indicated one in the translation, since the writer here passes on to review the way in which he imagines Amenemope must have written his letter. The first sentences are utterly obscure owing to the lacunae. Hori finds to his surprise that Amenemope has taken other scribes to help him with his writing, having won their assistance by giving them presents. From 6, 3 and the following lines it appears that Amenemope's letter was in some way concerned with the fetching of grain from the granary for the rations of the soldiers; here too Amenemope had proved his incompetence, his accounts being confused and inexact. The last sentences of the section are difficult to understand.

Gardiner.

7) *Kb*, lit. "cool"; "coolly" occurs in several obscure sentences in *Anast. I*. Almost certainly "vain", "meaningless" in 13, 1. Sense doubtful here and in 7, 2. In 28, 8 probably "dispassionately".

8) [*Šr*]*šr*(?), cf. *šr*[*šr*](?) 5, 8, a mere guess. — *R sndw-t*, cf. 11, 4, lit. perhaps "for my fear".

9) *'Tb* "to believe", "imagine", again below 24, 8; also *Shipwrecked Sailor* 58; perhaps already QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara* III p. 83, l. 10 (O. K.).

10) *Hsf*, see n. 1 on this page. The suffix refers to *š<sup>c</sup>-t* "the letter".

11) *Hr tp-k*, cf. 7, 6; *Sall. III* 8, 7; rather differently 5, 7 end.

12) The author's expectations are deceived; Amenemope gets others to help him with his letter.

13) Read *m'wnf*, as is hinted by the variant of the *Louvre Ostrakon* to 9, 1. For the word, which in late texts is parallel to *nhy* and *nd*, both of them meaning "protector", cf. *Stut* 3, 3; *Millingen* 2, 2; *Rec. de Trav.* 4, 131; *Piankhi* 124; *Goshen* 2, 1; *ROCHEM.*, *Edjou* I 278. 280. 542; II 39. 47.

14) *Kpw* is a word used for men who, together with *wh'w*, bring tribute of wild fowl *Harris I* 12 b, 6; 32 b, 9; 69, 8; the title 'š n *kpw*, *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 203, 4. 5. 6 (= SPIEGELBERG, *Rechnungen*). — For 'dr, in Hebrew דָּר, see the references BURCH. no. 303.

15) The sense may be guessed to be "thou hast enough helpers to compose a whole bench of judges in a court of justice". A verb is perhaps lost after *lwk*.

16) *Psdý* again in 9, 2, and in the plural *ny-w psdy* parallel to *ny-w 'dr* "their helpers" in an obscure context *Petrie Ostrakon* 6 (a fragmentary hymn to Amon).

presentest them with gifts<sup>1</sup>, each man separately, and they say to thee: "Take heart, we will overcome him"<sup>2</sup>. Thou standest perturbed(?)<sup>3</sup> . . . . . before  
 6,1 them(?); and they sit deliberating, the six scribes. Thou hastenest with them  
 . . . . . seven(?)<sup>4</sup>. Thou givest two sections(?)<sup>5</sup> in charge to  
each man, and completest thy letter again. [One] (scribe speaks[?]) praises, two  
(utter[?]) insults(?)<sup>6</sup>. Another(?)<sup>7</sup> stands and examines them according to the rules.  
 [The fifth] says: "Do not hurry, be patient about it in making (it) perfect". The  
 sixth<sup>8</sup> hastens to measure the [corn(?)<sup>9</sup>]; he exerts himself(?)<sup>10</sup> to have it delivered<sup>11</sup>.  
 6,5 The seventh stands at (his) side in the act of receiving the rations for the soldiers.  
 Thy lists<sup>12</sup> are confused, and cannot be made right. Kharof<sup>13</sup> plays the deaf  
 man and will not hearken. He takes an oath by Ptah<sup>14</sup> saying: "I will not let  
 the seal<sup>15</sup> be set upon the granary". He goes forth in a rage<sup>16</sup>. By what  
 (number) of bushels is one short(?)<sup>17</sup>? (What[?]) is the loss of pints in it for  
 every measure<sup>18</sup>? Behold<sup>19</sup> thou art a scribe in command of the army. Men  
 7,1 hearken to what thou sayest, thou art not disregarded<sup>20</sup>! Thou art clever as a  
 scribe, there is nothing thou dost not know! Thy letter is deemed too second-

1) *Brk* is akin to the Hebrew ברכה, see BURCH. no. 360 for references.

2) I. e. probably Amenemope's rival, the author of the book.

3) See above p. 9\*, n. 8.

4) The sense may be "in order to get a seventh scribe". Without some such statement there would be a curious contradiction between the mention of the six scribes in the preceding sentence and the naming of a seventh below in 6, 4.

5) *Sd-t* is found again only in 7, 8; the sense may be "columns", "pages", "sections" (cf. the German "Spalte").

6) For *hsy* and *shwri* see above p. 9\*, n. 3; *hr* is possibly the common ellipse for *hr dd* (see ERMAN, *Aeg. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 380). The different kind of aid rendered by the seven scribes is here detailed. Three apparently assist in the actual composition of the letter, one suggesting complimentary things, and two supplying insulting or unpleasant phrases (cf. 4, 7, 8 for the mixed nature of Amenemope's letter). A fourth scribe contents himself with criticism, while a fifth is lavish of encouraging words. The sixth and seventh scribes busy themselves with the practical task connected with the letter (see p. 9\*, n. 6), namely the fetching of grain from the granary.

7) *P ky* "the other" must refer to the fourth scribe, but the presence of the definite article is disconcerting.

8) For the formation of ordinal numbers with prefixed *p-ni*, see SETHE in *A. Z.* 38 (1900), 144—145.

9) *R* at the end of the line should perhaps be omitted. *Šd-twf* in 6, 4 shows that a word for "corn" or the like is lost in the lacuna.

10) The sense is guessed.

11) *Šd* is shown by the *Pap. Rollin* (*Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 204, 205) and other documents to have been the technical term for "withdrawing" corn from the granary; *šp*, conversely, is the term for "receiving" it when withdrawn.

12) For *wp-wt* "specifications" see GRIFFITH in *Pap. Kahun* 9, 2 and my own note *Admonitions* p. 48.

13) *Hriw-f* is the pretended name of the superintendent of the granary.

14) Ptah is invoked as the "lord of Truth", cf. 8, 4.

15) *Ht* "a seal" (quite distinct from *htm* "signet-ring") cf. *Abbott* 5, 8; *Inscr. . . hier. Char.* 18, 6; *Pap. Turin* 51, 4; in demotic see SPIEGELBERG, *Petubastis*, index no. 314. The Turin passage well illustrates what is here meant. After the government granaries had been opened, the proper official closed them again with his own seal, this serving as a token that he had cognisance of the proceeding.

16) *Hdn* "to be angry", cf. below 28, 5; *Unamon* 1, x + 8; 2, 46; *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 198, 2, 4; *Max. d'Anii* 2, 5; *Pap. Brit. Mus.* 10335 (*Proc. S. B. A.* 10, 44).

17) *Gsb* may have a somewhat similar sense below 7, 1. The *Turin Ostrakon* (*O. T.*) has *tw-k gsb-tt* "art thou short" instead of *twtw gsb*.

18) This sentence is obscure grammatically. *Leipzig Ostrakon* 2 deals with a complaint of the workmen that the measure (*ip-t ome*) used for measuring their rations showed a shortage of pints (*hn-w*).

19) The next sentences, down to "disregarded" are wanting in *O. T.*

20) For *wn* "neglect" see SETHE, *Einsetzung des Veziers* p. 21, n. 90. These sentences are of course ironically meant.



rate(?)<sup>1</sup> to be listened to. Thou hast parted from(?) thy papyrus to no purpose<sup>2</sup>(??). Thou didst enter<sup>3</sup> knowing beforehand(?): "it is not good(?); do not(?)<sup>4</sup> cause it to be brought", saying: "the . . . . . are continually . . . . .<sup>5</sup> at my finger-ends(?), like a book of incantations(?) at the neck of a sick man<sup>6</sup>; it is continually . . . . ., it does not tire of being fastened by the thread<sup>7</sup> of my ring".

## VI. The author reproves Amenemope's discourtesy. *How's answer*

7,5 I reply to thee in like fashion<sup>8</sup>, in a letter newly (-composed) from the first word(?)<sup>9</sup>, down to the finis(?)<sup>10</sup>, filled with expressions of my lips invented by myself alone, none other being with me. By the might of Thoth<sup>11</sup>! I made it by myself, without summoning any scribe that he might help<sup>12</sup>. I will give thee more than(?)<sup>13</sup> twenty themes(?), I will repeat for thee what thou hast said, (every) theme in its place, (from) the fourteen columns(?)<sup>14</sup> <of> thy letter. Take for thyself(?)<sup>15</sup> a sheet of papyrus; I will tell thee many things, and will pour out for thee choice  
8,1 words<sup>16</sup>. — The Nile spreads abroad (its) flood when(?) the inundation season is bright(??); it takes possession of the meadows<sup>17</sup>. — All my words are sweet and pleasant in the saying(?)<sup>18</sup>; I do not act as thou dost when [I] invoke(?) thee. Thou startest with insults to me<sup>19</sup>; thou dost not salute me at the beginning of thy letter. Thy words are far from me, they do not come near (me); for Thoth,

1) *S-hri-<sup>c</sup>* seems to mean "to underestimate" (causative from *hri-<sup>c</sup>* "subordinate") in 8, 7; 17, 6. Here possibly "to think inferior". Obscure in *Pap. Turin* 146, 11.

2) Very uncertain. *Gsb-ti* (so *O. T.*) may mean "thou art bereft of", "short of", see p. 10\*, n. 17. For *kb* cf. p. 9\*, n. 7. — *O. T.* here adds an obscure sentence.

3) The final sentences of the section are exceedingly obscure, and my translation is merely tentative. What may be meant is that Amenemope, though aware of the inferior quality of his writing, yet boasts that he has his learning at his finger-tips, and that it clings to him as closely as the magical charm round the neck of a sick man.

4) Grammatically it would be also possible to translate "it is not good that thou shouldst not cause it to be brought", *tm-k* then being infinitive (see SETHE, *Verbum* II § 587. But this gives no sense. *Tm-k* may be the *sdm-f* form optatively used, a use perhaps confined to *Anast. I*; cf. 9, 7(?); 13, 4; 28, 7.

5) *B-g* and *w-t-m* are unknown words.

6) Charms were often hung around the necks of sufferers; compare for example the directions given in ERMAN, *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind* 1, 4; 8, 2; 9, 3. 7.

7) *Hs3*, in Coptic ϩωϥ, cf. *Harris I* 13b, 3; 21a, 8; 52b, 2. SPIEGELBERG gives an archaeological illustration *A. Z.* 44 (1907), 123.

8) Lit. "with the like of it", *scil.* of your letter.

9) A corrupt word.

10) *K-r*, only here.

11) Thoth is invoked as the patron deity of scribes.

12) The translation of the word *mtr* in this text often gives difficulty. The root meaning appears to be "to be present"; secondary meanings are "to bear witness", "to assist" (both in the English sense and in that of the French "assister") and even "to instruct".

13) *Di-t h3w n* elsewhere means "to surpass", but there are no instances of this sense with the name of a person after the preposition. The translation here given is doubtful; "more than" ought to be *h3w hr*, not *h3w m*.

14) *Sd-t*, see above p. 10\*, n. 5; the construction of these words is not clear.

15) One expects *i-mh-tw m* or *i-mh nk m*; see *Rec. de Trav.* 27, 205.

16) *Stp-w*, cf. 2, 6; 5, 1.

17) The simile here abruptly inserted clearly alludes to the copiousness of the writer's eloquence. — The construction of *bh 3h-t* is quite obscure. — *'Isd-t* cf. *Eloquent Peasant* B 1, 143; *Totb. ed. NAV.* 169, 5; L., *D.* III 140b, 8; *Dachel stele* 12; *MAR.*, *Dend.* I 61a.

18) *M dd* usually means "to wit", and introduces a quotation; this seems hardly to be possible here.

19) Lit. "thou dost begin against me with insults"; for *shwri* cf. p. 9\*, n. 3.

my god, is a shield about me. By the might of Ptah, the Lord of Truth, . . . . . Behold make thy words so that(?) they come to pass<sup>1</sup>; make  
 8,5 every utterance of thy mouth into every (kind of) enemy. (Yet[?]) shall I be  
 buried in Abydos [in] the abode<sup>2</sup> of my father; for I am the son of Truth in the  
 city of the Lord(?)<sup>3</sup> <of Truth>. I shall be buried among my compeers(?) in the hill of  
 the Sacred Land. Wherefore am I (as) a reprobate in thy heart? Then visit(?) it  
 (upon me[?])<sup>4</sup>. To whom have I recalled thee with an evil recalling?<sup>5</sup> I will make  
 for thee a volume<sup>6</sup> as a pleasant jest (so that) thou becomest the sport of  
 everybody<sup>7</sup>.

## VII. Amenemope vilifies the author and is answered.

Again thou sayest (concerning me<sup>8</sup>): "Feeble<sup>9</sup> of arm, strengthless one"! Thou dost undervalue<sup>10</sup> me as scribe, and sayest: "He knows nothing!" — I have  
 9,1 not<sup>11</sup> spent a moment beside thee coaxing thee and saying: "Be my protector<sup>12</sup>, someone is persecuting me<sup>13</sup>!" (By) the decree of the Victorious Lord, whose name is powerful, whose statutes are firmly-established like (those of) Thoth; I am the helper<sup>14</sup> of all my fellow-men! Thou sayest, "Thou fallest(?)", again(?) concerning me . . . . . I know<sup>15</sup> many men without strength, feeble of arm, weak of forearm, lacking in power. And (yet) they are rich in houses, in food and sustenance, and they speak no wish [concerning anything(?)]<sup>16</sup>. Come, let me tell to thee the

1) Note that *w3 r hpr* means "come to pass", not "are far from happening", see *Admonitions* p. 53. — If I grasp the drift of these sentences it is: "Do thy very worst, make thy words as hostile as thou wilt; yet thou canst not prevent my being buried in Abydos in the tomb of my father". It is significant that the name of the writer is Hori, and that of his father Onnofre. — The Louvre and Cailliaud ostraca (*O. L.* and *O. C.*) omit from "By the might of Ptah" down to "come to pass".

2) Variant *O. L.* and *O. C.* "tomb".

3) *Anast. I* has *n-t nb*, which can hardly here mean "every town"; I therefore take *nb* as "lord" and assume that *M3-t* has been erroneously omitted. *O. L.* and *O. C.* have "I am the son of Right (Truth) in the island of the Righteous" i. e. Abydos, see p. 7\*, n. 1.

4) Lit. "then thou bringest it". The ostraca have *wtsy-h wi*, which suggests a similar meaning; *wts* sometimes means "to inform against", "accuse", see ERMAN's note on *Westcar* 12, 23.

5) The text of the papyrus is corrupt; *O. L.* supplies the true reading and, together with *O. C.*, gives the variant "with evil words" for "with a bad recalling".

6) *Shry* seems to be the technical word for "a papyrus"; so *gsti hn' shr-t*, "palette and papyrus" *Decree of Haremheb*, 13; *shr-t n s'-t* "a papyrus-

letter" *Pap. Leiden* 369; *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 198, 1, 19; the same word too above 4, 8.

7) *O. L.* and *O. C.* substitute "people rejoice at reading it (*sdm* "to listen to" someone reading aloud, practically equivalent to our "to read") as it were a sport."

8) "Concerning me", so the ostraca.

9) Lit. "broken".

10) *Shri'*, see above p. 11\*, n. 1.

11) The ostraca have *n(3) ir-y* i. e. probably "have I spent?" — *n(3)* being the equivalent of *in*.

12) *Mwnf*, see above p. 9\*, n. 13.

13) Lit.: "another is hurting me". — *'I3d* "to persecute", "hurt", actively, cf. *Totb. ed. LEPS.*, 162, 3; *R., I. H.* 141, 21.

14) *Psdj*, see above p. 9\*, n. 16. The author seems to state that he was a helper of other men by royal appointment. The wit of this passage is not very intelligible to the Western mind.

15) Here begins a long descriptive passage where various persons with moral or physical defects are named, who yet have attained to wealth and dignities. The implication seems to be that Amenemope, the royal scribe, is only one grade better than them. SPIEGELBERG has dealt with the passage *A. Z.* 44 (1907), 123—125.

16) Cf. for example *Urk.* IV 61; here however there is not room for *r ht nb* in the lacuna.

9,5 likeness of the scribe Roy, who was called the firebrand(?)<sup>1</sup> of the granary. He never moved<sup>2</sup> and never ran since (the day of) his birth. He detested the work of an active man, and never (came to) know it. And (yet) he rests in the Amente, his skin whole, and the dread of the Good God<sup>3</sup> overtakes him not. Thou art more(?) foolish<sup>4</sup> than(?) Kasa, the reckoner of cattle<sup>5</sup>. Run(?), for(?) I will tell thee his likeness; do not(?) . . . . .<sup>6</sup>. Thou hast surely heard the name of Amen-wah-se, an old man in [the] Treasury. He passed his lifetime as controller in the workshop beside the armoury<sup>7</sup>. Come let me tell thee of Nakht,  
10,1 him of<sup>8</sup> the wine-store; he will please thee ten times better than these. Let me tell thee of P-har-pide<sup>9</sup> who lives in Heliopolis; [he is an old] man of the Palace. He is smaller <than><sup>10</sup> a cat, and bigger than an ape; he prospers in his house and . . . . ., (while[?]) thou wilt be here in the stable for ever(?)<sup>11</sup>. Thou hast heard the name of Ke-sop(?), the . . . . .(?)<sup>12</sup>, who moves over the ground unnoticed<sup>13</sup>, disorderly(?)<sup>14</sup> of attire and tightly swathed<sup>15</sup>. If thou wert to see him at evening in the darkness, thou wouldst fancy him a passing bird. Put  
10,5 him in the scale and see how heavy he is. He will come out<sup>16</sup> at ten pounds or even lighter still<sup>17</sup>. If thou blowest beside him as he passes, he will drop down far off like a leaf of foliage<sup>18</sup>. If I tell thee of Wah, him of the cattle-

1) *M-h*, a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον.

2) *Km(š)*, the Coptic *κίμ*, only here in late-Egyptian.

3) Lit. "the dread of the Good God did not take him away". "The Good God" is a constant epithet of the reigning Pharaoh. It is probably meant that this lazy official is now safe from the resentment of the king his master.

4) *Swg* is the Coptic *σοσ* "stultus", "insanus", see GRIFFITH, *Rylands Papyri*, p. 232 note 12 for the demotic equivalent. In late-Egyptian, cf. *swg-itwn ml špdw* "ye were senseless as geese", MAR., *Karnak* 52, 17; *nhn swg, twt it-f* "a witless child, without a father", *Metternich stele* 196. 170 (also 171. 201 not so clearly); *ms<sup>c</sup> swg* "a foolish expedition", *Unamon* 2, 23. 22. The comparative "more foolish" is here doubtful.

5) In the papyrus the verse-point precedes *p hsb-ihw* instead of following it; but as all the other names quoted in this passage are accompanied by titles, it is probably misplaced. *Hpt* perhaps imperative of the verb studied in BRUGSCH, *Wörterb.* 949; *Suppl.* 811.

6) *T-n(r)-h* an unknown word; *t-r-h*, differently spelt, occurs in the sentence "do not sin (? *t-r-h*) against (*m*) an aged man or woman when they are old" *Petrie Ostrakon* 11. BURCHARDT's identification with *חלן* "pardon" (no. 1155) gives no suitable sense.

7) *Hps*, cf. below 26, 4; *Anast.* IV 11, 2; elsewhere only in the titles "overseer of the workshop (*hm-t*) of the armoury of Pharaoh" *Pap. Bologna* 1094, 1, 3; and "scribe of the workshop of the armoury of Pharaoh" *ibid.* 1, 9; 3, 5; 4, 1; 5, 1; 7, 10.

8) *Ml nk*, abbreviated for *ml šdd-i nk*, cf. *Anast.* III 5, 9 = *Anast.* IV 9, 7; also *ml nk r*, *Florence Ostrakon* 2619 = *A. Z.* 17 (1880), 96. — *P-n* for *p(š)n* cf. below 10, 6; *p-n Ht3*, *Sall* III 4, 7. In a neuter sense *p-n šl nb* "every man's share" below 17, 7; *p-n 'Imnhpt* "the feast of Amethnes" *Ostr. Queen's Coll. Oxford*.

9) *P-hri-pdt* as proper name, cf. *Anast.* VII 7, 5; *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 204 col. 1, 11 (quoted by SPIEGELBERG).

10) Emend *r my*.

11) *R šw* is perhaps the equivalent of a *šwe* in Demotic; cf. *Pap. mag.* 13, 9; *I Kham.* 3, 33; *II Kham.* 2, 7; 6, 2. However THOMPSON points out that all the Dem. instances are in negative sentences. Another doubtful hieroglyphic example BR., *Grosse Oase* 16, 32.

12) *Š-h-k*, an unknown word.

13) The Berlin ostrakon (*O. B.*) shows how the ambiguously-written verb in *Anast. I* is to be understood.

14) *Š-(n)r-f*, only again in 24, 1—2; perhaps "to be ruffled", originally of hair.

15) *Bnd*, corruptly written *bdn* below 28, 3; cf. *Totb. ed.* LEPS. 163, 16; *Pap. Turin* 137, 8. *O. B.* has here the more appropriate determinatives.

16) *Pr*, cf. 11, 3; SPIEG. further quotes *Urk.* IV 119.

17) *Wiz-tw*, see my note *A. Z.* 47 (1910), 134—136.

18) *G3b* „leaf" is the Coptic *σωλε*, Boh. *αωλε*. *Dbw* is a rarer word with similar meaning, preserved in Sah. *τωολε* (SPIEG., *Rec. de Trav.* 26, 37).

stalls, thou wilt reward me with thrice refined(?) gold<sup>1</sup>. I swear by the Lord of Khmūn<sup>2</sup> and Nehem-awayt, thou art strong of arm, thou wilt overthrow them<sup>3</sup>. Let [them(?)] be examined, these(?) with those. I will smite them with my arm, [nor shall any turn(?)]<sup>4</sup> aside my hands. — Good Sir<sup>5</sup>, my friend, who dost not know what thou sayest, I solve thy riddles; arduous things I make easy!

### VIII. The writer mocks at Amenemope's pretended wisdom.

11,1 Thou art come furnished with great secrets. Thou tellest me a proverb of Hardedef<sup>6</sup>, and knowest not whether it be good or bad; what chapter comes before it . . . . .? Thou art one clever beyond his fellows; the lore of books is graven in thy heart. Felicitous is thy tongue; broad are thy words. One saying from thy mouth weighs more than three pounds. Thou . . . . .<sup>7</sup> to me in order to frighten me(?)<sup>8</sup>. My eyes are dazzled(?)<sup>9</sup> at what thou doest; I am 11,5 agape(?)<sup>10</sup> when thou sayest: "More profound<sup>11</sup> as scribe am I than heaven and earth and the netherworld; I know the (measure of the) mountains in pounds and in pints." The house of books is hidden, it is not seen<sup>12</sup>; its divine cycle is concealed and . . . . . Tell me what thou knowest (of them). Then shall I answer thee: "Beware lest thy fingers approach the hieroglyphs<sup>13</sup>". So say I: ". . . . . as when . . . . . sits to play draughts"<sup>14</sup>.

### IX. The writer vindicates his title to the name of scribe.

Thou sayest to me: "Thou art no scribe, thou art no soldier! Thou (alone) makest thyself out to be one in authority(?)<sup>15</sup>! Thou art not on the list<sup>16</sup>!" 12,1 — Thou (forsooth) art a scribe of the king, one who enrolls the soldiers. All the

1) *F3 m* "to reward with", cf. *d'Orbiney* 14, 8; 15, 5. — SPIEG. compares *nb n sp* 3, *Harris* I 78, 5.

2) I. e. Thoth, cf. 1, 2 and note thereon.

3) Sarcastic comfort seems here to be offered to Amenemope; such rivals at least as these he will be able to overcome.

4) Emend *nn srwi?* — The meaning of this sentence is very obscure.

5) *Mi-pw*, a mode of address found again below 14, 8; 18, 1; 26, 9; and *Anast. III* 4, 4. Doubtless rightly explained by PFEHL, *Proc. S. B. A.* 13, 239—240 as derived from *mi-pw* "who is it?" The word is used like the Arabic فلان.

6) A royal prince of the age of Mycerinus renowned for his wisdom and literary achievements. See ERMAN, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar* I 18—19.

7) *H-n(r)-f*, only here.

8) *R sndw-i*, cf. above 5, 4.

9) *Ddt*, unknown word.

10) *K-f*, only here; perhaps connected with the obscure word *g-f*, *Anast. V* 7, 2.

11) *Md* as verb, cf. *Piankhi* 72.

12) *Hf* is frequent in Greek times for "to see", e. g. MAR., *Dend.* I 43b; II 60c; in earlier texts here only.

13) In reality, the writer argues, Amenemope knows nothing of the profound mysteries into which he claims to have been initiated. He will therefore do well to refrain altogether from meddling with the hieroglyphs.

14) The last words of this passage (not understood by me when the text was autographed) should be emended to *hb' sn-i*, cf. *Toib. ed. NAV.*, 17, 2. The complexities of the art of letters are compared with those of the game of draughts.

15) For *iry-k tw m* "thou dost represent thyself as", cf. 20, 4, and the variant of *O. T.* to 6, 5. — It is very tempting to restore *ri-hri* after *m*, but the traces are against this.

16) *Hr 'wti*, see my *Inscription of Mes*, p. 17. — With the next words *hr mnk* Hori's rejoinder begins.

.....(?)<sup>1</sup> of heaven are open before thee. Haste thee to the place [of the]<sup>2</sup> books, that they may let thee see the chest with the [registers]<sup>3</sup>, taking an offering to *H-r-s*<sup>4</sup> that he may quickly disclose(?) to thee my(?) reputation<sup>5</sup>. Thou wilt find my name upon the roll as officer<sup>6</sup> of the great stable of Sese<sup>7</sup>-miamun. Thou wilt bear witness to the command in the stable (which I hold), for provisions(?)<sup>8</sup> are entered<sup>9</sup> in my name. So I have served as officer! So I have been a  
 12,5 scribe! There is no stripling of thy(?) generation who can measure himself with me<sup>10</sup>. Let a man inquire from his mother! Hie thee<sup>11</sup> to my superior officers, that they may declare to thee my reputation.

### X. An imaginary competition in which the writer's superiority is proved.

Again thou sayest concerning me: "A high . . . tree<sup>12</sup> is before thee; enter thou into the difficult(?) . . . . . tree; thou canst not do it!" Enter thou in before me, and I will come after thee. Admit(?)<sup>13</sup>, thou hast never approached it, nor canst thou(?) draw nigh to it<sup>14</sup>. If thou discoverest the inner part of it<sup>15</sup>, I have  
 13,1 retreated (still further). Beware of laying hands on me in order to pull me out.

### XI. The writer is again accused of being no true scribe.

Thou sayest to me: "In very sooth<sup>16</sup> thou art no scribe; it is a vain<sup>17</sup> and empty name. Thou bearest the palette wrongfully<sup>18</sup>, without being . . . . .<sup>19</sup>(?)" — I am foolish(?)<sup>20</sup> [and without a(?) teacher. Tell me(?) the . . . . .

1) A word for "secrets"(?); the determinative does not suit "gates".

2) Or *t s-t* [*s3w*] *s3w* "the place of the [keepers] of the books.

3) *'Imt-rnf* seems a fairly certain conjecture.

4) This name, which belongs to an imagined "keeper of the books", is not found elsewhere.

5) *Smi-i*, without the possessive article, is found below in 12, 6. The sentence might run; *wn-f nk 3[s]* [*hr*(?)] *p3i-i*(?) *smi*, but the construction and several words are doubtful. The sense however is obvious.

6) This title, of which the reading and the exact meaning are unknown, occurs in the *Golenischeff Vocabulary* (3, 10) between the "armour-bearer" (*3y h'w*) and the "groom" (*m-r-i*); for other instances see p. 21a, note 9m. Another hieroglyphic instance *Brit. Mus.* 321.

7) The shortened form of the name Rameses; the most recent discussion is that of VON CALICE, *A. Z.* 46 (1909), 111.

8) *D-r-w-t*, an unknown word.

9) Lit. "are in writing".

10) Emend *stn-f r hm-k* as in 28, 2; and cf. *it stn-f n hm-k* "who can compare himself to thy Majesty", MAR., *Abyd.* II 54, 11.

11) *'Ih*, cf. *Paheri* 5; NAV., *Deir-el-Bahari* 89; *Amherst Papyri* 20, IV; WIEDEMANN, *Aeg. Grab-*

*reliefs* . . . . . zu Karlsruhe 7; *Sphinx stele* 11; *Leipzig Ostrakon* 8.

12) It must be assumed that *h3rw*, if this be the original reading (see critical note), was the name of a lofty tree difficult to climb. Here there is a figurative competition between the two scribes, to see which of them can penetrate farthest into the midst of the tree (the branches?). In idiomatic English it might be said that they are trying to test which of them can get nearer "to the top of the tree". The artificiality of the long-sustained metaphor makes it difficult for a modern reader to appreciate.

13) *Hn* occurs several times thus obscurely before a negative, cf. *Anast. IV* 13, 1; MAR., *Karnak* 55, 77; the sense is not by any means certain.

14) These words are omitted in the *Turin Papyrus* (*P. T.*).

15) Lit. "if thou findest its interior". Variant *P. T.* "if thou art found in its interior".

16) *'I(w)n(3)*, Coptic ⲁⲛ, has here its original emphatic meaning, cf. *A. Z.* 41 (1904), 130.

17) *Ḳb*, see above p. 9\*, n. 7.

18) *M d3i(w)-t* only here; for *d3-t* see *A. Z.* 42 (1905), 58.

19) *Dn*, a difficult and rather uncertain word, cf. *Rec. de Trav.* 16, 129; *Leipzig Ostrakon* 23, recto.

20) *H-n* (*h3-in-lw*), cf. *Israel Stele* 14; possibly also R., *I. H.* 144, 46-47.

..... able to exhaust(?)<sup>1</sup> me(?). Thou dost harness<sup>2</sup> thyself against me yet again. Thy sayings do injustice; they will not be hearkened to. Let thy letters<sup>3</sup> be taken before Onūris<sup>4</sup>, that he may decide for us who is in the right; do not be angry<sup>5</sup>.

## XII. Two instances of the incompetence of Amenemope: in the supplying of rations for the troops, and in the building of a ramp.

13,5 Another topic. Behold I am come full of thy office; I cause thee to know how matters stand with thee<sup>6</sup> when thou sayest: "I am the scribe, commander of soldiers". There is given to thee a lake to dig. Thou comest to me to inquire concerning the giving of rations<sup>7</sup> to the soldiers, and sayest to me: "Reckon it out". Thou desertest thy office; the (task of) teaching thee to perform it falls upon my shoulders<sup>8</sup>. Come, I will tell thee more than thou hast said(?). I will cause thee to be abashed(?)<sup>9</sup>. I will disclose to thee a command of thy Lord, since thou art his royal scribe, (since) thou art despatched to convey<sup>10</sup> great monuments for Horus, the Lord of the Two Lands. For thou (in sooth) art the clever scribe who is at the head of the soldiers! — There is made<sup>11</sup> a ramp of 730 cubits, with a breadth of 55 cubits, consisting of 120 compartments(?), filled<sup>12</sup> with reeds<sup>13</sup> and beams, with a height of<sup>14</sup> 60 cubits at its summit, its

1) *Pnḥ* "to draw water", or "to bale" water out of a boat, the Coptic πωνη; cf. BORCHARDT, *Baug. d. Amonstempels* 41; *Eloquent Peasant* B 1, 94. 278; *Totb. ed.* NAV. 99, 24. Here probably in a metaphorical sense. The determinative in the papyrus seems to be borrowed from *pn*<sup>c</sup>.

2) Lit. "yokest thyself".

3) *P. T.* has the variant "my letters", which is perhaps better; Hori is rebutting an attack upon himself.

4) Onūris receives the epithet *wḏ<sup>c</sup> mḏ<sup>c</sup>-t* "adjudicating the truth" on a late stele *Leiden* VLDJ 4; and a Thinite temple mentioned in *Harris I* 57, 11; 61a, 3 bears the name "Rameses judging Truth (*wḏ<sup>c</sup> mḏ<sup>c</sup>-t*) in the house of Onūris".

5) For *tm-k* optatively, see p. 11\*, n. 4.

6) Lit. "I cause thee to know thy condition" (*shṛ*, "way", "plan", "condition").

7) The reading of this common word for "rations" (cf. 6, 4) is not yet established. Its sense cannot easily be connected that of the stem *spḏ*, and it appears to me almost certain that the word is a derivative of *dī* "to give", since the three hieroglyphic examples known to me (TYLOR, *Tomb of Sebeknekh* 7, 13 [collated]; *Urk.* IV 64; *Decree of Haremheb*, right side) write it with the old triangular sign for *dī*. SETHE however points out that the signs for *spḏ* and *dī* are occasionally interchanged in the 18th Dynasty, and quotes *Urk.* IV 240 as an instance.

8) *Hṛ nhbt-t* "upon my neck"; in the same metaphorical sense cf. NEWBERRY, *Rekhmara* 2, 12.

9) *H-n(r)-g* only here with the determinative of evil; with that of weariness, cf. "there is none who drives his horses(?) into his neighbourhood; every land is abashed (? *hn(r)g*) by his power (*m kḏ-f*)" DE MORGAN, *Cat. d. Mon.* I 7 (I owe the example to M. DÉVAUD). Whether this word is akin to *hḏg*, *h-r-g* "to be pleased", "content", is not clear; for the latter cf. *Rifeh*, *tomb* 7, 10. 26; MAR., *Abyd.* I 29; ROCHEM., *Edjou* I 74; cf. ρλοσ and the reduplicated form *hḏgḏg*.

10) *P. T.* reads "thou art sent beneath the (Royal) balcony with regard to all kinds of goodly works, (when) the mountains are disgorging (read *hr ḥ<sup>c</sup>*, cf. *Hood* 1, 2) great monuments" etc.

11) At this point there begins the description of one of three engineering problems by which Amenemope's vaunted skill is to be put to the test and proved non-existent. The technical details are discussed in the Appendix that follows the translation.

12) *Anast. I* rightly *mḥ*, masculine, agreeing with *stḏ*; *P. T.* *mḥ-tt*, which could only agree with *r-g-t*. "Filled" here means "provided with", "containing"; the literal sense must not be too closely pressed.

13) *G-ḏ*, in Coptic ραυ (the exceptional equivalence *g = ρ* should be noted), cf. *Anast. IV* 1b, 3; 13, 11; 14, 7 (= *Koller* 5, 8); *Harris I* 19b, 10; 72, 1; MAR., *Dend.* IV 39, 151.

14) *M hy* "with a height of", followed by a genitive, cf. *Harris I* 59, 2.

middle of 30 cubits, its batter(?) 15 cubits, its base(?) of 5 cubits. The quantity of bricks needed for it is asked of the commander of the army. All the scribes  
 14,5 together lack knowledge among them(?). They put their faith<sup>1</sup> in thee, all of them, saying: "Thou art a clever scribe<sup>2</sup>, my friend! Decide for us quickly! Behold thy name is famous; let one be found in this place (able) to magnify<sup>3</sup> the other thirty! Let it not be said of thee that there is aught that thou dost not know! Answer us (as to) the quantity of bricks needed! Behold its measurements(?)<sup>4</sup> are before thee; each one of its compartments(?) is of 30 cubits (long) and 7 cubits broad"<sup>5</sup>.

### XIII. Amenemope is unable to determine the number of men required in the transport of an obelisk of given dimensions.

15,1 Come, good sir, vigilant scribe, who art at the head of the army, distinguished when thou standest at the great Palace-gates, comely when thou bowest down beneath the Balcony<sup>6</sup>! A despatch has come from the crown-prince<sup>7</sup> at *R'-k3*<sup>8</sup> to rejoice the heart of the Horus of Gold, to extol(?) the raging Lion(?)<sup>9</sup>, telling that an obelisk<sup>10</sup> has been newly made, graven with the name of His Majesty, of 110 cubits in length of shaft; its pedestal 10 cubits (square), the block at its base making 7 cubits in every direction; it goes in a slope(?) towards the  
 15,5 summit(?), one cubit and one finger(?); its pyramidion one cubit in height, its point(?) (measuring) two fingers. Add them together(?) so as to make them into a list(?)<sup>11</sup>, so that thou mayest appoint every man needed to(?) drag them, and send them to the Red Mountain<sup>12</sup>. Behold, they are waiting for

1) *Mh tb* only here exactly in this sense; but the phrase is used of having confidence in something asserted or believed; see my *Inscription of Mes* p. 15, n. 23.

2) Variant *P. T.* "thou art keen of wit".

3) I. e. able, by solving the problem, to save the reputation of his colleagues. — *Gm* with object, closely followed by *r* with an infinitive, is an idiom with various slight shades of meaning e. g. "to find someone able", "ready", "competent" to do something. Cf. below 23, 2; 28, 8; *Pap. Leiden* 370, recto 16; *Anast. V* 9, 4; 17, 7; *Turin Lovesongs* 1, 14.

4) *Htlw* might mean either (1) "pedestals", "steps", or (2) "threshing-floors"; neither of these senses is here suitable. What we clearly need is a word for "measurements", and perhaps the original reading was *ny-f h3y* "its measurements"; for *h3y* cf. *DARESSY, Ostraca* 25262 (Cairo); *Pap. Turin* 71, 1 (omitted in facsimile).

5) Amenemope makes no answer, and the subject is dismissed in silence.

6) *S3d*, *ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲩⲓ* *fenestra*; see HÖLSCHER, *Das hohe Tor von Medinet Habu*, p. 49—50 for a good archaeological illustration.

7) *Rp'ti* in the New Kingdom is as a rule the designation of the Crown-prince; convincing examples are *d'Orbiney* 19, 2, 6; *Harris I* 42, 8; *Pap. Turin* 17, 1, 102, 2, 9; *Inscr. d3dic.* 44.

8) *R'* probably here means "district of" or the like. A canal or branch of the Nile named *K3* is mentioned on several wine-jars from the Ramesseum, viz. SPIEGELBERG, *Hier. Ostr.* nos. 209. 217. 218. 269. 289. 292. In the last-quoted instance *K3* is connected with "the water of Ptah", which is found in a list of canals etc. appended to the Catalogue of Lower Egyptian nomes (see BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géogr.* 239); but that the word *h3* in the same list (*op. cit.* 1271) is no geographical name seems fairly clear. For the location of *K3* note that the Red Mountain is implied in 15, 6 to have been the quarry where the obelisk was made; this is the Gebel Aḥmar near Cairo, see my *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, on B 14—15.

9) I. e. the Pharaoh. Probably we should read *r swh m3l n3n*; for *swh* with a direct object see *Admonitions* p. 28.

10) For the technical words see the Appendix.

11) A very difficult and uncertain sentence.

12) See above n. 8.

[them]<sup>1</sup>. Prepare(?) the way for(?) the crown-prince *Ms-ʔtn*. Approach(?)<sup>2</sup> and decide for us the number of men who (shall go) before him. Let them not have to write again! The monument (lies ready) in the quarry. Answer quickly, do not dawdle<sup>3</sup>! Behold thou art seeking them<sup>4</sup> for thyself! Get thee on<sup>5</sup>! Behold  
 16,1 thou art bestirring thyself(?)<sup>6</sup>. I cause thee to rejoice; I used formerly to . . . . .  
 like thee. Let us join the fray together<sup>7</sup>, for my heart is tried, my fingers are apt and clever<sup>8</sup> when thou goest astray. Get thee (onwards)<sup>9</sup>! Do not weep! Thy helper<sup>10</sup> stands behind thee! I will cause thee to say: "There is a royal scribe with the Horus, the Victorious Bull", and thou shalt order men to make chests into which to put letters<sup>11</sup>. I would have written for thee stealthily(?)<sup>12</sup>,  
 16,5 but(?) behold thou art seeking it for thyself<sup>13</sup>. Thou settest my fingers . . . . .<sup>14</sup>  
 like a bull at a festival at every festival of . . . . .

#### XIV. Amenemope proves himself incapable of supervising the erection of a colossus.

It is said to thee: "Empty<sup>15</sup> the magazine that has been loaded with sand under the monument of thy Lord which has been brought from the Red Mountain. It makes 30 cubits stretched upon the ground, and 20 cubits in breadth, . . . . .  
 -ed with 100(?) chambers<sup>16</sup> filled with sand from the river-bank. The . . . . .  
 of its(?) chambers have a breadth of 44(?) cubits and a height of 50 cubits, all  
 17,1 of them, . . . . . in their . . . . ."<sup>17</sup> Thou art commanded to find out what is before (the Pharaoh)(?)<sup>18</sup>. How many<sup>19</sup> men will (it take to) demolish

1) *Sin* (written like, but a totally different word from, *sin* "to hasten") means "to wait" cf. *Sinuhe* R 21; *Sphinx stele* 11; *sin n* "to wait for" cf. *d'Orbiney* 3, 1; *Anast. IV* 5, 1; *Pap. Turin* 136, 2; 68, col. 3, 3. 12; *Pap. Leiden* 345 verso G 4, 2. 3. 4. 7.

2) If the sentences are here rightly divided, *imi w3-t* must mean "prepare the way" for the crown-prince, who would be unable to start without the men who are to drag the obelisk from the quarry. But it is not certain that *hn* "approach" is here an imperative; *n* might be equivalent to *in*, and *hn* predicate "make way, the crown-prince approaches". But the meaning would then be very obscure.

3) *'Intnt* "to linger", "to hesitate", see *A. Z.* 45, (1908), 61.

4) Them, i. e. the number of men required; or, the solution of the problem.

5) *Ms* reflexively *Westcar* 10, 12; *Turin, statue of Haremheb* 15; *R., I. H.* 223 = *Sall. III* 7, 6; in the imperative as here, cf. *Pyr.* 586. 645. 1657; *ROCHEM., Edfou* II pl. 30 c; *L., D.* IV 57 a.

6) Read *ms-k tw(?)*; for similar corruptions see the critical note p. 36a, note 5f.

7) The writer appears to be offering his help, alleging that he himself was once in similar straits and

therefore knows how to cope with such difficulties. *Ts skw*, see *Admonitions* p. 20; *n sp* is the Coptic  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}$ .

8) Lit. "hear (understand) cleverness".

9) ERMAN rightly emends *ims-tw* as in 15, 8.

10) For *'dr* see above p. 9\*, n. 14.

11) The meaning perhaps is that Amenemope, having found a helper, not only loudly exclaims that Pharaoh possesses in himself a competent royal scribe, but even goes so far as to order the boxes into which his letters are to be put. — The suffix *-sn* makes it necessary to emend the plural *pdsw* "boxes".

12) *H-r-t-t* only here.

13) See above 15, 8, and n. 4 on this page.

14) *Nsns, ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*. Here again the sense is utterly obscure.

15) For the mode of erection contemplated see the Appendix.

16) *Šmm* see above p. 9\*, n. 2.

17) *D3y, twhw(?)* and *sg3* are unknown words.

18) It is hardly possible to translate differently, but my rendering gives no satisfactory sense. *M b3h* seems to be used in reference to ascertained dimensions in 14, 8.

19) *Wr*, Coptic  $\sigma\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ , cf. below 27, 8; *Anast. V* 20, 5; *Unamon* I, x + 15.



it<sup>1</sup> in six hours — (if[?])<sup>2</sup> apt are their minds(?), but small their desire to demolish it without there coming a pause when thou givest a rest<sup>3</sup> to the soldiers, that they may take their meal<sup>4</sup> — so that the monument may be established in its place? It is Pharaoh's desire to see it beautiful!

### XV. Amenemope fails to make proper provision for a military expedition.

O scribe, keen of <wit>, understanding of heart<sup>5</sup>, to whom nothing whatsoever is unknown, flame<sup>6</sup> in the darkness before the soldiers, giving light to them! Thou art sent on an expedition to Phoenicia(?)<sup>7</sup> at the head of the victorious army, in order to smite those rebels who are called Neârîn<sup>8</sup>. The troops of soldiers who are before thee amount to 1900; (of) Sherden 520(?), of Kehek 17,5 1600, of Meshwesh <100(?)><sup>9</sup>, Negroes making 880; total 5000 in all, not counting<sup>10</sup> their officers. A complimentary gift<sup>11</sup> has been brought for thee (and set) before thee, bread and cattle and wine. The number of men is too great for thee, the provision<sup>12</sup> (made) is too small for them: loaves of . . . . flour<sup>13</sup>, 300; cakes<sup>14</sup>, 1800; goats of various sorts, 120; wine, 30 (measures). The soldiers are too numerous, the provisions are underrated<sup>15</sup> as compared with(?) that which thou takest of them. Thou receivest(?) (them, and) they are placed in the camp. The soldiers are prepared and ready. Register them quickly, the share of<sup>16</sup> every man to his hand. The Beduins look on in secret<sup>17</sup>. O sapient scribe<sup>18</sup>, midday has come, the camp is hot. They say<sup>19</sup>: "It is time to start<sup>20</sup>! Do not make the commander<sup>21</sup> angry! Long is the march before us!" But I say: "What means it, that there is no(?) 18,1 bread at all<sup>22</sup>? Our night-quarters are far off! What means, good sir, this scour-

1) *Hm* doubtless originally "to demolish" a wall; "to force open" a tomb, cf. *Pap. Amherst* 2, 2; *Mayer B* 9; elsewhere chiefly metaphorically, e. g. *Pyr.* 311. Cf. Coptic *Σουζου* *confringere*.

2) The difficult words that follow seem to refer to the likelihood that the workers, though competent, will show themselves unwilling to work for six hours continuously without a break for a meal; in calculating the number of men required this factor must be taken into account.

3) *Rdît srf n*, *Sphinx stele* 6; *FRASER, Scarabs* 263, 14; *Decree of Haremheb* 25; *ibid.* right side 10; cf. *ⲉⲣⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲓⲁⲓ*.

4) The word 's only here.

5) *Wh' ib*, see *A. Z.* 45 (1909), 136.

6) For the metaphor cf. *L., D.* II 150a, 4 (Hamamat).

7) All translators have here emended *Rhn*, Hamamat, but the context demands the name of a well-known country in the direction of Syria. For my conjecture *D3ht* see the note on the reading p. 29a, note 1b.

8) *N'-r-n*, *ⲛⲉⲣⲓⲛ* "warriors", a sense that is found in the O. T. See *BURCH.* no. 559.

9) The Meshwesh and the Negroes are never

elsewhere linked together as the Ms. reading suggests; hence a number may have fallen out of the text. See p. 29a, note 4c.

10) *Wiz-tw*, see *A. Z.* 47 (1910), 134—136.

11) From the stem *ⲛⲉⲗⲓⲛ*; *BURCH.* no. 871.

12) *Nkt* "provisions", an exceptional sense of the word found again *Anast. IV* 13, 12.

13) *Kmh*, an ancient Egyptian word related to Hebrew *קמח*; *BURCH.* no. 984.

14) *'I-p-t*, from *ⲁⲡⲉ* "to bake", *BURCH.* no. 39.

15) *S-hri-*, see above p. 11\*, n. 1.

16) *P-n*, see above p. 13\*, n. 8.

17) *M t3w(t)*, Coptic *ⲙⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧⲓⲙ* *furtim*, cf. below 20, 4; *Anast. IV* 4, 11.

18) Two Semitic words, which in Hebrew would be *ⲛⲉⲣⲓ* *ⲓⲣⲉⲛ*.

19) The reading is uncertain; see p. 29a, note 16i.

20) *F3* "to start", cf. 20, 1.

21) *Ts pd-t*, cf. *MAR., Abydos* I 53; *Ros., Mon. Stor.* I 125.

22) *M kf* is elsewhere found at the end of negative sentences for emphasis (like *ⲓⲛ ⲁⲛ*), cf. 27, 3; *Anast. IV* 13, 5; *Anast. V* 7, 1; 17, 7. Hence the conjecture *bn* here.

ging of us? Nay, but thou art a clever scribe! Approach to give the food!<sup>1</sup> An hour<sup>3</sup> becomes(?) a day without the scribe from(?) the Ruler. (What means(?)) thy being brought to punish us? This is not good; let Mose<sup>3</sup> hear (of it), and he will send to destroy thee!"

Laureth thought  
this was Mose.

## XVI. Amenemope's ignorance of Northern Syria.

Thy letter abounds in pointed speeches(?)<sup>4</sup>, is overloaded with big words. Behold they will(?) reward thee with that which they demand(?)<sup>5</sup>; thou hast piled up (words) at thy good pleasure<sup>6</sup>. "I am a scribe, a Maher<sup>7</sup>", thou dost retort. 18,5 (If) there is truth in what thou sayest, say I<sup>8</sup>, come forth that thou mayest be tested. A horse is harnessed for thee, swift as the jackal red of ear<sup>9</sup>; it is like a storm of wind when it goes forth. Thou loosest the reins<sup>10</sup>, and seizest the bow. Let us see what thy hand will do! I will expound to thee the manner of a Maher, I will cause thee to see what he does. Thou hast not gone<sup>11</sup> to the land of Khatti; thou hast not beheld the land of Upe<sup>12</sup>. As for *H-d-m*, thou knowest

1) *Mkw* "food", cf. *Anast. IV* 13, 12; 17, 6; *Pap. Kahun* 40, 29; *Pap. Turin* 69, col. 1, 9.

2) The construction and the sense of the next two sentences are highly problematical.

3) In *Salt* 2, 18 the word *Msy* seems to be used as an appellation or nickname of the Pharaoh; so too perhaps here. — This is the passage in which LAURETH sought to find the name of Moses.

4) *N-s-k*, see BR., *Wörterb. Suppl.* 658, where the Coptic Λωκε "pungere" is compared. "Pointed sayings", "pungent sayings", seems a likelier meaning than "coupsures", the rendering of CHABAS, or "paragraphes", that of BRUGSCH.

5) This obscure sentence may possibly mean: thou hast piled up big words in a reckless manner, and must now accept from me the retort which they seem themselves to ask for. *Fk3* means "to reward" (to be distinguished from *fk3* "to pluck", see the note on *Koller* 2, 8); here perhaps *fk3-w tw* should be emended.

6) Lit. "as thou didst wish".

7) The word *m-h-r*, which is found frequently in the next pages of *Anastasi I* but nowhere else, must be the technical name given to the Egyptian emissary in Syria. The derivation from מְהַר "speedy" suggested by CHABAS (p. 81) is very uncertain, but has not been bettered. If "speedy" were the etymological sense one might expect the determinatives of movement. The determinative of the child, which in some instances precedes or replaces that of violent action, is borrowed from a word for "suckling" (cf. DE MORGAN, *Cat. des Mon.*, I 117, a 1; *Rec. de Trav.* 18, 162) that is itself derived from a word meaning "to provide with milk" discussed by PIEHL, *Sphinx* IV 12—14; thence too comes *mhr* "milkman" in *Hood* 2, 13 = *Golenischeff Vocabulary* 2, 12, where the

context and (in one case) the determinatives render the meaning certain.

8) 'In-n "I say" (lit. "we say") can stand either before or after the words quoted; after, cf. above 11, 7; *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 198, 2, 12; before, here 17, 8 and *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 198, 3, 16.

9) *Šrš* "to be swift", cf. *Urkunden* IV 697; *Pap. Turin* 26 col. 3, 6; late examples MAR., *Dend.* I 46b; III 28 h; 52 p; DÜM., *Geogr. Inscr.* IV 123. — The jackal as an image of speed, cf. L., *D.* III 195a. — It is not clear whether the epithet "red-eared" refers to the horse or the jackal.

10) *Hnr* "reins", see BURCH. no 727.

11) CHABAS translates this and the numerous sentences of similar type in the next pages interrogatively, "n'es-tu pas allé" "n'as-tu pas vu", etc. BRUGSCH rightly animadverts on this mistake in his article in the *Revue Critique*; though it must be admitted that the blending of the denials that Amenemope has ever been in Syria with the descriptions of what would have happened to him if he had been there is very misleading. The most conclusive evidence that the sentences in question are negative statements, intended, like many of the preceding sections, to demonstrate the ignorance of Amenemope, will be found in the clauses "thou answerest me neither good nor evil, thou renderest no report", 27, 2; "thou hast never trodden it at all (*m kfi*)", 27, 3; "thou hast never seen them since thy birth", 27, 7 (cf. 9, 5); notice particularly the italicized words. ERMAN (*Ägypten* 510 foll.) was mistaken in returning to CHABAS' view.

12) 'I-p is a land situated at the northern extremity of *H3rw* (Syria), Damascus being one of its towns. Identical with Ube of the Amarna letters, cf. E. MEYER, *Festschrift f. G. Ebers*, p. 71. See too KNUDITZON, *El-Amarna-Tafeln*, p. 1110—1111.

all identifiable place names are  
in the far north of Syria

not the nature of it, and *Y-g-d-y* in like manner<sup>1</sup>. What is the *D-m-r(?)*<sup>2</sup> of  
19,1 Sese like? On which side of it is the town of *H-r . . . . .*<sup>3</sup>? What is its  
stream<sup>4</sup> like? Thou hast never set forth to Kadesh<sup>5</sup> and to *D-b-ḥ*<sup>6</sup>. Thou  
hast not gone to the region of the Shosu with the troops of the army<sup>7</sup>. Thou  
hast [not] trodden the way to the *M-g-r*<sup>8</sup>, (where) the sky is dark by day, and  
it is overgrown with cypresses(?)<sup>9</sup> and oaks<sup>10</sup> and cedars that reach the heavens;  
(where) lions are more plenteous than leopards<sup>11</sup> and hyenas<sup>12(?)</sup>, and (it) is girt  
about with Shosu on (every) side. Thou hast not climbed the mountain of *Š-w*<sup>13</sup>.  
19,5 Thou hast not trodden (the road(?))<sup>14</sup>, thy hands placed upon . . . . . ,  
thy chariot worn<sup>15</sup> by ropes, thy horse being dragged(?). Prithee let [me tell  
thee of] . . . . . *-b-r-t*<sup>16(?)</sup>. Thou shrinkest from(?)<sup>17</sup> its ascent, and crossest its  
stream because of it(?). Thou beholdest how it tastes to be a Maher<sup>18</sup>! Thy  
chariot rests upon thy [shoulder(?)]<sup>19</sup>. Thy [assistant(?)] is worn out<sup>20</sup>. Thou makest

Simyra  
a little  
Sawa  
of the lake

1) Unknown localities.

2) M. MÜLLER (*O. L. Z.* I 382—3) reads "the *d-m-r* of Sese" i. e. of Rameses II; this he would separate from the Simyra near Arvad (*Urk.* IV 689), as too far north for a fortress of Rameses II, and accordingly he identifies it with the Šumur of the letters of Ribaddi, which WINCKLER conjectured to be much nearer to Byblos. The present tendency is to identify Šumur with Simyra, the modern Sumra on the Nahr el Kebir, rejecting WINCKLER'S view (see KNUDZON, *op. cit.* 1141). If *d-m-r* is the right reading, as is probable, it must be understood as Simyra.

3) CHABAS here read *H-r-b*; Aleppo, but wrongly; see p. 30a, note 171.

4) *Hd* is surely not "ford", but "stream" (BRUGSCH rightly "courant"); it is clearly derived from the verb "to flow down", "to sail downstream". Elsewhere only as name of a canal, *Berlin* 15393 (Saitic stele); MAR., *Dend.* I 66b.

5) Probably Kadesh on the Orontes; so MASPERO, *Rec. de Trav.* 19, 68—72, where the entire context is discussed. MAX MÜLLER rejects this view, perhaps only for the reason that Kadesh occurs again below 22, 4, and identifies Kadesh here with the Galilaeian town of that name, Kidša in the Amarna letters and perhaps the first name in Thutmosis III's Retenu list (*Urk.* IV 781); see *As. u. Eur.* 173. MASPERO'S theory is far preferable; all the identifiable names in this passage are in the far North of Syria.

6) *D-b-ḥ* (*Urk.* IV 781, 6) is טבח (*II Sam.* 8, 8, LXX), the *Tubihi* of the Amarna letters; probably a little S. of Damascus, see MAX MÜLLER, *Die Palästinaliste Th. III* p. 9

7) *Pd-t mš*, cf. 17, 4.

8) *P-m-g-r*, unknown; for suggested etymolo-

gies see MASPERO, *l. c.*; it is uncertain whether *p(š)* is here the article or not.

9) The wood of the tree '*wn-t* was used for making "staves" (טב) cf. *Mallet* I, 7; *Pap. Turin* 2, 9.

10) '*I-n(r)-n* "oak" יָזָע, BURCH. no. 76.

11) *R šby* should not be misread as *dšby*; this would be an impossible spelling for טב "bears", which MAX MÜLLER still upholds, *As. u. Eur.* 89.

12) *Htm-t* only here, below 20, 7, and in the very late text BRUGSCH, *Rec.* II 71, 4; in the last instance with a dog-like determinative. CHABAS unwarrantably identified *htm-t* and *ht-t*, צויתע. I retain the rendering "hyena" for want of a better.

13) *Š-w*, identified by MAX MÜLLER (*As. u. Eur.* 199) with a peak of the Lebanon called Saua in an inscription of Tiglat-pileasar. BURCHARDT considers this phonetically impossible.

14) Emend *bw dgs-k* (šw) or (wš-t).

15) *Šht* lit. "beaten".

16) *Hš-my* may be compared with *hšnš my* 27, 4. *My*, below 20, 8; 21, 5; 22, 1. 7; 27, 4, is clearly the enclitic particle discussed *Admonitions* p. 105. The place-name *-b-r-t* cannot be Berytus, as MASPERO would have it, on account of the unintelligible traces preceding, which must belong to the word.

17) *H-f-d*, here apparently an active verb with the meaning "to fly from something in terror", is doubtless the Hebrew פָּחַד; BURCH. no. 675 gives the word a wrong meaning. Perhaps in the sense "terror" "dreadfulness", CHAMP., *Mon.* 228 (collated).

18) Lit. "the taste of a Maher"; for the metaphor see *Admonitions* p. 41.

19) Sense perhaps: thou hast to support thy chariot.

20) *Whs*, cf. 25, 6; *Anast. III* 4, 3 (= *Anast. V* 9, 1 corrupt).

a halt in the evening<sup>1</sup>; all thy body is crushed and battered(?)<sup>2</sup>; thy [limbs] 20,1 are bruised(?)<sup>3</sup> . . . . . from sleep<sup>4</sup>. Thou wakest, and it is the hour for starting<sup>5</sup> in the drear(?) night. Thou art alone to harness (the horse); brother comes not to brother. A fugitive(?)<sup>6</sup> has entered into the camp. The horse has been let loose<sup>7</sup>. The . . . . . has turned back(?)<sup>8</sup> in the night. Thy clothes have been taken away. Thy groom has awoke in the night, and marked what he has done(?)<sup>9</sup>; he takes what remains and joins (the ranks of) the wicked, he mingles with the people of the Shosu and disguises himself<sup>10</sup> as an Asiatic. 20,5 The enemy comes to pillage<sup>11</sup> in secret. They find thee inert. Thou wakest up and findest no trace of them<sup>12</sup>; they have made away<sup>13</sup> with thy things. Thou art becoming a fully-equipped<sup>14</sup> Maher, thou fillest thy ear(?)<sup>15</sup>.

### XVII. The Phoenician cities.

I will tell thee of another mysterious city. Byblos<sup>16</sup> is its name; what is it like — and its(?) goddess, once again? Thou hast not trodden it. Come teach me<sup>17</sup> about Berytus<sup>18</sup>, and about Sidon<sup>19</sup> and Sarepta<sup>20</sup>. Where is the

1) Lit. "proceedest to stop"; for *spr* as an auxiliary verb cf. *Anast. IV* 9, 11; *Anast. V* 10, 7. — *Wh*<sup>c</sup> perhaps properly "to stop", "leave off" work, so *Paheri* 3; derivatively, "to return" from work, so *d'Orbiney* 4, 3; R., *I. H.* 248, 85; *wh*<sup>m</sup> *rw*<sup>h</sup>3 also, in a somewhat similar sense, *d'Orbiney* 4, 7; 13, 7.

2) *Hdh*, only here in this sense; cf. *Urk. IV* 710 for *hdhd* in a quite different sense.

3) *Wš(š)wš(š)*, cf. Boh. *ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲩⲱ*, properly "to bruise" "crush", cf. *Anast. IV* 9, 7 = *Anast. III* 5, 9; *Anast. V* 10, 7 = *Sall. I* 3, 9; derivatively "to break" "smash", see below 26, 1; then "to break open", *Mayer A*, recto 3, 4; unpublished *Turin papyrus* = SPIEG., *Zwei Beiträge*, p. 12.

4) I now believe that the word *tnm* (sic?) is on a misplaced fragment. The restoration of the passage is quite obscure.

5) *Fš* in this sense, see above 17, 8.

6) *N-h-r* elsewhere (R., *I. H.* 143, 41) means "to flee" and is probably connected with Semitic *נָהַר* "to flow". Here the feminine article *tš* is incomprehensible, and the sense is obscure.

7) *Tt* "to untie" "loose", cf. *Pap. Turin* 23, 6; 33, 9; 73, 10; *Israel stele* 6; *Harris 500* recto 4, 8; *Vatican Magical Pap.* = *A. Z.* 31 (1893), 122.

8) *Htht-(tw)*, the pseudoparticiple \**hethōt*; it is tempting to render "has been ransacked", comparing *ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲧ*: *ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲧ*, but no evidence for this meaning is forthcoming in late-Egyptian.

9) *'Ir-nf* can hardly be meant for "what has been done to him", cf. 18, 7; the sense is obscure.

10) See above p. 14\*, n. 15.

11) *Š(š)d(š)*, probably *שָׁדַד* "to be violent", "to violate", see BURCH. no. 893.

12) For "trace" cf. *Anast. V* 20, 4; obscure L., *D. III* 140d, 5.

13) *Rmn* only once again in this sense, *Urk. III* 106; cf. *mmn*.

14) *Sdbh* "to furnish" "equip", cf. *Anast. IV* 12, 6 = *Anast. V* 3; *Anast. IV* 13, 10 = *Koller* 5, 8; *Anast. IV* 16 verso, 6; *Harris I* 77, 9.

15) The *m* of *mh-k m msdr-k* is perhaps to be omitted; see *Koller* 3, 2. The sense may perhaps be: thou art listening attentively, and gradually acquiring the experience of a Maher.

16) For Byblos and its goddess Hathor see especially SETHE's article, *A. Z.* 45 (1908), 7—14. — The list of Phoenician towns is in correct geographical order from North to South.

17) *Mtr-i my r* also 21, 5; 22, 1, 7; the infinitive here probably replaces the imperative, see SETHE, *Verbum II* § 566. *Mtr r* "to instruct" someone about something, cf. *Anast. IV* 14, 8; *Decree of Haremheb*, right side, 5.

18) *B-r-t*, Berytus, *be-ru-ta* in the Amarna tablets; only here in Egyptian texts, see BURCH. no. 366.

19) *D-d-n*, Sidon, *צִידוֹן*, mentioned also *Unamon I*, x + 24.

20) *D-r-p-t*, *צִידוֹן*, *Σαρεπτα*, Sarpitu of the Taylor cylinder of Sennacherib, on the high road between Tyre and Sidon. In Egyptian only here.

21,1 stream of *N-t-n*<sup>1</sup>? What is *'I-t*<sup>2</sup> like? They tell of another city in the sea, Tyre-the-port<sup>3</sup> is its name. Water is taken over to it in boats, and it is richer in fishes than in sand.

*all known locations lie to the south of Carmel - exception of Hazor*

*- pun on hornets? 4/6/7*

**XVIII. Places further southwards.**

I will tell to thee another misery<sup>4</sup> — the crossing of *D-r-'m*<sup>5</sup>. Thou wilt say: "It burns more than a (hornet-)sting<sup>6</sup>!" How ill it goes with the Maher! Come, set me on the road southward to the region of Acco(?)<sup>7</sup>. Where is the road of Achshaph<sup>8</sup>? Beside(?) what city (does it pass)? Pray teach me about the mountain of *Wsr*<sup>9</sup>; what is its peak like? Where is the mountain of Shechem<sup>10</sup>? Who . . . . .? The Maher — where does he make the journey to Hazor<sup>11</sup>? What is its stream like? Put me (on) the route to *H-m-t*<sup>12</sup>, *D-g-r*<sup>9</sup> and *D-g-r-êl*<sup>1</sup>, the playground<sup>13</sup> of all Mahers. Pray teach me about his road. Make me behold *Y-'n* . . .<sup>9</sup>! If one is travelling to *'I-d-m-m*<sup>14</sup>, whither turns the face? Do not make (me(?)) withdraw(?)<sup>15</sup> from thy teaching, lead me(?) to know them!

*- Mt. Ebal*

1) The stream of *N-t-n* can only be the Nahr el Kasimiye, i. e. the lower courses of the Litâni, see MASPERO, *Hist. Anc.*, II p. 6, note 6; the identification of the name *N-t-n* with Litâni is however open to serious objections, see MAX MÜLLER, *As. u. Eur.* 185.

2) *'I-t* (BURCH. no. 190) is Uzu in the Tyrian series of the Amarna letters; ED. MEYER, *Encycl. Bibl.* col. 3733, accepts PRAŠEK's identification with Palaetyrus.

3) *D-r*, often in Egyptian (BURCH. no. 1227), is צר, Τύρος. The island of Tyre lies about a mile from the shore and lacks both water and vegetation. For the translation "Tyre-the-Port", see MAX MÜLLER, *As. u. Eur.* 185, note 1.

4) *tp-ksn* only here; but *tp* is used with various adjectives in a similar way, cf. *tp-nfr*, *tp-mtr*, *tp-w*, *tp-šw*.

5) The locality *D-r-'m* (the final *m* may well be a corruption of *n[š]*) is compared by MAX MÜLLER with צרקה Σαραα of *Judges* 18, 2; *Joshua* 19, 41, which was in Dan. This seems too far south for the context. DE ROUGÉ (quoted by BRUGSCH in the *Critique*) cleverly suggested that there is here a pun upon the word צרקה "hornets"; see next note.

6) *Ddb* "to sting" is not elsewhere determined with the sign for fire; but *ddm*, demonstrably only another form of the same word, is so determined *Pap. Turin* 133, 12. Thus DE ROUGÉ's ingenious suggestion mentioned in the last note is brilliantly confirmed.

7) The word "southward" shows that the writer is following, or at least intends to follow, some

geographical order. Almost immediately after Tyre no place could more appropriately named than Acco, for which *'-kn* is doubtless a corruption. All the known localities in this section lie to the S. of Carmel with the exception of Hazor.

8) It is probable that *'-k-s-p* is a misspelling of *t-k-s-p* (*Urk.* IV 782, 40), i. e. אכשפא on the border of Asher; see BURCH. no. 168. E. MEYER (*Encycl. Bibl.* 3733) identifies *'-k-s-p* with אכזיב; this is a particularly attractive suggestion, since Achzib is in the near neighbourhood of Acco; the equivalence *s = t* is however open to serious objections.

9) Unknown name.

10) *S-k-m*, evidently the שכם of the old Testament, see MAX MÜLLER, *As. u. Eur.* 394; probably it is Mount Ebal that is meant.

11) *H-d-r* clearly corresponds to Hebrew חזיר (BURCH. no. 709) and to *Ha-zu-ri* of the Amarna Tablets. This town was situated near the waters of Merom, not far from Kadesh.

12) *H-m-t* here and in the Palestine list of Thutmosis III is thought to be Hammath חמת south of the Sea of Galilee, see MAX MÜLLER, *Die Palästinaliste Thutm. III*, p. 11; BURCH. no. 678.

13) *T ts-t swtwt* lit. "the place of promenading"; *swtwt* means "to walk for pleasure" "to promenade" "make an excursion".

14) *'I-d-m-m* (cf. *'I-t-m-m* in the list of Th. III) has been compared with the מַצְלֵה אֲרָבִים on the border between Benjamin and Judah; see MAX MÜLLER, *Die Palästinaliste Thutm. III*, p. 15.

15) Utterly corrupt; emend *šnhn-t*(?).

*places range from north of Syria to far south of Palestine*  
**XIX. Various other towns visited by the Maher.**

Come let me tell thee of other towns, which are above(?)<sup>1</sup> them. Thou hast not gone to the land of *T-h-s*<sup>2</sup>, *K-w-r-m-r-n*<sup>3</sup>, *T-m-n-t*<sup>4</sup>, Kadesh<sup>5</sup>, *D-p-r*<sup>6</sup>,  
 22,5 *I-d-y*<sup>3</sup>, *H-r-n-m*<sup>3</sup>. Thou hast not beheld Kirjath-anab and Beth-Sepher<sup>7</sup>. Thou dost not know *I-d-r-n*<sup>8</sup>, nor yet *D-d-p-t*<sup>9</sup>. Thou dost not know the name of *H-n(r)-d*<sup>10</sup> which is in the land of Upe<sup>11</sup>, a bull upon its boundary, the scene of the battles of every warrior. Pray teach me concerning the appearance(?) of *K-y-n*<sup>12</sup>; acquaint me with Rehob<sup>13</sup>; explain Beth-sha-ēl<sup>14</sup> and *T-r-k-ēl*<sup>15</sup>. The stream  
 23,1 of Jordan<sup>16</sup>, how is it crossed?

Cause me to know<sup>17</sup> the way of crossing over to Megiddo which is above it(?)<sup>18</sup> Thou art a Maher skilled in the deeds of the brave!<sup>19</sup> A Maher such as thou art is found (able) to march(?)<sup>20</sup> at the head of an army! O

1) *Hry* is perhaps corrupted from the form of the preposition *hr* used before the suffixes *-tn* and *-sn*; a difficult phrase *nti hr-f* again below 23, 1. — The places here mentioned appear to range from the North of Syria to the extreme South of Palestine.

2) *T-h-s* is very frequent in Egyptian texts; *Tah-si* of the Amarna letters, where it is mentioned together with the land of Ube, see BURCH. no. 1128.

3) Unknown name.

4) *T-m-n-t* is surely not תמנת in Judah; for while of the seven names here given four are unknown, the other three are N. of Damascus.

5) *Kds* is Kadesh on the Orontes, see especially BREASTED, *The Battle of Kadesh*, 13—21. A Kadesh was mentioned above in 19, 1, see p. 21\*, n. 5.

6) *D-p-r*, a town stormed by Rameses II, probably quite close to Kadesh, see MAX MÜLLER, *As. u. Eur.* 221; BREASTED (*Ancient Records* III 159) places it further south.

7) The Ms. has Kirjath-*n-b* and Beth-*t-p-r*. MAX MÜLLER (*As. u. Eur.* 170) formerly proposed to interchange Kirjath and Beth in these names, since קריית-טפר (so LXX rightly) is mentioned in conjunction with קניז in *Joshua* 15, 49. However DARESSY reads Kirjath-*n-b(w)* in a list of foreign names at Abydos (*Rec. de Trav.* 21, 2), where MARIETTE read Kirjath-*n-t(w)*; and MAX MÜLLER himself has found Kirjath-*n-b-w* in a palimpsest list at Karnak (*Recherches* I 57, 14). There can be little doubt, in any case, that the same places are meant as are referred to the passage of Joshua; these are situated in the hill-country of Judah.

8) For *i-d-r-n* the *i-d-r-m* of the list of Sheshonk (19) and אדירם have been compared, see BURCH. no. 201. The Adoraim of the O. T. is iden-

tified with modern Dūra, to the S. W. of Hebron in Southern Judaea.

9) Cf. the name *D-d-p-t-r* in the Sheshonk list (34); otherwise unknown.

10) Unidentified.

11) See above p. 20\*, n. 12.

12) *K-y-n* is very probably identical with *Kn* in the Annals of Thutmosis III (*Urk.* IV 655, 657), near Megiddo, the *Gina* of the Amarna letters; see MAX MÜLLER in *Encycl. Bibl.* col. 3547. — The injured word for "appearance" (or "statue"?) is read *sdi* by BRUGSCH and compared, probably wrongly, with the late word *sdd* (*Wörterb.* 1357).

13) *R-h-b* is רחוב in Asher, often mentioned in Egyptian texts; see BURCH. no. 628, and MAX MÜLLER, *As. u. Eur.* 153.

14) *Byt-š-ir*, a בתי-שאיר, often named in hieroglyphs, see BURCH. no. 388; not localised, but it occurs next Rehob, as here, in the Sheshonk list (16).

15) Unknown; it is tempting to transpose and read *k-r-t-ir* i. e. a קריית-אל; so CHABAS, but see MAX MÜLLER, *As. u. Eur.* 175, footnote.

16) *Y-r-d-n*, in Hebrew ירדן, only here; the word ought to have the determinative of water.

17) See the critical note.

18) *Nti hr-f* can hardly be translated "which is upon it", since Megiddo is not on the Jordan, while the writer's knowledge of Palestinian geography was evidently admirable. On the other hand to render "qui est en outre de cela" (CHABAS), comparing *nti hry-sn* 22, 3, is a very bold expedient.

19) *Pr-ib*, cf. 26, 9; *Anast.* II 3, 6; *Sall.* II 10, 1, 9.

20) *S-g* here only. — For the idiom *gm r* see above p. 17\*, n. 3.

Mariannu<sup>1</sup>, forward to shoot(?)<sup>2</sup>! Behold the . . . . .<sup>3</sup> is in a ravine<sup>4</sup> two thousand cubits deep, filled with boulders<sup>5</sup> and pebbles<sup>6</sup>. Thou drawest back(?)<sup>7</sup>, thou graspest the bow, thou dost . . . . .<sup>8</sup> thy left hand, thou causest the great ones to look. Their eyes are good, thy hand grows weak(?)<sup>9</sup>. נכח מֵהַר נָכַח<sup>10</sup>. Thou makest the name of every Maher, officers of the land of Egypt<sup>11</sup>. Thy name becomes like (that of) *K-d-r-d-y*, the chief of 'I-s-r<sup>12</sup>, when the hyena<sup>13</sup> found him in the balsam-tree<sup>14</sup>. — The(?) narrow defile<sup>15</sup> is infested(?) with Shosu concealed beneath the bushes; some of them are of four cubits or of five cubits, from head(?) to foot(?)<sup>16</sup>, fierce of face, their heart is not mild, and they hearken not to coaxing. Thou art alone, there is no helper(?)<sup>17</sup> with thee, no army<sup>18</sup> behind thee. Thou findest no . . . . .<sup>19</sup> to make for thee a way of crossing.

1) *M-r-y-n*, a word found often in Egyptian texts in reference to Syrian "warriors" (BURCH. no. 470). The translation "lords" seems to me erroneous, though doubtless the warrior-class was held in high honour in the small Syrian states. This translation is probably due to the old etymology from Aramaic מֵהַר (CHABAS); another Semitic derivation that has been proposed is from מָרָה "to be contentious" "rebellious". WINCKLER has recently found the word in the form *marianu* in the tablets from Boghazkoï, and boldly connects the word with the Vedic *márya* "man" "hero" (*Or. Lit. Zeit.*, 13 [1910], 291—298). Both here and in 28, 1 it is apparently parallel to *m-h-r* (Maher).

2) *N hr-k*, cf. 15, 8; 24, 1; cf. too DÜM., *Hist. Inschr.* II 47, 4 and the passages quoted by GRIFFITH, *Proc. S. B. A.* 19, 298. *N hr-tu rs* is used as an exclamation "forward!" in *Piankhi* 95.

3) A corrupt word with the determinative of land; probably from the stem *n'*. — It seems necessary to delete the preposition *hr* after *mtk*.

4) *S-d-r-t* only here and in 24, 3; the approximate sense seems certain.

5) *Dh-wt* only here and 24, 2.

6) The word *'-n(r)* is the Coptic ⲁⲗ, see BURCH. no. 270. 274.

7) *S-w-b-b* is thought to be שׁוּבָב "to turn back" (BURCH. no. 768), though neither determinative nor sense seems very appropriate. The word cannot be identified with סַבַּב, as CHABAS supposed.

8) *P-r-t*, an unknown verb.

9) *Wrw nfr* (sic) is usually divided from what follows; thus ERMAN translated "so ermüdet ihr Auge auf deiner Hand". But *gnn* is not used of the eye, nor does it mean "to grow tired"; and the preposition *hr* would be strangely used. Probably *hr* should be omitted; for *gnn dt-k* cf. *Koller* 5, 3; R., *I. H.* 241, 43.

10) So BURCHARDT (under no. 32), who proposes as the meaning of these words "thou slayest like a lion, o . . . Maher". Whether the remainder of this translation be correct or not, it seems probable, in

Gardiner.

spite of BURCHARDT's objections, that the last word is נָכַח "pleasant" "delightful".

11) Without emending it is impossible to translate otherwise; *nb* cannot here mean "lord".

12) 'I-s-r (mentioned among South-Palestinian names under Sethos I, L., *D.* III 140a) is probably the tribal name אֲשֵׁר; see E. MEYER, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 540.

13) *Htm-t*, see above p. 21\*, n. 12.

14) *Bki*, Hebrew בְּכַא, only here (BURCH. no. 374).

15) Hitherto it has been customary to connect *hr t3 g3w-t* and what follows with the preceding simile, which then only ends with *swwn-w* in 23, 8. This view is untenable for several reasons: (1) the first sentence of the simile ("when the hyena found him in the balsam-tree in the narrow defile, infested with Shosu concealed beneath the branches") is breathlessly long and gives no good sense; the presence of the Shosu would diminish, rather than increase, the dangerousness of the hyena; (2) the words "some of them" are incompatible with the singular word "the hyena" in the text of *Anast. I.* The difficulty is at once solved by the omission of *hr* before *t3 g3w-t*; from this point onwards it is the journey of the Mahar in the mountainous pass (*g3w-t* also in the sequel 24, 6) that is described, not the adventures of the prince of Asher. The statement "some were of four cubits or five cubits" (i. e. 6 foot 10 inches to 8 foot 6 inches) now refers to the Shosu, as with due allowance for Egyptian exaggeration it well may do; and the words "they do not listen to coaxing" obtain a more natural and less metaphorical meaning.

16) Whether the suggestion *fn* in the critical note is correct remains quite uncertain. For the (collective?) form *rd-yt* I have no parallel.

17) For *d-r* the context clearly demands some word for "helper", and I propose *'-d-r*, comparing 16, 2; צִיר "messenger" is not appropriate.

18) *D-b-t*, the Hebrew בְּבָא; cf. 27, 1 and BURCH. no. 1207.

19) 'I-r-t-r, an unknown word; the sense required is "guide" or the like. BURCH. no. 92 differently.

Thou decidest(?) (the matter) by marching onward<sup>1</sup>, though thou knowest not the road. Shuddering(?) seizes thee<sup>2</sup>, (the hair of) thy head stands up(?)<sup>3</sup>, thy soul is in thy hand. Thy path is filled with boulders and pebbles<sup>4</sup>, without a passable track(?)<sup>5</sup>, overgrown with reeds<sup>6</sup> and brambles<sup>7</sup>, briars(?) and wolfs-pad<sup>8</sup>. The ravine<sup>9</sup> is on one side of thee, the mountain rises(?)<sup>10</sup> on the other. On thou<sup>24,5</sup> goest jolting(?)<sup>11</sup>, thy chariot on its side. Thou fearest to crush(?)<sup>12</sup> thy horse. If it be thrown towards the abyss(?)<sup>13</sup>, thy collar-piece(?)<sup>14</sup> is left bare(?), thy girth(?)<sup>15</sup> falls. Thou unfastenest the horse<sup>16</sup> so as to repair<sup>17</sup> the collar-piece(?) at the top of the defile. Thou art not expert in the way of binding it together; thou knowest not how to tie(?)<sup>18</sup> it. The . . . . .<sup>19</sup> is left where it is; the chariot is too heavy to bear the load<sup>20</sup> of it(?). Thy heart is weary. Thou startest trotting(?)<sup>21</sup>.

1) *Wd3-rt-tw* appears to be a compound verb construed as a pseudoparticiple; for pseudoparticiple 2nd p. sing. absolutely cf. *h'-tw* 5, 6; *snd-tw* 24, 4; in any case the sense is clear. *N hr-k*, see p. 25\*, n. 2.

2) *D-n-n* may be connected with *nn* "to be cold"; cf. for the construction *t3y-k p tsdd* 24, 8.

3) *S'-n(r)-f* see above p. 13\*, n. 14.

4) For *dh-wt* and *'-n(r)* see p. 25\*, notes 5 and 6.

5) A desperate guess.

6) *'I-s-b-r*, also *Sall. I* 7, 5 as a tall kind of reed, probably a species of bamboo; the common word for "whip" (BURCH. no. 134) is obviously related.

7) *K'-d*, Hebrew *דָּבָר*, see BURCH. no. 955.

8) The plants *n-h* "the dangerous" and *ibwt-wns* "wolf's-sandals" are not named elsewhere.

9) *S'-d-r-t*, only in 23, 3 above.

10) Read here the verb *h'*; with a postulated word *h'* "cliff" the construction would be awkward.

11) *H-s-k-t*, to judge from the determinatives a verb of motion, only here.

12) *Mdd* "to press", here possibly of crushing the horse against the side of the mountain; a less probable rendering would be "to press forward" "urge on".

13) Without emendation this sentence can only mean: if the horse be let slip at the edge of the chasm. It is clear from what follows that the horse is not pictured as completely lost over the precipice, but as having slipped and broken part of its harness. For "abyss" the word *dw3-t* "netherworld" (misspelled) is used.

14) *D-t*, a part of the chariot, to which something made of leather was attached, cf. 26, 6; named also in "the *d-t* (plural) of thy chariot are Anat and Astarte" *Edinburgh, Poem concerning the chariot*, verso 12.

Since in the latter passage a two-horse chariot is envisaged, whereas our text only refers to a chariot with one horse (an interesting point, as one-horse chariots are rare in Ancient Egypt, see WILKINSON, *Ways and Manners* [ed. Birch], II p. 234), it seems clear that the singular here must point to some portion of the vehicle directly connected with the horse. This cannot be the "pole" or "shaft" (*'*), nor yet the "yoke" (*nhb*); possibly the "saddle" or "collar-piece" is meant. When it is said that this is "uncovered" "left bare" it may be meant that the leather padding (*m-3-y* cf. 26, 6) is torn off. *K-w-3-n* might then be "the girth", which would naturally fall simultaneously. The horse has then to be extricated from the chariot in order that the "collar-piece" may be mended; this is "tied" or "lashed" on to the yoke(?). This explanation however is purely conjectural.

15) *K-w-3-n* only here; see last note.

16) *Ntf* "to untie" "loosen", cf. *Israel stele* 6; *Pap. mag. Harris*, verso A6; *Pap. Turin* 18+73, 1. — *Htrt* here and below seems to mean the horse and chariot combined, whereas *ssm-t* is the horse alone.

17) *Sm3m* "to slay" makes no sense; emend *sm wt* "renew".

18) *G-w-t-n*, only here and in *Koller* 3, 2 = *Anast. IV* 3, 1, an obscure passage where the object is *p-t-r* "threads".

19) *Ink/kf-t*, only here.

20) "Chariot" is here *htrt*, i. e. horse and chariot combined; *3tp-st* probably means "to load it" (the *ink/kf-t*) in the chariot, my rendering above being a paraphrase.

21) *F3* reflexively, cf. *d'Orbiney* 6, 3; 10, 6; 13, 1; *Sall. I* 2, 11; NEWBERRY, *Amherst Papyri* 21, 1, 2; the idiom is preserved in Demotic and Coptic, see SPIEGELBERG, *Petubastis*, Index, p. 22\*, footnote. — *Tntn* only here; *Anast. IV* 8, 8 has *ht* apparently in a similar sense.



The sky is revealed<sup>1</sup>. Thou fanciest<sup>2</sup> that the enemy is behind thee; trembling  
 25,1 seizes thee<sup>3</sup>. Would that thou hadst a hedge<sup>4</sup> of . . . . . to put upon the other  
 side! The chariot is damaged(?)<sup>5</sup> at the moment thou findest a camping-place(?)<sup>6</sup>.  
 Thou perceivest the taste<sup>7</sup> of pain! Thou hast entered Joppa<sup>8</sup>, and findest the flowers  
 blossoming<sup>9</sup> in their season. Thou forcest a way in(?) . . . . .<sup>10</sup> Thou  
 findest the fair maiden who keeps watch over the gardens. She takes thee to  
 25,5 herself for a companion, and surrenders to thee her charms. Thou art recognized,  
 and bearest witness (against thyself(?)). Thou art dismissed(?)<sup>11</sup> from (the rank  
 of) Maher. Thy shirt of fine linen of Upper Egypt, thou sellest it. Tell me  
 how(?)<sup>12</sup> thou liest every night, with a piece of woollen cloth(?)<sup>13</sup> over thee. Thou  
 slumberest, for thou art worn out<sup>14</sup>. A . . . . .<sup>15</sup> takes away thy bow, thy  
 knife for the belt<sup>16</sup>, and thy quiver<sup>17</sup>. Thy reins have been cut in the darkness.  
 Thy horse is gone and is speeding(?)<sup>18</sup> over the slippery ground<sup>19</sup>. The road  
 26,1 stretches before it. It smashes<sup>20</sup> thy chariot and makes thy . . . . .<sup>21</sup>; thy  
 weapons fall to the ground, and are buried(?)<sup>22</sup> in the sand; they become desert(?).

1) Lit. "the sky is opened"; the Maher emerges from the narrow thickly-wooded defile. MASPERO (in the *Études dédiées à Leemans*, p. 4—6) rightly identifies the defile (*gšw-t*) here described with that mentioned in the Annals of Thutmosis III as in the vicinity of Megiddo; it is the Wady el Arah, a wooded pass that would be the natural haunt of brigand Beduins.

2) *'Ib*, see above p. 9\*, n. 9.

3) Lit. "thou takest the terror"; for the construction and the use of the definite article, cf. 24, 1.

4) *'Inb* seems to be simply the word for "wall" in a specialized sense. It is impossible to connect *lnb* here with the plant *lnbt* mentioned *Eloquent Peasant* R 26 = *Butler* 12; *Ebers* 21, 17; 83, 7.

5) *H'k* literally "to shave"; apparently the chariot is damaged at the very moment when the Maher is about to stop for the night.

6) For the temporal sentence *gm-k sdry* (probably read *sdry-t*, cf. *sdr-t* 18, 1) without a retrospective pronoun governed by a preposition cf. above 17, 1—2.

7) On this metaphor see p. 21\*, n. 18.

8) *Y-p*, Hebrew יַעֲפֹ, *ia-pu* in the El Amarna letters; BURCH. no. 215.

9) GOODWIN translated "thou findest the fruit trees blooming in their season"; *šhšh* is "to bloom", but could not possibly refer to the ripeness of fruit. In *Anast. IV* 12, 8 (*t*)*šh* (this reading seems more probable than *šš*, see the analogous word "field" and SPIEGELBERG'S notes *Rec. de Trav.* 24, 180—2) does seem to mean "fruit", but everywhere else it signifies "flowers" (e. g. MAR., *Karnak* 34, 28; *Urk.* IV 462), which suits the verb *šhšh* far better.

10) *Wtn* is usually "to make a breach in a wall" cf. *Abbott* 2, 13, 17; *DARESSY*, *Ostraca* 25269; "to

pierce", *Anast. III* 6, 9. SETHE objects to the word on grammatical grounds and emends *wstn* (*Verbum* II § 195). The *crux* lies in the last words of the sentence, which look like *n wnm* "of eating". The preceding sentence has however nothing to do with fruit (see last note), and it is rather doubtful whether *wnm* "eating" should be read, as the same group occurs below in 28, 5, where any reference to eating seems out of the question.

11) *Wd'* "to sever"; *wd' mdl* only here.

12) Corrupt words.

13) *S-g* only here; the determinative suggests wool.

14) *Whs*, see above p. 21\*, n. 20.

15) *Hmy* is apparently subject, but is puzzling; it cannot be a fitting of the chariot (cf. *Koller* 1, 4), unless *ly-k hmy-t* be emended; *lš* would then be passive.

16) *Sft n knšw*, here only.

17) *'I-s-p-t*, Hebrew יַעֲפֹ, see BURCH. no. 137.

18) *Tš m-r-t* is probably an idiomatic expression for "to speed" or the like. *M-r-t* cannot be the word for "groom" for several reasons: 1) the first radical is differently spelt, cf. 1, 8; 20, 3; 2) the definite article is wanting; 3) *lš* would require an object, which is lacking.

19) *H-r-k-t*, Hebrew יַעֲפֹ, only here.

20) *Wš(š)wš(š)*, see above p. 22\*, n. 3.

21) Corrupt words.

22) *T(š)ms* "to cover" or "bury" is undoubtedly the same word as *tms* in the sentence "bury your staves in it" (scil. "the barley"), *Pap. Rylands* IX 11, 5; and both are clearly identical with τωμε "to bury". The derivation of the latter from *smš-tš* seems to rest on nothing but the similarity of meaning; and it is difficult to save this etymology by assuming that *tms* is a variant spelling of *smš-tš*, metathesis having already occurred.

Thy . . . . . begs the . . . . . thy mouth<sup>1</sup>: "Give (me) food and water, for I have arrived safely". They turn a deaf ear, they do not listen, they do not heed<sup>2</sup> thy tales. Thou makest thy way into the armoury<sup>3</sup>; workshops surround thee<sup>4</sup>; smiths<sup>5</sup> and leather-workers<sup>5</sup> are all about thee. They do all that thou wishest. They attend to thy chariot, so that it may cease from lying idle. Thy pole<sup>6</sup> is newly shaped(?)<sup>7</sup>, its . . . . .<sup>8</sup> are adjusted. They give leather coverings(?)<sup>9</sup> to thy collar-piece(?)<sup>10</sup> . . . They supply<sup>11</sup> thy yoke. They adjust(?) thy . . . .<sup>12</sup> (worked) with the chisel(?)<sup>13</sup> to(?) the . . . . .<sup>14</sup> They give a . . . . . (of metal)<sup>15</sup> to thy whip<sup>16</sup>; they fasten [to] it lashes<sup>17</sup>. Forth thou goest quickly to fight on the open field, to accomplish the deeds of the brave<sup>18</sup>!

## XX. The first stations on the Syrian high-road. End of the Controversy. Conclusion.

27,1 Good sir, thou honoured scribe, Maher cunning of hand, at the head of the troops<sup>19</sup>, in front of the army<sup>20</sup>, [I will describe to] thee the [lands] of the extremity of the land of Canaan<sup>21</sup>. Thou answerest me neither good nor evil; thou returnest me no report. Come I will tell thee [of many things(?)]; <turn(?)>

1) Difficult and corrupt words.

2) *Hn* "to heed", see SETHE, *Die Einsetzung des Veziers*, p. 21, note 91.

3) *Hpš*, see above p. 13\*, n. 7.

4) *Kd* "to surround", cf. especially *Anast. IV* 12, 4.

5) *Tb-w* properly "sandal-makers".

6) The ' is certainly the "pole" of the chariot (also in the case of a single-horse chariot doubtless the double shafts); for the pole particularly good wood was selected, cf. *Koller* 2, 1; the pole comes from Upe, *Anast. IV* 16, 11; a chariot is bought, "its pole (' for 3 *dbn*, the chariot (itself) for 5 *dbn*", *Anast. III* 6, 7.

7) *G-r-p* occurs only here, but is certainly identical with *g-r-b*, *Anast. IV* 16, 11 = *Koller* 2, 1, also in reference to the chariot-pole. In Aramaic גלב is a knife for cutting, in Phoenician a barber.

8) *Db-y-wt*, only here; sense unknown.

9) *M-š-y*, again only in *Koller* 2, 1.

10) *D-t*, see above p. 26\*, n. 14. The following word *hšw* is quite obscure.

11) For 'r' cf. *Pap. Turin* 67, 10; *Unamon* 2, 42; *R., I. H.* 201, 8; metaphorically "to accomplish" plans, commands, cf. *Unamon* 2, 32; *R., I. H.* 145, 59; *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 197, 3, 4, 6.

12) The *qbw* must be an important part of the chariot; it might be of gold, see *Urk. IV* 663, 669.

13) The usual phrase for "worked with the chisel" is *tš(w) m bsn-t*, cf. *Harris I* 6, 7, 9; 47, 3, 4. *Tš(w) m tš bsn* occurs *Koller* 1, 7, where as in the present passage it is hard to explain.

14) *M-h-t* occurs (with determinative of wood) once again *Anast. IV* 16, 12, where it is a part of the chariot adorned with metal; the meaning is unknown.

15) 'I-t-m-y, only here.

16) 'I-s-b-r, see BURCH. no. 134.

17) *M-t-d-t*, only here.

18) *Pr'-ib*, see above p. 24\*, n. 19.

19) *N'-r-n*, see above p. 19\*, n. 8.

20) *D-b-t*, see above p. 25\*, n. 18.

21) *Tš n p K-n'-n*, in Hebrew תשן כנען, only here with *tš n*. *P K-n'-n* is not very often mentioned in the Egyptian texts, see BURCH. no. 988; except in *Anast. III* 8, 5 = *Anast. IV* 16, 4 it has always the definite article. So far as the Egyptian texts are concerned, Canaan might be the name of merely the south of Philistia; but *Kinahhi* in the Amarna letters appears to indicate a wider extension. The present passage describes the localities lying between the fortress-town of Zaru and the Philistine city of Gaza, and is strikingly illustrated by the scenes on the N. Wall of Karnak depicting the conquests of Sethos I (L., *D. III* 128b; 128a; 127a; 126b in this order). The accuracy of the author's geographical knowledge is convincingly attested by a comparison with these sculptures.

- starting point of  
military road to  
Palestine

thy face(?) <towards(?)><sup>1</sup> the fortress of the "Ways of Horus"<sup>2</sup>. I begin for thee with the "House of Sese"<sup>3</sup>. Thou hast never trodden it; thou hast not eaten the fish of (the waters of) . . . . .; thou hast not bathed in them. Come prithee<sup>4</sup>  
 27,5 let me recount to thee *H-t-y-n*<sup>5</sup>; where is its fortress? Come let me tell thee about the district of Buto of Sese<sup>6</sup>, "In(?) his house of victories(?) of Usimaré"<sup>7</sup>, *S-b-ēl*<sup>8</sup> and *'Ib-s-k-b*<sup>9</sup>. Let me describe to thee the manner of '*y-n-n*<sup>10</sup>; thou knowest not its position<sup>11</sup>. *N-h-s*<sup>12</sup> and *H-b-r-t*<sup>13</sup>, thou hast never seen them since thy birth. O Mohar, where is Raphia<sup>14</sup>? What is its wall like? How many leagues<sup>15</sup> march is it to Gaza<sup>16</sup>? Answer quickly! Render me a report, that I may call thee a  
 28,1 Maher, that I may boast to others of thy name of Mariannu<sup>17</sup>. So will I say to them(?). Thou art angry at the thing I [have] said to thee. I am experienced in every rank<sup>18</sup>. My father taught me, he knew and instructed(?) (me) very often. I know how to hold the reins<sup>19</sup>, beyond thy skill indeed! There is no

1) The text here is damaged and probably also corrupt. The *crux* of the passage is to determine the grammatical construction of the words *p htm n W3-wt Hr*.

2) *W3-wt [Hr]* is now known to be an alternative name for the celebrated frontier fortress of *T3rw* (Zaru), see ERMAN's article *A. Z.* 43 (1906), 72-73. This was the starting-point of the great military road to Palestine followed by all the early armies; thus by that of Sethos I, cf. *p htm n T3rw*, L., *D.* III 128b, completed by CHAMP., *Not. Descr.* II 94. Hitherto Zaru has been placed in the neighbourhood of the modern town Ismailiyeh; but Herr KÜTHMANN, whose researches on the subject will be published in a thesis entitled *Die Ostgrenze Aegyptens*, appears to have good reasons for placing it much farther to the North, in the vicinity of El Kantara.

3) *T'-t Ssw*, identical with *T'-t R'mssw-mry-'Inn*, which was reachable by boat from Zaru, see *Anast. V* 24, 8. Also doubtless the same as *T'-t p M3t* "The House of the Lion" in the Sethos reliefs, L., *D.* III 128a; this too is connected with Zaru by water, possibly, as KÜTHMANN suggests, the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.

4) *H(3)n(3)* "would that", cf. *Anast. IV* 11, 12; *Sall. III* 6, 7 (the hieroglyphic texts have here *h3*); cf. too *h3 my*, above 19, 6.

5) *H-t-y-n* is very plausibly compared by MAX MÜLLER (*As. u. Eur.* 134) with the name of a well in L., *D.* III 128a (under the horse's tail), but all the copyists confirm the reading *h-p-?-n*, (not *h-t-n*) there. The name is now destroyed, as N. de G. DAVIES, to whom I am deeply indebted for a collation of the Karnak reliefs, informs me.

6) Identical with *W3dy-t n Sty-Mr-n-Pth* in L., *D.* III 128a. — *M3 rh(read nh?)r*, see p. 13\*, n. 8.

7) In the Karnak scenes (L., *D.* III 127a) the next fortress to that of Buto is called *P-nhtw n(?) Sty-Mr-n-Pth*; with the natural change of the royal name Sethos into that of Rameses II (cf. last note),

this name becomes clearly similar to *m py-f nhtw Wsr-m3't-R'* in the papyrus. The meaning of *nhtw* (masc. sing.) is not certain; possibly the preposition *m* should be omitted.

8) *S-b-ēl*, an unknown locality.

9) *'Ib-s-k-b*, apparently a pool rather than a well, occurs in its right position L., *D.* III 127a.

10) The locality '*y-n-n* is unknown.

11) *Tp-rd*, lit. "principle" or "rule"; doubtless here means the "position" in relation to other places; cf. 28, 8.

12) *N-h-s* occurs in the Sethos reliefs, though it is not depicted in any of the publications. DAVIES writes to me that under the horses' tails in L., *D.* III 126b there should be inserted a small fortress over a pool or well; this bears the name "*N(3)-h(3)-s(w)* (det. of water) of the Prince . . . . ."

13) Before *H-b-r-t* in the papyrus there is an *r*, which should probably be omitted. This name also possibly occurs, though in a damaged form, in the Sethos reliefs; it is the fortress at the top of L., *D.* III 126b, with the inscription "The town which his Majesty newly built at the well of *H-b(?)-[r]-t*" the stroke after the second letter shows that this can be neither *w* nor *3* as the publications give.

14) *R-ph*, Raphia, the modern Rafah, a town not far from the sea about 22 or 23 miles south of Gaza. Also mentioned in the palimpsest list of Sethos I, MAX MÜLLER, *Eg. Researches I* 57, 16; 58, 17.

15) *Wr*, see above p. 18\*, n. 19. — The length of the *itr*, or schoenus, is not yet determined, see *A. Z.* 41 (1904), 58-60.

16) *K-d-t*, *Καζα*, Γαζα, the southernmost of the Philistine cities; elsewhere in Egyptian spelt *G-d-t*, BURCH. no. 1071.

17) *Swh m* "to boast of", see *Admonitions* p. 28. — *M-r-y-n*, see above p. 25\*, n. 1.

18) Hori goes on to contrast his own knowledge and skill with the ignorance of Amenemope. These sentences are very obscure in part.

19) *Hn-(r)-y*, see above p. 20\*, n. 10.

brave man who can measure himself with me<sup>1</sup>! I am initiated in the decrees(?) of Month<sup>2</sup>.

How marred is every (word) that cometh out over thy tongue! How feeble<sup>3</sup> are thy sentences! Thou comest to me wrapt up<sup>4</sup> in confusions, loaded with errors. Thou splittest words asunder, plunging ahead(?)<sup>5</sup>. Thou art not wearied of groping<sup>6</sup>. Be strong! Forwards!<sup>7</sup> Get thee along(?)<sup>7</sup>! Thou dost not fall. What is it like not to know what one has reached<sup>8</sup>? And how will it<sup>28,5</sup> end<sup>9</sup>? I retreat<sup>10</sup>. Behold, I have arrived. Thy passion is soothed(?)<sup>11</sup>, thy heart is calm. Do not be angry<sup>12</sup>. . . . .<sup>13</sup>. I curtail(?)<sup>14</sup> for thee the end of thy letter, I answer(?) for thee what thou hast said. Thy narratives are collected upon my tongue, established upon my lips. They are confusing to hear<sup>15</sup>; none who converses(?)<sup>16</sup> (with thee) can unravel them. They are like the talk of a man of the Delta with a man of Elephantine<sup>17</sup>.

Nay, but thou art a scribe of the Great Gates, reporting the affairs of the lands, goodly and fair [to] him who sees it<sup>18</sup>. Say not that I have made thy name stink<sup>19</sup> before others(?). Behold, I have told thee the nature of the Maher; I have traversed for thee Retenu<sup>20</sup>. I have marshalled before<sup>21</sup> thee the foreign countries all at once, and the towns in their order. Attend(?)<sup>22</sup> to me, and look at them calmly<sup>23</sup>; (thus) thou shalt be found able to describe them<sup>24</sup>, and shalt become a travelled(?) . . . . .<sup>25</sup>

1) *Sjn r h'w-t*, see above p. 15\*, n. 10.

2) *Wn m* occurs once again on a writing-board in University College, London (= *Rec. de Trav.* 19, 95), where *wn-t tw* should be emended for *wn-tw-t*. The determinatives of *w* are perhaps wrongly borrowed from *wdb*. Month is here the war-god, so that the sentence is a further assertion of the martial qualities of Hori.

3) *Wl(š)wl(š)*, cf. *Berlin Ostrakon* 10616; *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 198, 2, 21; *Medinet Habu*, unpublished, under the Balcony in the southern colonnade.

4) *Bnd*, see p. 13\*, n. 15.

5) Lit. "in entering before thyself"; the sense is apparently that Amenemope continues to write in haste, heedless of the injuries which his precipitate behaviour causes him to inflict upon the language. — *N hr-k*, see p. 25\*, n. 2.

6) *Gmgm* "touchings" "fingerings"; for *gmgm* thus as the equivalent of *ΘΟΜΕΜ palpare*, cf. *Harris* 500, recto 1, 2; 7, 12.

7) The writer sarcastically encourages Amenemope to persevere in his writing. — I suspect that the words *imi hš-šst-tw* are simply a corruption of *ms-tw* (cf. 15, 8), with elements borrowed from *šs* "to hasten" and *šhs* "to run".

8) I. e. thou art ignorant of thy plight.

9) *Phwt nn m th*; this phrase occurs again on *Petrie Ostrakon* 45.

10) Read *hš-š*. Hori announces his intention of retiring from the contest.

11) *Hn-tw* might possibly be imperative: "give in!"

12) *Hdn*, see above p. 10\*, n. 16.

13) *Sy* is unknown; for *n tmw* cf. p. 27\*, n. 10.

14) *H'k* lit. "shave", probably here in the sense "to curtail" or "to summarize".

15) Lit. "confused in hearing".

16) For *š'* cf. *Israel stele* 22, where "conversing" clearly seems to be meant; so too perhaps *Sall. I* 8, 1. Compare too the difficult epithet (or title) *š'* of which SPIEGELBERG has collected the examples *Rec. de Trav.* 14, 41.

17) This sentence is rightly often quoted in proof of the existence of dialects during the New Kingdom.

18) I. e. probably, "who sees what thou doest".

19) *Tm-k* optatively, see p. 11\*, n. 4. — *Hnš*, Coptic *ϣουϣ*, only here transitively.

20) *Tnw* is doubtless a corruption of *Rtnw*, as throughout in the great Berlin manuscript of *Sinuhe*.

21) Lit. "I have led to thee".

22) *Hn* "to bow" "incline", with the meaning "to attend to", cf. above 26, 3.

23) *Kb*, see above p. 9\*, n. 7.

24) *Gm r*, see p. 17\*, n. 3.

25) For the sense cf. 20, 6. Hori holds out to Amenemope the hope that he may some day appear to be a much-travelled warrior.

### Appendix. The three technical problems of Anastasi I (14, 2—17, 2).

In the course of the controversy the scribe Hori propounds three problems connected with the building and erection of monuments such as a "royal scribe in command of the soldiers" might be called upon to solve. Amenemope's vaunted skill in his profession is thereby put to a very severe test, and in every instance he finds himself unable to reply. The technicalities of these passages are such that the modern Egyptologist is placed in a far worse quandary than this ancient scribe; so far from being able to supply the answers, he is barely able to understand the questions. I shall here attempt, as far as is possible, to define the nature of the three problems; in dealing with this difficult subject I have had the great advantage of consulting with Professor BORCHARDT, the first authority in such matters, and I am indebted to him for a number of valuable hints.

Problem 1 (14, 2—8). This deals with the building of a brick ramp of unusually large dimensions. The Egyptian word is *st3*, which etymologically means a place over which something is dragged or drawn. In the royal tombs the sloping, downward, passages were called *st3 ntr* "the divine passage". In *Piankhi* 91 *st3* is an ascending ramp used for scaling the walls of a hostile fortress. That *st3* here is an ascending ramp is clear from the description, the length being 730 cubits (more than 383 metres), and the breadth 55 cubits (nearly 29 metres). The ramp is said to consist "of 120 *r-g-t*", concerning which we later learn that each measured "30 cubits, by a breadth of 7 cubits". BORCHARDT conjectures with great probability that these were "compartments" ("Kästen") in the interior of the ramp, formed by brick partition-walls of no great thickness; these compartments would be filled with sand, a great saving of bricks thus being effected. A ramp constructed exactly in this manner has been found just to the South of the mortuary temple of the Second Pyramid, and belongs to about the 19th. Dynasty<sup>1</sup>. If the view of the *r-g-t* here taken be correct, the word may possibly be derived from *ri* "mouth" (cf. *ri-st3*, *ri-w3t*) and *g(3)t(i)* "shrine" "box" (BRUGSCH, *Wörterb.* 1520; *Suppl.* 1289; *Pap. Turin* 105, 21; 107, 19). With a length of 30 cubits, the *r-g-t* would leave a reasonable thickness of  $\frac{55-30}{2} = 12.5$  cubits for the exterior walls of the ramp<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand the indication that the "compartments" (*r-g-t*) were 7 cubits broad is impossible; this would already give  $120 \times 7 = 840$  cubits for the length of the ramp, without reckoning either the thickness of the partition-walls between the compartments or that of the end-walls at the top and the bottom of the ramp. In spite of this serious difficulty, BORCHARDT's view of the *r-g-t* seems the only way of accounting for their number and their length.

The ramp, (i. e. its exterior walls) is stated to have been "filled with reeds and beams". This of course alludes to the practice of strengthening vast brick walls with reed-mats interposed between the courses and with transverse wooden beams inserted at a distance of some feet from one another. This mode of building is exemplified in the fortresses in the Second Cataract and elsewhere; see HÖLSCHER, *Das Hohe Tor von Medinet Habu*, p. 36.

The height of the ramp at its highest part was 60 cubits<sup>3</sup> and, if I understand the next words rightly, the height in the middle of its upward slant was 30 cubits. To me it

1) Regierungsbaumeister HÖLSCHER, in whose forthcoming book on the temple of the Second Pyramid a plan and section of the ramp will be found, tells me that the breadth of the compartments averages about 3.5 metres, i. e. approximately 7 cubits.

2) Measured at the top; the thickness at the bottom would be 27.5 cubits, owing to the batter, if my hypothesis (see below) be correct.

3) This gives a slant of 8.2 cubits in every 100; that of the ramp leading to the pyramid of Ne-user-Re was equal to 7.75 cubits in every 100 (BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Ne-user-re*, p. 44).

appears that *hri-ib-f*, following immediately upon *hr d3d3-f*, must be correlated with the same, and must therefore represent the height of the ramp at its centre; unless this view be taken, the words *hr d3d3-f* would be redundant, the height at the top being sufficiently clearly expressed by the words *m hy* alone. BORCHARDT points out, however, that the measurement at the middle is quite superfluous, and proposes to understand *hri-ib-f* as "its interior", i. e. the space between the two sides of the ramp. It may be objected to this view that the space referred to is later mentioned as the length of the *r-g-t* "compartments" (30 cubits); and the philological objection already mentioned is considerable<sup>1</sup>.

The dimension next named, *m i-sp (sp sn) mh 15*, is still more problematical. The phrase *m i-sp (sp sn)* occurs only once again, namely in the description of the obelisk (15, 4). The exact words there are *iwt-f m i-sp (sp sn) r'-tp m mh 1, db' 1(?)*<sup>2</sup>. BORCHARDT agrees with me that this sentence must refer to the tapering of the obelisk towards its summit, though he disagrees in his translation of *m i-sp (sp sn)*. He conjectures that *i-sp (sp sn)* is a peculiar phrase for "end", so that the rendering of 15, 4 would be "it goes from end to top as 1 cubit and 1 finger", i. e. the falling away from the perpendicular on the entire height of the obelisk (110 cubits) amounts to 1 cubit and 1 finger; this is equivalent to rather more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a finger to every cubit, which gives a quite reasonable angle<sup>3</sup>. Applying the sense thus obtained for *i-sp (sp sn)* to the problem of the ramp, BORCHARDT supposes that the "end" meant is the thickness of the short wall that joined the side-walls at the top of the ramp; the thickness of the top end would then be 15 cubits<sup>4</sup>. It appears to me that *i-sp (sp sn)* is a very unlikely kind of expression for so concrete an idea as the "end"; and a greater similarity of meaning might be expected in the two sentences. Now let it be noted that the sense of 15, 4 would not be modified if we translate "it goes with a gradual slope (*m i-sp [sp-sn]*) towards the top as 1 cubit and 1 finger". On this view *i-sp (sp sn)* would be a technical term expressing the extent of divergence from the perpendicular at the summit of a monument. Applying this hypothesis to our ramp, we there find that a slope or batter of 15 cubits is indicated<sup>5</sup>. This batter must of course be that of the long exterior walls of the ramp, and the 15 cubits are reckoned, as in the case of the obelisk, at the top of the monument. The height of the ramp being 60 cubits, this gives a batter of 1 in 4, or  $1\frac{3}{4}$  spans to the cubit, or an angle of  $75^\circ$ ; and it adds greatly to the probability of the theory here put forward that the ramp leading up to the pyramid of Sahurē exhibits precisely the same batter<sup>6</sup>.

Lastly, the *ns-t* of the ramp is said to measure 5 cubits. In the story of Sethon *ns-t* is the name given to the mastaba or stone bench outside house-doors (cf. GRIFFITH'S note on *I Khamuas* 5, 11). BORCHARDT conjectures that the end-wall at the bottom of the ramp, corresponding with *i-sp*, the end-wall (according to him), at the top, may be meant. Another possibility suggested by HÖLSCHER is that *ns-t* may here signify the brick floor or surface of the ramp above the compartments (*r-g-t*) and the sand; this might well have a depth of 5 cubits in so vast a monument.

1) For the space between the walls, the interior, we should expect *hnuw* rather than *hri-ib*.

2) The sign *h* in the Ms. is probably a corruption of *db'*.

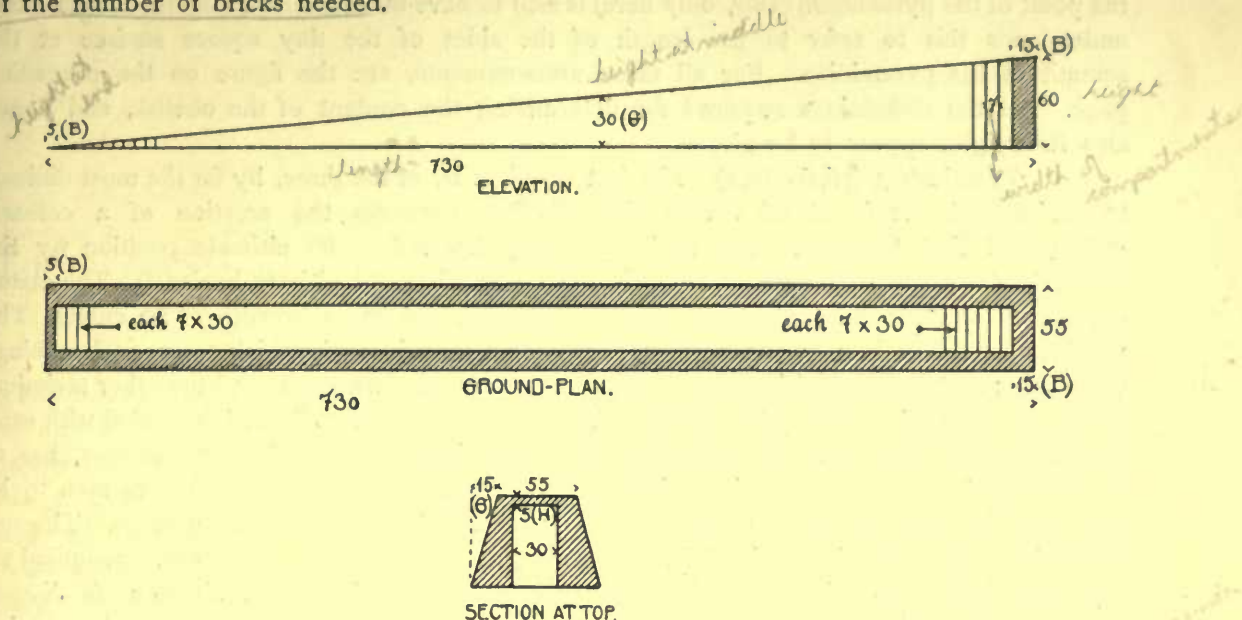
3) The Egyptians usually expressed this angle by a term *shd*, which states the number of spans divergence from the perpendicular for a height of one cubit; see the article by BORCHARDT, *A. Z.* 31 (1893), 15.

4) It is not absolutely essential that there should have been an end-wall at the top, if the ramp was built against some other structure.

5) The literal translation would be "with a batter of 15 cubits".

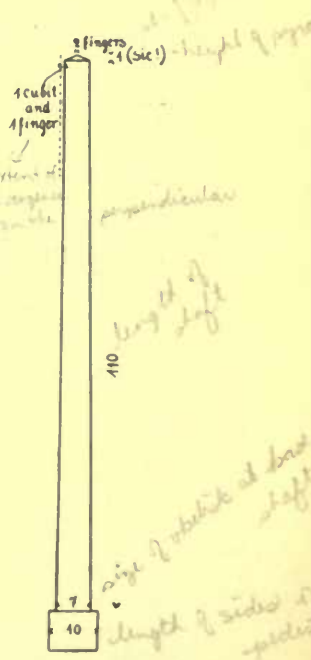
6) See BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re*, p. 39. Unfortunately my hypothesis was framed too late to be submitted to Professor BORCHARDT'S criticism; Herr HÖLSCHER finds no technical difficulties in it.

The problem before the scribe Amenemope was to reckon out the quantity of bricks that would be needed in constructing the ramp. All the requisite data are given<sup>1</sup>; but it would sorely tax the powers of a modern builder to give even an approximate estimate of the number of bricks needed.



The accompanying diagrams display the proportions of the ramp, so far as they can be understood from the papyrus. Where different suggestions have been made, BORCHARDT's opinion is indicated by (B), HÖLSCHER's by (H), and my own by (G).

Problem 2 (14,8—16,5). An obelisk that has been hewn in the quarries of the Gebel Akhmar near Heliopolis lies ready to be conveyed to the Capital. All its dimensions are given, and the problem which Amenemope is called upon to solve is the number of men needed for its transport. Most of the technical terms employed in the text are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, but their sense is for the most part not difficult to determine. The first measurement given, "110 cubits *n lwn n hnt(?)*", clearly refers to the length of shaft<sup>2</sup>; *lwn*, the most important element in the compound expression used, is of course the word for "column". The "*dby-t*<sup>3</sup> of 10 cubits" next named must be the pedestal; the measurement is obviously the length of the sides, the height, which must have been less, being omitted. With this identification of the *dby-t* agrees the next datum, "*p-snw* (or *p-šnw*)<sup>4</sup> *n phwi-f* makes 7 cubits on every side"; the size of the obelisk at the base of its shaft is here evidently intended. Next comes the clause with the problematical term *i-sp* (*sp sn*) discussed in dealing with the first problem; as we saw, this must refer to the



1) The size of the brick is assumed to be known.

2) The obelisk is thus far taller than any that has been preserved. PETRIE has however calculated that the Constantinople obelisk may have measured 172 feet in height (see PETRIE, *History* II 132); in the *Northampton stele* two obelisks of 108 cubits each (= 185 feet) are mentioned (*Urk.* IV 425).

3) The word occurs once again on an ostrakon in my own possession (no. 3) giving a list of objects of wood; among the latter is *p twt m h-t m mitt ty-f dby-t* "the statue of wood and also its pedestal", *dby-t* naturally being determined with the sign for wood. *Dby-t* is probably to be distinguished from *db-t* "brick", though the latter is occasionally used of "blocks" of stone.

4) Apparently only here.

extent of the divergence from the perpendicular, which amounted to 1 cubit and 1 finger(?) on the entire height of 110 cubits, or 0.26 fingers in every cubit<sup>1</sup>. The pyramidion (*ty-f brbr*) is stated to have been 1 cubit in height, of course an impossibly small measurement. Lastly, the point of the pyramidion (*hrwy*, only here) is said to have measured two fingers; BORCHARDT understands this to refer to the length of the sides of the tiny square surface at the summit of the pyramidion. For all these measurements, see the figure on the preceding page. All the dimensions required for determining the content of the obelisk, and hence also its weight, appear to be given.

Problem 3 (16,6—17,2). The last problem is, of the three, by far the most difficult to understand. It is at all events clear that it concerns the erection of a colossal statue, and that this statue had to be gradually lowered to its ultimate position by the removal of a great artificial magazine of sand on to which it had been hauled(?). The statue covers 30 cubits as it lies stretched upon the ground, and has a breadth of 20 cubits. The word for magazine is *mhr*, the ordinary word for a store-house in which corn or other things were kept; and its sub-divisions(?) are called *šmm*, also a known word. All the other technical terms and dimensions are quite obscure. The *šmm* are stated to have been filled with sand from the river-banks, and the magazine, which was situated under (*hr*) the colossus, has to be "emptied" (*šw*). The question asked of Amenemope is as to the number of men to be employed in order to remove the sand (*hm* "demolish" "overturn") in six hours. The use of sand for the gradual lowering of monuments is, as BORCHARDT points out, exemplified by the late tombs near the Pyramid of Onnos (see BARSANTI's article, *Annales du Service* I 283—4) where the massive lid of a sarcophagus was supported upon wooden pillars resting upon sand; when it was desired to bring the lid into its final position, the sand was gradually allowed to escape from under the wooden pillars<sup>2</sup>.

1) It is probable that the *h* after *mhr* 1 should be emended into *ab*<sup>c</sup>. The batter of the obelisk is quite unusually steep.

2) One may also compare BONOMI's theory of the manner in which the colossus known as the Vocal Memnon was erected (*A. Z.* 45 [1908], 32—34); however BORCHARDT is of the opinion that sand cannot have been used in that case.



## II. A collection of model letters.

**Description of the manuscript.** The Papyrus Koller (*Pap. Berlin 3043*) is known to have passed directly from the collection of Baron KOLLER into that of the Berlin Museum, but no record has been kept of the exact date when this occurred. The manuscript measures 136 cm in length, and has the normal height of 21 cm. It is on the whole well preserved, though it has suffered damage through rough handling. A Museum register dating from the days of PASSALACQUA informs us that the verso once exhibited a drawing of the lower part of the double crown of the Pharaohs, and that there also was a brief hieratic inscription; but the manuscript having been early gummed upon cardboard, this statement can no longer be checked. At a subsequent period the edges of the cardboard around the lacunae were carelessly trimmed, with disastrous results. At present the papyrus is safely preserved under glass in four sections. The writing of the *recto* is upon the horizontal fibres, and comprises five complete columns or pages; these consist of eight lines apiece, except the second page, which has nine lines. It is well-nigh certain that some pages are missing at the end, since the text breaks off in the middle of a sentence. Whether anything is lost at the beginning is more doubtful, the main text of the first letter being complete, though the salutations that usually precede are absent. The handwriting is of the fine type characteristic of Ramesside literary papyri, and may be dated approximately to the end of the 19th Dynasty. If the criteria set up by MÖLLER<sup>1</sup> can be trusted, the papyrus is a product of the Memphite school of calligraphy. There are no verse-points, but the usual sign, written in red, serves to divide the sections from one another. A. WIEDEMANN printed a not entirely satisfactory hand-facsimile of the manuscript in his book *Hieratische Texte* (Leipzig 1879), Tafel X—XIV, and up to the present this has remained the sole edition of the text.

**Contents and general remarks.** Many of the finest literary papyri of the New Kingdom belong to a class to which ERMAN has aptly given the name of *Schülerhandschriften*<sup>2</sup>. They are the work of youthful scribes employed in one or other of the public administrative departments, where they seem to have received, after the manner of apprentices, some tuition from the superior scribes. Often the appointed task was the copying of some well-known literary piece, such as the *Instructions of Amenemhet I to his son*, or the *Poetical account of Rameses II's victories*; in such cases it is impossible to detect the pupil's hand, unless it betrays itself by dates jotted down in the margin to indicate the amount written daily, or by the presence of corrections in the teacher's hand<sup>3</sup>. Often however the subject-

1) *Hieratische Paläographie* II p. 2—3.

2) On the whole subject of the *Schulhefte* or *Schülerhandschriften*, see ERMAN, *Aegypten* 446—448.

3) Purely calligraphical corrections, such as that at the top of p. 3 of *Anastasi I*, seem sufficient proof of a *Schülerhandschrift*. — For dates see ERMAN, *loc. cit.*; they occur very frequently both in papyri and on ostraca.

matter of the texts copied ill conceals their educational aim; this is particularly the case with the collections of model letters, or miscellanies<sup>1</sup>, of which the *Papyrus Koller* affords a very typical example. The letters contained in these miscellanies are of diverse kinds. The simplest consist of little beyond the elaborate salutations demanded by Egyptian good-breeding. Others, even less readable, are mere lists of articles to be manufactured or foodstuffs to be provided and are simply designed for the purpose of widening the pupil's vocabulary. The majority concern such commissions or affairs of everyday life as might later claim the scribe's attention in the course of his professional career. When the subject-matter permitted, the pupil frequently substituted his own and his teacher's names for those of the original writer and recipient of the letter; *Koller* 5,5 for example, mentions the names of two scribes, of which Amenemope may be that of the master, and Paibēs that of the pupil<sup>2</sup>. Besides letters, the miscellanies here described often contain short compositions of a more purely literary character; hymns to Thoth or Amon, eulogies of the Pharaoh or of the Capital, and above all homilies (as a rule not lacking in humorous touches) on the dignity of the scribe's profession.

The *Koller* comprises four letters, the first lacking the customary salutations and the last ending abruptly after a few opening sentences. The subjects are as follows:

- a) The equipment of a Syrian expedition (1,1—2,2).
- b) Warnings to an idle scribe (2,2—3,3).
- c) A letter concerning Nubian tribute (3,3—5,4).
- d) An order to make preparations for Pharaoh's arrival (5,5—5,8).

Short introductions with bibliographical notes being prefixed to the translations of each section, only a few general remarks are here necessary. The *Koller* is particularly closely related to the London papyrus *Anastasi IV*, with which it has two sections in common. The orthography is good, and mistakes or corruptions seem to be relatively few. The pupil by whom the *Koller* was written seems to have aspired to erudition, for the texts chosen are full of technical and foreign words.

The first to translate the papyrus was A. WIEDEMANN, whose renderings (*op. cit.* p. 19—23) are accompanied by brief notes on the subject-matter but without a philological commentary. The only other treatment of the papyrus as a whole is that of ERMAN in the handbook entitled *Aus den Papyrus der königlichen Museen*, Berlin 1899, belonging to the official series of *Handbücher der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (p. 93—97).

### a. The equipment of a Syrian expedition.

This is a short model letter describing the preparations to be made for an expedition to Syria and enumerating in detail the horses, attendants, chariots and weapons that have to be made ready. The point of the composition doubtless lay in its copious use of foreign and technical words, which would serve at once to exhibit the teacher's erudition and to increase the store of the pupil's learning. No duplicate of this letter is known, but it is shown by its last words to be closely related to a letter preserved entire in *Anastasi IV* (13,8—end), the beginning of which is found on the last page of the *Koller*. Other texts which mention the various parts of the chariot and the weapons contained in it are

1) The best-known of these are *Anastasi II. III. IV. V*; *Sallier I*, in the British Museum; *Pap. Bologna 1094*; *Pap. Leiden 348*, recto.

2) It is not always the name of the pupil which stands first, as may be seen by comparing *Anast. III* 1, 11 with *ibid.* 3, 9. It is curious that the names of the scribes in *Anast. III* are Amenemope and Paibes as in *Koller*; the papyri do not seem to be written by the same hand.

*Anastasi I* and the *Edinburgh Poem about the Chariot* (*Ä. Z.* 18 [1880], 94–95). No translations of this section seem to have published besides those named above in the general introduction.

⟨The scribe Amenope writes to the scribe Paibēs<sup>1</sup>⟩ saying: — Take good heed to make ready the array(?)<sup>2</sup> of horses which is (bound) for Syria, together with their stable-men<sup>3</sup>, and likewise their grooms<sup>4</sup>; their coats<sup>5</sup> . . . -ed and filled with provender and straw, rubbed down twice over; their corn-bags(?)<sup>6</sup> filled with kyllestis-bread<sup>7</sup>, a single ass(?) in the charge of<sup>8</sup> (every) two men. Their chariots are of *bry*-wood(?)<sup>9</sup> filled with ⟨all kinds of(?)⟩ weapons of warfare<sup>10</sup>; eighty arrows in the 1,5 quiver<sup>11</sup>, the . . . . .<sup>12</sup>, the lance(?)<sup>13</sup>, the sword<sup>14</sup>, the dagger, the . . . . .<sup>15</sup>, the . . . . .<sup>16</sup>, the whip<sup>17</sup> of *ʿtʿg*-wood<sup>18</sup> furnished with lashes<sup>19</sup>, the chariot-club<sup>20</sup>, the staff(?)<sup>21</sup> of watchfulness, the javelin<sup>22</sup> of Kheta, the rein-looser(?)<sup>23</sup>, their facings ⟨of⟩ bronze of six-fold alloy<sup>24</sup>, graven with chiselling(?)<sup>25</sup>, . . . . . -ed, and . . . . . -ed<sup>26</sup>. Their cuirasses<sup>27</sup> are placed beside them. The bows are adjust-

1) The names are restored from 5, 5.

2) *Rks* is possibly identical with the rare Hebrew collective word for “horses” רכב; see BURCH. no. 642, where the phonetic difficulty is pointed out. — For *grg* we should expect *grg-tw* (cf. 5,6), but in 3, 5 and *d’Orbiney* 2, 2 the ending is similarly omitted.

3) *Hry ʿh*, a very common title, which in itself probably indicates quite a low rank.

4) *Mri*, see p. 6\*, n. 16.

5) *Šnw* lit. “hair”, only here of horses’ coats.

6) Here the provisions for the stable-men and grooms appear to be referred to; these were carried on asses. — *Hʿr*, properly a corn-measure, is occasionally determined with the sign for the hide, cf. *Rhind Math. Pap.* 41, 3, 4; 43, 1, MAR., Karnak 54, 46.

7) The *k-r-š-t* was a small loaf weighing from about half to three-quarters of a pound, see EISENLOHR, *Proc. S. B. A.* 19, 263; the name is preserved in the Greek *κλλησις*, a word known from Hdt. II 77 and other sources (see *Ä. Z.* 47 [1910], 159 footnote).

8) *R twd* as preposition means either (1) “in the charge of”, so here and *Pap. Bologna* 1094, 6, 7; *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 187, 3, 4, 6; or (2) “with” (*apud*) cf. *Salt* 124, verso 1, 1; *Pap. Turin* 57, 1; 103, 1, 16.

9) *Bry*, only here and *Anast. IV* 16, 7, where it is likewise a kind of wood of which chariots were made.

10) Probably emend *hʿw* ⟨*nb*⟩ *n r h-t*; note that in this expression *h-t* is written with *t* and stroke during the 18th. Dynasty, (cf. *Urk.* IV 699).

11) *ʿIs-p-t*, see above p. 27\*, n. 17.

12) *Hmy-t*, as a weapon belonging to the chariot, *Edinburgh Poem about Chariot*, recto 11.

13) *M-r-h*, only here and *Anast. IV* 17, 1; cf. *μερεδ*, but this comparison perhaps fails if the

Boheiric form *μερεδ* quoted by Peyron is well authenticated.

14) *H-r-p*, Hebrew רב, also *Anast. IV* 17, 1; *Edinburgh Poem*, recto 13.

15) *K-w-t*, only here.

16) *Sk-hm(w)*, again only *Anast. IV* 17, 1.

17) *ʿIs-b-r*, see BURCH. no. 134 and above p. 26\*, n. 6.

18) *ʿtʿg*, a species of wood; whips are made of it, as here, *Anast. IV* 17, 2; the chariot-pole, below 2, 1; chariots, *Urk. IV* 707; the word also *ib.* 701. 705. 732.

19) *Rwd-(wt)* “lashes”, only here; *Anast. I* 26, 8 uses another word; for *rwd-(wt)* as bow-string cf. below 1, 8; LACAU, *Sarcophages II*, Index.

20) So too *tʿwn-t n ty-k mrkb-t*, *Edinburgh Poem*, verso 9.

21) *Hʿ(w)*, elsewhere only *d’Orbiney* 13, 1 (conclusive as to sense); *Anast. IV* 17, 3.

22) The weapon *nʿw* seems from the hieroglyphic determinative in R., *I. H.* 215, 31; 240, 37; 241, 44 to be a javelin; for javelins, see WILKINSON, *Anc. Egyptians* (ed. BIRCH), I 208. Cf. *p nʿw n ty-k mrkb-t*, *Edinburgh Poem*, recto 11.

23) For *ʿt* “to loose” see p. 22\*, n. 7, and for *hnr* see p. 20\*, n. 10; what instrument is here meant is hard to say.

24) *Sm(3) n stš* is evidently an alloy of six ingredients; from this passage and from *Harris I* 45, 5; 47, 6; 52 b 9 it is plainly a kind of bronze, and from *ibid.* 6, 9; 47, 4 we know that it was of the colour of gold, i. e. probably like brass. Other references, *Harris I* 59, 3; *Pap. Turin* 32, 7, 9; *Anast. IV* 16, 12.

25) For this difficult phrase see p. 28\*, n. 13.

26) *Ftʿ* and *m-s-k*, unknown verbs.

27) *R-b-š-y*, from Hebrew לבש; see SPIEGELBERG, *Petubastis*, Index no. 235—236 for demotic instances and some important remarks.

<sup>2,1</sup> ed(?) to their strings<sup>1</sup>, their wood<sup>2</sup> being tested in drawing, their(?) bindings(?)<sup>3</sup> consisting of clean . . . . leather(?)<sup>4</sup>. The pole<sup>5</sup> is of *t3g*-wood<sup>6</sup>, . . . . . -ed<sup>7</sup>, shaped(?)<sup>8</sup>, fitted with leather<sup>9</sup>, finished off(?)<sup>10</sup> and polished(?)<sup>11</sup>.

1) *Rwd(wt)*, see above note 18; the meaning of *tsy* here is obscure.

2) *Dbw* lit. "horns", here clearly the wooden part of the bows; the word for bow in other languages not seldom alludes to its shape, cf. *arcus*, *Bogen*.

3) *Mš-y*, only here and *Anast. I* 26,6.

4) For *mtr-t* we may possibly compare *Pap. Kahun* 19, 57.

5) For the word ' see p. 28\*, n. 6.

6) *T3g*, see p. 37\*, n. 18.

7) *G-p* does not occur in the parallel text *Anast. IV* 16, 11—12, and has evidently nothing

to do with *g-p* below 2,8; it may be for *g-r-p*, a gloss on *g-r-b* (see next note).

8) *G-r-b* (so too *Anast. IV* 16, 11) is identical with *g-r-p*, *Anast. I* 26, 5; see p. 28\*, n. 7.

9) *Tby* is clearly derived from *ibw* "sandal-maker", "leather-worker"; in the sense "shod", cf. *Anast. III* 8, 6 = *Anast. IV* 16, 5.

10) *Sgnn* "to oil", cf. *Anast. III* 8, 4 = *Anast. IV* 16, 3; *Anast. IV* 15, 4; 16, 12; *Sall. I* 4, 10; 5, 3; *Harris* 500, verso 5, 9.

11) *Mš-r-r* (also in *Anast. IV* 16, 12) looks like a Semitic passive participle \**mashrūr*; the word is unknown.

## b. Warnings to the idle scribe.

Almost all the great miscellanies of the New Kingdom contain threats and warnings addressed to the idle scribe, most of which begin with the stereotyped words found here (e. g. *Sall. I* 6,1; *Anast. IV* 11,8; *Anast. V* 6,1). The present text, fragmentary duplicates of which are found in *Anastasi IV* 2,4—3,2 and *Anastasi V* 5,1, is peculiar in the fact that it consists almost entirely of a long drawn out simile, the pupil being compared to a careless sailor. The end of the section is much damaged and practically unintelligible. The parallel texts from *Anast. IV* and *Anast. V* are reproduced in facsimile in the *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character* (London 1842 and 1844), plates LXXXIII. LXXXIV and plate XCIX respectively; for a complete description of these Mss. the reader must be referred to a subsequent instalment of this work. A few phrases were translated by CHABAS in his *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 141. 241, and the whole, so far as it is preserved in *Anast. IV* and *Anast. V*, was rendered into French by MASPERO, *Du genre épistolaire chez les anciens Égyptiens* (Paris 1872), p. 28—30. The version of the *Koller* was first utilized by LAUTH, *Die altägyptische Hochschule von Chennu*, in *Sitzb. d. k. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1872, p. 66; then more completely by WIEDEMANN in 1879. The only other translations seem to be those of ERMAN in *Aegypten* (1885), p. 514 (mainly a paraphrase) and in the handbook mentioned above in the general introduction.

They<sup>1</sup> tell me that thou forsakest writing<sup>2</sup>, and departest and dost flee; that thou forsakest writing and usest thy legs<sup>3</sup> like horses of the riding-school(?)<sup>4</sup>. Thy heart is fluttered; thou art like an 'hy-bird<sup>5</sup>. Thy ear is deaf(?)<sup>6</sup>; thou

1) The section opens with the usual epistolary formula *r nti* "to wit", which is best omitted in translating.

2) Not "books"; for *sš* "to write" so determined cf. *Anast. V* 8, 3; *Inscr. of Mes* N 14.

3) The expression *mḥ-k m rdwt-k*, lit. "thou seizest (or "art full of") thy legs", seems to occur only here; *Anast. IV* has a superfluous *m* before *mḥ*.

4) *T-h-b* only here; the sense is quite proble-

matical. — *Htrt* seems never to be used in late-Egyptian for simply one horse; it means a pair, or a horse and chariot.

5) The bird 'hy is also mentioned *Anast. IV* 1 b, 1; *Pap. med. Berlin* 21, 2.

6) *D-n(r)-g* only here; however the proper name *D-n(r)-g* (BURCH. no. 1189), older *D3g* (e. g. *Cairo stele M. K.* 20007; *L. D.* II 147 b), is often determined with the ear, implying that the verb was common.

art like an ass in taking beatings<sup>1</sup>. Thou art like an antelope in fleeing. Thou  
 2,5 art not<sup>2</sup> a hunter<sup>3</sup> of the desert, nor a Mazoi<sup>4</sup> of the West! Thou art one who  
 is deaf and does not hear<sup>5</sup>, to whom men make (signs) with the hand. Thou  
 art like the mate of a skipper skilled in (managing) the boat. When he is  
 skipper<sup>6</sup> in the boat, he stands at the prow(?)<sup>7</sup>, he does not look out for  
 dangerous winds, he does not search for the current<sup>8</sup>; if the outer(?)<sup>9</sup> rope is  
 let go, the rope in front(?)<sup>10</sup> is in his neck(?)<sup>11</sup>. When he is pulling the rope<sup>12</sup>,  
 he catches(?)<sup>13</sup> the . . . . . -birds, he plucks<sup>14</sup> . . . . . -flowers(?)<sup>15</sup> on the banks, he  
 cuts away<sup>16</sup> clods of earth(?)<sup>17</sup>. His . . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . . -trees, he . . . . .  
*ksb*-trees<sup>19</sup>. His . . . . .<sup>20</sup> is of seven cubits, he cuts reeds(?). His tresses(?)<sup>21</sup>  
 3,1 . . . . . to his feet, in work of Kush. His . . . . . is of bright . . . . .<sup>22</sup>  
 in work of the overseer of . . . . .<sup>23</sup>. He binds threads<sup>24</sup> to its(?) end, in

1) I. e. thou art as stubborn and unresponsive when punished as a beaten ass.

2) *Anast. IV* wrongly omits the negation here and inserts it before *mnk shy*.

3) For similar writings of *nw* "hunter" (for the sense see the determinative in *Urk. I 2*) cf. *Urk. IV 994*; *Harris I 28, 4*; *L., D. III 356*.

4) For the Mazoi as hunters, cf. especially *Anast. IV 10, 5*; in *Urk. IV 994* the titles "great one of the *Māšw*" and "overseer of hunters" occur in parallelism with one another. See now MAX MÜLLER, *Egypt. Researches II* p. 76—77.

5) Cf. *Anast. I 6, 6*; 26, 3.

6) I. e. when the mate (*hri* "subordinate") is acting as the skipper or *rēis*.

7) *Tptt*, probably a special nautical term; *tp-t* is the name of a part or an appurtenance of a boat made of cedar-wood and measuring 20—30 cubits (*Turin. Pap.* unpublished); *tptt* may be a *nisbe*-form from it.

8) *H(y)-n*, Coptic *ϣοειμ* (*Rec. de Trav.* 28, 214); elsewhere the word clearly means "waves", not "current", e. g. *Anast. IV 1b, 2*.

9) If *n bn(r)* is read with Koller, this must be a genitive qualifying *p nwh*; if the reading of *Anast. IV* be preferred *h3 r bn(r)* means "to let go".

10) *Hnt-t* is possibly a technical term for the rope attached at the prow.

11) I. e. probably, becomes entangled with his neck. WIEDEMANN takes this clause to mean, "the towing-rope is placed round his neck", but this cannot be correct, as the sentence clearly continues the description of what happens when the mate is acting as skipper. — *Hhwt-k*, which KOLLER reads instead of *hhwt-f* (*Anast. IV*), is certainly a mistake, like *rdwt-k* in 3, 1; the scribe is still influenced by the pronouns of the second person with which the text began.

12) *Wnn-f tth p nwh* (parallel to *wnn-f m nfw* above) introduces a new picture of the mate's heedlessness; he is now imagined as towing on the river-bank. For *tth p nwh* the Modern Egyptian would say quite similarly *يبجر لبنان*.

13) *G-p* is here probably the equivalent of *kp* (see above p. 9\*, n. 14); the substitution of *g* for *k* is however difficult to parallel at this period.

14) *Fg*, so written also *Pap. Leiden 345, recto G 2, 1*, is the equivalent of *fk* in *Pap. Turin 89, 5*; doubtless Coptic *ϣωσε: ϣωσι evellere*.

15) *Šrt(w)*, only here.

16) *Pns* means "to cut off" the head (e. g. *MAR., Mast. D 10*; *Mission V 622*) or the ribs (cf. *NAV., Deir el Bahari 107*; *Mission V 617*) of a bull to be sacrificed; also "to cut away" hair, *Ebers 63, 13*. Here I imagine the meaning to be that the idle sailor, instead of attending to his towing, amuses himself with hunting the birds or picking the flowers on the bank, or else in knocking away the heavy lumps of muddy earth at the edge of which he is walking.

17) *M-k-k*, cf. *Anast. III 2, 4*, where the word occurs together with *šht* "fields".

18) *Mtr?* here is of unknown meaning.

19) Before *ksb*, a kind of tree mentioned already in the Pyramidtexts (e. g. 456. 994), an infinitive is expected; perhaps emend *tn* "to bring".

20) *Wšht*, meaning unknown.

21) *Nbd-t* means "tressed hair" in *d'Orbiney 10, 7. 9; 11, 2. 4*; *Anast. III 3, 3*; masculine in *Harris 500, recto 6, 1*. The damaged word following is perhaps a verb "to dangle" "hang down" or the like. For the erroneous reading *rdwt-k* of KOLLER see above n. 11. — The very obscure sentences which follow may allude to the foppish attire of the skipper's mate, another sign of his disinclination for regular work.

22) The words *t-t* and *n-f* are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

23) Reading and meaning uncertain; the title occurs again *Harris I 7, 9* (see *A. Z.* 23 [1885], 60—61), where its connection with cattle suggests that it means "overseer of horns".

24) *G-w-tn* seems from *Anast. I 24, 6* to mean "to bind" or "tie". — *P-t-r* probably the Hebrew פֶּרֶי, see BURCH. no. 430. The meaning of the sentence is quite obscure.

order to wear a loin-cloth(?)<sup>1</sup>. He is one who pricks up(?) the ear<sup>2</sup> on the day of the ass; (he is) a rudder on the day of the boat. I will do all these things to him<sup>3</sup>, if he turns his back<sup>4</sup> on his office.

1) This garment, the transcription of which is unknown, is often mentioned in late-Egyptian texts e. g. below 4,6; BERGMANN, *Hierat. Texte* 1,2. 5; *Pap. Berlin* 9784,6; *Harris* 500, verso 1,11; and six times in *Harris* I.

2) *Mh msdr*, lit. "to fill the ear", i. e. probably to "listen" "hear" "hearken"; cf. *Anast. I* 20,6 (with a superfluous *m*); *Anast. IV* 5,4; both rather obscure passages.

3) These words must refer to the lazy pupil

addressed in the first words of this effusion, and we should therefore expect the second person; this however is given by neither text, though *Koller* has had two examples of the suffix 2nd. pers. sing. where it was not required (see p. 39\*, n. 11). Nor is it plain to what the words "all these things" refer, since no punishments have been threatened or described.

4) *H3' h3-f r*, cf. *Anast. V* 6,1; 15,7 = *Sall. I* 6, 2; *Pap. Turin* 88, 11; *Israel stele* 11; *Berlin Ostrakon* 11247 (*Hierat. Pap.* III, 35).

### c. A letter concerning Nubian tribute.

This is a letter supposed to be sent by a high official named Paser, probably the Viceroy himself, to a Nubian chieftain, ordering him to make ready the tribute of his district without delay. The interest of the section centres in the long enumeration of the Nubian products, the best list of the kind that exists among our literary records. A shorter but interesting list occurs in the letter from Rameses XII to his Viceroy Pinehasi (PLEYTE-ROSSI. *Papyrus de Turin* 66. 67). A duplicate of the beginning of the present letter, with a rather different text, occurs on a potsherd discovered by QUIBELL in the course of his excavations at the Ramesseum; it has been published by SPIEGELBERG in his volume *Hieratic Ostraka and Papyri* (Egyptian Research Account, extra volume, 1898), plate 5, no. 39a. Besides the translations by WIEDEMANN and ERMAN already mentioned, there is an incomplete rendering by H. BRUGSCH in his book *Sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth* (Leipzig 1891), p. 115.

The fan-bearer at the right hand of the king, the captain of auxiliary troops, the overseer of the countries of Kush, Paser<sup>1</sup>, writes to him who protects his people<sup>2</sup>, to wit: — This communication is brought to thee saying: when my letter reaches thee thou shalt cause the tribute to be made ready<sup>3</sup> in all its items<sup>4</sup>, in *iw3*-bulls, young *g3*-bulls, *wndw*-bulls, gazelles, oryxes<sup>5</sup>, ibexes<sup>6</sup>, ostriches<sup>7</sup>; their broad-boats, cattle-boats<sup>8</sup> and (ordinary) boats being ready to hand(?)<sup>9</sup>, their

1) The titles are unusual, but "fanbearer" etc. and "overseer of the lands of Kush" suggest that the "Royal Son of Kush" is meant. One "Royal Son" or "Viceroy" named Paser lived in the reign of Eye (stelae at Gebel Addeh); another seems to be mentioned under Rameses II on a monument at Naples, see BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, 953.

2) *Mhk rml-f* is found nowhere else either as a title or as a proper name. SP., *H. O.* had a different reading: "[to . . . . . the overseer(?) of the . . . . . of] Kush".

3) Variant of SP., *H. O.*, "thou shalt take heed to have [the tribute] made ready".

4) Lit. "in all its things".

5) *M3-hd*, for this animal see VON BISSING, *Mast. d. Gemnikai I* 34, and for the spelling cf. *Harris I* 4, 8; 20a, 12. 13 etc.

6) *Nr3w*, a late writing of the old word *ni3w*, found first in *Benihasan* II 4. 13; for the animal, see VON BISSING, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

7) *Niw*, already *Pyr.* 469a; a good instance *Urk.* IV 19; cf. too below 4.1.

8) *Hn-ihw*, cf. *Anast. IV* 6,11; 7,6; *Harris I* 12b, 11; 69,13.

9) *Tptt-dt*, only here.

skippers and their crews prepared for starting; much gold wrought into dishes<sup>1</sup>, refined gold(?) in bushels(?), good gold, precious stones(?)<sup>2</sup> of the desert in bags  
 4.1 of red cloth, ivory and ebony, ostrich<sup>3</sup> feathers, nebk fruit in . . . . ., bread  
 of the nebk<sup>4</sup>, š-k-r-k-b-y of(?) m-y-n-y-h-s<sup>5</sup>, h-k-k<sup>6</sup>, š-s-y<sup>7</sup>, panther skins, gum<sup>8</sup>,  
*didy*-berries<sup>9</sup>, red jasper<sup>10</sup>, amethyst(?)<sup>11</sup>, crystal<sup>12</sup>, cats of *Miw*<sup>13</sup>, baboons, apes,  
 šnw-vessels containing *hnti*(?)-pigment<sup>14</sup>, cyperus-roots(?)<sup>15</sup>, sacks(?) and *ps*-packets(?)<sup>16</sup>;  
 numerous men of 'Ir-m-i<sup>17</sup> in front of the revenues, their staves(?)<sup>18</sup> adorned with  
 4.5 gold, . . . . .<sup>19</sup> containing . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .-ed<sup>21</sup> with . . . . .<sup>22</sup>

1) *Dd-t*, so written too *Anast. IV* 16,2, is a flat dish, cf. *Urk. IV* 631; the word occurs already in the Old Kingdom, cf. L., *D.* II28, and its connection with the Hebrew דד seems very doubtful.

2) *Gmw*, an unknown word.

3) *Nrw* is a spelling for *ntw* (see above p. 40\*, n. 7) cf. *Pap. Turin* 125, 6.

4) The tree called *nbs* in Egyptian, in Old Coptic ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲥ (*A. Z.* 38 [1900], 87), is the zizyphus, or Christ's thorn-tree, called by the Arabs نبق; its fruit is sweet and palatable when ripe; the "bread of the *nbs*-tree", mentioned here and in the lists of offerings, is probably a cake made from the dried fruit. See MASPERO'S article *Proc. S. B. A.* 13, 496—498. — *Hmhm* is unknown.

5) Two unknown Nubian words, of which the first is probably the name of a fruit, the second that of a tree.

6) *H-k-k*, a fruit of some kind, conjectured by BRUGSCH to be that of the dum-palm, see *Wörterb. Suppl.* 855; further examples in the *Petrie Ostraca* 31, 37; for the spelling here cf. *Harris I* 19b, 12; 36b, 5.

7) *Š-s-y*, probably a fruit, is mentioned next to *h-k-k* in *Harris I* 65a, 4, 5 and again *ibid.* 74, 3, 4.

8) *Kmy* "gum", κομμι in Greek and κομμ in Boheiric, see especially KRALL, *Studien z. Gesch. d. alten Aegypten* IV, 27—30.

9) *Didy*, according to BRUGSCH (*A. Z.* 29, [1891], 31—33) the magically potent red berry of the mandrake; this plant was particularly abundant in Elephantine, cf. besides BRUGSCH'S references *Urk. IV*, 55. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 24, 102) mentions a plant called *ophiusa* which grew at Elephantine and possessed very remarkable properties.

10) *Hnm-t*, probably either red jasper or carnelian; for the colour cf. L., *D.* III 117 = CHAMP., *Not. Descr.* I 479; *Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind* I, 1; *Turin Love-songs* 2, 3. The knot-amulet, which is usually of jasper or cornelian, is said in *Totb. ed.* LEPS., 159 to be made of *hnm-t*. The Hebrew חחלנא was compared with *hnm-t* by BRUGSCH, *Wörterb.* 1100; but LXX interprets this as ἀμέθυστος. *Hnm-t* as a product of Nubia, cf. *Pap. Turin* 67, 11; *Sehel, Famine Inscription* 16.

11) *H-m-k* is without doubt merely a variant Gardiner.

writing of *hmsg3-t*, which is mentioned elsewhere as a product of Nubia, see BRUGSCH, *Sieben Jahre der Hungersnot*, p. 129. LEPSIUS-BEREND (*Les Métaux*, p. 21 footnote) cites HOSKINS for the fact that this precious stone is depicted as red. If this evidence be relied upon, *hmsg3-t* might be carnelian, *hnm-t* being red jasper; or *vice versa*. However a word for "amethyst" is still wanting, and I prefer provisionally to identify *hmsg3-t* with this.

12) 'Ir-k-b-s is rightly identified by BONDI, *Lehnwörter* 28, with Hebrew אגמטשו Assyrian *algamšū*.

13) *Mlw*, a Nubian district, mentioned *Urk. IV* 796 and often.

14) *Hnti*(?) is often mentioned as a material used in writing, e. g. *Pap. Leiden* 347, 12, 9; *Totb. ed. NAV.*, 130, 44; 134, 17; together with other colours used for writing or painting, cf. *Mission XV* 26 (Luxor); *Ostrakon Cairo* 25247; *šny*-vessels containing *hnti*(?), cf. *Harris I* 65a, 3; 74, 2. Possibly this is the name of the raw material out of which the ordinary red paint was made.

15) *Nfw* is compared by NEWBERRY (*Proc. S. B. A.* 22, 146—148) to a vegetable product, the root of the *Cyperus esculentus*, L., still known in the Sudan under the name نفو.

16) *Ps*, cf. *Harris I* 65a, 8; 74, 6, in connection with *nfw*.

17) 'Ir-m-i, a well known tribe of the Sudan, cf. *Urk. IV* 333, 796; L., *D.* III 218 c and elsewhere. MASPERO (*Rec. de Trav.* 8, 84) recalled the fact that the Galla race call themselves *Ilm Orma* "the sons of Orma", and concluded that the ancient word 'Ir-m-i is preserved in the modern *Ilm*; TOMKINS (*Rec. de Trav.* 10, 98) prefers to identify 'Ir-m-i with Orma, and if the name *Ilm Orma* has anything at all to do with 'Ir-m-i, this surely is the more likely view of the two, *Ilm* meaning simply "sons of" like بنو.

18) 'I-b-r-d(?)-i, an unknown word.

19) *K-r-k-r-t-b-i* is unknown, and the verb(?) *s-š3-w* has a very suspicious appearance.

20) *S-n(r)-w* is a ἕπαξ λεγόμενον.

21) *Tftf* in *Pap. Turin* 74, 5 means "to be disturbed" "fluttered" like the simplex *tft*; its sense here is unknown.

22) *Hpl-t*, another unknown word.

and with all precious stones; tall men of *T-rk*<sup>1</sup> in loin-cloths(?), their fans<sup>2</sup> of gold, wearing high feathers<sup>3</sup>, their bracelets(??)<sup>4</sup> of woven thread; many Negroes of all sorts<sup>5</sup>. Increase thy contribution every year! Have a care for thy head, and turn thee from thy indolence. Thou art [old]; look to it diligently<sup>6</sup>, and beware! Be mindful of the day<sup>7</sup> when the revenues are brought, and thou passest 5,1 into the Presence beneath the Balcony<sup>8</sup>; the nobles ranged on either side in front of his Majesty, the chiefs and envoys<sup>9</sup> of every land standing gazing and looking at the revenues. Thou art afraid and shrinkest(?)<sup>10</sup>, thy hand grows feeble, and thou knowest not whether it be death or life that lies before thee<sup>11</sup>. Thou art profuse in prayers [to] thy gods: "Save me, prosper me<sup>12</sup> this one time!"

1) *T-rk* does not seem to occur elsewhere, unless the name hitherto read *3-rk* (URK. IV 796; DE MORGAN, *Cat. d. Mon.* I 67) should really be read with the *hw*-bird.

2) *Bh-t*, cf. *Harris I* 21a, 2; *Harris 500*, recto 3,11; the phrase *hbs bh-t* "to carry(?) the fan" cf. DAVIES, *Amarna VI* 20; *Anast. III* 8,6 = *Anast. IV* 16,5; L., *D. III* 218 c.

3) ERMAN regards the words "high of feathers" as an attribute of the fans; this appears to me less probable.

4) *K-r-m-t* occurs again only in the description of Negroes *Anast. III* 8,7 = *Anast. IV* 16,6 "their *k-r-m-t* are upon (*r*) their hands".

5) *M tmw nb*, see above p. 7\*, n. 6.

6) For *b'*, see ERMAN's remarks *A. Z.* 42 (1905), 107.

7) Cf. *sh3 nk hrw n hrs*, *Sinuhe B* 190.

8) *S3d*, see p. 17\*, n. 6.

9) *M3'yt*, only here; from *ms'* "to travel".

10) *T3bb3* is probably to be emended into *tnb3*, for which see *Admonitions* p. 67.

11) For *n . . . n* "whether . . . or", see *Inscription of Mes*, p. 16.

12) *Swd3-i*, probably infinitive used as imperative, see SETHE, *Verbum II* § 566; see above p. 22\*, n. 17, and cf. *in-i*, *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 197, 4, 6; *int-i*, *Pap. Bibl. Nat.* 197, 6, 2.

#### d. An order to make preparations for Pharaoh's arrival.

The three remaining lines of the fifth page of the *Koller*, after which the papyrus abruptly ends, contain the beginning of a long letter that is more completely preserved in *Anastasi IV* 13,8—17,9. A detailed consideration of this letter would here be out of place, and the translation of the three lines preserved in the *Koller* is given below only for the sake of completeness. The entire text will be dealt with later in connection with *Anastasi IV*.

5,5 The scribe Amenope writes <to> the scribe Paibēs. This letter is brought unto thee to say: — Take heed to have preparations made for Pharaoh, thy good lord, in fair and excellent order. Do not draw down punishment upon thyself. Look to it diligently, and beware! Do not be remiss! List of all the things that thou shalt cause to be provided. — Let materials be procured for the basket-makers consisting of reeds and and *is-r*-grass; and likewise . . . . .  
 . . . . . (End).



## Symbols, abbreviations etc..

Lacunae are always indicated by cross-hatching  $\%$ ; blank spaces in the original are specially noted; blank spaces in the publication have no significance.

Restorations are indicated both by square brackets [ ], and by cross-hatching  $\%$ .

A vertical dotted line  $\vdots$  indicates that the signs next following are not the Ms. continuation of what precedes, but are transposed from elsewhere.

Two such dotted lines  $\ddots$  indicate the omission, in the publication, of some signs or words contained in the original.

Sic above or below a sign implies that the Ms. reading is reproduced with special care, and that no doubt need be felt by the reader.

tr. " " " " " indicates traces suitable to the reading given.

pr. " " " " " " that the reading is probable, but not certain.



Words or signs in red in the original are underlined; verse-points  $\bullet$  are always red unless otherwise stated.

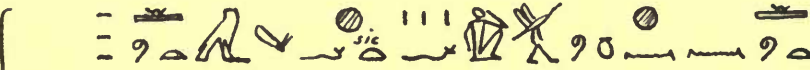

In the textual notes the numbers used in quotation refer, wherever practicable, to page and line of the original manuscript: thus in this Part 2,5 would indicate Anastasi I, page 2, line 5; on the other hand p.2, l.5 would signify page 2, and line 5 of my publication of literary texts.

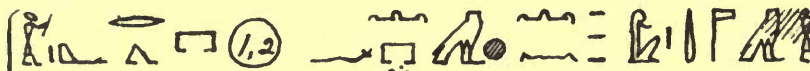
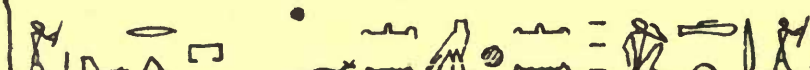
Hieratic signs in the notes have been traced from the original or from a good facsimile unless otherwise stated or clearly implied.

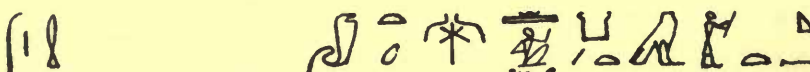

1. A satirical letter from one scribe to another,

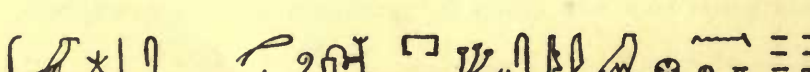
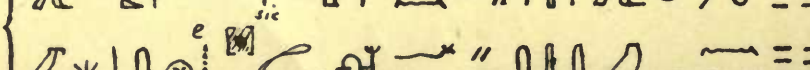
transcribed from Pap. Brit. Mus. 10247 (Anastasi I) and from  
sundry other fragmentary manuscripts.


{		Anastasi I	1
{		Ostr. Petrie	2

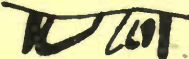
{		An. I	3
{		O. P.	4



{		An. I	5
{		O. P.	6


{		An. I	7
{		O. P.	8

{		An. I	9
{		O. P.	10

2.<sup>a</sup>  — There is hardly room for ndnd before this. Read [ἡὸτ?]

4.<sup>b</sup>  =  $\frac{\text{κατα} [\text{κατα}]}{\text{κα} \dots \text{τα}} ?$

7.<sup>c</sup>  corruptly for , as (e.g.) in kd (Anast. I) 2, 1; stpw 2, 6.

9.<sup>d</sup> with dot, i. e. properly .

10.<sup>e</sup> O. P. here interposes several sentences, see below p. 2 l. 2 et seqq.

{  
 ... (13) ... An.I  
 ... (3) ... O.P.

{  
 ... An.I  
 ... (4) ... O.P.

{  
 ... An.I  
 ... (5) ... O.P.

{  
 ... (13) ... An.I  
 ... (6) ... O.P.

{  
 ... An.I  
 ... O.P.

{  
 ... An.I  
 ... (8) ... (7) ... O.P.

{  
 ... (14) ... An.I  
 ... (9) ... O.P.


{  
 ... An.I  
 End ... (10) ... O.P.

5

10

15



2.<sup>a</sup> Immediately following upon m isy-f n ssw (above, p.1, l.10) O.P. has some sentences absent from An.I. Restore the first [ssw m] iswt-f?

4.<sup>b-c</sup> Thus:-  almost invisible, i.e. rh latter added over the suffix (tw-f).

6.<sup>d-e</sup>  hardly  n ssw or n ssw = n

11.<sup>h</sup> Not m, though rather similarly made.

12.<sup>f</sup> Now scaled away, but seen by me. —<sup>g</sup> Here the words stszu(t) etc., see above p.1, l.10 — p.2, l.2.

13.<sup>i</sup>  i.e. properly  (n), a common error.

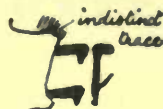
15.<sup>m</sup> Possibly these words should not be separated from ihwnw nb (above l.13); but

[see O.P.]

16.<sup>k</sup> Doubtful traces. —<sup>m</sup> The recto may have had another line; the verso shows nearly illegible traces of two lines inter-punctuated with red, which may belong to this text.



2<sup>a</sup> Really  $\overline{\text{S}}$  under the influence of 18. <sup>b</sup> Read ob(s)k, cf. 4, 3

3<sup>c</sup> Corrupted from  $\overline{\text{R}}$ , as often. <sup>d</sup> ; the  $\text{O}$  like a  $\infty$ .

4<sup>e</sup> Corrupted from  $\text{ft } \overline{\text{9}} \text{O}$ .

5<sup>f-g</sup> Or rather  $\Rightarrow \text{A} \overline{\text{9}} \text{O}$ ; clearly a corruption of  $\text{A} \overline{\text{S}} \Pi$ ; see too 12, 1.

6<sup>h</sup> Sp (iezelberg)'s copy has indistinct traces.

8<sup>i</sup> So Sp.; read  $\infty$ ?

10<sup>k</sup> Read  $\overline{\text{9}} \text{O} \text{ sp-t}$ ? <sup>l</sup> Read 36h.

12<sup>m</sup> Sp's copy omits; so fotogr.

13<sup>n</sup> Properly  $\text{S} \overline{\text{m}} \text{S}$ ; contrast 3, 4, 5. <sup>o</sup> See facsimile. <sup>p</sup> Corrupt for  $\overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{A}}$ .

{  
<sup>a</sup> 90 P P ~~h~~ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I □ I P An.I  
 9 9 0 P P ⊙ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ An.I  
 O.B.N.

{  
 ⊙ 9 9 0 P P ⊙ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ An.I  
 ⊙ 9 9 0 P P ⊙ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ O.B.N.



{  
 T A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ An.I  
 T A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ O.B.N.

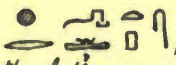


{  
 ⊙ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ An.I  
 ⊙ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ O.B.N.  
 ⊙ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ Ostr. Brussels.




{  
 ⊙ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ An.I  
 ⊙ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ O.B.N.  
 ⊙ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ O.Br.



{  
 (2,2) ⊙ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ An.I  
 ⊙ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ O.B.N.  
 ⊙ A I L O L O 9 A F A I 9 I 9 I ⊙ O.Br.



1.<sup>a</sup>  is for , see above p. 1a, note 7.<sup>c</sup>


4.<sup>b</sup> Sp. transcribes , but his hand-copy has a clear  with an uncertain group following; the latter must contain the determinative 

6.<sup>c</sup> Sp's hand-copy  — <sup>d</sup> Sp. reads 9.<sup>d</sup>; perhaps for . — <sup>e</sup> Sp.  but the det.

6.<sup>f</sup> Practically certain; the stroke of 1 [9] clear in Phot.  are in favour of .


8.<sup>g</sup> Clear in Phot.

9.<sup>h</sup> Hardly .

12.<sup>k</sup> Hardly .

13.<sup>i-k</sup> The traces 

make nhb certain; if the restoration nhb-[t] is right, the phrase wh<sup>c</sup> nhb-t belongs logically to mniti mds n ps ih etc., above 1, 8-2, 1.

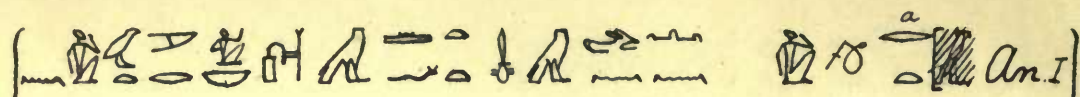
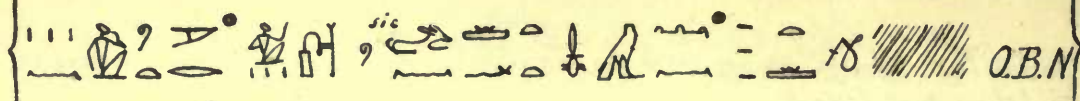

14.<sup>m</sup> So Phot., not .

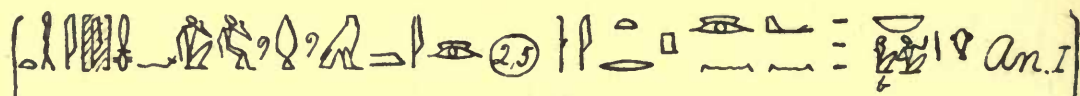




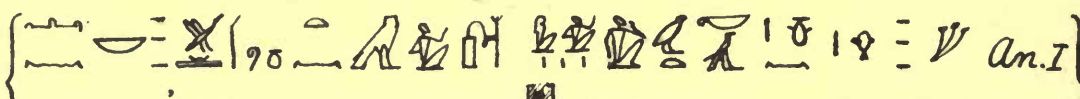
2<sup>a</sup> So too Phot.; doubtless an error for  $\overline{\pi 1}$ , -<sup>b</sup> Sp.: "mit roter Tinte in  $\beta$  korrigiert."  
cf. below p. 15 line 5.


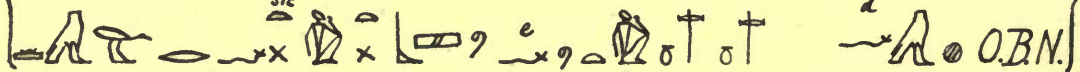
5<sup>c</sup> So apparently Sp.'s hand-copy.

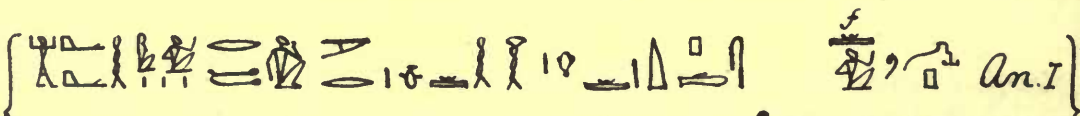

11.<sup>d</sup> Not clear in the hand-copy; so Sp.'s transcription. -  $\overline{\eta \text{---} \text{f}}$  (so too Phot.) probably arose from a mistaken reading of the hieratic group for  $\overline{m\dot{s}c}$ , which has some points of similarity.

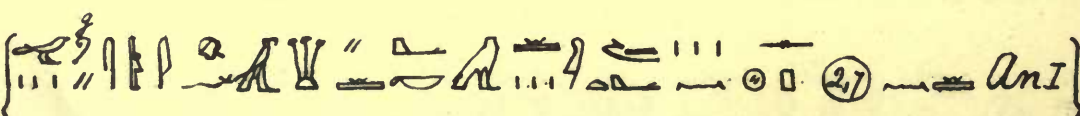

 An.I  
 O.B.N  
 O.Br.

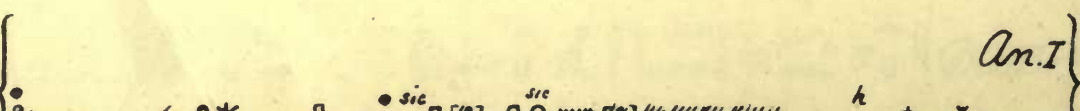
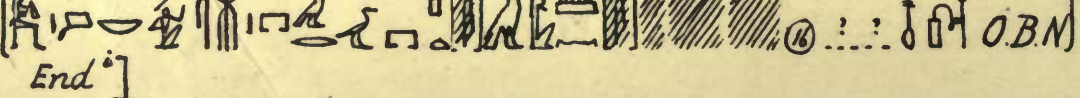
 An.I  
 O.B.N  
 End'  O.Br.

 An.I  
 O.B.N

 An.I  
 O.B.N.

 An.I  
 O.B.N.

 An.I  
 O.B.N.

 An.I  
 O.B.N  
 End' ]

1<sup>a</sup> Properly  $\overline{\text{f8}}$ , see above p. 3a, note 2<sup>a</sup>.

4<sup>b</sup> Without dot, like  $\overline{\text{V}}$ .

6<sup>c</sup> It is uncertain whether there were more lines, now lost.

10<sup>d</sup> So Sp.'s hand-copy and transcription. - <sup>e</sup> a corruption out of a hieratic  $\overline{\text{A}}$ .

11<sup>f</sup>  $\overline{\text{4}}$  is for  $\overline{\text{111}}$ , see above p. 1a note 7<sup>c</sup>; for  $\overline{\text{stpw}}$  see below 5, 1 end; 7, 8 end.

13<sup>g</sup>  $\overline{\text{9}}$  is corrupted out of hieratic  $\overline{\text{2}}$ ; read  $\overline{\text{isf.t}}$

16<sup>h</sup> Sp.'s hand-copy  $\overline{\text{14}}$  - 'Finally the colophon:  $\overline{\text{PR}}^{\circ}$  on the day when the scribe  $\overline{\text{Nfr-htp}}$  came.'



<sup>k</sup>  
 1. An. I  
 2. 2,8  
 3. 3,1  
 4. 3,2  
 5. 3,3  
 6. 3,4


{ Anastasi I }  
 { Ostr. Queen's Coll. Oxford }


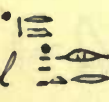
{ An. I }  
 { o.q.c. }

{ An. I }  
 { o.q.c. }

{ An. I }  
 { o.q.c. }

- 4.<sup>a</sup> At beginning, ~~ms~~ would be a possible reading. The space is rather small for [ms]z, and the final z by no means certain.
- 5.<sup>b</sup> Confusedly mounted and not quite certain.
- 6.<sup>c</sup> Scanty, but sufficient, traces. — <sup>d-e</sup>  ; not hrp(w).
- 7.<sup>f</sup> Perhaps no lacuna. — <sup>g</sup> Cf. above 2,2.
- 8.<sup>h</sup> Cf. 8,6 below. — <sup>i</sup> The correction  at top of page belongs here, <sup>k</sup> Cf. below 4,4. if not to wput in 3,6 ad init.
- 9.<sup>l</sup> The trace of m very curiously made, possibly a later addition. — <sup>m</sup> Quite clear in the original.

13.<sup>n</sup> Probably merely reconstructed from  wnm.

15.<sup>o</sup> Error for . — <sup>p</sup> Original , <sup>q</sup> gs and point added in red above. — <sup>r</sup> False analogy with i<sup>c</sup> "to wash".

17.<sup>r</sup> Or II?





3.<sup>a</sup> As often, 1 ⚡ here replaces ⚡.

7.<sup>b</sup> ⚡, erroneously for ⚡.

10.<sup>c</sup> Cf. 4, 5.

12.<sup>d</sup> ⚡

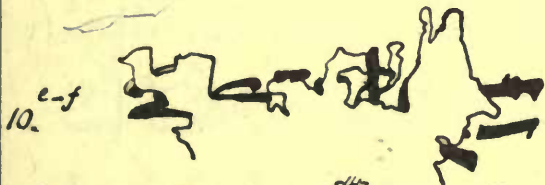


2<sup>d</sup> The first ε in this spelling of iwk is derived from iw "inherit"; the second from iε "wash".

6<sup>b</sup> Very faint, but probable.

7<sup>c</sup> A tiny trace, suitable to †. — Cf. ε at end of line, but the name is elsewhere spelt with ⲁ ⲓ.

8<sup>d</sup> The ostracum, which is complete, ends with these red signs.



10<sup>e-f</sup>

Selhe (1901) suggested snk-k irt-t, but d in md is certain, and mn probable, though the det. is quite obscure. A possible trace of m before md.

— 10<sup>i</sup> After ⊖ a small misplaced fragment.

11<sup>g</sup> Or 11. — <sup>h</sup> Hardly ⲁ ⲓ, since ⲓ is written 1,1; 4,5.




12<sup>h</sup> A corruption of wšbt; ⲓ is certain.

12<sup>l</sup> - 13<sup>m</sup> Corrupted from ⊖ ⲙ ⲁ ⲓ †.

14<sup>n</sup> For ⲁ cf. 9,9.

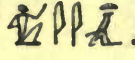
16<sup>o</sup> Not wb, which would require ⲙ; not space enough for sb. Nor can we have here a writing of db-t; ⲓ ⲁ is not found as a writing of ⲓ ⲁ. There is a trace high up at beginning, but it is dull and may be a smudge.

④.6  
 ④.7  
 ④.8  
 ⑤.1  
 ⑤.2  
 ⑤.3  
 ⑤.4  
 ⑤.5  
 ⑤.6

1.<sup>a</sup> 

2.<sup>b</sup> Cf. 17, 1 end.

3.<sup>c</sup> Damaged and displaced, but certain.

4.<sup>d</sup> Corrupted from 

5.<sup>e</sup> Read gm-i. - <sup>f</sup> Corrected out of  $\Delta$ .



6.<sup>g</sup>  - The stroke may be meant to imply that h and s should be transposed; read shwri.

8.<sup>h</sup> A vertical sign.

9.<sup>i</sup> See facs.; utterly confused, with superimposed fragments.

<sup>j-k</sup> Here and below 5, 2, 3 a large misplaced fragment, fitting into 5, 5, 6, 7; see facs.

<sup>l</sup> Here the misplaced beginning of a page, recognized by Sethe as belonging to 9, 1.


10.<sup>n</sup>  - not .



11.<sup>o-p</sup> See the note  $q^{j-k}$  above.


$q^m$  Facs. accurate; uncertain.





12.<sup>q</sup> Cf. Anast. II 7, 4; 16, 1. - <sup>r</sup> Under  $\mathcal{V}$  a misplaced fragment.

13.<sup>s-t</sup> See the note  $q^{j-k}$  above.

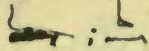

14.<sup>u</sup> Properly only ; differently below (e.g.) 7, 2.

15.<sup>v</sup> Undecipherable fragments. - <sup>w</sup> Perhaps a word   cf. 5, 8.

17.<sup>x-y</sup> See the note  $q^{j-k}$  above, and the facs. on p. 11a. - <sup>z</sup> Corruptly for .

18.<sup>aa</sup> Emend    , cf. below  $q, 1$  and variants, all corrupt.

⑤  
 ⑤⑦  
 ⑤⑧  
 ⑥①  
 ⑥②  
 ⑥③  
 ⑥④  
 ⑥⑤  
 ⑥⑥  
 Anastasi I  
 Ostr. Turin

1.<sup>a</sup>  ;  does not suit the context.



1.<sup>b-c</sup> See above p. 10a, note q<sup>j-k</sup>; the accompanying facsimile represents the misplaced fragment restored to its proper position. On the right the papyrus has been unequally stretched.


3.<sup>d-e</sup> See the note 1<sup>b-c</sup>

5.<sup>f</sup> See p. 10a, note 15<sup>uv</sup>. -<sup>g</sup> Perhaps corrupted from m b<sup>h</sup> = 9.

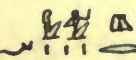
7.<sup>h</sup> Cf. 6, 4. - <sup>i</sup> Traces suit well; cf. 7, 8.


9.<sup>k</sup> Cf. 28, 8; so already Goodwin, in a Ms. note in his copy of the Select Papyri, now in my possession.

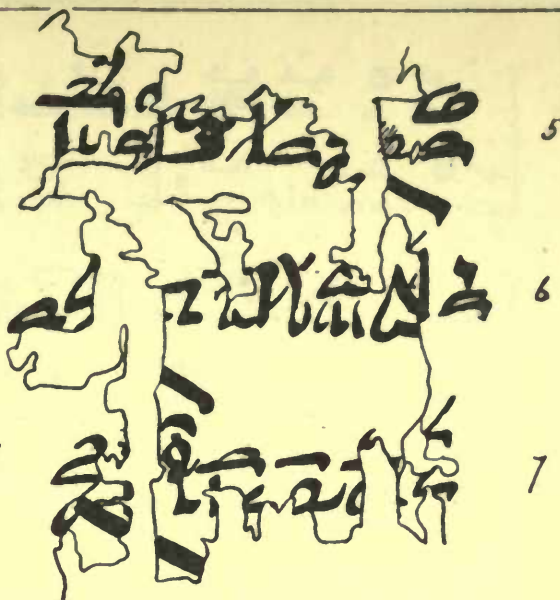
10.<sup>l</sup> The traces do not suit , and there is hardly room for .

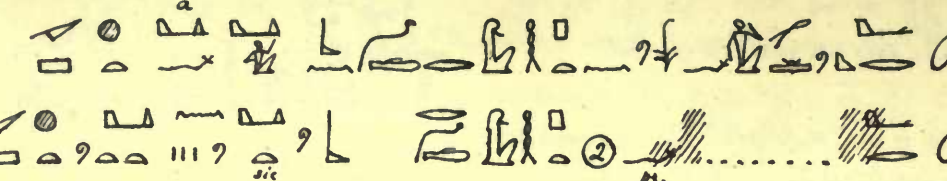
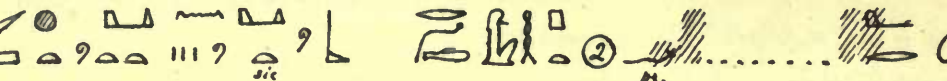
11.<sup>m</sup> 

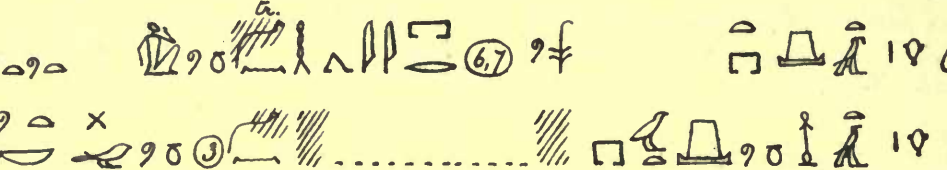

13.<sup>n</sup> The upper portion of these signs has become detached, and is mounted too far towards the left.



15.<sup>o</sup> The proper name .

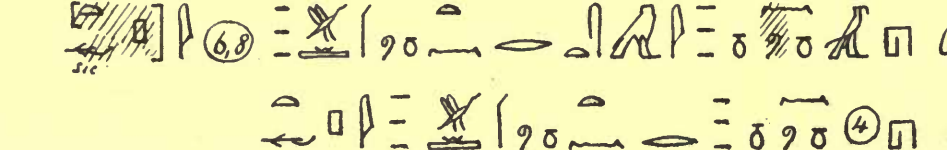

16.<sup>p</sup> Not , see the facsimile of Rossi.

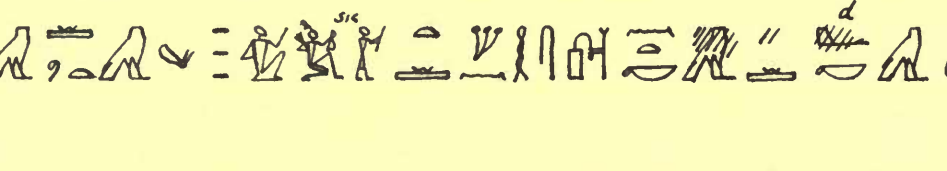


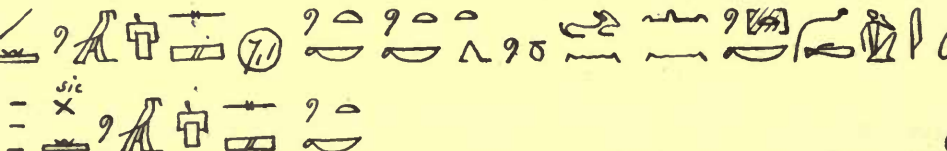

{  An. I  
 {  O. T. }

{  An. I  
 {  O. T. }

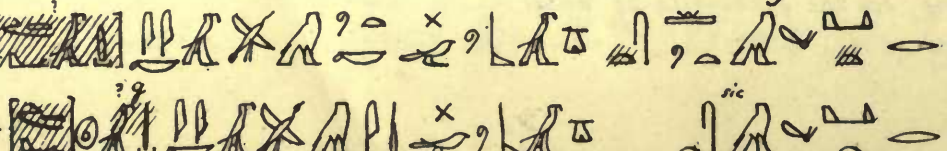
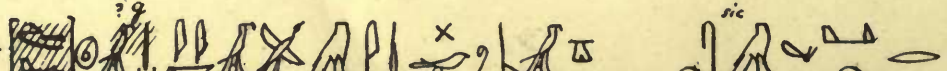
{  An. I  
 {  O. T. }

{  An. I  
 {  O. T. }




{  An. I  
 O. T. }



{  An. I  
 {  O. T. }



{  An. I  
 {  O. T. }

{  An. I  
 {  O. T. }






14<sup>a</sup> Read , cf.  for  above p. 3a, note 4<sup>c</sup>

5<sup>b</sup>  an unusual form, cf.  on the ostrakon Berlin 12337.

6<sup>c</sup> ; thus in my notebook, an unintelligible corruption. — <sup>d</sup> My notebook gives 

9<sup>d</sup> Slightly displaced in original.

14<sup>e</sup> An illegible sign above ; before this Rossi gives , my notebook .

15<sup>f</sup> So facsimile; the signs now destroyed in original.

16<sup>g</sup> Not quite certain, see Rossi's facsimile.



2.<sup>a</sup> Probably so, not  $\overline{\text{II}}$ .

3.<sup>b</sup> Emend  $\overline{\text{FE}}$ .

4.<sup>c</sup> See Rossi's facsimile; a corruption of bsy.


6.<sup>d</sup> Probably for ptri-i.

7.<sup>f</sup> 19 is superfluous.

8.<sup>e</sup> Certain, but confused by meaningless smudges.

10.<sup>h</sup> An uncertain stroke, see facsimile. — <sup>i</sup> Unintelligible signs, see facsimile.

11.<sup>k</sup> A trace (see facsimile) which might belong to  $\overline{\text{III}}$ . — <sup>l</sup> Read  $\text{OI} \overline{\text{O}}$  ?

14.<sup>m</sup>  ; the upper parts of the signs, on a separate fragment, are however very possibly misplaced.

16.<sup>n</sup> The signs Ddur are superfluous, and may be an attempted etymology of Dhwti, Thoth.

Anastasi I  
 Ostr. Louvre  
 Ostr. Cailliaud

An. I  
 O. L.  
 O. C.

An. I  
 O. L.  
 O. C.

4<sup>a</sup> Possibly restore ~~V~~.

6<sup>b</sup> Cf. above 5,3-4; the first person is made probable by the termination -ii.

12<sup>c</sup> See facsimile:  $\Gamma$  is very probable,  $\Rightarrow$  quite uncertain; the left end of a sign seems to suit  $\Rightarrow$ , and a point may belong to  $\rightarrow$  below it.

{ An.I  
 { O.L.  
 { O.C.

{ An.I  
 { O.L.  
 { O.C.

{ An.I  
 { O.L.  
 { O.C.

{ An.I  
 { O.L.  
 { O.C.

{ An.I  
 { O.L.  
 { O.C.

1.<sup>b</sup> There is sufficient room for the m.

3.<sup>a</sup> So apparently the facsimile.

4.<sup>a</sup> A word like ἄρχων is perhaps lost after nb.

6.<sup>c-d</sup> Later added above the line. — ἄρχων m is omitted because of the homoioteleuton  
[=archon]

7.<sup>a</sup> Quite doubtful.

11.<sup>b</sup> The omission of ~~α~~ in both O.L. and O.C. proves their close relationship.

13.<sup>c</sup> Emend ἄρχων.

{
   
 ① PPALPP...PP. ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ An.I
   
 ① PPALPP...PP. ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ O.L.
   
 " PPALPP...PP. ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ O.C.
 }

{
   
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ An.I
   
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ O.L.
   
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ O.C.
 }

{
   
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ An.I
   
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ O.L.
   
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ O.C.
 }

{
   
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ An.I
   
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ O.L.
   
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ O.C.
 }

{
   
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ An.I
   
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ O.L.
   
 ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ O.C.
 }



1<sup>a</sup> M is superfluous.

4<sup>b</sup> ŋ corrupted out of ŋ, cf. above p. 3a, note 3c.


10<sup>c</sup> Probably nothing lost.

11<sup>d</sup>-14<sup>f</sup> Bw rh-f erroneously repeated.

12<sup>e</sup> κ for ϕ by assimilation with the suffix of dd-k.

13<sup>g</sup> See above p. 10a, note 9l. -<sup>h</sup> A low sign. -<sup>i</sup> later added in red.

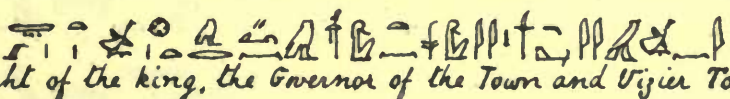



1<sup>a</sup>. At top a trace (see facsimile), perhaps  - for the word me-wnt cf. above  
[p. 18a, note 18<sup>aa</sup>]

4<sup>b</sup>. Damaged but still recognizable.

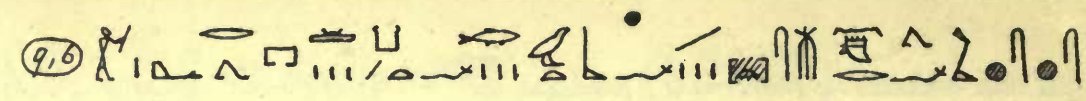
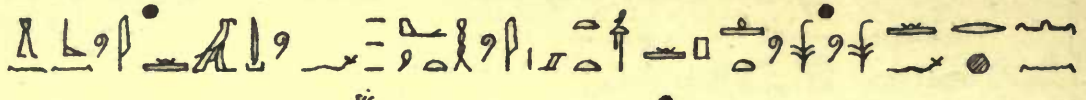
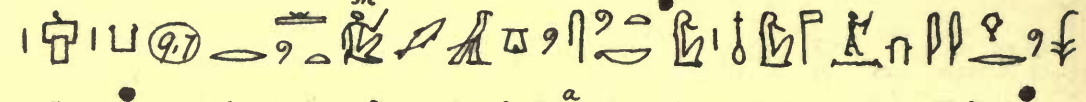
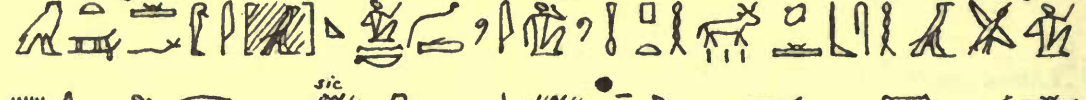
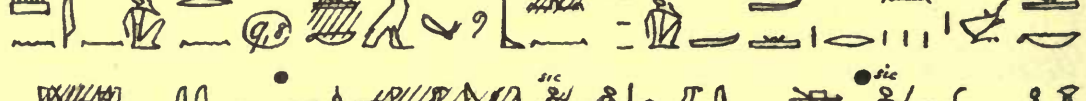
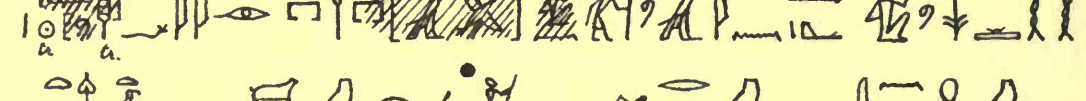
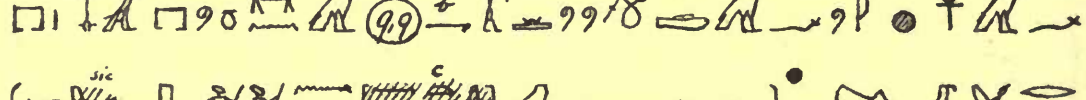
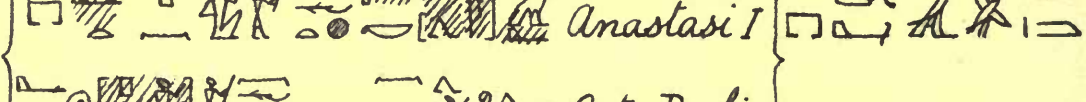
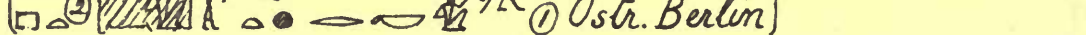
5<sup>c</sup>. A meaningless dash.

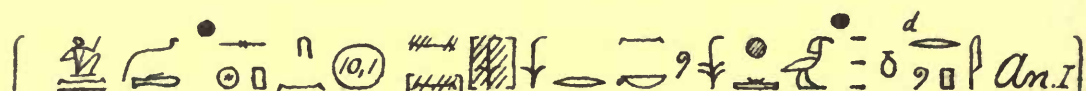

11<sup>d</sup>. At end a date  "third month of winter, day 29."

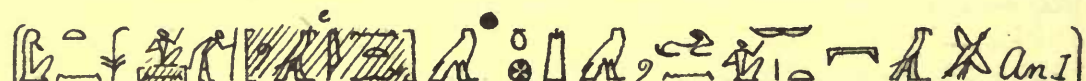
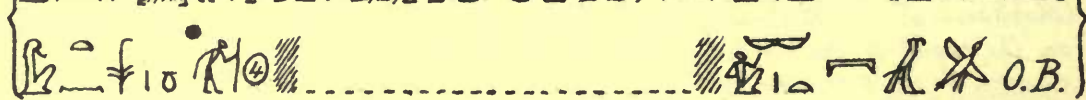
12<sup>e</sup>. Colophon:  "By the fan-bearer  
on the right of the king, the Governor of the Town and Vizier To."

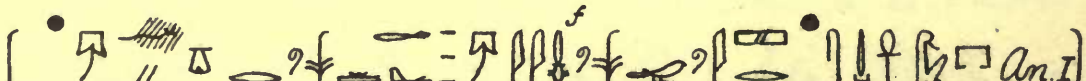
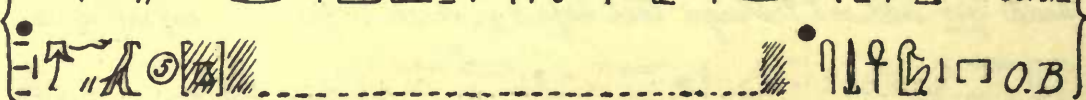
14<sup>f</sup>. Read g36 . - 9 No sign last before s, which is perhaps superfluous.


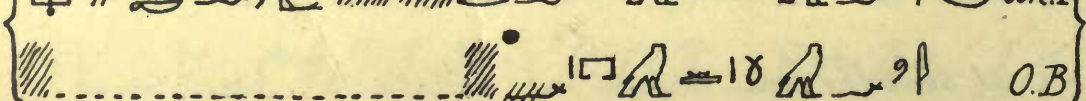
17<sup>h</sup>. In red above the line.

⑨,6   
  
 ⑨,7   
  
  
  
 ⑨,8   
  


{  Anastasi I }  
 {  Ostr. Berlin }

{  Anastasi I }  
 {  Ostr. Berlin }

{  Anastasi I }  
 {  Ostr. Berlin }

{  Anastasi I }  
 {  Ostr. Berlin }

4.<sup>a</sup> Hpt & erroneously determined by the entire group ~~Ⓛ~~ hwr.

7.<sup>t</sup> A meaningless dash (Füllstrich).

8.<sup>e</sup> This restoration fills, or very nearly fills, the lacuna; cf. Anast. IV 9, 7-8.

10.<sup>d</sup> Original  $\bar{\omega} \overset{2}{\rho} \bar{\omega} \bar{\rho}$ ; ω first added in red above line, then corrected into the text in black.

12.<sup>e</sup> For isw cf. above 9, 8.

14.<sup>f</sup> After sw — has been omitted.

16.<sup>g</sup> Not room for any restoration containing  $\rightarrow \rho \bar{\omega} \bar{\rho} \bar{\omega} \bar{\rho}$ .

{ PP — 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 An.I  
 { PP 7 // ..... 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 O.B. }

{ 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 An.I  
 { ..... 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 O.B. }

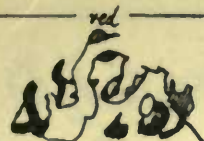
{ 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 An.I  
 { ..... 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 O.B. }


{ 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 An.I  
 { ..... 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 O.B. }

{ 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 An.I  
 { ..... 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 O.B. }

{ 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 An.I  
 { End ..... 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 O.B. }


2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 An.I  
 sic 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2  
 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2  
 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2

1.<sup>a</sup>  ; the sign after  $\text{ii}$  is doubtful.

2.<sup>t</sup> 


3.<sup>e</sup> Under  $\text{e}$  a small sign, perhaps  $\text{ii}$  or  $\text{o}$  ;  $\text{v}$  and  $\text{h}$  are practically certain.

3.<sup>d</sup>  with a vacant space following ; this can hardly be read otherwise than  $\langle \text{l} \rangle$ , in spite of O. B.

5.<sup>e</sup>  :  $\text{w}$  has a quite abnormal form, but for the word cf. 24, 1-2 ; before  $\text{h}$   $\text{b}$  has a tail belonging to  $\text{m}$  or  $\text{w}$ .

12.<sup>f</sup> It is not clear to what word in Anastasi this  $\text{iw}$  corresponds.



14.<sup>g</sup> Read  $\text{a}$ , as in 17, 5.

16.<sup>h</sup> 

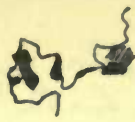

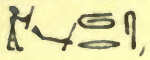







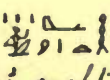



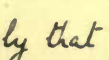












10,7 10,8 10,9 11,1 11,2 11,3 11,4 11,5 11,6 11,7

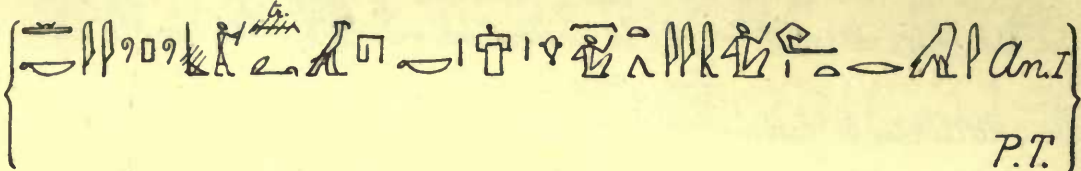
Hieroglyphic text from the Anastasi papyrus, consisting of 14 lines of symbols. The symbols are arranged in horizontal rows and include various signs such as birds, lotus flowers, and geometric shapes. Some symbols are enclosed in circles or squares. The text is written in a cursive style typical of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs.

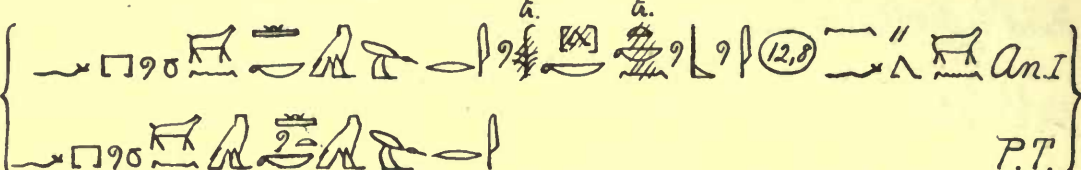


- 1<sup>a</sup> Something is lost after sp; the tiny trace in facs. is on a misplaced fragment.
- 2<sup>b</sup> Read  $\text{ᠰ ᠣ ᠯᠡ ᠬᠡ ᠰᠣ ᠬᠡ ᠰᠢ}$ .
- 3<sup>c</sup> At least something probably lost. — <sup>d</sup> **ᠰᠢ** meaningless signs, as they stand; probably a corruption of nf.
- 4<sup>f</sup> A verse-point might be lost after kch-i. 3<sup>e</sup>  $\text{—}$  added in red above the line.
- 5<sup>g</sup> A corruption of  $\text{ᠰ ᠰ}$ .
- 6<sup>h</sup> ;  $\text{ᠰ}$  is nearly certain; k<sub>s</sub>n or s<sub>k</sub>n should be read, this being often contrasted with ndm.
- 8<sup>i</sup> A small low lacuna, which undoubtedly contained a sign; perhaps read  $\text{—} = \text{ᠰ}$ .
- 9<sup>k</sup> See facsimile;  $\text{—}$  is far from certain.
- 11<sup>l</sup> ;  $\text{ᠰ}$  as usual like  $\text{ᠰ}$ ; instead of  $\text{—}$  the Ms. gives  $\text{ᠰ}$ .
- 14<sup>m</sup> For the determinative cf. 23, 3.
- 17<sup>n</sup> Illegible traces, see facsimile.
- 18<sup>o</sup> k and n are so close to one another that a sign must have stood above them.

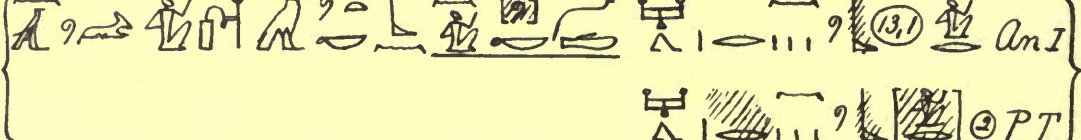


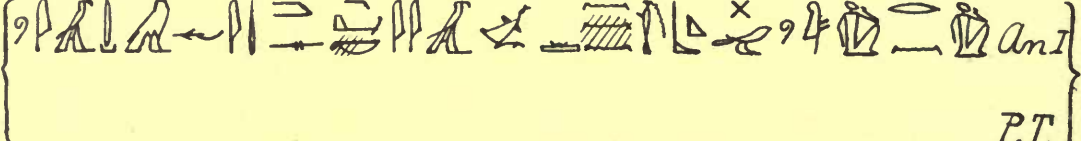
- 1<sup>a</sup> Sic, but tntr or rnrn might be understood. —  ; the last sign may be tr.
- 2<sup>c</sup> Very little can be lost. — <sup>d</sup> Cf. (e.g.) 16,7.
- 3<sup>c</sup> Read ry-k tw m (?) cf. page 11 line 16 above. —  ; the part above the break is probably a superimposed fragment; the reading m 1 — hy is quite impossible.
- 4<sup>e</sup> For  , cf. p.3a, note 5<sup>f-g</sup>.
- 5<sup>i</sup> Corrupted from  ? <sup>h</sup>  4.
- 6<sup>k</sup> Suggested by Erman; there is a trace of  and also of tail of —r.
- 8<sup>l</sup> Confused traces.
- 9<sup>m</sup> Cf. the title ,  Mes N17; in hieratic, Pap. Leiden 350 verso, 3,34; the reversal of the groups here perhaps erroneous. <sup>n</sup> Original  with  later erased.
- 11<sup>n</sup> Cf. note 9<sup>m</sup>.
- 12<sup>o</sup> Much more probable than —.
- 13<sup>p</sup> Read  — , cf. 28,2; the scribe was thinking of  — . The determinatives of stni ought to be .
- 14<sup>q</sup> Puzzling traces, see facsimile; not merely .
- 15<sup>r</sup> It seems likely that  (cf. Pap. Turin 1), as lectio difficilis, was the original version,  being an easy corruption of  due to the influence of hst "plough" and hi)stni "ebony"; the absence of a variant with —n makes it improbable that hi)stni was meant.
- 17<sup>s</sup> Probably no sign is lost at beginning of line.
- 18<sup>t</sup>  rather like , whence —. — "Correction above line:        .

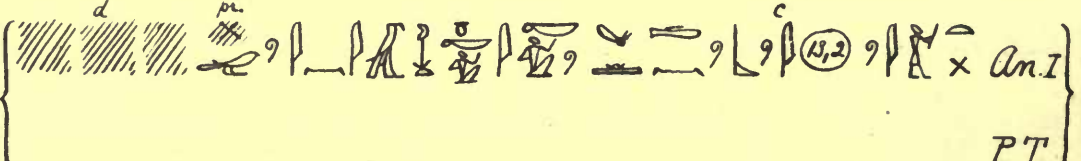
{  An.I }  
P.T.

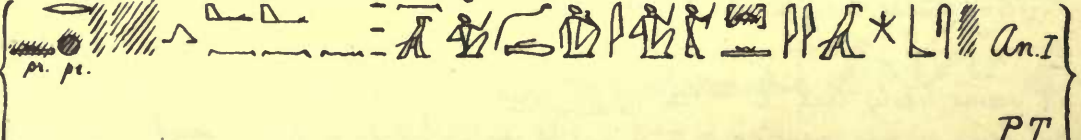
{  An.I }  
P.T.

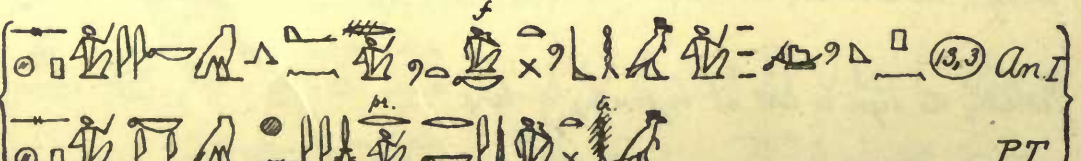
{  An.I }  
P.T.

{  An.I }  
P.T.

{  An.I }  
P.T.

{  An.I }  
P.T.

{  An.I }  
P.T.

{  An.I }  
P.T.

6<sup>a</sup> See facsimile; the first  $\leftarrow$  very badly made. — <sup>b</sup>  $\rightarrow$  is here omitted.

11<sup>c</sup> Ditto-graph due to change of line. — <sup>d</sup> Read perhaps ~~ⲛⲏⲧⲏⲧ~~ or the like.

13<sup>e</sup> Emend idd ~~ⲛⲏⲧ~~.

15<sup>f</sup> If, as is probable, the reading nh-t-k tw "thou yoked thyself" is correct, the det. ~~ⲛⲏⲧ~~ will be borrowed from nh-t, the first step towards the reading of P. T.

{		An.I
}		P.T.

{		An.I
}		P.T.

{		An.I
}		P.T.

{		An.I
}		P.T.

{		An.I
}		P.T.

{		An.I
}		P.T.

{		An.I
}		P.T.

{		An.I
}		P.T.


2<sup>a</sup> Very badly made, see facsimile. — <sup>t</sup> See facsimile.

3<sup>c</sup> There is a hole after i, but its shape and size suggest that nothing is lost. — <sup>d</sup> Probably read nsi-i as P. T.; cf. above 47.

5<sup>g</sup> Read ms-t(w) with P. T.

6<sup>e</sup> See facs., perhaps in part belonging to the earlier erased text. — <sup>f</sup> The i is small, and may belong to a later added ps; there is hardly room in the lacuna for [...i]. — <sup>h</sup> See facs.

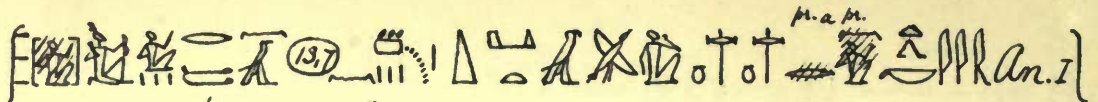
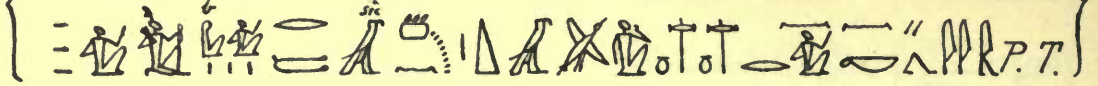
8<sup>i</sup> Probably here for Q 9, as in rh-k(wi) below l. 10.


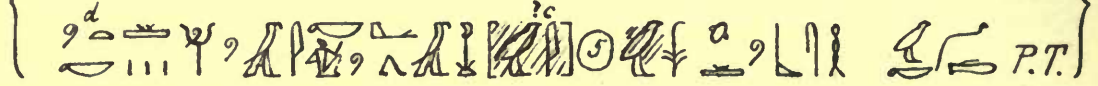
10<sup>k</sup> ; approximately thus, i.e.  $\overset{\cdot}{\Gamma} \alpha$  corrected from  $\Gamma \alpha$ .


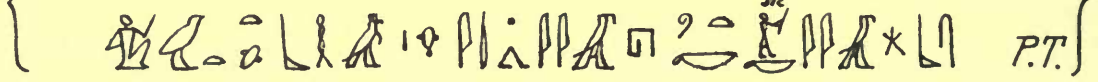
12<sup>l</sup> Confused and injured signs.

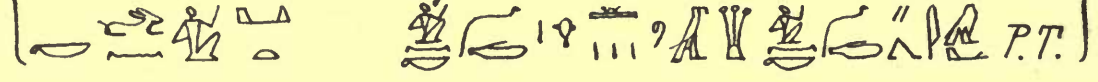
13<sup>n</sup> The line is shorter than the others, but probably nothing is lost at the end.


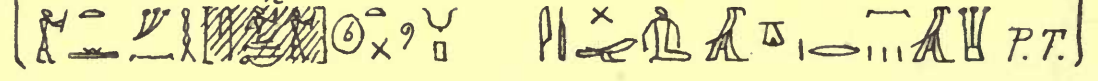
14<sup>m</sup> It is very doubtful whether m dr stood at the beginning of the line.


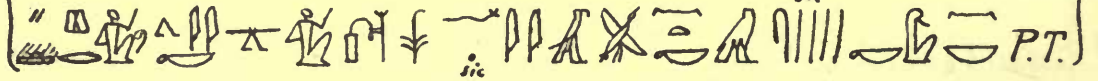
<sup>M.a.M.</sup>  
 {  An.I }  
 {  P.T. }


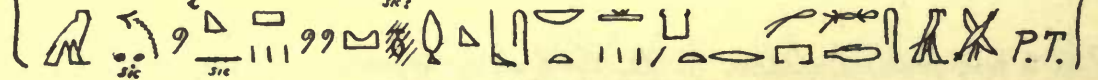
<sup>ic</sup> <sup>ic</sup>  
 {  An.I }  
 {  P.T. }

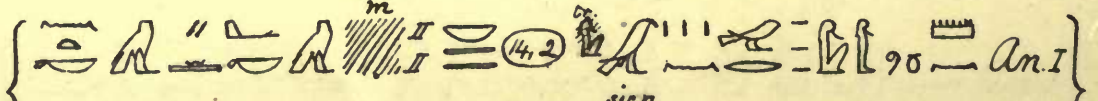
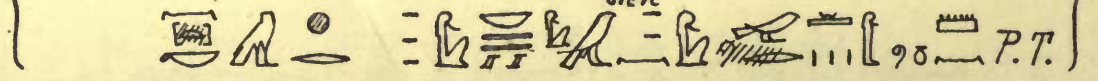
<sup>f</sup> <sup>e</sup>  
 {  An.I }  
 {  P.T. }

<sup>ic</sup> <sup>ic</sup>  
 {  An.I }  
 {  P.T. }









<sup>ic</sup> <sup>ic</sup>  
 {  An.I }  
 {  P.T. }

<sup>ic</sup> <sup>ic</sup>  
 {  An.I }  
 {  P.T. }

<sup>ic</sup> <sup>ic</sup>  
 {  An.I }  
 {  P.T. }

<sup>ic</sup> <sup>ic</sup>  
 {  An.I }  
 {  P.T. }



- 1<sup>a</sup> Very probable; the original is here in disorder.
- 2<sup>b</sup> Without a dot, i.e. like .
- 4<sup>c</sup> The other lines show that a word must have been lost here. If not iw, emend 33 "quickly", cf. 14, 6. <sup>d</sup> The  is written over 11
- 5<sup>e</sup> A low lacuna, in which it appears something must have stood. — <sup>f</sup> X stands above a deleted sign.
- 8<sup>g</sup> For .
- 10<sup>h</sup> The restoration may be a little too big for the lacuna; perhaps omit .
- 11<sup>i</sup> The upper part of these signs has become detached, and been pushed too far to right.
- 13<sup>k</sup> An. I reads mnw wrw immediately after hr, which makes some sense; but it is probable that the archetype had the words here given by P. T.
- 14<sup>l</sup> See facsimile; emend ; cf. p. 26a, note 4<sup>f</sup>.
- 15<sup>m</sup> At top on left of lacuna, a trace like the corner of  or .
- 16<sup>n</sup> The lowest of the plural strokes is lengthened to represent .

{ An.I }  
 { P.T. }

{ An.I }  
 { P.T. }

{ An.I }  
 { P.T. }















{ An.I }  
 { P.T. }

{ An.I }  
 { P.T. }

{ An.I }  
 { P.T. }

{ An.I }  
 { P.T. }

{ An.I }  
 { P.T. }

- 1<sup>a</sup> Emend mnfy-t; the same corruption below 17, 9.
- 4<sup>b</sup>  was probably intended by the scribe for  sp-t 7, but is doubtless a corruption of ; the following } = R is obviously derived from 3 700; see An. I.
- 4<sup>c</sup> The hieratic sign here, (see above p. 20 a, note 11<sup>b</sup>) does double duty for @ and for ∇.
- 4<sup>d</sup> @ here is an obvious and easy corruption of R̄. The facsimile gives a slanting stroke at bottom of the preceding iii, which may be the last trace of 100. The reading of An. I is [clearly correct.]
- 5<sup>f</sup> Read .
- 6<sup>e</sup> Small like ∞.
- 7<sup>h</sup> , corrupt for  cf. P. T.
- 8<sup>g</sup> There may have been a numeral (60?) before hr, as the lacunae at the beginnings of lines grow bigger towards bottom of page, see esp. P. T. 10. 11. However the stroke in the preceding 1  is quite unusual, if here a determinative.
- 10<sup>i</sup> The abbreviated form, which is rare in literary texts. See facsimile. —  over a deleted ?
- 12<sup>l</sup> , for  or , but like n3.
- 14<sup>m</sup> For 9 ∞. — <sup>n</sup> See facsimile, and cf. next line of P. T.
- 15<sup>o</sup> Read , cf. above note 5<sup>f</sup>.
- 16<sup>p</sup> My notebook gives ; possibly there was room for im-sn before mh, see above note 8<sup>g</sup>.

{ <sup>14,6</sup> An.I  
 P.T. }

{ An.I  
 P.T. }

{ An.I  
 P.T. }

{ An.I  
 P.T. }

{ An.I  
 P.T. }

{ An.I  
 P.T. }

{ An.I  
 P.T. }

{ An.I  
 End P.T. }

- 2.<sup>a</sup> Indeterminate shape, almost like  $\Delta$ , see facs.; clearly derived from  $\equiv$  1.
- 4.<sup>b</sup> Like hieratic  $\text{—}$ , a corruption of  $\text{—}$ ; cf. p. 24a, note 14.<sup>1</sup> - <sup>c</sup> Indefinite sign, see facs.
- 6.<sup>d</sup> W<sup>c</sup> wrongly omitted.
- 7.<sup>e</sup> Emend  $\text{—}$  into  $\text{—}$ , cf. P. T. - <sup>f</sup> Superfluous m. - <sup>g</sup> Here a misplaced fragment above  
[line.]
- 10.<sup>h</sup> So too above p. 25, l. 12.
- 12.<sup>i</sup> Obscure traces, probably to be interpreted thus. - <sup>k</sup> The stroke after the lacuna is more like  
1, and the lacuna is small for  $\text{—}$  1.
- 13.<sup>l</sup> The word, cf. 14, 3 above. - <sup>m</sup> Cf. 16, 7, a spelling intermediate between  $\text{—}$  (1) and  
 $\text{—}$  (2); on the latter see p. 25<sup>a</sup>, note 4.<sup>e</sup>
- 14.<sup>n</sup> Added above the line.
- 16.<sup>o</sup> I saw  $\text{—}$ , a corruption of  $\text{—}$ ? - <sup>p</sup> P. T. ends abruptly with a short line.



2<sup>c</sup> The dash of  $\alpha$  is visible in a trace.

5<sup>f</sup> For this curiously written expression compare the facsimile.

6<sup>c</sup> Or possibly  $\dot{\alpha}$ .

7<sup>d</sup> The Ms. has a clear  $\lambda$ , not (e.g.)  $\lambda$ .

10<sup>e</sup> Original properly  $\alpha$ , as in inh, below 19, 4; conversely see above p. 2a, note 13<sup>e</sup>.

14<sup>f</sup>  $\alpha$  made large like  $\alpha$ , as often below or above long signs. —  $\delta$  Not room for  $\alpha$ .

17<sup>h</sup> There seems just enough room for a short low sign before  $\alpha$ . —  $\delta$  is superfluous.

18<sup>k</sup> Original  $\alpha$ . —  $\delta$  By error for  $\alpha$ .

16,3  
 16,4  
 16,5  
 16,6  
 16,7  
 16,8  
 17,1  
 17,2  
 17,3



3<sup>a</sup> Emend  $\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{E}}$ .

4<sup>t</sup> Read  $\overline{\text{E}}$ . — <sup>c</sup> Here there has been an obscure corruption.

6<sup>t</sup>  $\overline{\text{Z}} \overline{\text{Z}}$ ; evidently a corruption, perhaps of  $\overline{\text{E}}$ . — <sup>c</sup> So wrongly for 4<sup>t</sup>.

7<sup>t</sup> Cf. above 14, 1.

8<sup>g</sup>  $\text{O}$  is made like  $\overline{\text{O}}$  above the long sign  $\text{—}$ , as often in this word. — <sup>h</sup> See above p. 26a, note 13<sup>m</sup>.

9<sup>i</sup> See the facsimile, which is exact; perhaps  $\overline{\text{Z}}$ ? — <sup>k</sup> For  $\overline{\text{E}}$ , see p. 25a, notes 5<sup>f</sup> 15<sup>o</sup>.

10<sup>l</sup> The determinatives  $\overline{\text{E}}$   $\overline{\text{I}}$  are wrong.

11<sup>m</sup> Original  $\overline{\text{E}}$ , probably to be emended into  $\overline{\text{I}}$  40. — <sup>n</sup> Or  $\overline{\text{E}}$ ?

12<sup>o</sup> Or  $\overline{\text{E}}$ ?

13<sup>p</sup> Mistake for  $\overline{\text{E}}$ .

15<sup>q</sup>  $\overline{\text{E}}$  wrongly omitted.

17<sup>r</sup> Emend  $\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{I}}$ , cf. p. 26, l. 2. — <sup>s</sup> Read  $\overline{\text{E}}$ , cf. 1, 1.

18<sup>t</sup> Emend  $\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{E}} \overline{\text{I}}$ ; the same corruption above 14, 2.

<sup>b</sup> <sup>sic</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup>

17.4 17.5 17.6 17.7 17.8 17.9 18.0 18.1

- 1.<sup>a</sup> Read  $\bar{\alpha} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\kappa}$ . — <sup>6</sup>  $\bar{\lambda}$  must be a corruption of  $\bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda}$ ; emend therefore  $\bar{\alpha} | \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda}$ ; the context clearly cannot refer to a quarry like Hammat (R-h-nl).
- 4.<sup>e</sup> See facsimile; the Ms. apparently had originally  $???$ , later corrected into  $???$ . The latter figure suits the total ( $1900 + 620 + 1600 + 880 = 5000$ ), but it seems likely that a number has fallen out after M-s-w-f.
- 5.<sup>d</sup> A number is probably lost, see last note. — <sup>c</sup> Either omit 18 or insert  $\bar{\omega}$  after it.

9<sup>b</sup> See the facsimile for this problematical group; so too in  $\bar{\alpha} | \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda}$   
[Anast. II 12e]

13<sup>e</sup>-14.<sup>k</sup> Emend  $\bar{\alpha} | \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda}$ .

16.<sup>i</sup> If this be the correct reading the second 9 is crowded, which might account for the abnormal form of 9. The traces suggest  $\bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda}$  (by error for  $\bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda}$  ??) more than anything else; or can the true reading be  $\bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda}$ ?

18.<sup>k</sup> Or  $\bar{\lambda}$  (??); one would however then expect  $\bar{\lambda} \bar{\lambda}$ .



2.<sup>a</sup> Probably a dash serving to complete the line (Füllstrich).

7.<sup>t</sup> Probably a ditto-graph owing to change of line.

10.<sup>e</sup> For the omission of r cf. dir 15, 6; there is a trace under /.

11.<sup>d</sup> Ms. gives ~~dx~~<sup>e</sup> -<sup>e</sup> See facsimile; the reading wh<sup>e</sup> is certain. -<sup>f</sup> h superfluous, as [often

12.<sup>g</sup> Above ~~z~~ a spot of red ink; since another such, but smaller, occurs above z, this is probably fortuitous, not an isolated verse-point.

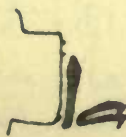
14.<sup>h</sup> Above ~~llh~~ a misplaced fragment which is difficult to locate; but cf.



, the true place of <sup>i</sup> a deleted sign adjoins below note 17.<sup>i</sup> — the stroke l; cf. facs.

16.<sup>k</sup> So too Max Müller, O. L. Z. I 382; l is almost certain; in place of l ~~llh~~ it would be possible to read l ~~llh~~, but this latter hardly fills the lacuna.

17.<sup>l</sup> After l => small and puzzling traces the usual reading llh is wrong. belongs here, in which case the true



17.<sup>m</sup> After ~~llh~~ the stroke l is omitted. are visible, not suiting either <sup>?</sup> ~~llh~~ or ~~llh~~ ~~llh~~; Possibly the misplaced fragment of note 14.<sup>h</sup> reading might be ~~llh~~ ~~llh~~ ~~llh~~ ~~llh~~ ~~llh~~ ~~llh~~ ~~llh~~ ~~llh~~ ~~llh~~ ~~llh~~.

Handwritten Coptic text in a single column, consisting of approximately 18 lines of script. The text is enclosed in a rectangular border. It contains several circled numbers, likely indicating line numbers or section markers: 19.2, 19.3, 19.4, 19.5, 19.6, 19.7, 19.8, 19.9, and 20.1. The script is a form of Coptic, with some characters being ligatures or specific dialectal forms. There are several instances of scribbles and corrections, particularly in the middle and lower sections of the page. Some characters are marked with small superscripts or subscripts, possibly indicating vowels or specific orthographic variants. The overall appearance is that of a working draft or a manuscript page that has been partially corrected.

1<sup>a</sup> Small, but not like  $\ominus$ . — <sup>b</sup> Emend  $\overline{\text{—}}$ .

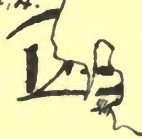
5<sup>e</sup> Like  $\ominus$ ; however  $\ominus$  is certainly to be read.

6<sup>d</sup> Really  $\overline{\text{—}}$  in the Ms., as in sin 15, 6 etc. — <sup>c</sup> Ms.  $\overline{\text{—}}$  in the preceding clause read  $\langle \ominus \rangle \sim \overline{\text{—}}$ .

7<sup>f</sup> So wrongly for  $\overline{\text{—}}$   $\ominus$ ; contrast 21, 5. 6.

8<sup>g</sup> For the traces after he see the facsimile. — <sup>h</sup> Cf. 24, 4.

9<sup>i</sup> A trace high up, which cannot belong to  $\overline{\text{—}}$ . — <sup>k</sup>



12<sup>l</sup> Emend m-r-k-9  $\overline{\text{—}}$  -t.

13<sup>m</sup> For the traces see facsimile. — <sup>n</sup> Elsewhere we find p-k m-r-i (20, 3); this can however not be emended here.

15<sup>o</sup> See facsimile, now partially destroyed; hdhd is a more probable reading than hnhn. — <sup>p</sup> Ks "bones" is not a possible restoration, because -twk indicates a

15<sup>q</sup> Sic; but the verb should be spelt with  $\ominus$ , not  $\omin�$ , cf. <sup>q</sup> 16, 2.

16<sup>r</sup> [~~the~~] alone would not suffice to fill the lacuna. — From a final examination of this passage it seems possible that the preceding signs stand on a misplaced fragment of papyrus.

~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>sic</sup> <sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup> <sup>f.</sup>  
<sup>20,4</sup> ~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup>  
<sup>20,5</sup> ~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
<sup>20,6</sup> ~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>sic</sup>  
<sup>20,7</sup> ~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
<sup>20,8</sup> ~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
<sup>21,1</sup> ~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
<sup>21,2</sup> ~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>  
<sup>21,3</sup> ~~Handwritten Coptic text with various symbols and circled numbers 20,3 through 21,3.~~  
<sup>h.</sup> <sup>h.</sup>



2<sup>a</sup> Traces of a vertical sign, not P.

4<sup>b</sup> There is nothing more lost.

5<sup>c</sup> An almost certain trace of the tail of m.


7<sup>d</sup> Erroneously written for  $\eta \alpha \bar{\eta} \eta \Rightarrow \alpha \tau$ .

11<sup>e</sup> Cf. below 21,1.

14<sup>f</sup> Not room for ~~η~~  $\alpha$ ; η is therefore certain.

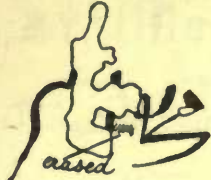
17<sup>g</sup> Read  $\approx$


21,3  
 21,4  
 21,5  
 21,6  
 21,7  
 21,8  
 22,1  
 22,2  
 22,3  
 22,4  
 22,5

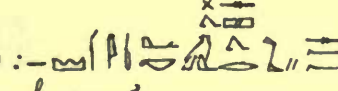

- 1.<sup>a</sup> The misplaced fragment at the beginning of the line, consisting of 9 followed by the trace of a vertical stroke, very possibly belongs to wbd here.
- 2.<sup>b</sup> Emend  $\overline{\text{A}}^{\text{9}} \overline{\text{D}}$  (?), cf. imi-wi 21, 7.
- 3.<sup>c-d</sup>  $\overline{\text{D}}$  is nearly, and the preceding  $\overline{\text{A}}$  quite, certain. We should probably read  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{D}}$  Burchardt no. 288.
- 4.<sup>e</sup> Perhaps emend  $\overline{\text{D}}$  for  $\overline{\text{E}}$ .
- 5.<sup>f</sup> Burchardt (no. 636) rightly transposes and reads  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{D}}$ . — 9 Ms.  $\overline{\text{D}}$ .
- 8.<sup>h</sup> Insert  $\overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{D}}$  after imi-wi (?).
- 10.<sup>i</sup> Switwt; the second s is superfluous. — <sup>k</sup>  $\overline{\text{P}}$  must be omitted because of nb.
- 12.<sup>l</sup>  ; the final w is very unlikely, but an alternative <sup>m-n</sup> read  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{D}}$  as in 21, 6-7. —
- 15.<sup>o</sup> Wrongly for  $\overline{\text{D}}$  ; the mistake is perhaps due to  $\overline{\text{D}}$  being inserted above the line in the manuscript from which the scribe of Anastasi I copied.
- 17.<sup>p</sup>  $\overline{\text{D}}$  is derived from a misunderstood hieratic  $\overline{\text{A}}$  (det. of imi), which the scribe understood as  $\overline{\text{D}}$   $\overline{\text{E}}$  ; hence the following  $\overline{\text{D}}$ . Cf. the spelling  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{D}}$  for  $\overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{D}}$  in Leiden [Admissions.
- 18.<sup>r</sup> The upper portion of  $\overline{\text{L}}$  is displaced in original and facsimile.










1<sup>a</sup> ~~ⲁ~~ would also be a possible reading.

5<sup>t</sup>  ; the upright sign, which is a correction, is not ⲡ nor ⲗ nor ⲑ.

8<sup>c</sup> Emend , cf. 22,7 end.

9<sup>d</sup> Ms. thus:  ; it is doubtful whether  is a gloss on, or correction of, snri.

12<sup>e</sup>  is a correction over an erased  (?).

13<sup>f-g</sup> Emend     cf. 24,3. — <sup>h</sup> Read  ; for the converse confusion, cf. 14,5.

16<sup>i</sup> It probably superfluous; cf. p. 13a, note 7<sup>f</sup>; p. 30a, note 11<sup>f</sup>.



- 5<sup>a</sup> A corrupt word; perhaps read  $\rho\alpha\bar{\omega}$  (?). — <sup>b</sup>  $\alpha$ , read  $\bar{\alpha}$ ; cf. p. 11a, note 5<sup>g</sup> (?).
- 7<sup>c</sup> Probably emend  $\kappa_1 \rightarrow \alpha \lambda \rho \omega$  cf. 16, 2.
- 8<sup>d</sup> A tiny dot, high up; probably fortuitous. — <sup>e</sup> Probably so, and certainly not  $\lambda$ .
- 10<sup>f</sup> Sic; a corruption of  $\bar{\omega}$ .
- 12<sup>g</sup> Read  $\bar{\omega}\eta$ ; the two signs resemble one another closely, whence the transposition.
- 13<sup>h</sup>  $\rho\alpha\bar{\omega}$ , a transparent corruption of  $\rho\alpha\bar{\omega}$ .
- 14<sup>i</sup> The  $\omega$  is made quite small, almost like  $\alpha$ , above the small sign  $\eta$ .
- 15<sup>k</sup> Emend  $\alpha\bar{\omega}$  (?). <sup>l</sup> Dittograph.
- 16<sup>m</sup>  $\lambda$  is corrected out of  $\lambda\bar{\omega}$ .
- 17<sup>n</sup> Emend  $\bar{\omega}$ .

24,6  
 24,7  
 24,8  
 25,1  
 25,2  
 25,3  
 25,4  
 25,5  
 25,6  
 25,7



- 1.<sup>a</sup> Emend  $\overline{\text{K}} \times \overline{\text{S}} \text{O}$ ; the corruption of  $\overline{\text{S}}$  into 9 is not rare in hieratic.
- 2.<sup>b</sup> Emend  $\overline{\text{K}} \text{---} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{I}}$  (?). —<sup>c</sup> Read  $\overline{\text{S}} \text{O}$  for 90.
- 3.<sup>d</sup> Read g-w-t-n  $\overline{\text{O}}$  90 cf. Koller 3, 2 = Anast. IV 3, 1.
- 4.<sup>e</sup> Read  $\overline{\text{S}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{I}}$ .
- 5.<sup>f</sup> Read 90  $\overline{\text{K}} \overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{A}}$  cf. p. 21a, note 3<sup>e</sup>; p. 32a, note 7.<sup>d</sup>


14.<sup>g</sup> Ms. has  $\overline{\text{S}}$  for  $\overline{\text{S}}$  cf. swr 25, 6; p. 2a, note 13<sup>i</sup>; etc.

16.<sup>h</sup> See note 14.<sup>g</sup>.

17.<sup>i</sup> Without P, evidently corrupt.

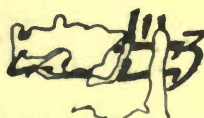
18.<sup>k</sup> A ligature as in 28, 4.

25,7  
 25,8  
 25,9  
 26,1  
 26,2  
 26,3  
 26,4  
 26,5  
 26,6  
 26,7

- 1.<sup>a</sup> ; possibly  $\Omega$ , but  $\Omega$  has a different form e.g.  $\text{t} =$  like  $\text{O}$  as practically always in this word. after  $\text{st}$  below. Or perhaps  $\text{st}$ ? —
- 2.<sup>c</sup> The papyrus is unduly squeezed together at this point.

4.<sup>d</sup> Corrupted out of  $\Sigma$ . — <sup>c</sup> See note 2<sup>c</sup> above.

5.<sup>f</sup> Dittograph.

7.<sup>g</sup> ; the hieratic signs may well be corruptions.

9.<sup>h</sup> The traces (see facs.) look rather like the left end of  $\text{st}$ ; this would however not suit the context. —



12.<sup>k</sup> Emend  $\square 98 \text{E}$ .

15.<sup>l</sup> Certainly so, not  $\Sigma$ .

16.<sup>m</sup> The first  $\text{P}$  has a small meaningless appendage at the bottom, see facsimile.

26,8  
 26,9  
 27,1  
 27,2  
 27,3  
 27,4  
 27,5  
 27,6  
 27,7

1.<sup>a</sup> An upright sign; might possibly be  $\rho$  or  $\iota$ .

3.<sup>b</sup> Ditto-graph.

5.<sup>c</sup> Emend  $\overline{\text{A}} | \overline{\text{A}} | \overline{\text{A}} | \overline{\text{A}} | \overline{\text{A}}$  as in 17,3.

6.<sup>d</sup> There appears to be room for odd.

7.<sup>e</sup> A misplaced fragment covers the right half of  $\overline{\text{A}}$ . —<sup>f</sup> Only a small sign lost.

8.<sup>g</sup> Perhaps  $\overline{\text{A}}^{\times} [\Delta]$  by error for  $\overline{\text{A}}^{\times} \rho \Delta$ . —<sup>h</sup> Probable; certainly neither  $\rho$  nor  $[\Sigma]$

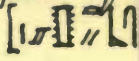
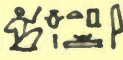

9.<sup>i</sup> To left of  $\overline{\text{A}}$  a slanting trace (see facs.) which might possibly belong to  $\overline{\text{A}}$ .

13.<sup>k</sup> Omit  $\overline{\text{A}}$ . —<sup>l</sup>  $\overline{\text{A}}$  is a corruption of  $\iota$ .

17.<sup>m</sup> This  $\overline{\text{A}}$  is probably superfluous.

18.<sup>n</sup> For  $\rho$  emend  $\rho$  or  $\rho \rho$ .

27,8  
 27,9  
 28,1  
 28,2  
 28,3  
 28,4  
 28,5

- 1<sup>a</sup>.  $\rightarrow$  is corrected out of a tall erased sign; stt is probably a corruption of 
- 2<sup>b</sup>. For  $\overline{\text{F}} \equiv$  emend  $\alpha \lambda$ .
- 5<sup>c</sup>. The hinder arm of this sign has been omitted.
- 6<sup>d</sup>. The Ms. reading is perhaps a blending of two different readings  and .
- 11<sup>e</sup>. Emend  $\text{K}89 \overline{\text{S}}1\text{E}$ , cf. 10,3.
- 14<sup>f</sup>. An obscure corruption.
- 15<sup>g</sup>.  $\Rightarrow$  should probably be omitted.
- 17<sup>h</sup>. Ms.  $\overline{\text{O}}$ . -  $\text{i}$   $\overline{\text{A}}$  is superfluous, cf. 6,7.
- 18<sup>k</sup>. Read  $\text{K} \text{I}$ .





3<sup>a</sup> For this sign see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, no. 505 footnote.

6<sup>b</sup>  $\cup$  is here made like  $\cup$ ;  $\equiv \overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{V}} | \overline{\text{V}}$  is meant.

7<sup>c</sup> A corruption of  $\overline{\text{V}} \overline{\text{V}} | \overline{\text{V}}$  as in *Sinuhe B.*

8<sup>d</sup> Emend  $\overline{\text{V}}$ .

10<sup>e</sup> Not  $\overline{\text{V}}$ . — <sup>f</sup> Here a fragment bearing a quite illegible sign, probably mis-  
placed. The final sign might also be  $\Delta$ ; if  $\omega_3$  "to be far" is  
meant, we should expect as determinatives  $\overline{\text{V}}$  not  $\Delta$  [ $\overline{\text{V}}$ ].

2. A collection of model letters,

transcribed from Pap. Koller (Pap. Berlin 3043) and certain other Mss.

a. The equipment of a Syrian expedition.

P P i i - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11  
 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25  
 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40  
 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55  
 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70  
 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85  
 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100  
 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115  
 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130  
 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145  
 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160  
 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175  
 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190  
 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200

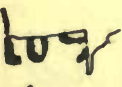

1<sup>o</sup> Before 1.1 an unknown number of pages are lost.


3<sup>b</sup> Or large  $\ominus$ ? Or else a corruption of  $\ominus$  kp?

5<sup>c</sup> 

; if the reading  $\text{P}$  is correct, that sign is here different from the forms elsewhere on this page.

6<sup>d</sup>  $\ominus$  small like  $\ominus$ . — <sup>c</sup> The plural strokes are omitted.

7<sup>f</sup> ; the sign before 10 may be the remains of an erroneous .

8<sup>g</sup>  unlike the other examples of  $\ominus$  on this page.

9<sup>h</sup> Made like  $\text{S}$ , see above p. 37a, note 1<sup>b</sup>.





10<sup>i</sup> Emend  $\text{R} \text{R} \text{R} \text{R} \text{R}$  as below 2, 1.







11<sup>k</sup> Emend m·r·k·<9k>·t, as in Anast. I 19, 7 (see above p. 31a, note 12<sup>l</sup>).


12<sup>l</sup> Dittography.










































13<sup>m</sup> Probably so to be read, but written  $\text{S}$ . cf. above note 9<sup>h</sup>.



2<sup>a</sup> Low down a trace, possibly a small ; anyhow not a part of . —  Wrongly mounted; only a tiny trace of the first  remains.

3<sup>c</sup> For -sn emend       ?

4<sup>d</sup> Like .

4<sup>e</sup> - 5<sup>f</sup> Anast. IV 16, 11-12 in a similar context:                                         

8<sup>g</sup> A meaningless stroke (Füllstrich).

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sic} \\ \text{Koll.} \end{array} \right\}$   
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Koll.} \\ \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Koll.} \\ \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Koll.} \\ \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Koll.} \\ \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sic} \\ \text{Koll.} \\ \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Koll.} \\ \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sic} \\ \text{Koll.} \\ \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$

3<sup>a</sup> There is no trace of an  $\eta$ , nor has this sign been written and for some reason deleted.

6<sup>b</sup>  $\eta$  is lacking not only in Koller, but in the similar passage Anast. I 6, 6.

8<sup>c</sup> There is no  $\mathcal{R}$  before  $\rho_3$ , though there is a fortuitous black speck.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} A \square \dots \beta \equiv \nu \textcircled{2,8}, \rho, \sigma \sim A \times A \rightarrow, \rho, \sigma \sim \text{Koll.} \\ A \square \dots \beta \equiv \nu \textcircled{2,10}, \rho, \sigma \sim A \times A \rightarrow, \rho, \sigma \sim \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} A \rho \equiv \nu \beta \equiv \nu \square, A \Delta \dots \text{Koll.} \\ A \rho \equiv \nu \beta \equiv \nu \square, A \Delta \rho \dots \text{An. IV} \\ A \rho \equiv \nu \beta \equiv \nu \square, \dots \textcircled{5,1} \text{Anastasi V} \end{array} \right\}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} A \Delta A \rightarrow \times \square \dots \text{Koll.} \\ A \Delta A \rightarrow \times \square \dots \text{An. IV} \\ \text{End} \dots \text{An. V} \end{array} \right\}$



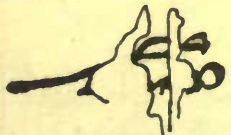
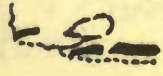
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \dots \textcircled{2,9} \dots \text{Koll.} \\ \dots \textcircled{2,11} \dots \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$

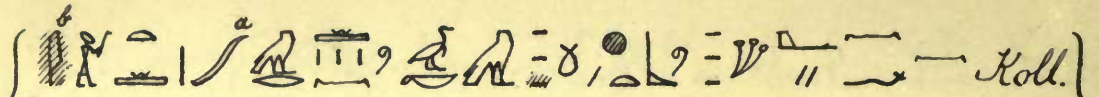
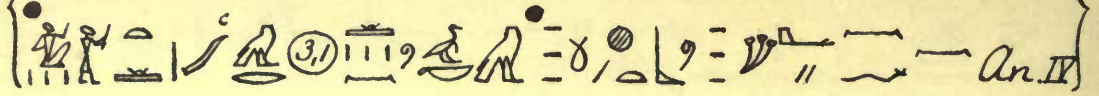
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \dots \text{Koll.} \\ \dots \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$



$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \dots \textcircled{3,1} \dots \text{Koll.} \\ \dots \textcircled{2,12} \dots \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$

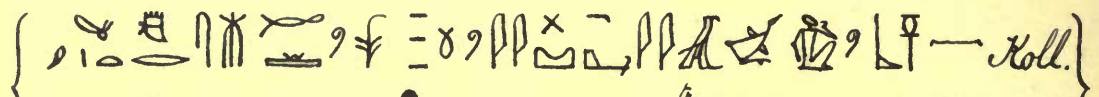
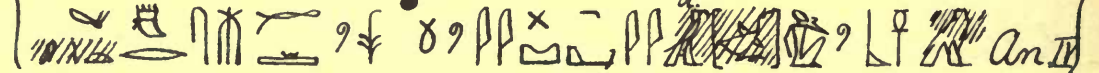
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \dots \text{Koll.} \\ \dots \text{An. IV} \end{array} \right\}$

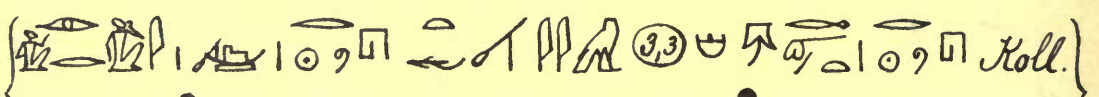



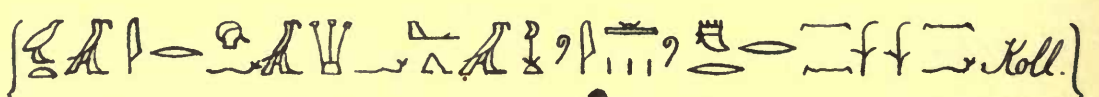
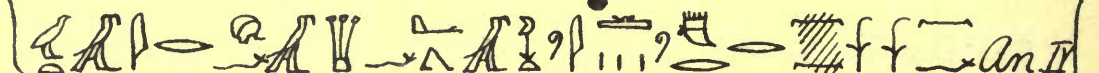
- 3<sup>a</sup> after g/p(w) the traces  are still visible.
- 6<sup>b</sup> The lacuna is too large for iwf only.
- 8<sup>c</sup> The top line of the page alone is preserved, and this only in part. However see below note 13<sup>d</sup>.
- 9<sup>d</sup> Small like  $\ominus$ , cf. 2,1. — <sup>e</sup> After ii one or more signs entirely washed out, save for a horizontal stroke at bottom; ii is nearly certain
- 10<sup>f</sup> At top a trace which suits  $\mathcal{L}$ . — <sup>g</sup> ; the reading is far from certain.
- 11<sup>h</sup> 
- 12<sup>i</sup> ; these traces do not suit the reading n mh I very well.
- 13<sup>j</sup> The word  $\equiv \text{III} \text{ II} \text{ T}$  written as a correction above Anast. V <sup>k</sup> Only one tall sign, perhaps [P].  
5,1 probably belongs here. —

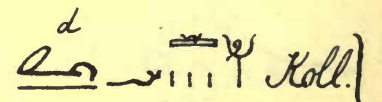
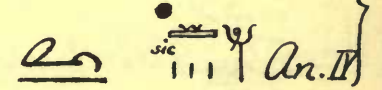
{  Koll. }  
 {  An. IV }

{  Koll. }  
 {  An. IV }

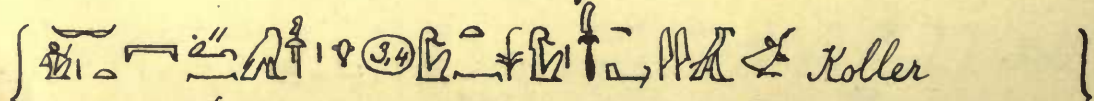
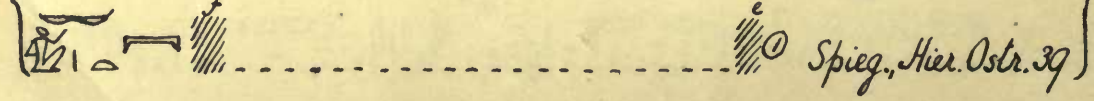
{  Koll. }  
 {  An. IV }



{  Koll. }  
 {  An. IV }


{  Koll. }  
 {  An. IV }

{  Koll. }  
 {  An. IV }

c. A letter concerning Nubian tribute.



{  Koller }  
 {  Spieg., Hier. Ostr. 39 }

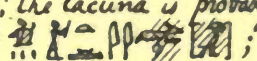
- 1<sup>a</sup>  ; contrast *S* in dbw 1, 8. — <sup>6</sup>Here a deleted *P*, which apparently does not belong to the earlier text.
- 2<sup>c</sup>  rather like the det. of db in Anast. II 17, 8.

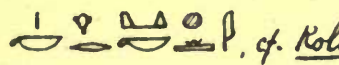
11<sup>d</sup> Perhaps rightly interpreted by Möller (Paläographie II no. 101 note) as a contraction of  "chapter" "section"; but certainly understood by the N.K. scribe as     .

14<sup>e-f</sup> For the probable size of the lacuna, see lines 4.5.






1<sup>a</sup> For  emend .

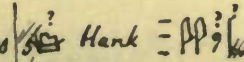
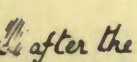
4<sup>b</sup> The ostr. had clearly a version quite different from that of Koller; the lacuna is probably a little shorter than that of ll. 4.5. After the lacuna Spiegelberg reads ; but the word for "garrison" is iw<sup>c</sup>yt not iwt.

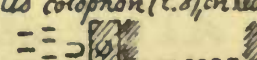
6<sup>c-d</sup> Or perhaps better  cf. Koller 1, 1; 5, 5.

9<sup>e</sup> Probably no mere "Füllstrich": — <sup>f</sup> Badly mounted; not ng.

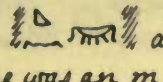
12<sup>g</sup> Ostr. had clearly a longer list of animals; for the length of lacuna cf. ll. 4.5.

13<sup>h</sup> The hieratic sign serves at once for  and for ; see above p. 25a, note 4<sup>c</sup> — 'Emend .

16<sup>k-l</sup> Spieg.'s facs. gives  Hank  after the long lacuna at the beginning of l. 7. Impossible to connect with text of Koller. —

<sup>m</sup> As colophon (l. 8) in red, 



- 1.<sup>a</sup> The signs  are on a displaced fragment; possibly there was an m between  $\triangle$  and  $\square$ . — <sup>b</sup> Perhaps hardly room for  $\left[\frac{p}{b}\right]$ .
- 2.<sup>c</sup> Only a small sign lost.
- 3.<sup>d</sup> Emend  $\leftarrow \square \parallel \square \square$ .


6.<sup>e</sup>  $\rho$  appears to be superfluous.

8.<sup>f</sup> 

10.<sup>g</sup> The scanty space hardly admits of any other restoration.

11.<sup>h-i</sup> Perhaps dittography. — <sup>k</sup>  not improbably a corrupt group.

16.<sup>l</sup> This word is a correction; the  $\sim$  is above a deleted  $\rho$ .

17.<sup>m</sup> Dittograph. — <sup>n</sup>  on a displaced fragment.

18.<sup>o</sup>  $\sim$  is written exactly like  $\sim$ ; so too below 5,7.





2<sup>a</sup> Read  $\square \square \parallel \overset{\circ}{\square} \parallel$ .

5<sup>t</sup> Evidently for  $\overset{\circ}{\square} \square$ , see Admonitions p. 67.

6<sup>c</sup> The position of  $\overset{\circ}{\square}$  makes it certain that a sign stood beneath it.

7<sup>d</sup> There is room for the sign  $\square$ , which the scribe forgot to add.

8<sup>e-f</sup> Emend  $\underline{\square}$ .

10<sup>g</sup> The section begins abruptly, thus without further introduction; the words  $\square \square \square \square \square - \square \square \square \square \square - \square \square \square \square \square$  (7, 9) are probably to be understood.

15<sup>h</sup>  $\square$  is written quite like  $\square$ , as above 4, 8.



- 3<sup>a</sup>. The reading of Anast. IV is clearly superior. — ~~6~~ & wrongly omitted.
- 7<sup>c</sup>. The text was probably continued on other pages cut off from the Pap. Koller.
- 8<sup>d</sup>. The continuation occupies the entire remainder of Anast. IV down to 17, 9, where the writing suddenly stops.

### Additions and Corrections.

P. 3, line 3; read ~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~ <sup>ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ</sup> ⲛ; the reading is far from certain.

P. 7, line 4; the reading ~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~ <sup>ⲛⲓⲛⲓ</sup> is more probable than ~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~.

P. 21, line 2; the lacuna at the end of 11, 7 should be omitted; ~~ⲛⲓ~~ in ~~ⲛⲓ~~ is nearly certain. In the note p. 21a, note 2<sup>c</sup>, read: "corrupted out of ~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ."

P. 32, line 18; a note on ~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~ <sup>ⲛⲓⲛⲓ</sup> should be added, stating that this is a wrong writing for ~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~.

P. 48, line 12, beginning; for ~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~ <sup>ⲛⲓⲛⲓ</sup> read ~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~ <sup>ⲛⲓⲛⲓ</sup>.

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