EGYPTIAN
HIERATIC TEXTS

TRANSCRIBED, TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

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SERIES I: LITERARY TEXTS
OF THE NEW KINGDOM

PART I

THE PAPYRUS ANASTASI I AND THE PAPYRUS KOLLER,
TOGETHER WITH THE PARALLEL TEXTS

LEIPZIG
J. C. HINRICH'S SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG
1911
PROVISIONAL PREFATORY NOTICE

The following extracts from the Prospectus in which the present work is announced will explain its scope and arrangement:

"It is proposed to divide the whole material into a number of series, each dealing with a different class of text: the first series will contain Literary Texts; the subject of the second will be Magical Texts; other series will be devoted to Business Documents, Juristic Texts, Letters, etc. Every series will comprise a certain number of parts, each of which will be complete in itself, containing one or more entire texts, together with bibliographical introductions, translations and notes. When a sufficient number of parts in any series has been issued, a volume will be concluded; the separate volumes will include full indices to the words discussed in the notes, and to personal, royal and geographical names; and the numbering of the pages will be so arranged that the printed portion containing the translations and introductions, and the autographed portion containing the text, may be bound up separately.

"In the autographed portion, the left-hand page will contain the hieroglyphic transcript, while the palaeographical comments will occupy the opposite page. The direction and mutual position of the signs in the original will be retained in the transcript, in order to facilitate comparison with the hieratic. For economy of space and for other reasons the text will not be split up into sentences; nor will the restoration of lacunae be undertaken beyond a limited extent. Where more than one manuscript is preserved, the parallel texts will be reproduced in extenso side by side. It need hardly be said that the series aims at the most exemplary accuracy, particularly in the establishment of the text, the originals having been diligently collated in almost every case.

"The printed portion will consist of bibliographical introductions, complete English translations, and such philological notes, with abundant references, as can be given without the use of hieroglyphic type. In the preparation of the translations all previous renderings will be carefully compared, so that no earlier suggestions of value may be ignored. The translations will err rather on the side of literalness than on that of freedom, but the notes will supply a certain corrective in the way of paraphrases and explanations of passages where the English rendering is obscure."

Title-pages, Preface and Indices will follow later at the conclusion of Volume I.

For the immediate convenience of the reader the following facts should be noted. The printed portion of the work is separately paged with numbers accompanied by asterisks (1*, 2*, 3*), and in seeking cross-references in the foot-notes this fact is strictly to be borne in mind. Such references as p. 5, line 9, or p. 5a, note 11d refer to the autographed text and to the autographed notes accompanying the same; and the page-numbers thus alluded to are those that will be found following the words Lit. Texts at the top right-hand corner of the autographed pages; the numbers at the bottom of the autographed pages will be omitted in subsequent parts, and should be disregarded altogether. The double mode of pagination has been adopted in order that the printed and autographed portions may later be bound up separately.

The references to Egyptological literature are given in the forms commonly used in Egyptological books. The Semitic scholar should note that MAX MÜLLER, As. u. Eur. = W. MAX MÜLLER, Asien und Europa nach Altägyptischen Denkmälern, Leipzig 1893; and that BURCH stands for MAX BURCHARDT, Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen: zweiter (Schluss-)Teil, Listen der syllabisch geschriebenen Wörte, Leipzig 1910.

For the the transcription of Egyptian words the symbols used in the grammar of A. ERMAN have been retained, except that j is replaced by y. A good comparative table of Egyptian and Semitic consonantal values (for Semitic words written in Egyptian of the New Kingdom) will be found in the above-quoted book by BURCHARDT, erster Teil, p. 52.
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 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 uninscribed, 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, Palaeographie II 11)¹. — 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—LXII². 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 occasions³.


3. Ostracon 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. Ostracon in the Brussels collection (abbrev. O. Br.), a broken potsherd containing portions of Anast. I 2, 1—5 and closely following the ostracon 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.

5. Ostracaion in the Library of Queen’s College, Oxford (abbrev. O. Q. C.), a limestone fragment measuring 17.5x13 cm., containing the text of Anast. I 3.4—4.1 with sundry additions. Brought back from Egypt by BELZONI. Hitherto unpublished.

6. Ostracoon in the Turin Museum (abbrev. O. T.), a duplicate of Anast. I 6.5—7.3, on a fragment of limestone measuring 21x18 cm. Published PLEYTE-ROSSI, Papyrus de Turin, plate CXLIX. Collated with the original.


8. Ostracoon 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 ostracoon 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 CHARAS, op. cit., pl. 12. Transcribed from the publications.

9. Ostracoon 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 Papyri 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 Anustasii 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 he 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 Rehaim and their connexion with Egyptian History, which Miss FANNY CORBAUX published in the Journal of Sacred Literature for January 1852. In H. BRÜGSCHE’s volume Die Geographie der Nachbarländer Ägyptens (Geographische Inschriften allägyptischer 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 1859; 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 ostracoon 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 Égyptien 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 hitherto 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, 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 Égyptologique*, 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. 

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 *Anastasi* 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 Égyptiens* (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 ostracon in the Louvre were recognized as containing portions of the text of *Anastasi I*; an ostracon practically identical with that in the Louvre had long since been published by Cailliaud and used in Chabas' book. In 1885 Adolf Erman's work *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben* appeared, shedding new light on almost every province of Egypto-

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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 Égyptien 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 ṣm-h, bw ṣṭr-h*, 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. 111 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 Toppé et Mageedo 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 (A. Z. 44 [1908], 118—125). A fine ostracon 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 writing1, or where other occupations are invidiously compared with the labours of the scribe2. 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 age3. 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 literature4; but nowhere are these attributes more strikingly illustrated than in

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1) See ERMAN, Aegypten p. 442 foll.
2) E. g. Anast. IV 9, 4 foll.
3) See ERMAN, Aegypten p. 683.
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, 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 II, 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, 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; servant of the lord of Khmīn in the hall of writing; assistant-teacher in the office of writing. First of his companions, foremost of his fellows, prince of his contemporaries, without his peer. His merit is proved in every stripping. His hand goes forth (?!), his fingers magnify the young (?!). Noble, keen of wit, adept in knowledge; fortunate because of it (?!). Protecting himself by his good qualities; beloved in (men’s) hearts, without being repelled (?!); men like to make a friend of him, they do not tire of him. Swift to inscribe empty rolls. Youthful, eminent of charm, pleasant of grace. Unravelling the obscurities of the annals like him who made them. All that goes forth from his mouth is steeped in honey; the heart is refreshed with it as it were with medicine. Groom of his Majesty, follower of the Sovereign, trainer of the steeds of the king, ardent cultivator of the stable. The old man who doeth like him is beaten (?!).

1) Nnh-win only here; perhaps read nh-w, as the Petrie Ostracon (O. P.) may have had; cf. 160 (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 stripping. Lamp (......)” (end).
7) Literally: “one makes sure of him for every stripping”, i.e. he is a successful teacher of the young; Lith. man cf. Well, Sinai 63.5. In O. P. this sentence more appropriately follows sby n brw-.
8) That fr pr d-lf is not to be taken with hsmw n b (“every stripping who passes through his hands”) seems probable from O. P. (fr should perhaps be omitted.
9) lp 3t “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 fr is superfluous.
10) Emend fr-r referring to sbr-ft?
11) The reading lwm is rather uncertain.
12) Reading sfb, cf. 12, 1.
15) Variant Ostv. Bibl. Nat. (O. B. N.) “all that goes out over his limb (read “lip”) is mixed with honey.”
16) Mr, cf. Bunchardt, Ältestenäthische Fremdworte (henceforth cited as Bunch.) no. 466.
18) Mutcf. Sall. III 4, 9; Pop. Twuiv 147, col. 2, 12, and possibly Pop. Kaun 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 old colleagues”.
21) O. B. N., supported in part by the Brussels ostronc, 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 Wsrn, admitted to sacred ground; not revealing (?) what he knows to the ḫ3w-nb; wēb-priest of Sekhme, Hori son of Onnosre.”
who looses the yoke, [Hori] son of Onnofre of the region of Abydos, island of the just; born of Tewosre in the district of Belbeis, singer of Ubast in $Shu\{\text{nr}\}$.

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

He sends his friend, his excellent brother, the royal scribe in command of the victorious army; noble of parts, goodly of qualities, adept in knowledge; who has not his equal in any scribe. Beloved of all men; beautiful to him who beholds his charm; like a flower of the marshes in the heart of others.

A scribe (writing) in every style; there is nothing that he does not know. Men inquire after his response in quest of choice words. Keen of wit, 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.

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 (..................) come forth for thee in thy lifetime, and his (?) gate 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, not being wroth ........; may thy reward be ........ after old age, thy love (?) 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-Onuirs; mayest thou cross to U-pqer in the train of the god; mayest thou traverse the divine region in

1) For $tw\ms'\itw$, an epithet of Abydos, see below p. 15, l. 5; $Harkodep$ 93. 506; Tol. ed. Nav., 17, 24.
2) Bros-t, Belbeis on the border of the desert in the Bubastite nome, see Naville, Mound of the Jew p. 22, 23.
4) The name of Hori's rival was read $Nyht-stp$ by Erman; the version of O. B. N. finally disproves this view. For $ms\\ dot\ Nht$ cf. below 17, 3; Anat. II 5, 1; Urkh. IV 654. 659, there varying with $ms\ v n nhtw$, 654. 655.
5) Variant O. B. N.:— "Beloved of all men, without fault, charming, pleasant and praiseworthy (?) in the sight of others."
6) $M\ tmw\ nb$ "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. Anat. III, 5, 2; instead of "his" it is just possible to read "thy".
11) $Htp\ m'$, Anat. III 4, 8.
12) Read $mr-t$ for $mrh$ (?). But $h3t$ 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 Thinis".
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 (Q. Q. C.) here inserts: "mayest thou eat (?) bread and herbs (?) in the Region of Food $(t3-t\ d\beta)$; may there be presented to thee offering-loaves made beside (the god?), besprinkled from the two $d3-t$ vases with the water of $T3w-\alpha w$".
the train of Sokaris; mayest thou join the crew of the Neshmet bark\(^1\), 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\(^2\); mayest thou come forth from the Hidden Place\(^3\), without being destroyed; mayest thou [behold] the sheen\(^4\) in the Netherworld as it passes by thee; may Nun\(^5\) be abundant in thy domain, may he inundate thy path, may he overflow (the land to) seven ells (depth) beside thy tomb\(^6\); mayest thou sit at the river's brink in thy moment of repose; 4.1 mayest thou have thy face and thy hand; mayest thou receive offerings; may thy nose inhale\(^7\) the breeze; mayest thou relax thy throat; the clothes of Tayt\(^8\) ........................; may Nepri give thee bread, and Hathor beer\(^9\); mayest thou suck at the breast of the Cow Shaty-Hfr\(^10\); may the best oils\(^8\) be opened for\(?) thec\(^11\); mayest thou enter ................................, mayest thou set him on his seat; may the Ushcbti-figures receive thee\(?) ........................ carrying sand from the East to the West; mayest thou ............ [the goddess in] thy sycamore, may she moisten thy throat; mayest thou repel [thy enemies\(?) ]; mayest thou be powerful\(?) \(^13\) on earth, mayest thou be bright\(^14\) ................., mayest thou be justified in heaven\(^15\) .................; mayest thou descend to the ........... without being 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.**

Another topic. Thy letter reached me in an hour of leisure\(^16\). Thy messenger found me\(^17\) as I sat beside the horse which is in my charge. I rejoiced

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1) The boat of Osiris; CHASSIKAT has given a good collection of references Rec. de Trau. 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 Harakht\(?) carry thy soul aloft."

3) W-hmu only here; a name for the place of embalming.

4) Lit. the sheen of the sun in his nightly journey through the Netherworld. W(?jw[?jo], see BR. Wörterb. 324; PIKH, Inscr. 1 118.

5) Nun is the god of the waters; Nuat in Anasti I is a wrong reading, as the suffix of \(th\)-f shows.

6) The "water of 7 ells (depth)" seems to have been proverbial, cf. Anasti IV 16 b, 8.

7) For \(hm\) in Anasti I the duplicate O. Q. C. has the rare verb \(hm\)(\(?) "to breathe"; cf. Rec. de Trau. 27, 29; good examples in the Theban tomb of Nefmekf (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) Shakt \(\text{m-nat} "to suck at the breast" cf. PAP. LEIDEN 233, recto 6, 11; "to suckle at the breast" UERK IV 237, 239; and for the cow Shaky-Hfr in this context cf. PAP. 1375; CAPART, Recueil 148.

11) Very doubtful; read \(\text{w-h} \text{ak} \) instead of \(\text{w-h} \text{n} \ (?) \).

12) \(\text{f} \text{d} "to grasp" occurs once on a M. K. coffin (A. Z. 47 [1910], 101); here meaning and construction are obscure.

13) Read \(\text{w-h} \text{k} \ (?) \).

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

15) One expects \(\text{f-w-s-t} \) (?); see last note.

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

17) For \(\text{g-m-tl} "I found" emend \(\text{g-m-}\) as "found me" cf. Sinuhe R 19.
and was glad, I made ready to reply. I entered into my stable to examine thy letter. I found it consisted neither of praises nor of insults. Thy utterances confuse this with that, all thy words are perverted, they are not coherent. 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 muddled with unmellowed wine.

V. The way in which Amenemope wrote his letter is described.

I [send] to thee and bear witness unto thee like, but not excellent. As for me, when I say [to] thee speak coolly.

Thy speeches perturbed, to frighten me. But I feel no awe before thee, I know thy nature, I feel sure that thou wilt answer it alone by thyself. But lo, thy protectors stand behind thee; thou hast assembled many of helpers such as thou wouldst for a bench of judges. Thy looks are troubled, whilst thou standest coaxing the assistants and saying: "Come (join) with me and lend a hand to me!" Thou

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2) Šmm-i has more than one meaning: (1) "stable" cf. Piankhi 109. 115. 114; 3 n Šmm-i, 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 šmr as "insult" "offensive words" inferred by 8, 2 and by Pap. Bibl. Nat. 198, 2, recto 4; 4, 6 below is very obscure.
4) Ts šmr, "tied" "connected".
5) Puv, a kind of wine drunk by the servants cf. Anast. IV 16, 1 = Anast. III 8, 2; together with ṣəp and ḫdb, Anast. IV 7, 4; in the Golenischeff Vocabulary (7, 7) next to ḫnd "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. Horii 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.

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7) ḫp, lit. "cool", "coolly" occurs in several obscure sentences in Anast. I. Almost certainly "vain", "meaningless" in 13, I. Sense doubtful here and in 7, 2. In 28, 8 probably "dispassionately".
8) [S]n-em-t(?), cf. šm-[s]r(?) 5, 8, a mere guess. — R snw-t, cf. 11, 4, lit. perhaps "for my fear".
9) ḫr "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) ḫaʃ, see n. 1 on this page. The suffix refers to 3'-1 "the letter".
11) ḫr ḫr, 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-em-tf, as is hinted by the variant of the Louvre Ostraca to 9, 1. For the word, which in late texts is parallel to ḫnḥ and ḫnḥ, both of them meaning "protector", cf. Siut 3. 3; Millingen 3, 2; Rec. de Trav. 4, 131; Piankhi 124; Goshen 2, 1; Rochem., Édou I 278. 280. 542; II 39. 47.
14) ḫp is a word used for men who, together with ḫmōt, bring tribute of wild fowl Harris I 123. 6; 32b. 9; 69, 8; the title 2. n ḫp, Pap. Bibl. Nat. 203. 4. 5. 6 (= Speigelberg, Rechnungen). — For ḫr, in Hebrew ḫḥ, 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 ḫw.
16) ḫp, again in 9, 2, and in the plural ḫw ḫp, ḫ:w parallel to ḫw ḫr their helpers in an obscure context Petrie Ostraca 6 (a fragmentary hymn to Amon).
presentest them with gifts, each man separately, and they say to thee: “Take heart, we will overcome him.” Thou standest perturbed; and they sit deliberating, the six scribes. Thou hastenest with them seven. Thou givest two sections in charge to each man, and completest thy letter again. [One] (scribe speaks) praises, two (utter) insults. Another stands and examines them according to the rules. [The fifth] says: “Do not hurry, be patient about it in making (it) perfect”. The sixth hastens to measure the [corn]; he exerts himself to have it delivered.

The seventh stands at (his) side in the act of receiving the rations for the soldiers. Thy lists are confused, and cannot be made right. Kharof plays the deaf man and will not hearken. He takes an oath by the seventh stands at (his) side. [The fifth] says: “Do not hurry, be patient about it in making (it) perfect”. The seventh be set upon the granary”. He goes forth in a letter again. (One) (scribe sixes hastens to Thy man and will not hearken. He takes an oath by The seventh stands at (his) side. (The fifth) says: “Do not hurry, be patient about it in making (it) perfect”. The seali be set upon the granary”. He goes forth in a letter again. Thy letter is deemed too short?17? (What?) is the loss of pints in it for every measure? Behold thou art a scribe in command of the army. Men hearken to what thou sayest, thou art not disregarded! Thou art clever as a ro.*

I) Pro. 8:11 I.e. probably Amememope’s rival, the author of the book.
2) See above p. 9*, n. 8.
3) The sense may be “in order to get a seventh scribe”. Without 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.
4) For hosy and shurt see above p. 9*, n. 3; hr is possibly the common ellipse for hr dđ (see Erman, Alg. Gramm. 2 § 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 Amememope’s letter). A fourth scribe contents himself with criticism, while a fifth is lavish of encouraging words.
5) For Pyry “the other” must refer to the fourth scribe, but the presence of the definite article is disconcerting.
6) For the formation of ordinal numbers with prefixed -nt, see SETH in A. Z. 38 (1900), 144-145.
7) R at the end of the line should perhaps be omitted. Ñ-d-tuf in 6, 4 shows that a word for “corn” or the like is lost in the lacuna.
8) The sense is guessed.
rate(?) to be listened to. Thou hast parted from(?) thy papyrus to no purpose(?)
Thou didst enter(?) knowing beforehand(?) "it is not good(?) do not (?) cause it to
be brought", saying: "the . . . . . . are continually . . . . . . at my finger-
ends(?), like a book of incantations(?) at the neck of a sick man; it is con-
tinually . . . . . . it does not tire of being fastened by the thread(?) of my ring".

VI. The author reproves Amenemope's discourtesy.

I reply to thee in like fashion(?) in a letter newly (-composed) from the first
word(?) down to the finis(?) filled with expressions of my lips invented by
myself alone, none other being with me. By the might of Thoth(?) I made it
by myself, without summoning any scribe that he might help(7). I will give thee
more than(?) twenty themes(?) I will repeat for thee what thou hast said, (every)
theme in its place, (from) the fourteen columns(?) (of) thy letter. Take for thyself(?)
a sheet of papyrus; I will tell thee many things, and will pour out for thee choice
words(8). — The Nile spreads abroad (its) flood when(?) the inundation season is
bright(?) it takes possession of the meadows(9). — All my words are sweet and
pleasant in the saying(?) I do not act as thou dost when [I] invoke(?) thee.
Thou startest with insults to me(10); 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-hrw seems to mean "to underestimate" (causative from hrw "subordinate") in 8, 7; 17, 6.
Here possibly "to think inferior". Obscure in Pup. Turin 146, 11.
2) Very uncertain. Gbi-h (so O. T.) may mean "thou art bereft of", "short of", see p. 106, n. 17.
For bh cf. p. 97, n. 7. — O. T. here adds an obscure sentence.
3) The final sentences of the section are ex-
ceedingly obscure, and my translation is merely tenta-
tive. 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-h then being infinitive (see
Semen, Verbum II § 587). But this gives no sense.
Tm-h may be the stem-f form optatively used, a use
perhaps confined to Amen. I; cf. 9, 7(?); 13, 4; 28, 7.
5) E-g and n-w-n are unknown words.
6) Charms were often hung around the necks
of sufferers; compare for example the directions given
in Ema, Zauberworte 3. Mutter u. Kind 1, 4; 8, 2;
9, 3, 7.
7) Hes., in Coptic gce, cf. Harris I 13b, 3;
21b, 8; 23b, 2. Stroeckmann gives an archaeological
illustration 14, Z. 44 (1907), 123.
8) Lit. "with the like of it", scil. of your letter.
9) A corrupt word.
10) Kxr, 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) Dq-t hsw n elsewhere means "to surpass", but
there are no instances of this sense with the name
of a person after the preposition. The trans-
lation here given is doubtful; "more than" ought to
be hsw hr, not hsw n.
14) Sd-f, see above p. 106, n. 5; the construction
of these words is not clear.
15) One expects l-mkh-nw m or l-mkh nh m; see
Rec. de Trau. 27, 295.
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-f is quite obscure. —
Tsq-d cf. Eloquenti Pauent 1, 143; Ttb. ed. Nav.
159, 5; L., D. Ill 140b, 8; Dachel stelle 12; Max.
Dend. I 61, a.
18) M dkh usually means "to wit", and introduces
a quotation; this seems hardly to be possible here.
19) Lit. "thou dost begin against me with ins-
ults"; for sfrw cf. p. 97, 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; make every utterance of thy mouth into every (kind of) enemy. (Yet[?]) shall I be buried in Abydos [in] the abode of my father; for I am the son of Truth in the city of the Lord (?) (of Truth). I shall be buried among my comprees (?) in the hill of the Sacred Land. Wherefore am I (as) a reprobate in thy heart? Then visit (?) it (upon me[?])4. To whom have I recalled thee with an evil recalling?5 I will make for thee a volume6 as a pleasant jest (so that) thou becomest the sport of everybody7.

VII. Amenemope vilifies the author and is answered.

Again thou sayest (concerning me8): “Feeble9 of arm, strengthless one”! Thou dost undervalue10 me as scribe, and sayest: “He knows nothing!” — I have not11 spent a moment beside thee coaxing thee and saying: “Be my protector12, someone is persecuting me!13” (By) the decree of the Victorious Lord, whose name is powerful, whose statutes are firmly-established like (those of) Thoth; I am the helper14 of all my fellow-men! Thou sayest, “Thou fallest(?)”, again(?) concerning me . . . . . . . I know15 many men without strength, feeble of arm, weak of fore-arm, lacking in power. And (yet) they are rich in houses, in food and sustenance, and they speak no wish [concerning anything(?)]16. Come, let me tell to thee the

1) Note that w3 r hpy means “come to pass”, not “are far from happening”, see Admonitions p. 53.
2) Variant O. L. and O. C. “tombs”.
3) Anass. I has w-t nb, which can hardly here mean “every town”; I therefore take nb as “lord” and assume that M3-I 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 w3j nj nb, which suggests a similar meaning; w3j sometimes means “to inform against”, “accuse”, see EYMAN’s note on Wordsan 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) Sbr3 seems to be the technical word for “a papyrus”; so g31 h3 sbr-r, “palette and papyrus” Decree of Haremhab, 13; sbr-r n s-r “a papyrus-letter” P. L. 369; P. Bibl. Nat. 196, 119; the same word too above 4. 8.
7) O. L. and O. C. substitute “people rejoice at reading it (swm “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) Sbr3, see above p. 11*, n. 1.
11) The ostraca have n(?) ir-y i.e. probably “have I spent?” — n(?) being the equivalent of it.
12) M3-wm3, see above p. 9*, n. 15.
14) Psdp, 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. ScrODERBERG has dealt with the passage A. Z. 44 (1907), 123-125.
16) E.g. for example 17a. IV 61; here however there is not room for r h3 nb in the lacuna.
The likeness of the scribe Roy, who was called the firebrand of the granary. He never moved 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 overtakes him not. Thou art more foolish than Kasa, the reckoner of cattle. Run, for I will tell thee his likeness; do not ............. 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. Come let me tell thee of Nakht, him of the wine-store; he will please thee ten times better than these. Let me tell thee of Pa-har-pide who lives in Heliopolis; [he is an old] man of the Palace. He is smaller (than) a cat, and bigger than an ape; he prospers in his house and ............, (while?) thou wilt be here in the stable for ever(?). Thou hast heard the name of Ke-sop(?), the ......(?), who moves over the ground unnoticed, disorderly(?), of attire and tightly swathed. If thou wert to see him at evening in the darkness, thou wouldst fancy him a passing bird. Put him in the scale and see how heavy he is. He will come out at ten pounds or even lighter still. If thou blowest beside him as he passes, he will drop down far off like a leaf of foliage. If I tell thee of Wah, him of the cattle-

1) Μ-β, a ξριγείον.  
2) Κμ (β), 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 Egyptian.  
4) Sng is the Coptic κοσ "stultus", "insanus", see Griffiths, Rylands Papyri, p. 232 note 12 for the demotic equivalent. In late-Egyptian, cf. sug-tion mi špāw "ye were senseless as geese", Mar., Karnak 52, 17; nḥn sug, twit hnt "a witless child, without a father", Meiternich stela 196. 170 (also 171. 201 not so clearly); mi suger "a foolish expedition", Uramon 2, 23. 22. The comparative "more foolish" is here doubtfull.  
5) In the papyrus the verse-point precedes p kḥt-šm 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 t-r-h) against (m) an aged man or woman when they are old" Petrie Ostracon 11. Burchardt's identification with ḫbš "pardon" (no. 1155) gives no suitable sense.  
7) ḫḥš, cf. below 26, 4; Anast. IV 11, 2; elsewhere only in the titles "overseer of the workshop (hμ-τ) of the armoury of Pharao" Pap. Bologna 1094, 1, 3; and "scribe of the workshop of the armoury of Pharao" ibid. 1, 9; 3, 5; 4, 1; 5, 1; 7, 10.  
8) Ml nk, abbreviated for ml sdd-l nk, cf. Anast. III 5, 9 = Anast. IV 9, 7; also ml nk r, Florence Ostraca 2619 = A. Z. 17 (1880), 96. P-n for p(β)n cf. below 10, 6; p-n Hšš, Sall III 4, 7. In a neuter sense p-š nb "every man's share" below 17, 7; p-n 'Imnhp "the feast of Amo- nothes" Ostr. Queen's Coll. Oxford.  
10) Emend r my.  
11) ṣ šw is perhaps the equivalent of a św in Demotic; cf. Pap. mag. 13, 9; 1 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., Grosser Oase 16, 32.  
12) ṣ-h-h, an unknown word.  
13) The Berlin ostracon (O. B.) shows how the ambiguously-written verb in Anast. I is to be understood.  
14) ṣ(ā)n-r-l only again in 24, 1—2; perhaps "to be ruffled", originally of hair.  
15) Bnd, corruptly written bdn below 28, 3; cf. Tobt. ed. Leyp. 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.  
18) Gšš "leaf" is the Coptic φοινίκα, Boh. φοινίκα. Dššw is a rarer word with similar meaning, preserved in Sah. tōōqeq (Spiesg., Rec. de Trav. 26, 37).
stalls, thou wilt reward me with thrice refined(?) gold. I swear by the Lord of Khmûn and Nehem-awayt, thou art strong of arm, thou wilt overthrow them. Let [them(?)] be examined, these(?) with those. I will smite them with my arm, [nor shall any turn(?)] aside my hands. — Good Sir, 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.

Thou art come furnished with great secrets. Thou tellest me a proverb of Hardedef, 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 . . . . . . . to me in order to frighten me(?)\. My eyes are dazzled(?) at what thou doest; I am agape(?) when thou sayest: “More profound” 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; 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.” So say I: “ . . . . . . . . . . . as when sits to play draughts.”

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(?)! Thou art not on the list!”

— Thou (forsooth) art a scribe of the king, one who enrols the soldiers. All the
of heaven are open before thee. Hast thee to the place [of the] books, that they may let thee see the chest with the [registers], taking an offering to that he may quickly disclose to thee my reputation. Thou wilt find my name upon the roll as officer of the great stable of Sese-miamun. Thou wilt bear witness to the command in the stable (which I hold), for provisions are entered in my name. So I have served as officer! So I have been a scribe! There is no stripling of thy generation who can measure himself with me. Let a man inquire from his mother! Hie thee 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 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, thou hast never approached it, nor canst thou draw nigh to it. If thou discoverest the inner part of it, I have 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 thou art no scribe; it is a vain and empty name. Thou bearest the palette wrongfully, without being..." — I am foolish [and without a] teacher. Tell me the

1) A word for "secrets"; the determinative does not suit "gates".
2) Or s-t [isw] sww "the place of the [keepers] of the books.
3) Smi-rnф seems a fairly certain conjecture.
4) This name, which belongs to an imagined "keeper of the books", is not found elsewhere.
5) Smi-r, without the possessive article, is found below in 12,6. The sentence might run: wn-f nb 2[s] [yr(?)] p3-l(?), 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 Geleischoff Vocabulary (3, 10) between the "armour-bearer" (f3y h:w) and the "groom" (m-r-f); for other instances see p. 21a, note 9m. Another hieroglyphic instance Brit. Mus. 321.
7) The shortened form of the name Ramesses;
8) D-r-w-l, an unknown word.
9) Lit. "are in writing".
10) Emend smju-n f h:w-1 as in 28, 2; and cf. if smju n hml-h "who can compare himself to thy Majesty", Mar. Abyd. II 54, 11.
11) Th, cf. Paheri 5; Nav. Deir-el-Bahari 89; Amherst Papyrus 20, IV; Wiedemann, Aeg. Grabreliefs 62; zu Karlsruhe 7; Sphinx stele 11; Leipzig Ostracon 8.
12) It must be assumed that hbrw, 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) T(w)m(f), Coptic an, has here its original emphatic meaning, cf. Az. 41 (1904), 130.
17) Kb, see above p. 98, n. 7.
18) M dzh(w)-l only here; for dzh see Az. 42 (1905), 38.
20) H-n (h2-br-1w), cf. Israel Stele 14; possibly also R., I. H. 144, 46-47.
XII. Two instances of the incompetence of Amenemope: in the supplying of rations for the troops, and in the building of a ramp.

Another topic. Behold I am come full of thy office; I cause thee to know how matters stand with thee 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 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. Come, I will tell thee more than thou hast said. I will cause thee to be abashed. I will disclose to thee a command of thy Lord, since thou art his royal scribe, (since) thou art despatched to convey 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 a ramp of 730 cubits, with a breadth of 55 cubits, consisting of 120 compartments, filled with reeds and beams, with a height of 60 cubits at its summit, its

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1) \textit{Prk} “to draw water”, or “to bale” water out of a boat, the Coptic monc; cf. Borchardt, \\textit{Baag. d. Amonstempels 41}; \textit{Eloquent Peasant} B 1, 94, 278; \textit{Tob}, ed. Nav. 99, 24. Here probably in a metaphorical sense. The determinative in the papyrus seems to be borrowed from \textit{pn}.
2) Lit. “yokkest thyself”?
3) \textit{P. T.} has the variant “my letters”, which is perhaps better; Horii is rebutting an attack upon himself.
4) Onüris receives the epithet \textit{wsg} \textit{msf-t} “adjudicating the truth” on a late stele (\textit{Eloquent Peasant} B 1, 94, 278); and a Thinite temple mentioned in Harris I 57, 11; 61 a, 3 bears the name “Rameses judging Truth (\textit{wsg} \textit{msf-t}) in the house of Onüris”.
5) For \textit{m-s} optatively, see p. 11*, n. 4.
6) Lit. “I cause thee to know thy condition” (\textit{sfr}, “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 \textit{spd}, and it appears to me almost certain that the word is a derivative of \textit{dt} “to give”, since the three hieroglyphic examples known to me (Taylor, \textit{Tomb of Sebeknekhi 7, 13} [collated]; \textit{Urkh. IV 64}; \textit{Decree of Haremhab}, right side) write it with the old triangular sign for \textit{dt}. Struve however points out that the signs for \textit{spd} and \textit{dt} are occasionally interchanged in the 18th Dynasty, and quotes \textit{Urkh. IV 240} as an instance.
8) \textit{Hr nbkh-t} “upon my neck”; in the same metaphorical sense cf. Newberry, \textit{Rekhmara 2}, 12.
9) \textit{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 (\textit{h n(r)g} by his power (\textit{m hz-f})) de Morgan, \textit{Cai. d. Mon.} I 7 (I owe the example to M. Duvau). Whether this word is akin to \textit{kzg}, \textit{h-r-g} “to be pleased”, “content”, is not clear; for the latter cf. Rifeh, tomb 7, 10, 26; Mar., \textit{Abyd. I} 29; Rockh., \textit{Edifoi} I 74; cf. \textit{ka5r} and the reduplicated form \textit{h3zg}.
10) \textit{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 b’; 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) \textit{Anast.} I rightly \textit{mh}, masculine, agreeing with \textit{sts}; \textit{P. T. mh-li}, which could only agree with \textit{r-g-t}.
13) \textit{G-f}, in Coptic \textit{rsh} (the exceptional equivalence \textit{g = h} should be noted), cf. \textit{Anast. IV} 1 b, 3; 13, 11, 14, 7 (= Koller 5, 8); Harris I 19 b, 10; 72, 1; Mar., \textit{Dend. IV} 30, 151.
14) \textit{M h'y} “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 faith1 in thee, all of them, saying: "Thou art a clever scribe2, my friend! Decide for us quickly! Behold thy name is famous; let one be found in this place (able) to magnify3 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(??) are before thee; each one of its compartments(?) is of 30 cubits (long) and 7 cubits broad"5.

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

1) Mh ib 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 ṯ 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) Hitw 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. Darkesey, Ostraco 25262 (Cairo); Pap. Turin 71, 1 (omitted in facsimile).
5) Amenemope makes no answer, and the subject is dismissed in silence.
6) Std, ẖyrjy fenestra; see Hölscher, Das hohe Tor von Medinet Habu, p. 49—50 for a good archaeological illustration.
7) ṯwḥ in the New Kingdom is as a rule the designation of the Crown-prince; convincing examples are d'Orbigny 19, 2, 6; Harris I 42, 8; Pap. Turin 17, 1, 102, 2, 9; Inscri. dédic. 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. Gkogr. 239); but that the word K3 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 Ahmar near Cairo, see my Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, on B 14—15.
9) I. e. the Pharaoh. Probably we should read swh m3i nSn; 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.
XIV. Amenemope proves himself incapable of supervising the erection of a colossus.

It is said to thee: "Empty 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 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 the quarry. Thou art commanded to find out what is before (the Pharaoh) (??)18. How many 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 sile 11; sin w "to wait for" cf. d'Ockinga 3, 1; Anasti IV 5, 1; Pap. Turin 136, 2; 68, col. 3, 12; Pap. Leiden 345 verso 2; 3, 3-4, 7.
2) If the sentences are here rightly divided, 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 "approach" is here an imperative; it might be equivalent to In, and predicate "make way, the crown-prince approaches". But the meaning would then be very obscure.
3) In "to finger", "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 reflectively Westcar 10, 12; Turia, statue of Haremhab 13: R., I. H. 223 = Sall. III 7, 5; in the imperative as here, cf. Pyr. 596, 454, 1357; Renouf, Edjena II pl. 30 c; L., D. IV 57 a.
6) Read ms-h hu(?); for similar corruptions see the critical note p. 36a, note 34.
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. T's shu, see Admonitions p. 20; s sp in the Coptic Room.
8) Lit. "hear (understand) cleverness".
9) Ensman rightly emends for 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 -se makes it necessary to emend the plural pashu "boxes".
12) H-r-t only here.
13) See above 15, 8, and n. 4 on this page.
14) Nos., = nos krywov. Here again the sense is utterly obscure.
15) For the mode of erection contemplated see the Appendix.
16) Nos see above p. 9, n. 2.
17) Dy, tuka (?) and egi are unknown words.
18) It is hardly possible to translate differently, but my rendering gives no satisfactory sense. Ms b3h seems to be used in reference to ascertained dimensions in 14, 8.
19) Ws, Coptic evwhr, cf. below 27, 8; Anasti IV 20, 5; Unamon I, x + 15.
it \( \text{if[?]²} \) apt are their minds(?), but small their desire to demolish it without there coming a pause when thou givest a rest\( ^{3} \) to the soldiers, that they may take their meal\( ^{4} \) — 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 \( \langle \text{wit} \rangle \), understanding of heart\( ^{5} \), to whom nothing whatsoever is unknown, flame\( ^{6} \) in the darkness before the soldiers, giving light to them! Thou art sent on an expedition to Phœnicia(?\(^{7} \)) at the head of the victorious army, in order to smite those rebels who are called Neərín\(^{8} \). The troops of soldiers who are before thee amount to 1900; (of) Sherden 520(?), of Kehek 17,5 1600, of Meshwesh \( \langle 100(?) \rangle ^{9} \), Negroes making 880; total 5000 in all, not counting\(^{10} \) their officers. A complimentary gift\(^{11} \) 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\(^{12} \) (made) is too small for them: loaves of . . . flour\(^{13} \), 300; cakes\(^{14} \), 1800; goats of various sorts, 120; wine, 30 (measures). The soldiers are too numerous, the provisions are underrated\(^{15} \) 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\(^{16} \) every man to his hand. The Beduins look on in secret\(^{17} \). O sapient scribe\(^{18} \), midday has come, the camp is hot. They say\(^{19} \): “It is time to start\(^{20} \)! Do not make the commander\(^{21} \) angry! Long is the march before us!” But I say: “What means it, that there is no(??) 18,1 bread at all\(^{22} \)? Our night-quarters are far off! What means, good sir, this scourg-
ging of us? Nay, but thou art a clever scribe! Approach to give the food! An hour becomes (?) a day without the scribe from (?) the Ruler. (What means (?)) thy being brought to punish us? This is not good; let Mose (?) hear (of it), and he will send to destroy thee!"

XVI. Amenemope's ignorance of Northern Syria.

Thy letter abounds in pointed speeches (?) 4, is overloaded with big words. Behold they will (?) reward thee with that which they demand (?) 6; thou hast piled up (words) at thy good pleasure 6. "I am a scribe, a Maher 7", thou dost retort. (If) there is truth in what thou sayest, say I 8, come forth that thou mayest be tested. A horse is harnessed for thee, swift as the jackal red of ear it is like a storm up (words) at thy good pleasure 6. "I am a scribe, a Maher 7", thou hast 18,162 that is itself derived from a word meaning "to provide with milk" discussed by Pietri, Sphinx IV 12-14; thence too comes mhr "milkman" in Hood 2, 13 = Golenischafl Vocabulary 2, 12, where the context and (in one case) the determinatives render the meaning certain.

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 Lauth sought to find the name of Moses.
4) N-z-h, see Br., Wörterb. Suppl. 658, where the Coptic Μνοες "pungere" is compared. "Pointed sayings", "pungent sayings", seems a likelier meaning than "coupures", 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. Fkh means "to reward" (to be distinguished from fkh "to pluck", see the note on Koller 2, 8); here perhaps fkh-£ bw should be emended.
6) Lit. "as thou didst wish".
7) The word mh-k-r, which is found frequently in the next pages of Analasis I but nowhere else, must be the technical name given to the Egyptian emissary in Syria. The derivation fromSetUp "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 "sucking" (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 Pietri, Sphinx IV 12-14; thence too comes mhr "milkman" in Hood 2, 13 = Golenischafl 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; II 28b; Dom., 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) Hsr "reins", see Borch. 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 denial 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 (mh k-r)", 27, 5; "thou hast never seen them since thy birth", 27, 7 (cf. 9, 5); notice particularly the italicised words. Erman (Ägypten 510 foll.) was mistaken in returning to Chabas' view.
The word of the tree “wn-l was used for making “staves” (בּנִים) cf. Maile1,7; Pap. Turin 2,9.
10) ‘I-n(r)-n “oak” תִּבְקָה, Burch. No. 76.
11) R ḫṣ[y should not be misread as ḫṣ[y, this would be an impossible spelling for בּנִים “beams”, which Max Müller still upholds, As. u. Eur. 89.
12) Ḥm-l 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 Ḥm-l and ḫṣ[y, more I retain the rendering “hyena” for want of a better.
13) Ṣ-w, identified by Max Müller (As. u. Eur. 159) with a peak of the Lebanon called Saua in an inscription of Tiglat-pileser. BURCHARDT considers this phonetically impossible.
14) Emend lw ḫṣ[y-b (šw) or (šw-š).
15) Ṣḥt lit. “beaten”.
16) Ḥṣ-my may be compared with ḥṣ-hמ my 27, 4. Ṣḥ-my, below 20, 8; 21, 5; 23, 1, 7; 27, 4, is clearly the enclitic particle discussed Admonitions p. 105. The place-name ḫṣ[r-š cannot be Berytus, as MASPERO would have it, on account of the unintelligible traces preceding, which must belong to the word.
17) Ḥṣ-d, here apparently an active verb with the meaning “to fly from something in terror”, is doubtless the Hebrew וְתֹא; 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; all thy body is crushed and battered; thy limbs are bruised, from sleep. Thou wakest, and it is the hour for starting in the drear night. Thou art alone to harness (the horse); brother comes not to brother. A fugitive has entered into the camp. The horse has been let loose. The has turned back in the night. Thy clothes have been taken away. Thy groom has awoke in the night, and marked what he has done; he takes what remains and joins (the ranks of) the wicked, he mingles with the people of the Shosu and disguises himself as an Asiatic.

The enemy comes to pillage in secret. They find thee inert. Thou walkest in the night. Thy clothes are quite obscure. “To bruise” “crush, cf. open”, a misplaced fragment. The restoration of the passage is impossible, and the sense is obscure.

I now believe that the word from is on a misplaced fragment. The restoration of the passage is quite obscure.

To flee and is probably connected with Semitic to flow. Here the feminine article is incomprehensible, and the sense is obscure.

“The list of Phoenician towns is in correct geographical order from North to South.

The infinitive here probably replaces the imperative, see Sethe, Verbum II § 366. Mir r “to instruct” someone about something, cf. Anat. IV 14, 8; Decree of Haremheb, right side, 5.

Berytus, Be-ru-ia in the Amarna tablets; only here in Egyptian texts, see Burch. no. 366.

D-d-n, Sidon, mentioned also Unamon 1, x + 24.

D-r-p-l, Sarepta, Sariptu of the ‘Taylor cylinder of Sennacherib, on the high road between Tyre and Sidon. In Egyptian only here.
21,7 stream of N-t-n\(^1\). What is 'I-\(l\) like? They tell of another city in the sea, Tyre-the-port\(^2\) is its name. Water is taken over to it in boats, and it is richer in fishes than in sand.

XVIII. Places further southwards.

I will tell to thee another misery\(^4\) — the crossing of D-r-\(m\)\(^5\). Thou wilt say: "It burns more than a (hornet-)sting\(^6\)!" How ill it goes with the Maher! Come, set me on the road southward to the region of Acco\(^7\)? Where is the road of Achshaph\(^8\)? Beside(?) what city (does it pass)? Pray teach me about the mountain of Wsr\(^9\); what is its peak like? Where is the mountain of Shechem\(^10\)? Where does he make the journey to Hazor\(^11\)? What is its stream like? Put me (on) the route to Merom, not far from \(\text{tp-w}'\); the playground\(^12\) of all Mahers. Pray, teach me about his road. Make me behold \(\text{y} \cdot \text{n} \cdot \ldots \ldots . . . \)\(^9\)! If one is travelling to \(\text{I-d-m-m}\)\(^14\), whither turns the face? Do not make (me?)\(^15\) withdraw(?) from thy teaching, lead me(?) to know them!

1) The stream of N-t-n can only be the Nahr el Kasmiye, i.e. the lower courses of the Liftani, see Massero, Hist. Anc., II p. 6, note 6; the identification of the name N-t-n with Liftani is however open to serious objections, see Max Müller, As. u. Eur. 185.
2) 'I-t (Burch. no. 190) is Uzi in the Tyrian series of the Amarna letters; Ed. Meyer, Encycl. Bibl. col. 3733, accepts Fraenck's identification with Palaeysrus.
3) D-r, often in Egyptian (Burch. no. 1227), is \(\text{rs} \cdot \text{Tyos} \cdot \). 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) \(\text{tp-hsm}\) only here; but \(\text{tp}\) is used with various adjectives in a similar way, cf. \(\text{tp-nfr}, \text{tp-mit}, \text{tp-w'}, \text{tp-su}\).
5) The locality D-r-\(m\) (the final \(m\) may well be a corruption of \(\text{tp-}\)) is compared by Max Müller with \(\text{n-f-r} \cdot \text{Σωκα of Judges} 18, 2; Joshua 19, 41\), which was in Dan. This seems too far south for the context. De Rougé (quoted by Burgsch in the Critique) cleverly suggested that there is here a pun upon the word \(\text{m} \cdot \text{n} \cdot \text{m}\) "hornets"; see next note.
6) \(\text{Ddb} \) "to sting" is not elsewhere determined with the sign for fire; but \(\text{ddm}\), 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 \(\text{t-h-s-p}\) 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 \(\text{t-h-s-p}\) is a misspelling of \(\text{I-h-s-p} (\text{Urk. IV 782, 40}, \) i.e. \(\text{m} \cdot \text{nn} \cdot \text{m}\) on the border of Asher; see Burch. no. 168. E. Meyer (Encycl. Bibl. 3733) identifies \(\text{t-h-s-p}\) with \(\text{m} \cdot \text{nn} \cdot \text{m}\); this is a particularly attractive suggestion, since Achzib is in the near neighbourhood of Acco; the equivalence \(s = \) is however open to serious objections.
9) Unknown name.
10) S-h-m, evidently the \(\text{nn} \cdot \text{m}\) 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 \(\text{nn} \cdot \text{m}\) (Burch. no. 709) and to \(\text{Ha-su-ri}\) of the Amarna Tablets. This town was situated near the waters of Merom, not far from Kedesh.
12) H-m-t here and in the Palestine list of Thutmose III is thought to be Harmath \(\text{nn} \cdot \text{m}\) south of the Sea of Galilee, see Max Müller, Die Palästinaliste Thutm. III, p. 11; Burch. no. 678.
13) T is-t \(\text{swt}\) lit., "the place of promenading"; \(\text{swt}\) 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 \(\text{nn} \cdot \text{m}\) on the border between Benjamin and Judah; see Max Müller, Die Palästinaliste Thutm. III, p. 15.
15) Utterly corrupt; emend \(\text{shnhr-t}\) (?).
XIX. Various other towns visited by the Maher.

Come let me tell thee of other towns, which are above(??) 1 them. Thou hast not gone to the land of *T-h-s* 2 , *K-w-r-m-r-n* 3 , *T-m-n-t* 4 , Kadesh 5 , *D-d-p*r 6 , *I-d-y* 7 , *H-r-n-m* 8 . Thou hast not beheld Kirjath-anab and Beth-Sepher 9 . Thou dost not know *I-d-r-n* 10 , nor yet *D-d-p*r 11 . Thou dost not know the name of *H-n(x)* 12 which is in the land of Upe 13 , a bull upon its boundary, the scene of the battles of every warrior. Pray teach me concerning the appearance(?) of *K-y-n* 14 ; acquaint me with Rehob 15 ; explain Beth-sha-el 16 and *T-r-h-c* 17. The stream 23,1 of Jordan 18 , how is it crossed?

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

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1) *Hry* is perhaps corrupted from the form of the preposition *hr* used before the suffixes -tn and -sn; a difficult phrase *nit 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 *r-s-sn* 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. 214, n. 5.

6) *D-p*r, a town stormed by Rameses II, probably quite close to Kadesh, see MAX MULLER, As. u. Eur. 153.

7) The Ma. has Kirjath-*n-b* and Beth-*t-p*r.

8) For *i-d-y* the *i-d-r-m* of the list of Sheshonk (19) and *D-d-p*r have been compared, see BURCH. no. 201. The Adoraim of the O. T. is identified with modern Dura, to the S. W. of Hebron in Southern Judaea.

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

10) Unidentified.

11) See above p. 204, 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 Gisa of the Amarna letters; see MAX MULLER in Encycl. Bibl. col. 3547. — The injured word for “appearance” (or “statue”??) is read *sdF* by Brugsch and compared, probably wrongly, with the late word *sdF* (Wörterb. 1357).

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

14) *Byl-br*, a *A-b-n*; 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 *h-r-t*-ly i. e. a *b-r-n*; so CHABAS; but see MAX MULLER, As. u. Eur. 175, footnote.

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

17) See the critical note.

18) *Nit 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 *nit 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. 174, n. 3.
Mariannu¹, forward to shoot(?)! Behold the . . . . . . . . . . . . is in a ravine² two thousand cubits deep, filled with boulders³ and pebbles⁴. Thou drawest back(?), thou graspest the bow, thou dost . . . . . . . . . . . . thy left hand, thou causest the great 23, 5 ones to look. Their eyes are good, thy hand grows weak(?). Thou makest the name of every Maher, officers of the land of Egypt¹¹. Thy name becomes like (that of) ḫr ḫay-d y, the chief of ḫr s r¹², when the hyena¹³ found him in the balsam-tree¹⁴. — The (?) narrow defile¹⁵ is infested(?) with Shosu concealed beneath the bushes; some of them are of four cubits or of five cubits, from head(?) to foot(?)¹⁶, fierce of fate, their heart is not mild, and they hearken not to coaxing. Thou art alone, there is no helper(?¹⁷ with thee, no army¹⁸ 24, 1 behind thee. Thou findest no . . . . . . . . . . . .¹⁹ to make for thee a way of crossing.

1) M-r-y-w, a word found often in Egyptian texts in reference to Syrian "warriors" (Burck. 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 ܡܵܢܝܹ, another Semitic derivation that has been proposed is from ܡܵܢܥ to be contentious" "rebellious". Winckler has recently found the word in the form marisna in the tablets from Boghrak, and boldly connects the word with the Vedic mārya "man" "hero" (Or. Lit. Zeit., 15 [1910], 291–298). Both here and in 28, 1 it is apparently parallel to ḫr-h (Maher).

2) N ḫr-h, cf. 15, 8; 24, 1; cf. too Dūm., Hist. Inschr. II 47, 4 and the passages quoted by Griffith, Proc. S. E. A. 19, 298. N ḫr-lm rs is used as an exclamation "forward!" in Piankhi 95.

3) A corrupt word with the determinative of land; probably from the stem n². — It seems necessary to delete the preposition ḫr after mlk.

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

5) Dḥ-ḥṭ only here and 24, 2.

6) The word "hqr(r)" is the Coptic ḣ, see Burck. no. 270. 274.

7) S-w-l-[h] is thought to be ובו "to turn back" (Burck. no. 768), though neither determinative nor sense seems very appropriate. The word cannot be identified with סבל, as Charaz supposed.

8) ḩ-r, an unknown verb.

9) ṣrp (sic) is usually divided from what follows; thus Ehrman translated "so ermaidet ihr Auge auf deiner Hand". But ḫmr is not used of the eye, nor does it mean "to grow tired"; and the preposition ḫr would be strangely used. Probably ḫr should be omitted; for ḫmr ḫ-l cf. Koller 5, 3; R., J. H. 241, 43.

10) So Burchard (under no. 32), who proposes as the meaning of these words "thou slayest like a lion, o . . . . . . Mahâr". Whether the remainder of this translation be correct or not, it seems probable, in spite of Burchard's objections, that the last word is רָפָא "pleasant" "delightful".

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

12) ḫr-s-r (mentioned among South-Palestinian names under Sethos I, L., D. III 1404) is probably the tribal name ṭmr; see E. Meyer, Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarvölker, p. 540.

13) ḫmr-l, see above p. 21², n. 12.

14) Bkh, Hebrew מֵעָץ, only here (Burck. no. 574).

15) Hitherto it has been customary to connect ḫr lr ḫmr-sl and what follows with the preceding simile, which then only ends with ḫmr-sl, 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; (a) 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 ḫr before ḫmr-sl; from this point onwards it is the journey of the Mahar in the mountainous pass (ḡm-rf also in the sequel 24, 6) that is described, not the adventures of the prince of Ascher. The statement "some were of four cubits or five cubits" (i.e. 6 foot to 8 foot 6 inches) now refers to the Shosu, as with due allowance for Egyptian exaggeration it will do; and the words "they do not listen to coaxing" obtain a more natural and less metaphorical meaning.

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

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

18) D-b-l, the Hebrew מִז, cf. 27, 1 and Burck. no. 1207.

19) ḫr-s-r, an unknown word; the sense required is "guide" or the like. Burck. no. 92 differently.
Thou decidest (?) (the matter) by marching onward ¹, though thou knowest not the road. Shuddering (?) seizes thee ², (the hair of) thy head stands up (?)³, thy soul is in thy hand. Thy path is filled with boulders and pebbles ⁴, without a passable track (?)⁵, overgrown with reeds ⁶ and brambles ⁷, briers (?) and wolfs-pads ⁸. The ravine ⁹ is on one side of thee, the mountain rises (?) ¹⁰ on the other. On thou ²⁴.⁵ goest jolting (?)¹¹, thy chariot on its side. Thou fearest to crush (?)¹² thy horse. If it be thrown towards the abyss (?)¹³, thy collar-piece (?)¹⁴ is left bare (?), thy girth (?)¹⁵ falls. Thou unfastenest the horse ¹⁶ so as to repair ¹⁷ 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 (?)¹⁸ it. The ... ¹⁹ is left where it is; the chariot is too heavy to bear the load ¹⁰ of it (?). Thy heart is weary. Thou startest trotting (?)²⁰.

1) Wd3-wt-wa appears to be a compound verb construed as a pseudoparticle; for pseudoparticle 2nd p. sing. absolutely cf. h'-tw 5, 6, sm-d-tw 24, 4; in any case the sense is clear. N ḫr-h, see p. 25, n. 2.
2) D-n-m may be connected with ḫu to be cold; cf. for the construction ḫn-y-h ḫa lbd 24, 8.
3) ḫ-n(n)-f see above p. 13, n. 14.
4) For ḫu-xt and ḫu(r) see p. 25, notes 5 and 6.
5) A desperate guess.
6) I'-s-h-r, also Sall. I 7, 5 as a tall kind of reed, probably a species of bamboo; the common word for "whip" (Burck. no. 134) is obviously related.
7) K-d, Hebrew wp, see Burck. no. 955.
8) The plants n-h the "dangerous" and fowl-waš "wolf's-sandals" are not named elsewhere.
9) ḫ-d-r-i, only in 23, 3 above.
10) Read here the verb ḫu; with a postulated word ḫu "cliff" the construction would be awkward.
11) H-s-h-t, to judge from the determinatives a verb of motion, only here.
12) ḫidd "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 dwr-ti "netherworld" (misspelled) is used.
14) D-l, a part of the chariot, to which something made of leather was attached, cf. 26, 6; named also in "the d-l (plural) of thy chariot are Anat and Astarte" Edinburgh, Poem concerning the chariot, verso 12.
15) 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 Means [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" ( ḫb); 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 (n-s-y cf. 26, 6) is torn off. K-w-s-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 mendid; this is "tied" or "lashed" on to the yoke (?). This explanation however is purely conjectural.
16) K-w-s-n only here; see last note.
17) Nif ḫu to untie" "loosen", cf. Israel stele 6; Pup. mag. Harris, verso A6; Pup. Twinn 18+73, 1. Hirt here and below seems to mean the horse and chariot combined, whereas ṣmn-i is the horse alone.
18) Sm nnm "to lay" makes no sense; emend ṣmn ud "renew".
19) G-w-s-n, only here and in Köller 3, 2 = Anasti. IV 3, 1, an obscure passage where the object is ḫ-w-r "threads".
20) ḫ'bbt is here ḫbbt, i.e. horse and chariot combined; ḫbbt probably means "to load it" (the ḫ'bbt in the chariot, my rendering above being a paraphrase.
21) F ² reflexively, cf. d'Orbigny 6, 3, 10, 6; 13, 1; Sall. I 2, 11; Newberry, Amherst Papyri 21, 1, 2; the idiom is preserved in Demotic and Copic, see Sprachw. Petubasis, Index, p. 22, foottow. Tn ² only here; Anasti. IV 3, 8 has ṣı̄l immediately in a similar sense.
The sky is revealed. Thou fanciest that the enemy is behind thee; trembling and seizest thee. Would that thou hadst a hedge of thorns to put upon the other side! The chariot is damaged at the moment thou findest a camping-place. Thou perceivest the taste of pain! Thou hast entered Joppa, and findest the flowers blossoming in their season. Thou forcset a way in! Thou findest the fair maiden who keeps watch over the gardens. She takes thee to herself for a companion, and surrenders to thee her charms. Thou art recognized, and bearest witness (against thyself!). Thou art dismissed from (the rank of) Maher. Thy shirt of fine linen of Upper Egypt, thou sellest it. Tell me how thou liest every night, with a piece of woollen cloth over thee. Thou slumberest, for thou art worn out. A stretcheth before it. It smashes thy chariot and makes thy reins have been cut in the darkness. Thy horse is gone and is damaged. Would that thou hadst entered Joppa, and findest the flowers blossoming in their season. Thou perceivest the taste of pain! Thou liest every night, with a piece of woollen cloth over thee. Thou slumberest, for thou art worn out. A stretches before it. It smashes thy chariot and makes thy reins have been cut in the darkness. Thy horse is gone and is damaged.

1) Lit. “the sky is opened”; the Maher emerges from the narrow thickly-wooded defile. MASPERO *(in the Études d'Athènes à Leemans, p. 4-6)* rightly identifies the defile (gaz~) here described with that mentioned in the Annals of Thutmose III as in the vicinity of Megiddo; it is the Wady el Arab, 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) ’Im seems to be simply the word for “wall” in a specialized sense. It is impossible to connect the noun here with the plant *ib* mentioned in the Eloquent Peasant R 26 as Butler 12; Ebers 21, 17; 83, 7.

5) L’h 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 *gmn-h* *sgyr* (probably read *sgryt*, 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.


9) GOODWIN translated “thou findest the fruit trees blossoming in their season”; *hjsh* is “to bloom”, but could not possibly refer to the ripeness of fruit. In *Anast. IV* 12, 8 (f) *hj* (this reading seems more probable than *s3*, 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 *hjsh* far better.

10) Whn is usually “to make a breach in a wall” cf. *Abbott* 2, 13, 17; DARRESSY, *Ostraca* 25269; “to pierce”, *Anast. III* 6, 9. SETHE objects to the word on grammatical grounds and emends *wjm* (*Verbium II* § 195). The crux lies in the last words of the sentence, which look like *wym* “of eating”. The preceding sentence has however nothing to do with fruit (see last note), and it is rather doubtful whether *wym* “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* *md* only here.

12) Corrupt words.

13) S-3g only here; the determinative suggests wool.

14) Whn, 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 *ty-h* *hmy-t* be emended; *t3* would then be passive.

16) Sft n *knw*, here only.

17) *Y-s-p-t*, Hebrew *mwn*, see BURCH. no. 137.

18) *T*m r*-*l*, 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) *t3* would require an object, which is lacking.

19) *Hr-l*, Hebrew *mrn*, only here.

20) Wd(3)w(3), see above p. 22*, n. 3.

21) Corrupt words.

22) *T(l)m* “to cover” or “bury” is undoubtedly the same word as *tms* in the sentence “bury your staves in it” (scil. “the barley”), *Pop. Rylands* IX 11, 5; and both are clearly identical with *tomic* “to bury”. The derivation of the latter from *sm3-* 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 *sm3-*5, metathesis having already occurred. 4:*
Thy . . . . . . begs the . . . . . thy mouth1: “Give (me) food and water, for I have arrived safely”2. They turn a deal car, they do not listen, they do not heed3 thy tales. Thou makest thy way into the armoury4; workshops surround thee4; smiths5 and leather-workers6 are all about thee. They do all that thou wishest. They attend to thy chariot, so that it may cease from lying idle. Thy pole7 is newly shaped(?), its . . . . . . . . . . . . . are adjusted. They give leather coverings(?) to thy collar-piece(?)10 . . . They supply11 thy yoke. They adjust(?) thy . . . . . . . (worked) with the chisel(?)13 to (?) the . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Th. y. give a . . . . . . . (of metal)15 to thy whip16; they fasten [to] it lashes17. Forth thou goest quickly to fight on the open field, to accomplish the deeds of the brave18!

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 troops19, in front of the army20, [I will describe to] thee the [lands] of the extremity of the land of Canaan21. 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 Sather, Die Einsetzung des Veziers, p. 21, note 91.
3) Hpt, see above p. 15*, n. 7.
4) Kd "to surround", cf. especially Anas. IV 12, 4.
5) Th-w properly "sandals-makers".
6) The 1 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 Uph. Anas. IV 16, 11: a chariot is bought, "its pole () for 3 dbw, the chariot (itself) for 5 dbw", Anas. III 6, 7.
7) Ge-r-p occurs only here, but is certainly identical with g-r-p, Anas. IV 16, 11 = Koller 2, 1, also in reference to the chariot-pole. In Aramik 282 is a knife for cutting, in Phoenician a barber.
8) Dby-wd, only here; sense unknown.
9) M-f-y, again only in Koller 2, 1.
10) D-l, see above p. 26*, n. 14. The following word hsw is quite obscure.
12) The dbw must be an important part of the chariot; it might be of gold, see Uruk IV 663. 669.

13) The usual phrase for "worked with the chisel" is hpt in dbw-l, cf. Harris I 8, 7; 47, 3-4. T3(w) m j3 bsb occurs Koller 1, 7, where as in the present passage it is hard to explain.
14) M-b-l occurs (with determinative of wood) once again Anas. IV 16, 12, where it is a part of the chariot adorned with metal; the meaning is unknown.
15) 'I-s-w-y, only here.
16) 'I-s-b-r, see Burch. no. 134.
17) M-w-it, only here.
18) Ps.-ib, see above p. 24*, n. 19.
19) N-s-b-n, see above p. 19*, n. 8.
20) D-b-l, see above p. 25*, n. 18.
21) T2 w. p K-n-a-n, in Hebrew 172 cim, only here with h. P R-k-n-it is not very often mentioned in the Egyptian texts, see Burch. no. 988; except in Anas. III 8, 5 = Anas. 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 conquest of Sekhs 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.
thy face (?) (towards(?)) \( ^1 \) the fortress of the "Ways of Horus" \( ^2 \). I begin for thee with the "House of Sese" \( ^6 \). Thou hast never trodden it; thou hast not eaten the fish of (the waters of) . . . . . . . ; thou hast not bathed in them. Come prithee \( ^{27,5} \) let me recount to thee \( ^2 H\-t\-y-n; \) where is its fortress? Come let me tell thee about the district of Buto of Sese \( ^8 \), "In (?) his house of victories (?) of Usimare" \( ^{17} \), \( ^7 S-b-\tilde{e}l \) \( ^8 \) and \( ^7 'b-s-kh \). Let me describe to thee the manner of \( ^'y-n-u; \) thou knowest not its position \( ^{11} \). \( ^N-h-s; \) and \( ^H-b-r-t; \) thou hast never seen them since thy birth. O Mohar, where is Raphia \( ^{14} ? \) What is its wall like? How many leagues \( ^{15} \) march is it to Gaza \( ^{16} ? \) Answer quickly! Render me a report, that I may call thee a \( ^{26,1} \) Maher, that I may boast to others of thy name of Mariannu \( ^{17} \). So will I say to them(?). Thou art angry at the thing I [have] said to thee. I am experienced in every rank \( ^{18} \). My father taught me, he knew and instructed (?) (me) very often. I know how to hold the reins \( ^{19} \), beyond thy skill indeed! There is no

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\( ^1 \) The text here is damaged and probably also corrupt. The \textit{crux} of the passage is to determine the grammatical construction of the words \( \tilde{p} \) \( \hat{h}m \) \( n \) \( W\tilde{t}\-\tilde{w}l \) \( Hr. \)

\( ^2 \) \( W\tilde{t}\-\tilde{w}l \) \( [Hr.] \) is now known to be an alternative name for the celebrated frontier fortress of \( \tilde{T}\tilde{r}w \) (Zaru), see \textit{Erman}’s article \textit{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. \textit{Sall. III} 128b, completed by \textit{Champ. Not. Descr. II} 94. Hitherto Zaru has been placed in the neighbourhood of the modern town Ismailiyeh; but Herr Kuthmann, whose researches on the subject will be published in a thesis entitled \textit{Die Osigrena Aegyptienses}, 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 \( T\-t \) \( K\tilde{m}\tilde{ss}\-\tilde{m}y\-\tilde{t}w; \) which was reachable by boat from Zaru, see \textit{Anastasi I} 24, 8. Also doubtless the same as \( T\-t \) \( p \) \( M\tilde{h}l \) "The House of the Lion" in the Sethos reliefs, \( L. \), \( D. \) \( 1128a; \) this too is connected with Zaru by water, possibly, as Kuthmann suggests, the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.

\( ^4 \) \( H(3)n(3) \) "would that", cf. \textit{Anast. IV} 11, 12; \textit{Sall. III} 6, 7 (the hieroglyphic texts have here \( \hat{h}d \)); cf. too \( \hat{h}l \) \( m\), above 19, 6.

\( ^5 \) \( H(3)y-\not{y}; \) is very plausibly compared by Max Muller \( \text{(As. u. Eur. 134)} \) with the name of a well \( jh \) \( \hat{m} \), \( D. \) \( 1128a \) (under the horse’s tail), but all the copyists confirm the reading \( \hat{h}p\-\not{p}; \) \( n; \) (not \( \hat{h}h\-\not{r}; \) \( n; \) there. The name is now destroyed, as N. de G. Davies, whom I am deeply indebted for a collation of the Karnak reliefs, informs me.

\( ^6 \) Identical with \( \tilde{W}\tilde{g}y\-\tilde{t} \) \( n \) \( S\tilde{t}y-M\tilde{r}\-n-Pt\tilde{h} \) in \( L. \), \( D. \) \( 1128a. \) — \( M\tilde{h}r \) \( \text{(read} \not{h}k\tilde{r} \text{)}, \) see p. 137, n. 8.

\( ^7 \) In the Karnak scenes \( \text{(of} \ L. \), \( D. \) \( 1127a \) the next fortress to that of Buto is called \( P\-n\tilde{h}tw \) \( n(?) \) \( S\tilde{t}y-M\tilde{r}\-n-Pt\tilde{h}; \) with the natural change of the royal name Sethos into that of Rameses II (cf. last note), this name becomes clearly similar to \( m \) \( p\tilde{y}\-f \) \( n\tilde{h}tw \) \( W\tilde{r}\-m\tilde{s}\tilde{i}-\tilde{t}R \) in the papyrus. The meaning of \( n\tilde{h}tw \) (masc. sing.) is not certain; possibly the preposition \( m\) should be omitted.

\( ^8 \) \( S-b-\tilde{e}l, \) an unknown locality.

\( ^9 \) \( 'b-s-kh, \) apparently a pool rather than a well, occurs in its right position \( L. \), \( D. \) \( 127a. \)

\( ^{10} \) The locality \( 'y-n-u; \) is unknown.

\( ^{11} \) \( T\tilde{p}\-\tilde{r}d; \) lit. "principle" or "rule", doubtless here means the "position" in relation to other places; cf. p. 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 \( L. \), \( D. \) \( 126b \) there should be inserted a small fortress over a pool or well; this bears the name \( "N(?)\-h-s\-u; \) \( (\text{det. of} \text{water}) \) \text{(of} \text{the} \text{Prince} \dots \; \text{...}. \)

\( ^{13} \) 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 \( L. \), \( D. \) \( 126b, \) 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.

\( ^{14} \) \( R\-\tilde{p}h, \) 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 Muller, \textit{Egypt. Researches I} 57, 16; 58, 17.

\( ^{15} \) \( W\tilde{r}, \) see above p. 18*; n. 19. — The length of \( \tilde{Hr}, \) or schoenus, is not yet determined, see \textit{A. Z.} 41 (1904), 58–60.

\( ^{16} \) \( K\tilde{d}-\tilde{t}, \) \( \not{m}w, \) \( \Gamma\chi\gamma\zeta, \) the southernmost of the Philistine cities; elsewhere in Egyptian spelt \( G\tilde{d}\tilde{t}, \) \textit{Burch. no. 1071.}

\( ^{17} \) \( S\tilde{n}h h \) "to boast of", see \textit{Admonitions} p. 28. — \( M\-\tilde{r}-y-n, \) 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.

\( ^{19} \) \( H(m\-f)\-\tilde{y}, \) see above p. 20*, n. 10.
brave man who can measure himself with me! I am initiated in the decrees of Month.

How marred is every (word) that cometh out over thy tongue! How feeble are thy sentences! Thou comest to me wrapt up in confusions, loaded with errors. Thou splittest words asunder, plunging ahead. Thou art not wearied of groping. Be strong! Forwards! Get thee along! Thou dost not fall. What is it like not to know what one has reached? And how will it end? I retreat. Behold, I have arrived. Thy passion is soothed, thy heart is calm. Do not be angry.

I curtail 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; none who converses with thee can unravel them. They are like the talk of a man of the Delta with a man of Elephantine.

Nay, but thou art a scribe of the Great Gates, reporting the affairs of the lands, goodly and fair to him who sees it. Say not that I have made thy name stinking before others. Behold, I have told thee the nature of the Maher; I have traversed for thee Retenuzo. I have marshalled before thee the foreign countries all at once, and the towns in their order. Attend to me, and look at them calmly; (thus) thou shalt be found able to describe them, and shalt become a travelled warrior.

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1) S(m r h-w-l, see above p. 15, n. 10.
2) Wh n occurs once again on a writing-board in University College, London (= Rec. de Trav. 19, 95), where wh-l tw should be emended for wh-tw. The determinatives of wh 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.
4) Bird, 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 hsr-k, see p. 25, n. 2.
6) Gm gn thus as the equivalent of sdgm gpalpare, cf. Harris 500, recto 1, 21, 7, 12.
7) The writer sarcastically encourages Amenemope to persevere in his writing. — I suspect that the words lst bs-lsl-tw are simply a corruption of ms-tw (cf. 15, 8), with elements borrowed from 3s "to hasten" and sbs "to run".
8) I. e. thou art ignorant of thy plight.
9) Phu(d) n n m lb; this phrase occurs again on Petrie Ostracon 45.
10) Read bh3-l. Hori announces his intention of retiring from the contest.
11) Hw-tum 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) Hfr lit. "shave", probably here in the sense "to curtail" or "to summarize".
15) Lit. "confused in hearing".
16) For s-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) s3a 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 dost!"
19) Tm-l optatively, see p. 11, n. 4. — Hn1, Coptic ymwn, only here transitively.
20) Tnw is doubtless a corruption of Rt-nw, 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) Kh, see above p. 9, n. 7.
24) Gn r, see p. 17, n. 5.
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 I (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 PiMkh k1 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. If the view of the r-g-t here taken be correct, the word may possibly be derived from rl “mouth” (cf. rl-st3, rl-w3t) and g(3)p(l) “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. 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 Holscher, Das Hohe Tor von Medinet Habu, p. 36. The height of the ramp at its highest part was 60 cubits and, if I understand the next words rightly, the height in the middle of its upward slant was 30 cubits. To me it
appears that hri-lib-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 by alone. Borchardt points out, however, that the measurement at the middle is quite superfluous, and proposes to understand hri-lib-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 considerabe.

The dimension next named, m l-sp (sp sn) mh 15, is still more problematical. The phrase m l-sp (sp sn) occurs only once again, namely in the description of the obelisk (15, 4). The exact words there are i-sp-f m l-sp (sp sn) r 'sp m mh 1, d0' i(f)3. 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 l-sp (sp sn). He conjectures that l-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 finger1, 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 1/14 of a finger to every cubit, which gives a quite reasonable angle2. Applying the sense thus obtained for l-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 cubits4. It appears to me that l-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 l-sp [sp sn]) towards the top as 1 cubit and 1 finger”. On this view l-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 indicated5. 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 1.314 spans to the cubit, or an angle of 75°; and it adds greatly to the probability of the theory here put forward that the ramp leading up to the pyramid of Sahure exhibits precisely the same batter6.

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 Khammas § 5, 11). Borchardt conjectures that the end-wall at the bottom of the ramp, corresponding with l-sp, the end-wall (according to him), at the top, may be meant. Another possibility suggested by Holscher 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 hmu rather than hri-lib.
2) The sign h in the Ms. is probably a corruption of d0.
3) The Egyptians usually expressed this angle by a term srd, which states the number of spans divergence from the perpendicular for a height of one cubit; see the article by Borchardt, A. Z. 31 (1853), 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 Grabdenkmalk des Königs Sahure, p. 30. Unfortunately my hypothesis was framed too late to be submitted to Professor Borchardt’s criticism; Herr Holscher 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; 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), HOLSCHE'r'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 ḫeβóμενα, but their sense is for the most part not difficult to determine. The first measurement given, "110 cubits n īwn n ḫut(?)", clearly refers to the length of shaft; īwn, the most important element in the compound expression used, is of course the word for "column". The "dby-t" 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-šnu (or p-šnu) n ḫwnt-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 k-šp (ṣp sn) discussed in dealing with the first problem; as we saw, this must refer to the

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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 (Urb. IV 425).
3) The word occurs once again on an ostracism in my own possession (no. 3) giving a list of objects of wood; among the latter is p šnt m ḫ-t m mlt 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. The pyramidion (fbrb $f$) is
stated to have been 1 cubit in height, of course an impossibly small measurement. Lastly,
the point of the pyramidion (hrw, 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 nnm, also a known word. All the other technical
terms and dimensions are quite obscure. The nnm 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" (s$w$m). The question asked of Amenemope is as to the number of men to be
employed in order to remove the sand (sn $m$ "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.

1) It is probable that the h after mh 1 should be emended into qb. 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 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. 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. For dates see Erman, loc. cit.; they occur very frequently both in papyri and on ostraca.

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 miscellanies1, 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 Paibes that of the pupil2. 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 Papyri 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; Pop. Bologna 1094; Pop. 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 (A. Z. 18 [1886], 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 Paibès¹) saying: — Take good heed to make ready the array(?)² of horses which is (bound) for Syria, together with their stable-men³, and likewise their grooms⁴; their coats⁵ . . . . . . -ed and filled with provender and straw, rubbed down twice over; their corn-bags(?)⁶ filled with kylinestis-bread⁷, a single ass(?) in the charge of⁸ every two men. Their chariots are of brw-wood(?)⁹ filled with ⟨all kinds of (?)⟩ weapons of warfare¹⁰; eighty arrows in the \( \text{quiver}^{11} \), the \( \ldots \ldots . . \quad 12 \), the lance(?)¹³, the sword¹⁴, the dagger, the \( \ldots \ldots \ldots \quad 15 \), the \( \ldots \ldots \quad 16 \), the whip¹⁷ of \( \text{tg}-\text{wood}^{18} \) furnished with lashes¹⁹, the chariot-club²⁰, the staff(?)²¹ of watchfulness, the javelin²² of Kheta, the rein-looser(?)²³, their facings ⟨of⟩ bronze of six-fold alloy²⁴, graven with chiselling(?)²⁵ . . . . . . -ed²⁶. Their cuirasses²⁷ are placed beside them. The bows are adjust-

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1) The names are restored from 5, 5.
2) Rḥr is possibly identical with the rare Hebrew collective word for “horses” רֶבֶן; see BURCH, no. 642, where the phonetic difficulty is pointed out. — For ger we should expect ger-šw (cf. 5, 5), but in 3, 5 and d’Orielley 2, 2 the ending is similarly omitted.
3) Ḥfr ḫb, a very common title, which in itself probably indicates quite a low rank.
4) Ṣmr, see p. 6*, n. 16.
5) Ṣmr 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. — Ḫfr, properly a corn-measure, is occasionally determined with the sign for the hide, cf. Rhind Math. Pap. 41, 3; 43, 1; Marx., Karnak 54, 46.
7) The k-r-ī-t was a small wool 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 καλλιδρακ, a word known from Hdt. II 77 and other sources (see A. Z. 47 [1910], 159 footnote).
8) R ṭw as preposition means either (1) “in the charge of”, so here and Pap. Bologna 1094, 6; Ṣmr 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 ḫw (ḥw) n ū ḫ-t; note that in this expression ḫ-t is written with ṭ and stroke during the 18th. Dynasty, (cf. Urk. IV 699).
11) Ḫ⁻r-š, see above p. 27*, n. 17.
12) Ḥmr-y-t, as a weapon belonging to the chariot, Edinburgh Poem about Chariot, recto 11.
13) ḫr-š, only here and Anast. IV 17, 1; cf. mēpeq, but this comparison perhaps fails if the Boheiric form mēpeq quoted by Peyron is well authenticated.
14) Ḫr-š, Hebrew 77, also Anast. IV 17, 1; Edinburgh Poem, recto 13.
15) Ḫw-š, only here.
16) Sk-hm(w), again only Anast. IV 17, 1.
17) Ḫr-b₁, see BURCH, no. 134 and above p. 26*, n. 6.
18) Ḫr, a species of wood; whips are made of it, as here, Anast. IV 17, 2; the chariot-pole, below 2, 1; chariots, Uerk. IV 707; the word also ḫb. 701, 705, 732.
19) Ḫw(?) “lashes”, only here; Anast. I 26, 8 uses another word; for Ḫw(?), as bow-string cf. below 1, 8; LACAU, Sarcophages II, Index.
20) Σo too ḫw(?) n ḫ-b ḫwb-b, Edinburgh Poem, verso 9.
21) Ḫw, elsewhere only d’Orielley 13, 1 (conclusive as to sense); Anast. IV 17, 3.
22) The weapon ḫw 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. ḫ ḫw n ḫ-b ḫwb-b, Edinburgh Poem, recto 11.
23) For ḫ “to loose” see p. 22*, n. 7, and for Ḫr see p. 20*, n. 10; what instrument is here meant is hard to say.
24) ḫ ḫb(?) n ḫ is evidently an alloy of six ingredients; from this passage and from Harris I 45, 5; 47, 6; 52, 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) ḫb(?) and m-s-ḥ, unknown verbs.
27) Ḫw-b, from Hebrew ḫb; see SPIEGELBERG, Petubastis, Index no. 235—236 for demotic instances and some important remarks.
2. ed(?) to their strings, their wood being tested in drawing, their(?) bindings(?) consisting of clean . . . . . leather(?)4. The pole is of ḫg-wood, . . . . . -ed, shaped(?)8, fitted with leather9, finished off(?), oiled10 and polished(?).)

1) Rud(ed), see above note 18; the meaning of ḫṣy 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) M-S-y, only here and Anast. I 26, 5.
4) For mtrt we may possibly compare Pap. Kahun 19, 57.
5) For the word ḫt see p. 28*, n. 6.
6) ḫtg, 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.
10) ḫgw “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) M-S-y (also in Anast. IV 16, 12) looks like a Semitic passive participle ḫmlr: 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 Anastasii IV 2, 4—3, 2 and Anastasii 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 Papiryi 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 Egyptiens (Paris 1872), p. 28—30. The version of the Koller was first utilized by LAUTH, Die altägyptische Hochschule von Chennu, in Situsb. 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 tell me that thou forsakes writing and, departest and dost flee; that thou forsakes writing and useth thy legs like horses of the riding-school(?)4. Thy heart is fluttered; thou art like an ‘ḥy-bird’. Thy ear is deaf(?)6; thou

1) The section opens with the usual epistolary formula ḫt “to wit”, which is best omitted in translating.
3) The expression mb-k m ḫw-t, ḫt “thou seizest (or “art full of”) thy legs”, seems to occur only here; Anast. IV has a superfluous mb before mb.
4) ḫy-h only here; the sense is quite problematical. — ḫtrt seems never to be used in late-Egyptian for simply one horse; it means a pair, or a horse and chariot.
5) The bird ḫy is also mentioned Anast. IV 1b, 1; Pap. med. Berlin 21, 2.
6) D-m(r)-g only here; however the proper name D-n(r)-g (Burck. no. 1189), older D-g (e. g. Cairo stele M. K. 20007; L. D. II 147b), is often determined with the ear, implying that the verb was common.
art like an ass in taking beatings. Thou art like an antelope in fleeing. Thou is a hunter of the desert, nor a Mazoi of the West! Thou art one who is deaf and does not hear, 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 in the boat, he stands at the prow, he does not look out for dangerous winds, he does not search for the current; if the outer rope is let go, the rope in front is in his neck. When he is pulling the rope, he catches the birds, he plucks flowers on the banks, he cuts elms of earth. His is of seven cubits, he cuts reeds. His tresses in work of Kush. His is of bright in work of the overseer of. He binds threads to its end, in

1) I. c. thou art as stubborn and unresponsive when punished as a beaten ass.
2) Anast. IV wrongly omits the negation here and inserts it before "thy.
3) For similar writings of new “hunter” (for the sense see the determinative in Urkh. 1) cf. Urkh. IV 994: Harris 28,4; L., D. III 356.
4) For the Mazoi as hunters, cf. especially Anast. IV 103; in Urkh. IV 994 the titles “great one of the Mdrw” 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 (kfr: “subordinate”) is acting as the skipper or réis.
7) Tpít, 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); tpít may be a nisbe-form from it.
8) H-y-n, Coptic göcèin (Rec. de Trav. 28,214); elsewhere the word clearly means “waves”, not “current”, e. g. Anast. IV 1 b, 2.
9) If n bn(r) is read with Koller, this must be a genitive qualifying n wbh; if the reading of Anast IV be preferred h3 r bn(r) means “let go”.
10) Unnti is possibly a technical term for the rope attached to 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. — Hwēf-k, which Koller reads instead of hvwēf (Anast. IV), is certainly a mistake, like rswēl-k in 3,1; the scribe is still influenced by the pronouns of the second person with which the text began.
12) Wmnf lkh p nbh (parallel to wmnf m nbh above) introduces a new picture of the mate’s heedlessness; he is now imagined as towing on the riverbank. For lkh p nbh the Modern Egyptian would say quite similarly.
13) G-p is here probably the equivalent of ḫp (see above p. 9, n. 14); the substitution of g for ḫ is however difficult to parallel at this period.
14) Rg, so written also Pap. Leiden 345, recto G 2,1, is the equivalent of ḥh in Pap. Turin 89,5; doubtful Coptic qouēc: quēk exèlurī.
15) Srl(w), only here.
16) Pɔn means “to cut off” the head (e. g. MAR., Mast. D 10; Mission V 62) or the ribs (cf. NAV., Dest 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-b-k, cf. Anast. III 2,4, where the word occurs together with sbt “fields”.
18) Mw-n 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 emen in “to bring”.
20) Wsh-b, meaning unknown.
21) Nbd-t means “tressed hair” in d’Orbigny 107, 9; 11,4; 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 ruwb-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-ṭt and hfts are ḫns ṣ₂yːmən.
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-wt looks seems from Anast. I 24,6 to mean “to bind” or “tie”. — P-tv probably the Hebrew brōn, see BURCH. no. 430. The meaning of the sentence is quite obscure.
order to wear a loin-cloth(??). He is one who pricks up(?) the ear on the day of the ass; (he is) a rudder on the day of the boat. I will do all these things to him, if he turns his back on his office.

I) 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) Mḥ 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) Iḥ 3 ḫṣ f r, cf. Anast. V 6,1; 15,7 = Sall. I 6,2; Pap. Turin 88,11; Israel stele 11; Berlin Ostracon 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 Pinchasi (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 QUBELL in the course of his excavations at the Ramesseum; it has been published by SPIEGELBERG in his volume Hieratic Ostraka and Papry (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, writes to him who protects his people, to wit: — This communication is brought to thee saying: when my letter reaches thee thou shalt cause the tribute to be made ready in all its items, in ḫws-bulls, young ḫṣ-bulls, wndw-bulls, gazelles, oryxes, ibexes, ostriches; their broad-boats, cattle-boats and (ordinary) boats being ready to hand, 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) Mḥ rmff is found nowhere else either as a title or as a proper name. Sr., H. O. had a different reading: "[to . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .] of the . . . . . . . of Kush".

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

4) Lit. "in all its things".

5) Mḥ ḫṣ ḫd, for this animal see von BISSING, Mast. d. Gemnithai I 34, and for the spelling cf. Harris I 4,8; 20a, 12, 13 etc.

6) Nṯw, a late writing of the old word nṯw, found first in Benihasan II 4, 13; for the animal, see von BISSING, op. cit., p. 35.

7) Nṯw, already Pby. 469a; a good instance Urkh. IV 19; cf. too below 4.1.


9) Tptb-dl, only here.
skippers and their crews prepared for starting; much gold wrought into dishes, refined gold (?) in bushels (?), good gold, precious stones (?) of the desert in bags of red cloth, ivory and ebony, ostrich feathers, nebk fruit in ....... , bread of the nebk, S-k-r-k-b-y of (?') m-y-n-y-h-s', h-k-h', S-s-y', panther skins, gum, dy-berries, red Jasper, amethyst (?'), crystal, cats of Miu, baboons, apes, snw-vessels containing mut (?') pigment, cyperus-roots (?'), sacks (?) and ps-packets (?')

numerous men of 'Ir-mi' in front of the revenues, their staves (?) adorned with 45 gold, containing ............. 20 -ed with ........ 22

1) Ddi, so written too Anast. IV 16,2, is a flat dish, cf. Urah, IV 63; the word occurs already in the Old Kingdom, cf. L., D. II28, and its connection with the Hebrew סנד seems very doubtful.

2) Gmu, an unknown word.

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

4) The tree called nsw in Egyptian, in Old Coptic n-faw (A. Z. 38 [1900], 87), is the zizyphus, or Christ's thorn-tree, called by the Arabs قين; its fruit is sweet and palatable when ripe; the "bread of the nsw-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, 456-498. - Hem 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-h, a fruit of some kind, conjectured by Brugsch to be that of the dum-palm, see Wörterb. Suppl. 855; further examples in the Petria Ostraca 31, 37; for the spelling here cf. Harris I 19b, 12; 36b, 5.

7) S-s-y, probably a fruit, is mentioned next to h-k-h in Harris I 65a, 4, 5 and again ibid. 73, 4, 3.


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 Urah, IV, 55. Pliny (Hist. Nat. 24, 102) mentions a plant called ḥphissas which grew at Elephantine and possessed very remarkable properties.

10) Ḫm-t, their either red or carnelian; for the colour cf. L., D. III 117 = Champ., Not. Deser. I 479; Zauberspr. f. Mutter u. Kind 1, 1; Turin Love-songs 2, 3. The knot-amulet, which is usually of Jasper or carnelian, is said in Tobh. ed. Leers., 150 to be made of Ḫm-t. The Hebrew שַׁבִּית was compared with Ḫm-t by Brugsch, Wörterb. 1100; but LXX interprets this as Ḫm-baretσ. Ḫm-t as a product of Nubia, cf. Pap. Turin 67, 11; Sehel, Famine Inscription 16.

11) Ḫm-b is without doubt merely a variant of Gardiner.
and with all precious stones; tall men of T-rk,1 in loin-cloths(?), their fans2 of gold, wearing high feathers3; their bracelets(?)4 of woven thread; many Negroes of all sorts.5 Increase thy contribution every year! Have a care for thy head, and turn thee from thy indolence. Thou art [old]; look to it diligently,5 and beware! Be mindful of the day when the revenues are brought, and thou passest into the Presence beneath the Balcony; the nobles ranged on either side in front of his Majesty, the chiefs and envoys of every land standing gazing and looking at the revenues. Thou art afraid and shrinkest(?), thy hand grows feeble, and thou knowest not whether it be death or life that lies before thee. Thou art profuse in prayers to thy gods: "Save me, prosper me this one time!"

1) T-r-k does not seem to occur elsewhere, unless the name hitherto read 3-r-k (Urk. IV 796; cf. Morgan, Cat. d. Mon. I 67) should really be read with the 3th-bird.

2) Bh-t, cf. Harris I 21 a, 2; Harris 500, recto 3,11; the phrase k33 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) Emsman regards the words "high of feathers" as an attribute of the fans; this appears to me less probable.

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

5) M iwm nd, see above p. 7*, n. 6.


7) Cf. sh3 nh hrw n hry, Sinuhe B 190.

8) Std, see p. 17*, n. 6.

9) Ms'yl, only here; from ms "to travel".

10) Tnhb is probably to be emended into inbh, for which see Admonitions p. 67.

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

12) Sinl, probably infinitive used as imperative, see Sarrue, Verbum II § 566; see above p. 22*, n. 17, and cf. ibid., Pap. Bibl. Nat. 197, 4, 6, infr., ibid., 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. 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.

The scribe Amenope writes (to) the scribe Paibès. 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 \ indicates that the signs next following are not the Ms. continuation of what precedes, but are transposed from elsewhere.

Two such dotted lines \\ 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.

ła. " " " " 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 • 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 text 3,5 would indicate Anastasius 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.

Hesitancy 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. 10.247 (Anastasi I) and from sundry other fragmentary manuscripts.
2. There is hardly room for and before this. Read [dot]

4. [dot] = [dot] [dot] [dot]

7. corruptly for [dot], as (e.g.) in kd (Anast. I) 2, 1; stpwr 2, 6.

9. With dot, i.e. properly 8.

10. O. P. here interposes several sentences, see below p. 2 c. 2 et seqq.
2. Immediately following upon m, tmy-yn ssw (above, p.1, l.10) O.P. has some sentences absent from Am.1. Restore the first [ssw m] tmy-yn ?

4. Thus:— almost invisible, i.e. rh latter added over the suffix (tmy-yn).

6. hardly ₃₂R+₁ .Expressions

11. Not m, though rather similarly made.

12. Now scaled away, but seen by me. — Here the words tmy-yn, etc., see above p.1, l.10—p.2, l.2.

13. i.e. properly érer (in), a common error.

15. Possibly these words should not be separated from tmy-yn (above l.10); but [see O.P.]

16. Doubtful traces. — The recto may have had another line; the verso shows nearly illegible traces of two lines interpunctuated with red, which may belong to this text.
2. Really und under the influence of 18. Read 56(1) 6, cf. 41, 3.

3. Corrupted from 69, as often. d invisible; the ι like a τ.

4. Corrupted from 65 5a.

5. Or rather 3 3b; clearly a corruption of 4 4a; see too 12, 1.

6. Spiegelberg's copy has indistinct traces.

8. So Sp.; read 3?

10. Read 5 = sp. 5. 6 Read 16h.

12. Sp's copy omits; so photogr.

13. Properly 3 sm; contrast 3, 4, 5. 7 See facsimile. 8 Corrupt for 3g.
Anastasi 12, 1-2.

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O.B.N.
1.  This is for ..., see above p.1a, note 7.

4. Sp. transcribes $\text{□□□□□□}$, but his hand-copy has a clear $\text{□□}$ with an uncertain group following; the latter must contain the determinative $\text{□□}$.

6. Sp's hand-copy $\text{□□□□□□}$, Sp. reads $\text{□□□□□□}$; perhaps for $\text{□□□□□□}$, Sp. $\text{□□□□□□}$ but the det. $\text{□□□□□□}$.
6. Practically certain; the stroke of $\text{□□}$ clear in Phot. $\text{□□□□□□}$ are in favour of $\text{□□□□□□}$.


9. Hardly $\text{□□}$.

12. Hardly $\text{□□□□□□}$.

13. The traces $\text{□□□□□□}$ make nhb certain; if the restoration nhb-$\text{□□□}$ is right, the phrase nhb-$\text{□□□□□□}$ belongs logically to minor: mods $\text{□□□□□□}$.

14. So Phot., not $\text{□□□□□□}$.
2. a. So too Phot., doubtless an error for $\overline{\text{3}}$, $^{b}$Sp.: "mit roter Tinte in $b$ korrigiert."
    cf. below p. 15 line 5.

5. So apparently Sp.'s hand-copy.

11. a. Not clear in the hand-copy; so Sp.'s transcription. $^{22}b$ (so too Phot.) probably
     arose from a mistaken reading of the hieratic group for $\text{mst}$, which has some points of
     similarity.
Anastasi I 2,4-7.

1. Properly 16, see above p.3a, note 2.

4. Without dot, like 84.

6. It is uncertain whether there were more lines, now lost.

10. So Sp.'s hand-copy and transcription. ⁵ → a corruption out of a keraletic Q.

11. ⁵ is for 11, see above p.1a, note 7; for ⁵ššfr see below 5.1 end; 7.8 end.

13. ⁷ is corrupted out of keraletic ⁷; read ²ššfr.

16. Sp.'s hand-copy. ⁵ššfr — Finally the colophon: "on the day when the scribe ⁵ššfr came."
4. At beginning, would be a possible reading. The space is rather small for [ms]₃, and the final ß by no means certain.
5. Confusedly mounted and not quite certain.
6. Scanty, but sufficient traces — [Character], not [char].
7. Perhaps no lacuna. — Of above 2.2.
8. Of 5.6 below. — The correction at top of page belongs here, Of below 4.4.
9. The trace of very curiously made, probably a later addition. — Quite clear in the original.


15. Original, g and point added in red above. — False analogy with 7, 10, and wash.

17. Or 3?
3a. As often \( x \) here replaces \( y \).

4. \( \mathcal{L} \), erroneously for \( \mathcal{G} \).

10. Cf. 4, 5.

12. \( \exists \)
The first ç in this spelling of thah is derived from *çæ* "inherit", the second from *çæ* "wash."

6. Very faint, but probable.

7. A tiny trace, suitable to ç. – G. 4 at end of line, but the name is elsewhere spelled with ç. 4.

8. The asterion, which is complete, ends with these red signs.

10. Sethe (1931) suggested that the first è is certain, and mnr probable, though the dot is quite obscure. A possible trace of m before mom – 10. After a small misplaced fragment.

11. Or m. – Hardly ç, since ç is written 1, 1, 4, 5. – 11. Ç.

12. A corruption of wæt. ç is certain.

12d. Corrupted from Ç. – 12. Ç.

14. For è of 9, 9.

16. Not æ, which would require æ; not space enough for æ. Nor can we have here a writing of ðæt; ææ is not found as a writing of ææ. There is a trace high up at beginning, but it is dull and may be a smudge.
1: 

2. Cf. 17.1 end.

3: Damaged and displaced, but certain.

4: Corrupted from $\text{PP}$. 

5: Read gm-i. — t Corrected out of $\text{n}$.

6: — The stroke may be meant to imply that $\text{v}$ and $\text{s}$ should be transposed; read shurit.

8: A vertical sign.

9: See facs.; utterly confused, with $\text{j-k}$; here and below 5,2,3 a large misplaced fragment, fitting into beginning of a page, recognized by Selk as belonging to 8,1.

10: — not $\text{m}$. 

11: See the note $\text{q-j-k}$ above.

12: Cf. Anast. IV 7.4; 16.1. — Under $\text{a}$ a misplaced fragment.

13: See the note $\text{q-j-k}$ above.

14: Properly only $\text{k}$; differently below (e.g.) 7.2.

15: Undecipherable fragments. — "Perhaps a word $\text{t}$ of 5,8.

17: See the note $\text{q-j-k}$ above, and the pass. on p. 11a. — t Corruptly for $\text{f}$.

18: Emend $\text{f}$, $\text{f}$, and $\text{f}$. Cf. below 9,1 and variants, all corrupt.
1. \textit{...} does not suit the context.

2. See above p. 10a, note 9\textsuperscript{a}. - Perhaps corrupted from \textit{m 6\textsuperscript{b}}.

3. See the note 16\textsuperscript{c}.

4. See p. 10a, note 15\textsuperscript{a}.

5. Cf. 6, 4. - \textit{...} Traces suit well; cf. 7, 8.

6. Cf. 28, 8; so already Goodwin, in a Ms. note in his copy of the Select Papyri, now in my possession.

7. The traces do not suit \textit{...}, and there is hardly room for \textit{...}.

8. The upper portion of these signs has become detached, and is mounted too far towards the left.

9. The proper name \textit{...}.

10. Not \textit{...}, see the facsimile of Rossi.

5b. an unusual form, cf. 六 on the ostraco on Berlin 12337.

6b. thus in my notebook, an unintelligible corruption. — My notebook gives

9d. Slightly displaced in original.

14b. An illegible sign above 六; before this Rossi gives 六, my notebook 六.

15b. So facsimile; the signs now destroyed in original.

16b. Not quite certain, see Rossi's facsimile.
2. Probably so, not ॥.

3. Emend ॥.

4. See Rossi’s facsimile; a corruption of  bey.


7. ॥ is superfluous.

8. Certain, but confused by meaningless smudges.

10. An uncertain stroke, see facsimile.—Unintelligible signs, see facsimile.

11. A trace [see facsimile] which might belong to ॥. — Read ॥ ॥?

14. ॥ ॥; the upper parts of the signs, on a separate fragment, are however very possibly misplaced.

16. The signs Dhūw are superfluous, and may be an attempted etymology of Dhūṭ, Thoth.
4. Possibly restore θητα.

6. Cf. above 5.3-4; the first person is made probable by the termination -ιθι.

12. See facsimile: ι is very probable, = quite uncertain; the left end of a sign seems to suit =, and a point may belong to — below it.
14. There is sufficient room for the m.

3. So apparently the facsimile.

4. A word like Σ is perhaps lost after τοῦ.

6. Later added above the line. - "οίμοιος is omitted because of the homoi... αρχήν.

7. Quite doubtful.

11. The omission of Σιωπαί in both O.L. and I.B. proves their close relationship.

1. M is superfluous.

4. I corrupted out of B, cf. above p. 8a, note 3c.

10. Probably nothing lost.


12. k for f by assimilation with the suffix of dd-k.

13. See above p. 10a, note 9l. k A low sign. — later added in red.
1a. At top a trace (see facsimile), perhaps — for the word marg. of above

4b. Damaged but still recognizable.

5c. A meaningless dash.

11d. At end a date [small characters] "third month of winter, day 29."

12e. Colophon: [small characters] "By the fan-bearer on the right of the king, the Governor of the Town and Visier To:"

14f. Read 91b 22. - 3 No sign last before 5, which is perhaps superfluous.

17h. In red above the line.
4a. Hpt 1 erroneously determined by the entire group O ? b frw.

7a. A meaningless dash (Fellstein).

8a. This restoration fills, or very nearly fills, the lacuna: cf. Anast. IV 9, 7-8.

10a. Original 2 [2]; w. first added in red above line, then corrected into the text in black.


14a. After [w] has been omitted.

16a. Not room for any restoration containing [w] W W W.
1. The sign after ☰ is doubtful.

2. It has a quite abnormal form, but for the word of 24, 1-2; "before Ῥασατ" is not certainly belonging to μο or μο.

3. Under ☰ a small sign, perhaps η or η; ☵ and ☵ are practically certain.

4. With a meant space following; this can hardly be read otherwise than <ι>, in spite of O.B.

5. It is not clear to what word in Anastasi this ι corresponds.

6. Read ι, as in 17, 5.
1. Something is lost after go; the tiny trace in facs. is on a misplaced fragment.

2. Read S M E.

3. At least something probably lost. d meaningless signs, as they stand; probably a corruption of nfr.

4. A verse-point might be lost after kšh-i.

5. A corruption of kšh-i.

6. 3 is nearly certain; kšn or kšn should be read, this being often contrasted with ndm.

7. A small low lacuna, which undoubtedly contained a sign; perhaps read — = 3.

8. See facsimile; — is far from certain.

11. @; @ as usual like @; instead of — the MS. gives @.

14. For the determinative of 23, 3.

17. Illegible traces, see facsimile.

18. k and n are so close to one another that a sign must have stood above them.
1. "Sc, but later or wear might be understood."  
   2. Very little can be lost. — Cf. (e.g.) 16, 7.
   3. Read [x] at (x) of page 11 line 16 above. — [x] ; the part above the break is probably a superimposed fragment; the reading m 1 has quite impossible.
   4. For [x], cf. p. 94, note 52-3.
   5. Corrupted from [x]?
   6. Suggested by Ehrman; there is a trace of [x] and also of tail of [x].
   7. Confused traces.
   9. Cf. the title [x], [x] (p. 17); in hieratic, [x]; in necroform 350 verso, [x]; original [x] with [x], [x]; the reversal of the groups here perhaps erroneous.
   12. Much more probable than —.
   13. Read [x], cf. 28, 2; the scribe was thinking of —. The determinatives of [x] ought to be —.
   14. Hesitating traces; see facsimile; not merely [x].
   15. "It seems likely that [x] (cf. Pap. Turin 1), as loco difficilis, was the original version, [x] being an easy corruption of [x] due to the influence of [x] "plough" and [x] "ebony"; the absence of a variant with [x] makes it improbable that [x] was meant.
   17. Probably no sign is lost at beginning of line.

18. Rather like [x], whence [x]. — "Correction above line: [x] — [x]."
6. See facsimile; the first is very badly made. b is here omitted.

11. Ditto: due to change of line. a read perhaps [MBMJ] or the like.

13. Emend odd [ąd].

15. If, as is probable, the reading "thou yokest thyself" is correct, the det. will be borrowed from [nú:], the first step towards the reading of P.T.
2. Very badly made, see facsimile. — See facsimile.

3. There is a hole after \( \mathbf{z} \), but its shape and size suggest that nothing is lost.

5. Read ms. 10 with P.T.

6. See facsimile, perhaps in part belonging to the earlier erased text. — The \( \mathbf{z} \) is small, and may belong to a later added ps; there is hardly room in the lacuna for \( \mathbf{Z} \).

8. Probably here for \( \mathbf{Z} \), as in \( \mathbf{Z} \) below 810.

10. \( \frac{\mathbf{z}}{\mathbf{z}} \); approximately thus, i.e. \( \mathbf{z} \) corrected from \( \mathbf{z} \).

12. Confused and injured signs.

13. The line is shortened than the others, but probably nothing is lost at the end.

14. It is very doubtful whether \( \mathbf{z} \) stood at the beginning of the line.
1. Very probable; the original is here in disorder.

2. Without a dot, i.e. like ꞌדי.

3. The other lines show that a word must have been lost here. If not to be emended "quickly", cf. נב. ב.

4. A low lacuna, in which ḫ stands above a deleted sign. Something must have stood.

5. For גו.

6. The restoration may be a little too big for the lacuna; perhaps omit גו.

7. The upper part of these signs has become detached, and been placed too far to right.

8. An. I read ממקו immediately after ל, which makes some sense; but it is probable that the archetype had the words here given by P.T.


10. At top on left of lacuna, a trace like the corner of א or א.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 5    | \begin{align*} \text{Anastasi I} & \text{14.2–5.} \\
|      | \text{Lit. Texts} & 25 |
| 10   | \begin{align*} \text{Anastasi I} & \text{14.2–5.} \\
|      | \text{Lit. Texts} & 25 |
| 15   | \begin{align*} \text{Anastasi I} & \text{14.2–5.} \\
|      | \text{Lit. Texts} & 25 |
1. Emend มะนิฟ-ต; the same corruption below 193.

4. ฎ was probably intended by the scribe for ฎ� ฎ, but is doubtless a corruption of ฎ; the following ฎ is obviously derived from ฎ ฎ; see An. I.

4. The krasia sign here, (see above p.20a, note 11) does double duty for ฎ and for ฎ.

4. A here is an obvious and easy corruption of ฎ. The facsimile gives a slanting stroke at bottom of the preceding ฎ, which may be the last trace of ฎ ฎ. The reading of An. I is clearly correct.

5. Read ฎ.

6. Small like ฎ.

7. ฎ, corrupt for ฎ of P.T.

8. There may have been a numeral (30?) before ฎ, as the lacunae at the beginnings of lines grow bigger towards bottom of page, see e.g. P.T. p.11. However the stack in the preceding ฎ is quite unusual, if here a determinative.

10. The abbreviated form, which is rare in literary texts. See facsimile.

12. ฎ, for ฎ or ฎ, but like ฎ.

14. For ฎ ฎ. — See facsimile, and cf. next line of P.T.

15. Read ฎ, cf. above note 5f.

16. My notebook gives ฎ; it is possible there was room for ฎ ฎ before ฎ, see above note 8.
2. Indeterminate shape, almost like 𓊐, see facs.; clearly derived from 𓊍.

4. Like hieratic —, a corruption of 𓊐; cf. p. 24a, note 14. 𓊍 Indefinite sign, see facs.

6a. We wrongly omitted.


9. Here a misplaced fragment above line.

10. So too above p. 25, l. 12.

12. Obscure traces, probably to be interpreted thus.— $^k$ The stroke after the lacuna is more like 𓊐 and the lacuna is small for 𓊍.

13. The word, cf. 14, 3 above. — $^m$ G. 16, 7, a spelling intermediate between $^3$ 𓊍 (𓊍) and $^3$ 𓊍 (𓊍), on the latter see p. 25a, note 4.

14. Added above the line.

2. The dash of sig is visible in a trace.

5. For this curiously mitten expression compare the facsimile.

6. Or possibly 1.

7. The MS. has a clear 1, not (e.g.) 1.

10. Original properly 2, as in ink below 19.4; conversely see above p. 224, note 13.

14. 1 made large like ↓, as often below or above long signs. 3 Not room for ↓.

17. There seems just enough room for a short low sign before 2. 4 It is superfluous.

18. Original 2. 6 By error for  τ. 
3a. Emend ⅞.

4. Read ⅞. Hee there has been an obscure corruption.

6. (⅞); evidently a corruption, perhaps of ☉. So wrongly for ☉.

7. Cf. above 14,1.

8. ☉ is made like ☉ above the long sign ☉, as . k See above p. 66a, note 13m often in this word.

9. See the facsimile, which is exact; perhaps ☉ k For ☉ see p. 66a, note 5f. 15p.

10. The determinatives ☉ ☉ are wrong.

11m. Original ☉, probably to be emended into ☉. Or ☉ ?

12. Or ☉ ?


15. ☉ wrongly omitted.


18. Emend monfy-t; the same corruption above 14,2.
1. Read $\mathcal{R}_{\text{e}} \text{ H.}$ - $\mathcal{R}_{\text{e}} \text{ H.}$ must be a corruption of $\mathcal{R}_{\text{e}} \text{ H.}$; emend therefore as $[\mathcal{R}_{\text{e}} \text{ H.}]$.

the context clearly cannot refer to a quarry like Hammamat (R-h-p).

4. See facsimile; the MS. apparently had originally $3^33^3$, later corrected into $3^{3^3}$. The latter figure suits the total ($\text{total} + 620 + 1550 + 880 + 5000$), but it seems likely that a number has fallen out after $173-174$.

5. A number is probably lost, see last note. - Either omit $\overline{1}$ or insert $\overline{m}$ after it.

9. See the facsimile for this problematical group; so too in $\mathcal{R}_{\text{e}} \text{ H.}$

13$^4$. Emend $\mathcal{R}_{\text{e}} \text{ H.}$ $\overline{5}$ $\overline{4}$ $\overline{3}$ $\overline{3}$.

16. If this be the correct reading, the second $9$ is crowded, which might account for the abnormal form of $\overline{9}$. The figures suggest $\overline{59} \overline{65}$ (by error for $\overline{54} \overline{32}$) more than anything else; or can the true reading be $\overline{59} \overline{65}$?

16$. Or $\overline{59} (\overline{3})$; one would however then expect $\overline{59}$. 

59
2. Probably a dash serving to complete the line (Füllstich).

7. Probably a ditto mark owing to change of line.

10. For the omission of \( \frac{9}{2} \) cf. \( \text{di} \) 15, 6; there is a trace under 1.

11. Ms, gives \( \text{di} \). – See facsimile; the reading \( \text{di} \) is certain. – 7th superfluous, as often.

12. Above – a spot of red ink: since another such, but smaller, occurs above \( \text{di} \), this is probably fortuitous, not an isolated verse-point.

14. Above \( \text{di} \), a misplaced fragment which is difficult to locate; but cf. the true place of below note 17.

16. So too Max Müller, O.L.Z. 1882; \( \text{di} \) is almost certain; in place of \( \text{di} \), it would be possible to read \( \text{di} \), but this latter hardly fills the lacuna.

17. After \( \text{di} \), the stroke is omitted. After \( \text{di} \), small and puzzling traces are visible, not fitting either \( \text{di} \) or \( \text{di} \); possibly the misplaced fragment of note 14 belongs here, in which case the true reading might be \( \text{di} \).
1. Small, but not like ω. — * Emend μ. –

2. Like ω; however ω is certainly to be read.

3. Really θ in the MS, as in sin 15,6 etc. — * θ in the preceding clause read -

4. So wrongly for -1 τ; contrast 31,5,6.

5. For the traces after θ see the facsimile. — k Cf. 24,4.

6. A trace high up, which cannot belong to -

7. Emend m-r-k-9 t.

8. For the traces see facsimile. — * Elsewhere we find p-k m-r-i (20,3); this can however not be emended here.

9. See facsimile; now partially destroyed; hghdr is a more probable reading than hhrh. —

10. Sic; but the root should be spelt with - not - , cf. 16,2.

11. To, 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 misplated fragment of papyrus.
2° Traces of a vertical sign, not I.

4° There is nothing more lost.

5° An almost certain trace of the tail of m.

7° Eronneously written for $\eta=9$. [11]

11° Cf. below 21.1.

14° Not room for $\lambda$; $\nu$ is therefore certain.

17° Read $\Rightarrow$. [11]
1. The misplaced fragment at the beginning of the line, consisting of 9 followed by the trace of a vertical stroke, very possibly belongs to the here.


3. 3 is nearly, and the preceding 3 quite, certain. We should probably read *imā* Burchardt no. 288.

4. Perhaps emend 3 for 3.

5. Burchardt (no. 636) rightly transposes and reads 9 1 8. 388. 3.

6. Insert 19 after *imī-ūt* (3).

7. *Substant.* the second 3 is superfluous. *k* B must be omitted because of *mā*.

8. the final 3 is very unlikely, but an alternative 3 3 9 3 to find.

9. Wrongly for 3 3 ; the mistake is perhaps due to 3 being inserted above the line in the manuscript from which the scribe of Anastasi I copied.

10. 3 is derived from a misunderstood hieratic 3 (del. of 3), which the scribe understood as 3 3 ; hence the following 3. 3 3 the spelling 3 3 3 for 3 3 3 in Leiden.

11. The upper portion of 3 is displaced in original and facsimile.
1st. would also be a possible reading.

5th. The upright sign, which is a correction, is not \( \beta \), nor \( \alpha \), nor \( \gamma \).

8th. Emend \( \psi \), cf. 22, 7 end.

9th. Ms. thus: \( \exists \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \rightarrow \) \( \rightarrow \) ; it is doubtful whether \( \alpha_{\text{III}} \) is a glass on, or correction of, \( \text{snr} \).

12th. \( \rightarrow \) is a correction over an erased \( \rightarrow \) (3).

13th. Emend \( \phi \) \( \rightarrow \rightarrow \) \( \alpha_{\text{III}} \) cf. 24, 3. \( \rightarrow \) Read \( \rightarrow \); for the converse confusion, cf. 14, 5.

16th. It is probably superfluous; cf. p. 13a, note 7; p. 30a, note 11.
5a. A corrupt word; perhaps read $\odot \equiv (1)$. — 6. Read $\equiv$; cf. p. 112, note 5b (2).

7a. Probably emend $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$, cf. 16, 2.

8a. A tiny dot, high up; probably fortuitous. — 9. Probably so, and certainly not.

10a. Sic; a corruption of $\equiv$.

12a. Read $\equiv$; the two signs resemble one another closely, whence the transposition.

13a. $\frac{\odot}{\odot}$, a transparent corruption of $\odot \equiv \odot$.

14a. The $\equiv$ is made quite small, almost like $\equiv$, above the small sign $\equiv$.

15b. Emend $\odot \equiv (1)$.

16a. Ditto.

17a. Emend $\equiv$.
1. Emend $\mathfrak{K}_2$; the corruption of $\mathfrak{K}$ into $\mathfrak{g}$ is not rare in hieratic.

2. Emend $\mathfrak{K}_2$ $\mathfrak{K}_2$ (2). – Read $\mathfrak{g}$ for $\mathfrak{g}_2$.

3. Read $\mathfrak{g}$–$\mathfrak{t}$–$\mathfrak{n}$ vs. Koller 5, 2 = Anast. II 3, 1.

4. Read $\mathfrak{K}_2$ $\mathfrak{K}_2$.

5. Read $\mathfrak{g}$–$\mathfrak{t}$–$\mathfrak{n}$ vs. p. 21a, note 3°; p. 32a, note 74.

14°. Ms. has $\mathfrak{g}$ for $\mathfrak{g}$ of transl. 25, 6; p. 2a, note 13; etc.


17°. Without $\mathfrak{g}$, evidently corrupt.

18°. A ligature as in 28, 4.
1. possibly δ, but α has a different form e.g. δ like α as practically after αφ below. Or perhaps δ? — always in this word.

2. The papyrus is unduly squeezed together at this point.

4. Corrupted out of δ. —  See note 2 above.

5. Ditto.

7. ; the hieratic signs may well be corruptions.

9. The traces (see pass) look rather like the left end of δ; this would however not suit the context.

12. Emend 220 (\text{\textsuperscript{a}}).

15. Certainly so, not δ.

16. The first I has a small meaningless appendage at the bottom, see passim.
1. An upright sign; might possibly be 1 or 1.

2. Ditto.

3. Emend \( \overline{\overline{\text{X}}} \) as in 17, 3.

4. There appears to be room for odd.

5. A misplaced fragment covers the right half of \( \square \). Only a small sign lost.

6. Perhaps \( \overline{\overline{\text{X}}} \) by error for \( \overline{\overline{\text{X}}} \). Probable, certainly neither \( \overline{\overline{\text{X}}} \) nor \( \overline{\overline{\text{X}}} \).

7. To left of \( \overline{\overline{\text{X}}} \) a slanting trace (see facs.) which might possibly belong to \( \overline{\overline{\text{X}}} \).

8. Omit \( \overline{\overline{\text{X}}} \). \( \overline{\overline{\text{X}}} \) is a corruption of 1.

9. This \( \overline{\overline{\text{X}}} \) is probably superfluous.

10. For 1 emend 1 or \( \overline{\overline{\text{X}}} \).
1st. — is corrected out of a tall erased sign; it is probably a corruption of [AI].

2nd. For Γ in emend Λ.

5th. The hinder arm of this sign has been omitted.

6th. The MS. reading is perhaps a blending of two different readings and Σ.”

11th. Emend Φ to be, cf. 10.2.

14th. An obscure corruption.

15th. — should probably be omitted.

17th. MS. — is superfluous, cf. 6.7.

18th. Read Π.
3a. For this sign see Möller, Hieratische Paläographie II, no. 505 footnote.

6b. 展演 is here made like 展演; 展演 is meant.

7c. A corruption of 展演 展演 as in Sinuhe B.

8d. Emend 展演.

10b. Not 展演. Here a fragment bearing a quite illegible sign, probably misplaced. The final sign might also be 時; if 時 "to be fat" is meant, we should expect a determinative 時 not 時. 
2. A collection of model letters.

Transcribed from Pap. Roller (Pap. Berlin 3043) and certain other Mss.

a. The equipment of a Syrian expedition.
1. Before 1.1 an unknown number of pages are lost.

3. Or large ω? Or else a corruption of ω, k?

5. ; if the reading is correct, that sign is here different from the forms elsewhere on this page.

6. — small like ω. — The plural strokes are omitted.

7. ; the sign before ε may be the remains of an erroneous.

8. Unlike the other examples of ε on this page.

9. Made like ι, see above p. 37a, note 11.

10. Emend θ at as below 21.

11. Emend m. ε - k - ι - t, as in Anast. 119. 7 (see above p. 31a, note 12).

12. Dittoography.

13. Probably so to be read, but mitten ι. cf. above note 9.
b. Warnings to an idle scribe.
2. Low down a trace, possibly a small ; wrongly mounted; only a tiny trace —; anyhow not a part of \( \frac{3}{1} \) of the first \( \frac{2}{1} \) remains.
3. For -son emend \( \tilde{\text{a}} \text{pp} \text{P} \).
4. Like 2.

4.-5. Anast. II 16, 11-12 in a similar context.

8. A meaningless stroke (Füllstich).
3. There is no trace of an Ψ, nor has this sign been written and for some reason deleted.

6. Ψ is lacking not only in collation, but in the similar passage Anast. 16, 6.

8. There is no Ψ before β, though there is a fortuitous black speck.
3. a. after the traces are still visible.

6. The lacuna is too large for Isw only.

8. The top line of the page alone is preserved, and this only in part. However see below note 13.

9. Small like $\alpha$, cf. 2.1. After it one or more signs entirely washed out, save for a horizontal stroke at bottom; $\Xi$ is nearly certain.

10. At top a trace which suits $\gamma$. $\Gamma$; the reading is far from certain.

11. $\Gamma$

12. $\Xi$; these traces do not suit the reading $\gamma$ in $\text{M}$ very well.

13. The word $\frac{\text{M}}{\text{M}}$ written as a correction above Anast. $\Gamma$. Only one tall sign, perhaps $\Pi$. 5.1 probably belongs here.
c. A letter concerning Nubian tribute.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Koller} &\text{Spieg. Hier. Ostr. 39}
\end{align*}
\]
1. contrast I in ch. 18. — Here a deletedfolio, which apparently does
not belong to the earlier text.
2. rather like the dat. of dit in Anax. II 17, 6.

II. Perhaps rightly interpreted by Miller (Palæographie II 20, 191 note) as a contraction
of "chapter" "section"; but certainly understood by the N.T. scribe as a

14. At the probable size of the lacuna, see lines 4-5.
1. For  emend  

4. The astā 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  "not lugt.

6. Or perhaps better  of Koller 5.5.

9. Probably no mere "fullitch"—badly mounted; not nq.

12. Astā had clearly a longer list of animals; for the length of lacuna cf. ll. 4–5.

13. The hieratic sign serves at once for  and for ; see above p. 25a, note 4. — Emend  

16. Spieg's facs. gives  Hank  after the long lacuna at the beginning of c. 7. Impossible to connect with text of Koller. — As colophon [c. 8] in red
1. The signs $\text{m} \text{m} \text{m}$ are on a displaced fragment; "Perhaps hardly room for [\text{m}]."
2. Only a small sign lost.
3. Emend \[= Q \text{m} \text{m}\].
6. It appears to be superfluous.
8. 
10. The scanty space hardly admits of any other restoration.
11. Perhaps ditography. -- $\text{khkh}$ not improbably a corrupt group.
16. This word is a correction; the $\text{m}$ is above a deleted $\text{m}$.
17. Ditto graph. -- $\text{m}$ on a displaced fragment.
18. $\text{m}$ is written exactly like $\text{m}$; so too below 5.7.
d. An order to make preparations for Pharaoh's arrival.
6. Read $\square \square \square \square \square$. 

5. Evidently for $\text{□□□}$, see Admonitions p. 67.

6. The position of $\text{□□□}$ makes it certain that a sign stood beneath it.

7. There is room for the sign $\square$, which the scribe forgot to add.

8. Emend $\square$.

10. The section begins abruptly thus without further introduction; the words $\text{□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□...
3. The reading of Anasšt. IX is clearly superior. — 6 & wrongly omitted.

7. The text was probably continued on other pages cut off from the Pap. Koller.

8. The continuation occupies the entire remainder of Anasšt. IX down to 17,9, where the writing suddenly stops.

**Additions and Corrections.**

P. 3, line 3; read $\frac{9}{7}$; the reading is far from certain.

P. 7, line 4; the reading $\frac{7}{4}$ is more probable than $\frac{8}{4}$.

P. 21, line 2; the lacuna at the end of 11,7 should be omitted; the in $\frac{11}{6}$ is nearly certain. In the note p. 21a, note 2; read: "corrupted out of $\frac{11}{6}$ [10 - 1]."

P. 32, line 18; a note on $\frac{11}{6}$ should be added, stating that this is a wrong writing for $\frac{11}{6}$.

P. 48, line 12, beginning; for $\frac{13}{9}$ — read $\frac{13}{9} \rightarrow \frac{7}{9}$.